

# THE PORTUGUESE EXILES IN PARIS FROM REVOLUTION TO *VINTISMO* Political economy, linguistics, and the modernization of Portuguese politics

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**Abstract** – The paper studies the community of Portuguese intellectuals who emigrated to Paris in the first half of the 19th century mostly for political reasons. The intense journalistic and editorial activity of this group, in addition to being a primary source of livelihood for many, was inspired by a precise – and somewhat multifaceted – objective: to act as a mediator between European scientific and political culture and Portuguese culture in order to channel national politics and public opinion in a liberal and constitutional direction and to foster Portugal’s economic and social modernization through free trade and technical and scientific progress. The Portuguese language was also to be modernized, setting aside the old ideology of its primacy among the Romance languages and instead accepting contact and hybridization with the languages of the more advanced European countries, from which the main innovations and new ideas in the political and economic spheres emanated. Conversely, the Portuguese exiles aimed to make the French and European public discover the Portuguese language and great cultural and literary tradition from the age of the great discoveries to the Enlightenment, bringing them back to the heart of European culture. Focusing on this complex pattern helps explain why the two fields in which the group’s intellectual production was concentrated were politics and political economy, on the one hand, and grammarography, lexicography and literary popularization, on the other. The paper devotes ample space to reconstructing the publishing ventures of Portuguese intellectuals who animated the cultural life of the French capital.

**Keywords:** Portuguese exiles; Paris; political economy; grammarography; lexicography.

## 1. Introduction and context

Between 1808 and 1810, following the three invasions of Portugal by the Napoleonic army, a large community of noblemen, civil servants and officials run away with the French troops on their way back to Paris.

As a consequence of the first invasion led by General Junot in 1807-1808, which led to the flight of the Portuguese royal family to Rio de Janeiro, a group of nobles and officials were recruited into the imperial bureaucracy, while the *Légion Portugaise*, a corps entirely made up of Lusitanian citizens, was created and attached to the *Grande Armée*. The *Légion* accompanied Napoleon in all subsequent military campaigns until the ill-fated invasion of Russia. Numerous Portuguese officers distinguished themselves for valor, securing a brilliant career in their adoptive homeland.

The dramatic epilogue of the second invasion, in 1810, with the so-called *Setembrizada* – in which a number of intellectuals and functionaries adhering to Freemasonry, sympathetic to the ideals of the French Revolution and the nascent liberal ideas, were arrested and deported – condemned another patrol of dynamic and bright young men to exile on French soil. Accused of high treason, all these people could not return to their homeland until 1820, when they were granted an amnesty and rehabilitation by the newly formed constitutional government. Many played an active role in the so

called *Vintismo*, only to have to resume, between 1823 (*Vilafrancada* and repression of the liberal regime) and 1826-1828 (regency of Infanta Maria Isabel and D. Miguel) the path of exile, mainly towards Paris or London.

A large community of exiles thus formed in Paris for several decades, whose overall size has yet to be reconstructed (Cooper-Richet 2009), but whose most important personalities are known: intellectuals, publishers, entrepreneurs, civil servants and officers of liberal ideas, albeit with very different nuances, adherents of the *Grande Oriente Lusitano* and in particular of the *Defensores da Liberdade* Lodge. All of them were part of a cosmopolitan network of contacts with British and continental European liberals.

In this paper, we aim to document the cultural and publishing activities undertaken by the Portuguese *émigrés* in Paris, in order to answer a simple question: what led this group of intellectuals to deal at the same time with politics and political economy, on the one hand, and grammar, lexicography and Portuguese literature, on the other?

As shown in the following sections, there is a very material reason why various exiles produced so many grammars, conversation guides, monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, poetry and fiction anthologies, and translations of classics from and into French: to secure an income and thus survival in the pay of the French publishing industry.

Analogously, their interest in political economy can be explained in a very trivial way: not only young Portuguese liberals, but also those from Italy, Spain, Germany and beyond went to Paris in those decades to listen to Jean-Baptiste Say's lectures, to discuss political economy and to translate the most important French texts into their own languages. In short, economics was a fashion of the day.

However, we do not believe these answers to be satisfying. Instead, we came to be convinced that the intertwining of linguistics and political economy was part and parcel of a broader and more complex ideological and political project, of which both sciences were considered essential components: to provide the Portuguese nation with sound foundations for its modernization and economic and civil development, while at the same time claiming for its history, culture and language a place in the forefront of European society.

In section 2 below, we present the activity of the Franco-Portuguese publisher Jean-Pierre Aillaud for the dissemination of political economy; section 3 is devoted to an analysis of the journals edited by the network of Portuguese exiles, while section 4 examines the work done by some of them in the field of grammaticography and lexicography. The conclusions provide a tentative answer to our research question about the convergence of an interest in economics and linguistics in the group of intellectuals who animated the Lusitanian community of the French capital in the first half of the 19th century.

## 2. Jean-Pierre Aillaud and the dissemination of classical political economy

Among the group of Portuguese exiles was a publisher, Jean-Pierre (or João Pedro) Aillaud (1787-1852), a descendant of one of the families of French entrepreneurs (such as Pedro Faure and Pierre Bertrand), who had established themselves between Lisbon, Coimbra and Porto in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, setting up publishing and book-trading activities (Domingos 2000). Jean-Pierre was born in Coimbra and, starting in 1816, appears to have worked as a commissioned bookseller in Paris, moving to work on his own account in 1819 and obtaining the patent of bookseller-publisher on 18<sup>th</sup> September 1820. In 1823 he founded a Portuguese bookshop in Paris. A member and treasurer of the

first *Cercle de la librairie* in 1829, he redefined his publishing house “Librairie diplomatique, française et étrangère” in 1837. He was later appointed Vice-Consul of Portugal in Caen. He died in Paris in July 1852. His widow, Arsène-Françoise-Charlotte Caille, succeeded him as head of the publishing house and was granted a patent on 11<sup>th</sup> November 1852, at the age of 53 (BNF 2022).

Aillaud was a key figure in the network of Portuguese intellectuals in Paris. He actively promoted the publication of literary, non-fiction and didactic texts in Portuguese, and, as we shall see, monolingual and bilingual Portuguese-French and Portuguese-English grammars and dictionaries, entrusting their editing to various members of the Lusitanian community. He also published a large number of translations of French works into Portuguese as well as of English texts into French, thus acting as a bridge between the Portuguese intelligentsia in exile and the French intellectual milieu.

The French translations include the first and timely French version of the *Principles of Political Economy* by the greatest living British economist at the time, David Ricardo (orig. ed. 1817; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1819; 3<sup>rd</sup> and last edition, 1821), edited by another Portuguese exile, Francisco Solano Constâncio (1819), with explanatory notes by Jean-Baptiste Say. These addenda made Constâncio’s translation a reference text not only for the French economists of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but also for the whole European economic debate.

The translation of Ricardo was followed by the real-time French version of the *Principles of Political Economy* by another eminent British economist, Thomas Robert Malthus (orig. ed. 1820a), still made by Constâncio (1820b), who also authored the translation of *Of Population* (1821a) by the radical thinker William Godwin, a voluminous book published in 1820 as a rejoinder to Malthus’s *Essay on Population* (1798; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1803), which had originally been composed precisely to refute the anarchic theses expressed by Godwin in *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793).<sup>1</sup> Constâncio translated this work one year after its publication, thus promptly proposing to the French and European public a triptych of landmarks in the history of economic thought (Cardoso 1999).

Aillaud also published other works by French economists or translations from other languages, such as Louis Say’s *Considérations sur l’industrie et la législation* (1822); the first French edition of *Cours d’économie politique* by the Russian-German economist Henrich von Storch (1823), originally published in French in St Petersburg (1815), to which were added the explanatory notes by Jean-Baptiste Say; the *Philosophie de l’économie politique* by Joseph Dutens (1835a);<sup>2</sup> the *Principes fondamentaux de l’économie politique, tirés de leçons éditées et inédites de Mr N. W. Senior*, edited by the Italian exile to Belgium Giovanni (Jean) Arrivabene (1836a), an original collection of various lectures separately published by Senior, translated into French;<sup>3</sup> the second edition, in six volumes, of *Oeuvres de G. Filangieri* (1840), containing a commentary by Benjamin Constant and a eulogy of the Neapolitan philosopher composed by Francesco Saverio Salfi, another attendant of Say’s lectures.

Aillaud, by this publishing activity functional to the dissemination of *laissez-faire* political economy by the group of young European economists gathered around Say, anticipated the organic role that the publisher G.-U. Guillaumin would play in relation to the *école libérale française* from the 1940s onwards.

<sup>1</sup> For an earlier response to Malthus, see Godwin (1801).

<sup>2</sup> Another work published by Aillaud is Dutens (1837).

<sup>3</sup> Arrivabene simultaneously published an Italian translation of the same book (1836b).

### 3. Francisco Solano Constâncio and the political and economic journalism of the Portuguese exiles

We thus met the second important figure in the Portuguese community in Paris, Francisco Solano Constâncio (1777-1846). After practicing as a journalist since 1796 and spending a short time in New York, Constâncio moved to Paris on the eve of the first French invasion of Portugal. After a brief stay in London from 1809-1810, he settled definitively in the French capital and never returned home. After the Oporto Revolution in 1820, Constâncio was appointed Portugal's diplomatic representative in Paris and also served as ambassador to Washington in 1828-1829, before returning to Paris.

Constâncio founded in the French capital, together with José Diogo Mascarenhas Neto (who was its first director),<sup>4</sup> the *Annaes das sciencias, das artes, e das letras* (in modern Portuguese: *Anais das Ciências, das Artes e das Letras*, 1818-1822), an encyclopedic periodical in some respects anticipating the *Revue encyclopédique* (1819-1835) and similar to other contemporary European journals, such as the *Edinburgh Review* (1802-1829) and the *Quarterly Review* (1809-1967), *Il Conciliatore* (1818-1819) and the *Antologia* (1821-1833), and the *Bibliothèque Britannique* (1796-1816). Like the latter journals, the *Anais* were divided into various sections, including those devoted to history, politics and economics that hosted texts by Portuguese liberals exiled in Paris.

The *Anais* also contained long reviews and Portuguese translations of excerpts from various Anglo-French works on political economy, agriculture and administrative reform, featuring, *inter alia*, those by John Sinclair (1819), Joseph Hume (1818), Jean-Antoine Chaptal (1819a; 1819b; 1820a; 1820b), François de Neufchâteau (1819), Th. R. Malthus (1820c), J.-B. Say (1821), William Godwin (1821), Karel Lodewijk van Keverberg van Kessel (1821), and Adrien Balbi (1822). These translations certainly favored the circulation of classical economic ideas among Portuguese readers. Most articles were signed by the three editors of the journal (José Diogo Mascarenhas Neto, Cândido José Xavier Dias da Silva, and Constâncio) and by a handful of other contributors. More precisely, while José Neto specialized himself in commenting and translating French and British agronomic literature and Cândido da Silva reviewed and translated Edme-François Jomard (1819), Joseph Hume and some official reports on the "monitorial" or "Lancasterian system",<sup>5</sup> Constâncio reserved for himself the role of prolific reviewer and translator of political economy works. Significantly, if his most known translations, as mentioned above, are those into French, he used the *Anais* to offer partial versions and compendiums of economics works in Portuguese, including those of Malthus's *Principles* and Godwin's *Of Population*. For these reasons, the *Anais* were an important medium for the circulation of economic ideas in the Luso-speaking world. They also contained very detailed updates about agricultural techniques, new technologies, scientific discoveries, statistical accounts, and lists of titles of books published in France, Britain and other European countries, divided by subject.

A curious episode was the unfinished publication by installments of a Portuguese translation of Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella's *De re rustica* (1 sec.), which the Renaissance grammarian and scholar Fernão de Oliveira (1507-1581) had made during his life, and whose manuscript was conserved in the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris. The manuscript was edited by Francisco José Maria de Brito, «enviado extraordinario de S.

<sup>4</sup> Constâncio signed the introduction to the first issue of the journal with his initials.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Silva 1820.

Majestade Fidelissima junto d'El Rei dos Paizes baixos»,<sup>6</sup> and its publication in the *Anais* (Columella 1819-1821) must be interpreted both as a service to Portuguese culture, and as a proud vindication of the prestige of Portuguese economic literature.

In 1815, Constâncio had started another short-lived periodical of similar characteristics, *O Observador Lusitano em Paris*, whose links with the *Anais* are evidenced by a *Prospecto* mentioned in the *Bibliographie de la France* of 5<sup>th</sup> July 1826 (p. 526), which announces an attempt to relaunch the periodical under the title «*O Observador Lusitano em França, Jornal Scientifico, Technico e Litterario para Servir de Continuação aos Annaes das Sciencias, das Artes, e das Letras, redigido por huma sociedade de Portuguezes rezidente em Paris*».<sup>7</sup>

Compared to the *Anais*, however, the *Observador*, almost exclusively edited by Constâncio, focused much more on politics, containing long articles on the political situation of Europe in the aftermaths of the fall of Napoleon, as well as the translation of a large number of official papers. The main aim of the journal was to profit from the information that Paris offered to inform the Portuguese at home about current political evolution. However, the *Observador* also hosted interesting contributions on political economy and on the economic consequences of political events. These included Constâncio's self-translations of articles he had originally written in French about the complaints of Brazilian tradesmen against the British Navy, and on the end of the slave trade (Constâncio, 1815); the translation (1815) of Sismondi's tract on *De l'intérêt de la France à l'égard de la traite des nègres* (orig. ed. 1814), of Colonel Malenfant (1815), about colonies and of Jean Béranger (1815), then general director of indirect taxes, on tariffs.

In 1837, again for Aillaud's press, Constâncio attempted to resurrect the *Anais*, with a new periodical entitled *Archivo dos conhecimentos uteis*,<sup>8</sup> which was very short-lived. From a theoretical viewpoint, this journal was less interesting, while reproducing the same structure of the *Anais*, and offering a rich flow of updates on science and technology.

Political and economic journalism is thus another glue that holds the Parisian exile community together and keeps it up-to-date on developments in culture, science and politics in Europe and at home. Evidence of this activity can be found in another important periodical, *O Contemporaneo, Politico, e Litterario*, published in Paris between 1820 and 1822, a journal with an avowed liberal-moderate political orientation that aimed to echo the revolutionary events in Porto and Lisbon by framing them in a European perspective, as well as addressing legislative, political and economic topics that did not find space in the *Anais* (see "Prospecto" at the head of Vol. I). The periodical was directed and animated by Manuel Inácio Martins Pamplona, Cândido José Xavier Dias da Silva and José da Fonseca (1788-1866).

Little is known about the latter, or at least about the reasons that brought him to Paris in 1817. In Portugal, he had studied drawing and painting, but in the French capital he supported himself by teaching and publishing textbooks and elementary manuals, as well as translating literary and non-fiction works on behalf of Aillaud, whose editor and collaborator he became (Silva 1860, pp. 334-335). The date of his arrival in France, 1817,

<sup>6</sup> See *Anais*, t. IV, April 1819, Part II, pp. 1-24.

<sup>7</sup> This announcement also contains the price of subscriptions for France, Portugal, Brazil, the United Kingdom and Spain. The *Bibliographie de la France* also mentions another attempt to relaunch the journal under the title of *O Nivelador*. See *ibid.*, 14 June 1826, p. 527.

<sup>8</sup> The front page (dated Paris, na Livraria de J. P. Aillaud, 1838) of the collection of the 4 monthly issues that appeared of this journal in 1837 (January to April), reports a different title: *Armazem de Conhecimentos Uteis, ou Collecção de Tratados, Receitas e Invenções de Utilidade Geral, Destinado a Promover a Agricultura e Industria de Portugal e do Brasil*.

suggests, however, that his departure was in some way linked to the persecution that King D. João VI ordered of the liberals, in particular with the condemnation to death for conspiracy on 18<sup>th</sup> October of the liberal and Freemason Gomes Freire de Andrade and eleven other army officers, including Colonel Manuel Monteiro de Carvalho, Majors José Campelo de Miranda and José da Fonseca Neves (Brandão 1914).

Manuel Inácio Martins Pamplona Corte Real (1760-1832) was one of the *Légion Portugaise* officers who were exiled to Paris after the Restoration, and amnestied in 1820-1821. His is a *Memória justificativa* presented to the *Cortes* in 1821, in which he defended his views and actions as a moderate constitutional liberal, in order to obtain rehabilitation (Pamplona 1821). He was not only part of the *Vintismo* governments, but also of the constitutional governments following the *Vilafrancada*, in which he took part between 1823 and 1825, reaching the position of prime minister. In 1828, however, he was arrested for conspiracy on the express orders of D. Miguel and sentenced to death in 1832 (Azevedo 1981).

Similar is the path of Cândido José Xavier Dias da Silva (1766-1833), from his participation in the Portuguese Legion to his exile in Paris, his adherence to Freemasonry and liberalism, his active participation in the events of the 1920s and his new exile in England after the rise of D. Miguel. In 1828, he took part in the expedition of the English steamship Belfast to rescue the liberal insurgents in Porto. In Paris, he supported himself with journalism and teaching and published literary and pedagogical works in the *Anais*, of which he was also a co-founder.

In the *Contemporaneo*, José da Fonseca published an obituary of Manuel do Nascimento, better known by his academic name Filinto Elysio (Fonseca 1820). Filinto had died in Paris a year earlier, in 1819, after spending more than forty years in the city, having been accused by the Portuguese Inquisition, on 22 June 1778, of «afirmações e leituras heréticas proibidas». In the French capital, he worked to support himself as a translator of French works, becoming a friend of Alphonse de Lamartine and Fonseca himself. The latter republished at the Librairie Européenne de Baudry the translation of the *Aventures de Télémaque* made by Filinto himself in 1770 together with Captain Manuel de Sousa (Lupetti & Guidi 2017, p. 200).

The format and content of the *Contemporaneo* had many similarities with the *Observador Lusitano*. It contained detailed chronicles of the political events occurring in Europe, and the partial or integral translation of a large number of official documents, parliamentary debates, political declarations and newspaper articles. Published in the years of the liberal revolutions of the Iberian Peninsula, Italy and other countries, the journal intended to voice the liberal opinion, once more acting as a mediator between Portugal and Europe. At the same time, it condemned the excesses and intemperance of the most radical fringes of the liberal movement, encouraging the stabilization of constitutional mixed governments.

#### 4. Grammar and lexicography: from eulogy to hybridization

Aillaud's publishing activity had another core business of great importance, also in terms of size: the textbooks for the study of Portuguese grammar and for learning Portuguese and foreign languages (French, English and others), monolingual and bilingual dictionaries related to Portuguese, as well as anthologies of Portuguese literature and school editions of literary classics in the original or in bilingual or multilingual versions. The latter were widely used for language learning in the central decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, within the so-called "Jacotot method" (Suso López 2003) and other imitation and

translation-based methods that were, at least potentially, innovative for those times (see Boixareu and Desné 1999).<sup>9</sup> In order to edit these texts, Aillaud recruited scholars of various nationalities who, over the years, flocked to Paris to escape persecution in their homeland.

Constâncio published, in 1831, a *Grammatica analytica da lingua portugueza*, and the *Nova Grammatica da lingua franceza*; in 1832, the *Nouvelle grammaire portugaise à l'usage des Français*. Four new editions of the latter were issued in 1849, 1862, 1876 and 1888, all on behalf of the Librairie Européenne de Baudry, which also specialized in linguistic works and bilingual and multilingual editions of literary texts. Finally, in 1837, he published the *Novo Mestre inglez, ou Grammatica da lingua ingleza, para uso dos Portugueses* with Aillaud. This manual also went through three further editions, in 1851, 1857 and 1860.

As to lexicography, Constâncio was the author of a *Novo Diccionario portatil das linguas portugueza e franceza*, the second edition of which was published in Paris by Rey et Gravier in 1820 and went through many re-editions in France, Portugal and Brazil until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first edition of this dictionary had appeared anonymously in Bordeaux between 1811 and 1812, thanks to a “société de gens de lettre” created around Portuguese exiles.

Constâncio’s grammars fit into the groove of philosophical grammars traced by Jerónimo Soares Barbosa (Lupetti 2015), although he constantly attacks the latter for his poor theoretical rigor. The aim of the study of language is to formulate a «collecção de preceitos para fallar, escrever e ler huma lingua correctamente, isto he, conformando-se ao que o uso dos doutos tem estabelecido» (Constâncio 1831, p. 1). This traditional normative approach is however embedded into an innovative theoretical framework compared to Barbosa. While their common root lies in the universalism of the Port-Royal school, Constâncio’s naturalist conception of language seems to be rooted in the late Enlightenment culture of the *idéologues*, and through them in French eighteenth-century materialism and sensationalism (Lupetti 2023).

As linguas, – he writes in the introduction to *Grammatica analytica* – antes de serem escriptas, tem regras invariaveis, as quaes derivão da relação natural que existe entre as nossas sensações, ideias e pensamentos, e por conseguinte entre as vozes com que os exprimimos (Constâncio 1831, p. 1).

Constâncio distances himself from the 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-century tradition of the eulogies of the Portuguese language, convinced that early modern grammarians and literati had been misled in trying to trace the orthography and syntax of Portuguese back to classical Latin, abusing «da origem latina do portuguez, para o latinisar contra a sua propria indole» (ibid., p. 3). Resuming in this regard, without citing it, an argument by Barbosa, he states:

A lingua portugueza he derivada da latina, mas formou-se em tempos em que o latim já tinha soffrido grande corrupção, e vem realmente, assim como o castelhano, e outros dialectos hispanicos, o francez e o italiano, de dialectos mais ou menos regularmente derivados do

<sup>9</sup> As argued by Roland Desné (1999), the use of literature in language teaching has been relatively neglected by historians of grammar and modern language learning. The latter, focusing on the study of grammaticography, argue that the prevailing approach was the so called “grammar-translation method”, based on the connection between learning of grammatical rules and their application to exercises of translation, especially from native to foreign language (*thème*, in French) (Wheeler 2013, pp. 112-120). The method based on imitation and translation of literature was more immersive and inductive (Puren 1988, pp. 66-68, calls this approach “translation-grammar method”).

latim, e dos quaes he o principal e o mais perfeito o chamado *Langue roman* ou *romance* em francez, ou *lingua roman* em portuguez. [...] He mui provavel que este dialecto não foi senão a lingua latina rustica fallada pelo povo nos paizes sujeitos ao dominio de Roma, e cujos habitantes tinham perdido o uso das suas linguas primevas (ibid.).

Constâncio finally argues that the renewal of the Portuguese language made necessary by technical, scientific and social progress cannot be based on the conservative prejudice of the purity of the language and of its Latin root. Innovation must instead pass through hybridization with the languages of the most advanced countries, in particular with the Neo-Latin ones that allow for a simpler and more natural adoption of loanwords.

Os criticos rigoristas que tanto tem declamado contra os gallicismos modernamente introduzidos em portuguez, parecem ignorar que desde a sua origem elle está cheio de palavras e locuções francezas. Sem duvida não se devem adoptar sem necessidade termos estranhos; e quando seja indispensavel a sua admissão, devem poder accomodar-se ás analogias da lingua que os recebe: em muitos casos he o termo francez mais analogo que hum termo alatinado e cunhado de proposito (ibid., p. 4).

For example – Constâncio adds – classical Portuguese has no words equivalent to the French *détail*, *détailler*. The correspondence with the Portuguese verb *esmiuçar* is also imperfect, and equivalent terms are also missing in Latin. Where then is the problem, if we adopt the neologisms *detalhe* and *detalhar*? The British did so, taking the term *detail* from the French. «Nenhum d'estes termos – Constâncio (1831, p. 4) concludes – he contrario ao caracter da nossa lingua, nem em quanto ao som, nem pelo que pertence á structura da palavra».

In the *Nouvelle grammaire portugaise à l'usage des Français* (1832), the characteristics of Portuguese are explained with a contrastive approach, comparing it with French. For example, the difficulty of translating Portuguese idiotisms into French lies in the fact that one has to look for meaningful and idiomatic equivalents rather than meaningless literal translations. For this purpose, Constâncio proposes to refer to the use, a use which however is that of the high register language, the literary language. In this regard, «les traductions de *Gil Blas* par Bocage, de *Télémaque* par Manoel de Sousa, et celle des classiques latins en portugais, comparées aux meilleurs versions françaises, offrent des grandes ressources» (Constâncio, 1832, p. 213).

The last section of the work, entitled *Morceaux choisis en prose, extraits des classiques portugais*, is the main instrument to which Constâncio entrusts his defense of the cultural prestige of Portuguese. The collected texts are of an institutional kind: official papers written by kings, advisers and confessors of the crown or texts by literary witnesses to the colonial and commercial power of Portugal (João de Barros, Diogo de Couto, Fernão Mendes Pinto, Francisco Rodrigues Lobo and Luís de Camões).

In 1836 Constâncio published the *Novo Dictionario critico e etymologico da lingua Portugueza*, with a French printer (Casimir). However, the real publisher and sponsor of this book was another member of the Portuguese community in Paris, Ângelo Francisco Carneiro. The latter was an adventurer, slave trader between Africa and Pernambuco, pontifical consul and, since 1851, first Viscount of Loures (Albuquerque 2017). The publication of this dictionary can therefore be considered an episode halfway between patronage and money laundering, an event that enriches the portrait of the Portuguese network in Restoration Paris with an important piece.

Even more prolific was José da Fonseca, author of numerous works that, apart from their intrinsic merit, were of lasting success. Among the grammar manuals he authored were the successful *Novo Guia da Conversação em Francêz e Portuguez*



(1836b),<sup>10</sup> also republished in Rio de Janeiro by the Laemmert brothers, in 1849;<sup>11</sup> a *Grammatica da Lingua Franceza* (1838), and the revised version of L.-P. Siret's *Grammaire Portugaise* (1854), published by widow Aillaud and associates. In the lexicographic field, he was the editor of a *Novo Diccionario da lingua Portugueza*, published by Aillaud in 1829, reprinted in 1830, 1831, 1836, 1840 and 1843, and later revised by José Inácio Roquete; of a *Diccionario de Synonymos Portuguezes*, according to Inocência da Silva published by Aillaud in 1830, of which only the editions of 1833 and 1837 are today's conserved; finally, of a fortunate *Novo Diccionario Francez-Portuguez* (1836a), of which there are numerous re-editions up to 1885 and beyond.

In addition to language study tools, aimed at both French and Portuguese audiences, Fonseca was involved in editions of texts and anthology collections whose ultimate aim was to preserve and canonize the Portuguese literary heritage. These works also had an explicit didactic intent, being addressed to the «mocidade portuguesa». These include the *Prosas selectas*, published by Baudry in 1837. A primary role, according to Inocência da Silva, Fonseca also played in the editing of the monumental *Parnaso Lusitano* (1826-1827), «no qual é sua a escolha das peças, e muitas notas espalhadas por todos os volumes da collecção, especialmente as que têm por fim auctorisar o systema de orthographia etymologica e classica» (Silva, 1860, p. 335). Fonseca also published several monolingual and bilingual editions of the Portuguese translation of Fénelon's *Télémaque* (see Lupetti & Guidi 2017), as well as a didactic compendium of the same work (Fonseca 1854c).

In the 1930s, José Inácio Roquete (1801-1870) also joined the Parisian community. Roquete was a Franciscan friar who, in the years of the civil war that followed the fall of the constitutional government in 1823, became a partisan of the absolutist party led by D. Miguel. Captured and imprisoned when the liberal coalition in favor of Queen Mary II prevailed over its opponents, he fled to London and from there to Paris, where he arrived at the end of 1834. Housed in the parish of Saint-Germain-des-Près, he began working

<sup>10</sup> A *Novo guia de conversação moderna em francez e portuguez*, by Caetano Lopes de Moura (1846), was published in the same timeframe. Caetano Lopes de Moura, born in Bahia, Brazil, in 1780, was another member of the *Légion Portugaise*, who, after the fall of the Empire, settled in Paris and worked as editor and journalist to earn a living (Hue & Maleval 2019).

<sup>11</sup> A Portuguese-English version of this guide was published by widow Aillaud in 1855. The title page attributed this work to Fonseca and a certain Pedro Carolino. This edition, which was a literal and clumsy English translation of Fonseca's text, was absolutely disastrous. All the examples referred to France and the French language and style. Furthermore, the editor had apparently no knowledge of English, and the result was that the introduction and explanations were completely meaningless. Also the translations of Portuguese terms into English were ridiculously wrong. Discovered by an amused British traveller in Macao in the 1860s, this guide was republished for the British public in 1883, with an introduction by James Millington, and in the same year in the United States, with a note by Mark Twain, under the title *English as She is Spoke: or, a Jest in sober earnest* (1883a and b). It soon became a classic of humor. Fonseca's innocence has been argued by Alexander MacBride (2002a and b), who is inclined to place the entire blame on his co-editor, who was probably hired by Charlotte Caille Aillaud, Jean-Pierre's widow, without informing – and paying royalties to – Fonseca. But if Fonseca was an erudite and competent scholar, Pedro Carolino Duarte (this was his full name, Carolino was the matronymic) was also a translator from German for the Aillaud publishing house (Schmid 1855, 1857a, 1857b, 1858, Barth 1861, Duarte 1861a and b). A few years later, he was hired by the Garnier brothers to edit the Portuguese sections (columns) of a series of multilingual conversation guides (*Guias Polyglottas*), including a six-language version and three bilingual versions for Portuguese-French, Portuguese-English and Portuguese-Spanish. This time, supported by a better knowledge of French (which was the source language for the corpus of these guides) and two native-speaking specialist editors for the English and Spanish sections, Ebenezer Clifton and Francisco Corona Bustamante respectively, Duarte carried out his work more than adequately. See Clifton et al. (1859); Duarte (1856), Duarte e Clifton (1859); Duarte e Bustamante (1878). See also Lupetti & Guidi (2019).

with Aillaud to earn a living. He was also assistant to the viscount of Santarém (D. Miguel's minister exiled in 1834) in the compilation of his *Atlas* (1842), until he was appointed vicar of the parish of Saint Paul. He returned to Portugal in 1858 (Silva 1860, pp. 373-377).

As a grammarian, Roquete wrote an original *Cacographia Portugueza* (1838a), which parallels a *Correcção da Cacographia Portugueza* (1838b),<sup>12</sup> along with other concise didactic manuals, such as *Alphabeto Portuguez. Novo Methodo para Aprender a Ler* (1841a). Like Fonseca and Duarte, he participated in the compilation of a polyglot conversation guide, in two different versions, one with the French corpus on the first column, and one with the English corpus on the first column (Smith *et al.* 1843a and b). From this he derived a bilingual version entitled *Guia da Conversação Portuguez-Francez, para Uso dos Viajantes e dos Estudantes* (1843). Roquete then published a book of *Exercicios Progressivos Oraes e por Escrito sobre a Grammatica Franceza* in 1850, a work that exemplifies the typical practical and didactic nature of most of his contributions.

But Roquete's fame is mainly linked to lexicography. In 1841, he published with Aillaud the first edition of his highly successful *Nouveau Dictionnaire Portugais-Français*, followed by the updated and recast version of Fonseca's *Diccionario da Lingua Portugueza e Diccionario de Synonymos* (1848).

Like Fonseca, Roquete also composed or translated several pedagogical manuals, such as the *Thesouro da Mocidade Portugueza ou a Moral em Acção* (1836), the *Livro d'Ouro dos Meninos* (1844), some *Exemples de la vertu et ornements de la mémoire, à l'usage des enfants* (1854), the *Thesouro de Meninas* (1855) and finally the *Chrestomathie française* (1853), an anthology of literary pieces aimed at those who were learning French as a second language. He was also the author of a *Codigo do Bom Tom* (1845) and a *Codigo Epistolar* (1846), not to mention his numerous prayer books.

Compared to Constâncio and the other authors mentioned above, Roquete's attitude to language appears more traditionalist. In the prologue to the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Portugais-Français* (1841), the lexicographer subscribes to many of the stereotypes of the tradition of language eulogies (Lupetti 2023). Roquete presents the Portuguese language as «fille ainée de la langue latine<sup>13</sup>, cultivée depuis quatre siècles par des écrivains de tout genre,<sup>14</sup> répandue dans les quatre parties du monde au bruit des armes victorieuses des navigateurs conquérants sortis du Tage;<sup>15</sup> cette belle langue, dans laquelle tant d'historiens et tant de poètes illustres ont transmis à la postérité les exploits et les hauts faits des héros leurs compatriotes; la langue portugaise, enfin, qui inspira à CAMÕES les doux accents d'*Inez de Castro* et le magnifique épisode du géant Adamastor» (Roquete 1841, pp. vii-viii). And quoting Jean de la Roche-Aymon, translator

<sup>12</sup> These are two unique works of their kind in Portuguese, if we exclude the almost contemporary *Exercicios de cacographia portugueza para substituirem os dictados d'orthographia no curso de lingua portugueza*, of which only a second edition survives (M.M.M. 1864). In contrast, the genre was widespread in France in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In a forthcoming paper, we aim to further study these texts.

<sup>13</sup> His main references are P. António Vieira, Ferdinand Denis, *Résumé de l'histoire littéraire du Portugal*, Paris 1826, and the first (and only) volume of the *Diccionario da Lingoa Portugueza* (Fonseca 1793) of the Lisbon *Academia Real das Ciências*.

<sup>14</sup> Roquete quotes (selectively) the chapters devoted to Portugal in Sismondi's *De la Littérature du Midi de l'Europe* (1813).

<sup>15</sup> He refers to the introduction by Alexandre-Marie Sané to Filinto Elysio's *Poésie lyrique portugaise* (1808, p. xc): «La langue portugaise n'est pas restreinte au peuple qui la parle; elle est encore la langue du commerce asiatique; elle est répandue depuis le cap No[r]d jusqu'aux îles du Japon, et depuis l'île de madère jusqu'au Brésil; d'ailleurs, cette langue est belle, sonore, nombreuse; affranchie de cette aspiration gutturale que l'on reproche à l'espagnole, elle a toute la douceur et la souplesse de italienne, la gravité et les couleurs de la latine».

of the *Enfantement de la Vierge*, «Il est à remarquer que toutes les épopées de ce peuple respirent le patriotisme le plus vrai: ses poètes sont en quelque sorte ses historiens» (ibid.).

## 5. Conclusions

Having completed this reconstruction, we can try to answer our own question: how do we explain this mixture of initiatives – encyclopedic and political journals, translation and publication of economic texts, the editing of grammars, conversation guides, dictionaries, literary anthologies, literary translations – with which the most dynamic part of the Portuguese community in Paris engaged and at the same time identified itself?

There are several reasons for this. On the one hand, a need is undoubtedly felt to preserve and strengthen the socio-cultural and political identity of the exile community both in relation to French society and culture, and in relation to the ups and downs of national politics. On the other hand, there is a desire to present the élite of this community as an *avant-garde* intellectual group, capable of importing not only into Portuguese culture, but also into French culture, a new and progressive science such as political economy, and at the same time of cultivating the ideals of a moderate liberal culture, heir to the best side of the revolutionary and Napoleonic period.

Even in the linguistic field, as Constâncio's grammatical works demonstrate in comparison to Roquete's more conservative ones, the defence of the cultural, literary, geopolitical and economic prestige of Portuguese among the Romance languages, and in particular in direct comparison with French, is conducted from a theoretical approach that is open to the innovative suggestions of the late Enlightenment and distances itself from the traditional rhetoric of the prestige of the Portuguese language based on its direct descentance from Latin. In this sense, the Parisian exiles propose themselves both as spokespersons of the Portuguese language and culture in France and Europe, and as reformers and modernisers of Portuguese culture, while at the same time advocating its rapprochement with the beating heart of European intellectual life.

It is not inconceivable that Portuguese exiles also felt the need to cultivate the knowledge and teaching of Portuguese language and literature among their compatriots living in France, especially for the benefit of generations born far from their homeland. From this point of view, the Parisian emigrants' effort to publish grammars and dictionaries can be read as a primitive form of preserving a heritage language.

Finally, Constâncio and the others seized the extraordinary opportunity offered by the modern Parisian publishing industry – particularly thanks to international publishers such as Aillaud, Baudry and Garnier – not only to earn a living, but also with the intention of making Portuguese one of the main foreign languages to be disseminated and taught to the French and Europeans, and soon also to the composite populations of the New World. In this way, the creation of employment and economic value for the benefit of intellectuals uprooted from their context of origin was also taken as an opportunity to defend and promote a language and culture and, ultimately, an identity value.

At the time of the liberal uprisings of the early 1920s, which temporarily established a constitutional regime in Portugal, this group of Parisian intellectuals was able to act as a bridge between French and Portuguese liberal culture, in a difficult attempt to strengthen national public opinion and enable it to put an end to the civil war. Unfortunately, the latter, having begun with the move of the Court to Rio de Janeiro (1808), lasted until the 1950s. The journals published by this group testify to the energy poured into this endeavor, as well as the parallel effort to modernize the Lusitanian

economy and society through free trade, the import of new technologies and the development of scientific knowledge.

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