

Labirinti 168



UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI TRENTO
Dipartimento di Lettere e Filosofia

COMITATO SCIENTIFICO

Pietro Taravacci (coordinatore)
Università degli Studi di Trento
Simone Albonico
Università degli Studi di Losanna
James S. Amelang
Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
Andrea Comboni
Università degli Studi di Trento
Mercedes Fernández Valladares
Universidad Complutense de Madrid
Rosario Consuelo Gonzalo García
Universidad de Valladolid
Paolo Tamassia
Università degli Studi di Trento

Il presente volume è stato sottoposto a procedimento di *peer review*.

Collana Labirinti n. 168
Direttore: Pietro Taravacci
Segreteria di redazione: Lia Coen
© Università degli Studi di Trento-Dipartimento di Lettere e Filosofia
Via Tommaso Gar 14 - 38122 TRENTO
Tel. 0461-281722 - Fax 0461 281751
<http://www.unitn.it/lettere/14963/collana-labirinti>
e-mail: editoria@lett.unitn.it

ISBN 978-88-8443-737-2

Finito di stampare nel mese di giugno 2017

LA INVENCION DE LAS NOTICIAS
LAS RELACIONES DE SUCECOS
ENTRE LA LITERATURA Y LA INFORMACION
(SIGLOS XVI-XVIII)

Giovanni Ciappelli y Valentina Nider (eds.)

Università degli Studi di Trento
Dipartimento di Lettere e Filosofia

Volume stampato con il contributo della SIERS, Sociedad Internacional para el Estudio de las Relaciones de Sucesos.

*Para Victor Infantes
amigo, maestro e investigador ilustre*

SUMARIO

<i>Introducción</i>	9
1. Las noticias y su circulación	
MARIO INFELISE, Scrivere gli avvisi: autori ignoti e autori di fama	19
MASSIMO ROSPOCHER, La miscellanea del cardinale: la battaglia della Polesella tra stampa, manoscritto e oralità	31
WOLFGANG BEHRINGER, The Invention of a News Medium: The First Printed Periodical Newspapers in Strasbourg (1605), Wolfenbüttel (1609) and Frankfurt (1615)	51
NICHOLAS BROWNLEES, The Concept of Periodicity in English Pamphlet News	77
MICHELE OLIVARI, Note su di una <i>relación de sucesos</i> barcelonense del primo Seicento	89
FRANCISCO BAENA SÁNCHEZ – CARMEN ESPEJO CALA, En busca de un vocabulario compartido para describir y representar el periodismo de la Edad Moderna	107
2. La guerra	
GIOVANNI CIAPPELLI, L'informazione e la propaganda. La guerra di corsa delle galee toscane contro Turchi e Barbareschi nel Seicento, attraverso relazioni e <i>relaciones</i> a stampa	133
MARTA GALIÑANES GALLÉN, La batalla de Lepanto desde un pequeño reino del Imperio: <i>El verdadero discurso de la gloriosa vitoria que N. S. Dios ha dado al Serenissimo don Juan de Austria contra la armada turquesca</i>	163
FRANÇOISE CRÉMOUX, De la noticia al pliego: trayecto de un relato de martirio durante las guerras de religión en Francia (años 1570)	175

BEATRIZ ÁLVAREZ GARCÍA, Dar cuenta de la verdad. Las relaciones de sucesos en torno al asedio de Cádiz (1625) como instrumento de justificación personal	193
ANTONIO ÁNGEL VALVERDE ROBLES, La conjura austracista de 1705 en Granada en las noticias de España y Europa	213
AUGUSTIN REDONDO, La comunicación sobre la victoria de Pavía de 1525: los canales de la propaganda imperial (cartas manuscritas, pliegos impresos, oralidad) y los retos correspondientes	255
OANA ANDREIA SĂMBRIAN, La imagen de Transilvania en las relaciones de sucesos durante la guerra de los 30 años (1618-1648)	273
XAVIER TORRES, Imaginario religioso y comunicación política en la guerra de separación de Cataluña (1640-1659)	285
HÉLOÏSE HERMANT, La actualidad de la guerra de Restauración de Portugal entre cartas, relaciones de sucesos y gacetas. Tensión editorial y difracción del acontecimiento	299
MARÍA SÁNCHEZ-PÉREZ, Diferentes perspectivas de un mismo suceso: el asedio de Belgrado de 1688 a través de las relaciones de sucesos hispánicas y sefardíes	321
ERZSÉBET HANNY, Romances como noticias sobre la toma de Buda, 1686	339
RUDY CHAULET, ¿Dónde están los esclavos? Relaciones de sucesos y esclavitud: entre tópicos literarios y lagunas informativas	353
JÚLIA BENAVENT I BENAVENT- MARÍA JOSÉ BERTOMEU MASIÀ, Relaciones sobre Turquía y Túnez en el siglo XVI	373

3. La producción y la transmisión

ÁNGELES MARTÍN JARABA, Las relaciones de sucesos en el Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español	391
--	-----

DOMENICO CICCARELLO, Entre política, crónica y bibliografía. Producción y circulación de avisos, relaciones de sucesos y otros <i>ephemera</i> de interés hispánico en Sicilia a lo largo de los siglos XVI y XVII	419
ELSA RITA DOS SANTOS – JOÃO LUÍS LISBOA, The 1755 Earthquake between Political Information and Accounts of Events	453
ABEL IGLESIAS CASTELLANO, Los ciegos: profesionales de la información. Invención, producción y difusión de la literatura de cordel (siglos XVI-XVIII)	467
NIEVES PENA SUEIRO, Los autores de relaciones de sucesos: primeras precisiones	491
MASSIMO PETTA, Il racconto degli avvenimenti tra poesia e prosa: la reinvenzione delle notizie da parte degli stampatori	509
ANA MARTÍNEZ PEREIRA, Divertimentos seriados en Lisboa, más allá de la Relación	531
MAITE IRACEBURU JIMÉNEZ, Lo oral en lo escrito: estudio lingüístico de las relaciones de sucesos	543
SÓNIA BOADAS CABARROCAS, La impresión de los panfletos políticos de Diego de Saavedra: <i>Noticias del Tratado de Neutralidad y Carta de un holandés</i>	567
JORGE GARCÍA LÓPEZ, Relaciones en la imprenta de Pablo Campins	583
SARA LUENGO CUERVO, Consejos a Su Majestad	599
CARLOS CARACCILOLO, Giuseppe M. Mitelli. Art and Politics in the Bologna News Market	619
MARÍA DEL CARMEN MONTOYA RODRÍGUEZ, El negocio de la polémica: la «Gaceta de San Hermenegildo» (Sevilla, 1746-1747)	635

4. Ideología, religión y fiesta

LUC TORRES, Cuatro corografías o tratados de obispología del centro-oeste peninsular (Ávila, Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo, Plasencia) de finales del XVI y principios del XVII. Estudio comparado	657
--	-----

BLYTHE ALICE RAVIOLA, «Non si ha molta notizia di questi paesi»: las <i>Relaciones universales</i> de Giovanni Botero entre historia contemporánea, catolicismo y visión global del mundo conocido (siglos XVI-XVII)	673
TONINA PABA, Autobiografía y relaciones de sucesos. El caso de los <i>Comentarios del desengañado de sí mismo</i> de Diego Duque de Estrada	687
HENRY ETTINGHAUSEN, ‘Jews in the News’: el antisemitismo en la primera prensa europea, a propósito de Simón de Trento	705
VALENTINA NIDER, Ecos de la expulsión de los moriscos en Italia entre relaciones de sucesos y literatura	725
MARCIAL RUBIO ÁRQUEZ, Estrategias políticas y propaganda literaria: Carlos II y el viático	747
VÍCTOR DE LAMA DE LA CRUZ, El martirio de María la peregrina (Jerusalén, c. 1578): relación de sucesos y los otros géneros	769
SAGRARIO LÓPEZ POZA, Festejos por la «conversión del reino de Inglaterra»: noticias, literatura y propaganda (1554-1555)	783
JIMENA GAMBA CORRADINE, «Aviéndome Vuestra Señoría encomendado que le escriba cómo han pasado los torneos»: lo que se dice y lo que se calla en la representación festiva caballerescas (Torneo de Valladolid, 1544)	807
CLAUDIA DEMATTÈ – ALBERTO DEL RÍO, El escultor Leone Leoni diseña la <i>Ínsula Firme</i> según las reglas de Serlio en las bodas del marqués de Mantua (1561)	829
FRANCESCA LEONETTI, El barroquismo de las «grandes alegrías»: los rituales del poder en las relaciones de sucesos españolas e hispanoamericanas del siglo XVII	843

ELSA RITA DOS SANTOS - JOÃO LUÍS LISBOA

THE 1755 EARTHQUAKE BETWEEN POLITICAL INFORMATION
AND ACCOUNTS OF EVENTS

There is a clear correlation between the growing importance of written culture in Europe and the occurrence of certain types of dramatic events, such as wars and natural calamities. While it can be difficult to establish a cause-effect relationship between these two factors, it is certainly possible to recognise dynamism in the universe of news and the regular accounts associated with these dramatic events. The Austrian Succession War, between 1740 and 1748, is one such exceptional event, a situation acknowledged through an unusual propagation of news, letters, and testimonies, in Portugal, Spain, and other European countries. Sieges, successive battles, cities occupied and subsequently lost by armies, military strategies and diplomatic contacts, the uncertainty deriving from fortunes of war; all of these elements had a strong part to play in news and comments, signifying that dramatic events increase media activity and the production of handwritten sheets in a complementary way.

Perhaps the most widely reported news, dealing with dramatic events, is that of the well-known earthquake that occurred on 1 November, 1755, which destroyed the city of Lisbon. According to testimonies of the time, the earthquake was formed by three shocks in succession, which many people felt as a single one, in a growing intensity and with a total duration of nine minutes. The last shock is estimated to have recorded a magnitude of 8.5-8.7 on the Richter scale. These shocks caused most buildings downtown to collapse, creating a dusty and dense cloud. Several fires ignited throughout the city

which were then spread by a north-east wind. Approximately, one hour and twenty minutes after the earthquake, a tsunami hit and penetrated the city for roughly 300-400 meters, followed by two further massive and high waves. During the first twenty four hours, the earth trembled in a continuous movement and until the end of the year (1756) there were frequent quakes. This devastating disaster is known as 'Lisbon's Earthquake', although the degree of devastation had been higher in the Algarve, the southern region of Portugal, nearest to the earthquake epicentre. It also caused heavy damages in the south-west of Spain and the North of Africa, with related natural phenomena as far as Scotland.¹

The European consternation and astonishment, which followed this natural disaster, marked a political and cultural rupture which prefigures the end of the Ancien Régime. The previous existence of an established network of news exchange played a decisive role in this process, as we can assume from the vast and rapid circulation of multiple texts which appeared immediately after the earthquake. Essentially, the considerable and varying descriptions of the event seek to record and narrate the ineffable, using styles and narrative structures unusual in pamphlets, in Portugal and throughout Europe.

Undoubtedly, different information channels were partially common to 'nouvellistes' (gazetteers), diplomats, writers, scientists, merchants and religious men, the protocols and the styles which followed the dissemination of news depended on the text typology. The rules of communication and the adequacy of the account changed, depending on whether the text was published by the press or by handwritten journals, flyers, letters, or other genres. Through some of the texts contributed, between late 1755 and 1756, to spread news and commentary on the Lisbon earthquake of 1 November, we may acknowledge the relationship between arguments and stylistic features, with their complexity and social and political effectiveness.

¹ See, among others, C. Sousa Oliveira, *Descrição do terramoto de 1755, sua extensão, causa e efeitos. O sismo. O tsunami. O incêndio, in 1755. O grande terramoto de Lisboa. Descrição*, vol. I, FLAD / Público, Lisboa 2005, pp. 23-86.

In this buoyant and lively context of news communication, manuscripts, including copies of stories and documents, played a decisive role in the rapidity and priority of spreading the event. The rhythms and diversity of handwritten communication are, in moments like this, overwhelmingly powerful. Letters were read, commented upon and the subject of polite conversations in salons. They moved faster, and could be developed further compared to newspapers and most printed brochures, which depended on the scribal news as a source, providing lively elements, and amplifying the reach of the news.²

Letters which arrived directly from where events occurred were certainly the most dramatic and most popular, being repeatedly copied. In correspondence copied and spread, we may notice some changes produced by the earthquake. While personal letters between individuals sought to maintain a neutral or objective tone, letters that circulated with news on the earthquake imposed a much more dramatic and personal style.³ It seemed almost impossible, for the authors of the letters, to maintain a mere objective account, when they directly witnessed and suffered the effects of the events.

Several letters from British merchants and diplomats were copied and some were immediately printed, sharing lively details of events.⁴ This process took a long time, and many of the documents were gathered in collections. The William Cole collection, for instance, contained a copy of a letter from an English convent of nuns in Lisbon (Syon-House), dated May, 1756, which appealed for help. It can be seen that nearly six

² It is interesting to follow André Belo's reconstruction of the successive steps of the earthquake's progress that ultimately reached Voltaire and which is the inspiration for his *Poème sur le désastre de Lisbonne*. See A. Belo, *A notícia do terramoto no Sistema de informação do Antigo Regime*, in M.F. Rollo, A.I. Buescu, P. Cardim, *História e ciência da catástrofe: 250^a aniversário do terramoto de 1755*, Edições Colibri, Lisboa 2007, pp. 55-66: 58-59.

³ I.M.B. de Campos, *O grande terramoto (1755)*, Editorial Parceria, Lisboa 1998, p. 46.

⁴ J. Nozes, *The Lisbon Earthquake of 1755. British Accounts / O terramoto de 1755. Testemunhos Britânicos*, The British Historical Society of Portugal & Lisóptima, Lda, s.l. 1990.

months after the earthquake, the consequences and conditions for everyday survival still influenced the news.⁵

Printed accounts have a particular place in this regard. They work together with the gazettes, they give further information and provide either confirmation or denial that, due to uncertainty or briefness, gazettes do not provide. Several times they are invested with the authority of the testimony. Furthermore, they act as a creditable eyewitness, in communication with the reader who can also share the experience. These testimonies can arise in different formats such as letters and reports, printed or handwritten texts, and notes, and increase the impact of what is seen and heard. Thus, the text maintains a close association with the experience of eyewitnesses. Equally, copies provide a sense of presence, as they allegedly reproduce the original documents, from actual witnesses. Also, such copies reproduce rhetorical expedients and several stylistic features that emphasise the presence, adding danger, emotion, and the uniqueness of each moment. In doing so, there is an intrinsic paradox in these texts, which is manifest in the case of the description of the Lisbon earthquake. Proximity is usually opposite to what is rare, which is curious and distant. It is a paradox that these accounts achieve the proximity of the tragedy, with the credibility of the speaker, and, at the same time, the distance of whatever is unique or rare in many ways, as not frequent (quantitatively) and curious and sought (qualitatively).

Admittedly, the testimonies of those who have suffered, together with the letters of those who in some way were related to the readers, create an appearance of closeness. The insistence on the moral sense of natural events, the justification of fear and the need for repentance reinforces this idea. On the contrary, reports and natural explanations enlarge the distance between reader and narrator. The critique of superstition and the need to isolate events contribute to a prudent distance that reason may provide.

⁵ British Library, Add MS 5821, f. 92 (William Cole Collection).

In contrast to the letters, concerning the quantity and the quality of the information spread, we find the European gazettes, and in particular the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, also known as 'Gazeta da Corte'. Its role was crucial, as it narrated the event made official, presenting a hierarchic and traditional image of society. It contained a proper sense of sobriety and decorum from a Court's voice, taking into account a specific range of issues such as diplomatic movements or wars, often gathered from longer booklets, handwritten news or thematic brochures.

Yet, there are two perspective mistakes which can arise when isolating the Gazette as a source of information. People actually knew more about the event than the gazettes published, a fact which can partially justify the laconic text concerning the events in Lisbon.⁶ Another error lies in taking for granted the veracity of the date indicated in the header of each number, as it should be obvious that the Gazette stopped publication in those weeks. Besides, in these numbers, we may find the minimum information required for the purpose and style of the publication, including some details that could not possibly be known at the alleged dates, considering the distance from the event and the speed at which the news traveled.⁷ The gazette aimed for a historical perspective and status as it integrated up-to-date records, and each number was conceived as part of a volume collected, by the end of the year.⁸ Accordingly, it was expected that all issues, even those unavailable for a certain time, would be produced later, and any gaps filled in. This implies a different historical approach to the gazette's

⁶ See A. Belo, *A Gazeta de Lisboa e o terramoto de 1755. A margem do não escrito*, «Análise Social», 151/152 (2000), pp. 619-637.

⁷ See Belo, *A Gazeta de Lisboa*, p. 65.

⁸ «Nem exactamente livro nem exactamente folheto, a Gazeta tinha, em suma, um formato e concepção originais, que faziam dela um objecto ambivalente, situado entre aqueles dois tipos de impresso. Ela era na sua origem e concepção uma 'relação' cumulativa e histórica do presente, merecedora de colecção. Ao mesmo tempo a sua periodicidade semanal contribuía para lhe conferir, pelo menos potencialmente, uma maior sensibilidade do que os livros aos estímulos do público leitor, permitindo-lhe integrar mais depressa essas reacções e, eventualmente, responder às suas solicitações». A. Belo, *As Gazetas e os livros. A Gazeta de Lisboa e a vulgarização do impresso (1715-1760)*, ICS, Lisboa 2001, p. 44.

timeliness. This was explained by Carmen Espejo and Francisco Baena when they argued, while we accept the periodicity of these gazettes as we understand it today, that we must see them rather as serial publications.⁹

Nevertheless, it is also important, for our purpose, to consider the relationship between the extreme contention of Court communication and alternative developments from other parts of the Kingdom, or abroad. News from the northern town of Guimarães, published in the sheet on 8 January, 1756, is a good example. This is an example of an account which was not published for the city of Lisbon. Probably the source is a nobleman, «Fidalgo dos bem conhecidos desta Provincia»,¹⁰ and the text may have arrived in the form of a letter, i.e. a first-person account. Thus, the rules of newspaper writing, not yet well established, changed it into a third-person external observer account, in order to accomplish greater objectivity, and mostly to create a distance between the event and the reader. This news, along with the account published on 6 May, 1756, from the Portuguese fort of Marzagão, in Morocco, attempted to reproduce a traditional representation of society, despite the exceptionality of the situation.¹¹

As expected, the first printed account of the Lisbon Earthquake was a letter, *Carta em que hum amigo dá noticia a outro do lamentavel succeso de Lisboa*, dated 20 December, 1755. The author, José de Oliveira Trovão e Sousa, was in Lisbon on 1 November and afterwards moved to Coimbra, from where he wrote. This letter pretends to be a response to an unnamed interlocutor's insistent request for information about the earthquake. Although, as a survivor he had first-hand experience, and consequently, for his time, reliable information, he begins his letter by exposing the ambiguity of such a position (since it was painful to recall, through the places of personal

⁹ C. Espejo, F. Baena, *Las orígenes del periodismo en España: una revisión metodológica*, in J. García López, S. Boadas (eds.), *Las relaciones de sucesos en los cambios políticos y sociales de la Europa Moderna*, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Bellaterra 2015, pp. 29-40.

¹⁰ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 2 (8.01.1756), pp. 14-16: 14.

¹¹ See *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 18 (6.05.1756), pp. 142-143.

memory, the details of the event), and emphasizing the difficulty in expressing through words a personal experience of such a calamity:

Como pretende V.m. lhe descreva eu huma tragedia, em que era uma das figuras da representação, sabendo muito bem, que os que estão dentro da scena, não lograõ também o enredo, as vistas, e as mutaçoens do theatro?¹²

His correspondent, as a common reader, looks for personal accounts and trusts them as such, whereas Trovão e Sousa objects by explaining the difficulties of witnessing a calamity. A personal description of an extraordinary experience, however, is not necessarily to be trusted, against common expectations. On the other hand, this type of accounts recurrently uses words such as ‘theatre’, ‘scene’, and ‘show’ in order to recreate the event.¹³ Eyewitness liability, and the narrative strategy of setting a visual description, were two methods used to establish legitimacy concerning an overwhelming and unprecedented natural disaster, as Helena Carvalhão Buescu has already pointed out.¹⁴ Yet, as he explicitly wrote in the exordium, Trovão e Sousa is narrating his personal experience. Hence, his successive external observer narration must be interpreted along with the narrative’s strategy of setting the action before the eyes as a specular perspective, meaning that when he describes the victims of the earthquake he is ultimately speaking about himself. Through a pathos common to any human being, whenever and wherever he suffers a shift of fortune, Trovão e Sousa creates a close relationship with the reader or listener, further accomplished by the large use of metaphors which intensifies his objective, such as ‘World as a theatre’, ‘Men as puppets’, ‘God as a puppeteer’, ‘Human life as a labyrinth’, ‘Madness as a divine spectacle’ or ‘as a Condition of men’s knowledge limitations’.

¹² J. de O. Trovão e Sousa, *Carta de hum amigo para outro, em que se dá sucinta noticia dos efeitos do terremoto, sucedido em o primeiro de Novembro de 1755* [...], Offic. de Luis Secco Ferreyra, Lisboa 1756, p. 1.

¹³ H. Carvalhão Buescu, *Ver demais: o terramoto de 1755 na literatura*, in *1755. O grande terramoto de Lisboa*, pp. 393-413: 399.

¹⁴ *Ivi*, p. 401.

These metaphors refer to a conception of human predestination and a moral interpretation of the earthquake. Along with this interpretation, however, Trovão e Sousa also mentioned the scientific theories regarding earthquakes, listed Lisbon's historical background on earthquakes, and alluded to similar biblical situations, while mocking the sudden repentance of the survivors. As he pointed out, his intention was to expose the variety of opinions circulating after the earthquake¹⁵ in order to allow his unknown interlocutor, the reader, comply with one of them. It remains as an incontrovertible fact the shift on human lives caused by the earthquake, which the author sums up in these phrases:

Olhavaõ para aquella cidade, que pouco tempo antes era o theatro mais florente, a republica mais luzidia, e a Corte mais pomposa: consideravaõ, que havia poucos instantes eraõ felices, viviaõ socegados, estavaõ alegres; e mudada em taõ breve espaço a scena, se via reduzida a cidade a hum monte de pedras, a republica destruida, a Corte inteiramente postrada; desgraçados os ditosos, inquietos os socegados, tristes os alegres.¹⁶

The human theatre is a mundane one, and the earthquake destroyed not just a city but a social and political organization, transforming what appeared to have been an ideal society into ruins. Once again, the reader is confronted with the limitations of human knowledge, of man's blindness, and mostly of man's wandering on earth. For all that, Trovão e Sousa does not go further by adopting one interpretation over another or criticising a previous society, his aim is to create an atmosphere of closeness with the reader; a pathos through sentiments and emotions common to any human being whenever he suffers a shift in fortune.

Gabriel Malagrida (1699-1761), the Italian Jesuit, also speaks about the wheel of men's fortune and, in the middle of 1756,¹⁷ published *Juizo da verdadeira causa do terremoto*, a

¹⁵ J. de O. Trovão e Sousa, *Carta de hum amigo*, p. 23.

¹⁶ *Ivi*, p. 5.

¹⁷ «[...] e tu funestissima Corte, a quem a espada do furor Divino entrou já tanto pela terra dentro, que ha mais de seis mezes, que continuamente te está ameaçando; [...]»: G.S.J. Malagrida, *Juizo da verdadeira causa do terremoto que padeceu a corte de Lisboa no primeiro de Novembro de 1755*, Offic. de

summary of the sermons he preached during the six months after the earthquake. The fact that a priest published a pamphlet, and with some urgency, if we consider the number of typing errors, suggests the recognition of the power of the written word, and of the impact of the newspapers and various other accounts on mass communication whereas, until then, this privileged role was played by the pulpit, by the oral word. The reliance on the printed word is justified by the need to oppose the supporters of the naturalist version in their own field.

In contrast to Trovão e Sousa, the liability of Malagrida's discourse relied on the author's ecclesiastic authority, as he was not present in Lisbon on 1 November, a situation which in part can justify the absence of any mention to the earthquake itself, the human losses, the city's damages or the chaotic situation experienced by the survivors, as many other authors discussed. The Jesuit vehemently argues, in an assertive and emphatic tone, more natural to oral discourse, for the moral signification of the earthquake, giving the necessary evidences to support his version, such as documents he claims to possess, which proved there were admonitory signals of the Lisbon earthquake coming. Malagrida's concern, however, was not so much to enter into the philosophical debate which inflamed Europe at the time, but rather to expose the use that could and was being made of the scientific explanation for political purposes, as he explicitly states:

Não digam os que politicamente afirmam, que procedem de causas naturais [...] porque he certo, se me não fosse censurado dizer o que sinto destes politicos, chamar-lhe Atheos.¹⁸

The crux of the discussion was about establishing who had the right to rule in the first place, whether the king along with his ministers, or the church which could interpret God's will and signals and mediate between men and God, or, as he puts it:

Manoel Soares, Lisboa 1756, transcript in J.M.F. Boiça, M. de F. Rombouts de Barros (eds.), *1755. A memória das palavras*, Câmara Municipal de Oeiras, Oeiras 2005, pp. 170-179: 174.

¹⁸ *Ivi*, p. 172

Não sabem estes Catholicos, que este Mundo não he huma casa sem dono? [...] O que se colhe deste discurso he, que quando ainda semelhantes vozes não se oppuzessem tão manifestamente ás Escripturas, sempre seriam temerarias, mal soantes, e escandalosas; porque diretamente oppostas ao sentir da Igreja, que he sem duvida, a que se deve ouvir, e seguir, como mestra indubitável, e como a que *Noscit sensum sponsi*; e pôde unicamente acerta na intelligencia dos seus fins.¹⁹

Behind a discourse that is usually seen as rather fanatic and chaotic, there was a far-sighted vision of the political uses of natural causes by the apologists who had seen in Lisbon's earthquake an opportunity to stress the temporal power of the Crown and its institutions.

Corresponding to an exclusively scientific and philosophical point of view, we find a pamphlet by António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches (1699-1783), a Portuguese physician of Hebrew descent, living in Paris in November 1755. His *Considerações sobre o terramoto* was published in 1756, and later in the same year it was included, as an appendix, in Ribeiro Sanches's book *Tratado da Conservação da Saúde dos Povos*. This treatise aimed to offer a fundamental contribution to a rational and healthier new Lisbon, discussing exclusively material, and external observable features of past tremors:

A intenção de publicar estas *Considerações*, é de dar a conhecer aquela universal ordem da Natureza, para desterrar dos ânimos aflitos, e temerosos, aquela solícita admiração, que aumenta os males do futuro, e que deprime, e consome o // pouco animo que deixou o terror causado pelo desastre, e desolação.²⁰

Effectively, this text displays a great distance between the reader and the event's narration. The reading pathos is absent so that Lisbon's inhabitants could free themselves from paralysing

¹⁹ Ivi, p. 173.

²⁰ Cfr. *Considerações sobre os terremotos, com a noticia dos mais consideraveis, de que faz menção a Historia, e deste ultimo, que se sentio na Europa no 1 de Novembro 1755*, in A. N. Ribeiro Sanches, *Tratado da conservação da saúde dos povos: obra util e igualmente necessaria a os magistrados, capitaens generais, capitaens de mar, e guerra, prelados, abbadessas, medicos, e pays de familias: Com hum appendix*, Paris 1756, pp. 261-293: 261.