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 periodo 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.
1. In 1729, Franscico Leitão Ferreira had his Notícias Chronologicas da Universidade de Coimbra printed in Lisboa by José António da Silva. 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; 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 1st, 1290) – found and published by António de Vasconcelos in 1912 is, for most historians, the foundation milestone of the Portuguese university. 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:

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1 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).

2 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 Lentes, a prosopographical account of university professors, also printed in 1937.


4 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 16th 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 Visitations in 1612), traditionally called Estatutos Velhos (Old Statutes). Their lifespan 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.

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, 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.

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5 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.

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 19th 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.

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”\(^7\). Other expressions of the interest in this topic during the second half of the 19\(^{th}\) century can be mentioned: the *História dos estabelecimentos científicos*, by José Silvestre Ribeiro (18 volumes dealing with all teaching levels)\(^9\); the four memoir accounts elaborated to commemorate the centenary of the 1772 reform\(^10\); the historical sketch by the Rector Júlio Máximo Pimentel (Visconde

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\(^8\) Torgal and Azenha, *Historiografia*, 178.

\(^9\) José Silvestre Ribeiro, *História dos estabelecimentos científicos, literarios e artisticos de Portugal nos successivos reinados da Monarchia* (Lisboa: Academia das Ciências, 1871-1893).

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

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\textsuperscript{14} but also of a historical draft (according to its own title), now a classic, still useful, mainly its first section (1290-1580)\textsuperscript{15}. Although the focus was mostly on Coimbra, Évora did also have its historians\textsuperscript{16}.

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

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\textsuperscript{11} Visconde de Vila Maior, *Exposição succinta da organização actual da Universidade de Coimbra precedida de uma breve notícia deste estabelecimento* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1878).

\textsuperscript{12} The whole collection is available on line: http://webopac.sib.uc.pt/search~S17*por?/tinstituto/tinstituto/1,291,309,E/i856~b1594067&FF=tinstituto&1

\textsuperscript{13} 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).

\textsuperscript{14} Such as the reedition of *Noticias 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.


\textsuperscript{17} 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); Rômulo de Carvalho, *História do Ensino em Portugal. Desde a fundação da nacionalidade até ao regime de Salazar-Caetano* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2\textsuperscript{a} 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 7th centenary of the foundation of the Portuguese university, yielded a five volume set of proceedings, with more than 150 contributions between lectures and papers.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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, some newly founded universities care about writing their own history;²¹ 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 documentary sources. For the medieval period (1288-1537), besides the *Livro Verde*²², the *Chartularium Universitatis Portucalensis* collects, in 14 volumes, a vast amount of papal and royal decrees (responding

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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) in addition, the Auctarium Chartularii contains university minutes and proceedings between 1506 and 1537. 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, deliberations of university councils, judicial processes of the Inquisition against two professors of the Colégio das Artes, among others.

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.

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26 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).
28 Inácio de Morais, Conimbricae 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 Recepta 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).
29 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: a series of documents (mostly royal decisions) covers the two decades before; 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; 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; 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. And again, only for the 20th century will we have other printed sources: regulations and statutes, 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.

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: Oficina 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).


32 One exception is a compilation of laws regarding higher education: José Maria de Abreu, *Legislação académica* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 4 volumes, 1851-1866).

collections of meeting minutes\textsuperscript{37} and lectiones magistrales (held at the beginning of each academic year)\textsuperscript{38}.

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\textsuperscript{39}.

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\textsuperscript{40}. The subject had already been approached in other contributions, paying attention to the double location of the university during the Middle Ages\textsuperscript{41}, and to the connection university-town\textsuperscript{42}.


\textsuperscript{39} As an example, let’s mention the \textit{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

\textsuperscript{40} António Filipe Pimentel, \textit{A Morada da Sabedoria. 1. O paço real de Coimbra: das origens ao estabelecimento da Universidade} (Coimbra: Almedina, 2005).


\textsuperscript{42} António de Vasconcelos, \textit{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 18th century achievements – the new library and the tower) but also on other constructions, mainly the colleges, that shaped the face of the town. 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 Elsden) that provided laboratories, museums, the new hospital, the anatomical theatre and pharmacy, the astronomic observatory and botanical garden, while improving the central buildings.

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44 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, 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).

The next extensive transformation, in Coimbra, with a strong impact on the urban prospect, was accomplished in the middle of the 20th 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 noted46. 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)47. Newly founded universities had ancient buildings recovered, as was the case of the *Colégio do Espírito Santo* in Évora48, 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”49.

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

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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\(^\text{50}\). The same rationale can be traced in the two reforms (1537 and 1772), when the university’s sources of income were substantially increased\(^\text{51}\). This was a field of great autonomy, either in the income collection (requiring a lengthy process every four years) or in the expenditure decisions\(^\text{52}\).

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


\(^{51}\) For the 16th 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 Brando, 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 Gd, «As finanças (Universidade de Évora)», in História da Universidade em Portugal (vol. II, 487-498).


\(^{53}\) In a periodic publication Estatísticas da Educação (Lisbon: INE, from 1940 on).


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\(^{56}\) nor until 1573: nevertheless, the results of Vasconcelos’ team have been used by many\(^ {57}\). For subsequent periods, we must rely on raw materials or semi-processed information\(^ {58}\).

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\(^ {59}\). Sociological propensity is stronger when more recent periods are considered\(^ {60}\).


\(^{57}\) 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 19th century, had already been published in the Anuário da Universidade de Coimbra (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1901-1902).

\(^{58}\) Since the beginning of the 19th 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.


\(^{60}\) 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/?page id=7). In addition: J. David Miranda,
For earlier ones, some attention has been paid also to the *peregrinatio academica*\(^{61}\).

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)\(^{62}\); the unique role played in Coimbra by students of Brazilian extraction: their major contribution to the growing enrolment numbers in the 18\(^{th}\) century\(^{63}\) led to an active......
“elite circulation”\textsuperscript{64}, 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\textsuperscript{65} – which turned to be the basis of important political developments culminating with the independence (1822)\textsuperscript{66}.

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


\textsuperscript{64} The expression “elite circulation” is used by Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, \textit{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", \textit{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 \textit{Universidade(s)}, vol. 3, 165-180; and Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, "Scientiae thesaurus mirabilis: estudantes de origem brasileira na universidade de Coimbra", \textit{Revista Portuguesa de História}, XXXIII (1999), 527-559.


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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 violence67.

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 (“praxès 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 19th and 20th centuries68. The perception of this kind of experience generated a remarkable vein

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

5.3. Protest seems to be a natural component of student activity: it is not only a 20th century characteristic, although the most visible moments belong there, reaching present times. 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, have provided matter for study and reflection; they were nevertheless preceded by other episodes. Already in the 19th century, spectacular protest or even political
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, 182874.

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 19th century (1828-1834; 1837; 1846)75; 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 irreverence76. One major example comes from the end of the 18th century, when an anonymous pamphlet – the mock-heroic poem O Reino da Estupidez (1784) – sharply criticized the university and its authorities77. 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

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74 A more detailed account in Lamy, A Academia de Coimbra, 48-182.
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.78

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 ceremonial79; 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 qualifications80. 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 repertoirs: we have already mentioned the Alphabeto dos Lentes 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 18th 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

78 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).

79 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).

80 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.81

More recently we have a partial listing for the University of Évora82; a selective cast of the Faculty of Sciences of Lisboa83; and an intentionally exhaustive catalogue of Coimbra’s professors (with short biographies)84. 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 career85) 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)86. The other way has been to pick up those in prominent careers and look in retrospect to their life story87. Some famed professors have received a more in deep treatment:


83 Memórias de professores cientistas (Lisboa: Faculdade de Ciências, 2001).


85 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.

86 Two master dissertations used those inquiries (also to elaborate appendices with prosopographical records): Cristovão 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).

87 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.

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 16th to the 19th centuries. Electronic means allow access to more recent production, which can also appear in printed compilations.

A critical balance is still missing despite some approaches and the focus


91 *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 Aristotelis’ 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\(^{92}\) which included the monastic and cultural refreshment of the Monastery of Santa Cruz, as a prospective place to settle the university (1527)\(^{93}\), 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)\(^{94}\).

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\(^{95}\), but it is wiser for us to consider the whole context of political, economic and cultural transformation – including lower levels of teaching\(^{96}\) – steered by the Marquis of Pombal\(^{97}\).


\(^{94}\) 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 *Bíblos-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*.


\(^{97}\) 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 16th 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 19th century98 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 professors99.

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 repertoirs) 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.

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