

# Portuguese Universities: Historiographical Overview

## Universidades portuguesas: una visión general de su historiografía

Fernando Taveira da Fonseca\*  
*Faculty of Letters of The University of Coimbra.*  
*Center for the History of Society and Culture*

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20318/cian.2017.3734>

Recibido: 25/03/2017  
Aceptado: 11/05/2017

*Abstract.* The purpose of this essay, rather than an exhaustive presentation of the historiographical output on Portuguese universities, is to lead the reader to the threshold of a comprehensive knowledge of the achievements and problems in this field; and try to provide a working tool for future research. Encompassing a long time span, with several changes in the higher education system in Portugal, besides mentioning general works and source publication, it approaches some topics: material conditions (buildings and funding), students and student culture, professors (with a glimpse on scientific production).

*Keywords:* Portuguese universities, historiography, material conditions, students, professors.

*Resumen:* La intención de este trabajo, más que hacer una presentación exhaustiva de la producción historiográfica sobre las universidades portuguesas, es conducir el lector hasta el umbral de un conocimiento informado de lo conseguido y de los problemas en esta materia; y también proporcionar un instrumento para ulterior investigación. Abarcando un largo período temporal con cambios notables en el sistema de educación superior en Portugal, aborda distintos tópicos como sean las condiciones materiales (los edificios y la financiación), los estudiantes y su cultura peculiar, los profesores (con una breve mirada a la producción científica).

*Palabras clave:* universidades portuguesas, historiografía, condiciones materiales, estudiantes, profesores.

---

\* fertaveira@gmail.com

1. In 1729, Francisco Leitão Ferreira had his *Notícias Chronologicas da Universidade de Coimbra* printed in Lisboa by José António da Silva<sup>1</sup>. One year before, the same had happened with *Évora Gloriosa* (issued in Rome) by the Jesuit Francisco da Fonseca. The former of these publications is the result of a systematic compilation –carried out by the author in close collaboration with the University Rector, who was then Francisco Carneiro de Figueiroa– of the most important facts concerning the University of Coimbra since its foundation<sup>2</sup>; the latter, although being of a wider scope, contains an important set of information about the University of Évora. These were then the two institutions in Portugal bearing the name of University: and we may consider that this was the starting point, clearly influenced by the recently founded Real Academia da História Portuguesa (Royal Academy for History, 1720), of the historiographical attention focusing directly on universities and higher education.

The higher education system in Portugal underwent several changes throughout time. A summary consideration of the chronological frame will help to understand the thematic thread that will constitute the basis of the account that follows.

The “precious document” – the royal charter *Scientiae thesaurus mirabilis* enacted by the king D. Dinis (March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1290) – found and published by António de Vasconcelos in 1912<sup>3</sup> is, for most historians, the foundation milestone of the Portuguese university<sup>4</sup>. During the Medieval Ages, the university stayed mostly in Lisboa but moved twice to Coimbra (1308-1338; 1354-1377) and eventually was settled permanently in this town, in 1537. The change of place was accompanied by a comprehensive reform (directly sponsored by the king D. João III until 1557) that shaped a long-lasting model:

---

<sup>1</sup> Francisco Leitão Ferreira, *Notícias chronologicas da Universidade de Coimbra. Primeira parte, que comprehende os annos, que discorrem desde o de 1288 até principios de 1537* (Lisboa: José António da Silva, impressor da Academia Real, 1729).

<sup>2</sup> The Rector himself wrote *Memórias da Universidade de Coimbra* (printed only in 1937), a chronicle organized according to the sequence of former Rectors, including short biographical sketches and the most relevant facts of each rectorate. As for Leitão Ferreira, he organized also the *Alphabeto dos Lentos*, a prosopographical account of university professors, also printed in 1937.

<sup>3</sup> António de Vasconcelos, “Um documento precioso”, *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, 1:2-3 (July-September 1912, 254-258); António Domingues de Costa, “Considerações à volta da fundação da Universidade Portuguesa no dia 1 de Março de 1290”, in *(Universidade(s). História, Memória, Perspectivas. Congresso História da Universidade. 7º Centenário* (Coimbra: Comissão Organizadora do Congresso “História da Universidade”, 1991, vol. 1, 71-82).

<sup>4</sup> Although some defend an earlier foundation: Artur Moreira de Sá, *Dúvidas e problemas sobre a universidade medieval portuguesa* [I], offprint of *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, 3rd series, 8 (Lisboa, 1964).

along the 16<sup>th</sup> century, various versions of the Coimbra university's statutes (1544, 1559, 1565-67, 1591, 1597), of which some are still unknown to us, led to a final set of regulations (including the amendments prescribed by a Visitation in 1612), traditionally called *Estatutos Velhos* (*Old Statutes*). Their life span reached the 1772 enlightened reform carried out under the authority of the Marquis de Pombal (acting as the king's 'lieutenant').

Meanwhile, the University of Évora had run its course: sponsored and founded by a member of the royal family (the Cardinal D. Henrique, brother of D. João III and future king) in 1559, had its teaching and administration entrusted exclusively to the Jesuits and shared their fate: the Jesuits were banished from the kingdom in 1759 and this was the end of the university's first life<sup>5</sup>.

The 1772 reform, called "new foundation" by its exponents, inspired by severe criticism of the previous scientific and pedagogical issues, was based on a new set of norms<sup>6</sup>, forming a pattern (whose main feature was the inclusion of the faculties of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy) that lasted, in essence, until the establishment of the Republican Regime (1910). Almost a century before, however, the Liberal Revolution (1820) had challenged the university as a symbol of the *ancien régime*: although the institutional and scientific core was not modified, this meant the foundation, in the cities of Lisboa and Porto, of some independent schools meant for higher education, but pursuing new concepts, pedagogical, technical and scientific. Thus, the path leading from the "single" university to the multiplicity of universities was opened: eventually, those schools were brought together to form the new universities of Lisboa and Porto (1911), once more with a substantial statutory turn.

The Technical University of Lisboa (1930), the *Estudos Gerais* in the African colonies (Angola and Moçambique – 1962), a higher education school also in Lisboa (ISCTE, Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa), in 1962, the universities of Minho, Aveiro and Évora (all in 1973) completed the picture of state owned institutions, before 1974. Besides these, after a long process of implantation (1947-1971), the government granted the status of public interest to the Catholic University.

---

<sup>5</sup> It is important to bear in mind that, during the two centuries of coexistence, Coimbra and Évora were very different teaching and graduation institutions: only Coimbra graduated in Law (Canon and Civil) and Medicine, besides Arts and Theology. Graduations in Law represented c. 87% of all graduations in Coimbra. Évora only awarded degrees in Arts and Theology.

<sup>6</sup> *Estatutos da Universidade de Coimbra* (Lisboa: Na Regia Officina Typografica, 1773, 3 vol.). Fac-simile reprint (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1972).

After the 1974 revolution, the foundational cadence speeded up, leading to the present situation where different branches are included: universities proper, polytechnic institutes, specialized higher schools (some of them embedded in the universities). Private operators played an important role in the educational supply. For the time being, 302 higher education institutions can be listed (180 run by the State, 122 by private entities) of which 23 universities (14 public and 9 private): the growth, somehow uncontrolled, of the private sector, relying at first on teaching staff drawn from public universities (combining both tasks), caused the system to become unbalanced. Its overall regulation is now entrusted to the A3ES (Agência de Acreditação e Avaliação do Ensino Superior – Agency for Higher Education Accreditation and Assessment) that centralizes all the decisions about the creation of new courses (or relevant modifications in the existing ones) as well as the regular assessment of those already in operation.

The chronological divisions in the history of Portuguese universities can thus be summarized as follows: 1290-1537 (the medieval university); 1537-1771 (settlement in Coimbra and consolidation after the reform by D. João III; the Jesuitical university of Évora operates from 1559 until 1759); 1772-1910 (enlightened reform; from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century on, independent higher schools set the bases for the universities of Lisboa and Porto); 1911-1974 (new universities in Lisboa and Porto and slow growth of the higher education system); 1974 onwards (multiplicity of universities and other higher education schools; private operators play an important role).

2. Our purpose, rather than an exhaustive presentation of the historiographical output on Portuguese universities, is to lead the reader to the threshold of a comprehensive knowledge of the achievements and problems in this field; and try to provide a working tool for future research. For this, some topics must be approached, hopefully combining them with the timeline sketched above.

Professors and students (masters and apprentices) stay at the core of our concern. Students call our attention to the sociological dimension of learning (numbers, place of birth, social background) but not less to cultural and political ones (faculty preference, post-graduation positions, daily life and student culture, political intervention). Professors, besides the aspects of their recruitment and career management, can be seen as the natural holders of the university's scientific authority, quality and reputation. In our case, this section must include some consideration about the colleges as

nurturing institutions (as long as they existed) of the faculties. The material operation conditions (buildings, premises, funding, servants) and the organs of domestic government (along with their dialectic relationship with royal power) are also within our scope.

The variety of historiographical contributions on this theme includes general works that try to encompass several or most of the topics mentioned above; and because of its instrumental role, source publication must also be taken into consideration<sup>7</sup>.

2.1. For a long time, the fundamental and most encompassing benchmark in the history of the Portuguese universities was the *História da Universidade de Coimbra*, commissioned by the Academia Real das Ciências (Royal Academy of Sciences) and written by Teófilo Braga, whose four volumes were printed between 1892 and 1902. Based mostly on document transcription, prone to controversy and criticism, it was, nevertheless, “a pioneer attempt of a historical and sociological study about the University”<sup>8</sup>. Other expressions of the interest in this topic during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century can be mentioned: the *História dos estabelecimentos científicos*, by José Silvestre Ribeiro (18 volumes dealing with all teaching levels)<sup>9</sup>; the four memoir accounts elaborated to commemorate the centenary of the 1772 reform<sup>10</sup>; the historical sketch by the Rector Júlio Máximo Pimentel (Visconde

---

<sup>7</sup> A previous approach to the historiography of universities in Portugal was made by Luís Reis Torgal and Maria do Rosário Azenha, “A historiografia da Universidade em Portugal. Fontes, bibliografia e problemas” in *1<sup>o</sup> Encontro de História da Educação em Portugal. Comunicações* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1988), 177-194. See also A. Moreira de Sá, *Bibliografia da Universidade Portuguesa: 1288-1537* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1976). The present paper was preceded by (and relies on) other works of its author, namely: Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, “Universidades portuguesas, Historiografia y líneas de investigación”, in *História de la Universidad de Salamanca*, ed. Luís E. Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares and Juan Luís Polo Rodríguez (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, vol. IV, 2009), 469-499; “Fontes documentais para a história das universidades portuguesas na Época Moderna”, *Miscelânea Alfonso IX* (2014, Salamanca, 2015), 95-117.

<sup>8</sup> Torgal and Azenha, *Historiografia*, 178.

<sup>9</sup> José Silvestre Ribeiro, *História dos estabelecimentos científicos, literários e artísticos de Portugal nos sucessivos reinados da Monarquia* (Lisboa: Academia das Ciências, 1871-1893).

<sup>10</sup> Regarding the faculties of Theology, Medicine, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy: Manuel Eduardo da Motta Veiga, *Esboço histórico-literário da Faculdade de Theologia* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1872); Bernardo António Serra de Mirabeau, *Memoria Historica e commemorativa da Faculdade de Medicina* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1873); Francisco de Castro Freire, *Memoria historica da Faculdade de Mathematica*, (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1872); Joaquim Augusto Simões de Carvalho, *Memoria historica da Faculdade de Filosofia* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1873).

de Villa Maior) written as an introduction to a series of reports about the university departments<sup>11</sup>; the miscellaneous contributions in the journal *O Instituto* (whose regular publication started in 1853<sup>12</sup>) as well as those in the newspaper *O Conimbricense*<sup>13</sup>.

The centennial commemorations of the settlement of the university in Coimbra, in 1937, provided the opportunity for some achievements, mainly the publication of sources (which we will mention later) and ancient works<sup>14</sup> but also of a historical draft (according to its own title), now a classic, still useful, mainly its first section (1290-1580)<sup>15</sup>. Although the focus was mostly on Coimbra, Évora did also have its historians<sup>16</sup>.

Generalist in scope, the works mentioned above have defined time limits which, however, were expanded by more recent ones following the same pattern.<sup>17</sup> Initiatives of another kind were taken in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Visconde de Vila Maior, *Exposição succinta da organização actual da Universidade de Coimbra precedida de uma breve noticia deste estabelecimento* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1878).

<sup>12</sup> The whole collection is available on line: [http://webopac.sib.uc.pt/search~S17\\*por?/tinstituto/tinstituto/1,291,309,E/1856~b1594067&FF=tinstituto&1](http://webopac.sib.uc.pt/search~S17*por?/tinstituto/tinstituto/1,291,309,E/1856~b1594067&FF=tinstituto&1)

<sup>13</sup> José Pinto Loureiro, *Índice ideográfico de "O Conimbricense"* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 1953) with a section on "Coimbra-Universidade". The *História da Universidade de Coimbra* by Teófilo Braga includes also a list of journal and newspaper articles regarding university matters, issued between 1860 and 1890 (vol. IV, 587-595).

<sup>14</sup> Such as the reedition of *Notícias Chronologicas* by Leitão Ferreira (4 volumes with annotations and additions by Joaquim de Carvalho, issued between 1937 and 1944) and the publication of *Memórias da Universidade de Coimbra* by Carneiro de Figueiroa, both by the Imprensa da Universidade.

<sup>15</sup> Mário Brandão and Manuel Lopes de Almeida, *A universidade de Coimbra. Esboço da sua história* (Coimbra: Por Ordem da Universidade, 1937).

<sup>16</sup> José Maria de Queirós Veloso, *A universidade de Évora. Elementos para a sua história* (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1931); José Vaz de Carvalho, "A Antiga Universidade de Évora. Fundação e organização", *Economia e Sociologia*, 29-30 (1980): 101-146. Various other contributions can be found in the proceedings of the conference *Congresso Internacional Comemorativo do IV Centenário da Universidade de Évora, 1559 - 1959*, (Coimbra: 1967). More recently (2009), another conference was held in Évora. The proceedings were published in 2012: Sara Pereira and Francisco Lourenço Vaz (ed.), *Universidade de Évora (1559-2009) 450 anos de modernidade educativa* (Lisboa: Chiado Editora, 2012).

<sup>17</sup> For example, Manuel Augusto Rodrigues, *A Universidade de Coimbra e os seus Reitores* (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 1990), in line with Figueiroa's *Memórias*; the same author compiled a *Chronologia Historiae Universitatis Conimbrigensis* (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 1998) and collected several studies in two volumes: *A Universidade de Coimbra. Figuras e factos da sua história* (Porto: Campo das Letras, 2007-2008); Rómulo de Carvalho, *História do Ensino em Portugal. Desde a fundação da nacionalidade até ao regime de Salazar-Caetano* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2<sup>a</sup> ed. 1996).

century: in 1968 the journal *Análise Social* approached the theme “the university in Portuguese life” in its VI volume (numbers 20 to 24), gathering the efforts of about twenty contributors (some of them with more than one article), naturally focusing mostly on the sociological dimensions of higher education; another journal, *Revista de História das Ideias*, entitled its volume 12 (1990) “university”; a great scientific meeting (“Congresso História da Universidade”) held in Coimbra, on March 1990, to commemorate the 7<sup>th</sup> centenary of the foundation of the Portuguese university, yielded a five volume set of proceedings, with more than 150 contributions between lectures and papers.<sup>18</sup> This was also the opportunity to launch the project of a history of the Portuguese university, of which just the first part in two volumes (1290-1537; 1537-1772) was published.<sup>19</sup> The contents of the last two works will necessarily be approached when dealing with the topics mentioned above.

Two notes will close this section: 1. besides a more or less impressive footprint on line<sup>20</sup>, some newly founded universities care about writing their own history<sup>21</sup>; 2. researchers have at their disposal an important working tool as is the *Boletim do Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra*, a journal issued from 1973 on, where inventories of document collections of the Archive of the University of Coimbra have been published.

2.2. One of the relevant expressions of interest in university history is the publication of documental sources. For the medieval period (1288-1537), besides the *Livro Verde*<sup>22</sup>, the *Chartularium Universitatis Portucalensis* collects, in 14 volumes, a vast amount of papal and royal decrees (responding

<sup>18</sup> *Universidade(s). História, Memórias, Perspectivas. Actas. Congresso História da Universidade. 7<sup>o</sup> Centenário*, (Coimbra: Comissão Organizadora do Congresso História da Universidade, 1991) 5 vols.

<sup>19</sup> *História da Universidade em Portugal* (Coimbra-Lisboa: Universidade de Coimbra-Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997).

<sup>20</sup> A first approach in <http://www.universia.pt/> and <http://www.teiaportuguesa.com/universidades.htm>.

<sup>21</sup> Inês Amorim, *História da Universidade de Aveiro. A construção da memória* (Aveiro: Universidade de Aveiro, 2001); *20 anos de História da Universidade do Minho. Depoimentos e testemunhos* (Braga: Universidade do Minho, 1994); Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *A Universidade Técnica de Lisboa* (Lisboa: UTL, 1980); Moses Bensabat Amzalak, *Para a história da Universidade Técnica de Lisboa* (Lisboa: UTL, 1956); José Enes, *Fundação e perspectiva histórica da Universidade dos Açores* (Ponta Delgada: Universidade dos Açores, 1986).

<sup>22</sup> *Livro Verde da Universidade de Coimbra: cartulário do século XV*, transcription and foreword by António Gomes da Rocha Madahil (Coimbra: Arquivo e Museu da Arte da Universidade de Coimbra, 1940); new facsimile edition with transcription and indexes by Maria Teresa Nobre Veloso (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade, 1990).

to institutional issues or personal petitions) first organized by Artur Moreira de Sá (1913-1989) and then by a research group (Alice Estorninho, António Domingues de Sousa Costa, Miguel Pinto de Meneses)<sup>23</sup>; in addition, the *Auctarium Chartularii* contains university minutes and proceedings between 1506 and 1537<sup>24</sup>. For the twenty years of the reform by D. João III (1537-1557), Mário Brandão (who considered these to be the only glorious decades of the university), besides writing some studies that became classics, made public several series of documents: royal charters<sup>25</sup>, deliberations of university councils<sup>26</sup>, judicial processes of the Inquisition against two professors of the Colégio das Artes<sup>27</sup>, among others<sup>28</sup>.

Unfortunately, the assumption that, from 1555 on (when the Colégio das Artes, founded in 1548, was entrusted to the Jesuits), an era of decay had begun in the university of Coimbra, impacted adversely on this line of action. This assumption or prejudice, with a long-lasting influence on Portuguese historiography, was rooted in the 1771 *Compêndio Histórico*, a charge sheet against the Jesuits blamed of being the cause of all the shortcomings of a university in need of urgent reform<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> *Chartularium universitatis portugalensis: 1288-1537* (Lisboa: Instituto de Alta Cultura – I.N.I.C. – F.C.T, 1966-2001, 14 volumes).

<sup>24</sup> *Auctarium chartularii universitatis portugalensis*, ed. A. Moreira de Sá (Lisboa: Instituto de Alta Cultura, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1973-1979, 3 volumes).

<sup>25</sup> *Alguns documentos respeitantes à Universidade de Coimbra na época de D. João III*, ed. Mário Brandão, (Coimbra: Biblioteca da Universidade, 1937); *Documentos de D. João III*, ed. Mário Brandão (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1937-1941, 4 volumes).

<sup>26</sup> *Actas dos Conselhos da Universidade de 1505 a 1537*, ed. Mário Brandão (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 1968); *Actas dos Conselhos da Universidade de 1537 a 1557*, ed. Mário Brandão and Lígia Cruz (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 5 volumes, 1941-1976).

<sup>27</sup> *O processo na Inquisição de Mestre Diogo de Teive*, ed. Mário Brandão (Coimbra: Arquivo e Museu de Arte da Universidade de Coimbra 1943); *O processo na Inquisição de Mestre João da Costa*, ed. Mário Brandão (Coimbra: Arquivo e Museu de Arte da Universidade de Coimbra, 1944).

<sup>28</sup> Inácio de Moraes, *Conimbricæ Encomium*, review and foreword by Mário Brandão (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1938); *Cartas de Frei Brás de Braga para os priores do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, ed. Mário Brandão (Coimbra: Imprensa Académica, 1937); *Livro da Receita e Despesa das Rendas da Universidade por Manuel Leitam que começou pela pascoa de 544 anos. Scrivam Manuel Tomas* (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 1938).

<sup>29</sup> The *Compêndio Histórico do estado da universidade de Coimbra...* (Lisboa: Regia Officina Typographica, 1771; facsimile edition, Coimbra: Por Ordem da Universidade, 1972) was the outcome of a planning committee – Junta de Providência Literária – written as a formal advice to the king about the scientific and pedagogical reform of the University of Coimbra. It works as an extended syllogism: the Jesuits were the actual authors of the current statutes of the university; the Jesuits were disqualified (for their moral theories and consequent behaviour); thus, the statutes



The years around the 1772 reform were the next period to deserve such an attention<sup>30</sup>: a series of documents (mostly royal decisions) covers the two decades before<sup>31</sup>; another collection (royal decisions and, until 1777, correspondence between the Marquis de Pombal and the Rector-Reformer D. Francisco de Lemos) encompasses the years 1772-1792<sup>32</sup>; the proceedings of the academic ‘congregations’ (the assemblies of lecturers, in each faculty, responsible for pedagogical administration and scientific policy) form a collection going until 1820<sup>33</sup>; and a defense of the 1772 reform which was written in 1777 by its most committed worker, the Rector-Reformer Francisco de Lemos, when the political disgrace of the Marquis de Pombal endangered the reform itself<sup>34</sup>. And again, only for the 20<sup>th</sup> century will we have other printed sources<sup>35</sup>: regulations and statutes<sup>36</sup>,

---

were flawed and had to be abolished. Regardless of the truth of the premises (and of the historical materials gathered as proof), the syllogism proved effective, not only at that time but later on.

<sup>30</sup> In the meantime, however, some editions of the statutes were published: 1593, 1598, 1654. Let’s quote the last one (because it was the final version): *Estatutos da Universidade de Coimbra, confirmados por El-Rei nosso Senhor D. João o 4º, em o anno de 1653* (Coimbra: Officina de Tomé de Carvalho, 1654; fac-simile reprint, 1987). This edition reproduced the 1598 statutes with the addition of the 1612 Visitation amendments and the *Regimento dos Médicos e Boticários cristãos-velhos* (1604), regulating the granting of scholarships to Medicine students. Other versions were only printed much later: *Estatutos d’el Rei Dom Manuel* (c. 1503) (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade, 1991); *Estatutos da Universidade de Coimbra (1559)*, ed. Serafim Leite (Coimbra: Universidade, 1963). See, for a broader view on this topic: Joaquim Ferreira Gomes, “Os vários estatutos por que se regeu a universidade portuguesa ao longo da sua história” in *Novos Estudos de História e Pedagogia* (Coimbra: Livraria Almedina, 1986, 7-65). Besides this, Manuel Lopes de Almeida collected in 3 volumes a large amount of partial transcriptions of the university’s notarial deeds under the title *Artes e ofícios em documentos da Universidade* (Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, 1967-1972).

<sup>31</sup> *Documentos para a história da Universidade de Coimbra: 1750-1772*, introduction, transcription and indexes by Mário Alberto Nunes Costa (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 2 volumes, 1959-1961).

<sup>32</sup> *Documentos da Reforma pombalina*, ed. M. Lopes de Almeida (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 2 volumes, 1937-1979).

<sup>33</sup> *Actas das Congregações da Faculdade de [...]*, ed. Manuel Augusto Rodrigues (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade, 1982-1985), 10 volumes including the faculties of Theology, Canon Law, Civil Law, Medicine, and Mathematics; *Actas das Congregações da Faculdade de Filosofia* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1978); *Actas dos Conselhos de Decanos (1778-1784)*, ed. Manuel Augusto Rodrigues (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade, 1984).

<sup>34</sup> D. Francisco de Lemos, *Relação geral do estado da Universidade de Coimbra (1777)* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1980).

<sup>35</sup> One exception is a compilation of laws regarding higher education: José Maria de Abreu, *Legislação acadêmica* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 4 volumes, 1851-1866).

<sup>36</sup> Manuel Augusto Rodrigues, *A Universidade nos seus Estatutos. Da Reforma de 1901 à Lei de Autonomia de 1988* (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade, 1988).

collections of meeting minutes<sup>37</sup> and lectiones magistrales (held at the beginning of each academic year)<sup>38</sup>.

We have been describing a heterogeneous reality, showing some consistency only for specific periods (and rarely going beyond the University of Coimbra). Nowadays, archive collections may be made available by electronic means. This implies, however, a policy choice and the allocation of resources. But can prove to be a very useful research tool<sup>39</sup>.

3. When moving to Coimbra in 1537, the university was accommodated in the royal palace (Coimbra had been, in medieval times, the main dwelling of the king); on the top of a hill with immemorial human occupation, the premises were first given for temporary use and eventually (1597) sold to the university by the monarch. António Pimentel grabbed the whole historical relevance of this circumstance in his exemplar doctoral thesis, a precious information and research tool for its wide time range and bibliographical spectrum<sup>40</sup>. The subject had already been approached in other contributions, paying attention to the double location of the university during the Middle Ages<sup>41</sup>, and to the connection university-town<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Under the generic title of *A Universidade de Coimbra no século XX*, Manuel Augusto Rodrigues, as Director of the University Archive, published: *Actas da Faculdade de Letras (1911-1925)* and *(1925-1936)*, 1989-1991; *Actas da Faculdade de Direito (1911-1919)* and *(1919-1947)*, 1991-1995; *Actas da Faculdade de Ciências (1911-1927)*, 1992; *Actas da Junta Administrativa (1908-1916)* and *(1916-1926)*, 1990-1991; *Actas do Senado (1916-1924)*, 1990; *Actas do Conselho Académico (1913-1926)*, 1992.

<sup>38</sup> *Orações de Sapiência da Faculdade de Medicina (1845-2000)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2001); *Orações de Sapiência da Faculdade de Letras (1912-1995)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2002); *Faculdade de Ciências e Tecnologia da Universidade de Coimbra: orações de sapiência. Século XX* (Coimbra: FCTUC, 1997).

<sup>39</sup> As an example, let's mention the *Índice de alunos da Universidade de Coimbra*, reproducing personal data cards, extracted from university records (matriculation and graduation books) by the archive staff between 1940 and 1950 <http://pesquisa.auc.uc.pt/results?t=%C3%8Dndice%20de%20alunos%20da%20Universidade%20de%20Coimbra>

<sup>40</sup> António Filipe Pimentel, *A Morada da Sabedoria. 1. O paço real de Coimbra: das origens ao estabelecimento da Universidade* (Coimbra: Almedina, 2005).

<sup>41</sup> Mário Alberto Nunes Costa, *Reflexão acerca dos locais ducentistas atribuídos ao Estudo Geral* (Coimbra: Universidade, 1991); A. Vieira da Silva, *Locais onde funcionou em Lisboa a Universidade dos Estudos* (Coimbra: Universidade, 1919); Artur Moreira de Sá, *O Infante D. Henrique e a Universidade* (Lisboa: Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do Quinto Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1960); António dos Santos Pereira, «A Universidade no período dos Descobrimentos: aspectos do quotidiano no Bairro dos Escolares em Lisboa de finais de Quatrocentos e primórdios de Quinhentos», in *Universidade(s)*, vol. 3, 217-232.

<sup>42</sup> António de Vasconcelos, *Estabelecimento primitivo da Universidade em Coimbra* (Coim-

For the Early Modern period the focus will be not only on the university buildings (highlighting in special the early 18<sup>th</sup> century achievements – the new library and the tower)<sup>43</sup> but also on other constructions, mainly the colleges, that shaped the face of the town<sup>44</sup>. The same happened with the 1772 reform whose pedagogical project required new premises (some built from scratch, others out of the adaptation of older buildings, namely those that had belonged to the Jesuits). It was a vast enterprise, carefully planned and quickly carried out (steered by Francisco de Lemos and the architect Guilherme Elsdén) that provided laboratories, museums, the new hospital, the anatomical theatre and pharmacy, the astronomic observatory and botanic garden, while improving the central buildings<sup>45</sup>.

---

bra: Universidade, 1914); Walter Rossa, *Diversidade: urbanografia do espaço de Coimbra até ao estabelecimento definitivo da Universidade*. doctoral thesis (Coimbra:FCTUC, 2001); Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, «Coimbra trecentista – a cidade e o Estudo», in *A Universidade de Coimbra no seu 7<sup>o</sup> centenário* (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1993), 71-100.

<sup>43</sup> A synthesis, for the period 1537-1771: Pedro Dias, “Instalações da Universidade de Coimbra (I) and Nelson Correia Borges «Instalações da Universidade de Coimbra (II); Isabel Cid, «As instalações da Universidade de Évora» in *História da Universidade em Portugal*, vol. II, 405-444. A classic (for Coimbra): José Ramos Bandeira, *Universidade de Coimbra: edifícios do corpo central e Casa dos Melos* (Coimbra: Gráfica de Coimbra, 1943, 2 volumes); Pedro Dias and António Nogueira Gonçalves, *O património artístico da Universidade de Coimbra* (Coimbra: Gráfica de Coimbra, 2004).

<sup>44</sup> António de Vasconcelos «Os Colégios universitários de Coimbra (fundados de 1539 a 1779)» in *Escritos Vários relativos à universidade dionisiana* (reprint, Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade, vol. 1, 1987, 155-295); Rui Lobo, *Santa Cruz e a Rua da Sofia: arquitectura e urbanismo no século XVI* (Coimbra: Departamento de Arquitectura da FCTUC, 2006); *Os Colégios de Jesus, das Artes e de S. Jerónimo: evolução e transformação no espaço urbano* (Coimbra: Departamento de Arquitectura da FCTUC, 1999).

<sup>45</sup> Matilde Pessoa de Figueiredo Sousa Franco, *Riscos das obras da Universidade de Coimbra* (Coimbra: Museu Nacional de Machado de Castro, 1983). Pedro Dias, *O Regimento das Obras da Universidade de Coimbra ao Tempo da Reforma Pombalina* (Coimbra, 1983, offprint of the *Boletim do Arquivo da Universidade*, VI, 335-348); *Coimbra. Arte e História* (Coimbra: Minerva, 1988); Maria de Lurdes Craveiro, “Guilherme Elsdén e a introdução do neo-classicismo em Portugal” in: *Portugal e Espanha Entre a Europa e Além-Mar. Actas do IV Simpósio Luso-Espanhol de História da Arte* (Coimbra: Instituto de História da Arte da Faculdade de Letras, 1988, 503-519); *Manuel Alves Macombosa. Arquitecto da Reforma Pombalina da Universidade de Coimbra* (Coimbra: Instituto de História da Arte da Faculdade de Letras, 1990); Rómulo de Carvalho, *História do Gabinete de Física da Universidade de Coimbra. Desde a sua fundação (1772) até ao jubileu do professor italiano Giovanni Antonio Dalla Bella (1790)* (Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, 1978); Fernando Taveira da Fonseca “O Jardim Botânico, no contexto da Reforma Pombalina da universidade de Coimbra (1772)”, in *Século das Luzes. Portugal e Espanha, o Brasil e a Região do Rio da Prata*, ed. Werner Thielemann (Frankfurt am Main: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 2006, 249-272); Joana Brites, “O Jardim Botânico da Universidade de Coimbra: de Vandelli a Júlio Henriques (1772-1873)”,

The next extensive transformation, in Coimbra, with a strong impact on the urban prospect, was accomplished in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, by António de Salazar's *Estado Novo*, implying a huge investment of human and material resources in order to glorify the regime, as was already noted<sup>46</sup>. The universities of Lisboa and Porto underwent also some important improvements. Let's mention just the most emblematic ones: the architectonic complex of the Instituto Superior Técnico (1935) as well as the university *campus* (faculties of Law and Letters and the Rectorate building), in Lisboa; and the hospitals – with a school component – of S. João (Porto, 1959) and Santa Maria (Lisboa, 1940-1953)<sup>47</sup>. Newly founded universities had ancient buildings recovered, as was the case of the *Colégio do Espírito Santo* in Évora<sup>48</sup>, to serve the university, or built from scratch, as the large *campus* of the University of Aveiro. Quoting the architect Nuno Portas (focusing on this particular period), “the panorama of Portuguese architecture [...] is closely bound to the opportunities created by university demand”<sup>49</sup>.

4. Funding higher education has always been a pervasive problem. The starting point of a summary reflection on this topic will be the year 1834, when the Portuguese liberal revolution dismantled the core of the *ancien*

---

*Arquivo Coimbrão*, 39 (2006, 11-60). Several papers on this matter in Pedro Dias ed., *Actas do Colóquio «A Universidade e a Arte (1290-1990)»* (Coimbra: Instituto de História da Arte da Faculdade de Letras, 1993) and in *Alta de Coimbra: história-arte-tradição: actas* (Coimbra: GAAC, 1988); *Alta de Coimbra: que futuro para o passado?: actas do 2.º Encontro sobre a Alta de Coimbra* (Coimbra: GAAC, 1995).

<sup>46</sup> Nuno Rosmaninho, *O Poder da Arte. O Estado Novo e a Cidade Universitária de Coimbra* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2006); *O princípio de uma «revolução urbanística». Os primeiros programas da cidade universitária de Coimbra (1934-1940)* (Coimbra: Minerva, 1996); the same approach angle in Marco Daniel Duarte, *Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra: ícone do poder. Ensaio iconológico da imagética do Estado Novo* (Coimbra: Câmara Municipal de Coimbra, 2003).

<sup>47</sup> José Manuel Fernandes, *Português suave / Arquitecturas do Estado Novo* (Lisboa: IPPAR, 2003); José Augusto França, *A Arte em Portugal no Século XX. 1911-1961* (Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand, 1974); *Edifícios da Universidade do Porto. Projectos (catálogo de Exposição)* (Porto: Universidade do Porto, 1987).

<sup>48</sup> Túlio Espanca, *Notícia dos edifícios do Colégio e Universidade do Espírito Santo* (Évora: Livraria Nazareth, 1959).

<sup>49</sup> Nuno Portas, “Forword” in Jorge Arroteia, Nuno Portas and Michel Toussaint, *Universidade de Aveiro. Trinta anos de Arquitectura / University of Aveiro. Thirty years of Architecture* (Lisboa: White & Blue, 2004); *Universidade de Aveiro. Arquitectura e Urbanismo / University of Aveiro. Architecture and Urbanism* (Lisboa: White & Blue, 2000). A broader reflection in Nuno Portas and J. P. Martins Barata, «A Universidade na Cidade: problemas arquitectónicos e de inserção no espaço urbano», *Análise Social*, VI (1968): 22-23-24, 492-509.

*régime* by abolishing tithes and manorial rights, which had been the income basis of many institutions including the university. Male religious orders were suppressed and their properties incorporated in the so called “bens nacionais” (national assets) to be sold later by public auction. This included the properties of the colleges, and of the university itself: in addition, the university’s administrative board (Junta da Fazenda) came to be subject to the Treasury. The actual (and complex) functioning of university funding after this turning point has not yet deserved careful attention.

Before this, the management of rents, incomes and expenses followed a pattern rooted in medieval times, when royal and ecclesiastical powers converged in allocating convenient resources to the *studium*<sup>50</sup>. The same rationale can be traced in the two reforms (1537 and 1772), when the university’s sources of income were substantially increased<sup>51</sup>. This was a field of great autonomy, either in the income collection (requiring a lengthy process every four years) or in the expenditure decisions<sup>52</sup>.

For the 20<sup>th</sup> century no systematic study is available: statistical data, however are regularly published<sup>53</sup> and partial results are known<sup>54</sup>. Nevertheless, higher education funding is still (perhaps more than ever) a matter of concern<sup>55</sup>.

---

<sup>50</sup> Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, «As finanças», in *História da Universidade em Portugal* (vol. I, 39-67). Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, “Le pouvoir royal et le financement de l’Université de Coimbra (1537-1834)”, in *Finances, mobilités et projets d’éducation universitaires*, ed. Françoise Hiraux et Françoise Mirguet (Louvain-la-Neuve: Archives de l’Université Catholique de Louvain, 2012, 23-32).

<sup>51</sup> For the 16<sup>th</sup> century (1538-1542), Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, “As finanças (Universidade de Coimbra)” in *História da Universidade em Portugal*, vol. II, 445-485; Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Maria José Azevedo Santos, “Contenda entre a Universidade e o Mosteiro de Santa Cruz na segunda metade do século XVI. Breves notas”, in *Universidade(s)* (vol. 3, 39-61); Mário Brandão, *D. Lopo de Almeida e a Universidade* (Coimbra: Universidade, 1990). A description of the university’s properties and rents in *Livro da Fazenda e Rendas da Universidade de Coimbra em 1570 organizado por Simão de Figueiró*, ed. António Gomes da Rocha Madahil (Coimbra: Universidade, 1940). The new rents incorporated in 1774 (formerly belonging to the Jesuits) were listed by Francisco de Lemos, *Relação Geral do estado da Universidade (1777)*. For Évora, Isabel Cid, «As finanças (Universidade de Évora)», in *História da Universidade em Portugal* (vol. II, 487-498).

<sup>52</sup> Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, *A Universidade de Coimbra (1700-1771). Estudo social e económico*, (Coimbra: 1995, chapters VII to IX, 555-783).

<sup>53</sup> In a periodical publication *Estatísticas da Educação* (Lisbon: INE, from 1940 on).

<sup>54</sup> António Barreto (ed.), *A situação social em Portugal, 1960-1999*, vol. II, *Indicadores sociais em Portugal e na União Europeia* (Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2000).

<sup>55</sup> “Financiamento do Ensino Superior” in José Veiga Simão, Sérgio Machado dos Santos, António de Almeida e Costa, *Ensino Superior: uma visão para a próxima década*, (Lisboa: Gradiva, 2002, 153-185).

5. Students are a major topic which will be approached in a threefold way: their numbers and social profile (as indicators of academic degree demand); their daily life and specific culture; the role they played in terms of social, ideological and political intervention.

5.1. António de Vasconcelos was perhaps the first to be concerned with the statistical balance of the Portuguese student population, involving his own students in the task of counting matriculations. No systematic records are available neither for the Middle Ages<sup>56</sup> nor until 1573: nevertheless, the results of Vasconcelos' team have been used by many<sup>57</sup>. For subsequent periods, we must rely on raw materials or semi-processed information<sup>58</sup>.

This material has been channelled to draw the evolutionary curve of university attendance (comparing the different branches of learning, interpreting the causes of fluctuations, measuring the success rate), as well as the geographical origin and social background of students<sup>59</sup>. Sociological propensity is stronger when more recent periods are considered<sup>60</sup>.

---

<sup>56</sup> This circumstance conditions the approach that has been made (focusing mainly on student scholarly and privileged status): José Marques, "Os corpos académicos e os servidores. 2. Os alunos", in *História da Universidade em Portugal*, vol. I, 91-114; Saul António Gomes, "Escolares e Universidade na Coimbra Medieval. Breves notas documentais", in *Estudos em homenagem a João Francisco Marques* (Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, vol. I, 2001, 511-531).

<sup>57</sup> António de Vasconcelos, *Escritos vários relativos à universidade dionisiana* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, vol. 2, 1941; reprint Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 1988). The third section (vol. 2, 7-140) of this work (statistical tables and nominal lists) include numbers of enrollments (1573-1772), of matriculations and graduations (1801-1900) and nominal lists (Rectors, 1537-1823; Doctors graduated from the university, 1800-1902; Professors, 1801 and 1901). The same information, in what concerns the 19<sup>th</sup> century, had already been published in the *Anuário da Universidade de Coimbra* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1901-1902).

<sup>58</sup> Since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a yearly publication (*Relação dos alunos matriculados na Universidade de Coimbra*) contained nominal lists of all students enrolled (name, names of parents, place of birth, address in the town), later on continued by the *Anuário da Universidade de Coimbra*. The universities of Lisboa and Porto have also their *Anuário*, containing nominal lists of students. The above mentioned *Estatísticas da Educação* include semi-processed data suitable for further statistical treatment.

<sup>59</sup> For the time span 1537-1772, Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, *A Universidade de Coimbra (1700-1771)* (chapters I – III, 17-326), with special focus on the 18<sup>th</sup> century; "Os corpos académicos e os servidores – 1.3. Os alunos", in *História da Universidade em Portugal*, vol. 2, 531-571; Joana Estorninho de Almeida, *A forja dos homens. Estudos jurídicos e lugares de poder no século XVII* (Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2004); Manuel Alberto Carvalho Prata, *Academia de Coimbra (1880-1926). Contributo para a sua história* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2002).

<sup>60</sup> This is the case of several articles included in the mentioned above issue of *Análise Social*, 1968 (20,21,22,23,24-<http://analisesocial.ics.ul.pt/?pageid=7>). In addition: J. David Miranda,

For earlier ones, some attention has been paid also to the *peregrinatio academica*<sup>61</sup>.

Within this context, two subjects show some peculiarity: the flow of Portuguese students towards the university of Salamanca, in different moments, specially during the dual monarchy (1580-1640)<sup>62</sup>; the unique role played in Coimbra by students of Brazilian extraction: their major contribution to the growing enrolment numbers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>63</sup> led to an active

---

“A população universitária e a população portuguesa: um confronto da sua composição social”, *Análise Social*, VII, 25-26 (1969), 158-166; Adérito Sedas Nunes, “A universidade no sistema social português – uma primeira abordagem” *Análise Social*, VIII, 32 (1970), 647-707; Maria Eduarda Cruzeiro, “A população universitária portuguesa: uma nota estatística”, *Análise Social*, VIII, nº 32 (1970), 721-740; Manuel Braga da Cruz and Maria Eduarda Cruzeiro, *O desenvolvimento do Ensino Superior em Portugal. A PGA e os estudantes ingressados no Ensino Superior* (Lisboa: Ministério da Educação, 1995); Rui Cascão and Maria Manuel Almeida, “Origens sociais dos alunos matriculados na Universidade de Coimbra nos finais do século XIX”, in *Universidade(s)*, vol. 3, 181-194; Fernanda Delgado Cravidão, “A população estudantil da Universidade de Coimbra. Uma análise geográfica”, in *Universidade(s)*, vol. 3, 195-216. Joaquim Ferreira Gomes, *A mulher na universidade de Coimbra. Alguns dados para uma investigação* (Coimbra: Almedina, 1987); *Estudos para a história da Universidade de Coimbra* (Coimbra: author’s edition, 1991).

<sup>61</sup> Luís de Matos, *Les Portugais à l’université de Paris entre 1500 et 1550* (Coimbra: Universidade, 1950); Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *Les Portugais à l’université de Toulouse (XIII-XIV siècles)* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1970); *Les portugais à l’université de Montpellier (XII-XVII siècles)* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1971); “Contributo para o estudo dos portugueses na Universidade de Alcalá (1509-1640)”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 17, (1978), 37-54; A. Domingues de Sousa Costa, “Estudantes portugueses na Reitoria do Colégio de S. Clemente de Bolonha, na primeira metade do século XV”, *Arquivos de História da Cultura Portuguesa* (1970), 3-157.

<sup>62</sup> Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *Portugueses no estudo de Salamanca. I (1250-1550)* (Coimbra: Imprensa de Coimbra, 1962); A. de Jesus Marques, “Portugueses nos claustros salmantinos do século XV”, *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, XIX, 2 (1963), 167-186; *Portugal e a Universidade de Salamanca. Participação dos escolares lusos no governo do Estudo (1503-1512)* (Salamanca: Universidade, 1980). Several relevant contributions by Angel Marcos de Diós: “Portugueses na Universidade de Salamanca” *Brigantia* 4: 4 (1984), 569-586; 5:1 (1985), 131-151; 6:1,2,3 (1986), 219-240; 7: 1,2 (1987), 71-100; 7: 3-4 (1987), 305-337; “Proyección cultural de la Universidad de Salamanca en Portugal durante el reinado de los Felipes”, *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, X (1976), 135-169; *Os portugueses na Universidade de Salamanca desde a Restauração até às reformas iluministas do Marquês de Pombal* (Salamanca: Luso-Espanhola de Ediciones, 2001); “Portugueses en la Universidad de Salamanca de la Edad Moderna” in *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, III.2 – *Saberes y confluencias*, Luis Enrique San Pedro Bezares and Juan Luís Polo Rodríguez eds. (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2006, 1101-1128); António Resende de Oliveira “A mobilidade dos universitários” in *História da Universidade em Portugal*, vol. I, 339-356; Sebastião Tavares de Pinho, “A mobilidade dos universitários” in *História da Universidade em Portugal*, vol. II, 989-1014.

<sup>63</sup> Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, “O saber universitário e os universitários no Ultramar”, in *História da Universidade em Portugal*, vol. II, 1015-1040; Divaldo Gaspar de Freitas, *Paulistas*

“elite circulation”<sup>64</sup>, making them the protagonists of an increased awareness of the ‘body physical’ of their home country – an immense territory, that they helped to demarcate, with a manifold natural wealth they themselves explored<sup>65</sup> – which turned to be the basis of important political developments culminating with the independence (1822)<sup>66</sup>.

5.2. Concentration point and turning plate, the university congregates a population from various origins and acts as a melting pot. Students have specific duties and a peculiar way of life, far from parental surveillance, and somehow are intellectually and socially segregated from the ordinary town population. They belong to a cultural place that, in many aspects, is their

---

na *Universidade de Coimbra* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1958). A lesser group of students came from the atlantic islands of Madeira and Açores: José Manuel Azevedo Silva, “Estudantes madeirenses na Universidade de Coimbra entre 1573 e 1730», *Revista de História das Ideias*, 12 (1990), 55-71.

<sup>64</sup> The expression “elite circulation” is used by Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *A cultura luso-brasileira. Da Reforma da Universidade à independência do Brasil* (Lisboa: Estampa, 1999); Francisco Morais, “Estudantes da Universidade de Coimbra nascidos no Brasil”, *Brasília*, IV, supplement (1949): this work lists those who enrolled in Coimbra from 1577 until 1910 (data extracted from matriculation and graduation books). This material is used by Walter Cardoso, “Estudantes da Universidade de Coimbra nascidos no Brasil (1701-1822): procedências e graus obtidos”, in *Universidade(s)*, vol. 3, 165-180; and Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, “*Scientiae thesaurus mirabilis*: estudantes de origem brasileira na universidade de Coimbra”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, XXXIII (1999), 527-559.

<sup>65</sup> Ângela Domingues, *Viagens de exploração geográfica na Amazônia em finais do século XVIII: política, ciência e aventura* (Lisboa: Região Autónoma da Madeira, 1991); Ana Lúcia Rocha Barbalho da Cruz, *Verdades por mim vistas e observadas, oxalá foram fábulas sonhadas. Cientistas brasileiros do Setecentos. Uma leitura auto-etnográfica*, (Curitiba, 2004, <http://www.poshistoria.ufpr.br/documentos/2004/Analuciarochabarbalhodacruz.pdf>); Magnus Roberto de Mello Pereira, “Brasileiros ao serviço do império. A África vista por naturais do Brasil, no século XVIII”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, XXXIII (1999), 153-190.

<sup>66</sup> The political connection has been highlighted mainly by Brazilian historians, not always sharing the same point of view: Virgínia Maria Trindade Valadares, *Elites setecentistas mineiras. Conjugação de dois mundos (1700-1800)*, (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2004); Ruth Maria Chitó Gauer, *A construção do Estado-Nação no Brasil. A contribuição dos egressos de Coimbra* (Curitiba: Juruá Editora, 2001); several papers presented to the conference “História da Universidade”, collected in *Universidade(s)*, vol. 5, pp. 105-176: Francisco J. Calazans Falcón, “Luzes e revolução na colónia. A importância da universidade da pós-reforma pombalina”; Manoel Luiz Lima Salgado Guimarães, “A civilização nos trópicos: intelectuais e história no Brasil na primeira metade do século XIX”; Afonso Carlos Marques dos Santos, “Da universidade reformada ao Brasil colonial: duas trajetórias iluministas”; Caio C. Boschi, “A universidade de Coimbra e a formação das elites mineiras coloniais”; João Pedro Rosa Ferreira, “A universidade de Coimbra na formação cultural e ideológica dos promotores da emancipação do Brasil. O caso de Hipólito José da Costa”.



own creation: thus, we may understand that a respected historiographical tradition uses the word ‘academy’ (as opposite to ‘university’) to signify this student world and its idiosyncrasy.

The underlying basis is, nevertheless, made up of prosaic everyday issues (classes, examinations...) associated with the satisfaction of fundamental needs – lodging, food, transportation, communication with parents... - and now and then with sparkles of violence<sup>67</sup>.

There’s more however than this wearing routine: feast, protest, political commitment, are but some of the expressions of student liveliness and take a peculiar dimension when featured by them.

Annual celebrations – still nowadays – mark the beginning and the end of the academic year (the Coimbra model is mimetically reproduced in almost all university towns), overflowing and involving the city population: these celebrations come together with initiation and integration rites (“praxes académicas”), as well as ceremonial practices and dress symbols charting academic progression. A playful and convivial lifestyle (“boémia”), the “repúblicas” (self-governed shared lodgings), informal and formal associations of several kinds (including sports), are relevant ingredients of such a *modus vivendi*. If we add the Coimbra “fado” (songs of a unique style composed and performed by students) and the many pop-like musical groups (‘tunas’, of which universities and higher schools often have more than one) we can compose a sketch of a culture broth whose roots and beginnings we are not always able to trace but which became more visible in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>68</sup>. The perception of this kind of experience generated a remarkable vein

---

<sup>67</sup> Maria Teresa Nobre Veloso, “O quotidiano da Academia” [1290-1537], in *História da Universidade em Portugal*, vol. I, 129-151; António de Oliveira, “O quotidiano da Academia” [1537-1771], in *História da Universidade em Portugal*, vol. II, 617-692; Teixeira Bastos, *A vida do estudante de Coimbra (Antiga e Moderna)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1920); Paulo Drumond Braga, *Coimbra e a delinquência estudantil (1580-1640)* (Lisboa: Hugin, 2003); Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, *A universidade de Coimbra*, 327-419; Margarida Custódio Mota Coimbra, “Subsídios para o estudo da delinquência estudantil em Coimbra, 1871-1886”, in *Universidade(s)*, vol. 3, 321-330; João Lourenço Roque, “Coimbra na 2<sup>a</sup> metade do século XIX. Estudantes e a sociabilidade urbana. (Alguns aspectos)”, in *Universidade(s)*, vol. 3, 243-256; António Rodrigues Lopes, *A sociedade tradicional académica coimbrã. Introdução ao estudo etno-antropológico* (Coimbra: Gráfica de Coimbra, 1982).

<sup>68</sup> Maria Eduarda Cruzeiro, “Costumes estudantis de Coimbra no século XIX: tradição e conservação institucional”, *Análise Social*, XV, 60 (1979), 795-838; *Action symbolique et formation scolaire. L’université de Coimbra et sa Faculté de Droit dans la seconde moitié du XIX.<sup>e</sup> siècle*, (Paris, 1990, doctoral thesis, 2 vol.); Manuel Alberto Carvalho Prata, *Academia de Coimbra (1880-1926)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2002, 103-277); Alberto de Sousa Lamy, *A Academia de Coimbra (1537-1990). História, praxe, boémia e estudo, partidas e piadas, organismos académicos*

of memoir literature, mythicizing more than portraying a reality recalled as a lost golden age, where picaresque features prevail<sup>69</sup>.

5.3. Protest seems to be a natural component of student activity: it is not only a 20<sup>th</sup> century characteristic, although the most visible moments belong there, reaching present times<sup>70</sup>. The target has almost always been government educational (or even general) policy. The turbulent sixties (specially the 1969 crisis), besides some living witnesses still available<sup>71</sup>, have provided matter for study and reflection<sup>72</sup>; they were nevertheless preceded by other episodes<sup>73</sup>. Already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, spectacular protest or even political

---

(Lisboa: Rei dos Livros, 1990); Maria Filomena Brito, "(Con)vivências em Coimbra. A alcunha no meio académico tradicional", in *Universidade(s)*, vol. 3, 331-344; Amílcar Ferreira de Castro, *A glória dos estudantes de Coimbra* (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras, 1947); Manuel Louzã Henriques, "Considerações sobre a boémia estudantil no século XIX", in *Universidade(s)*, vol. 3, 345-354. About "fado": *Canção de Coimbra: testemunhos vivos. Antologia de textos* (Coimbra: Associação Académica de Coimbra, 2002); M. Eduardo Raposo, *Canto de intervenção (1960-1974)* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Museu República e Resistência, 2000); Afonso de Sousa, *O canto e a guitarra na década de ouro da Academia de Coimbra. 1920/1930* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1986).

<sup>69</sup> A critical guide for this kind of literature in the already quoted works by Prata and Lamy (see previous note). Here we mention only a few of the most relevant: *Palito Métrico e correlativa macarrónea latino-portuguesa. New edition according to the 4th one (1792)* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1942), a collection of several texts (some of them in macaronic Latin), the first one printed in 1746; Trindade Coelho, *In illo tempore* (Mem Martins: Europa-América, s.n.); Alberto Costa, *O livro do Doutor Assis* (Lisboa: Clássica Editora, 1945); Carminé Nobre, *Coimbra de capa e batina* (Coimbra: Atlântida Editora, 1945-1946).

<sup>70</sup> The example is the anti-tuition fees movement coming from the nineties until now: Ana Drago, *Agitar antes de ousar: o movimento estudantil «antipropinas»* (Porto: Afrontamento, 2004); Elísio Estanque and Rui Bebiano, *Do activismo à indiferença: movimentos estudantis em Coimbra* (Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2007)

<sup>71</sup> João Pedro Ferro, *A primavera que abalou o regime: a crise académica de 1962. Depoimentos de A. H. de Oliveira Marques, J. Medeiros Ferreira e J. G. Trindade Santos* (Lisboa: Presença, 1996); Maria Manuela Cruzeiro and Rui Bebiano, *Anos inquietos. Vozes do movimento estudantil em Coimbra (1961-1974)* (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 2006); *Escolas de resistência: a oposição estudantil à ditadura*, (Agência MIR: s. l., 1999. (Interviews conducted by the MIR Agency).

<sup>72</sup> Álvaro Garrido, *Movimento estudantil e crise do Estado Novo: Coimbra, 1962* (Coimbra: Minerva, 1996); Celso Cruzeiro, *Coimbra, 1969: a crise académica, o debate de ideias e a prática ontem e hoje* (Porto: Afrontamento, 1989); Maria Cândida Proença ed., *Maio de 68: trinta anos depois os movimentos estudantis em Portugal* (Lisboa: Colibri, 1999); Rui Namorado, "Para uma Universidade Nova – Crónica da Crise de 69 em Coimbra", *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 27/28 (1989), 63-124; "Coimbra 68-69: um pouco de história", *Estudos – Revista de universitários católicos*, 475-479 (1969), 105-183 (collective authorship); Nuno Caiado, *Movimentos estudantis em Portugal: 1945-1980* (Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento, 1990).

<sup>73</sup> Paulo Fontes, "As organizações estudantis católicas e a crise académica de 1956-1957", in *Universidade(s)*, vol. 5, 457-480; Cristina Faria, *As lutas estudantis contra a Ditadura Militar*

violence burst out in some moments: students abandoned the university and the town in 1854 and 1864; a group of students murdered two professors in their way to pay homage to the absolutist king D. Miguel, 1828<sup>74</sup>.

Besides protest, student intervention in the country's affairs includes active participation in warfare and ideological struggle through the press: academic battalions were formed in 1644-45 – Restoration War; in 1808-811 – Peninsular War; and in various other moments of the agitated first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1828-1834; 1837; 1846)<sup>75</sup>; more constantly, although with many ephemeral achievements, journals and newspapers steered by students follow a pattern that positions them beyond, and sometimes, against the political and academic establishment, showing detachment and irreverence<sup>76</sup>. One major example comes from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when an anonymous pamphlet – the mock-heroic poem *O Reino da Estupidez* (1784) – sharply criticized the university and its authorities<sup>77</sup>. Later on (1865), a dispute (known as 'Questão Coimbrã'), between the Proudhon follower Antero de Quental (member of a student secret society – Sociedade do Raio) and the

---

(1927-1931), (Lisboa: Colibri, 2000); Nídia Gregório, «'Subversão' e repressão na Universidade no início do Estado Novo: dois casos exemplares», in *Ideologia, cultura e mentalidade no Estado Novo: ensaios sobre a universidade de Coimbra*, ed. Luís Reis Torgal (Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras, 1993); Amadeu Carvalho Homem ed., *Um século de lutas académicas*, (Coimbra: Editorial Moura Pinto, 2007).

<sup>74</sup> A more detailed account in Lamy, *A Academia de Coimbra*, 48-182.

<sup>75</sup> Fernando Barreiros, *Notícia histórica do Corpo Militar Académico de Coimbra: 1808-1811* (Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand e Aillaud, 1918); Ana Cristina Araújo, "A participação do batalhão académico de Coimbra na derrota dos franceses no Porto" in *O Porto e as Invasões Francesas, 1809-2009* (Porto: Público-Câmara Municipal do Porto, 2009), 275-308.

<sup>76</sup> Manuel Alberto Carvalho Prata ed., *Imprensa estudantil de Coimbra*, vol. I: *Repertório Analítico (século XIX)*, (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2006); Luís Reis Torgal and Isabel Nobre Vargues, *A Revolução de 1820 e a instrução pública* (Porto: Paisagem Editora, 1984); António Nóvoa ed., *A Imprensa de Educação e Ensino. Repertório analítico (Séculos XIX-XX)* (Lisboa: Instituto de Inovação Educacional, 1993); Vítor Ferreira, «Inventário analítico da imprensa estudantil portuguesa em 1945-1967», *Análise Social*, VII, 25-26 (1969), 223-281; António Rafael Amaro, Jorge Seabra, João Paulo Avelãs Nunes, *O C.A.D.C. de Coimbra. A Democracia Cristã e os inícios do Estado Novo (1905-1934). Uma abordagem a partir dos Estudos Sociais (1905-1911), Imparcial (1912-1919) e Estudos (1922-1934)* (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras, 1993). Teresa Maria Amaral Dias Carreiro, *Viver numa república de estudantes de Coimbra. Real República Palácio da Loucura 1960-70* (Porto: Campo das Letras, 2004).

<sup>77</sup> Luís de Albuquerque, *O "Reino da estupidez" e a reforma Pombalina*, (Coimbra: Atlântida Editora, 1975); Ofélia Paiva Monteiro, «Sobre uma versão desconhecida de *O Reino da Estupidez*», *Revista de História das Ideias*, 4-II (1982-83), 199-253; Isabel Nobre Vargues, «A Ode a Fileno e a Reforma da Universidade de 1772», *Revista de História das Ideias*, 4-II (1982-83), 255-284.

traditionalist A. Feliciano de Castilho, had national resonance: the progressive “democratic lectures” in the Casino Lisbonense (Lisboa, 1871) can be seen as an important sequel of this intellectual turmoil in the university<sup>78</sup>.

6. Professors are the key to understand the nourishing function of the university as *alma mater*: they deliver successive generations of qualified people (prospective society leaders), after conveying to them societal models (both technical and axiological) and assessing their conformity to those models. Hence their dignity portrayed in domestic ceremonial<sup>79</sup>; and the exercise of an actual academic power whose expressions are not only scientific and cultural influence, but also the capacity to judge the outcomes of apprenticeship, thus regulating one the most relevant mechanisms of social promotion as are academic qualifications<sup>80</sup>. It is, therefore, not surprising that government bodies have always paid special attention to all the stages of the lecturers’ career (admission, progression, termination of service, definition of functions) sometimes interfering directly in the composition of the faculties through co-optation or exclusion, mainly in moments of reform or political unrest.

6.1. The study of faculty composition – and of its sociological and politico-institutional dimensions - can benefit from some important prosopographical repertoires: we have already mentioned the *Alphabeto dos Lentos* by Francisco Leitão Ferreira (see note 2). A controversy between the ‘secular’ colleges of S. Pedro and S. Paulo (equivalent to the *colegios mayores* in Spanish universities), in the twenties of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, produced a useful outcome as are the thorough lists of former fellows with a biographical note, naturally emphasising their achievements. It is important to notice that the

---

<sup>78</sup> Antero de Quental, a poet and herald of new ideals, belonged to the ‘Geração de 70’ (‘Seventies Generation’). The vast bibliography on this topic cannot be explored here: the journal *Revista de História das Ideias*, 13 (1991) includes the part regarding Antero and his context. See also Mário Brandão, *Antero de Quental estudante: documentos* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1957) offprint of the *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra*, 23 (1957).

<sup>79</sup> Beginning with graduations (the degree of doctor was a mandatory requirement to be a lecturer): their academic and socio-political symbolism in Luís Reis Torgal, ‘*Quid petis?: os doutoramentos na Universidade de Coimbra*, offprint of *Revista de História das Ideias*, 15 (1993).

<sup>80</sup> Besides exams, until 1870, professors recorded a formal generic judgement (‘information of the university’ whose levels were mediocre, sufficient, good, very good) about each one of the graduates of every academic year; after 1783 those records included a verdict on moral qualities and behaviour. They were then passed to central government organs, which used them when deciding about applicants to royal service, namely in the judicial career. Records of this information process go back to 1632.

great majority of professors of both Law faculties were former fellows of such colleges<sup>81</sup>.

More recently we have a partial listing for the University of Évora<sup>82</sup>; a selective cast of the Faculty of Sciences of Lisboa<sup>83</sup>; and an intentionally exhaustive catalogue of Coimbra's professors (with short biographies)<sup>84</sup>. In this case, it seems that all those who owned a chair are included: we must bear in mind, however, that there were other ones who actually taught in the university (as substitutes or only in the beginning of a teaching career<sup>85</sup>) whom we know through the payrolls.

The sociological dimension of the faculties remains, nevertheless, a field with much to do ahead: the connection between the two secular colleges and the Law faculties (mentioned above), allows, however, the inquiries *de genere* (mandatory in the admission procedure) to be used to ascertain family origins of professors to be (we are less fortunate with the regular and military colleges, source of Theology lecturers)<sup>86</sup>. The other way has been to pick up those in prominent careers and look in retrospect to their life story<sup>87</sup>. Some famed professors have received a more in deep treatment:

<sup>81</sup> José Barbosa, "Memorias do Colegio Real de S. Paulo" in *Collecçam dos Documentos e Memorias da Academia Real da Historia Portugueza* (Lisboa, vol. VII, 1727); Manuel Pereira da Silva Leal, «Catalogo chronologico dos collegiaes, e porcionistas do Collegio de S. Pedro» in *Collecçam dos Documentos e Memorias da Academia Real da Historia Portugueza* (Lisboa, vol. V, 1725). Interesting information also in "Catalogo dos conegos magistraes e doutoraes que a Universidade de Coimbra apresenta nas sés deste Reyno" in the same *Collecçam* (tomo V, 1725).

<sup>82</sup> Maria Luísa Guerra, *A Universidade de Évora: mestres e discípulos notáveis: séc. XVI-séc. XVIII* (Évora: Universidade de Évora, 2005).

<sup>83</sup> *Memórias de professores cientistas* (Lisboa: Faculdade de Ciências, 2001).

<sup>84</sup> Manuel Augusto Rodrigues ed., *Memoria Professorum Universitatis Conimbrigensis* (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade, vol. I – 1290-1772, 2003; vol. II – 1772-1937, 1992).

<sup>85</sup> After the 1772 reform, the "demonstradores" (performing practical experiments in classes), or the "preparadores" (working in laboratories or university museums). About the stages of a teaching career in Coimbra before 1772, Fernando Taveira da Fonseca *A Universidade de Coimbra*, 423-480, and table A.V.1. in the appendix; «Os corpos académicos e os servidores» in *História da Universidade em Portugal*, 503-530. For the changes brought by the 1772 reform, Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, "A dimensão pedagógica da Reforma Pombalina" in Ana Cristina Araújo ed., *O Marquês de Pombal e a Universidade* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2000), 43-68.

<sup>86</sup> Two master dissertations used those inquiries (also to elaborate appendices with topographical records): Cristóvão José Pinto Correia de Oliveira, *O Saber e o Poder: O Colégio Real de S. Pedro da Universidade de Coimbra (1700-1834)*, (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras, 1996); Ana Paula Félix Rocha, *O Colégio de S. Paulo da Universidade de Coimbra. Estudo económico e social* (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras, 2002).

<sup>87</sup> Two examples: José Subtil, *O Desembargo do Paço (1750-1833)* (Lisboa: Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa, 1996); José Pedro Paiva, *Os bispos de Portugal e do Império (1495-1777)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2006).

let's just exemplify with the mathematician Pedro Nunes and the theologian Francisco Suárez<sup>88</sup>.

6.2. These individual examples of professors, remarkable for their writings, drive us to the consideration of scientific production. It is not possible, in a few pages, to give an account of manuscripts and printed works left by university professors: we shall nevertheless point out some research tools, encompassing the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>89</sup>. Electronic means allow access to more recent production, which can also appear in printed compilations<sup>90</sup>. A critical balance is still missing despite some approaches<sup>91</sup> and the focus

<sup>88</sup> Henrique da Silva Leitão ed., *Pedro Nunes (1502-1578). Novas terras, novos mares e o que mays he: novo ceo e novas estrelas* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 2002), with a passive bibliography; Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, "Pedro Nunes na Universidade. I - Lisboa", in *Estudos em homenagem a Luís António de Oliveira Ramos* (Porto: Faculdade de Letras, 2004) vol. II, 537-544; "Pedro Nunes na Universidade. II - Coimbra", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, XXXV (2001-2002), 297-333. The bibliography about Francisco Suárez is extended and cannot be considered here. A synthesis in António de Vasconcelos, "Dr. Francisco Suárez, Doctor eximius", in *Escritos vários* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, vol. II, 1941), 161-487.

<sup>89</sup> For the manuscripts, mostly 'apostilas' and 'conclusões': Ana Maria Osório Pereira de Melo. *Apostilas: séculos XVI-XVII: extracto do catálogo de manuscritos da Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra (códices 251-255)* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1980). Printed works can be searched, nominally, in Diogo Barbosa Machado (1682-1772), *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (Coimbra: Atlântida Editora, 4 vol. 1965-1967); electronic version (optical disc) by the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2004; Inocêncio Francisco da Silva (1810-1876) and Brito Aranha (1833-1914), *Diccionario bibliographico portuguez* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 23 vol., 1972-2002 (facsimile edition)); electronic version (optical disc) by the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2001; António Joaquim, Anselmo, *Bibliografia das obras impressas em Portugal no século XVI* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1926); João Frederico de Gusmão C. Arouca, *Bibliografia das obras impressas em Portugal no século XVII*. (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 2 vol., 2001); Júlio Caio Veloso, *Catálogo das obras impressas nos séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII. A coleção da Faculdade de Direito de Lisboa* (Lisboa: Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Lisboa, 2003); Friedrich Stegmüller, *Filosofia e teologia nas Universidades de Coimbra e Évora no século XVI* (Coimbra: Instituto de Estudos Filosóficos, 1959).

<sup>90</sup> For example, Conceição Tavares and Henrique Leitão, *Bibliografia da História da Ciência em Portugal, 2000-2004* (Lisboa: CHC-UL, 2006), also on line: [http://chcul.fc.ul.pt/textos/Bibliografia\\_2000-2004.pdf](http://chcul.fc.ul.pt/textos/Bibliografia_2000-2004.pdf).

<sup>91</sup> *História da Universidade em Portugal*, vol. I, 153-302; vol. II, 693-894. It is pertinent to highlight a major contribution to European culture as were the *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu* (on Aristotle's works, except Metaphysics), printed between 1592 and 1606, which had some 112 editions all over Europe. An ongoing project on history of science yielded some results: Carlos Fiolhais, Carlota Simões, Décio Martins eds., *História da ciência na Universidade de Coimbra: 1772-1933* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2013); Carlos Fiolhais, Carlota Simões, Décio Martins eds., *História da Ciência luso-brasileira: Coimbra entre Portugal e o Brasil* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2013).

on specific moments when cultural changes impacted the university and the composition of its body of professors.

The first one is the humanistic reform by D. João III<sup>92</sup> which included the monastic and cultural refreshment of the Monastery of Santa Cruz, as a prospective place to settle the university (1527)<sup>93</sup>, the moving of the university from Lisboa to Coimbra (1537), and the foundation of the Colégio das Artes (1548), subsequently entrusted to the Jesuits in the aftermath of an inquisitional process against some of its professors (1555)<sup>94</sup>.

The other one is the enlightened reform, springing from the rejection of the previous scientific and pedagogical model: propaganda blamed the Jesuits for being the only responsible for it<sup>95</sup>, but it is wiser for us to consider the whole context of political, economic and cultural transformation – including lower levels of teaching<sup>96</sup> – steered by the Marquis de Pombal<sup>97</sup>.

---

<sup>92</sup> Two classics are still the best approach to this theme: José Vitorino de Pina Martins, *Humanisme et Renaissance de l'Italie au Portugal: les deux regards de Janus* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2 vol., 1989); José Sebastião da Silva Dias, *A política cultural da época de D. João III* (Coimbra: Instituto de Estudos Filosóficos, 2 vol., 1969).

<sup>93</sup> The Monastery of Santa Cruz had been a remarkable cultural institution since Medieval Times: Armando Alberto Martins, *O Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Idade Média* (Lisboa: Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 2003); Saul António Gomes, *In limine conscriptionis. Documentos, chancelaria e cultura no Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra. Séculos XII a XIV* (Viseu: Palimage, 2007); António Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra na cultura portuguesa da Idade Média* (Porto: Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 1964).

<sup>94</sup> A crucial contribution by Mário Brandão: *Actas dos capítulos do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz* (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade, 1946); *Os professores dos cursos das artes nas escolas do convento de Santa-Cruz, na Universidade e no Colégio das Artes de 1535 a 1555*, offprint of *Biblos-Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, 5 (1-2), (1929); *O Colégio das Artes* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2 vol., 1924-1933); *A inquisição e os professores do Colégio das Artes*, Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 2 vol. 1948-1969).

<sup>95</sup> The controversy about the educational role of the Jesuits remains. Some years ago, a doctoral thesis shed a new light on it: Décio Ruivo Martins, *Aspectos da cultura científica portuguesa até 1772*, (Coimbra: F.C.TU.C., 199); see also Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, “Os jesuítas na Universidade? Para uma releitura do Compêndio Histórico do Estado da Universidade de Coimbra (1771)” in *Rumos e escrita da História. Estudos em homenagem a A. A. Marques de Almeida* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2007), 243-252.

<sup>96</sup> António Alberto Banha de Andrade, *A reforma pombalina dos estudos secundários (1759-1771). Contribuição para a história da pedagogia em Portugal* (Coimbra: Universidade, 3 vol. 1981) with a vast set of documents; Joaquim Ferreira Gomes, *O Marquês de Pombal e as reformas do ensino* (Coimbra: INIC, 1989).

<sup>97</sup> A plural survey in some collective works: *Revista de História das Ideias*, 4, (1982), 2 vol., under the title “O Marquês de Pombal e o seu tempo”; Maria Helena Carvalho dos Santos ed., *Pombal revisitado: Comunicações ao Colóquio Internacional*, (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1984); *Congresso o Marquês de Pombal e a sua época, Pombal, 1999 – Colóquio o século XVIII e o Marquês*

Scientific renewal was fostered by the re-foundation of the university press (it had been first founded within the 16<sup>th</sup> century reform): it was meant to print the compendia that professors should compose; over time, however, it acquired a wider ideological scope which sometimes caused confrontation with political power, along the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>98</sup> and in the final stage that led to its extinction in 1934: its director, Joaquim de Carvalho, a renowned scholar, was a main target in a purge that hit other professors<sup>99</sup>.

7. The intention of this account was, as said before, to reach the threshold of the historiography on Portuguese universities. Hence the inclusion of some general surveys and working tools (sources and repertoires) that may serve the reader, and hopefully the researcher, to go further and explore more in deep some topics.

There are indeed, beyond all that is already done, some challenges that historians of Portuguese universities are forced to meet: a critical balance of scientific production, requiring the commitment of historians together with experts in the various disciplines; the systematic characterization, over time, of the student population; a similar concern about the professors, just to mention a few. And, last but not least, the definition of the actual role of the university on the board of powers, as an instrument of conformity dialectically in connection with its capacity to create the rules of such conformity.

---

*de Pombal: actas* (Pombal-Oeiras: Câmara Municipal, 2001). Important add-ons: José Sebastião da Silva Dias, *Pombalismo e projecto político* (Lisboa: s.n., 1984); Rui Manuel Figueiredo Marcos, *A legislação pombalina: aspectos fundamentais*, (Coimbra: Edições Almedina, 2<sup>a</sup> ed., 2006).

<sup>98</sup> A general overview of the university in the 19th century: Luís Reis Torgal, "A instrução pública" in José Mattoso ed., *História de Portugal*, vol. X – Luís Reis Torgal and João Lourenço Roque (coord), *O Liberalismo* (Lisboa: Lexicultural, 2002), 347-388.

<sup>99</sup> Fernando Taveira da Fonseca José Antunes, Irene Vaquinhas, Isabel Nobre Vargues, Luís Reis Torgal, Fernando J. Regateiro, *Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra. Uma história dentro da História* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2001). The Coimbra university press is operating again since 1998.