

**GLOBAL LUXURIES AT HOME:
THE MATERIAL POSSESSIONS OF AN ELITE FAMILY IN
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MINAS GERAIS, BRAZIL**

by

Rachel A. Zimmerman

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

Spring 2017

© 2017 Rachel A. Zimmerman
All Rights Reserved

**GLOBAL LUXURIES AT HOME:
THE MATERIAL POSSESSIONS OF AN ELITE FAMILY IN
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MINAS GERAIS, BRAZIL**

by

Rachel A. Zimmerman

Approved:

Lawrence Nees, Ph.D.
Chair of the Department of Art History

Approved:

George H. Watson, Ph.D.
Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences

Approved:

Ann L. Ardis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice Provost for Graduate and Professional Education

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it meets the academic and professional standard required by the University as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Signed:

Mónica Domínguez Torres, Ph.D.
Professor in charge of dissertation

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it meets the academic and professional standard required by the University as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Signed:

H. Perry Chapman, Ph.D.
Member of dissertation committee

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it meets the academic and professional standard required by the University as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Signed:

Lawrence Nees, Ph.D.
Member of dissertation committee

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it meets the academic and professional standard required by the University as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Signed:

Dana Leibsohn, Ph.D.
Member of dissertation committee

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I want first to thank my advisor Mónica Domínguez Torres for being the ideal mentor. The approaches, questions and discussions in her courses, the office hours that she spent with me, and the feedback that she provided on my writing have been fundamental to my development as a scholar. I would also like to thank the other members of my dissertation committee, Perry Chapman and Larry Nees, for their support, valuable advice, and mentorship, and Dana Leibsohn for inspiring my research with her own examinations of inventories and transoceanic exchange, and for challenging me to explore new avenues of inquiry in my conference papers and dissertation.

I wish to thank my undergraduate advisor Elizabeth Zarur at New Mexico State University for prompting my fascination with the art and architecture of colonial Minas Gerais during a study abroad trip to the region in 2006. Several professors with whom I have taken seminars at the University of Delaware deserve special mention for cultivating the methodologies, visual and technical analysis skills, and research and writing skills that enabled this dissertation to come to fruition: Lawrence Nees, Perry Chapman, Ikem Okoye, David Stone, Lauren Petersen, and especially Eve Buckley, Monica Dominguez Torres, and Wendy Bellion whose courses directly led me to my dissertation topic.

Feedback from the scholars that I met at conferences, symposia, and workshops has enriched my research. I owe special thanks to Louis Nelson, Jorge Rivas Pérez, Carlee Forbes, and Raphael Fonseca for many discussions about

hammocks, and for pointing me to new resources and inspiring new approaches. Their insights and encouragement were fundamental to the success of my research on hammocks. I wish to thank my fellow art history graduate students at the University of Delaware, particularly Emily Casey, Kirstina Gray, Craig Lee, Sarah Leonard, Sabena Kull, Isabel Oleas, Alba Campo Rosillo, Emily Shartrand, and Amy Torbert, for motivating and supporting me, and for sharing their enthusiasm for transoceanic exchange.

I wish to thank Rosemary Krill and everyone else at Winterthur for providing me with the most stimulating and collegial research environment imaginable. I would like to thank Leslie Grigsby not only for permitting me to attend her Ceramics and Glass course, but also for meeting with me on numerous occasions, showing me pieces of Portuguese ceramics, and helping me interpret descriptions in inventories. I also owe thanks to Tiernan Alexander and Claire Blakey for sharing their expertise of eighteenth-century ceramics with me. I wish to thank Linda Eaton for taking time to answer my many questions about textiles, and Jeanne Solensky for providing me with the pleasure of handling pattern books. Finally, I would like to thank my office mates and research lunch attendees, Kate Fama, Lydia Garver, and Sarah Parks in particular, for the friendships, advice about applications and research with inventories, and for listening to me talk about hammocks and the smell of sheep.

The kindness and consideration of the residents of Minas Gerais were fundamental to my research in Brazil. I would especially like to thank José Geraldo Begname for assisting me with paleographic questions, sharing his transcriptions of documents, and for explaining eighteenth-century legal procedures. Likewise, I wish to thank Cássio Vinicius Sales, Lucas Samuel Quadros, and Vitor Nascimento Repolês

for their assistance during my research at the Casa Setecentista, as well as Monsenhor Flávio Carneiro Rodrigues, Luciana Viana Assunção, and the remaining staff at the Arquivo Eclesiástico da Arquidiocese de Mariana for providing me with access to essential documentation and the archive's jewelry display. I thank Maria da Conceição Fernandes de Brito for allowing me to view the collection storage at the Museu Arquidiocesano de Arte Sacra de Mariana. Finally, I want to thank Clebson Cunha for behind-the-scenes information about the Museu Regional's collections and exhibitions, Jeff Flores for guiding me through the Morro Santo Antonio archaeological site and for not falling down any of the ventilation shafts, and Carlos Magno Araujo for answering my miscellaneous questions throughout the years.

My dissertation research was made possible with a fellowship from the Delaware Public Humanities Institute as well as from the Winterthur Museum, Garden and Library. Two grants from the Department of Art History and a Theodore E. D. Braun fellowship from the American Society of Eighteenth-Century Studies allowed me to embark on two trips to Brazil, to explore available archival and museum resources at the onset of my project, and to conduct the archival and field research that was fundamental for my dissertation. I was able to complete the writing and revision of my dissertation thanks to a Sewell C. Biggs Dissertation Writing Award.

I want to thank my mother, father, and sister for helping to edit drafts of proposals and chapters. Lastly, I owe many thanks to my husband, João Felipe Braga de Carvalho, for teaching me Portuguese, checking my Portuguese spelling, chauffeuring me all over Brazil, performing technological magic to create maps and family trees, feeding me, and keeping our apartment relatively clean.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
ABSTRACT	xiii
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter	
1 ISOLATION: A CRITICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY	23
2 NETWORKS: TRADE, TRAVELS, AND INTELLECTUAL EXCHANGE	56
3 FAMILY: RELATIONSHIPS AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF POWER... ..	109
4 POSSESSIONS: LUXURIES IN THE OLIVEIRA PINTO FAMILY HOMES	166
5 PORCELAIN, DRESS, AND HAMMOCKS: LOCAL WEALTH AND GLOBAL ASPIRATIONS	266
CONCLUSION	334
BIBLIOGRAPHY	344
Appendix	
A MANUSCRIPT TRANSCRIPTIONS	387
B GLOSSARY	459

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Maritime Traffic in the Port of Lisbon in 1716.....	61
---------	---	----

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Map of the official routes to the mining region.....	55
Figure 2	Mariana, João, and Manoel's generation with their parents, grandparents and children.	161
Figure 3	Map of Vila do Carmo and neighboring regions.....	162
Figure 4	Francisca and Antonio's family tree.....	163
Figure 5	Feliciano and Domingos' family tree.	164
Figure 6	Map of the Oliveira Pinto family's residences south of Mariana.....	165
Figure 7	Some eighteenth-century residences on the Rua Direita, Mariana, Minas Gerais.....	225
Figure 8	Views of the residence of Jose Aires Gomes, Fazenda da Borda do Campo, Barbacena, Minas Gerais	226
Figure 9	Chocolate pot, 1703, copper, wood, tin, iron, Netherlands, Winterthur Museum, Wilmington, Delaware	227
Figure 10	Bufete, 18 th c., pau santo with vinhatico, chestnut, and metal, Portugal, Museu de Alberto Sampaio, Guimarães.....	228
Figure 11	Tureen with Portuguese coat of arms, c. 1775-1785, enameled and gilded porcelain, Jingdezhen, China, Winterthur Museum, Wilmington, Delaware	229
Figure 12	Salver, 18 th c., silver, Museu da Casa Brasileira, São Paulo	230
Figure 13	Chest, 17 th -18 th c., pine, Russia leather, tin, fabric, Museu de Lamego, Lamego, Portugal	231
Figure 14	Bedstead, 18 th c. Museu do Ouro, Sabará.....	232
Figure 15	Bedstead, 18 th c. turned jacarandá and red cabreuva, Brazil, Museu da Casa Brasileira.....	233

Figure 16	Curtain panel, c. 1710, silk damask, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.....	234
Figure 17	<i>Rosicler</i> , c. 1675-1800, gold and diamonds, Portugal, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon	235
Figure 18	Tourmalines from the Jonas Mine, Itatiaia, Minas Gerais	236
Figure 19	Women's waistcoat, c. 1700, cotton quilted with silk, linen lining, England, Philadelphia Museum of Art	237
Figure 20	Nicolas Lancret, <i>Picnic after the Hunt</i> , c. 1735-1740, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.....	238
Figure 21	Bench, 18th c. Brazil, Museu da Inconfidência, Ouro Preto	239
Figure 22	Chocolate or Coffee cup, c. 1740-50, slip-cast, salt-glazed stoneware, Staffordshire, England, Winterthur Museum, Wilmington, Delaware..	240
Figure 23	<i>Preguiceiro</i> , 18th c. Jacaranda and leather, Brazil, Museu Historico Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.....	241
Figure 24	Carlos Julião, Lady carried in a sedan chair, in "Noticia Summaria do Gentilismo da Asia," late eighteenth century. Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro	242
Figure 25	Insignia of the Order of Christ, 17th-18th c., gold, silver, diamonds, red and white enamel, Portugal, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon	243
Figure 26	Coat and breaches of figured silk velvet with waistcoat of embroidered silk satin, c. 1780, Alan and Vanessa Hopkins collection, The School of Historical Dress, London	244
Figure 27	Man's stock, c. 1775-1800, plain weave linen, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.....	245
Figure 28	Portuguese receipt of fabrics ordered, c. 1625-1725, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library, Williamstown, Massachusetts	246
Figure 29	Plates, 18th c., underglaze blue decorated porcelain, China, Museu da Inconfidência, Ouro Preto	247
Figure 30	Imari-style plate, 18th c.. porcelain with underglaze blue, enamel and gilding, China, Museu dos Biscainhos, Braga.....	248

Figure 31	Quilt, c. 1750-1800, silk satin embroidered with silk, China, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.....	249
Figure 32	<i>Japonse rok</i> , c. 1725-75, painted silk, silk lining and filling, Japanese, Centraal Museum, Utrecht.....	250
Figure 33	Banyan, c. 1760, silk satin with supplementary weft float patterning, lined with striped plain weave silk, French, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles	251
Figure 34	Banyan, c. 1750, chintz, India, Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, the Hague.....	252
Figure 35	Plate, c. 1650-1750, tin-glazed earthenware, Coimbra, Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis, Porto.....	253
Figure 36	Leaf of Manchester pattern book containing swatches of quiltings, 1783, Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library.....	254
Figure 37	Chintz robe, c. 1760s, printed cotton, French, Metropolitan Museum of Art	255
Figure 38	Robe and petticoat with branch designs, c. 1750, embroidered silk, probably Portuguese, Museu Nacional do Traje, Lisbon	256
Figure 39	Samples of French silk with silver branch designs.	257
Figure 40	Detail of the back of a robe, c. 1760-70, painted silk, Chinese textile, British tailoring, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.....	258
Figure 41	Pendant and earrings, 18th c., silver, quartz, amethysts, Portugal, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon.....	259
Figure 42	Pendant and earrings, 18th c., gold and diamonds, Portugal, Convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça, Abrantes	260
Figure 43	Tureen and platter, 18th c., tin-glazed earthenware, Darque, Viana do Castelo, Portugal, Museu Grão Vasco, Viseu	261
Figure 44	Examples of creamware, 18th – 19th c., probably Cavaquinho factory, Vila Nova de Gaia, Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis.....	262
Figure 45	Examples of English creamware and pearlware, 1760-1806, Staffordshire, Davenport Factory, and Leeds, Winterthur Museum	263

Figure 46	<i>Campainha</i> chair, 18th c., wood and tooled leather, Museu da Casa Brasileira, São Paulo	264
Figure 47	<i>Brilliantés façonnés, f. 1r.</i>	265
Figure 48	Platter with Portuguese coat of arms, c. 1780-90, enameled and gilded porcelain, Jingdezhen, Winterthur Museum.....	323
Figure 49	François Thomas Germain, chocolate pot with Portuguese royal coat of arms, 1760-1, silver and ebony, National Palace of Ajuda	324
Figure 50	Chocolate pot with coat of arms of Queen Maria I, 1770, silver and pau-santo, National Palace of Queluz	325
Figure 51	A. Castrioto, <i>D. João V drinking chocolate in the home of the Duque of Lafões</i> , 1720, oil on ivory, silver frame, National Museum of Antique Art.....	326
Figure 52	Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, <i>De la Natural Hystoria de las Indias</i> (Toledo, 1526)	327
Figure 53	Maya vessel with Procession Scene, c. 600-900, earthenware, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.....	328
Figure 54	Chimú vessel with Funerary Scene, c. 1000-1470, Museum of the Americas, Madrid	329
Figure 55	Joaquim Jose Codina, <i>View of the loom on which the Indians of Villa de Monte Alegre make their most delicate hammocks</i> , 1785	330
Figure 56	<i>Four Continents</i> , and detail of <i>America</i> in the former Casa da Intendência, second half of 18 th century, Sabará, Minas Gerais	331
Figure 57	Jose Joaquim da Rocha, <i>Map of the District of Vila Rica</i> , detail, 1778, Arquivo do Exército, Rio de Janeiro	332
Figure 58	Gobelins manufactory, “The King Carried in a Hammock,” detail, from the <i>Anciennes Indes</i> tapestry series, c. 1720, private collection ...	333

ABSTRACT

Focusing on the belongings of João Pinto Alvares, Mariana Correia de Oliveira, and their offspring, this dissertation examines the consumption of luxury goods among the mine-owning elite in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais, the main gold mining region of Brazil. Although Minas Gerais has traditionally been perceived as isolated, the wealth emanating from the mines enabled the local elite to acquire commodities from manufacturing centers throughout the world. Although historical research has largely overturned the idea of *mineiro* isolation in recent years, the importance of imported luxury goods for the dissemination of cultural knowledge among the mining region's elite has received little attention. With few exceptions, scholarship on domestic life in the region has focused on illegitimate families of mixed race living in urban centers. Examination of the lives of four generations of the Oliveira Pinto family reveals that the mine owning elite instead often formed legitimate families of highly educated rural aristocrats. Analysis of the family's post-mortem inventories from 1748 to 1807 demonstrates that the local elite acquired foreign imports throughout the century and that, like their contemporaries in Portugal and other regions of the world, the *mineiro* elite gradually adopted new furniture types, modes of dress, and decorative styles. Among the family's possessions, the ceramics collections, clothing and jewelry, and hammocks were particularly powerful signifiers of their owners' status, cosmopolitan knowledge, and sophistication. These luxuries functioned as tangible evidence of the gold mining region's significance to Portuguese imperial expansion, and participation in global commercial and cultural exchange.

INTRODUCTION

While visiting Rio de Janeiro on his way to the British colony of New South Wales in Australia in September 1787, the Irish surgeon John White remarked of the lands beyond the mountains that surround the city:

The riches of this country, arising from the mines, are certainly very great. To go near, or to get a sight of these inexhaustible treasures, is impossible, as every pass leading to them is strongly guarded; and even a person taken on the road, unless he be able to give a clear and unequivocal account of himself and his business, is imprisoned, and perhaps compelled ever after to work in those subterraneous cavities, which avarice, or an ill-timed and fatal curiosity, may have prompted him to approach. These circumstances made a trial to see them without permission (and that permission I understand has never been granted the most favoured foreigners) too dangerous to be attempted.¹

The mining area described was the inland captaincy of Brazil called Minas Gerais, literally meaning general mines, home to extensive gold and diamond reserves first discovered in the 1690s and 1720s, respectively. White's foreboding account of the oppressive policing of the area is a reference to the laws enacted to control the flow of gold and diamonds. According to Portuguese legislation, only subsistence agriculture was permitted in the mining region, manufacturing was forbidden, and foreigners and members of religious orders were banned from entering the province of Minas Gerais.

¹ John White, *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales* (London: J. Debrett Piccadilly, 1790), 65.

Nevertheless, the mines were not “inexhaustible,” and conditions were far less restrictive than White’s account suggests, as the laws were poorly enforced.

Minas Gerais supplied the world with currency for about a century. The precious metals and gems excavated from the captaincy were of fundamental importance to global trade and had a great effect on many of the world’s empires—Brazilian gold, for instance, is credited with having spurred Britain’s industrial revolution towards the end of the eighteenth century.² Naturally, the gold was fundamental to the life of the local population of Minas Gerais, and created a large elite class that, although from humble beginnings, attained great wealth and prestige through the ownership of gold-rich lands. While some gold was fashioned into elegant jewelry, woven into textiles, and applied to furniture and church interiors, most was used as currency to purchase other commodities, particularly expensive imports. Yet, the historiography of Minas Gerais has traditionally focused on the gold exiting the region rather than the objects that residents of Minas Gerais received in exchange.

Close examination of inventories taken of the possessions of deceased individuals reveals how trade connected this hinterland with the rest of the world. For instance, at the time of her death in 1748, Mariana Correia de Oliveira owned damask quilts, velvet skirts, linen from Brittany, an ivory-adorned hammock, and a collection of fine porcelain. She and her husband João Pinto Alvares were part of the class of wealthy gold mine owners who were able to acquire sumptuous luxury goods imported from across the globe. Focusing on the possessions of the Oliveira Pinto

² John Bury, “O Aleijadinho,” in *Arquitetura e Arte no Brasil Colonial*, ed. by Myriam Andrade Ribeiro de Oliveira, and trans. by Isa Mara Lando (São Paulo: Nobel, 1991), 16; Stuart Schwartz, “De Ouro a Algodão: A Economia Brasileira no Século XVIII,” *História da Expansão Portuguesa* 3 (1998): 90.

family as recorded in post-mortem inventories, this dissertation explores how wealthy inhabitants of Minas Gerais participated in international fashions for collecting and displaying luxuries during the Brazilian gold rush.

Various generations of the Oliveira Pinto family used objects to articulate their position within the Portuguese empire. As the source of remarkable wealth, Minas Gerais was a central concern for the Portuguese Crown, since local gold and diamonds funded exploration and colonization. Yet, Minas Gerais was also peripheral, far from Lisbon and from established cultural centers within Brazil. For the Oliveira Pintos, imported luxury goods were essential status symbols that signified the family's involvement in Portugal's global expansion. By reconstructing their homes, exploring their self-presentation, social connections, and relations with distant places, this dissertation not only provides the first in-depth study of imported luxuries in colonial Brazil, but also challenges the traditional interpretation of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais as culturally isolated.

Material Culture and Globalization

In recent years early modern globalization has been the subject of much scholarship in art history and related fields. Several major exhibitions, such as *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500 to 1800* in New York in 2013, *Made in the Americas: The New World Discovers Asia* in Boston and Wilmington, Delaware, in 2015 and 2016, and *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age* in Salem, Massachusetts, and Amsterdam in 2015 and 2016, have approached objects through the lens of globalization. Art historical research has come to embrace objects

that do not belong neatly within the canon of one country but instead transcend national boundaries in their materials, creation, styles, usage, and meaning.

The Portuguese were instrumental to early modern globalization. Portuguese sailors established the first maritime routes to Sub-Saharan Africa, India, China, and Japan. The Portuguese empire was the first to span all four known continents: Europe, Africa, Asia, and America. Although many of Portugal's trade posts in Africa and Asia were lost to rival European powers during the seventeenth century, the Portuguese empire maintained an active role in global exchange. Scholarship on the Portuguese involvement in global trade has largely focused on the transatlantic slave trade.³ However, early modern Portuguese travel and trade was far more complex, involving cultural and commercial exchange throughout the globe. The Atlantic slave trade itself depended on the acquisition of trade goods in Asia that were shipped to Africa and exchanged for slaves. Portuguese territories represented substantial markets, particularly for European and Asian commodities, and goods produced within the Portuguese world, such as gold from Minas Gerais, were traded throughout the globe.

Despite the importance of the Portuguese empire throughout the early modern period, its contributions after the middle of the seventeenth century are rarely

³ Some recent studies include David Richardson, and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, eds., *Networks and Trans-Cultural Exchange: Slave Trading in the South Atlantic, 1590-1867* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, *Escravos e Traficantes no Império Português: O Comércio Negreiro Português no Atlântico Durante os Séculos XV a XIX* (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2013); David Eltis, and David Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Linda A. Newson, and Susie Minchin, *From Capture to Sale: The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

considered in depth in studies of global exchange. The catalog for the exhibition *Made in the Americas*, edited by Dennis Carr, is exceptional in this regard. Many of the essays discuss Brazil and its visual culture at some length. The catalog enables Brazil, and the Portuguese empire as a whole, to become visible to scholars interested in other parts of the Americas, and offers comparative insights between the various American colonies.⁴

Instead of examining the Portuguese empire in relation to rival powers, books and exhibitions more often focus specifically on the Portuguese world. In the field of art history, the global reach of the Portuguese empire has only relatively recently been examined in exhibitions and catalogs such as *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries* in Washington, D.C., in 2007, *Portugal, Jesuits, and Japan: Spiritual Beliefs and Earthly Goods* in Boston in 2013, and *O Exótico Nunca está em Casa? A China na Faiança e no Azulejo Portugueses (Séculos XVII-XVIII)-The Exotic is Never at Home? The Presence of China in the Portuguese Faience and Azulejo (17th-18th Centuries)* held in Lisbon in 2013 and 2014. As the titles of these exhibitions demonstrate, eighteenth-century Brazil is not typically included within the scope of such scholarship.

Art historical studies on colonial Minas Gerais, on the other hand, focus exclusively on locally produced religious painting, sculpture, and architecture. Domestic material culture and imagery that is not overtly religious have not been thoroughly examined. With the exception of prints, imports have been mostly

⁴ Dennis Carr, et al., *Made in the Americas: The New World Discovers Asia* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2015). Logistical matters hindered the inclusion of Brazilian objects in the exhibition.

neglected. However, the examination of imported decorative art objects is highly fruitful for the field of *mineiro* art history.⁵ As the socio-cultural anthropologist Arjun Appadurai argued, luxury goods function primarily as signs.⁶ Unlike items required for survival, the purpose of luxuries is largely based on power relationships; such objects are ascribed great monetary value because their possession is associated with wealth and power. Nonetheless, ownership and display of luxury goods is not solely a demonstration of wealth, but also of cultural knowledge.⁷ The careful selection of objects signals education and sophistication, and cultural knowledge is required for the proper use and display of luxuries.

Moreover, in the context of an empire, the possession of foreign luxuries often functioned as a reenactment of the possession of distant places.⁸ Many of the most valued commodities within the homes of the elite in Minas Gerais originated from Portugal's territories in Asia and Africa. Such possessions celebrated Portugal's continuing presence in those places. Furthermore, the ownership of objects from Britain, France, the Dutch Republic, Spain, Italy, and their dominions often involved

⁵ *Mineiro* can refer to the residents of Minas Gerais, or anything that is from Minas Gerais.

⁶ Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 37.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁸ Ileana Baird, "Introduction: Peregrine Things: Rethinking the Global in Eighteenth-Century Studies," in *Eighteenth-Century Thing Theory in a Global Context: From Consumerism to Celebrity Culture*, ed. by Ileana Baird, and Christina Ionescu (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013), 1-2.

complex cultural and political relationships. Imported luxury goods offered tangible evidence of the relationships held with distant regions of the world.

Exploring the aesthetic tastes of consumers is particularly relevant for the history of art in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais. The architecture and ornamentation of the surviving eighteenth-century churches has been the primary focus of art historical scholarship. Since the monastic orders had been banned from the mining region, the secular clergy and laypeople were responsible for commissioning and using the churches and other religious furnishings. Most of the churches in the region belonged to lay confraternities, groups of ordinary individuals who gathered their resources to erect chapels and churches.

For such individuals, participation in the adornment of their confraternity's chapel or church was certainly important. However, the personal belongings that they wore on their bodies, kept in their homes, and interacted with on a daily basis were equally significant. Historians examining consumption in Minas Gerais often remark upon the central importance of luxury goods for the projection of status.⁹ As was true for many other regions of the globe, in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais the potential for social mobility created a large population of individuals who were born to families of modest means but who attained great wealth and status. In such a context, status was typically derived from and reinforced by the possession of luxury goods rather than noble birth.

⁹ Júnia Ferreira Furtado, *Homens de Negócio: A Interiorização da Metrópole e do Comércio nas Minas Setecentistas* (São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, 1999), 219. Furtado's statement is reiterated in Roberto Guedes Ferreira, and Márcio de Sousa Soares, "Tensões, Comportamentos e Hábitos de Consumo na Sociedade Senhorial da América Portuguesa," in *Coleção o Brasil Colonial*, ed. by João Fragoso and Maria de Fátima Gouvêa, Vol. 3 (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2014), 547.

Research on imported luxuries and the tastes of the local elite, moreover, provides an opportunity to contextualize the surviving churches and other colonial monuments within a broader visual and material culture. This elucidates many questions surrounding the creation, reception, and intended appearance of ecclesiastical buildings. The churches originally contained large quantities of decorative art objects. Certain idiosyncrasies of the *mineiro* churches that have drawn attention—such as the imitation lacquer *chinoiserie* paintings—are more clearly understood within the context of a world filled with ceramics, textiles, and furnishings ornamented with *chinoiserie*.

In addition to churches, domestic oratories have received considerable attention in art historical scholarship and museology. Oratories are small wooden boxes with doors resembling miniature chapels that typically housed religious sculptures. Oratories have been popular among collectors and scholars because they were locally produced and offer evidence of piety and humility within a frontier context. Despite the frequent presence of oratories in local museums, little new research has surfaced in recent years. The analysis of post-mortem inventories offers new insights into the prevalence of oratories, what objects they contained, and which demographic groups owned them. Although scholarship tends to emphasize their function as substitutes for churches and chapels during the initial settlement of Minas Gerais, both museum collections and archival evidence attest to their popularity later in the century among elites who enjoyed considerable access to religious institutions. Thus, their functions and meanings demand further investigation.

The examination of inventories further highlights gaps in art historical scholarship and avenues of inquiry in need of research. For instance, the absence of

any prints or paintings in the Oliveira Pinto family's inventories raises questions about the development of easel painting in Brazil and the importation of two-dimensional artwork. The Oliveira Pintos' lack of prints and paintings was not atypical in Minas Gerais, and I have found only a small number of *mineiro* inventories that mention easel paintings.¹⁰

My focus on consumers and my reliance on documentary evidence complements recent developments in the field of *mineiro* art history. In particular, the examination of the lives of artists, based on archival sources, has become popular in Minas Gerais.¹¹ Scholars publishing on art in Minas Gerais, such as Adalgisa Arantes Campos and her former student Jeaneath Xavier de Araujo, received their training in social history rather than art history. Such social history studies typically analyze the artists' working practices, their social standing, and their relationships with other artists and patrons. This socially oriented art historical scholarship continues to elucidate the conditions under which local artists produced religious art and architecture.

The consumption of imports, on the other hand, has predominantly been examined in the field of history. Such historical scholarship typically focuses on

¹⁰ This contrasts with conditions in the Spanish Americas, where inventories often list large numbers of easel paintings. Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, "Paintings in the Home in Spanish Colonial America," in *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898*, ed. by Richard Aste (Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 2013); Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, "The Possessor's Agency: Private Art Collecting in the Colonial Andes," *Colonial Latin American Review* 18, no 3 (2009): 339-64.

¹¹ For a brief list of scholars conducting social histories of artists, see Jeaneth Xavier de Araújo, "A Pintura de Manoel da Costa Ataíde no Contexto da Época Moderna," in *Manoel da Costa Ataíde: Aspectos Históricos, Estilísticos, Iconográficos e Técnicos*, ed. by Adalgisa Arantes Campos (Belo Horizonte: Editora C/Arte, 2005), 41n25.

marginalized groups and economic issues. Among the marginalized groups whose domestic material culture have been explored are the so-called New Christians, Jews who had converted to Christianity. In the 1970s, Anita Novinsky published a book that examines and transcribes the inventories of the possessions of 130 New Christians who lived in Brazil and were accused of practicing Judaism.¹² The same type of inquisition inventories were examined in Lina Gorenstein's 2005 book on New Christian women in Rio de Janeiro, and in Isabel Drumond Braga's 2012 book on the possessions of New Christians in Portugal and Brazil.¹³ Even though inquisition records offer intriguing glimpses into the material culture of New Christians, they are far less reliable documents of domestic possessions than post-mortem inventories. Such records were taken after an individual had been imprisoned; without access to their homes, most of the accused were unable to accurately describe their possessions in full.

In addition to the belongings of New Christians, several historians have explored the dress of women of African descent.¹⁴ One of the most thorough

¹² Anita Novinsky, *Inquisição: Inventários de Bens Confiscados a Cristãos Novos: Fontes para a História de Portugal e do Brasil* (Lisbon: Impr. Nacional, Casa de Moeda, 1976).

¹³ Lina Gorenstein, *A Inquisição Contra as Mulheres: Rio de Janeiro, Séculos XVII e XVIII* (São Paulo: Associação Editorial Humanitas, 2005); Isabel M. R. Drumond Braga, *Bens de Hereges: Inquisição e Cultura Material, Portugal e Brasil, Séculos XVII-XVIII* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2012).

¹⁴ Vilmaria Lucia Rodrigues, "Negras Senhoras: O Universo Material das Mulheres Africanas Forras," *Anais do I Colóquio do LAHES – 13 a 16 de Junho de 2005*, <http://www.ufjf.br/lahes/files/2010/03/c1-a69.pdf>. Find article in compilation. Sílvia Hunold Lara has published several articles on the subject, and Cláudia Cristina Mól's Master's thesis is discussed below.

examinations of the cultural significance of material culture in Minas Gerais is Cláudia Cristina Mól's Master's thesis on the clothing of freedwomen in Vila Rica from 1750 to 1800.¹⁵ Using post-mortem inventories along with Carlos Julião's period watercolors, Mól examined signs of acculturation to Portuguese norms as well as survivals of African cultural attitudes. Mól argues that the frequent possession of brightly colored textiles, especially red cloth, was a result of the women's African cultural heritage.¹⁶ While African values may have informed the choice of color, the argument is not entirely convincing without a comparison to the colors of textiles purchased among other sectors of the population. Research about consumption among further demographic groups, such as the white elite, would enable a clearer understanding of the effect of cultural heritage on consumption patterns.

Historical research examining the significance of the ownership of luxuries is far outnumbered by studies in economic history. The economic history of colonial Minas Gerais is a thriving field. This research, much of it addressing aspects of commerce, has greatly improved the understanding of the region. Economic historians often utilize post-mortem inventories, focusing on the descriptions of lands, houses, and slaves. However, when luxuries are mentioned, they are typically listed as evidence of wealth. Economic historians usually divide possessions by typology, sometimes in broad categories such as slaves, livestock, and moveable goods, or more detailed groups such as textiles and furniture. The goal is to provide statistics about the

¹⁵ Cláudia Cristina Mól, "Mulheres Forras: Cotidiano e Cultura Material em Vila Rica (1750-1800)" (Master's thesis, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 2002).

¹⁶ Mól, "Mulheres Forras," 116, 158. Cláudia Cristina Mól, "Entre Sedas e Baetas: O Vestuário das Mulheres Alforriadas de Vila Rica," *Varia Historia* 32 (July 2004): 179, 188.

percentage of a type of object within the overall value of the estate. Such research elucidates the importance of slaves, lands, livestock, and luxuries for the economic health of the estate, but explores neither the cultural significance of such possessions, nor the presence of unique or unusual items.

Statistical research with big data, moreover, tends to minimize the importance of luxuries. The types of luxury goods under consideration were not needed in large numbers. As precious possessions, they were cared for and could be used for years before being replaced. Rarity often contributed to the allure of a certain object. The market for expensive decorative art objects was relatively small and selective. Therefore, studies focusing on the types of objects most frequently imported and exported consider luxuries to be less important than items such as gold bullion, foods, livestock, and slaves.¹⁷ Studies of the trading companies naturally tend to focus on their main goods that were shipped in bulk rather than the smaller quantities of luxuries.¹⁸ Although luxuries may not have been the central focus of the trading companies, they were nevertheless of great significance to consumers.

¹⁷ See for instance Sousa's focus on subsistence goods in Avanete Pereira Sousa, "Circuitos Internos de Produção, Comercialização e Consumo na América Portuguesa: O Exemplo da Capitania da Bahia (Século XVIII)," in *Colóquio Internacional Consumo e Abastecimento na História*, ed. by Denise A. Soares de Moura, Margarida Maria de Carvalho, and Maria-Aparecida Lopes (São Paulo: Alameda, 2011), 139-166.

¹⁸ For instance, Carlos Etchevarne and João Pedro Gomes argue that few imported ceramics arrived in Salvador in the seventeenth century, because the Companhia Geral do Comércio do Brasil focused on trading the major foodstuffs, wheat, olive oil, wine and cod, for sugar rather than carrying luxury goods. Carlos Etchevarne, and João Pedro Gomes, "A Cerâmica no Quotidiano Colonial Português: O Caso de Salvador da Bahia," in *Velhos e Novos Mundos: Estudos de Arqueologia Moderna*, Vol. 2, ed. by Andre Teixeira and Jose Antonio Bettencourt (Lisbon: Centro de Historia de Alem-Mar, 2012), 824, 826.

In general, historical scholarship often treats the objects described in inventories as evidence of wealth and acculturation, but does not explore the appearance and meaning in-depth. Furthermore, historical explorations of inventories rarely include images of representative objects. As an art historian, I employ a different set of methods and approaches to assess the visual appeal and functions of the commodities listed in post-mortem inventories, focusing on both locally produced and imported objects.

Methodology

In general terms, economic history research in Minas Gerais tends to analyze a few hundred post-mortem inventories representative of a diverse section of the local population, including people from several social classes.¹⁹ In contrast, this dissertation focuses on a more specific group of individuals who were wealthy landowners. The selection of a smaller group of people enables a richer understanding of each person's social standing, financial stability, relationship to their place of residence, to Portugal, and to consumer goods.

This dissertation centers on a single family. The Oliveira Pinto family was selected based on the survival and availability of documentation, the socio-economic status of family members, and the richness of their possessions. Historical circumstances and the state of the archives favored the selection of a family resident within the municipality of Mariana, a particularly important location within Minas

¹⁹ Since the purpose of a post-mortem inventory was to divide property among heirs, individuals who owned few items of value are not represented in inventories. People of African or indigenous descent are underrepresented in such records.

Gerais. Originally named Vila do Ribeirão de Nossa Senhora do Carmo, or Vila do Carmo, the town was situated at the center of the gold mining region. In 1745 the town was renamed Mariana and raised to a city, the only city in Minas Gerais during the colonial period. At that time, the city was made the seat of the bishopric, and a seminary was opened in 1750.²⁰ In addition, practical concerns favored the selection of a family in the area. The post-mortem inventories in the Casa Setecentista in Mariana have experienced less deterioration than those in other archives, and the majority of ecclesiastical records for the captaincy of Minas Gerais are held in the Arquivo Ecclesiastico da Arquidiocese de Mariana.

Following the devastating earthquake in Lisbon in 1755, the Portuguese court requested a list of the wealthiest men in Minas Gerais likely for the purpose of compelling the inhabitants of that economic center to fund Lisbon's reconstruction. The resulting list was compiled in 1756 and provides the names, occupations, and places of residence of over a thousand individuals throughout the captaincy.²¹ In order to find individuals wealthy enough to own luxury goods, I searched the archives for persons included in this list. All of the members of the Oliveira Pinto family who were adult males living in Minas Gerais in 1756 were included.

²⁰ On the seminary, see Luiz Carlos Villalta, "Educação: Nascimento, "Haveres" e Gêneros," in *História de Minas Gerais: As Minas Setecentistas*, Vol. 2, ed. by Maria Efigênia Lage de Resende, Luiz Carlos Villalta, and Adalgisa Arantes Campos (Belo Horizonte: Companhia do Tempo, 2007), 259-266.

²¹ The original manuscript is located in the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino in Lisbon. The list is transcribed and alphabetized in Carla Maria Carvalho de Almeida, *Ricos e Pobres em Minas Gerais: Produção e Hierarquização Social no Mundo Colonial, 1750-1822* (Belo Horizonte: Argumentum, 2010), 221-249.

Although all the men recorded in the 1756 list were considered by their contemporaries to be wealthy, the men's socioeconomic status varied greatly. Carla Maria Carvalho de Almeida examined the surviving post-mortem inventories of the men included in the list. The overall value of their estates ranged from 14,000 *reis* to over eight-eight million *reis*.²² According to the inventories I have examined, most wealthy individuals owned estates valued between one and two million *reis*. The average price of a youthful, healthy slave ranged from about 100,000 to 200,000 *reis*, giving an indication of the relative wealth of the *mineiros* under consideration. The Oliveira Pintos were among the wealthier of the wealthy, typically having estates valued between fifteen and thirty million *reis*. They were not, however, among the truly exceptional and powerful individuals with estates valued between sixty and eighty-eight million *reis*. Nonetheless, a family member, Antonio Duarte Pinto, could rightly claim to be part of one of "the principal families of the bishopric."²³

Finally, the Oliveira Pintos presented an ideal case study because of their penchant for purchasing unusual and costly luxury goods. In Minas Gerais, monetary wealth was typically invested in the ownership of slaves and land. Therefore, a valuable estate did not necessarily include large quantities of decorative art. In addition to numerous slaves and large tracts of land, the Oliveira Pintos purchased luxury goods of considerable quality and quantity.

²² Ibid., 127-8. The *real* was one of the currencies used within the Portuguese world. Throughout the eighteenth century, between 1,200 to 1,500 *reis* were equivalent to an *oitava* of gold. 128 *oitavas* equaled one pound of gold.

²³ "...he dos principais familias deste Bispado...." Antonio Duarte Pinto's processo de *genere, vita e moribus*, 1756, armario 1, pasta 119, AEAM.

In-depth examination of a single family proved to be remarkably fruitful for understanding social dynamics in Minas Gerais. In order to learn about the family members' lives, I examined a diverse selection of documents, including parish records of baptisms, weddings, and deaths, marriage paperwork, inventories and testaments, paperwork for entrance into the priesthood, and records of the confraternity of the third order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. The manuscripts consulted provided a rich understanding of life in the eighteenth century, including details such as where family members had lived, where they had traveled throughout their lives, and which churches they frequented. Furthermore, I learned about their participation in religious confraternities, their relationships with friends and acquaintances, and the professions of their parents and grandparents.

To contextualize the family's possessions, my archival research examined the inventories of a broader group of people. I analyzed the post-mortem inventories for a variety of the family's friends, business partners, and acquaintances, such as individuals for whom the Oliveira Pinto's served as godparents, fellow members of the confraternity of Our Lady of Carmel, and merchants from whom the family purchased goods. Overall, I examined about ninety inventories of wealthy individuals living in the gold mining region of Minas Gerais.

Although my research identified 125 members of the family, the discussion focuses on a small number of individuals for whom documentation has survived. I have included at the end of chapter three family trees to clarify family relationships. As was common in eighteenth-century Brazil, members of the family often shared the same first name, women did not adopt a new surname at marriage, and blood relatives often had unrelated surnames. For the sake of convenience, I refer to the family as the

Oliveira Pintos, the surname given to several children of Mariana Correia de Oliveira and João Pinto Alvares, founders of this elite dynasty. In actuality, few members of the family used the surname Oliveira Pinto. Names occasionally changed between childhood and adulthood, and certain documents used longer or shorter variants of an individual's name. My discussion relies on the names most commonly used in adulthood and I have adopted the modern spellings of the names as found in the archives' catalogs. The surnames used within the family, such as Oliveira, Pinto, Alvares, Duarte, Carvalho, and Correia, were common in Minas Gerais. Individuals with the same surname are unlikely to be related unless additional evidence exists.

Throughout the dissertation, men's names will frequently be accompanied by military titles. These titles were important signs of status and privilege, and some men always included the title in their name. The military titles were particularly significant to men who were not of noble birth and who had not been admitted to the Order of Christ or the Order of the Holy Office. The titles appear in the following order, from lowest to highest ranking: sergeant (*sargento*), ensign (*alferes*), lieutenant (*tenente*), and captain (*capitão*).²⁴

Without having embarked on a research trip to Portugal, certain resources were unavailable to me. This dissertation is grounded instead in my experiences traveling and living in Minas Gerais. I familiarized myself with the climate, topography, streets, and colonial structures of the city of Mariana and the surrounding region. This first-

²⁴ Jorge da Cunha Pereira Filho, "Tropas Militares Luso-Brasileiras nos Séculos XVIII e XIX," *Boletim do Projeto "Pesquisa Genealógica Sobre as Origens da Família Cunha Pereira"* 3, n. 12 (1998): 46-80, http://buratto.org/gens/gn_tropas.html.

hand experience is fundamental to my understanding of the conditions of life and travel in the area.

Chapter Summaries

The dissertation begins with an analysis of primary and secondary sources to dismantle the idea of *mineiro* isolation and to reveal that Minas Gerais was home to highly educated elites with strong personal, cultural, and material ties to diverse regions of the globe. Following the two first chapters that explore the actual conditions of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais, the last three chapters examine the specifics of the Oliveira Pinto family's lives, their ownership of luxury goods, and the cultural significance of their possessions.

Chapter one, "Isolation: A Critical Historiography," examines how the captaincy of Minas Gerais came to be considered isolated in economic, intellectual, and artistic terms. According to traditional histories of Minas Gerais, the mining region was not only geographically remote, but also subject to oppressive legal measures. As a result, inhabitants were entirely dependent on imports for subsistence, and the absence of the religious orders resulted in a lack of education and moral laxity. Twentieth-century scholarship, however, often exaggerated the geographic and cultural isolation of Minas Gerais. Sources that supported the isolation of the area were accepted as reliable, and the nationalistic sentiments of many scholars favored such an interpretation. The idea of the cultural isolation of Minas Gerais has been especially important for the field of art history.

Since the 1970s, however, scholars have been overturning this traditional conception of Minas Gerais by revealing that residents of the area were aware of

artistic currents in Europe and held strong commercial ties to the rest of the globe. Chapter Two, “Networks: Travels, Trade, and Intellectual Exchange,” explores recent research in history, material culture studies, and art history that refutes the theory of isolation. The gold and diamonds extracted in Minas Gerais played a crucial role in trade throughout the world. Commerce within the Portuguese empire enabled Brazilian consumers to obtain merchandise from all four continents. Moreover, legal and illegal trade with the British, French, Dutch, and Spanish further enabled access to prized luxuries.

Trade networks not only connected far-flung areas of the globe through material exchange, but also fostered travel and communication. Merchants traveled frequently and constantly sent letters to suppliers and retailers within and beyond the empire. *Mineiro* elites who were not merchants also maintained relationships in other regions of the empire. Family, friends, and business partners connected the inhabitants of Minas Gerais to the rest of the world. Commerce and communication enabled residents of Minas Gerais to learn about cultural changes occurring in Europe. Art historical analysis of the print sources used for surviving eighteenth-century paintings in *mineiro* churches further offers concrete evidence that artists were knowledgeable about European compositions and styles. Both fine art and domestic consumer goods educated artists and patrons in Minas Gerais about new styles, imagery, and tastes throughout the world.

The educated elite emulated European tastes and acquired imported luxury goods. Examination of the lives of the mine-owning elite, in particular, provides evidence for a high degree of education, familiarity with rural environments and travel, and strong ties to places outside of Minas Gerais. The third chapter, “Family:

Relationships and the Consolidation of Power,” uses archival records to explore the lives of four generations of Oliveira Pintos. As was common during the gold rush, João Pinto Alvares left his family in Portugal and traveled to Brazil at a young age hoping to find wealth. He established himself in Minas Gerais, married an illiterate young white woman from Rio de Janeiro, had a dozen children, and eventually became a wealthy nobleman. His children became priests, monks, nuns, and intellectuals, or married men who, like João, had immigrated from Portugal in their youth and had attained wealth and prestige.

Family ties were essential to many aspects of life. The Oliveira Pintos established a web of family relationships throughout Minas Gerais, as well as in Rio de Janeiro and Portugal. They maintained constant contact with parents, children, and cousins in Portugal, and sent gold across the Atlantic to provide for the extended family. In addition, social relationships outside of the family facilitated the establishment and maintenance of power and prestige, particularly the connections formed through membership in religious confraternities.

While existing historical scholarship on Minas Gerais focuses on urbanization, all branches of the Oliveira Pinto family lived in rural areas. They traveled significant distances to visit friends and family, and to attend religious ceremonies and festivals. They established themselves as part of the rural aristocracy, and were accustomed to the inconveniences of travel. The circumstances in which family members lived, their wealth, status, education, and personal tastes determined how they presented themselves to the community with their choice of clothing, the contents of their homes, and their modes of transportation. The fourth chapter, “Possessions: Luxuries in the Oliveira Pinto Family Homes,” reconstructs the family’s belongings, focusing

primarily on luxuries and imports, but also considering objects that provide evidence for local manufacturing. Analysis of the textual descriptions of objects in some of the family's post-mortem inventories from 1748 to 1807 demonstrates that consumption patterns changed over time. In addition, the specifics of an individual's life, such as gender, age, marital status, occupation and place of residence, generally affected the quantity, quality, and types of objects owned.

Finally, foreign imports were prominent in the material culture of Minas Gerais throughout the century and were used in conjunction with local materials, products, and customs. The local purchasing power that funded global trade and enabled foreign commodities to reach Minas Gerais was of great importance to wealthy *mineiros*. Chapter Five, "Porcelain, Dress, and Hammocks: Local Wealth and Global Aspirations," analyzes a particularly meaningful group of objects within the family's belongings. These objects enabled the Oliveira Pintos to demonstrate their refinement, education and social status, and allowed the family to materially represent their cultural and economic position within the world. The family owned an exceptionally large porcelain collection compared to other wealthy residents of Minas Gerais. The family's porcelain collection tied them to Portugal's history as a maritime power, to elite European social rituals, and to the interest in *chinoiserie*.

Whereas ceramics were used within the home, the family's clothing and jewelry was visible to the public. Clothing signaled identity and was regulated not only by custom but also by law. In a place where people of all social and racial backgrounds attained considerable wealth, the visual distinction of status was a widespread concern. The dress of the Oliveira Pintos incorporated the richest of materials, violating sumptuary laws. They fashioned their garments from imported

textiles following European patterns, and further adorned their bodies with the riches of the local mining region: gold, diamonds, and other precious stones.

The family's American identity was most strongly pronounced in their use of hammocks. Originally adopted from Native Americans, hammocks were ubiquitous in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais and represented a rich amalgam of Brazilian traditions, and Asian and European textiles, as well as incorporating the labor of enslaved Africans. Hammocks were used as seats and beds within the home, and as modes of transportation carried by slaves. One of the family's hammocks, in particular, materialized the complexity of cultural and commercial exchange. The hammock was suspended from an ivory-adorned bamboo pole that had been imported from Angola, the result of the exportation of Brazilian customs across the Atlantic.

Although the luxuries within the Oliveira Pinto family's homes were largely imported, local pride was embedded within them. The family's exploitation of the mining region's natural resources allowed them to bring cosmopolitan sophistication to their place of residence. The Oliveira Pintos considered Minas Gerais to be fundamental to the Portuguese empire as the financial center of the world. Yet, the family embraced Minas Gerais not only as a source of currency, but also as home to a unique cultural heritage. The dissertation concludes with a discussion of the need for further research into Portuguese attitudes toward luxury and domestic customs, as well as the relationship between the material culture of Minas Gerais and that of Portugal. The drastically different conditions in Minas Gerais complicate a comparison of inventories in each place. Nevertheless, such a comparison will lay the ground for further research that may elucidate questions about cultural connections, emulation, and local pride.

Chapter 1

ISOLATION: A CRITICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

The historical and art historical scholarship on colonial Minas Gerais has traditionally emphasized the geographic and cultural isolation of the area. Although the captaincy was distant from the coast and established population centers, the degree of isolation and its effect on the local community have been overstated. This chapter demonstrates that this exaggerated view stems from reliance on biased historical and literary sources, a nationalistic emphasis on tales of the independence of the *mineiro* population, and a focus on marginalized groups, urbanization, and concubinage. The theme of isolation was particularly central to the twentieth-century history of *mineiro* art because it fueled the concept of a uniquely Brazilian culture, identity, and aesthetic. The conception of Minas Gerais, and even Brazil as a whole, as relatively isolated from other parts of the globe has had a lasting impact on the study of the colonial consumption of imported luxury goods.

Historical and Literary Sources: Their Use and Misuse

Influential twentieth-century historians such as Charles Boxer, Augusto de Lima Júnior, and Sylvio de Vasconcellos commonly used royal decrees and descriptions of Minas Gerais written by outsiders to the region. While these are all valuable records, they are frequently interpreted with insufficient care. Rather than examining the

circumstances and motives underlying the creation of such texts, these sources are often considered accurate and reliable descriptions of conditions in the mining region.

The Portuguese court aimed for strict control of Minas Gerais to promote fast and efficient mining and to ensure the collection of the *quinto*, the royal twenty percent tax on all gold. Once Dom Pedro II (r. 1683-1706) learned of the discovery of gold in Minas Gerais, he immediately began to issue numerous decrees on mining, landownership, taxation, agriculture, manufacturing, immigration, travel, and many other areas relevant to the control of the region. Even though Charles Boxer admits that “harsh and oppressive laws could often be circumvented with relative ease and impunity in the backlands of Brazil...,”¹ he and many other nineteenth and twentieth-century scholars assumed that much of the royal legislation was effective.² The great multitude of laws creates the impression of a highly restrictive police state, where agriculture and manufacturing were inexistent, the religious orders were absent, and in which permission was required to enter and exit the mining region, creating a population that was “sequestered” from surrounding areas.³ These early studies often

¹ Charles R. Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: Growing Pains of a Colonial Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 205. Boxer uses this remark to point out the extreme absolutism in the diamond mining district. The sentence continues “...but not in the bleak and forbidding region of the aptly-named Serro do Frio.”

² For instance, many pages of Paulo Pereira dos Reis’ text are simply lists of legislation, without any comment on their efficacy, *O Colonialismo Português e a Conjuração Mineira; Esboço de uma Perspectiva Histórica dos Fatores Econômicos que Determinaram a Conjuração Mineira* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1964).

³ On the lack of agriculture, see Sylvio de Vasconcellos, *Vila Rica: Formação e Desenvolvimento, Residências* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1956), 88. Unlike most other twentieth-century authors,

failed to take into account that the Portuguese court had no direct means of enforcing legislation, and that the repeated issuance of the same or similar laws is often an indication of ineffectiveness.

In addition to legislation, scholarship has relied heavily on eighteenth-century descriptions of the mining region written not by locals but by authors whose political and economic interests lie outside of the area. Although manuscripts composed by authors living in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais, such as José Joaquim da Rocha and José J. Teixeira Coelho, have been repeatedly published, traditional conceptions of the area rely heavily on André João Antonil's *Cultura, e Opulencia do Brasil* of 1711.⁴ Soon after publication, the text was banned, and most copies were confiscated and destroyed. Since its first republication in 1838, the text has become the main source on the settlement, living conditions, and gold mining techniques of Minas Gerais.⁵

The name André João Antonil is a pseudonym adopted by João Antônio Andreoni, a Jesuit priest who lived in Bahia. Secondary literature rarely mentions that

Boxer admits that the ban of the religious orders was not entirely effective, Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil*, 180. For a description of the area as subject to oppressive government control, see Joaquim Felício dos Santos, *Memórias do Distrito Diamantino*, (Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 1978), 65. Santos' text was initially published in 1868, but remained an oft-used resource. The fifth and final edition was printed in 1978.

⁴ This text was banned because its descriptions of the routes leading to the mining region might enable foreign powers to access the area. Details about the publication and its suppression are found in Robert C. Smith, "The Colonial Architecture of Minas Gerais in Brazil," *The Art Bulletin* 21, no. 2 (1939): 113n26.

⁵ For an extensive list of republications, see Hélió Gravatá, *Hélió Gravatá: Resgate Bibliográfico de Minas Gerais*, Vol. 1, ed. by Cristina Ávila and Kátia Miranda, (Belo Horizonte: Sistema Estadual de Planejamento, Fundação João Pinheiro, Centro de Estudos Históricos e Culturais, 1998), 56-59.

Antonil never visited Minas Gerais.⁶ His text appears to be based on various accounts of Minas Gerais, including letters written by one of governor Artur de Sa's attendants.⁷ As a Jesuit, Antonil resented the ban on religious orders in Minas Gerais. The text's emphasis on the immorality of the mining region's inhabitants, including both the general population and the secular clergy, was a result of the author's monastic allegiance. Moreover, the text reflects his economic investment in the Northeastern sugar cane industry, the power and privileges of which the book aimed to protect. The largest segment of the book revolves around sugar cane cultivation, and the text's overarching message is that the agricultural products of sugar cane and tobacco are Brazil's true source of wealth. Antonil argued that all resources must be directed toward enabling these industries to prosper, rather than diverted toward the gold mining industry. As such, the purpose of his section on the gold mining region was to demonstrate the evils of the place, the people, and the industry. In addition to the lack of morals and religious education, he focuses on poverty, criminality, and chaos, and that gold mining will not benefit the economy of the Portuguese empire.⁸

Throughout much of the twentieth century, historians neglected to take into account Antonil's political, social, and economic agendas or the cultural biases of the writers of other historical sources. Antonil's publication has been considered a reliable

⁶ Boxer is one of the few scholars to note this fact. See Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil*, 382n13, 41.

⁷ Ibid., 382n13; Antonil seems to be reproducing one such letter in chapter XIV of the third part of the book.

⁸ His list of goods and their inflated prices has been highly influential for studies of material culture. André João Antonil, *Cultura, e Opulencia do Brasil por suas Drogas, e Minas* (Lisbon: Na Officina Real Deslandesiana, 1711), 139-141.

historical document of the early eighteenth-century, the author being a prime “authority” on the subject.⁹ His statements have been considered innocent and honest rather than politically motivated. For instance, Boxer reports that in 1701 Dom João de Lencastre warned that the Brazilian gold industry would not benefit the Portuguese empire because the gold would end up in the hands of foreign powers. When Antonil reiterates this common economic argument, Boxer described Antonil’s assertion as an “unconscious fulfillment” of Dom João de Lencastre’s prediction.¹⁰ Antonil’s writing is interpreted as a truthful statement about contemporary events rather than the deliberate promotion of an economic theory.

Other types of literary sources have also been treated as unbiased historical records. For instance, the obviously laudatory tone of the 1734 *Triunfo Eucharistico* has, on occasion, been ignored. The text was published for the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Blacks in Vila Rica and celebrates that city and Minas Gerais as a whole. The description of Vila Rica demonstrates the hyperbolic quality of the text’s statements:

In this town live the chief merchants, whose trade and importance incomparably exceed the most thriving of the leading merchants of Portugal. Hither, as to a port, are directed and collected in the royal mint the grandiose amounts of gold from all the mines. Here dwell the best educated men, both lay and ecclesiastic. Here is the seat of all the nobility and the strength of the military. It is, by virtue of its natural position, the head of the whole of America and by the wealth of its riches it is the precious pearl of Brazil.¹¹

⁹ Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil*, 382n13, 41.

¹⁰ Ibid., 55.

¹¹ The English translation stems from Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil*, 161-2.

Overlooking the rhetorical nature of this description, for instance, Sylvio de Vasconcellos interpreted the text's claim that half of Portugal had emigrated to Minas Gerais as a historical statistic, approximating that 800,000 Portuguese immigrants must have reached the area.¹²

Scholarship has also rarely taken into account the cultural and political biases of foreign travelers, whose early nineteenth-century accounts are among the main sources of information about colonial Minas Gerais. Possibly because the travelers are considered educated and respectable men, they are deemed "trustworthy."¹³ However, these travelers were influenced by the conception of American inferiority to Europe, and typically viewed the Brazilian people, customs, climate, and landscape with disdain. The descriptions of Brazil as plagued by a host of problems often served political and economic purposes, such as to promote the exploitation of Brazilian natural resources.¹⁴

While treating subjective travel accounts as objective historical records is in itself problematic, the common use of early twentieth-century Portuguese translations of the travel accounts has caused further complications. Still today, translations are often used as substitutes for the original texts. Authors who rely on translations seldom consider the translator's own political and social agendas, or the consequences

¹² Vasconcellos. *Vila Rica*, 23.

¹³ Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil*, 169.

¹⁴ The two earliest foreign travelers to Minas Gerais, John Mawe and Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege were both mineralogists.

of the interpretation (and possible misinterpretation) of foreign languages.¹⁵ Some scholars fail to acknowledge that they are quoting a translator's words rather than the words of a nineteenth-century traveler. For instance, the Brazilian anthropologist Luís da Câmara Cascudo inserts what he claims to be a quote from the British mineralogist John Mawe, which is in fact a misinterpretation taken from the 1944 translation of Mawe's travel account by Solena Benevides Viana.¹⁶ The quotation stems from Mawe's description of what he considered a middle-class home in Minas Gerais, where the British author uses the term "bed" to mean the mattress rather than a wooden bedframe. Viana's translation erroneously states that such middle class homes had at least one or two bedframes, while Mawe merely refers to the presence of cushions for sleeping.¹⁷

Traditional scholarship also typically pays insufficient attention to the dates the historical sources were written, and conditions in colonial Minas Gerais are often

¹⁵ Frederico Edelweiss offers a scathing critique of the inaccuracy of Afonso Taunay's translations. Frederico G. Edelweiss, *A Serpentina e a Cadeirinha de Arruar: (Achegas Históricas)* (Salvador: Universidade Federal da Bahia, 1968), 21-2n20.

¹⁶ Luís da Câmara Cascudo, *Rede de Dormir: Uma Pesquisa Etnográfica* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, Serviço de Documentação, 1959), 34; John Mawe, *Viagem ao Interior do Brasil: Principalmente aos Distritos do Ouro e dos Diamantes*, trans. by Solena Benevides Viana (Rio de Janeiro: Zelio Valverde, 1944), 342.

¹⁷ Furthermore, Viana mistranslates the materials that filled the mattress. Mawe writes, "The beds are very coarse cotton cases, filled with dry grass, or the leaves of Indian corn. There are seldom more than two in a house...." John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, Particularly in the Gold and Diamond Districts of That Country* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row, 1812), 359. Viana translates, "The bedframes are adorned with coarse cotton mattresses, filled with dry straw or wheat leaves. There are rarely more than two in a house...." Mawe, *Viagem ao Interior do Brasil*, 342.

generalized with the entire gold mining period treated as a single historical moment. In his discussion of consumption, Vasconcellos flows seamlessly from the late seventeenth-century famines to legislation on inflation written in 1719, 1722, and 1723, to John Mawe's description of the abundance of British imports, without mentioning that Mawe refers to circumstances a century later in 1809.¹⁸ Even though most authors acknowledge the vast social and economic changes that occurred between the beginning of the gold rush and the nineteenth century, the first half of the eighteenth century is often treated as a homogenous whole, marked by the conditions described by Antonil. However, Antonil's book was published in 1711, and was not only composed prior to the date of publication but was also based on earlier reports. Thus, the text is relevant for understanding the first few years of settlement, but cannot address conditions once towns had been formed and residents had established themselves in the area. Likewise, the nineteenth-century travel accounts are often used to understand historical events that their writers could not possibly have witnessed. For instance, Vasconcellos relies on the French botanist Auguste de Saint-Hilaire's description of the settlement of Minas Gerais in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, although the Frenchman visited the area over one hundred years later.¹⁹

¹⁸ Vasconcellos, *Vila Rica*, 82-84.

¹⁹ Ibid., 21. At the end of one of his chapters, Vasconcellos admits that the majority of sources used in the previous pages were of the nineteenth century, but he did not make such a disclaimer prior to using the texts as historical evidence nor does he acknowledge the biases of the authors, *ibid.*, 88.

European travel accounts can function nonetheless as valuable sources about conditions in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais if treated carefully. While many aspects of life had changed from the first half of the eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century, the means of reaching the mining region had remained fairly constant. Therefore, the travel accounts are useful records for understanding the routes to Minas Gerais, the modes of travel, and the conditions travelers faced. Descriptions of the available routes to the mining region, from both travel accounts and other sources, have contributed to the perception of Minas Gerais as geographically isolated.

Nineteenth-century foreign travelers all embarked upon the Caminho Novo, the road completed in 1725 that connected the mining region to the port of Rio de Janeiro (fig. 1).²⁰ Information about the other routes is thus derived largely from the earlier account by Antonil. According to the Jesuit priest, the route from São Paulo, called the Caminho Velho, took two months, because the Paulistas, residents of São Paulo, only walked in the morning while spending the afternoon setting up camp and finding food.²¹ This reinforces not only the stereotype of the Paulistas' connection to the wilderness, but also the distance to the mines. Since the Caminho Novo had not yet been completed by the time of Antonil's account, travelers departing from Rio de Janeiro had to travel overland to join the Caminho Velho. Antonil describes travel from Rio de Janeiro along this route as particularly cumbersome. He claims that the journey would take fewer than thirty days if all daylight hours were spent walking, but

²⁰ Carla Maria Junho Anastasia and Junia Ferreira Furtado, "A Estrada Real na História das Minas Gerais," *História & Perspectivas* 20/21, (1999): 36.

²¹ Antonil, *Cultura e Opulencia*, 159.

the terrible conditions rarely enabled such swift progress. Reportedly, Artur de Sa's voyage from Rio de Janeiro along the Caminho Velho lasted forty-three days.²²

Antonil also describes the route from Bahia at length, although he does not provide an estimate of its duration. However, he states that "this route from Bahia to the mines is much better than that from Rio de Janeiro and from the town of São Paulo; because although longer, it is less difficult for being more open for the herds, more abundant for sustenance, and more accommodating for the beasts and the cargo."²³ Indeed, the northern route between Brazil's northeastern region and Minas Gerais appears to have been useful and much traveled, bringing supplies and people to the mining region. The 1701 decree forbidding transit along this route has, however, led scholars to neglect its likely importance for the region; almost all attention has been directed instead toward the Caminho Novo.²⁴ The lack of documentary information is a major factor that has prevented the northern route's importance for consumers in Minas Gerais from being studied. Because the region was easily traversed, the *registros* were often avoided, bypassing taxation and the scrutiny of officials. For these reasons, the northern route may very well have been the preferred means of accessing the region throughout the century.

Royal legislation only permitted access to the mining region from the south, and the Caminho Novo connecting Rio de Janeiro directly to Minas Gerais was the

²² Ibid., 163.

²³ "este caminho da Bahia para as minas he muito melhor, que o do Rio de Janeiro, & o da villa de São Paulo: porque posto que mais comprido, he menos difficultoso, por ser mais aberto para as Boyadas, mais abundante para o sustento, & mais accommodado apra as cavalgaduras, & para as cargas." Ibid., 168.

²⁴ Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil*, 43.

only officially sanctioned route for transporting gold. Interestingly, despite Antonil's claims that the Caminho Novo reduced travel time to ten to twelve days if traveled rapidly, secondary literature that heavily relies on Antonil does not usually repeat this time frame but claims that the journey took significantly longer.²⁵ It is important to note, however, Antonil's specification that the journey be conducted quickly, and that there were many means of travel. A small group of well-prepared men traveling on horses, mules or donkeys during the dry winter could certainly arrive within less than two weeks. On the other hand, the teams of pack mules carrying merchandise from the ports to the mining region traveled much more slowly. According to the English merchant John Luccock, traveling with the troops of mules was "the slowest of all modes."²⁶ Nevertheless, many of the European travelers spent at least a portion of their time traveling alongside the pack mules.

The German geologist Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege, whose description of the conditions of travel are some of the most detailed, arrived in Vila Rica within twenty-three days.²⁷ His account gives the impression of truly grueling circumstances. However, examination of other travel accounts indicates that he was ill prepared for

²⁵ Antonil, *Cultura e Opulencia*, 166. In an article on the Caminho Novo, Anastasia and Furtado claim that it takes forty-five days to travel without providing a source for their number. Anastasia and Furtado, "A Estrada Real na História das Minas Gerais," 34.

²⁶ John Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro, and the Southern Parts of Brazil; Taken during a Residence of Ten Years in That Country, from 1808-1818* (London: Samuel Leigh, 1820), 367-8.

²⁷ Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege, *Journal von Brasilien, oder Vermischte Nachrichten aus Brasilien, auf Wissenschaftlichen Reisen Gesammelt*, part 2 (Weimar: Im Verlage des Gr. H.S. pr. Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs, 1818), 136.

the journey. Locals would have been more aware of the travel conditions and could have better equipped themselves for the voyage. The addition of a hammock in the traveler's baggage greatly improved the convenience and comfort of travel, as the English immigrant Henry Koster's much more pleasurable trip throughout other regions of Brazil suggests.²⁸

Regardless of the duration of the journey, the travel accounts support the belief that the region was geographically remote. At the same time, they provide evidence of the measures taken to overcome that distance. Even wealthy elites, accustomed to a lifestyle of refinement, were willing to make the journey. Luccock witnessed a wealthy family who not only ventured across the difficult terrain, but carried with them a large bedframe made of jacarandá wood on the back of a mule.²⁹ Transporting a heavy and cumbersome piece of furniture was certainly not convenient or efficient, but this anecdote provides insight into the *mineiros*' motivation to overcome the challenges of living in a region distant from the coast. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the incentives for travel outweighed the disadvantages, and the route between the mines and the coast saw much traffic. Minas Gerais appears far less isolated than previously believed when the limitations and agendas of early modern legislation and travel accounts are taken into account.

²⁸ Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1816).

²⁹ Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro*, 516.

The Spirit of Independence: Paulistas, Emboabas, and the *Inconfidência Mineira*

Brazilian national pride has had a considerable impact on scholarship about colonial Minas Gerais. The desire to distinguish Brazil from Portugal has resulted in an excessive emphasis on the independent and rebellious character of *mineiros*.

Nineteenth and twentieth-century literature typically essentializes the behaviors and traits of groups based on ethnic stereotypes. The first settlers of Minas Gerais, men from São Paulo, have traditionally been described as having an innate desire for freedom because of their supposed mixed Portuguese and indigenous heritage. Boxer describes the Paulistas as a “peculiar breed,” and adds that “presumably because of their Amerindian blood, the Paulistas were infected with a wanderlust which was absent in the other settlers of coastal Brazil...”³⁰ The emphasis on the Native Brazilian ancestry of the Paulistas is a means of biologically distancing them from Portugal. The idea of a uniquely Brazilian racial mixture was a central element in twentieth-century discourse on the Brazilian national identity.

Not only were the Paulistas characterized as nomadic, but also as prone to insubordination.³¹ Even before the discovery of gold in Minas Gerais, the Portuguese court considered the Paulistas a troubling group of people. The court recognized the utility of the Paulistas in the colonization of the interior of Brazil, but they were

³⁰ The use of the word “infected” with reference to their Amerindian heritage adds an unfortunate racist connotation. Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil*, 31.

³¹ On the unruly character of the Paulistas, see for instance, *ibid.*, 33-34; Vasconcellos, *Vila Rica*, 25.

deemed difficult to control.³² Reports of rebelliousness and violence continued as the Paulistas settled in Minas Gerais. The Emboaba war, which pitted the Paulistas against immigrants from Portugal referred to as Emboabas, is a popular topic of scholarship. However, nearly all sources are written from the point of view of the victorious Emboabas.³³ The remarks about the defiant nature of the Paulistas were intended to deny the Paulistas any legal credibility. Writers hoped that the Paulistas would be stripped of their rights and privileges. Historians, on the other hand, almost always consider the Paulistas as the protagonists who courageously fought for Brazilian autonomy and freedom. Scholarship often emphasizes the legal measures taken to control the *mineiro* population after the Emboaba war. These are described as oppressive and cruel, making the Portuguese state the antagonist.³⁴ In such scholarship, the traits of the Paulistas, that had been marks of degeneracy and treason, have become celebrated.

While reports on the Emboaba war uphold the young, male immigrants from Portugal as triumphant defenders of the crown's interests, government officials considered these men to be just as troubling as the Paulistas. Although not of mixed race, the Portuguese immigrants have often been described as adventurers of the lowest classes, who were unlikely to obey authority or pay the *quinto*. The descriptions of the Paulistas and the Portuguese immigrants support the conception of

³² On the negative views of the Paulistas, see Laura de Mello e Souza, *O Sol e a Sombra: Política e Administração na América Portuguesa do Século XVIII* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2006), 152-155.

³³ Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil*, 61.

³⁴ Laura de Mello e Souza, *Desclassificados do Ouro: A Pobreza Mineira no Século XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1982), 105.

a population concerned with personal independence rather than royal authority and the maintenance of ties to Europe.³⁵

The Paulistas and Emboabas are not the only groups to be characterized as resistant to Portuguese authority. Sylvio de Vasconcellos' list of the types of people residing in Minas Gerais is composed entirely of marginalized groups: "Paulistas, accustomed to the rough life, experienced in the wilderness and in the hunt of Indians, northern Brazilians, cowboys, vagrants from the coast, gypsies, Jews and new Christians, all ready for war and for disobedience."³⁶ While such descriptions of the inhabitants of Minas Gerais could appear as a blow to local pride, the penchant for disobedience has been instead celebrated as culminating in the *Inconfidência Mineira*.

This movement, also known as the *Conjuração Mineira*, involved a group of wealthy intellectuals who were disgruntled with the legal restrictions placed on the mining region and with the behavior of the new governor, Luís António Furtado de Castro do Rio de Mendonça e Faro, the viscount of Barbacena. This group of men, composed of military officials, priests, and poets, secretly discussed their plans to overthrow the governor and to transform Minas Gerais into an independent republic. Before they could launch a military coup, one of the men involved, Joaquim Silverio dos Reis, warned the viscount about the plans. The *inconfidentes* were imprisoned, tried, and those found guilty of treason were either executed or sent to Angola.

³⁵ For instance, governor Mendonça is quoted as saying that the inhabitants of Minas Gerais were "Paulistas, accustomed to violence and independence, or else Portuguese of the lowest and most ignorant class." Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil*, 164.

³⁶ "Paulistas afeitos à vida rude, experimentados no sertão e na caça do índio, brasileiros do norte, boiadeiros, vadios do litoral, ciganos, judeus e cristãos-novos, uns e outros prontos para a Guerra e para a desobediência." Vasconcellos. *Vila Rica*, 47.

Despite having been unsuccessful and having had little effect on the immediate history of the region, the *Inconfidência* has been glorified as the culminating moment of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais, and the precursor to Brazilian independence from Portugal. Scholars have therefore afforded the *Inconfidência Mineira* an exorbitant amount of attention. It has been a prominent topic in Brazilian publications since the second half of the nineteenth century, and was particularly important during the movement to turn Brazil into a republic.³⁷

Augusto de Lima Júnior, a Brazilian lawyer and poet who published numerous historical and art historical texts between 1934 and 1970, describes the planned revolt as “one of the most glorious chapters in the Universal History of Liberty.”³⁸ Although the history of colonial Brazil experienced numerous other revolts, both within Minas Gerais and on the coast, the *Inconfidência Mineira* epitomizes for many scholars the drive toward local pride, separation from Portugal, and a spirit of individual freedom and thought. Lima Júnior’s influential text on the *Inconfidência* contains a plethora of hyperbolic exaltations, such as his description of one of the revolt leaders, Joaquim Jose da Silva Xavier, popularly known as Tiradentes, as the man “who will receive from God the glorious destiny of the patron of public liberty in his homeland.”³⁹

³⁷ Thais Nívia de Lima e Fonseca, “A Inconfidência Mineira e Tiradentes Vistos Pela Imprensa: A Vitalização dos Mitos (1930-1960),” *Revista Brasileira de História* 22, no. 44 (2002): 440.

³⁸ “um do mais gloriosos capitulos da Historia Universal da Liberdade.” Augusto de Lima Júnior, *História da Inconfidência de Minas Gerais* (Belo Horizonte: Editora Itatiaia, 2010), 18.

³⁹ “que recebera de deus o glorioso destino de padroeiro das liberdades publicas em sua patria,” Lima Júnior, *História da Inconfidência de Minas Gerais*, 192. The book contains no bibliography or notes. Instead Lima Júnior supports his dramatic story of

Augusto de Lima Júnior's statements are entirely typical of the vast body of literature produced in the twentieth century after the end of the monarchy in Brazil in 1889. These texts glorify the *inconfidentes*, Tiradentes in particular, as national heroes, martyrs, and celebrities.⁴⁰

While the *inconfidentes* indeed sought to free Minas Gerais from the legislature imposed by Portugal, their plans centered on economic and political change rather than intellectual and cultural independence from Europe. Several of the men involved had spent considerable time in Europe, were well versed in French philosophy, and modeled their movement on the American Revolution. While some twentieth-century scholarship uses the *Inconfidência* to espouse Brazilian cultural and political isolationism, the result of anxieties over European imperial interference of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the *inconfidentes* were in many ways fighting for a stronger relationship between Minas Gerais and Europe.

The predominant focus on the *Inconfidência* in studies about the second half of the eighteenth century gives the impression that a desire for independence from Portugal was common among the *mineiro* elite. Some scholars even claim that all Brazilians desired independence.⁴¹ The men involved in the *Inconfidência* should,

the lives of the *inconfidentes* with excerpts from numerous letters whose whereabouts are not indicated. This text was originally published in 1955 as *Pequena História da Inconfidência de Minas Gerais*, and was republished in 1955, 1969 and 2010. On the twentieth-century republications, see Gravata, *Hélio Gravata*, 193-4.

⁴⁰ For a discussion of publications glorifying Tiradentes, see Fonseca, "A Inconfidência Mineira." Augusto Lima J Júnior's book, which focuses on the biographies of each man, emphasizes their status as celebrities, reproducing their "autographs" rather than signatures, Lima Júnior, *História da Inconfidência de Minas Gerais*, 66.

⁴¹ See for instance, Reis, *O Colonialismo Português e a Conjuração Mineira*, 100.

however, be viewed as exceptional. Their education, experiences in foreign nations and remarkable wealth set them apart from many of the other elite men of the area. While other elites likely felt a similar disgruntlement toward the restrictive laws, they did not necessarily desire to sever the ties to Portuguese authority. The majority of wealthy *mineiros* may have been content serving the royal family, proud of the titles earned and the honor gained from their allegiance to the Crown.

Isolating Social Structures: Urbanization and Illegitimacy

In addition to focusing on men in search of independence, historical scholarship on Minas Gerais has overwhelmingly emphasized marginalized groups of people. For instance, Boxer's *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: Growing Pains of a Colonial Society*, as the subtitle suggests, focuses on the economic and social struggles during this time period, making the narrative a dramatic and intriguing view of the impoverished, the oppressed, and the adventurous, rather than of the lives of law-abiding elites.⁴² This emphasis on the suffering of the lower classes is common in scholarship and contributes to the sense of cultural isolation of the region. Unlike land-owning elites, these marginalized groups have less obvious ties to the imperial government, to international trade, and to global intellectual currents.

The focus on poverty and crime was due in good part to scholars' ideological interests, but also derives from reliance on trial records. Criminal and religious trials offer intriguing glimpses into the everyday lives of a broad segment of the population in the captaincy. However, by their nature, they focus almost entirely on illicit

⁴² The Portuguese translation, published in 1963, is a frequently used text in twentieth-century scholarship.

behavior. Aspects of life that were deemed respectable and moral are unremarkable and, therefore, less frequently and explicitly recorded. In such studies, Minas Gerais was considered to have not only attracted but also cultivated a social order different from any other region of colonial Brazil. While the coastal towns relied on rural plantation economies—with a Portuguese male landowner and his family overseeing the production on the estate—the mining economy in Minas Gerais fostered urbanization. Unlike self-sustaining plantations, which fed and housed their masters and slaves, the urban centers within the mining region are supposed to have created greater socioeconomic diversity. The mining towns required a great number of merchants and shops to provide food and other supplies needed for mining. Furthermore, the sporadic availability of gold resulted in a large population of free people in need of work outside of the mining industry.⁴³ This idea of a predominantly urban population became part of the romantic conception of the *mineiro* character. Sylvio de Vasconcellos, for instance, writes about the population's disdain for rural living. Supposedly, even individuals who worked in the countryside flocked to the cities on holy days.⁴⁴

According to twentieth-century scholars, this urbanization and the absence of agriculture eliminated the possibility for Minas Gerais to support a class of powerful land-owning elites.⁴⁵ However, this perception is largely the result of gaps in

⁴³ Caio César Boschi, *O Barroco Mineiro: Artes e Trabalho* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1988), 10.

⁴⁴ Vasconcellos, *Vila Rica*, 48. Ironically, this characterization of an urban population contradicts the perception of the wild and nomadic Paulistas.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 90; Ferreira, and Soares, "Tensões, Comportamentos e Hábitos de Consumo na Sociedade Senhorial da América Portuguesa," 546.

scholarship. The focus on the idiosyncrasies of urban life has led the wealthy mine-owning elites to be neglected. While scholars have focused on the major towns—São João del-Rei, São Jose del-Rei, Vila Rica, Mariana, Sabará, and Tijuco—many of the wealthiest residents lived on gold-rich lands outside of these urban centers. The Oliveira Pintos are a prime example of such rural elites. Mariana and João initially lived on the Itacolomi mountain in a sparsely populated area southeast of Vila do Carmo. When the couple moved to Passagem, they joined a community that was certainly more centralized, only a short commute to either Vila do Carmo or Vila Rica. Nevertheless, their home in Passagem was decidedly rural. The 1756 list of the wealthiest residents of Minas Gerais includes many individuals who lived outside of the cities, including four other individuals in Passagem.⁴⁶ For practical reasons mine owners are much more common in rural areas while merchants tended to live within the cities. Therefore, most mine-owners are neglected in scholarship that focuses on the urban sites, despite the typical historiographic interest in the gold mining industry and its consequences for the socioeconomic and cultural development of the area.

The focus on the middle and lower classes, and on *mineiro* exceptionality, has also pervaded the study of family structures in Minas Gerais. Research on family life has overwhelmingly focused on the prevalence of concubinage. Since more Portuguese men than women immigrated to the area, the men often took black or mulatto concubines.⁴⁷ The study of concubinage and the perception that matrimony

⁴⁶ Almeida, *Ricos e Pobres em Minas Gerais*, 221-249.

⁴⁷ Legal and social norms discouraged marriage to these women. Kathleen J. Higgins, *“Licentious Liberty” in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region: Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabará, Minas Gerais* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 37-8.

was rare are based on Ecclesiastical trial records and legislature promoting marriage. The twentieth-century ideal of a harmonious union of the races leading to the creation of a uniquely Brazilian population has also stimulated the emphasis on concubines and their offspring. Concubinage and illegitimate families certainly existed. Two men in the Oliveira Pinto family had illegitimate children. However, all other family members I have researched chose to enter traditional marriages.

The lack of attention paid to traditional elite families has enabled exaggeration of the cultural isolation of Minas Gerais. The biographies of wealthy, land-owning, patriarchal families often provide explicit evidence of personal and professional ties to the rest of the world. As mentioned above, the one group of wealthy elites who have received considerable attention, the men tried for the *Inconfidência Mineira*, were intimately connected to other parts of the world. Many of them had traveled not only to Portugal but also to other nations; they were knowledgeable about the most groundbreaking social and political theories of their day; and they held relationships with family and business partners scattered throughout the empire.⁴⁸ As I will explore in chapter three, the Oliveira Pintos were, likewise, connected to other parts of the globe.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Their biographies are, quite imaginatively, explored in Lima Júnior, *História da Inconfidência de Minas Gerais*.

⁴⁹ In addition to contributing to the exaggerated view of isolation, the focus on statistics and the lower classes harms the examination of the consumption of luxury goods in Minas Gerais. Statistically, everyday subsistence items are, of course, more important than expensive status symbols. This leads to luxury goods being largely neglected in economic histories. See for instance, the pioneering study of *mineiro* material culture Beatriz Ricardina Magalhães, “A Demanda do Trivial: Vestuário, Alimentação e Habitação.” *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos* 65 (July 1987): 159.

Art History and Isolation: Innovation, Innate Genius, and Creative Freedom

The idea of the cultural isolation of Minas Gerais has been especially important for the field of art history. Writers addressing the history of *mineiro* art typically introduce the area as remote, and even as “on the edge of civilization.”⁵⁰ The British art historian John Bury described the context in which the first churches were constructed as “the isolated frontier situation of Minas Gerais on the extreme periphery of the Portuguese empire.”⁵¹ Even recent studies that aim to transform the discipline, frequently mention the area’s secluded location. For instance, Guiomar de Grammont, who analyzes the political ideologies that have created the mythic figure of o Aleijadinho, writes, “we must not forget, however, the natural difficulties of access to these places, made even more arduous by the monitoring and surveillance of the government.”⁵² Not only does Grammont repeatedly mention the geographic isolation of the region, but she also stresses the oppressive conditions that the Portuguese legislation fostered.

⁵⁰ Murillo Marx, “Brazilian Architecture in the XVIII and Early XIX Centuries,” in *History of South American Colonial Art and Architecture: Spanish South America and Brazil*, ed. by Damián Bayón, and Murillo Marx (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 353.

⁵¹ John Bury, “The ‘Borrominesque’ Churches of Colonial Brazil,” *The Art Bulletin* 37, no. 1 (1955): 33.

⁵² “não podemos esquecer, contudo, as dificuldades naturais de acesso a esses lugares, tornadas ainda mais árduas pela fiscalização e vigilância dos governantes,” Guiomar de Grammont, *Aleijadinho e o Aeroplano: O Paraíso Barroco e a Construção do Herói Colonial* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2008), 142. She mentions the isolation of Minas Gerais several times throughout the book, for instance *ibid.*, 55, 136-7.

This emphasis on the difficult circumstances the area's isolation created for the population has served to increase the esteem of *mineiro* art and architecture. Acknowledgement (and exaggeration) of the restrictive conditions in the region has allowed scholars to demonstrate how local artists heroically overcame the obstacles with their extraordinary genius, talent, and drive. Scholarship often celebrates the *mineiro* artists' abilities to build and sculpt without imported materials. Caio César Boschi writes, "instigated by the difficulties, *mineiro* artists overcame the material conditions offered to them with extraordinary originality."⁵³ The use of local soapstone continues to be a particularly prominent point in this regard. Like Boschi, Myriam Andrade Ribeiro de Oliveira writes that local soapstone was used because transporting Portuguese stone from the coast was too difficult. She, too, celebrates this use of the local material as contributing to originality.⁵⁴ Neither scholar mentions that soapstone is far easier to work than Portuguese *pedra de lioz*, making the local conditions an advantage rather than a burden. Instead, the overarching message is one of triumph in the face of adversity.

In addition to material restrictions, art historical scholarship has overwhelmingly agreed that Minas Gerais lacked educational resources for artistic and architectural training. Robert C. Smith describes the workers responsible for the

⁵³ "instigados pelas dificuldades, artistas mineiros superaram as condições materiais que se lhes ofereciam com extraordinária originalidade," Boschi, *O Barroco Mineiro*, 22.

⁵⁴ "pela dificuldade do transporte; fato que acabou constituindo um dos fatores da originalidade da arquitetura da região." Myriam Andrade Ribeiro de Oliveira, "Barroco e Rococo na Arquitetura Religiosa Brasileira da Segunda Metade do Século 18," *Revista do IPHAN* 29, (2001): 146.

erection of buildings in the area as “isolated in a distant territory, of little education and few advantages.”⁵⁵ Furthermore, he gives the impression, albeit in the footnotes, that trained artists and architects were rare in Minas Gerais, remarking that “...there were no professional architects, save the engineer Alpoim, in colonial Minas,” and “there is no other known sculptor of this period in Minas” besides Antonio Francisco Lisboa, commonly referred to as o Aleijadinho.⁵⁶ Likewise, John Bury stresses, more disparagingly, that quality education could not be obtained locally and that the region was devoid of skilled architects. He writes, “Sir Richard Burton’s comment is worth recalling: ‘Though masons were easily procurable, architects were not; consequently his churches speak well for the piety and intelligence of the ancient Mineiro, but badly of his instruction.’ Conversely, where a church speaks well of the architect’s instruction, as does the Rosario of Ouro Preto, it is logical to consider the possibility of outside inspiration, such as that of a design sent from Europe.”⁵⁷

The notion that architectural qualifications must derive from training in Europe is quite common. To explain the quality of his work, Germain Bazin argued that o Aleijadinho may have trained in Portugal.⁵⁸ For Bazin and many others, it was simply inconceivable that a thorough understanding of European architectural and decorative

⁵⁵ Smith, “The Colonial Architecture of Minas Gerais in Brazil,” 159.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 131n.

⁵⁷ Richard F. Burton, *The Highlands of the Brazil*, London 1869, I, pp 120-121, referenced in Bury, “The ‘Borrominesque’ Churches of Colonial Brazil,” 44.

⁵⁸ Grammont discusses Bazin’s idea of Aleijadinho’s travels to Portugal, Grammont, *Aleijadinho e o Aeroplano*, 76.

styles, mathematics, engineering, and the other skills needed to design and construct an elaborate structure could be learned within Minas Gerais.

The lack of education is largely tied to the absence of the religious orders in the mining region. Although recent research supports that individual friars indeed worked as educators in the area, the absence of an institutional monastic presence affected educational and religious conditions in Minas Gerais. The prohibition against the religious orders remains one of the most important points in art historical scholarship to explain why the architecture of Minas Gerais differs from that of the coast. Without the religious orders lay artists, rather than friars, created the local art and architecture. These lay artists were not bound by the institutional confines of a monastic order. Instead their work needed to appeal to diverse groups of secular individuals, particularly to the confraternities. The absence of religious orders and of guild regulation granted artists greater creative freedom.⁵⁹

Art historical scholarship has used the lack of educational resources to support the theory that the impressive local churches and sculptures were created by self-

⁵⁹ On the artistic freedom resulting from the prohibition of the monastic orders, see Marx, "Brazilian Architecture in the XVIII and Early XIX Centuries," 353; Myriam Andrade Ribeiro de Oliveira, "Brazilian Colonial Sculpture" in *History of South American Colonial Art*, 371, 378; Boschi, *O Barroco Mineiro*, 26. Guilds have received fairly little attention in art historical studies of Brazil. While other craftsmen were required to obtain licenses from guilds, painters, sculptures were exempt because of their participation in the liberal arts. Myriam Andrade Ribeiro de Oliveira, *Rococó Religioso no Brasil e seus Antecedentes Europeus* (São Paulo: Cosac & Naify, 2003), 177; Jeaneth Xavier de Araujo, "Artífices na Vila Rica Setecentista: Possibilidades de Pesquisa," *Atas do I Encontro de História da Arte do IFCH 2*, (2005): 69. Boschi's influential text on the conditions of artistic production in Minas Gerais discussed guild regulations as inhibiting creative freedom and the absence of any records of guilds in Minas Gerais. Boschi, *O Barroco Mineiro*, 16-18, 24, 30, 50, 54, 69-70.

trained geniuses, o Aleijadinho being the foremost of them. Looking at the approaches to o Aleijadinho's artistic training provides insight into the ways that isolation has become integrated into the discipline of *mineiro* art history. A lack of formal training appears to have become part of the biography of o Aleijadinho's early on. The earliest chronicler to mention a crippled sculptor, Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege, describes the unnamed man as being self-trained and without knowledge of the art historical canon.⁶⁰ Interestingly, the main source for the study of o Aleijadinho, the biography composed in 1858 by Rodrigo José Ferreira Bretas, does not claim the artist to have been entirely self-taught. Bretas describes Antonio Francisco Lisboa as having trained with his father, and possibly also with João Gomes Baptista. The connection to Baptista, a respected and successful Portuguese artist, tied Aleijadinho to institutionalized Portuguese power both in Rio de Janeiro and in Minas Gerais.⁶¹ Furthermore, Bretas claims that Antonio Francisco Lisboa worked in Rio de Janeiro in 1776.⁶² For Bretas, physical isolation and ignorance about Portuguese art and architecture was not necessary for o Aleijadinho's role as a national hero. Regardless

⁶⁰ "...der sich ganz selbst gebildet und nicht gesehen hat," Eschwege, *Journal von Brasilien*, part 2, 132.

⁶¹ Bretas includes a description of Baptista's credentials, his association with the "court" (meaning at this time the viceregal court) in Rio de Janeiro, his education with Vieira, and his official role in the mint in Minas Gerais. Rodrigo José Ferreira Bretas, "Traços Biographicos Relativos ao Finado Antonio Francisco Lisboa distincto escultor mineiro, mais conhecido pelo appellido de—Aleijadinho," *Correio Official de Minas* 169 (1858): 3.

⁶² Rodrigo José Ferreira Bretas, "Traços Biographicos Relativos ao Finado Antonio Francisco Lisboa distincto escultor mineiro, mais conhecido pelo appellido de—Aleijadinho," *Correio Official de Minas* 170 (1858): 3.

of his experiences and training, o Aleijadinho's innate genius allowed him to follow his inspiration rather than slavishly copy the styles and forms of others.⁶³

As art historical writing further developed the character of o Aleijadinho, isolation became a key theme in the construction of his persona and body of work. The early twentieth-century modernist Mario de Andrade composed a poetic treatment of o Aleijadinho's life describing the artist as socially isolated because of his deformation. Andrade furthers this characterization of the self-trained, solitary genius by omitting any reference to his training with his father or his travels outside of Minas Gerais. The geographic isolation of the mining region becomes another element in the struggles that o Aleijadinho was forced to endure; Andrade describes the artist as "without means for a trip to study to Rio or Bahia..."⁶⁴

The idea that *mineiro* artists were self-trained became so important to the predominant art historical narrative that the involvement of Portuguese architects has often been discredited and, when the involvement of Portuguese artists is acknowledged, their European training is occasionally invalidated.⁶⁵ Boschi argued that conditions in Minas Gerais were unique, the local materials, climate, and social structure requiring different architectural and artistic solutions than those required in Portugal. Therefore, artists and architects who immigrated had to entirely relearn how

⁶³ Ibid., 2.

⁶⁴ "...sem meios para uma viagem de estudos ao Rio ou a Bahia..." Mário de Andrade, *A Arte Religiosa no Brasil: Crônicas Publicadas na Revista do Brasil em 1920*, ed. by Claudéte Kronbauer. São Paulo, SP: Experimento : Editora Giordano, 1993), 83-4.

⁶⁵ On the dismissal of Portuguese architects, see Oliveira, *Rococó Religioso no Brasil*, 103, 215-6.

to create works of art and architecture. In this way, the Portuguese artists were essentially self-taught in Minas Gerais as they discarded their prior knowledge and their ties to Europe.⁶⁶

Cultural and geographic isolation have played a central role in the celebration of *mineiro* art and architecture as original and innovative. As Smith concludes,

...the fact that we have found traces of indigenous development, innovations of real distinction, proves that the builders of Minas Gerais were no mere imitators of their Portuguese colleagues in the mother-country and along the Brazilian coast. The achievement of these men, isolated in a distant territory, of little education and few advantages, in understanding the contemporary Portuguese style and adapting it to the needs of the *capitania*, makes the colonial architecture of Minas Gerais a distinguished accomplishment in the history of American building during the eighteenth century.⁶⁷

Mineiros deserve praise because they were able to create in conditions that were adverse to artistic accomplishments. Paradoxically, those isolating conditions allowed the local creations to be truly original.

Originality is the predominant theme in the history of *mineiro* art. Even recent scholarship that argues for new methods and perspectives in the art historical study of Brazilian architecture focuses largely on innovation when discussing the churches of Minas Gerais.⁶⁸ The artistic and architectural accomplishments of colonial Minas Gerais are original in the use of local stone, curvilinear walls, round towers, the application of Rococo ornament both on the exteriors and interiors of churches, and in the role of mulatto artists and of lay confraternities. These are all elements that have

⁶⁶ Boschi, *O Barroco Mineiro*, 22-3.

⁶⁷ Smith, "The Colonial Architecture," 158-9.

⁶⁸ Oliveira, "Barroco e Rococo," 145-169.

been used to distinguish *mineiro* creation from that on the coast, where material, commercial, intellectual, and human connections to Portugal produced churches much like those in the motherland.

The emphasis on the originality of the architecture of Minas Gerais was fueled by a nationalistic desire to find the roots of a Brazilian, rather than Portuguese, culture. This search for the characteristics of Brazilianness was particularly prominent among the group of modernist artists and poets in the 1920s. Mario de Andrade's series of articles on the religious art of Brazil published in 1920 propelled the art of Minas Gerais and the idea of a baroque vivacity to the forefront of the discussions of a national character. Although Mario de Andrade denies that his celebration of the colonial churches of Minas Gerais is the product of patriotism, he does not merely proclaim the excellent quality of the churches, but specifically and repeatedly, ties that quality to their Brazilianness.⁶⁹

For Andrade, the most important element of *mineiro* architectural and sculptural excellence was its difference from Portuguese precedents, a perspective that was generally embraced by other scholars. While Smith, a scholar from the United States, tied the architecture of Minas Gerais to that of Northern Portugal, Brazilian scholars adamantly opposed seeing a relationship between *mineiro* art and the metropole until quite recently. Artistic influence from Portugal was demonized, and the absence of such influence in Minas Gerais was what made the local architecture and sculpture so remarkable compared to the uninspiring churches on the coast that too closely resemble Portuguese constructions, and on occasion were partially

⁶⁹ Andrade, *A Arte Religiosa no Brasil*, 89.

imported from Portugal. Andrade supports his proclamation of *mineiro* religious art as the “most characteristic” of Brazil, by stating, “There [in Minas Gerais] the Church can, more free from the influences of Portugal, secure a style more uniform, more original, than the styles produced by pruned courtiers without any own opinions in the other two centers [Rio de Janeiro and Bahia].”⁷⁰ The creative freedom of Minas Gerais is consistently contrasted with the mindless conformity on the coast.

Not only has *mineiro* art and architecture been considered liberated from association with Portugal, but some scholarship has related the style and iconography of some of o Aleijadinho’s works as politically motivated rejections of Portuguese political and cultural authority. Ever since Bretas’ biography, o Aleijadinho has been characterized as a solitary individual whose struggle for personal freedom resulted in the originality of his artistic creations. However, some scholars have gone so far as to argue for his participation in the *Inconfidência Mineira*, or at the least his support of their goal of freedom from Portuguese authority.⁷¹ In particular, scholars emphasize his support of the plans to free mulattos and creoles from slavery.⁷²

⁷⁰ ““A Igreja pode ai, mais liberta das influencias de Portugal, proteger um estilo mais uniforme, mais original, que os que abroilhavam podados, aulicos, sem opiniao propria nos dois outros centros.” Andrade, *A Arte Religiosa no Brasil*, 78.

⁷¹ For instance, Fernando Jorge, *Notas Sobre o Aleijadinho*, (São Paulo: Sociedade Impressora Brasileira, 1949) and Orlandino Seitos Fernandez, *Aleijadinho: Le Chemin de Croix de Congonhas do Campo* (Paris: Chêne, 1979) referenced in Monica Jayne Bowen, “A Call for Liberation: Aleijadinho’s *Prophets* as Capoeiristas,” (Master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 2008), 24-5.

⁷² On the *inconfidentes*’ varying views on the freeing of slaves, see Luiz Carlos Villalta and Andre Pedroso Becho, “Lugares, Espaços e Identidades Coletivas na Inconfidência Mineira,” in Resende, Villalta, and Campos, *História de Minas Gerais: As Minas Setecentistas*, 558.

In such scholarship the main elements of *mineiro* isolation form a triumphant union. As Dalton Sala has discussed, *mineiro* art history has transformed o Aleijadinho into the perfect symbol of Brazilian patriotism. The figure of the solitary, rebellious, and self-taught artist of mixed race functions to promote the area's cultural and political independence from Portugal.⁷³

Conclusion

The distance from the coast, the prevalence of mining, the scarce monastic presence, and the restrictive legislation played a role in creating a society in Minas Gerais that differed in some respects from communities along the coast. Nevertheless, that society was not culturally isolated. While the geographic location made travel and transport arduous, people learned to overcome such obstacles.

The long-standing conception of *mineiro* isolation rests on scholarship that was marked by patriotic overtones, reliance on biased sources, and gaps in research. Fortunately, a large body of recent scholarship has discarded nationalistic frameworks and has reevaluated interpretations of the colonial past. As the next chapter will explore, the recent historical focus on archival documentation has dismantled many of the arguments in favor of isolation, and has resulted in a more complex and dynamic view of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais.

Despite these revisionist efforts in the field of history, the traditional conception of Minas Gerais as culturally isolated continues to affect art historical scholarship. The history of *mineiro* art and architecture was founded on the narrative

⁷³ Sala's unpublished dissertation is discussed in Grammont, *Aleijadinho e o Aeroplano*, 118.

of isolation and fewer art historians are working in the field than historians. Recent studies have made strides to diminish the perception of the region's insularity by examining the immigration of Portuguese artists and architects, and the use of European print sources. Nonetheless, the twentieth-century approaches discussed above continue to shape views of intellectual and artistic life in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais.

FIGURE

IMAGE REMOVED DUE TO COPYRIGHT

Chapter 2

NETWORKS: TRADE, TRAVELS, AND INTELLECTUAL EXCHANGE

In recent years the model of *mineiro* isolation has been challenged, in particular in relation to commerce and the lives of merchants. Mafalda P. Zemella's 1951 dissertation examined how Minas Gerais was supplied with goods from other regions of Brazil and various parts of the globe.¹ While her view of the mining region's dependence on imports has been thoroughly contested, the dissertation was republished in 1990 and has spurred an immense body of research on trade routes and merchant networks within the captaincy of Minas Gerais, between regions of Brazil, and with the rest of the world.

This chapter explores recent historical and art historical scholarship that demonstrates that trade, travels, and the circulation of ideas connected Minas Gerais to the rest of the globe. The merchants and consumers of Minas Gerais obtained goods not only through the official trade routes that brought goods from Portugal and distributed them throughout Brazil. Legal and illegal trade within the empire and with foreign states was central to the supply of luxury goods to Minas Gerais. While merchants traveled frequently throughout Brazil and across the Atlantic, other wealthy elites in Minas Gerais also visited various parts of the empire, and maintained family

¹ Mafalda P. Zemella, "O Abastecimento da Capitania das Minas Gerais no Século XVIII" (Ph.D. diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 1951).

and business relationships across the Atlantic. The circulation of people, letters, decorative art objects, and prints brought knowledge of new visual languages to the mining region on a regular basis. Art historical scholarship on Minas Gerais has come to embrace the examination of European print sources for local artistic production. Nevertheless, interaction between art history and the developing field of *mineiro* material culture studies is required to understand artistic production and consumption in the cosmopolitan and culturally rich atmosphere of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais.

Global Trade Networks

As the source of vast quantities of gold and diamonds, Minas Gerais funded extensive commercial networks. *Mineiro* gold circulated the globe and was exchanged for commodities of all kinds. Examination of both legal and illegal trade is necessary for a thorough understanding of the material culture of colonial Brazil. This section treats both legal and illegal trade between Portugal and foreign powers, the illegal trade between Brazil and those foreign states, Brazil's direct trade with Asia and Africa, and, finally, trade networks within Brazil that brought goods to the mining region.

A common assumption encountered in scholarship on early modern trade in the Portuguese empire is that the goods exported from Portugal to Brazil were of Portuguese manufacture. Evidence of foreign products in Brazil is often explained as the result of illegal trade or of importation after the opening of Brazilian ports with the arrival of the Portuguese royal family in Rio de Janeiro in 1808.² The focus on the

² For a description of English creamware arriving in Brazil during the eighteenth century as a product of contraband trade, see Paulo Eduardo Zanettini, “Pequeno Roteiro Para Classificação de Louças Obtidas em Pesquisas Arqueológicas de Sítios

Portuguese origin of consumer goods in Brazil is, however, misleading. According to Jorge Miguel Viana Pedreira, Portuguese goods represented a minor portion of exports from Portugal to the colonies despite the efforts introduced by the Secretary of State Sebastião Jose de Carvalho e Melo, better known as the Marquis of Pombal, to increase manufacturing and restrict foreign imports. In the second half of the eighteenth century, only 25% of manufactured goods shipped to the Portuguese colonies were of Portuguese origin.³ Portugal imported goods from all over the world and these foreign commodities were re-exported to Brazil on Portuguese ships in addition to wares grown and manufactured within the *reino*, the Portuguese kingdom.⁴

Portugal conducted trade with numerous foreign powers. For instance, Portugal imported grains, velvet, glass, and ceramics from Italy, grains and amber from the Baltics, and weapons and other metal objects from the German states.⁵ In the

Históricos,” *Arqueologia Curitiba* 5 (1986): 123. Chinese export porcelain found in Bahia is considered purely the result of contraband in Carlos Etchevarne, and João Pedro Gomes, “Porcelana Chinesa em Salvador da Bahia (Séculos XVI a XVIII),” in Teixeira, and Bettencourt, *Velhos e Novos Mundos*, 934. Ceramics from foreign nations found in Brazil are assumed to be arriving in Brazil on foreign rather than Portuguese ships in Etchevarne, and Gomes, “A Cerâmica no Quotidiano Colonial Português,” 826-7.

³ Jorge Miguel Viana Pedreira, “From Growth to Collapse: Portugal, Brazil, and the Breakdown of the Old Colonial System (1750-1830),” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (2000): 844.

⁴ In eighteenth-century documents, Portugal is usually referred to as the *reino*.

⁵ A table of imports and exports is found in A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia and America, 1415-1808* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1992), flyleaf. The same table is reproduced in translation in Ana Luiza de Castro Pereira, “Viver nos Trópicos com Bens do Império: A Circulação de Pessoas e Objectos no Império Português,” in *Anais do XIV Seminário sobre a Economia Mineira* (Belo Horizonte: Cedeplar, 2010), 3-4.

eighteenth century, Portugal's trade with Britain was most significant. For many centuries, Britain and Portugal were political allies. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Britain enjoyed numerous commercial privileges in exchange for offering military assistance to Portugal. The 1703 Treaty of Methuen required Portugal to import British textiles while Portuguese wine was exported to Britain. Throughout the twentieth century numerous English-speaking scholars, working primarily with British archival sources, published about the extensive early modern trade between Portugal and Britain, the effects of the Treaty of Methuen in particular.⁶ Eighteenth-century British merchants, writing for a British audience, emphasized how beneficial the trade was for Britain and that Portugal was importing far more than it was exporting. The use of exclusively British sources created the impression that the control of the trade was entirely in the hands of British merchants. Thus, Portuguese and Brazilian scholars have been more hesitant to espouse the depth of the commercial ties between the two nations, and have instead argued against Portugal's economic weakness and

⁶ For some books that treat the Anglo-Portuguese trade specifically, see Violet Mary Shillington and Annie Beatrice Wallis Chapman, *The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1907); Harold Edward Stephen Fisher, *The Portugal Trade: A Study of Anglo-Portuguese Commerce, 1700-1770* (London: Methuen, 1971); L. M. E. Shaw, *The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance and the English Merchants in Portugal, 1654-1810* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998); L. M. E. Shaw, *Trade, Inquisition, and the English Nation in Portugal, 1650-1690* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1989). For a more extensive list of publications on the subject from scholars of various nationalities, see Ernst Pijning, "Passive Resistance: Portuguese Diplomacy of Contraband Trade during King John V's Reign (1706-1750)," *Arquipélago História*, II, 2 (1997): 173n1.

dependence.⁷ While the power dynamics between Britain and Portugal are a matter of debate, a large body of records in both England and Portugal testify to extensive trade.

Eighteenth-century Portuguese documents suggest that commerce with Britain was immensely important. The *Gazeta de Lisboa*, a weekly periodical published in Lisbon beginning in 1715, contained reports from Portuguese ambassadors to other nations.⁸ The texts on current events in England were often longer and more detailed than the reports from other states. Each month, and at the beginning of each year, the journal included statistics on the numbers of ships arriving and departing the Lisbon harbor. This data offers evidence, from the Portuguese point of view, of the scale of foreign trade. In the sample of editions that I examined, British ships considerably outnumbered Portuguese vessels and those of any other region in all months and years. For instance, the numbers of ships listed for the year 1716, reproduced in Table 1, indicate that nearly five times as many British ships as Portuguese ships entered the Lisbon harbor, and over five times as many British ships as French vessels conducted business in the port. The number of British ships listed is nearly twice the number of all other foreign ships combined. This suggests that a truly immense amount of goods from the British empire entered the Portuguese market, and that British commodities

⁷ For Portuguese-language books that revolve entirely around the subject of the British-Portuguese trade, see Virgílio Noya Pinto, *O Ouro Brasileiro e o Comércio Anglo-Português: Uma Contribuição aos Estudos da Economia Atlântica no Século XVIII* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1979); Armando Castro, *A Dominação Inglesa em Portugal: Estudo Seguido de Antologia, Textos dos Séculos XIII e XIX* (Porto: Afrontamento, 1972).

⁸ The first edition, published August 10, 1715 was titled *Noticias do Estado do Mundo*, but subsequent editions used the titles *Gazeta de Lisboa*, *Gazeta de Lisboa Ocidental*, and *Lisboa*.

were far more important to Portuguese material culture than goods from any other foreign power.⁹ A substantial portion of the objects that arrived in Portugal was subsequently shipped to Brazil and other Portuguese territories.

Table 1 Maritime Traffic in the Port of Lisbon in 1716.

Ship's nationality	Entered Lisbon Port in 1716	Departed Lisbon Port in 1716	Anchored in Lisbon Port on January 14, 1717	Total
Portuguese	62	75	Not reported	>137
English	297	248	49	594
French	56	51	5	112
Dutch	51	45	8	104
Spanish ¹⁰	23	19	0	52
Danish	6	3	3	12
Hamburgish	14	11	5	30
Genovese	4	2	1	7
Maltese	1	0	1	2

Source: *Gazeta de Lisboa* 3, no 2 (1717): 12.

Commerce between Portugal and Britain was not only significant for the Portuguese but was of such a scale that it was often a topic of discussion among the British. A considerable number of texts were published in eighteenth-century England dealing with the Portuguese trade.

In 1715 Charles Davenant published a report with details on the trade to and from various nations, with the goal of analyzing the balance of trade and Britain's

⁹ British ships brought goods produced in various parts of the British Empire and from outside of the empire to Portugal.

¹⁰ Twenty-three Castilian ships entered the port, while the nineteen ships that departed were described as "Hespanhoes Biscainhos" and Catalan.

economic health.¹¹ Economic treatises written around that time are typically concerned with Britain's relationship with France, Britain's primary political and economic rival. Davenant argued that the British should not be concerned about the imports from France, because Britain's exports to other nations resulted in a favorable balance of trade. According to Davenant, the trade with Portugal was particularly profitable. He states that since the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), "our Portugal trade alone very much exceeded the dealings we had before the last war, with Italy, Spain, and Portugal altogether...."¹² The trade with Portugal was significant for the British economy, and although Davenant appears to have been unaware of the abundance of gold flowing into Portugal from Brazil at this time, that gold was likely a motivator for the dramatic increase in Portuguese consumption at the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹³

In contrast to Davenant's optimistic view of Britain's economy, an anonymous text, attributed to Daniel Defoe and published in 1713, fervently argues against trade

¹¹ Charles Davenant, *An Account of the Trade between Great-Britain, France, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Africa, Newfoundland* (London: Printed for A. Bell, in Cornhill; W. Taylor and J. Baker, in Pater-Noster-Row, 1715). The balance of trade refers to the relationship between the value of goods exported and the value of goods imported. European powers desired to profit by exporting more than was imported.

¹² Ibid., 54.

¹³ Davenant writes: "Tis well known, gold and silver are not wholly confined to the parts now possessed by Spain...." However, his discussion of the need to discover new mines only discusses the Spanish and "Indians." He begins this mention of mining with the importance of the South Sea Company, suggesting that he is not considering mines in British North America. Ibid., 74-5.

with France.¹⁴ The author contends that imports from France hurt the British economy, while trade with Portugal, Spain, and Italy was favorable. Britain imported fine wool from Spain, raw silk from Italy, and dyes from Portugal, thereby supporting British textile manufacturing.¹⁵ The author emphasized the profitable trade relations with Portugal and expressed his fear that Portugal would stop importing British textiles, turning instead toward French imports.¹⁶ Once again, trade with Portugal was considered to be of such an extent as to be necessary for British financial success.

As the century progressed and immense quantities of *mineiro* gold were shipped to Portugal, British trade with the Portuguese thrived. The 1772 text *Panarithmologia* was a portable handbook for merchants and manufacturers filled with tables to calculate prices and interest.¹⁷ The book contains a table for converting Portuguese currency, the only foreign currency mentioned. This information was apparently important for British manufacturers, bankers, and merchants as the book was republished in 1776 and 1780.

¹⁴ *The Trade with France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal Considered: With Some Observations on the Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and France* (London: J. Baker, 1713).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 13-16.

¹⁷ William Leybourn, *Panarithmologia: Or, the Trader's Sure Guide, Containing Exact and Useful Tables, Ready Cast Up, Adapted to the Use of Merchants, Mercers, Bankers, Drapers, ... to Which Is Added a Table of Commission, or Brokage, ... with a Calculation of Portugal Coin* (London: Printed for J. F. and C. Rivington, T. Caslon, T. Longman, B. Law, C. Dilly, T. Lowndes, and E. Johnston, 1780).

In addition to the extensive trade with Portugal, foreign powers also conducted direct trade with Brazil. Most scholarship stresses that foreign European powers were, according to Portuguese law, not permitted to conduct trade with Brazil in the eighteenth century. There were, however, loopholes and contradictions in legislation and in practice that allowed semi-legal and illegal trade between Brazil and foreign states. Illegal trade tends to be poorly documented in the historical records, leaving relatively little concrete data for historians to analyze. In 2000 and 2001 the *Hispanic American Historical Review* featured a debate, mostly between the Dutch scholar Ernst Pijning and the Portuguese scholar Jorge Miguel Viana Pedreira, on Brazilian contraband trade.¹⁸ Despite disagreements over the political and economic effects of illegal trade, the authors agreed that Brazil conducted considerable illegal trade with foreign powers. All available evidence suggests that contraband was a significant factor in the supply of commodities to Brazilian consumers.

Since the medieval period, Portuguese law had forbidden any gold from exiting Portuguese dominions to foreign lands.¹⁹ As a result of the discovery of gold in Minas Gerais, in 1711 the Portuguese monarchy decreed that no foreign powers were

¹⁸ A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Holy and Unholy Alliances: Clerical Participation in the Flow of Bullion from Brazil to Portugal during the Reign of Dom João V (1706-1750)," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (2000): 815-37; Pedreira, "From Growth to Collapse," 839-64; Ernst Pijning, "A New Interpretation of Contraband Trade," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81, no. 3-4 (2001): 733-38; Jorge Miguel Viana Pedreira, "Contraband, Crisis, and the Collapse of the Old Colonial System," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*. 81, no. 3 (2001): 739-44.

¹⁹ Christopher Ebert, "From Gold to Manioc: Contraband Trade in Brazil during the Golden Age, 1700-1750," *Colonial Latin American Review* 20, no 1 (2011): 109.

permitted to trade directly with Brazil.²⁰ Prior to this time, commercial treaties enabled certain foreign powers, the British and the Dutch in particular, to trade with Brazil via their own merchants and ships. These treaties encouraged foreign trade with Brazil during the second half of the seventeenth century and first decade of the eighteenth century.

Between 1642 and 1705, numerous treaties granted the British, Dutch, and to a lesser extent French, certain trade privileges in exchange for military protection against Spain.²¹ Each European power was allowed to select four merchant families who were permitted to reside in Brazil's main ports: Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, and Recife. Each nation was further granted the right to ship merchandise to Brazil on their own ships, as long as those vessels traveled with the Portuguese fleet. These treaties allowed trade with Brazil to be entirely conducted by non-Portuguese merchants and on non-Portuguese ships. For instance, merchandise could be shipped from British merchants in England on British vessels to British merchants in Portugal. Then the goods were sent to British merchants in Brazil. The stopover in Portugal was the only measure that prevented such transactions from being considered direct trade between Britain and Brazil.

Even after the discovery of gold had come to the attention of Dom João V (r. 1706-1750), the Portuguese continued to renew such treaties. The war of the Spanish Succession from 1701 to 1714 posed a threat to Portugal, as well as to Brazil with French aggression in Rio de Janeiro in 1710 and 1711. Thus, the Portuguese needed to

²⁰ Ernst Pijning, "Regulating Illegal Trade: Foreign Vessels in Brazilian Harbors," *Portuguese Studies Review* 15, no. 1–2 (2007): 323.

²¹ On the trade agreements, see Pijning, "Passive Resistance," 174-5.

maintain positive ties with Britain and the Dutch Republic. The final trade agreements that reinforced the above concessions were the 1703 Treaty of Methuen with the British and a 1705 treaty with the Dutch.²² French trade agreements were not renewed as the French joined Spanish forces and attacked Portugal and its overseas territories.

Particularly due to the indiscretion of some Frenchmen, Portuguese officials quickly realized that the trade agreements facilitated not only legal but also illegal trade.²³ Before the war of the Spanish Succession had concluded, the Portuguese began to attempt to curtail the privileges granted to foreign merchants involved in trade with Brazil. In 1710 a Portuguese law stipulated that all ships traveling to Brazil with the fleet must belong to Portuguese individuals.²⁴ In 1713 Dom João V ordered the expulsion of all foreigners from Brazil, with the exception of merchants, those with Luso-Brazilian families, and those with desirable skills.²⁵ In the following years, the Portuguese made it increasingly difficult for the foreign merchant families permitted by the treaties to conduct their business in the Brazilian port cities.²⁶

After 1710, foreign merchants in Lisbon were legally permitted to make commercial arrangements with merchants in their home countries and with both foreign and Portuguese merchants resident in Brazil. Their goods were legally shipped to and from Brazil on Portuguese-owned vessels sailing with the fleet.

²² Ibid., 174.

²³ Ibid., 176-8.

²⁴ Ibid., 179.

²⁵ Ibid., 178.

²⁶ Ibid., 180-182.

Foreign merchants were able to conduct illegal trade with Brazil by circumventing the laws imposed by the Portuguese court. Portugal did not have sufficient ships for the extensive trade to its overseas possessions.²⁷ Therefore, the 1710 law against foreign ships sailing to Brazil could be legally bypassed. The captains or owners of foreign vessels could petition the Portuguese government to be allowed to sail with the fleet to Brazil.²⁸ However, those passports were expensive. More often, foreign sailors traveled to Brazil by feigning that their vessel was Portuguese-owned. Such cases were documented when Portuguese officials discovered the foreign vessels. Records exist of British ships flying the Portuguese flag.²⁹ Spanish ships fairly frequently sailed under the guise of Portuguese ownership, particularly during times of warfare when the Portuguese flag prevented attacks by enemies.³⁰ Collusion with Brazilian or Portuguese merchants, who also profited from this trade, further enabled foreign vessels access to Brazilian ports. For instance, some French vessels were sold to Portuguese merchants off the coast of Africa to be able to carry slaves to Brazilian ports.³¹ Vessels could also have multiple owners of various nationalities.³²

²⁷ Ebert, "From Gold to Manioc," 115.

²⁸ Ibid.,

²⁹ Ibid.,

³⁰ Pijning, "Regulating Illegal Trade," 345, 355.

³¹ Ibid., 326.

³² Ibid., 355; Ebert, "From Gold to Manioc," 115.

In addition to such efforts to hide illegal trade, foreign merchants could openly conduct illegal trade. As Ernst Pijning has demonstrated, Portuguese officials in Brazil were not concerned with halting contraband, rather they wanted to control illegal trade.³³ Customs officials permitted trade that was technically illegal as long as the foreign merchants complied with standard procedures and submitted to Portuguese authority. According to Portuguese law, vessels belonging to foreign merchants were only allowed to dock in Brazilian ports in the case of an emergency. Such emergencies included dangerous storms, seriously ill passengers, and a lack of provisions. Such foreign vessels were not legally permitted to conduct trade while in the Brazilian harbors. However, officials in Brazil were well aware that most foreign ships in Brazilian ports were not under duress and intended to conduct contraband trade. The Brazilian officials allowed that trade as long as the foreign vessels entered specific ports approved for such trade, and submitted to inspection by the customs officers.

Foreign ships were confiscated when the crew neglected to follow the protocols in place in Brazilian harbors or when they failed to show sufficient respect to the Portuguese officials.³⁴ Moreover, any foreign ships that stopped at sites along the Brazilian coast outside of the major ports were circumventing the power of the customs officials. If discovered, such vessels were confiscated.³⁵ Records of confiscated ships provide more specific evidence for contraband trade. In the

³³ Pijning, "Regulating Illegal Trade," 321–66.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 326-8.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 327-8.

eighteenth century, French, British, and Dutch vessels were confiscated along the Brazilian coast.³⁶

The British were most actively engaged in illegal trade with Brazil. Research on colonial Brazilian material culture has typically underestimated the importance of commerce with the British. As with trade relations between Portugal and Britain, scholarship on commerce between Britain and Brazil has been subject to the political and nationalistic perspectives of the authors. Zemella, writing around 1950, favored unrestricted free trade, and disapproved of the political control that Portugal exerted over early modern Brazil. Thus, she presents the direct trade between Brazil and Britain as relatively positive. The illegal trade enabled colonists to obtain European goods at a lower cost from the British than if they were paying the many Portuguese tariffs.³⁷ She argues that British contraband trade was widespread, and supplied consumers in Minas Gerais with significant quantities of imported goods.

In contrast, most Brazilian and Portuguese authors writing in the 1960s and 1970s demonized Britain's involvement in illegal trade. According to such scholarship, the contraband trade with Brazil allowed Britain to "steal" resources, gold in particular, hindering the financial success of the Portuguese empire.³⁸ For instance, Paulo Pereira dos Reis' 1964 book on the economic and political circumstances that led to the *Inconfidência Mineira* argues that Britain's exploitation of Portugal led to

³⁶ For a list of the confiscated ships, see *Ibid.*, 323-4.

³⁷ Zemella, "O Abastecimento," 85.

³⁸ Ernst Pijning, "Contrabando, Ilegalidade e Medidas Políticas no Rio de Janeiro do Século XVIII," *Revista Brasileira de História* 21, no 41 (2001): 389-9.

the oppressive conditions in Minas Gerais.³⁹ Despite the pivotal importance of Zemella's dissertation for scholarship on the material culture of Minas Gerais, the contribution of British manufactured goods and illegal trade have not received sufficient attention in recent research.

Except for one instance in 1718, British vessels were confiscated in Brazil only after 1770 when illegal trade had dramatically increased, Portuguese officials were no longer able to control the trade, and, as a result, resorted to greater numbers of confiscations.⁴⁰ For instance, in 1770 and 1780 two British East India Company vessels were confiscated in Rio de Janeiro.⁴¹ These ships had traveled to Rio de Janeiro from Africa and from St. Helena, an island in the South Atlantic between Rio de Janeiro and Angola. Not only do such instances provide evidence for illegal trade, but they represent specific instances when the entire cargo of a foreign ship was confiscated, the goods entering the Brazilian market. Not only British manufactures but also goods from many other parts of the British Empire reached consumers in Brazil.

Like the British, the Dutch also had mostly friendly relations with Portugal, and were able to trade directly with Brazil as long as they respected the authority of customs officials. Only one Dutch vessel was confiscated in the Rio de Janeiro port, the *Don Carlos*.⁴² In 1725 the ship conducted illegal trade in Ilha Grande, an island

³⁹ Reis, *O Colonialismo Português*, 34-40, 81-3.

⁴⁰ Pijning, "Regulating Illegal Trade," 324, 338.

⁴¹ Ibid., 338-9.

⁴² Ibid., 327-8.

just outside the Rio de Janeiro harbor. This illegal trade was not, however, the motive for the vessel's confiscation. Rather the governor of Rio de Janeiro confiscated the ship after the captain refused to follow orders. Such instances suggest that much illegal trade was conducted that was not punished and thus not recorded.

In contrast to Britain and the Dutch Republic, Portuguese diplomatic relations with France were often hostile. According to Pijning's research, the majority of foreign vessels confiscated off the coast of Brazil in the eighteenth century were French. Between 1715 and 1802, nine French ships were confiscated, primarily during the first quarter of the century.⁴³ This high number of confiscations should not, however, be interpreted as an indication that the French conducted more illegal trade with Brazil than the British and the Dutch. Rather, a greater proportion of French vessels were confiscated because of the lack of subtlety on the part of French captains, the disregard for Portuguese protocols, and the, at times, hostile relationship between the French and Portuguese.⁴⁴

The confiscated French ships transported to Rio de Janeiro and Salvador slaves from the Gold Coast, merchandise from China and Peru, and French textiles, among other goods.⁴⁵ Particularly significant for the study of Minas Gerais is the instance in 1718 of a French vessel that was confiscated after having exchanged textiles for gold with merchants with connections to Minas Gerais.⁴⁶ The vessel was only confiscated

⁴³ Ibid., 323-4.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 324-8; Pijning, "Passive Resistance," 177.

⁴⁵ Pijning, "Regulating Illegal Trade," 326-328, 333.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 326.

after having left Rio de Janeiro and continuing to sail along the coast of Brazil for further illegal trade. This suggests that other French vessels are likely to have sold textiles, intended for consumers in Minas Gerais, in the port of Rio de Janeiro without subsequent confiscation.

Illegal trade between the Spanish Empire and Brazil differed substantially from that with the powers discussed above. Britain and the Dutch Republic profited from commercial treaties with Portugal because of the military assistance they offered against Spain. Although Spain was a military rival, Portuguese legal restrictions against trade between Brazil and the Spanish viceroyalties were superseded by the Portuguese desire for American silver.⁴⁷ While trade between the Colonia de Sacramento and the Rio de la Plata region was conducted secretly in the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, the trade eventually was officially sanctioned. In 1777 Spain and Portugal agreed that the trade between Brazil and the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata, although technically illegal, was to be permitted.⁴⁸ After 1782 Spanish vessels were allowed to sail with the Portuguese fleet, and Portuguese vessels were permitted to transport Spanish merchandise and to enter Spanish American harbors.⁴⁹

Despite these trade agreements, commerce between Brazil and the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata involved considerable negotiation over who controlled the trade. While the Portuguese wanted to obtain silver, the Spanish did not want to lose that

⁴⁷ Ibid., 349-50.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 350-1. Around this time the former Colonia de Sacramento was absorbed into the Spanish viceroyalty.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 351.

precious commodity, but instead hoped to export their meat, hides, tobacco, and tea in exchange for African slaves.⁵⁰ Although Portuguese law prohibited African slaves from being exported from Brazil, the viceroy of Brazil, Luís de Vasconcellos e Souza reinterpreted the law to allow the sale of slaves in exchange for silver.⁵¹ While silver was the most desirable commodity, other goods, such as flour, entered Brazilian ports from the Spanish viceroyalty.⁵²

While the extent of illegal trade with the above powers cannot be known, evidence suggests that contraband trade experienced a dramatic increase after the American Revolutionary War. Large numbers of foreign ships openly conducted illegal trade without attempting to hide violations of Portuguese law. On January 5 1785 Martinho de Mello e Castro composed a report on the state of contraband trade with Brazil for the Portuguese queen. He credited the rise in French and British ships docking in Brazilian ports to those empires' recent loss of territories.⁵³ The French and British turned to Brazil as a market for their goods. While the French had a long-standing reputation for blatantly defying Portuguese law and writing openly about illegal trade with Brazil, Britain, too, was no longer hiding their trade with Brazil. The British consul to Portugal reported to the Portuguese court that twelve ships left

⁵⁰ Ibid., 352.

⁵¹ Ibid., 353.

⁵² Ibid., 354.

⁵³ "Documentos Officiaes Ineditos Relativos ao Alvará de 5 de Janeiro de 1785, que extinguiu no Brasil todas as fabricas e manufacturas de ouro, prata, sedas, algodão, linho, lã, etc.," *Revista Trimensal de Historia e Geographia* 10, (1870): 214.

Britain for Brazil per year, and that the names and captains of ships setting sail for Brazil were regularly announced in British newspapers.⁵⁴

Not only the contraband trade with the British, Dutch, and French increased, but many new powers also entered the Brazilian trade. A consequence of the aftermath of the Revolutionary War was that ships from the newly formed United States of America were "infesting" Brazilian ports.⁵⁵ By the end of the century, Swedish ships were conducting trade in Rio de Janeiro. Rather than attempting to keep such trade clandestine, the Swedish court asked the Portuguese representative to Sweden in 1800 to allow such trade to be openly conducted.⁵⁶

Martinho de Mello e Castro's report emphasizes that *mineiro* gold and diamonds were being exchanged for European manufactured goods. He specifically mentioned contraband textiles entering the Brazilian market.⁵⁷ In addition, Martinho de Mello e Castro declared that the Dutch conducted trade between Brazil and Africa.⁵⁸ In this instance, he did not provide details on what was exchanged; however, it is likely that the Dutch obtained Brazilian gold to purchase slaves in the Gold Coast, who may have been, in turn, sold in Brazil.

This legal and illegal trade with various European powers provided Brazilian consumers with the finest commodities, particularly of British and French

⁵⁴ Ibid., 228.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 214.

⁵⁶ Pijning, "Regulating Illegal Trade," 346.

⁵⁷ "Documentos Officiaes Ineditos," 227.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 215.

manufacture. Although most listings in *mineiro* inventories do not indicate an object's place of origin, many of the textiles, ceramics, and other goods were likely produced outside of the Portuguese empire. The foreign ships that docked in Portuguese and Brazilian harbors not only transported wares manufactured in Europe but also a variety of goods obtained within those powers' overseas territories. Brazil was, therefore, also well supplied with manufactured goods from the Americas, Africa, and especially Asia.

While the eighteenth century experienced increasing legal restrictions on trade between Brazil and foreign powers, some direct trade between the Portuguese empire's overseas territories was legalized. Although not as extensive as in prior centuries, the empire continued to encompass areas ideally situated for promoting transoceanic commerce. The Portuguese were the first Western European power to explore sub-Saharan Africa, circumnavigate the Cape of Good Hope and establish regular maritime trade with India, China, and other areas of South and East Asia. During and after the Iberian Union, when Portugal was unified with Spain from 1580 to 1640, many Portuguese overseas territories in Asia and Africa were lost to rival European powers, the Dutch and British in particular. Throughout the eighteenth century Portugal was able to retain control over Macau in China, Goa in India, and the colony of Angola on the Atlantic coast of Africa, in addition to numerous other sites.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the primary legal trade route was that traversed by the *Carreira da Índia*. The official course of the *Carreira's* vessels connected Goa, India to Lisbon, Portugal with a layover in the Madeira Islands

in the Atlantic to replenish supplies.⁵⁹ These ships brought goods from all over Asia to Lisbon, where they could be recorded, taxed, and then redistributed on ships sailing to Brazil and Africa. In addition, ships were permitted to sail directly between Brazil and Africa for the slave trade. Other than the slave trade, all commerce was supposed to be mediated by Lisbon.

As the seventeenth century progressed, trade between the disparate regions of the empire became far more complex. In the eighteenth century, in particular, trade relations diversified with greater interaction between regions, greater privatization, and less royal control through monopolies and contracts. Trade throughout the empire involved careful negotiation with local powers and merchants in Africa and Asia, commerce with other European powers who held trade posts in Asia and Africa, and many personal merchant networks that worked outside of the *Carreira da Índia*. Furthermore, the trajectory of the *Carreira da Índia* became more flexible. Russell-Wood argues that the major changes within the *Carreira da Índia* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries revolve around a greater Brazilian involvement in trade with Asia.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Roquinaldo Ferreira, "'A Arte de Furtar': Redes de Comércio Ilegal no Mercado Imperial Ultramarino Português (c. 1690-c. 1750)," in *Na Trama das Redes: Política e Negócios no Império Português, Séculos XVI-XVIII*, ed. by João Fragoso and Maria de Fátima Gouvêa (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2010), 216.

⁶⁰ A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "A Brazilian Commercial Presence Beyond the Cape of Good Hope, 16th -19th Centuries," in *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean, and European Bridgeheads, 1500-1800: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K. S. Mathew*, ed. by Pius Malekandathil and T. Jamal Mohammed (Tellicherry, Kerala, India: Institute for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities of MESHAAR, 2001), 202.

While Portugal's preeminence in Asia certainly waned in the seventeenth century, Portuguese merchants continued to be involved in obtaining goods in Asia and carrying them throughout the empire. Unfortunately, the continued Portuguese commercial presence in Asia in the eighteenth century has not received sufficient study, because of the more complex manner of the trade that deviated from the traditional trade routes and involved private merchants rather than royally sanctioned companies.⁶¹ Nevertheless, evidence suggests that direct trade between Brazil and Asia increased substantially as a result of the gold flowing from Minas Gerais.⁶²

In 1672, 1692, 1734, and 1783 the Portuguese court issued decrees allowing ships sailing from India to Lisbon to stop in Salvador, and to sell their Asian merchandise.⁶³ Occasionally vessels on their way from Lisbon to Goa landed in Salvador to obtain wares to sell in Asia.⁶⁴ As Russell-Wood has demonstrated, direct trade between Salvador and Goa became customary at the end of the eighteenth

⁶¹ Clarence-Smith remarks on the revival of Portuguese trade in Asia in the eighteenth century and the lack of research on the subject. William Gervase Clarence-Smith, "The Portuguese empire in Asia, 1500-1700," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 58, no 3 (1995): 610.

⁶² Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History* (London: Longman, 1993), 184. Although Subrahmanyam's research ends with the year 1700, he briefly mentions that Brazil continued to be engaged in significant direct trade with Asia throughout the eighteenth century. *Ibid.*, 185. For a detailed list of *Carreira da India* ships that docked in Bahia, see José Roberto do Amaral Lapa, *A Bahia e a Carreira da India* (São Paulo: Cia. Ed. Nacional, 1968), 330-343.

⁶³ Russell-Wood, "A Brazilian Commercial Presence," 194-5.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 195.

century to supply consumers in India with Brazilian tobacco.⁶⁵ Brazilian merchants presumably received various Asian commodities in exchange.

Russell-Wood's examination of ships' manifests, records of the gold, silver, and jewels sent from Brazil to Portugal, offers evidence for direct trade between Brazil and Asia in the first half of the eighteenth century.⁶⁶ Ships were recorded as traveling from Goa and Macau to Rio de Janeiro and Salvador, and only then to Portugal.⁶⁷ While the documents merely list the currency that was destined for Portugal, it can be supposed that the ships traveling from Japan, Luanda, Goa, and many other places, carried other consumer goods that were sold in Brazil in exchange for the gold.

While merchants and consumers in Brazil were able to obtain East Asian goods via Goa, merchants in Macau, China wished to trade directly with Brazil. Merchants in Macau repeatedly pleaded with the Portuguese court to allow vessels to trade directly between Macau and Brazil.⁶⁸ At least six vessels reached Brazil from Macau in the eighteenth century. In 1708 two ships, and in 1718 and 1781 each one ship from Macau docked in Salvador. In 1721 and 1728 vessels from Macau were recorded in Rio de Janeiro.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Russell-Wood, "Holy and Unholy Alliances," 815–37.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 819, 831.

⁶⁸ Details about the merchants' requests and the vessels that sailed to Brazil can be found in José Roberto Teixeira Leite, *A China no Brasil: Influências, Marcas, Ecos e Sobrevivências Chinesas na Sociedade e na Arte Brasileiras* (Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 1999), 213n14.

The greater commercial interaction between Asia and Brazil was in part fueled by the desires of consumers in Africa and Brazil's need for slave labor. Since slaves were economically far more significant than any other commodity coming out of Africa, most research on trade relations between Brazil and Africa deals exclusively with slavery. However, other trade goods were also carried on the slave ships.

While Portugal required little slave labor, the desire for a constant influx of enslaved Africans was insurmountable in Brazil. Therefore, direct trade between Brazil and Africa was legal. In the eighteenth century, Portugal's most stable trade post for acquiring slaves in Africa was the colony of Angola.⁶⁹ The trade between Angola and Brazil was, however, complicated by the fact that merchants in Angola were not interested in receiving Brazilian products, such as gold or tobacco, in exchange for their slaves.⁷⁰ Instead, Angolan merchants were primarily interested in textiles from India. Fortunately for slave-traders in Brazil, the ships that stopped in Salvador on their journey from Goa to Lisbon sold their Indian textiles in exchange for gold.⁷¹ Thus, Salvador became a center for acquiring the Indian textiles that were essential to the African slave trade. Slave trading vessels not only sailed between Angola and Salvador, but also visited the other Brazilian ports. According to an

⁶⁹ While the Portuguese considered the large area of Angola to be a Portuguese colony, scholars debate how much power they were able to exert outside of the port cities. See Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Biografia, Mobilidade e Cultura Atlântica: A Micro-Escala do Tráfico de Escravos em Benguela, Séculos XVIII-XIX," *Tempo* 10, no. 20 (January 2006): 28-9.

⁷⁰ Ferreira, "A Arte de Furtar," 214.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 216-8, 220.

eighteenth-century report from Pernambuco, local imports from Angola included slaves, wax, sandalwood, pipes, mats, and ivory.⁷²

The trade with the Gold Coast and Slave Coast were particularly relevant for the supply of slave labor to Minas Gerais. In the eighteenth century, those two regions were primarily described as the *Costa da Mina*, the coast of the mine. Slaves from this area were thought to possess superior mining skills and were, thus, highly sought after in Minas Gerais.⁷³ By the 1730s, Portugal's trade posts on the *Costa da Mina* had all been lost to other European powers, primarily the Dutch, English, and French.⁷⁴ Therefore, trade in the *Costa da Mina* depended on commercial interactions with other European merchants. The Portuguese were able to continue to obtain slaves in the region in exchange for Brazilian gold, a commodity that the Dutch, British, and the local African population desired.⁷⁵

The number of ships that sailed between Brazil and the *Costa da Mina* was quite significant in the eighteenth century. In the first half of the eighteenth century

⁷² "Informação Geral da Capitania de Pernambuco," *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* 28 (1908): 482. Unfortunately this report is not dated. The text could not have been produced prior to the early eighteenth century, since cattle exports to Minas Gerais are listed. The majority of other documents published with this report stem from the late seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century.

⁷³ Ferreira, "A Arte de Furtar," 209.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁷⁵ Wenceslão Pereira da Silva, a Bahian counselor and an intendant in charge of gold, wrote that slaves from the Gold Coast were acquired from the Dutch in exchange for gold. Wenceslão Pereira da Silva, "Parecer de Wenceslão Pereira da Silva, em que se Propõem os Meios Mais Convenientes para Suspender a Ruina dos Tres Principaes Generos do Commercio do Brazil, Assucar, Tabaco e Solla, Bahia, 12 de Fevereiro de 1738," *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional* 31 (1913): 30.

about five hundred ships sailing from Brazil landed at the Dutch post of São Jorge da Mina.⁷⁶ This number would exclude many other Portuguese ships that managed to pass as British. The alliance with the British was one of the primary means for Portuguese merchants to be able to be protected from the Dutch in the *Costa da Mina*. Some Portuguese sailors made arrangements with British merchants to have slaves carried to Brazil on British ships, which eased matters in the Gold Coast but necessitated the illegal docking of British ships in Brazilian ports.⁷⁷ Portuguese merchants also took advantage of the powerful position of the British by stopping at British trade posts in the Gold Coast and picking up a British sailor. When stopped by the Dutch, this Brit represented the ship claiming it to be a British vessel.⁷⁸ The British offered these protective services in exchange for Brazilian gold.

The Brazilian trade with the *Costa da Mina* has traditionally been considered as exclusive to the port of Salvador. In 1703 trade between the *Costa da Mina* and Rio de Janeiro was forbidden and the crown had also forbidden the transport of slaves from Salvador to Minas Gerais.⁷⁹ These restrictions were both circumvented, and Minas Gerais was supplied with slaves, and possibly other goods, from the *Costa da Mina*.

Once goods arrived in Brazilian ports, they needed to be transported to the mining region. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the only legal route for gold to

⁷⁶ Ferreira, "A Arte de Furtar," 207.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 206.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 207.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 209.

be exported from Minas Gerais was the *Caminho Novo* to Rio de Janeiro. The rivers between Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro were not navigable, and it was customary to bring goods to the mining region on the backs of mules regardless of which route was chosen. The groups of mules were led by men called *tropeiros*, who were often merchants of fairly low socioeconomic status or were slaves. The mule caravans were legally required to stop at numerous posts, called *registros*, along the routes. Officers at the *registros* inspected travel documents, cargos, and passengers. The *registros* aimed to ensure that all travelers were permitted to enter and exit the captaincy, that no illegal goods entered the area, that no gold or diamonds were smuggled out of the mining region, and that all cargo was taxed.

A major obstacle to the study of the importation of luxury goods into Minas Gerais is that the import ledgers recorded at the *registros* do not provide specifics about the goods transported to the mining region. The records list the numbers of cattle, horses, and slaves entering the region, but inanimate objects are not listed individually. Rather the manuscripts merely indicate the quantity of dry goods and quantity of wet goods transported, either by the number of packs or by weight.⁸⁰ While Cláudia Maria das Graças Chaves' groundbreaking study of imports into Minas Gerais stresses the importance of luxury goods, her research is largely based on the *registros*' import records and, thus, does not allow for a detailed analysis of the types and quantities of luxuries imported.⁸¹ Post-mortem inventories and shop ledgers are

⁸⁰ In addition, large items, such as stills, were listed.

⁸¹ Cláudia Maria das Graças Chaves, *Perfeitos Negociantes: Mercadores das Minas Setecentistas* (Belo Horizonte, Brazil: Unicentro Newton Paiva, 1999), 19-20.

considerably more useful for the study of luxuries; however, they do not inform about the trade routes that brought luxury goods to Minas Gerais.

Scholarship has as yet almost exclusively paid attention to the legal and official route of trade between Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais. However, Minas Gerais likely received a substantial portion of its imports from Bahia in the north.⁸² Bahia was the most important commercial center in Brazil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although some scholars believe Rio de Janeiro to have become Brazil's center of trade after the discovery of gold in Minas Gerais, many others continue to see Bahia as the colony's primary commercial hub.⁸³ Avanete Pereira Sousa discusses Bahia as the main trade center of Brazil because it was the point where internal and external trade met. Goods imported from overseas arrived in Bahia and were then redistributed to the rest of the colony.⁸⁴ This redistribution occurred over land as well as by sea. Winds and currents encouraged ships to sail along the Brazilian coast from the north to the south.⁸⁵ Therefore, consumers in Minas Gerais were able to obtain commodities from Bahia directly and through the intermediary of Rio de Janeiro.

⁸² Although Zemella offered the first extensive discussion of trade between Bahia and Minas Gerais, citing numerous historical sources in support of that trade, she, nevertheless, claims that practically all foreign imports reached Minas Gerais via Rio de Janeiro after the creation of the *Caminho Novo*. Zemella, "O Abastecimento," 67-79; 81.

⁸³ For some discussions of Bahia as Brazil's most important cultural center, see Sousa, "Circuitos Internos de Produção," 137-141.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 152-3.

⁸⁵ Ebert, "From Gold to Manioc," 121.

The scarcity of research on the overland trade between Bahia and Minas Gerais is due to the limited amount of historical documentation. In 1702 a decree was passed that forbade all goods other than cattle from being transported from Bahia to the mining region.⁸⁶ However, the degree of illegal trade, mostly undocumented, appears to have been considerable. The main route from Bahia to Minas Gerais was called the *Caminho dos Currais do Sertão*, the Route of the Hinterland Corrals. Although longer than the hilly routes from the south, this was the most convenient route to reach Minas Gerais because it followed the, mostly navigable, river São Francisco and the River das Velhas.⁸⁷ The open landscape with plentiful rivers allowed the *registros* to be easily circumvented.⁸⁸ Illegal trade goods were, therefore, rarely recorded. Occasionally, smugglers were caught, their merchandise confiscated and inventoried. These inventories suggest that a large quantity of luxury goods, particularly textiles, trims, and clothing, arrived in Minas Gerais via Bahia.⁸⁹

Such illegal trade was likely to have been fairly common. In 1711 the governor Antonio Albuquerque de Carvalho wrote about the frequent illegal trade from Bahia to

⁸⁶ Chaves, *Perfeitos Negociantes*, 83.

⁸⁷ Ibid.,

⁸⁸ Countless routes led from various regions along the coast and the inland countryside to the mining region. For in-depth studies of eight routes described in eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century records, see Erivaldo Fagundes Neves, and Antonieta Miguel, eds., *Caminhos do Sertão: Ocupação Territorial, Sistema Viário e Intercâmbios Coloniais dos Sertões da Bahia* (São Paulo: Arcadia, 2007).

⁸⁹ See the partial list of confiscated goods transcribed in Chaves, *Perfeitos Negociantes*, 89-90.

Minas Gerais, which was so profitable that merchants plainly defied the law.⁹⁰ The Brazilian goods most commonly exported from Bahia to Minas Gerais included cattle, slaves, salt, dried meat and fish, alcohol, and sugar.⁹¹ The foreign imports most frequently recorded as transported from Bahia to Minas Gerais were codfish, wheat, olive oil, tools, ceramics, stockings, hats, and a great variety of textiles.⁹² In one instance, priests in Bahia paid a merchant to carry fine textiles, such as taffeta, to Minas Gerais.⁹³

Although rarely treated to in-depth studies after the discovery of gold, São Paulo continued to supply the mining region with goods throughout the eighteenth century. Merchants from São Paulo attained foreign imports in the ports of Rio de Janeiro and Santos, as well as providing Minas Gerais with goods produced within the south of Brazil. Cattle and horses were particularly important exports from São Paulo and its environs to Minas Gerais.⁹⁴

Some merchants were involved in transporting goods throughout the entirety of Brazil. Miguel Mendonça Valladolid was a merchant whose travels spanned the major commercial centers from the very south of the colony to the northeast. He

⁹⁰ Ibid., 84.

⁹¹ Sousa, "Circuitos Internos de Produção," 160.

⁹² Ibid., 161.

⁹³ Furtado, *Homens de Negócio*, 130.

⁹⁴ Minas Gerais was a particularly important market for the merchants of São Paulo. See the frequent references to commerce with Minas Gerais in Maria Aparecida de Menezes Borrego, *A Teia Mercantil: Negócios e Poderes em São Paulo Colonial (1711-1765)* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2010).

conducted trade in Colonia do Sacramento, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and Bahia.⁹⁵

The Movement of People

The trade throughout the empire and beyond involved extensive travel of objects, letters, and of people. Merchants of various classes and educated elites were often accustomed to travel, and were acquainted with numerous parts of the empire. In their travels, they made contacts to other influential individuals, learned of local customs, products, and styles, and developed an understanding of the expanse of the globe.

In the eighteenth century, most of the prominent merchants living in the interior of Brazil were immigrants from Portugal. These men typically arrived in Brazil between the age of ten and fourteen. Adolescent men aspiring to enter the world of commerce usually spent their first years living itinerant lives, constantly traveling, carrying goods from one place to another. Eventually these men settled in one location, sending a new group of young men to travel for them. Even after having established themselves in a town, merchants tended to travel on occasion. This itinerant existence allowed merchants to be worldly, having gained experience in Portugal, with transatlantic travel, and with numerous locations within Brazil. For instance, Maria Aparecida de Menezes has examined the lives of merchants in São Paulo in the eighteenth century. A large number of those merchants had spent some

⁹⁵ Anita Novinsky, "Marranos and the Inquisition: On the Gold Route in Minas Gerais, Brazil," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800*, ed. by Paolo Bernardini, and Norman Fiering (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 219.

time in Minas Gerais prior to settling in São Paulo.⁹⁶ Such traveling merchants continuously brought news from Europe to the mining region.

On occasion, Portuguese merchants who had achieved great wealth in Minas Gerais returned to Portugal either to retire near family or to continue their business in the port towns.⁹⁷ These men maintained commercial and personal contacts with family and business associates across the Atlantic. Such relationships allowed residents of Brazil to constantly remain informed about current developments in Europe.

Merchants not only traveled within Brazil and between Brazil and Portugal, but also crossed the Atlantic to reach other regions of the empire. Roquinaldo Ferreira has examined the lives of merchants in Benguela, Angola to demonstrate the depth of the relationship between Angolan ports and Brazil.⁹⁸ His research revealed that merchants involved in the slave trade crossed the Atlantic throughout their lives. Numerous prominent merchants in Benguela had lived in Brazil prior to immigrating to Angola. Many of those were Brazilian-born, while others had first journeyed from Portugal to Brazil. People of African descent, such as soldiers, also became involved in the transatlantic slave trade with Benguela.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Borrego, *A Teia Mercantil*, 59-67.

⁹⁷ Alexandra Maria Pereira, “Das Minas á Corte, de Caixeiro a Contratador: Jorge Pinto de Azeredo: Atividade Mercantil e Negócios na Primeira Metade do Século XVIII,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2013), 176-204.

⁹⁸ Ferreira, “Biografia, Mobilidade e Cultura Atlântica,” 23–49.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 42. Ferreira discusses former slaves working in the slave trade between Bahia and the Bay of Benin. Presumably similar occurrences existed in Angola. Ibid., 27.

Merchants in Benguela maintained personal connections to Brazil throughout their lives. Many slave traders in Angola had wives and children that they had left behind in Brazil, in some cases because the men had been temporarily exiled to Angola as punishment for a crime.¹⁰⁰ In Benguela, family and business relationships were primarily held with Rio de Janeiro, and children who were born in Angola were typically sent to Rio de Janeiro, not to Coimbra, for their education.¹⁰¹ Merchants in Benguela often returned briefly to Brazil to settle business accounts, or to care for their ailing health, thought to have resulted from the African climate and the insufficient medical resources available in Angola. Many of these merchants with personal ties to Brazil appear to have desired permanent relocation to Brazil towards the end of their careers.¹⁰²

Not only merchants were acquainted with travel. Wealthy residents of Minas Gerais who were not merchants have received relatively little attention; however, the few studies of this group of elites reveal that their lives, too, involved considerable travel. Carla Maria Carvalho de Almeida has been a pioneer in the examination of the lives of wealthy *mineiros* who were not merchants. Her research has focused on the acquisition of social status in Minas Gerais, as well as the "cosmopolitan" nature of the *mineiro* elite who traveled and had contacts throughout the empire.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 34.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 35.

¹⁰² Ibid., 32-3.

¹⁰³ Carla Maria Carvalho de Almeida, "Do Reino as Minas: O "Cosmopolitismo" da Elite Mineira Setecentista," in *Nas Rotas do Império: Eixos Mercantis, Tráfico e Relações Sociais no Mundo Português*, ed. by Fragoso, João Luis Ribeiro (Ilha de Vitória: EDUFES, 2006), 331-356.

Almeida's research focuses on broad trends among the men who were listed as the wealthiest men of Minas Gerais in 1756, as well as case studies of individuals in the list and their families. She has conducted an in-depth examination of the lives of one of the families involved in the initial discovery of gold in Minas Gerais. The lives of members of this family demonstrate that Minas Gerais was founded by individuals experienced in travel and familiar with local and global geography.

In 1664 Fernão Dias Paes received orders from the crown to lead an expedition in search of emeralds and precious metals.¹⁰⁴ His crew included his son, Garcia Rodrigues Paes Leme, and two sons-in-law. Although Fernão Dias Paes died prior to encountering gold, his son, Garcia Rodrigues, was recognized as one of the first discoverers of gold.¹⁰⁵ Garcia Rodrigues settled in São Sebastião, part of the municipality of Vila do Carmo, but continued to travel between São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro throughout his life.¹⁰⁶ His brother-in-law Francisco Paes de Oliveira Horta, who had also been involved in the exploratory expeditions, returned to São Paulo after having attained his fortune in Minas Gerais. His offspring, however, continued his legacy of exploration. One son explored the frontier area of Goiás while the other children settled in Minas Gerais, including Maximiliano de Oliveira Leite who became

¹⁰⁴ The biographies of the family are recounted in Carla Maria Carvalho de Almeida, "Uma Nobreza da Terra com Projeto Imperial: Maximiliano de Oliveira Leite e seus Aparentados," in *Conquistadores e Negociantes: Histórias de Elites no Antigo Regime nos Trópicos: América Lusa, Séculos XVI a XVIII*, ed. by João Luís Ribeiro Fragoso, Carla Maria Carvalho de Almeida, and Antonio Carlos Jucá de Sampaio (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2007), 137-173.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 139.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 141.

a prominent man in Vila do Carmo.¹⁰⁷ Maximiliano participated in the conquest of the western regions of Minas Gerais and helped to open a road to Goiás.¹⁰⁸

Maximiliano's brother-in-law, Caetano Alvares Rodrigues, likewise became a powerful man within Vila do Carmo. Caetano was particularly well traveled. He was born in Lisbon, and spent six years as a soldier defending Portuguese interests in India.¹⁰⁹ After arriving in Brazil in 1710, he continued to be engaged in military service to the crown, such as fighting the French invasion of Rio de Janeiro.

Marriages to men with ties to distant regions of the empire allowed the family to increase the geographic breadth of their contacts. Two men who married into the family were from the island of São Miguel in the Azores in the Atlantic Ocean.¹¹⁰ Another family member by marriage, Jose Alvares Maciel, studied in Coimbra and traveled throughout various parts of Western Europe.¹¹¹ He had lived in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro before settling in Minas Gerais. He was involved in business both in the northern diamond district as well as in Vila Rica and Vila do Carmo.¹¹²

Many of the members of the family who were born in Minas Gerais traveled to Coimbra to receive an education. Most returned to Minas Gerais while others stayed in

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 141-2.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 142.

¹⁰⁹ Details of his life are recounted in Almeida, "Do Reino as Minas," 337-342; Almeida, "Uma Nobreza da Terra," 142-149.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 166-7.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 134.

¹¹² Ibid., 170-173.

Portugal.¹¹³ Virginia Valadares has examined the cultural and political ties between Minas Gerais and Portugal that were created by the many elite children who left their homes in Minas Gerais to be educated at Coimbra, and then returned to Minas Gerais with a Portuguese worldview.¹¹⁴ These youths and young adults who made the arduous journey from Minas Gerais to Rio de Janeiro, across the Atlantic, and back were able to situate their experiences in Minas Gerais within the context of Brazil and within the empire as a whole. They could compare their homeland to Europe, and bring new ideas and perspectives to Minas Gerais. These educational experiences and travels were not only relevant for the political, economic, and intellectual life of the *mineiro* elite, but also for their aesthetic interests, collecting practices, and artistic patronage.

Global Networks in Art History and Material Culture Studies

All the trade, travels, and overseas communications described above allowed new tastes, styles, and iconography to reach Minas Gerais. While import and export records, shop ledgers, and post-mortem inventories are generally silent about details of style and iconography, the goods that travelled from across the globe to Minas Gerais brought a diversity of visual languages to the region. Experiences overseas informed the choices made by artists and consumers, and imported objects played a significant role in the visual and material culture of Minas Gerais.

¹¹³ Ibid., 135.

¹¹⁴ Virginia Maria Trindade Valadares, *Elites Mineiras Setecentistas: Conjugação de dois Mundos* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2004).

In the field of art history, acknowledgement of the cultural ties to Portugal signaled the departure from the theory of *mineiro* cultural isolation. While this reconsideration of the mining region's artistic relationship to Portugal has been tremendously important for the field, less attention has been paid to knowledge of artistic innovations in other parts of the globe. The examination of the presence of European prints in Minas Gerais has, however, allowed for discussion of *mineiro* artists' engagement with artistic production outside of Portugal. In addition to prints, decorative art objects, such as textiles, silver, and ceramics, contributed to the visual languages adopted by *mineiro* artists. This dissertation offers new research on elite material culture, thus enabling a more thorough understanding of the cosmopolitan culture of colonial Minas Gerais.

As early as the 1930s, art historical scholarship outside of Brazil began to question the idea of *mineiro* cultural isolation by tying the local architecture to precedents in Portugal. Robert C. Smith drew connections to architectural traditions and currents in the north of Portugal, the region from which most *mineiros* immigrated. He did not deny the geographic remoteness of the mining region, nor the challenges that this posed. On the contrary, the isolated conditions of Minas Gerais served as parallels to the provincial character of northern Portugal, further promoting the transmission of designs from that area to Minas Gerais.¹¹⁵ With few exceptions,

¹¹⁵ Smith, "The Colonial Architecture," 141.

Brazilian art historians rejected Smith's and later John Bury's scholarship, preferring to consider *mineiro* architecture independent from Portugal.¹¹⁶

Today, most scholars recognize that the art and architecture of Minas Gerais derives from the artistic traditions of Portugal, that Portuguese architects and artists were active in the area, and that prints and books from Europe traveled to the mining region. While such research contradicts the conception of a culturally isolated Minas Gerais, the studies typically describe cultural knowledge as filtered through Portugal rather than incorporating the possibility for direct access to objects, people, and ideas from outside of the Portuguese world. This stems in part from the work of Smith and Bury. Working in a field dominated by nationalistic authors with a decidedly anti-Portuguese rhetoric, Smith and Bury adamantly argued for Brazil's cultural connections specifically to Portugal. For instance, Bury argues that the incorporation of Central European architectural elements in *mineiro* churches signals a typically Portuguese approach, because northern Portuguese architecture is well known for adopting foreign designs.¹¹⁷ Bury is correct to emphasize the importance of foreign artists and architects working in Portugal, and the transmission of styles and plans across Europe. However, the insistence on Portuguese models for Brazilian art and

¹¹⁶ Oliveira explains how Brazilian scholars have continued to rely on Bazin's ideas of a local, Brazilian development despite the evidence to the contrary. Oliveira, "Barroco e Rococo," 145.

¹¹⁷ John Bury, "A Arquitetura e a Arte do Brasil Colonial," in *Arquitetura e Arte no Brasil Colonial*, edited by Myriam Andrade Ribeiro de Oliveira, and translated by Isa Mara Lando (São Paulo: Nobel, 1991), 180. This article was originally published in English in 1984.

architecture has led the possibility for more direct access to knowledge about foreign places, cultures, buildings, artworks, and commodities to be overlooked.¹¹⁸

While cultural and artistic relationships between Brazil and Portugal are frequently researched, relatively little scholarship considers Brazil's relationship to Portuguese Asia. As Russell-Wood has discussed, research on the Portuguese empire has resulted in an unfortunate split between scholars of Brazil and scholars of Portuguese Asia, with few studies considering the two regions in conjunction with one another.¹¹⁹ As a result, scholars have struggled to explain the presence of Asian elements in Brazilian art, architecture, and material culture.¹²⁰ One extreme example is Bazin's quest to determine how *o Aleijadinho*, supposedly unaware of art and culture anywhere outside of Minas Gerais, could have dressed the Congonhas prophets in Middle Eastern turbans.¹²¹

One hypothesis used to explain Asian designs in Minas Gerais has fortunately been rejected among scholars. The imitation-lacquer *chinoiserie* scenes in some *mineiro* churches, most famously Nossa Senhora do Ó in Sabará, were claimed to have

¹¹⁸ The exception is the recent interest in the importation of prints, primarily from Augsburg and Antwerp.

¹¹⁹ Russell-Wood, "A Brazilian Commercial Presence," 191.

¹²⁰ The recent *Made in the Americas* has, fortunately, begun to address these questions. See Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Religious Orders and the Arts of Asia," in Carr, *Made in the Americas*, 91-109; Dennis Carr, "Chinoiserie in the Colonial Americas," in Carr, *Made in the Americas*, 111-31.

¹²¹ Grammont, *Aleijadinho e o Aeroplano*, 260.

been painted by Chinese artists or Portuguese artists trained in India or China.¹²² In an attempt to refute this outdated view and to explain the European origins of *chinoiserie*, Cristina Avila and Augusto C. da Silva Telles wrote, “the use of chinoiserie—a technique that was expanding in Europe—on a wide variety of objects, from tiles to furniture, did not arrive in Brazil as the result of the handiwork of Asian artists, as some literature would have it, but through treatments created by Portuguese artists.”¹²³ While this statement admirably refutes the notion that Chinese-looking designs were by necessity created by Chinese people, it oversimplifies the question of *chinoiserie* in Minas Gerais. The involvement of “the handiwork of Asian artists” should not be dismissed. While Asian artists did not create the imitation lacquer paintings, the products of Asian artistry, such as porcelain and textiles, indeed circulated in Minas Gerais. Even if the motifs and styles of the *mineiro chinoiserie* were not copied from Asian consumer goods, the allure and aesthetic of those goods drove the desire to include *chinoiserie* in religious spaces. Moreover, Asian artists imitated European *chinoiserie* designs on commodities intended for European and American markets. Thus, some *chinoiserie* was indeed Asian.

While imported decorative art has not been thoroughly explored as a means for spreading styles and iconography, art historical scholarship on *mineiro* art and architecture has fortunately embraced the examination of the importation of prints and

¹²² Leite discusses and refutes the various hypotheses and explains the concept of chinoiserie, Leite, *A China no Brasil*, 179-184.

¹²³ Cristina Avila, and Augusto C. da Silva Telles, “Brazilian Baroque Art/Brazilian Baroque Architecture,” in *Brazil: Body & Soul*, ed. by Edward J. Sullivan (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2001), 134.

their importance for local artistic production. Prints published in Europe and imported into Brazil informed artists working in Minas Gerais about styles, compositions, and iconography in European art. In 1944 the German art historian Hanna Levy published the first major study of European print sources for eighteenth-century paintings in Minas Gerais.¹²⁴ The print sources that Levy identified included a French illustrated Bible published in 1728 that gathered an extensive collection of 500 plates by artists throughout Europe,¹²⁵ a German illustrated Bible published in 1712 containing prints by Caspar Luiken and Jan Luiken,¹²⁶ and a collection of prints of the life of Christ published in Antwerp.¹²⁷ These illustrated books circulated among artists in Minas

¹²⁴ Hannah Levy, "Modelos Europeus na Pintura Colonial," *Revista do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* 8 (1944): 7-66. While Levy's article is always cited as the first to breach the subject of European print sources in Minas Gerais, her article begins with a discussion of two scholars who had previously mentioned the use of European prints in the work of Manuel da Costa Ataíde. Those scholars are Salomão de Vasconcelos and Luis Jardim.

¹²⁵ Louis Antoine de Marne, *Histoire Sacrée de la Providence et de la Conduite de Dieu sur les Hommes depuis le Commencement du Monde jusqu'aux Temps prédits dans l'Apocalypse* (Paris, 1728). This book provided the sources for all six panels painted by the famed artist Manuel da Costa Ataíde in the church of São Francisco de Assis in Ouro Preto.

¹²⁶ Levy, "Modelos Europeus," 24. The book is Christopher Weigel, *Historiæ Celebriores Veteris Testamenti Iconibus Representatae* (Nuremberg, 1712). Prints from this text were used for paintings in Vila Rica and in Congonhas do Campo attributed to Antônio Rodrigues and João Nepomuceno Correia e Castro. Correia e Castro's use of prints are further evidenced by the following statement in his testament: "All of the Stamps that I have, drawings and sketches I leave to my apprentices Francisco and Bernardino de Senna." Levy, "Modelos Europeus," 48.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 63. The book under consideration is given as Adriano Collart and Joan Galle eds., *Vita, Passio, Mors et Resurrectio Jesu Christi*. The example that Levy discusses was undated. Several editions of a text with a similar name containing designs by Maarten de Vos engraved by Adriaen Collaert and published by Jan Galle were

Gerais and connected *mineiro* artists to the compositions that continued to be distributed in Europe. The publications' French, German, and Flemish origins further highlight that artists in Brazil were not solely receiving their artistic knowledge from Portugal.

Given the patriotic bend of twentieth-century scholarship in Brazil that celebrated *mineiro* art and architecture as original creations without the taint of outside influence, Hanna Levy's article was initially rejected by several Brazilian scholars. Ruben Navarra immediately wrote an alarmist response to Levy's article.¹²⁸ Navarra considered the idea that Brazilian artists copied from European prints to belittle the quality and originality of the art of colonial Brazil.¹²⁹

Today, the identification of print sources for *mineiro* painting and sculpture has become one of the primary tasks in art historical research.¹³⁰ Such scholarship

published in Antwerp from 1593 through the eighteenth century. This text, *Vita, Passio et Resurrectio Jesu Christi*, contains engravings that correspond to the paintings Levy discusses, and does not contain a publication date on the title page. The prints were used for paintings in Sabará and in Tiradentes.

¹²⁸ See Daniela Pinheiro Machado Kern, "Hanna Levy e a História da Arte Brasileira como Problema," *X Encontro de Historia da Arte* (2014): 4.

¹²⁹ Navarro's rejection of Levy's methods also stems from his anti-German sentiments despite Levy's position as a German Jew who had fled to Brazil. *Ibid.*, 5.

¹³⁰ The authors who conduct such research are numerous. Following is a brief list of recent articles that focus specifically on print sources for paintings in colonial Minas Gerais. Delson Aguinaldo de Araujo Junior, "Estampas como Inspiração para a Pintura em Minas Gerais," *V Encontro de História da Arte - IFCH/UNICAMP* (2009): 144-157; Camila Fernanda Guimarães Santiago, "Os usos de Gravuras Europeias como Modelos pelos Pintores Coloniais: Três Pinturas Mineiras Baseadas em uma Gravura Portuguesa que Representa a Anunciação," *Temporalidades* 3, no 1 (2011): 185-198; Alex Fernandes Bohrer, "Buril Planetário: Minas Gerais, de Rafael a

tends to focus on prints found in bound publications, and focuses in particular on prints published in Antwerp. Flanders and the Iberian Peninsula held long-standing commercial and artistic ties. Alex Fernandes Bohrer suggests that Brazil may have imported artwork directly from Flanders, by-passing Portugal as intermediary.¹³¹

Most scholarship on the use of prints in Minas Gerais identifies specific prints that were used as models for the iconography and composition of paintings. In addition, the circulation of prints has been used to explain the adoption of the rococo style in Minas Gerais. Myriam Andrade Ribeiro de Oliveira has become the leading scholar to examine the dissemination of the rococo style and imagery throughout Brazil. In 2001 she credited the arrival of the rococo taste to Portugal to the immigration of French artists and the importation of Parisian prints.¹³² Her 2003 book dedicated to the rococo, *O Rococó Religioso no Brasil e seus Antecedentes Europeus*, privileges prints as the means through which the rococo style spread throughout Europe and Brazil.¹³³ She even states that the rococo style was adopted in Portugal entirely due to the arrival of French and German prints.¹³⁴

Rubens," *Atas do IV Congresso Internacional do Barroco Íbero-Americano* (2006): 321-336.

¹³¹ Bohrer, "Buril Planetário," 324.

¹³² Oliveira, "Barroco e Rococó," 149.

¹³³ Oliveira, *Rococó Religioso no Brasil*. Prints are discussed throughout the book, and the sections "Os Meios de Difusão: Significação das Fontes Impressas," "A Tratadística e Outros Meios de Difusão," and "As Gravuras Ornamentais de Augsburg" are dedicated specifically to prints as the mode of transmission of the new styles, compositions, iconographies and architectural plans. Ibid., 45-49, 69-72, 91-97.

¹³⁴ "...a assimilação do rococó parece ter sido obra exclusiva da influência das gravuras ornamentais." Ibid., 150-1.

Although in her book, Oliveira briefly mentions that the circulation of domestic luxury goods contributed to the transmission of rococo tastes throughout Europe, she does not consider the importation of decorative art objects in her discussion of Brazil.¹³⁵ Given the amount of luxury goods that arrived in Brazil from France and other European regions that had adopted the rococo style, the consumption of rococo textiles and ceramics probably brought the taste for the rococo to Minas Gerais before artists began to examine rococo prints. Identifying prints as the means for spreading rococo styles to Brazil is not necessary considering that the bodies and homes of artists and their patrons were likely covered in imported rococo objects before those artists began to adopt rococo imagery in their work.

While the art history of Minas Gerais continues to focus on local production, historians have recently begun to examine records of imported commodities. This research is often conducted by economic historians who aim to contribute to the reinterpretation of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais as commercially connected to other parts of the globe. For instance, while twentieth-century scholarship acknowledged the large-scale importation of Asian consumer goods into coastal Brazil, their presence in Minas Gerais has only recently been accepted. When confronted with evidence of Asian goods in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais, Boxer approached it with skepticism. On the writings of Luis Gomes Ferreira, a local surgeon, Boxer wrote, “some of his own prescriptions, incidentally, included tea and Chinese ink, both of which (he states) were readily obtainable in Minas. This affords incidental testimony to the demand for Chinese wares in Brazil...”¹³⁶ Boxer

¹³⁵ Ibid., 45, 305n13,

¹³⁶ Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil*, 186.

considered the recipes merely evidence of demand for Chinese wares, while questioning Luis Gomes Ferreira's assertion about the availability of such goods.

In a recent article, Ana Luiza de Castro Pereira examined the origins of objects listed in post-mortem inventories in Sabará to demonstrate that consumers in Minas Gerais were able to obtain goods from diverse regions of the globe.¹³⁷ Of the 758 objects in the inventories examined, geographic signifiers were included for 116 objects.¹³⁸ Thirty percent of the goods were Portuguese, twenty percent from Brittany, seventeen percent Russian, sixteen percent Indian, five percent Flemish, and the remaining twelve percent included goods from the Dutch Republic, Macau, England, Africa, Malta, and Germany.¹³⁹ While I agree with Castro Pereira's conclusions that the homes of Minas Gerais were, indeed, filled with goods from all over the globe, her method of analysis can be misleading. My research with inventories has consistently demonstrated that most geographic terms in inventories refer to the names of materials rather than being specific references to the place of origin. At times, these terms indeed refer to the place of manufacture of an object. For instance, Guimarães is the name for a type of linen cloth associated with the Portuguese town of Guimarães. However, other terms describe a material that once originated in a place but has since come to be produced elsewhere. An object can also have associations with a place that are not based on location of manufacture. For instance, *folha de flandres* (sheet from

¹³⁷ Ana Luiza de Castro Pereira, “‘Lençóis de Linho, Pratos da Índia e Brincos de Filigrana’: Vida Cotidiana numa Vila Mineira Setecentista,” *Estudos Históricos* 24, no. 48 (December 2011): 331–50.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 345n15.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 339.

Flanders) describes a thin sheet of iron with a tin coating that could be produced anywhere, and *louça da Índia* (ceramics from India) is a commonly used term for porcelain. Thus, Castro Pereira's statistics indicate the ratios of the linguistic associations with different places, but not the actual place of origin of consumer goods.

Such examinations of the contents of inventories in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais are revolutionizing the view of *mineiro* isolation and of domestic life. However, the studies tend to focus on the traditional, legal trade routes that brought luxury goods to Brazil through the filter of Portugal. Alexandra Maria Pereira specifically states that her work illustrates the commercial connections between Minas Gerais and the Portuguese empire.¹⁴⁰ Likewise, Ana Luiza de Castro Pereira explains the supply of commodities to Minas Gerais as mediated through Lisbon.¹⁴¹ The lack of consideration of legal and illegal direct trade with other regions of the empire and with foreign powers distorts the understanding of material culture in Minas Gerais. Trade

¹⁴⁰ Alexandra Maria Pereira, "Um Mercador de Vila Rica: Atividade Mercantil na Sociedade do Ouro (1737-1738)," (Master's thesis, UFJF, 2008), 12. She introduces her section on textiles with a reference to the enormous textile trade from England to Portugal. However, she uses those statistics to discuss the importance of textiles in trade rather than to address the importance of *English* textiles in the Portuguese world. Ibid., 53. Moreover, she makes reference throughout the text to goods from the *reino*. While this can include goods produced elsewhere but imported to Portugal prior to being shipped to Brazil, the repeated emphasis on Portugal enforces the idea of the insularity of the Portuguese world.

¹⁴¹ "as proximas paginas dedicam-se a analise da maneira como os bens da praça lisboeta, uma vez desembarcados na America portuguesa, ganharam os sertoes e passaram a fazer parte do cotidiano nas familias mineiras. Pereira, "Lençóis de Linho," 333. Another of her articles further reinforces the focus on the Portuguese empire. Pereira, "Viver nos Trópicos com Bens do Império."

with the Spanish American viceroyalties and with Britain have not yet been given sufficient attention, and the privileging of material ties to Portugal creates the misleading impression that the majority of imported goods listed in inventories without geographic signifiers were of Portuguese manufacture.

The focus on material circulation as confined within the Portuguese empire has also permeated the field of archaeology, a crucial resource for the study of ceramics. Recent archaeological research reinforces the conception of the empire's cultural and material insularity, despite archeological finds supporting the contrary.¹⁴² The reports on the ceramics encountered during excavation in Salvador concentrate almost exclusively on Chinese porcelain and Portuguese *faiança* even though ceramics from Spain, Italy, the Dutch Republic, and England were also excavated.¹⁴³

While archaeological research on early modern ceramics has been carried out in other parts of Brazil, archeology in Minas Gerais primarily examines prehistoric remains. In keeping with the predominant interest in marginalized groups, the scholars working in early modern archaeology explore *quilombos*, communities formed by runaway slaves and others living outside of the Portuguese sphere of power.¹⁴⁴ The

¹⁴² Etchevarne, and Gomes, "A Cerâmica no Quotidiano Colonial Português," 821-8; Etchevarne, and Gomes, "Porcelana Chinesa em Salvador," 933-5.

¹⁴³ In Portuguese, the term *faiança* can be applied to a variety of earthenware, but most commonly refers to tin-glazed earthenware. The historical discussion of commerce in the archaeological reports argues that the importation of ceramics and other luxury goods into Brazil was minimal. Etchevarne and Gomes, "A Cerâmica no Quotidiano Colonial Português," 827. This interpretation is due to research on the main imports of the major trading companies rather than consideration of the other goods that circulated without contracts.

¹⁴⁴ For an overview of archaeology in Minas Gerais, see *Preservando a História e a Cultura Mineira: Um Olhar sobre o Patrimônio Arqueológico de Minas Gerais* (Belo

few archaeological studies conducted within colonial towns focus on gardens rather than portable objects, and are typically published in obscure journals. Excavation and analysis of consumer goods produced outside of Brazil, and even outside of the Portuguese realm, would provide concrete evidence of the mining region's connection to global trade networks.

These examinations of post-mortem inventories and archeological finds to learn about colonial Brazilian material culture are recent. Earlier discussions of domestic conditions in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais were often based on common tropes associated with mining areas. Some twentieth-century descriptions of *mineiro* material culture rely upon the characterization of Minas Gerais as a remote frontier land to further assumptions about scarcity and poverty among the domestic furnishings of the local population. This conception is further reinforced by overreliance on foreign travel accounts. The Northern European authors of the travel accounts stemmed from nations with domestic customs different from those in Portugal and its overseas territories. Compared to elite homes in Britain and France, for instance, the elite in Portugal and Brazil owned relatively few furnishings. Although the result of local custom rather than scarcity, John Luccock like other foreign travelers disparaged the emptiness of homes in Rio de Janeiro, writing “poor and scanty is the furniture of the most fashionable apartments.”¹⁴⁵ Such attitudes continued into the twentieth century. In 1929 Alcântara Machado, writing on early modern homes in São Paulo,

Horizonte: Ministério Público do Estado de Minas Gerais, 2014); André Prous, “As Muitas Arqueologias das Minas Gerais,” *Revista Espinhaço* 2, no 2 (2013): 36-54.

¹⁴⁵ Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro*, 120.

stated “the interior of the Brazilian house continues to mold itself on the nudity and imperfection of the Portuguese house.”¹⁴⁶

In contrast to such statements of material scarcity, the common stereotype of excessive opulence in the mining region is often based on the records of the possessions of the men found guilty for the *Inconfidência Mineira* in 1789. For instance, the most important twentieth-century scholar on colonial furniture, J. Washt Rodrigues, described the opulence of homes of the elite in Minas Gerais, with “rich furniture, silver services, jewels, silks and velvets, porcelain from China, Portuguese earthenware” as evidenced by surviving objects, and historical documentation, the *Inconfidência* records, in particular.¹⁴⁷

As the only published inventories from colonial Minas Gerais, the *Inconfidência* records have been used to learn about eighteenth-century material culture in the region. For instance, in 1939 Hércio Dias published an article on the furniture described in the lists of confiscated goods of the men involved in the *Inconfidência*. Rather than treating the furniture merely as evidence of the belongings of those specific individuals, he drew conclusions about the quantity and quality of furniture used in late eighteenth-century Minas Gerais as compared to the furniture listed in the earlier inventories from São Paulo examined by Machado.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Alcântara Machado, *Vida e Morte do Bandeirante* (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial, 2006), 74.

¹⁴⁷ J. Washt Rodrigues, “Móveis Antigos de Minas Gerais,” *RSPHAN* 7 (1943): 83.

¹⁴⁸ Hércio Dias, “O Mobiliário dos Inconfidentes,” *RSPHAN* 3 (1939): 164-5.

The lists of confiscated goods are tremendously useful for learning about the men involved in the *Inconfidência Mineira*. However, the *Inconfidência* records are not a reliable source for exploring trends in consumption among the general population of elites in Minas Gerais. Such use of the lists of confiscated goods is problematic due to the small sample size, the circumstances under which the documents were written, and the unusual lives of the men whose possessions are described. While lists of confiscated goods exist for about a dozen men, only four men's possessions are presented in a format similar to post-mortem inventories. Most of the lists of objects are written in paragraph format, without details about the condition of the objects, and without their monetary values. The omission of the monetary values ascribed to objects hinders an understanding of the quality and physical characteristics of the possessions. Thus, only the four inventories with monetary values can be effectively compared to the belongings of other residents.

Moreover, one of those four inventories does not provide a complete view of the contents of a home. Captain Vicente Vieira da Mota was a bachelor living in the home of João Rodrigues de Macedo.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, he owned little property other than an extensive list of clothing and other fabrics. According to the homeowner, not all of the items listed were the personal property of Vicente.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ João Rodrigues de Macedo owned the large stone house now known as the Casa dos Contos in the center of Ouro Preto. Vicente Vieira da Mota's possessions were all found in one room of that house. *Autos de Devassa da Inconfidência Mineira*, Vol. 6 (Belo Horizonte: Imprensa Oficial de Minas Gerais, 1982), 363.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 373.

The use of the lists of confiscated goods is further complicated by the fact that they were created for a different purpose than post-mortem inventories. The accurate recording of wealth in post-mortem inventories generally benefitted widows and heirs by ensuring that they received the full value of the estate. On the other hand, family members of the men condemned in the *Inconfidência* were unlikely to be motivated to disclose all of the individual's possessions. While the wife of the condemned could receive her half of the estate, the heirs lost their entire paternal inheritance. As Andre Figueiredo Rodrigues has shown, in at least one case, the wife deliberately lied to prevent the loss of her property.¹⁵¹

In addition to small sample size and the omission of possessions, the *Inconfidência* records cannot provide an accurate understanding of material culture among the general population of the elite in Minas Gerais, because the men involved in the *Inconfidência* were extraordinary individuals. As a group, they were intellectually and ideologically unusual. They were far more interested in the groundbreaking political and ideological movements current in France and the newly formed United States of America than other elites in the area. Thus, they often owned substantial libraries and their ideas about material culture corresponded more with French fashion than Portuguese tradition. Several men owned chests of drawers and easel paintings, objects that were rare even among the wealthiest households in Minas Gerais. Moreover, one of the men whose possessions are fully inventoried with monetary values, Dr. Inacio Jose de Alvarenga Peixoto, was remarkably wealthy. His estate was assigned a value of over eighty-four million *reis*, more than any other estate

¹⁵¹ André Figueiredo Rodrigues, "O Sequestro de Bens Como Fonte de Pesquisa para o Estudo da Inconfidência Mineira," *Mnemosine Revista* 3, no. 2 (2012): 16-17.

I have examined, and three times the value of the estates of the wealthiest branches of the Oliveira Pinto family.

Rather than being viewed as representative of the material culture of *mineiro* elites, the possessions of the men condemned for the *Inconfidência* should be approached as atypical. Focus on these extraordinary men leads to misleading conclusions about *mineiro* material culture. However, as mentioned previously, their lives demonstrate that wealthy residents of Minas Gerais were able to travel within and beyond the empire, and become highly informed about contemporary intellectual currents circulating in North America and Europe.

Conclusion

Recent history and art history have refuted earlier ideas of the cultural isolation of Minas Gerais. Many scholars continue to conduct new research focusing on archival evidence to further elucidate conditions in the mining region. The study of elite material culture has only recently been begun. As yet, imported decorative art has not been sufficiently integrated into art historical research, and luxury goods have not received due attention in economic history. Consideration of illegal trade, the circulation of goods that were not fundamental to the imperial economy, communication across imperial boundaries, and further interaction between art historians, social historians, and economic historians will bring a richer understanding of colonial Minas Gerais.

Numerous scholars working on the history and art history of Minas Gerais have recently begun to adopt the model of micro-histories to better understand the realities of life in the eighteenth century. Examinations of the details of an individual

architects life, or of the personal connections that a merchant established reveal the diverse connections that residents of Minas Gerais held with other parts of the globe. The following chapter offers a micro-history of the lives of the Oliveira Pinto family to elucidate the idiosyncrasies of individual experience as well as the common trends of elite life in eighteenth century Minas Gerais. This detailed examination of the family members' lives elucidates the specific context within which their possessions existed, and clarifies the functions and meanings of luxury goods within the local culture.

Chapter 3

FAMILY: RELATIONSHIPS AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF POWER

While traveling between Vila Rica and Mariana in 1817, the British merchant John Luccock passed by the Morro Santo Antonio, where many members of the Oliveira Pinto family had lived. In his travel account, he tells the tale of a formerly wealthy mine-owning family that had lived there:

While looking at this spot [the Morro Santo Antonio], and listening to the rapturous accounts, which the people gave, of the quantity of gold here collected, I was led to ask, once more, what is become of all this treasure? where are its fortunate proprietors? where the permanent marks of their success? The only answer was,---they are gone, and nothing remains. The grandfather began the work, and seemed to flourish; in the hands of the son it declined; the grand-children are sunk into poverty; the estate has been offered for sale, and no one will buy. In the name of common sense then, I replied, what have these people been doing? they have washed into yonder river, all that was most valuable of their ground, and left it a bare rock. Would it not have been better to have cultivated the soil, and by improvements rendered it more and more productive? In that case, the family might still have been wealthy, and their descendants might have continued so for ages to come.--- After all, how superfluous this appeal! a search for gold becomes a mania, and is generally incurable.¹

Since they were the most prominent mining family on this site, Luccock may very well have been writing about the Oliveira Pintos. However, his account of their

¹ Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro*, 511.

ruination would be false. Archival research continues to create a more nuanced view of conditions in colonial Minas Gerais, often overturning previous conceptions. In the case of my research, the in-depth examination of the lives of the Oliveira Pinto family contradicts the widely-held views expressed in foreigners' travel accounts. Even though not all branches of the family became exceptionally wealthy, family members continued to live comfortably and honorably well into the nineteenth century. Moreover, documents relating to the Oliveira Pintos, their acquaintances, friends, and business partners provide insight not only into when and where the family lived, but also intricacies of their strategies for attaining and maintaining a prominent standing within the community.

After describing the biographies of the four generations of Oliveira Pintos under consideration, this chapter discusses various elements of their lives that assured the family continued socioeconomic success. These factors include education, entrance into religious professions, the expansion of the family networks through marriage and godparentage, the creation of business partnerships within the family, the family's activity within the confraternity of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and the personal and professional ties with the business of commerce. Finally, the family's familiarity with long-distance travel and continuing communication with individuals overseas are explored.

The Oliveira Pintos: Biographies of Four Generations

This chapter focuses on the lives of João Pinto Alvares, Mariana Correia de Oliveira, and their offspring. Family trees, created based on my archival finds, are located at the end of this chapter and are referenced throughout the text. Both João and Mariana

stemmed from modest families, but the couple rose to prominence as one of the wealthiest families in Vila do Carmo. Mariana's father, Manoel Simoens, was born in Portugal in 1653 and traveled to Brazil in his youth (fig. 2).² He did not hold any military titles or practice a trade, but was a farmer.³ By 1699 he was living in the Colonia de Sacramento, where he married Francisca de Oliveira, a native of Rio de Janeiro. The Colonia de Sacramento was located at the southern border of Brazil adjacent to the southern-most part of the Spanish viceroyalty of Peru, later the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata. The lucrative trade in silver with the Spanish provided great wealth to many of the region's residents. Manoel and Francisca, however, do not appear to have achieved much success there, since the couple had moved to Rio de Janeiro by 1710 when Mariana was born.⁴ The following year the family moved to another frontier area, Minas Gerais, and settled in Vila do Carmo. Mariana's only sibling, Manoel, was baptized in 1714 in the church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, the mother church (*matriz*) of Vila do Carmo.

² Information about his life is derived from Manoel Simoens' inventory, 1727, caixa 67, auto 1467, 2nd ofício, CS; Antonio Duarte's proof of qualifications for entrance into the Holy Office, c. 1741-1758, maço 134, doc. 2228, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Conselho Geral, Habilitações, ANTT, <http://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=2320527>. The baptismal and marriage records for Manoel and Francisca are copied in Antonio Pinto Alvares de Oliveira's processo de *genere, vita e moribus*, armario 2, pasta 272, AEAM.

³ "...q não tiverão officio ou ocupação alguma se não de larvadores (sic) q vivião de sua fazenda." Antonio Duarte's proof of qualifications, f. 21v.

⁴ She was baptized on April 8, 1710. João Pinto Alvares and Mariana Correia de Oliveira's marriage paperwork, 1723, numero 129343, armario 52, pasta 12935, Processos Matrimoniais, AEAM, f. 11r.

At the time of Francisca's death in 1726, the family lived on a farm behind the ceramic manufactory near the center of Vila do Carmo (fig. 3).⁵ When Manoel Simoens died the following year, he owned property in São Sebastião, a district of Vila do Carmo about five miles from the center of town.⁶ After having lived in Minas Gerais for about fifteen years, Manoel died with a modest estate. The land he owned was shared with three other men. His possessions consisted merely of some simple furniture, old clothes made of bay, pewter and tin dishes, one silver spoon, a sword, a rifle, and an old horse. He owned only four slaves, one of whom was elderly.⁷ Manoel's inventory provides no indication of gold mining, but rather that he provided for his family through farming, black beans possibly being the primary crop.

In contrast to her humble family background, Mariana achieved great wealth and status through her marriage to João Pinto Alvares.⁸ João was born around 1698 near Braga in the north of Portugal.⁹ At age ten or eleven, he left his parents in

⁵ At her death, Francisca was described as "moradora em hua Rosa que fica atras da Olaria." Obituaries, 1724-1730, prateleira Q, numero 12, Livros Paroquiais, AEAM, f. 18v.

⁶ São Sebastião is now known as Bandeirantes.

⁷ His possessions are only slightly more numerous and valuable than those of Maria Ribeyra in 1737, whose belongings Kathleen Higgins describes as "typical of the poorer but not destitute free colonists," consisting of "one slave, one horse and saddle, one gun, a pair of gold earrings, two broken silver spoons, seven pewter plates, one copper bowl, and one scythe." Higgins, *Liscentious Liberty*, 54.

⁸ João's name is subject to numerous variations. He served as executor for his father-in-law's estate and the resulting documents refer to him as João Pinto Alvares. Due to the common abbreviation of the name Alvares, his name often appears as João Pinto Alves. In some records, the surname "de Carvalho" is added.

⁹ In 1723, he claimed to be around twenty five years of age. João Pinto Alvares and Mariana Correia de Oliveira's marriage paperwork, f. 6r.

Portugal and moved to Rio de Janeiro. After about five years, he settled in Vila do Carmo. At the time of his marriage to Mariana, João appears to have been of somewhat higher socioeconomic status than her.¹⁰ Even early in his career, he appears to have made a name for himself. Manoel Simoens' obituary, for instance, identifies the deceased not as the father of Manoel Correia de Oliveira, but as the father-in-law of João Pinto Alvares.¹¹ Likewise, Manoel Correia de Oliveira was described in 1729 as the brother-in-law of João Pinto Alvares.¹² The two Manoels were not prominent enough within the local community to be listed without naming further relatives, while João did not require such identification.

Mariana was illiterate and presumably unable to offer a dowry.¹³ Nevertheless, Mariana and João married June 24, 1723 in the *matriz*.¹⁴ Mariana's parents appear to have been quite eager to find a successful husband for their daughter. The legal age to marry was fourteen, which Mariana claimed to be in her testimony on June 9, 1723, with the usual phrasing "catorze annos pouco mais ou menos," which translates to "fourteen years, a little more or less." However, according to her baptismal record

¹⁰ He was able to pay twenty *oitavas* of gold for their marriage.

¹¹ Obituaries, 1724-1730, f. 30r.

¹² Baptisms, 1719-1736, prateleira O, numero 3, Livros Paroquiais, AEAM, f. 110v.

¹³ While some families continued the tradition of providing daughters with dowries, the practice was far less common in Brazil in the eighteenth century. Few of the inventories I have examined include mention of dowries. Muriel Nazzari, *Disappearance of the Dowry: Women, Families, and Social Change in São Paulo, Brazil (1600-1900)* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

¹⁴ Baptisms, Weddings and Obituaries, 1712-1733, prateleira O, numero 2, Livros Paroquiais, AEAM, f. 65.

transcribed in a letter appended to the marriage paperwork the following year, she was merely thirteen years and two months of age at the time of her marriage.¹⁵ She and her parents may have deliberately bent the truth about her age to facilitate her marriage to João. The disclaimer on the statement of age of "pouco mais ou menos" would have prevented them from being accused of offering false testimony.

From 1723 through August 1726, João and Mariana lived on the outskirts of Vila do Carmo. However, in December of 1726, a month after Francisca's death, they were described as living in Mariana's parents' home behind the ceramic manufactory.¹⁶ By October 1727, they lived on a farm and factory on Itacolomi, a large mountain southeast of Vila do Carmo.¹⁷ In 1731, the couple left the factory, and moved to the Morro Santo Antonio in Passagem where they focused their efforts, quite successfully, on gold mining.¹⁸

Passagem was a small community conveniently located along the route between Vila do Carmo and Vila Rica, only a few hours walk from either. However, the gold mines where João and Mariana permanently settled were located atop the

¹⁵ Baptismal records were used, as in this case, as evidence of age, and, therefore, necessitated that infants were baptized within about two weeks of their birth.

¹⁶ Obituaries, 1724-1730, f. 20v.

¹⁷ For some early references to their residence at Itacolomi, see Baptisms, 1719-1736, f. 82r, 90v; Obituaries, 1724-1730, f. 35v.

¹⁸ The Morro Santo Antonio is also referred to as Morro Mata Cavalos and Morro Grande de Passagem. On February 24, a man is described as being "do Engenho q foy de João Pinto Alves," implying that the factory no longer exists, or no longer belongs to João. Baptisms, 1731-1807, prateleira O, numero 6, Livros Paroquiais, AEAM, f. 9v. On September 16, João and Mariana were described as living on the Morro de Mata Cavallos. Baptisms 1731-1777, prateleira O, numero 5, Livros Paroquiais, AEAM, f. 17v.

Morro Santo Antonio overlooking the road and the current town of Passagem. The Morro Santo Antonio was home to some of the richest gold mines of Minas Gerais, and was once dotted with the houses of many of the wealthiest local residents, including numerous Oliveira Pintos. Unfortunately, the industrial mining inside the mountain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has led the once vibrant community on top of the mountain to be reduced to ruins.¹⁹

By the time of Mariana's death in 1748, she and João had amassed an impressive estate.²⁰ Not only were they included in the 1756 list of the wealthiest residents of Minas Gerais, but they were far wealthier than most other individuals listed; they were indeed among the wealthiest residents of the metropolitan area of the city of Mariana.²¹ João managed to attain many honorable titles and lead the life of a true elite. By his wife's death, João had achieved the title of captain, the second highest military rank. Between 1752 and 1756 he had been admitted into the Order of Christ.²² By 1755 he owned not only an extensive gold mine in Passagem, but had also

¹⁹ Many colonial structures have also been destroyed in order to reuse building materials in the development of the town of Passagem. Further destruction has been caused by the ongoing search for gold and jewels that may have been hidden or left behind. "Sítio Arqueológico Morro Santo Antônio," *Portal Patrimônio Cultural*, accessed October 29, 2015, http://www.portaldopatrimoniocultural.com.br/site/bensinventariados/detalhe_pa.php?id=10.

²⁰ Mariana Correia de Oliveira's inventory, 1748, caixa 46, auto 1050, 1st ofício, CS. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 387-95.

²¹ In 1748 the estate was assigned a total value of 32,164,500 reis, 19,812,048 reis after payment of all debts. Few people reached such wealth.

²² João is consistently described as "professo na ordem de Christo" in the *genere* section of Antonio Duarte Pinto's seminary paperwork begun in 1756, while he was

attained farmland in Sumidouro.²³ This allowed him to join the ranks of the rural aristocracy and to provide for his family with the products of the estate. Furthermore, he was elected to serve as the third order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel's first prior in 1758.²⁴

Mariana's brother Manoel Correia de Oliveira also became one of the regions wealthiest men and was included in the 1756 list. However, his family life was far different from that of João and Mariana.²⁵ Manoel never married. Instead, he had two illegitimate daughters. His eldest daughter Vicencia Correia de Oliveira was born in 1749 to Anna Maria de Almeida.²⁶ The second daughter Joana Correia das Neves was born to Maria das Neves, a free *parda* woman.²⁷ The term *pardo* or *parda* usually

not described as such in the 1752 paperwork for Antonio Pinto Alves de Oliveira. Antonio Duarte Pinto's *processo de genere, vita e moribus*.

²³ *Requerimento de João Pinto Alvares*, before 1755, caixa 68, documento 50, Minas Gerais, AHU, <http://www.cmd.unb.br/biblioteca.html>.

²⁴ The Third Order of Nossa Senhora do Carmo, 1758, prateleira Q, numero 32, Livros Paroquiais, AEAM.

²⁵ Manoel Correia de Oliveira's inventory, 1798, caixa 95, auto 2035, 2nd ofício, CS; Manoel Correia de Oliveira's will, 1794, caixa 45, fls. 132, Roll de Testamentos, 1st ofício, CS. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 439-44.

²⁶ Her baptismal record is copied in Jose Pereira Silva and Vicencia Correia de Oliveira's marriage paperwork, 1784, numero 5438, armario 5, pasta 544, Processos Matrimoniais, AEAM. No information regarding the race of Vicencia or her mother are provided; however, Vicencia was most likely of mixed race since the questions to be asked about her and her fiancé's family include questions about whether they were born free or enslaved.

²⁷ Her baptismal record is copied in Jose Felix Machado and Joana Correia das Neves' marriage paperwork, 1773, numero 4914, armario 4, pasta 492, Processos Matrimoniais, AEAM.

designates descent from one white and one black parent. Manoel did not hold military titles, and his illegitimate children would have barred him from being able to enter any noble orders.

Manoel's primary source of income was gold mining. He initially lived on the Morro Santo Antonio in Passagem, but moved to Sumidouro some time after the births of his two daughters. In 1751 he claimed to have owned houses and farmland in Sumidouro for "many years," although he was still described as living in Passagem at that time.²⁸ Vicencia states that she moved to Sumidouro as a child and Manoel was settled there when he died in 1798. In Sumidouro, Manoel continued to own gold mines, but was also engaged in farming, owned a carpentry workshop and a retail shop. His inventory also includes anvils, stoves, and other tools likely used for blacksmithing.

The second generation of Oliveira Pintos continued on the path to financial and social success. In contrast to Manoel, João and Mariana had many legitimate children. According to João's testament, he and Mariana had eighteen children, of whom only ten or eleven survived into adulthood. These surviving children were themselves successful, achieving prominence and power, and further increasing the social status of the family. The eldest daughter, Francisca Pinta de Oliveira, married Antonio Duarte, a man who had already been admitted into the prestigious Order of Christ. João and Mariana's eldest son, named João Alvares Pinto after his father, earned a

²⁸ "...M^{el}. Correia de Oliv^a., morador no morro da passagem, que elle possuhia hum citio, no Corrego de Santo Antonio Freguezia do Sumidouro, termo da Cidade Mar^{na}., com cazas de vivenda, onde plantava o necessario para uzo de sua caza, e Escravos, e della estava de pósse pacificamente persy, e seus antepasados, havia muitas annos,..." "Cartas de Sesmarias, 1749-1753," *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro* 19 (1921): 414.

doctorate at the university of Coimbra and remained in Portugal. Their son Antonio Pinto Alves de Oliveira also studied at Coimbra, but returned to Minas Gerais to become a priest. Maria Pinta de Oliveira married the sergeant major Jose de Araujo Correia. Manoel and Fernando both entered monasteries in Rio de Janeiro, while Jeronima, Sebastiana, and Anna all became nuns in Portugal. The youngest son, Jose Pinto Alves de Oliveira also became a priest serving in Minas Gerais. Finally, the youngest daughter Angelica Amatilde Eufrazia de São Joaquim married the ensign Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho.

Of this generation, Francisca and Antonio Duarte attained the greatest wealth and prestige. Their courtship may have begun by December 19, 1737, when they both served as godparents to Francisca's younger sister Sebastiana.²⁹ Like his father-in-law, Antonio Duarte rose from humble beginnings to nobility. He was born in Coimbra. His father was a barber and his mother was the illegitimate child of João Castanheira and Domingas Francisca, a single woman.³⁰ Antonio was a licensed surgeon and was a member of the Order of Christ. He married Francisca in 1740 in order to be admitted into the Order of the Holy Office, as a married man was considered more respectable than a bachelor.³¹

While Francisca's marriage to a nobleman led to great financial success, the marriage of her younger sister Maria Pinta de Oliveira to Jose de Araujo Correia was less advantageous. Although he owned significant land, Jose de Araujo Correia had

²⁹ Baptisms, 1732-1740, prateleira T, numero 4, Livros Paroquiais, AEAM.

³⁰ António Duarte's proof of qualifications, f. 31r.

³¹ Ibid., f. 3r.

amassed substantial debt by the time of his death in 1760 and had pawned nearly all of the slaves. Maria declined her half of the estate, and Manoel Correia de Oliveira, as proxy for the three legitimate minor children, likewise stated that the children's inheritance should be used to pay off debts. Maria probably spent the rest of her life financially dependent on her relatives.

Her husband Jose was a native of Lisbon and held the title of sergeant major, but he also had conceived an illegitimate child with a black woman named Ignacia dos Passos prior to his marriage.³² Maria may have been unaware of the illegitimate child at the time of her wedding, and possibly even until after her husband's death. The child, Francisco de Araujo, was not mentioned in the descriptions of Jose's life and marital status in the couple's marriage paperwork, and he was initially not included in the list of heirs in Jose's inventory.³³ Maria may have only learned of the child following the opening of Jose's will. Jose would have been able to keep the illegitimate child secret from his wife because his son lived in Vila Rica rather than on the Morro Santo Antonio.

In his will composed in 1770, João Pinto Alvares hints at Maria Pinta de Oliveira's continuing financial struggles. Maria and her children were living on her father's estate, and João asked his youngest daughter Angelica to look after her sister Maria.³⁴ João Pinto Alvares appears to have had an especially strong bond with his

³² Jose de Araujo Correia's inventory, 1760, caixa 45, auto 1016, 2nd ofício, CS.

³³ Ibid.; Jose de Araujo Correia and Maria Pinta de Oliveira's marriage paperwork, 1749, numero 4725, armario 4, pasta 473, Processos Matrimoniais, AEAM.

³⁴ João Pinto Alvares' will, 1770, numero 629, Testamentos, AEAM.

youngest daughter, Angelica Amatilde Eufrazia de São Joaquim. When he wrote his will, she was twenty-two years of age and was still single. João selected her as his first choice as executor of his will and of his post-mortem inventory, indicating that she was a highly educated young woman. Instead of dividing his estate equally among his children as mandated by law, João Pinto Alvares circumvented the legal requirement by selling all his belongings to his youngest daughter, thereby preserving the estate intact.³⁵ Interestingly, he chose, not one of his sons, but a young, single woman to be the owner of the family fortune.

Furthermore, he not only sold the estate to Angelica Amatilde, but also bequeathed to her what was left of his third. Upon death, the total value of the estate was divided in half, one share for the husband and one for the wife. Each parent was required to bequeath two-thirds of their share to the heirs, while the final third (*terça*) was the deceased's personal property and could be used as they wished. This third was typically used to pay for the funeral, masses for the deceased's soul, and to pay off debts. The remainder was often given to charitable organizations, godchildren or family members in need. Instead, João bequeathed this portion to Angelica, the daughter whose financial success he had already secured. His desire to maintain the estate as a unified entity, and his interest in supporting his youngest daughter, outweighed the need to provide equally for the sustenance of his children.

At the time of João's death on March 26, 1774, Angelica Amatilde was twenty-six years of age and still single; however, she entered into an engagement to marry Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho in November of that year. João may have been involved in

³⁵ Ibid. On the laws that require equal distribution among the heirs and methods to maintain the estate intact, see Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, "Family and Property in Colonial Brazil," *Portuguese Studies* 7 (1991): 72-3.

encouraging his daughter's advantageous marriage prior to his death. Angelica's decision to marry may also have been based on her recent orphanage and extensive inheritance. Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho was born in Portugal, but was abandoned as an infant.³⁶ He was around forty-five years of age when he married Angelica, and had attained the military title of ensign. He appears to have known the family well prior to his marriage, since he acted as one of the appraisers for Antonio Duarte's inventory in 1772.³⁷ This indicates that he was familiar with Antonio Duarte's household since appraisers were chosen not only for their intelligence but also for their knowledge of the goods to be inventoried.³⁸ He was also Manoel Correia de Oliveira's first choice as executor of the will in 1794, but he turned down the role at Manoel's death in 1798.³⁹

The third generation likewise enjoyed prominence and success, although they were not as wealthy as João Pinto Alvares and Antonio Duarte, the heads of the two wealthiest households, each valued at thirty million *reis*. Antonio Duarte and Francisca had seven children who reached adulthood (fig. 4). Their three daughters all married wealthy men, and their eldest son, Antonio Duarte Pinto, became a priest. In 1759 the eldest daughter Mariana Rosa Clara de Oliveira married João Ferreira

³⁶ Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho and Angelica Amatilde Eufrazia de São Joaquim's marriage paperwork, 1774, numero 005490, armario 5, pasta 549, Processos Matrimoniais AEAM; Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho's inventory, 1807, caixa 53, auto 1202, 2nd ofício, CS. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 444-50.

³⁷ Antonio Duarte's inventory, 1772, caixa 69, auto 1517, 2nd ofício, CS. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 402-10.

³⁸ The appraisers were generally chosen "por serem inteligentes e terem conhecimento dos mesmos bens." Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho's inventory.

³⁹ Manoel Correia de Oliveira's will, f. 133v.

Almada, a man already prominent enough to be included in the list of the wealthiest *mineiros*.⁴⁰ He was a native of Lisbon and had moved to Brazil at around thirteen years of age. He was a chief guard at his death in 1769.⁴¹ He and Mariana Rosa only had two children, still minors when their father died.

Antonio and Francisca's second daughter, Feliciana Isabel Maria de Oliveira, married the same year as her elder sister.⁴² Feliciana's husband Domingos Coelho had also been listed as one of the wealthiest residents of Minas Gerais. He was born in Braga, and traveled to Rio de Janeiro around age thirteen. He immediately settled in Guarapiranga. Like Antonio Duarte, he was a licensed surgeon at the time of his marriage. The couple resided in Guarapiranga, had ten children at the time of Feliciana's death in 1782, and owned an estate worth the substantial sum of twenty million reis.⁴³ Feliciana appears to have died due to complications related to childbirth.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ João Ferreira Almada's inventory, 1769, caixa 80, auto 1696, 1st ofício, CS. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 418-23.

⁴¹ The title used is *guarda-mor* which designates a high-ranking guard.

⁴² Domingos Coelho and Feliciana Isabel Maria de Oliveira's marriage paperwork, 1759, numero 1774, armario 2, pasta 178, Processos Matrimoniais, AEAM.

⁴³ Feliciana Isabel Maria de Oliveira's inventory, 1782, caixa 74, auto 1569, 1st ofício, CS. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 423-31.

⁴⁴ Feliciana died January 25, and her daughter Manoella is described as approximately one month old on February 28.

The youngest daughter, Genoveva Theresa de Jesus, married Manoel Fernandes Quintão from Porto.⁴⁵ They only had one daughter, and lived in Catas Altas da Noruega, about thirty miles south of the city of Mariana, but under the jurisdiction of the significantly more distant town of São João del-Rei. Genoveva and Manoel cared for Lino, Feliciana and Domingos Coelho's youngest son who was orphaned as a child. Manoel Fernandes Quintão died in 1790 with an estate valued at twenty million reis, which included numerous plantations, houses, and lands, and sixty-seven slaves.

Only one of Antonio Duarte's and Francisca's sons married. The general major João Duarte Pinto married Sebastiana Maria de Jesus and had eighteen children, all adults at the time of their father's death in 1817.⁴⁶ All six daughters were married to men with military titles, and the two sons were both priests. João Duarte Pinto died with an estate worth only two million *reis*, a sum which places him among the wealthy elite, but far less than had been typical in the Oliveira Pinto family.

The fourth generation, Feliciana Isabel Maria de Oliveira and Domingos Coelho's children, continued the family legacy of high military ranks, wealth and prestige (fig. 5). The eldest daughter Francisca Clara Umbelina de Jesus married

⁴⁵ Manoel Fernandes Quintão's inventory, 1790, caixa. 503, AHSJDR. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 431-9.

⁴⁶ João Duarte Pinto's inventory, 1817, caixa 94, auto 1964, 1st ofício, CS. The title *general-mor* may be similar in rank to that of *capitão-mor*. The term is not included in Pereira Filho's discussion of military rankings, but the lexicographer Antonio de Moraes Silva describes the general as the head of an army. Antonio de Moraes Silva, *Diccionario da Lingua Portuguesa composto pelo Padre D. Rafael Bluteau, Reformado, e Accrescentado*, Vol. 1 (Lisbon: Simão Thaddeo Ferrereira, 1789), 656.

captain Antonio Gomes Sande.⁴⁷ Their oldest son became a captain, the younger son a priest, and their daughter married a successful surgeon. Antonio Gomes Sande died in 1807 with an estate valued at fifteen million *reis*. Although widows often experienced financial turmoil after receiving only half of the value of the estate following their husbands' death, Francisca Clara's estate was valued at thirty-one million *reis* at her death in 1833. Although the value of the currency, of land, and of slaves had changed since the eighteenth century, it is significant that a widow could own such a sum, similar to the estates of her grandfather and great-grandfather.

One of Feliciano and Domingos' sons, Joaquim Coelho de Oliveira Duarte, became a particularly prominent member of the community. He was a chief guard and his name appears in numerous manuscripts acting as executor, proxy, and appraiser. He married, but never had children.⁴⁸ His sister, Anna Esmeria Ermelinda de São Joaquim, also did not have children, despite being married.⁴⁹ Their youngest brother, Lino Coelho de Oliveira Duarte, had an illegitimate son prior to his marriage.⁵⁰ He had one more legitimate son, and died with an estate valued at eight million *reis*.

⁴⁷ Francisca Clara Umbelina de Jesus' inventory, 1833, caixa 151, auto 3174, 1st ofício, CS.

⁴⁸ Joaquim Coelho de Oliveira Duarte's inventory, 1833, caixa 46, auto 1043, 2nd ofício, CS.

⁴⁹ Ana Esmeria Ermelinda de São Joaquim's inventory, 1817, caixa 31, auto 742, 1st ofício, CS.

⁵⁰ Lino Coelho de Oliveira Duarte's inventory, 1830, caixa 26, auto 647, 2nd ofício, CS.

Strategies for Success

The family's relationship to luxury goods was informed by their cultural knowledge, tastes, wealth, and elite status. Relationships with other individuals, whether biological, legal, professional or merely personal, were instrumental for life in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais. Being able to purchase food and other necessities was dependent on positive relationships with creditors. The ability to marry, enter the religious profession, gain titles, join religious confraternities, and many other aspects of life depended on the testimonies about ones' character from members of the local community. Negative relationships could be detrimental while earning favor with influential people could bring great success.

While illiteracy remained quite common even among those who attained wealth, obtaining an education was an important component of elite life. Mariana was the only illiterate member of the family. Once João and Mariana had achieved wealth, they were able to secure a proper education for all their children, both male and female. They sent their children to Coimbra, to convents, and to seminaries to be educated. In addition, the children who were not sent to Portugal or Rio de Janeiro must have received an education in Minas Gerais. In fact, in the following generations it appears that many family members were educated locally rather than outside of Minas Gerais.

Despite recent scholarly interest, relatively little is known about education in Minas Gerais. The mining region was certainly home to some teachers. For instance, Luis Joaquim Varella de Franca, a "professor of Portuguese grammar," lived in Mariana and was acquainted with a member of the third order of Carmel.⁵¹ Likewise,

⁵¹ Domingos Moreira de Oliveira's inventory, 1794, caixa 9, auto 341, 1st ofício, CS.

Jose Mathias de Escudeiro's occupation was "to teach boys to read."⁵² He, too, was a friend of a member of the order of Carmel of the city of Mariana. Other such teaching professionals likely offered private lessons in the city, although most research has been conducted on the educational resources offered by clergy.

After 1750, the Mariana seminary was the most important educational facility in the area, providing education not only to boys entering the clergy, but also the broader population.⁵³ Around the same time, a second seminary was created in the nearby parish of Sumidouro.⁵⁴ Young women could be sequestered and educated at the *Recolhimento das Macaúbas* north of Sabará, which opened in 1716.⁵⁵

Although most residents of Minas Gerais did not own books, certain individuals possessed extensive libraries. Among the members of the family for whom I have found inventories, only Antonio Duarte owned books. He owned eighty-six books related to his profession as a surgeon.⁵⁶ Other family members, the priests in

⁵² The Portuguese word "meninos" can include both boys and girls. João Varella da Fonseca and Justa Inocencia de Guadalupe's marriage paperwork, 1763, numero 4262, armario 4, pasta 427, Processos Matrimoniais, AEAM.

⁵³ Villalta, *Educação: Nascimento, "Haveres" e Gêneros*, 259.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 267.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 271-2. A *recolhimento* was a convent where women were educated and could live in seclusion, but could not take monastic vows. Throughout the eighteenth century, some residents of the convent requested permission to take vows, but royal orders forbade this. Another *recolhimento* in the diamond mining region to the north received royal approval in 1780. *Ibid.*, 273.

⁵⁶ Francisca Pinta de Oliveira's inventory, 1754, caixa 10, auto 360, 1st ofício, CS. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 395-401.

particular, are likely to have also possessed at least a few books. Several of the Oliveira Pinto family's friends and acquaintances owned books, nearly all of religious subjects.⁵⁷

The handwriting of the Oliveira Pintos typically reveals proficiency and familiarity with the task of writing. Many of their friends and acquaintances, even those with considerable wealth, possessed far inferior writing skills. The Oliveira Pintos appear to have placed importance on ensuring that all their children were able to read and write. According to historian Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, this was not necessarily common among the elite in Brazil. Many wealthy women were apparently unable to sign their names.⁵⁸ Both the men and the women of the family were able to represent themselves in writing before ecclesiastical courts and government offices, and could read and respond to letters from abroad. The family's literacy informed their tastes and cultural knowledge.

The Oliveira Pintos not only took advantage of the education that the seminary offered, but also encouraged young men of the family to enter the priesthood. The entry of relatives into religious professions improved the social standing of the entire family. While nearly all branches of the family included at least one priest, the generation of João and Mariana's children contained the greatest number of

⁵⁷ For instance, see João Alves da Costa's inventory, 1811, caixa 23, auto 613, 1st ofício, CS; Antonio Domingues do Cabo Pinto's inventory, 1805, caixa, 56, auto 1239, 1st ofício, CS; Domingos da Rocha Ferreira's inventory, 1774, caixa 83, auto 1774, 2nd ofício, CS; Antonio Santiago de Salazar's inventory, 1796, caixa 48, auto 1104, 1st ofício, CS; Anna Maria Pereira da Silva's inventory 1784, caixa 29, 723, 1st ofício, CS; Jose Ribeiro Forte's inventory, 1793, caixa 43, auto 978, 2nd ofício, CS; Francisco Xavier dos Santos' inventory, 1766, caixa 141, auto 2936, 1st ofício, CS.

⁵⁸ Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *Vida Privada e Quotidiano no Brasil: Na Época de D. Maria I e D. João VI* (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1993), 26.

individuals who became priests, monks, and nuns. This was probably not simply due to the large number of children, but instead a result of Mariana and João's strong desire to have their children enter religious professions. Seven of João and Mariana's children embarked on religious careers. Antonio Pinto Alves de Oliveira and Jose Pinto Alves de Oliveira became priests, Manoel and Fernando entered the convent of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Rio de Janeiro, and Jeronima, Sebastiana, and Anna entered convents in Portugal. Having any children, let alone such a large number of children, leading religious lives was a source of great honor for the family and required copious financial capital.

In order to be admitted to priesthood, a young man was required to provide evidence of the purity of his lineage and the virtue of his life, as well as his ownership of sufficient land to be able to financially support himself during his studies and subsequent career.⁵⁹ The candidate was required to prove, through the testimonies of respected male witnesses, that he had led a wholesome life, did not have any physical or mental disabilities, did not have any illegitimate children, had never been accused of any crime, and otherwise had a spotless reputation. Furthermore, he needed to provide copies of the baptismal and marriage records for himself and as many ancestors as possible, including parents, grandparents, and any available information about great grandparents.

Witnesses were sought throughout the regions of Brazil and Portugal where family members had lived. Witnesses often needed to be able to remember the lives of relatives who had been deceased for quite some time. In the end, the trial produced a

⁵⁹ The paperwork uses Latin terminology and is called the processo de *genere, vita e moribus*.

body of paperwork that proved the virtue of the family, their lack of impurities from any "infected races," and their status as Old Christians. This was similar to the process required for admission into the noble orders, such as the order of the Holy Office. Although the Holy Office requires a more thorough investigation and a greater number of witnesses, the resulting information about the family was the same. Having a child who was a priest, therefore, signaled the family's honorable status nearly as strongly as the attainment of nobility.

The prospective priests, Antonio and Jose, each were required to possess their *patrimonio*, that is, lands and housing that enabled self-sufficiency and respectability. The process for approving Antonio's *patrimonio* was long and troublesome. He had initially received from his father some houses and land on the Morro Santo Antonio. However, they were situated near his father's and Antonio Duarte's gold mines. In order to expand those mines, the two houses needed to be demolished. João and Antonio Duarte had Antonio's houses dismantled, and were, therefore, obligated to remunerate Antonio financially. Antonio was then to use the money to purchase houses for his *patrimonio*. However, rather than providing cash, João handed his son a promissory note from Antonio Duarte, making Antonio Duarte responsible for a considerable sum of money. Given the common deficiency of currency in the region, Antonio Duarte was highly unlikely to have such a large sum of gold on hand. Indeed, Antonio Pinto's paperwork attests to the delay in the receipt of payments.

In March 1764, while still waiting to receive the funds from his brother-in-law, Antonio Pinto entered into a contract to purchase two adjacent houses with land and banana orchards, located not on the Morro Santo Antonio but rather in the village of Passagem, in the valley near the Church of Nossa Senhora da Gloria and the road to

Vila Rica.⁶⁰ At the time of the bill of sale, Antonio Pinto was only able to provide half the funds and needed to wait for the receipt of the remaining funds from his brother-in-law. Evidently, some complications surrounding the ownership of the property ensued, since in November of the following year Antonio Pinto purchased what appears to be the same residence from Antonio Lopes de Morais. The property purchased in 1765 consisted of "a residence of two-story houses with its yard and banana orchard located in the village of Passagem, that faces to the north the road or street that passes from the city to Vila Rica."⁶¹ Antonio Lopes de Morais had pawned the property, but did not possess a bill of sale. Therefore, a lengthy lawsuit erupted over the ownership of the property. The plaintiff protested the validity of the pawn transaction. The witnesses included Joseph Gonzalves Pardelha, the man who had originally sold the houses to Antonio Pinto.

Eventually, the ecclesiastic judge announced that Antonio Pinto could not use the residence in question as his *patrimonio*, not because he was in the wrong, but because the lawsuit had stained the reputation of the property. Fortunately, Antonio Pinto's father came to the rescue. João purchased a farm with houses in Pirapetinga

⁶⁰ The houses are described as "duas moradas de casas misticas uma a outra de pedra em the o meyo, e dahi para sima de sobrado, cubertos de telha com seus quintais e bananal sitas na rua de baixo deste arrayal da Passagem." Antonio Pinto Alvares de Oliveira's processo de *genere, vita e moribus*.

⁶¹ "...uma morada de casas a sobrados com seu quintal e bananal sitas no arrayal da Passagem, que estao sobre si confrontao para a parte do norte com a rua, ou estrada que passa da cidade para Villa Rica." Ibid. While this description merely hints that the property could be the same as that purchased earlier, the documents written during and after the lawsuit confirm that the dispute is over the same two houses.

and donated it to his son to serve as his *patrimonio*.⁶² The property was evaluated at an impressive two million *reis*. In addition, Antonio Pinto received three slaves from his father.

Jose's road to priesthood was far simpler, not only because he did not need to deal with such troubles with his *patrimonio*, but also because his older brother had already gathered all the necessary evidence of the purity of their ancestry. In 1761 João Pinto Alvares purchased for Jose a residence conveniently located on the Rua Direita in Mariana, just down the road from the cathedral.⁶³ The property was valued at the considerable sum of one million *reis*. In addition to supplying the lands for the priests, João Pinto Alvares must have financially supported his children who became monks and nuns. The three daughters in convents in Portugal needed to be provided for throughout their lives, and João probably sent gold to his daughters on an annual basis.⁶⁴

Having a large family network of influential individuals was highly beneficial not only for spiritual, but also for financial and political success. Although João Pinto

⁶² This probably refers to the current *Ribeirão Pirapetinga*, not the larger river on the eastern edge of Minas Gerais.

⁶³ "...uma morada de casas terreas cobertas de telha citas na Rua Direita desta cidade que partem de uma banda com casas de morada de Domingos Pereira de Carvalho e da outra parte com casas que foram do defunto João dos Santos e Malta." Jose Pinto Alves de Oliveira's processo de *genere, vita e moribus*, c. 1756-1764, armario 7, pasta 1271, AEAM.

⁶⁴ Russell-Wood, "Holy and Unholy Alliances," 828-9. A letter from João Pinto Alvares' cousin Francisco Carvalho Pinto describes numerous parcels that arrived in Lisbon on the fleet from Rio de Janeiro, and implies that they are parcels of currency. João Pinto Alvares and Mariana Correia de Oliveira's marriage paperwork.

Alvares left his parents and siblings behind in Portugal, he, nevertheless, benefited from the presence of members of his extended family in Minas Gerais. At least three, and possibly several more, of João's male cousins resided in Vila do Carmo while João was establishing himself in the town. João purchased the mining land on the Morro Santo Antonio that produced the family's fortune from his cousins Francisco Carvalho Pinto and Antonio Carvalho Pinto.⁶⁵ Francisco Carvalho Pinto had provided testimony for João's wedding in 1723, and served as godfather to João and Mariana's first son in 1726.⁶⁶ His brother Antonio Carvalho Pinto was godfather to João and Mariana's second son in 1730 and godfather of the child of one of their slaves the following year.⁶⁷

The third cousin who lived on the Morro Santo Antonio was Torcato Alves de Carvalho who also provided testimony for João and Mariana's marriage, and was the godfather of their first daughter, Francisca.⁶⁸ It appears that the three cousins, Francisco, Antonio, and Torcato, had returned to Portugal by 1738.⁶⁹ That year Francisco lived in Lisbon and acted as João's correspondent for business in Portugal.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ "Item uma lavra cita no Morro da Passagem com Sua agoa metida em a qual lavra trabalha a talho aberto que houve por titulo de Compra que della fes a Francisco Carvalho Pinto e a seu Irmão Antonio Carvalho Pinto com suas Casas de vivenda e senzallas tudo cuberto de telha...." Mariana Correia de Oliveira's inventory.

⁶⁶ João Pinto Alvares and Mariana Correia de Oliveira's marriage paperwork, f. 62v.

⁶⁷ Baptisms 1731-1777, f. 34r, 35r.

⁶⁸ João Pinto Alvares and Mariana Correia de Oliveira's marriage paperwork, f. 4r-4v.

⁶⁹ A letter written by Francisco Carvalho Pinto in Lisbon mentioned an Antonio Carvalho and a Torcato. Ibid., unfoliated.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

Francisco and Antonio likely sold the mining land to João and Mariana prior to returning permanently to Portugal.

In addition to giving birth to large numbers of children and arranging advantageous marriages, the Oliveira Pintos expanded their family network through the practice of godparentage. The Oliveira Pintos often served as godparents to the children of individuals with whom they wished to have a personal or professional relationship, or the children of these individuals' slaves. For instance, Mariana and her brother Manoel served as godparents to the child of one of Antonio Duarte's slaves in 1739, prior to Antonio Duarte's entrance into the family through his marriage to Francisca the following year.⁷¹

Godparentage often created kinship ties with people of a lower socioeconomic status. In 1727 and 1729 Mariana served as godmother to Anna and Manoel, children of Joseph Rodrigues and Maria da Cunha da Natividade.⁷² Joseph and Maria lived on the outskirts of Mariana, and may have been neighbors of the Oliveira Pintos in Itacolomi. Maria da Cunha da Natividade died in 1734 leaving a testament describing her family history.⁷³ She was born in Lisbon, and was involved in numerous religious confraternities. Surprisingly, she had two illegitimate children while a single woman. Nevertheless, she later married Joseph Rodrigues with whom she had five children, all

⁷¹ Baptisms, 1732-1740.

⁷² Baptisms, 1719-1736, f. 76r, 104v.

⁷³ Maria da Cunha da Natividade's inventory, 1734, caixa 67, auto 1473, 2nd ofício, CS.

of whom died. Unlike the Oliveira Pintos, Joseph and Maria were merely comfortably wealthy.⁷⁴

Mariana and João frequently served as godparents of infants whose social positions were disadvantageous, such as children who were illegitimate, of African descent or orphaned. In 1726 and 1745, Mariana was godmother to two infants whose fathers were unknown, one the daughter of a freedwoman and the other the daughter of a free creole woman.⁷⁵ In 1729, João acted as godfather to the son of his own slave.⁷⁶ In 1737 both João and Mariana served as godparents to an illegitimate child, whose father was not named.⁷⁷ The following year they acted as godparents to João Pays, an infant who had been abandoned.⁷⁸ Likewise, their daughter Francisca and Manoel Correia de Oliveira served as godparents to the illegitimate daughter of a *parda* woman in 1739.⁷⁹ Manoel acted as godfather to numerous children born to enslaved women.

⁷⁴ The estate was valued at 2,387,160 reis, with 766,450 reis in debts, resulting in 1,621,910 reis. However, they may have been in the early stages of developing their wealth. The inventory includes a list of the amount of gold mined each month. Within a year, the couple's ten slaves managed to find about 250 oitavas of gold, equal to 300,000 reis, a considerable sum.

⁷⁵ Baptisms, 1719-1736, f. 69r; Baptisms 1731-1777, f. 93r. In Brazil, the term creole typically designates people of African descent who are born in Brazil.

⁷⁶ Baptisms 1731-1777, f. 34v.

⁷⁷ Baptisms, 1732-1740.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Baptisms, 1732-1740.

Serving as godparents to underprivileged infants marked the Oliveira Pintos as honorable, charitable, and as fulfilling their Christian duty. They were probably frequently sought out to serve as godparents by the infants' parents due to the Oliveira Pintos' high standing within the community. While having wealthy godparents could be financially beneficial, I have not encountered evidence that the above individuals offered financial assistance to their godchildren. While others occasionally left money to their godchildren, Mariana, Francisca, and Manoel's wills do not contain such bequests.

Stronger financial obligations were formed between family members who entered into business partnerships. Although such partnerships with individuals outside the family were common, family ties, whether biological or legal, strengthened the partnerships.⁸⁰ Family members were often financially involved with one another. Members of the family frequently lent money to their relatives, and two or more members of the family occasionally joined together in a business partnership. Pooling resources enabled large tracts of land to be maintained intact, the acquisition of large numbers of slaves, and more efficient mining and cultivation.

For instance, three weeks before his death, João Ferreira Almada sold his half of the farm, houses, and lands to his father-in-law Antonio Duarte and brother-in-law the priest Antonio Duarte Pinto.⁸¹ This ensured that the lands remained intact rather than being taken over by the Judge of Orphans to be divided among the heirs. As a

⁸⁰ Family ties were often crucial to commercial networks. See Novinsky, "Marranos and the Inquisition," 222; Sousa, "Circuitos Internos de Produção, 150; Almeida, "Uma Nobreza da Terra com Projeto Imperial."

⁸¹ João Ferreira Almada's inventory.

result, Antonio Duarte, Antonio Duarte Pinto, and the widow Mariana Rosa Clara de Oliveira owned the estate together.⁸² Antonio Duarte Pinto also went into business with his uncle Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho. The two shared three mines on the Morro Santo Antonio, in the village of Passagem, and along the stream Mata Cavalos.⁸³

The historian Silvia Maria Jardim Brügger's research has recently challenged the longstanding emphasis on concubinage, illegitimate families, and a reputedly more egalitarian middle class.⁸⁴ Brügger's work demonstrates that a traditional patriarchal family structure and cultural conventions were upheld in colonial Minas Gerais. While the Oliveira Pintos serve as models for the promotion of traditional patriarchal marriages among all generations, their biographies reveal slight adjustments to the traditional view of the practice of marriage. While Mariana and her daughter Francisca married at a young age, as has been considered typical within the Portuguese world, many of the women who subsequently reached maturity postponed marriage until their twenties, sometimes after having reached legal adulthood.⁸⁵ Isabella even waited until her forties to marry for the first time. Furthermore, the fact that João Pinto Alvares chose his unmarried daughter Angelica Amatilde as the heir to the family estate is

⁸² Antonio Duarte's inventory. The second half of his inventory is cataloged as Francisca Pinta de Oliveira's inventory, 1772, caixa 22, auto 591, 1st ofício, CS.

⁸³ Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho's inventory.

⁸⁴ Silvia Maria Jardim Brügger, *Minas Patriarcal: Família e Sociedade, São João del Rei, Séculos XVIII e XIX* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2007).

⁸⁵ Legal adulthood was reached at age twenty-five for single individuals, age eighteen for married women and age twenty for married men. Silva, *Vida Privada e Quotidiano*, 34.

quite remarkable. If she had not married following her father's death, four years after he wrote his will, a single woman would have become the head of the vast family fortune, breaking with patriarchal norms.

While family ties were essential for the estate's financial success, relationships outside the family, often formed through membership in the Third Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, were equally advantageous. After its creation in the city of Mariana, the Third Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel became instrumental for the religious and social lives of many of the Oliveira Pintos. The order was established in 1758, with three Oliveira Pintos elected as officers.⁸⁶ João Pinto Alvares was elected Prior, the leading role in the order, his daughter Maria Pinta de Oliveira served as subprioress, and her husband sergeant major Jose de Araujo Correia acted as definitor, a member of the governing body of the order.⁸⁷ Although not elected to any positions,

⁸⁶ 1751 is often given as the year the order was started. This date is based on a letter composed in Rome granting permission for the order to be established in Mariana. However, the residents of Minas Gerais were informed of the acceptance of their request and the order was initiated in 1758. For a brief mention of the 1751 letter, see Raymundo Octavio de Trindade, *Instituições de Igrejas no Bispado de Mariana* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1945), 168.

⁸⁷ The full list of elected officials reads: "...Prior o Irmão João Pinto Alvares, superior o Irmão Joze Goncalves Pereira, secretario o Irmão Antonio Santhiago de Salazar, deffinidores, o Irmão sargento mor Jose de Araujo Correia, o irmão o capitão Paulo Moreira da Silva, o irmão Manoel Dias da Silva Basto, o irmão Domingos Goncalves Fontes, o irmão Sebastião Martins da Costa, o irmão o capitão João da Costa Azevedo, Procurador o Irmão Joze de Barros Vianna, sellador irmão Jose Oliveira Coelho, vigario do Culto Devino, o Irmão Domingos Jose de Oliveira, Sachristão o Irmão o Padre Marrinho Lopes Maciel, o Ir. Manoel de Rosa Moura, andados o irmão David Vieira [Vazado], mestre dos Novices o irmão Joaquim Jose de Oliveira, Prioreza atr. D. Antonia Luiza da Silva Leal, subprioressa atr. D. Maria Pinta de Oliveira, vigaria do culto devino atr. Rosa Maria da Costa Lima, Mestra das Noviças a Irma D. Isabel Caetana de Souza,..." The Third Order of Nossa Senhora do Carmo, fls. 3-4.

Antonio Duarte and Manoel Correia de Oliveira were among those who signed the paperwork initiating the order and announcing the election results.⁸⁸

Nearly all of the Oliveira Pintos who lived after the establishment of the confraternity joined the order of Carmel. Interestingly, a small number of family members instead joined the order of Saint Francis despite the supposedly fierce rivalry between the two religious orders. Although their father was a founding member of the order of Carmel, João Duarte Pinto joined the order of Saint Francis, whereas Felipe Benicio Duarte requested that his body be interred in the habit of Saint Francis.⁸⁹ Angelica Amatilde's husband Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho was likewise a member of the order of Saint Francis.⁹⁰

After its formation, the order of Carmel became integral to the social life of the Oliveira Pintos. Other members of the order constantly appear in the family's records and vice versa. The social network that the order created tied the Oliveira Pintos to a diverse group of individuals, such as men who were not particularly wealthy, those with illegitimate children, manual laborers, and merchants. For example, João Pinto Alvares' testament was not taken by a family member, but by a friend who was a fellow member of the order, Jose Fernandes Pinto.⁹¹ Jose also lived in Passagem, but

⁸⁸ Ibid., f. 5v.

⁸⁹ João Duarte Pinto's inventory; Felipe Benicio Duarte's inventory, 1777, caixa 75, auto 1585, 1st ofício, CS.

⁹⁰ Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho's inventory.

⁹¹ João Pinto Alvares' will.

was not a rich family-man, like João.⁹² He was moderately wealthy with an estate with the typical value of one million *reis*. He was an immigrant from Portugal, but never married. Instead, he had three illegitimate daughters with three different women.

The confraternity also connected the family to individuals with valuable skills, such as the carpenter Sebastião Martins da Costa.⁹³ Sebastião served as one of the order's definitors and was a wealthy man, who made a living not only with his labor but also through the ownership of gold mines. Luis da Costa Athaide, the father of the celebrated painter Manoel da Costa Athaide, served as witness for Sebastião's will. Luis was also a member of the order of Carmel.⁹⁴

The family likely had many other personal relationships with such artists and artisans that informed decisions about purchases and the adornment of their homes. In addition, family members were personally connected to a number of merchants. The family's access to luxury goods, and their knowledge of trends and news in other parts of the globe were greatly facilitated by merchant networks. Commerce depended on extensive webs of interpersonal relationships throughout Brazil and beyond. These relationships were maintained through frequent communication, travel, and the exchange of goods.

Within the family, three men were personally involved in commercial businesses: Manoel Correia de Oliveira, Antonio Duarte, and Jose de Araujo Correia.

⁹² For details of his life, see Jose Fernandes Pintos' will, 1801, numero 718, Testamentos, AEAM.

⁹³ Sebastião Martins da Costa's inventory, 1769, caixa 89, auto 1923, 2nd officio, CS.

⁹⁴ Unpublished transcription by José Geraldo Begname of Luis da Costa Athaide's inventory, 1802, caixa 33, auto 792, 2nd officio, CS.

Although Manoel Correia's main source of income was mining and he was identified as a mine owner in the 1756 list of wealthy *mineiros*, his inventory provides clues to his involvement in the sale of goods. In addition to a carpentry workshop, his property included a "house of commerce on the street."⁹⁵ He likely sold the vegetables, furnishings and other goods produced on his estate in this shop that was conveniently located on the road allowing accessibility for consumers. The title, "casa de negocio" rather than *venda* suggests, however, that the shop did not merely sell the products of the estate, but was a more extensive business, selling goods imported by other merchants.

Archival records explicitly tie Antonio Duarte to the business of commerce. In 1740 Antonio Duarte provided testimony for a legal dispute involving the deceased Manoel Ferreira Couto and his business partner, Manoel Pinto da Fonseca.⁹⁶ The testimony suggests that Antonio sold medicines and other wares as part of his medical practice. More importantly, in his petition to enter the order of the Holy Office the following year, Antonio described himself as a merchant and surgeon.⁹⁷ He likely owned a pharmacy but may have also been more extensively involved in commerce. Stocking and running a pharmacy required Antonio to establish relationships with merchants throughout Brazil who supplied his shop with a diverse range of goods that were considered to offer medicinal value. Such items included ivory, mother of pearl,

⁹⁵ "...casa de negocio na estrada...." Manoel Correia de Oliveira's inventory.

⁹⁶ Manoel Ferreira Couto's inventory, f. 201v-202r.

⁹⁷ "...vive do seu negocio, e da Cirurgia que exercita...." António Duarte's proof of qualifications, f. 2r.

and coral among other luxurious materials.⁹⁸ While a pharmacy's stock of such sumptuous materials was probably limited to small quantities rather than the bulk required to manufacture works of art or utilitarian items, Antonio was connected to a merchant network that could supply treasured luxury goods.

Jose de Araujo Correia, João Pinto Alvares' son in law who married Maria Pinta de Oliveira, was a merchant prior to establishing himself as a mine owner. Before Maria and Jose's engagement in 1748, Jose worked as a merchant in Vila Rica.⁹⁹ By the time of his marriage, he had taken up gold mining, although he may have continued his involvement in commerce after his marriage. Having worked in commerce until his late forties, Jose must have been well connected to the merchant community. One particularly wealthy business partner, who may have also been involved in commerce, was Domingos da Rocha Ferreira. Jose co-owned a mine with Domingos along with Francisco de Almeida Pinto. Furthermore, Domingos was Jose's third choice for the executor of his will after his death, suggesting a high level of trust and familiarity. Domingos, who died in 1774, was the wealthiest man whose inventory I have read. His estate was valued at sixty million *reis*, twice the value of the estates of João Pinto Alvares and Antonio Duarte.¹⁰⁰ His belongings were numerous and exquisite, including three paintings on copper, books, numerous gold adornments, several residences and farms, and an impressive number of slaves. While he should be

⁹⁸ These items are included in the inventory of Antonio Pereira Carneiro's pharmacy. Antonio Pereira Carneiro's inventory, 1775, caixa 54, auto 1210, 1st officio, CS.

⁹⁹ Jose de Araujo Correia and Maria Pinta de Oliveira's marriage paperwork.

¹⁰⁰ Domingos da Rocha Ferreira's inventory.

considered a rural aristocrat rather than a merchant, one of the houses he owned did contain a shop.

The Oliveira Pintos were associated to numerous merchants, both as consumers and as friends, the order of Carmel connecting the family to several of them. Domingos Jose de Oliveira, Gregorio Mathias Neves, Pedro Alves Bacellar, and two men named João Antonio dos Santos were merchants and members of the order of Carmel. Members of the Oliveira Pinto family seem to have shopped at their stores. The family members who lived in Passagem were likely frequent customers of the local shops owned by Pedro Alves Bacellar and João Antonio dos Santos from Porto. Indeed, evidence suggests that these two merchants knew the family intimately.

Pedro Alves Bacellar, an immigrant from Braga who was a wealthy and respected merchant living on the Morro Santo Antonio, twice offered testimony in support of Antonio Duarte Pintos' behavior, morals and family history.¹⁰¹ He assisted in Antonio's entry into the priesthood, indicating that he knew Antonio and numerous other family members personally. Pedro's personal life was not nearly as honorable as that of the Oliveira Pintos. He remained single throughout his life and fathered five

¹⁰¹ He is described as living from his "negocio," rather than as having a *venda* or *logia*. The idea of "negocio" was considered more honorable than the other options, distancing the man's work from manual labor. On the distinction between a *venda* and a *logia*, see Angelo Alves Carrara, "À Vista ou à Prazo: Comércio e Crédito nas Minas Setecentistas," in *À Vista ou a Prazo: Comércio e Crédito nas Minas Setecentistas*, ed. by Angelo Alves Carrara (Juiz de Fora: Editora UFJF, 2010), 14-16. On the higher social status of *homens de negocio* as compared to *mercadores*, see Ferreira, and Soares, "Tensões, Comportamentos e Hábitos de Consumo na Sociedade Senhorial da América Portuguesa," 529.

illegitimate children, each with a different woman.¹⁰² He had two children in Portugal prior to moving to Brazil, and three children in Minas Gerais all with mothers of African descent, at least two of whom were slaves.¹⁰³ The Oliveira Pintos and other members of the order of Carmel would have been well aware of Pedro's children since two of them lived in Passagem and on the Morro Santo Antonio, and were already young adults by the time of their father's death in 1781.

The merchant from Porto, João Antonio dos Santos, likewise had shops in Passagem and knew the family well.¹⁰⁴ He gave his testimony for both Jose Pinto Alves de Oliveira and Antonio Duarte Pinto to enter the priesthood. At the time of João Antonio dos Santos' death in 1769, João Pinto Alvares owed him money for merchandise purchased at his store. Unlike Pedro Alves Bacelar, João Antonio dos Santos owned a *venda*, a shop that sells foods, beverages, and other wet goods. *Vendas* signaled lower social status than *logias* that could sell both wet and dry goods, such as furniture, textiles, and ceramics. Although João Antonio dos Santos rented houses from another member of the order of Carmel rather than being a land-owner, he was,

¹⁰² For details about his children, see Pedro Alves Bacellar's inventory, 1781, caixa 118, auto 2370, 2nd ofício, CS.

¹⁰³ Francisco, who was already free by 1781, was born of a creole woman named Tomasia Gracia. Domingos' mother was an enslaved Angolan woman named Josefa Nunes. Therefore, Pedro needed to purchase his son from Josefa's master. Antonio's mother, Ignacia da Rocha, was from the Gold Coast. Antonio, too, was born into slavery and was purchased by his father. Pedro waited until after his death to free the enslaved children.

¹⁰⁴ João Antonio dos Santos' will, 1769, caixa 225, auto 4177, 1st ofício, CS.

nevertheless, reasonably wealthy at the time of his death, and despite being single did not have any illegitimate children.¹⁰⁵

In addition to the close relationship with these merchants in Passagem, the Oliveira Pintos were also well acquainted with the other merchants in the order of Carmel. Another João Antonio dos Santos, a quite wealthy merchant who was born in Catas Altas and owned shops that sold a broad variety of goods, including luxuries, before dying in 1801, was connected to Joaquim Coelho de Oliveira Duarte.¹⁰⁶ Joaquim not only served as appraiser for a portion of João Antonio's belongings, but also owed him money. Unfortunately, João Antonio dos Santos' post-mortem inventory is rather disorganized and is missing some pages; it is therefore often unclear whether objects described form part of his personal belongings, are merchandise from the shops, or belong to the company of which he was part. Nonetheless, the inventory includes many spectacular and uncommon items, such as a painting on copper with relics, a very expensive chest of drawers, a telescope or binoculars, and a small table with an ivory tabletop. Joaquim Coelho de Oliveira Duarte and other Oliveira Pintos living toward the end of the century might have acquired some of their more luxurious and fashionable possessions from this merchant.

¹⁰⁵ While it is possible that he had illegitimate children that he did not acknowledge, none of his acquaintances were aware of his having fathered any children at the time of his death. Otherwise, they would have been required to bring the children to the attention of the Judge of Orphans.

¹⁰⁶ João Antonio dos Santos' inventory, 1801, caixa 65, auto 1405, 1st officio, CS.

Domingos Jose de Oliveira, who was initially elected vicar of the Divine Cult in the order of Carmel and later served as proxy for the order, owned a shop that sold foodstuffs. Not only did he testify for Antonio Duarte Pinto's priesthood paperwork, but Jose Alves Pinto de Oliveira also chose him to serve as one of his personal proxies. While Jose was in Rio de Janeiro, Domingos represented him in legal matters in Mariana. This indicates a high level of familiarity and trust. Domingos was a quite respectable man even though his total net worth at his death in 1795 was relatively modest. He was born in Braga, and was a widower with one adult son who lived in Lisbon. The few possessions that he owned were respectable, with very few described as old or worn, including numerous fine pieces of gold jewelry and a string of coral.

A merchant that frequently appears in the Oliveira Pinto family's records is Jose Alves Pinto.¹⁰⁷ Despite his name, I have not found any evidence that he was related to João Pinto Alvares, but he must have known the family well. In addition to being one of the founding members of the order of Carmel, he was a witness for Antonio Duarte Pinto's priesthood, and Jose Pinto Alves de Oliveira selected him as one of his proxies.¹⁰⁸ He appears to have been involved in real estate as well as other sales. João Pinto Alvares purchased the house for the *patrimonio* of his son, Jose Pinto

¹⁰⁷ At least one other Jose Alves Pinto lived in Mariana at the same time and knew some of the same people as the Oliveira Pintos. The two can be distinguished by their signatures. The Jose Alves Pinto discussed here consistently signs Jose Alz. Pinto.

¹⁰⁸ Antonio Duarte Pintos' processo de *genere, vita e moribus*; Jose Pinto Alves de Oliveira's processo de *genere, vita e moribus*.

Alves de Oliveira, from Jose Alves Pinto.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, João Antonio dos Santos from Porto rented houses from him.¹¹⁰

The family also had relationships with merchants who may or may not have been part of the order of Carmel. Numerous merchants provided testimonies for Jose Pinto Alves de Oliveira and Antonio Duarte Pinto's priesthood paperwork. The merchants Domingos Luis de Souza, Manoel Francisco Bento, and Francisco Rodrigues de Passo all knew Jose and his family well enough to offer testimonies.¹¹¹ The merchants ensign Manoel Carvalho Silva and lieutenant Pedro da Costa Magalhaens knew Antonio Duarte Pinto well. Pedro da Costa Magalhaens' testimony, unlike the others, states that he "perfectly knows" Antonio Duarte Pinto, suggesting that they were friends rather than merely acquaintances.¹¹²

Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho, the husband of João Pinto Alvares' youngest daughter Angelica Amatilde Eufrazia de São Joaquim, knew two Passagem merchants since his childhood. Antonio Ribeiro da Silveira, who owned a grocery store, and Antonio Francisco Guimaraes, a cattle merchant, were both neighbors of Jose's in

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., João Antonio dos Santos's will. He also took the testament of Antonio Domingues do Cabo Pinto, another member of the order of Carmel and witness for Francisca's will.

¹¹¹ Jose Pinto Alves de Oliveira's processo de *genere, vita e moribus*. Francisco Rodrigues de Passo also may have been in the order of Carmel, since he was well-acquainted with João Antonio dos Santos from Porto.

¹¹² "...que conhece perfeitamente...." Antonio Duarte Pintos' processo de *genere, vita e moribus*.

Portugal.¹¹³ Likewise, the details of João Ferreira Almada's life are recounted by the merchant ensign Clemente Perreira da Motta.

With these personal and professional relationships with merchants, the Oliveira Pinto family would have been able to acquire the belongings they desired. They could have easily learned about new products, materials, and styles. Furthermore, the far-flung merchant networks and the constant communication between merchants ensured that this group of men were well-informed about news from across the globe.

Covering Distances

Scholars of family life in Minas Gerais have overwhelmingly focused on the urbanization caused by mining activity in contrast to the rural life in the plantation economies elsewhere in Brazil.¹¹⁴ Even though the settlement in Minas Gerais produced several commercial urban centers, mining was, like agriculture, inherently tied to large tracts of rural land. As a family of mine-owners, the Oliveira Pintos lived in rural rather than urban environments, their livelihood tied to their land ownership. With this rural landownership came a familiarity with frequent travel.

Mariana and João must have initially lived in an unpopulated rural area since their first place of residence was not given a name, but merely described as the outskirts of Vila do Carmo. Their second residence on Itacolomi was, likewise, distant

¹¹³ Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho and Angelica Amatilde Eufrazia de São Joaquim's marriage paperwork.

¹¹⁴ Silvia Maria Jardim Brügger, "Familia e Patriarcalismo em Minas Gerais," in *Brasil-Portugal: Sociedades, Culturas e Formas de Governar no Mundo Português (Séculos XVI-XVIII)*, ed. by Eduardo França Paiva (São Paulo: Annablume, 2006), 43-4.

from the town and difficult to access. Unfortunately, documents do not specify where the couple lived on Itacolomi. The Peak of Itacolomi is a large mountain rising 3,500 feet above the town of Vila do Carmo.¹¹⁵ Although João and Mariana's residence was unlikely to have been on the mountain peak, travel to their home likely required a significant climb.¹¹⁶

While living on Itacolomi, João and Mariana traveled to the *matriz* of Vila do Carmo to have their daughter Antonia baptized.¹¹⁷ This trip likely covered around ten to twenty miles and took between two and four hours by horse. If the mother and child were unable to travel by horse and needed to be instead carried in a hammock, the journey probably lasted between five and eight hours.¹¹⁸ Although traveling with a newborn must have been difficult, João and Mariana placed importance on their daughter being baptized in the *matriz* at the center of town.

The family's relocation to the Morro Santo Antonio was not precipitated by a drive toward urbanization, but by the location of gold-rich lands. Although the mountain was a thriving site for mining and, therefore, home to a considerable number of people, the family's new residence should not be considered urban. Even though

¹¹⁵ The city of Mariana is located at an altitude of around 2,300 feet while the peak reaches to 5,800 feet.

¹¹⁶ One eighteenth-century building survives on the mountain, the so-called *Casa dos Bandeirantes*, located at an altitude of 4,521 feet.

¹¹⁷ Baptisms, 1719-1736, f.90v.

¹¹⁸ These estimates are based on the distances from the *Casa dos Bandeirantes*, a likely average distance from the town of Vila do Carmo, and the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Conceição in Varge, probably the furthest distance that they might have needed to travel.

Sylvio de Vasconcellos claimed that *mineiros* had an aversion to rural living, and those who worked in rural environments rushed to the urban centers at every occasion, the Oliveira Pintos continuously chose to live in rural settings.¹¹⁹ I have located the baptismal records for six of João and Mariana's children who were born while the family lived on the Morro Santo Antonio. Instead of traveling into town for their baptisms, all six children were baptized either at the chapel of Santo Antonio on the mountain or in the church of Nossa Senhora da Gloria in the village of Passagem.¹²⁰ João and Mariana were not compelled to leave their rural surroundings as often as possible, but were also not averse to making the journey into town when an appropriate occasion arose, such as for the burial of their newborn daughter Angela in the *matriz*.

Other branches of the family likewise lived in rural areas (fig. 6). When Manoel Correia de Oliveira left the Morro Santo Antonio to live on his farmland, he resided in the parish of Sumidouro, just south of the city of Mariana.¹²¹ After the struggle to purchase houses in Passagem for his priesthood, Antonio Pinto Alvares de Oliveira finally received a farm along the Pirapetinga stream south of Mariana. Feliciano and Domingos Coelho lived on a farm upriver of the village of Piranga, around thirty-five miles south of Mariana. For his priesthood Antonio Duarte Pinto

¹¹⁹ Vasconcellos, *Vila Rica*, 48.

¹²⁰ Maria, Manoel, Fernando, Hieronima, Sebastiana, and Anna were born on the Morro Santo Antonio.

¹²¹ Since his daughter Vicencia was baptized in the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Conceição in the village of Varge, Manoel's residence was likely located in the southern portion of the parish. Jose Pereira Silva and Vicencia Correa de Oliveira's marriage paperwork.

received homes and lands at the intersection of the Xopotó river and the São Lourenço stream located at least fifty miles south of Mariana. These family members were not living within villages, but instead within the vast tracts of land that were dotted with farms, plantations, and mines. The journey on horseback to the city of Mariana would have taken about five hours for Manoel Correia de Oliveira and over ten hours for Antonio Duarte Pinto.

Some branches of the family owned multiple residences and farms, some urban and others rural. Manoel Fernandes Quintão and Genoveva Theresa de Jesus, Antonio Duarte and Francisca's youngest daughter, upheld the role of the land-owning elite who also possessed urban residences. The couple owned a home at the center of the village of Catas Altas (now Catas Altas da Noruega) located directly in front of the chapel of São Goncalo. They owned a second home with farmlands just outside the village. These two houses allowed them to live the life of urban elites, being involved in religious processions and other communal events, and having access to shops and other services. Nevertheless, Catas Altas was a small village far from any of the larger towns.

When Manoel Fernandes Quintão died in 1790, he appears to have been living not in his urban homes but on one of his farms located along the river Itaverava. The family owned a second farm along the Piranga river, but this farm was used only for cultivation and manufacturing rather than as a residence. Finally, Manoel co-owned a house in the village of Santa Rita (now Santa Rita de Ouro Preto) located ten miles north of their urban homes on the road to Vila Rica. These various residences provided flexibility, allowing Manoel and Genoveva to enjoy their primary residence in a rural area as well as the conveniences of urban environments.

Similarly, Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho and Angelica Amatilde Eufrazia de São Joaquim owned property in several regions. While their primary residence was a home in the village of Passagem, they also owned two houses across the street from the cathedral in Mariana. In addition, they owned a farm with residences and a ceramic manufactory in the suburbs of Mariana, and another farm with residences in the district of Piranga. Finally, the couple owned several mines and farms that did not include residential buildings for the family. Only Jose Pinto Alves de Oliveira appears to have had his primary residence located within the city of Mariana. Jose received for his priesthood a home located on the Rua Direita, the main street of the city and the center of commerce. The Rua Direita leads directly to the cathedral and Jose was probably able to walk to the cathedral within a minute or two.

Travel was an ordinary part of life. This was especially the case for merchants. Before settling down as a mine-owner, Jose de Araujo Correia traveled frequently.¹²² In his youth, Jose lived an itinerant life. For four to five years, he regularly traveled between Rio de Janeiro and Vila Rica. He would spend two to four months in his home in Vila Rica before returning to Rio de Janeiro. During this time, he claimed to never have stayed in any one place for more than six months. At around twenty years of age, he quit this constant travel and decided to remain in his homes at the center of Vila Rica and on the mountain of Vila Rica. During his twenty-nine years of residence there, he, nevertheless, ventured on some long-distance journeys. He traveled three times to the Serro do Frio, the diamond mining region in the north of Minas Gerais, and once to Rio de Janeiro.

¹²² Jose describes his travels in his testimony for his marriage to Maria Pinta de Oliveira. Jose de Araujo Correia and Maria Pinta de Oliveira's marriage paperwork.

Despite having left the occupation of merchant in favor of being a land-owning husband and father, Jose de Araujo Correia likely continued to travel frequently, although over considerably shorter distances. He was described as living on the Morro Santo Antonio, but died in Vila Rica. His testament was also taken on the Rua Direita of Vila Rica at the center of town. Although he did not own property in Vila Rica at the time of his death, his illegitimate son lived there. It can be reasonably assumed that he frequently traveled between the Morro Santo Antonio and Vila Rica, spending considerable time in the town. He may have been visiting his son's residence when he produced his testament and died.

As has been discussed in the previous chapter, frequent travel was a common part of life not only for merchants, but for all elites. Individuals probably traveled to visit friends and family, and the family members who owned multiple residences likely traveled between them at certain times of the year. While such travels are not documented, archival records provide evidence of travels for baptisms. For instance, while living in Itacolomi, Mariana Correia de Oliveira traveled into town to serve as godmother at baptisms once each month from December 1726 to February 1727.¹²³ While living on the Morro Santo Antonio, Manoel Correia de Oliveira served as godfather of a child who was baptized in the chapel in Lavras Novas, about ten miles away.¹²⁴ Some of the godparents of João and Mariana's children also needed to travel to attend the baptisms. João Goncalves Baptista, the godfather of Hieronima, traveled from his home in Vila Rica to the chapel on the Morro Santo Antonio.¹²⁵ More

¹²³ Baptisms, 1719-1736, f. 69r, 76r, 80v.

¹²⁴ Baptisms, 1731-1807.

significantly, Fernando's godmother Barbara Correia de Oliveira traveled from Sabará, eighty miles northwest of Vila do Carmo.¹²⁶

As active members of the order of Carmel, the Oliveira Pintos were required to frequently travel into Mariana for meetings, funerals, processions, and other business. During the beginnings of the order, João Pinto Alvares served as prior and therefore must have attended the meetings which were quite frequent. For instance, the order met to discuss business on October 17, December 12 and December 16 of 1758.¹²⁷ João Pinto Alvares, Jose de Araujo Correia, and Maria Pinta de Oliveira, all held elected positions in the order and probably traveled from the Morro Santo Antonio to Mariana for all three of these meetings. Furthermore, many family members are likely to have regularly attended mass at the order's altar, chapel, and church.

Despite the complaints of early nineteenth-century English and French visitors to Minas Gerais about the discomforts and inconveniences of travel, elite *mineiros* were accustomed to great distances and to the available modes of transportation. The quickest and most efficient mode of travel was by horse or mule.¹²⁸ All branches of the family owned horses, and probably conducted most of their journeys on horseback. As the nineteenth-century travel accounts and the clothing listed in inventories attest, not only Brazilian men but also women rode horses.¹²⁹ Members of the Oliveira Pinto

¹²⁵ Baptisms, 1719-1736, f. 121v.

¹²⁶ Baptisms, 1731-1777, f. 51r.

¹²⁷ The Third Order of Nossa Senhora do Carmo.

¹²⁸ According to John Mawe, riding mules to church was common. Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 158.

¹²⁹ Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro*, 495, 513-4.

family also owned hammocks, which they presumably used for travel as well. Being carried in a hammock offered a slower journey than travel by horse, and the hammocks may have been primarily used for short trips to nearby churches. In such instances, the grandeur of being carried by slaves in a sumptuous hammock would have been more important than the speed of travel. Since many of the women of the family were pregnant for the majority of their adult lives, the hammocks were also likely used during the late stages of pregnancy and following childbirth.

Most outings were probably fairly quick. Whether by horse or hammock, the family members who lived on the Morro Santo Antonio could have traveled into the center of the city of Mariana within half an hour to one hour. Travel to Vila Rica would have taken only a little longer. The nineteenth-century travel accounts, however, give the impression of a long and arduous journey. John Mawe described the path between Vila Rica and Mariana: “During my stay at Villa Rica, I rode to the city of Mariana, distant eight miles, by a tremendous and almost impassable road, along a ridge of mountains; and afterwards went thither by the general road which passes between two high hills, and for some distance along the river side, all the way on the descent.”¹³⁰ The second route that he describes passes through the village of Passagem, and was probably quite familiar to the Oliveira Pintos. The current state of Minas Gerais is nearly two and a half times the size of the present United Kingdom, and the Englishman John Mawe was probably unaccustomed to such distances through scarcely populated, hilly landscape. In contrast, *mineiros* considered these conditions ordinary rather than burdensome.

¹³⁰ Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 181.

The Oliveira Pintos probably enjoyed their travels into town or to their farms, except for times of severe rainfall. During the rainy season, the dirt ground can easily be transformed into thick clay. According to travel accounts, this clay could make the roads impassable and even break the legs of mules.¹³¹ The occasional difficulty of travel may be reflected in the baptismal record of the child of one of João's slaves. João had himself baptized the infant in his home in Itacolomi, only later taking the child to a church to receive the sacramental oil.¹³² This unusual occurrence was likely the result of the difficult journey into town and possibly also the child's ill health.

In addition to being familiar with the rural landscape of Minas Gerais and lengthy overland travel, the family maintained connections to Portugal, and some family members experienced the journey across the Atlantic at least once in their lives. Since many of the men who married into the family, including João Pinto Alvares, were natives of Portugal, the family had many relatives overseas. Furthermore, some of the children born in Brazil were educated in or even moved permanently to Portugal. As mentioned above, five of João and Mariana's children received their education in Portugal, and four of those remained in Portugal. The family in Brazil probably sent and received letters frequently to their relatives in Portugal, sharing news of all sorts.

A copy of one such letter has survived to the present, providing evidence of the transmission of news across the ocean as well as of the inconveniences of the great distance from Portugal. The original letter was sent in 1738 to João Alvares Pinto from his cousin Francisco de Carvalho Pinto, then residing in Lisbon. A copy of Francisco's

¹³¹ Eschwege, *Journal von Brasilien*, part 2, 34, 42.

¹³² Baptisms, 1719-1736, f. 51v.

letter is contained within João and Mariana's marriage paperwork. After nearly thirteen years of marriage, João and Mariana were confronted with the hurdles of ecclesiastic bureaucracy, which challenged the legitimacy of their marriage. To protect their marriage and their respectability within the community, João needed to receive copies of his baptismal records from his hometown in Portugal. Since the Portuguese fleet only sailed across the Atlantic once per year, João had to wait nearly three years to receive the requested documents.¹³³

¹³³ In order to be allowed to marry, the bride and groom were each required to provide evidence that they were not already married. This supporting paperwork was termed *banhos*. Since the *banhos* could take some time to be sent and returned from distant places, the groom could provide a deposit, marry the bride, and receive a refund once the *banhos* had arrived.

João had paid twenty *oitavas* of gold to the Ecclesiastical Judge in Vila do Carmo to be able to marry Mariana prior to the receipt of the *banhos* (João Pinto Alvares and Mariana Correia de Oliveira's marriage paperwork, f. 10r.). The documentation proving Mariana's eligibility for marriage was delivered a year after the wedding (Ibid., f. 11r.). Twelve years later in 1736 João suddenly received a letter from the Ecclesiastical Judge requesting his *banhos*. João had presented *banhos* from Rio de Janeiro, but not from Portugal since his testimonies stated that he was a minor when he arrived in Brazil (Ibid., 4v-5v). The Ecclesiastical Judge rejected this excuse because his witnesses had stated that João had arrived in Brazil between the age of twelve and fourteen, with the typical disclaimer "more or less." Thus, João could have been fourteen years of age and have married prior to arriving in Brazil (Ibid., 13v.).

In May of 1736, João was given one and a half years to obtain the *banhos* (Ibid., 17r.). This involved, however, sending a letter to Rio de Janeiro, waiting for the fleet to sail from Rio de Janeiro to Lisbon, carrying the letter from Lisbon to his birthplace in the north of Portugal, finding the baptismal records in the archives, sending a letter to Lisbon, waiting for the fleet to sail to Rio de Janeiro, and, finally, transporting the letter to Minas Gerais. The fleet carrying João's request for *banhos* did not leave Rio de Janeiro until August 21, 1737.

The following year's fleet arrived in Rio de Janeiro probably towards the end of summer 1738, but did not bring João's records. He was given three days to separate from Mariana under threat of excommunication (Ibid., 17v-18r.). Naturally, João protested that he was not responsible for the delays resulting from the great distance to his homeland. He appended a copy of the letter from his cousin Francisco de Carvalho Pinto that had arrived on the fleet. The letter demonstrated that João's baptismal

The long letter from Francisco de Carvalho Pinto primarily revolves around the financial and physical health of the family as well as the career paths of members of the younger generation. The letter reveals that João Pinto Alvares was financially supporting his extended family in Portugal, sending packages of gold to various family members. Some of the remittances of gold are likely to have been in exchange for goods sent to Brazil. The letter even hints at business with a certain "foreigner." Many of the payments were, however, sent to support the family. For instance, one of João's brothers, who received gold, needed more because he and his wife were sick and they had many children.

In addition to sending letters across the Atlantic, elite residents of Minas Gerais occasionally visited Portugal. By 1734 João Pinto Alvares' parents had both died and João petitioned for permission to visit Portugal with his wife, children, and other family members.¹³⁴ Permission was granted in 1735, but he canceled his transatlantic trip for unknown reasons.¹³⁵ The voyage would have certainly been

record had not been found, transcribed and mailed to Lisbon prior to the fleet's departure for Brazil. The *banhos* only arrived in January of 1739 (Ibid., 25r.).

¹³⁴ Requerimento de João Pinto Alvares, before 1734, caixa 27, doc. 53, Minas Gerais, AHU, <http://www.cmd.unb.br/biblioteca.html>; Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino sobre o requerimento de João Pinto Alvares, 1735, caixa 30, documento 36, Minas Gerais, AHU, <http://www.cmd.unb.br/biblioteca.html>. The other family members are probably his cousins who did, in fact, travel to Portugal. The family's potential travels are briefly discussed in Carla Maria Carvalho de Almeida, *Ricos e Pobres*, 177-203.

¹³⁵ Requerimento de João Pinto Alvares, before 1747, caixa 48, documento 9, Minas Gerais, AHU, <http://www.cmd.unb.br/biblioteca.html>.

difficult for Mariana, as she was habitually pregnant, giving birth in April 1735, October 1736, and December 1737.¹³⁶

A decade later, João Pinto Alvares again requested permission to travel to Portugal with his wife and children. His request was approved in February 1747, but the paperwork may have required quite some time to be shipped from Lisbon to Minas Gerais. Since Mariana gave birth in Minas Gerais in the beginning of 1748 and died there at the end of that year, she could not have traveled to Portugal prior to her death. On the other hand, João is likely to have visited Portugal briefly after his wife's death since he had been unable to make the journey the first time. He had returned to Minas Gerais by 1751 when he requested and received a plot of farmland.¹³⁷ Antonio Duarte likewise requested permission to visit Portugal with his family.¹³⁸ His request was approved in March 1746, but it is unknown whether he and his family made the journey.

Conclusions

The biographies of the Oliveira Pintos were quite typical among the *mineiro* elite. The majority of elites in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais had been Portuguese men of the

¹³⁶ Baptisms, 1731-1777, f. 51r; Baptisms, 1719-1736, f. 121v ; Baptisms, 1732-1740.

¹³⁷ "Cartas de Sesmarias, 1749-1753," 414-5; Requerimento de João Pinto Alvares, before 1755.

¹³⁸ Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino sobre o requerimento de Antonio Duarte, 1746, caixa 46, documento 6, Minas Gerais, AHU, <http://www.cmd.unb.br/biblioteca.html>. Antonio Duarte probably submitted the original petition in 1743 before the birth of his fourth child.

lower classes who moved to Brazil as adolescents to try to earn a living.¹³⁹ The lives of this family's members correspond well to the trends about *mineiro* elites observed by Carla Maria Carvalho de Almeida in numerous articles and books, even though the majority of historical scholarship that does not focus on the upper classes highlights strikingly different trends.

As has been demonstrated above, the lives of the Oliveira Pintos represent an alternative to the mode of life traditionally studied within the context of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais. They did not live in predominantly urban settings, and their families were formed through marriage rather than concubinage. While Manoel Correia de Oliveira had two illegitimate daughters and Jose de Araujo Correia had an illegitimate son, the Oliveira Pintos generally upheld the traditional patriarchal family structure. The Oliveira Pintos, for the most part, formed legal families with other individuals of Portuguese descent, and maintained the socioeconomic status of the family well above middle class. Manoel Correia de Oliveira's two mixed-race daughters indeed inherited significant sums of money, promoting wealth among individuals of African descent. However, their situation is unique within the family.¹⁴⁰

Twentieth-century historical scholarship usually emphasized the drastic decline in gold mining and ensuing economic devastation in the second half of the eighteenth century. Luccock's description of the former tenants of the Morro Santo Antonio with which this chapter began supports such a narrative. However, the particular case of the

¹³⁹ Almeida, "Do Reino as Minas," 331.

¹⁴⁰ Given the extent of Jose de Araujo Correia's debts, it is unclear whether his illegitimate son received an inheritance large enough to ensure a middle-class standing.

Oliveira Pintos makes clear that such a dramatic account of economic devastation was exaggerated. The second half of the century certainly did not lead to economic decline for the Oliveira Pintos. The continued legacy of wealth was passed on, in particular, to the family members who received the entirety of João Pinto Alvares' estate: Angelica Amatilde Eufrazia de São Joaquim and her husband Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho.

Luccock's narrative serves the purpose of voicing his own economic position in favor of agriculture rather than mining. As more recent scholarship has demonstrated, wealthy and educated mine owners generally recognized the need to include agricultural activities on their estates, particularly in the second half of the century. The Oliveira Pintos diversified the production on their estates as the century progressed. The family continued to own gold mines, but they also invested their wealth in the cultivation of crops, both for personal use and for sale, and in manufacturing.

The family was truly an exemplar of the rural aristocracy: educated, respected, and wealthy. Among the family members who lived in the first half of the nineteenth century were numerous priests, men with military titles, and a "chief chancellor and advisor to His Majesty."¹⁴¹ This demographic group—the educated rural elite who enjoyed long-lasting wealth and privilege—would not have viewed themselves as isolated, but rather as active participants within a dynamic web of interpersonal relationships. The local and transatlantic connections to family members, business partners, and friends not only enabled the Oliveira Pintos to acquire meaningful objects but also informed their tastes and perceptions about consumer goods.

¹⁴¹ Dr. Francisco de Paula Pereira Duarte, the brother-in-law of Joaquim Coelho de Oliveira, was "chanceler mor e conselheiro de sua magestade." Maria Hermelinda Duarte e Freitas' inventory, 1848, caixa 100, auto 2122, 2nd officio, CS.

FIGURES

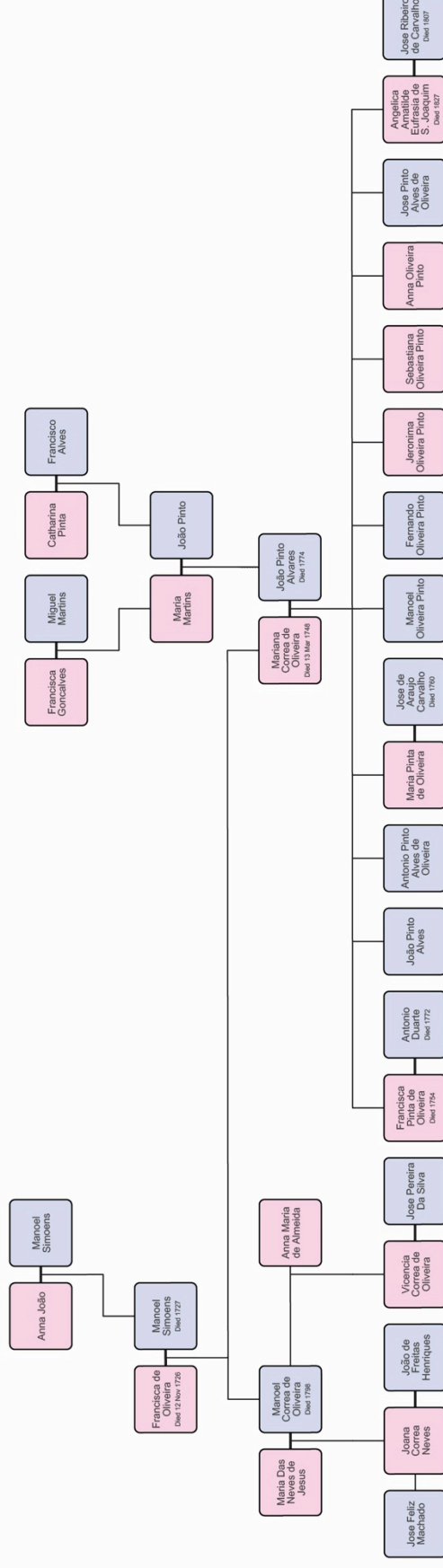


Figure 2 Mariana, João, and Manoel's generation with their parents, grandparents, and children.

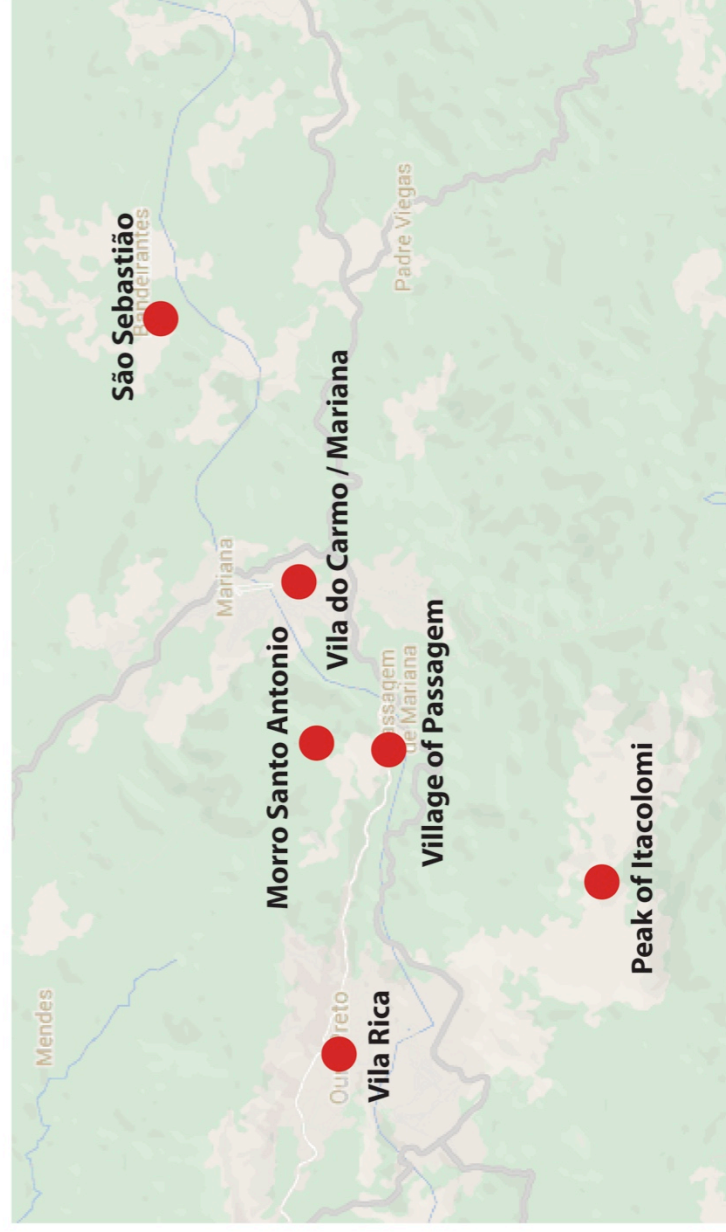


Figure 3 Map of Vila do Carmo and neighboring regions.

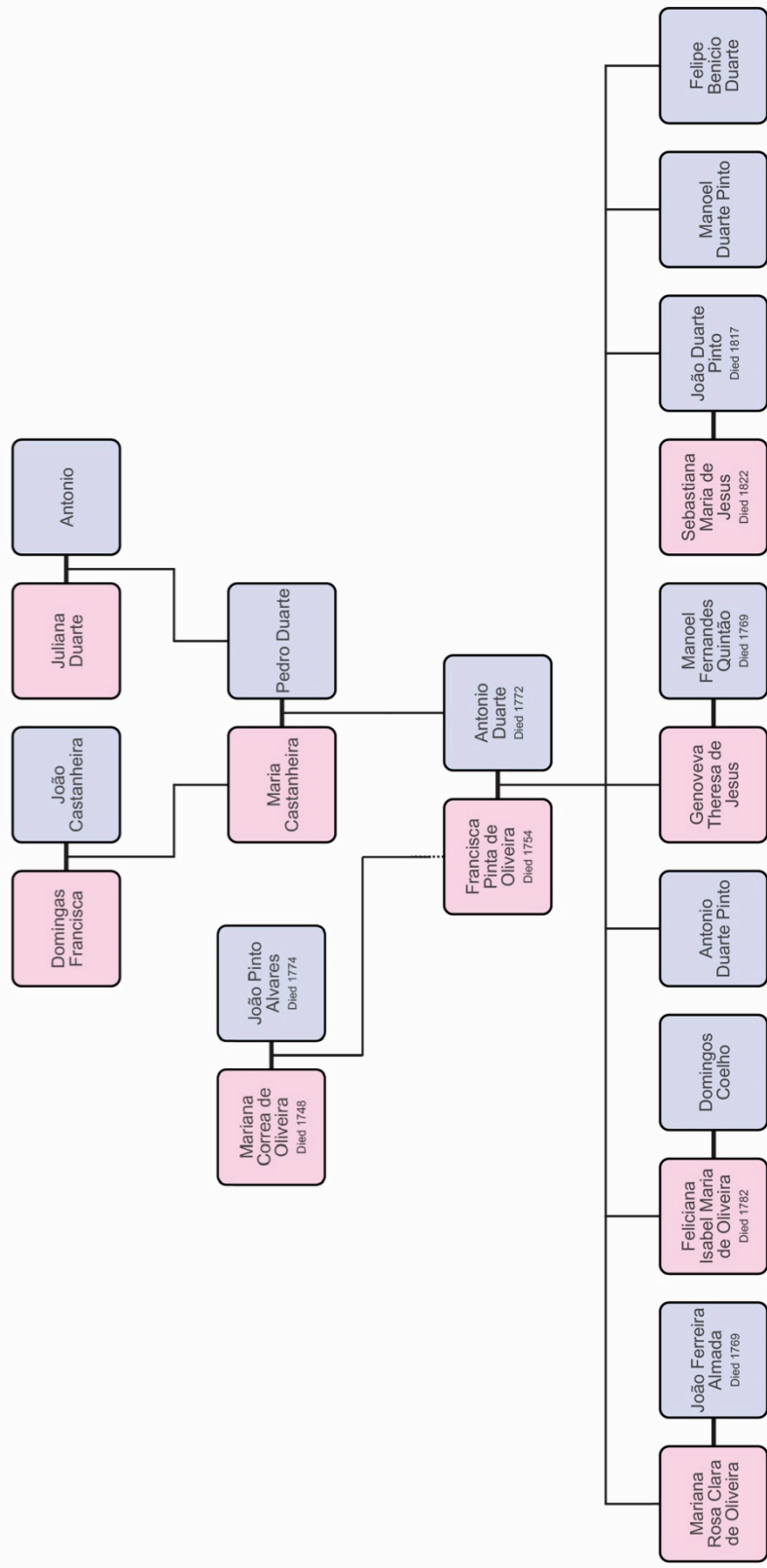


Figure 4 Francisco and Antonio's family tree.

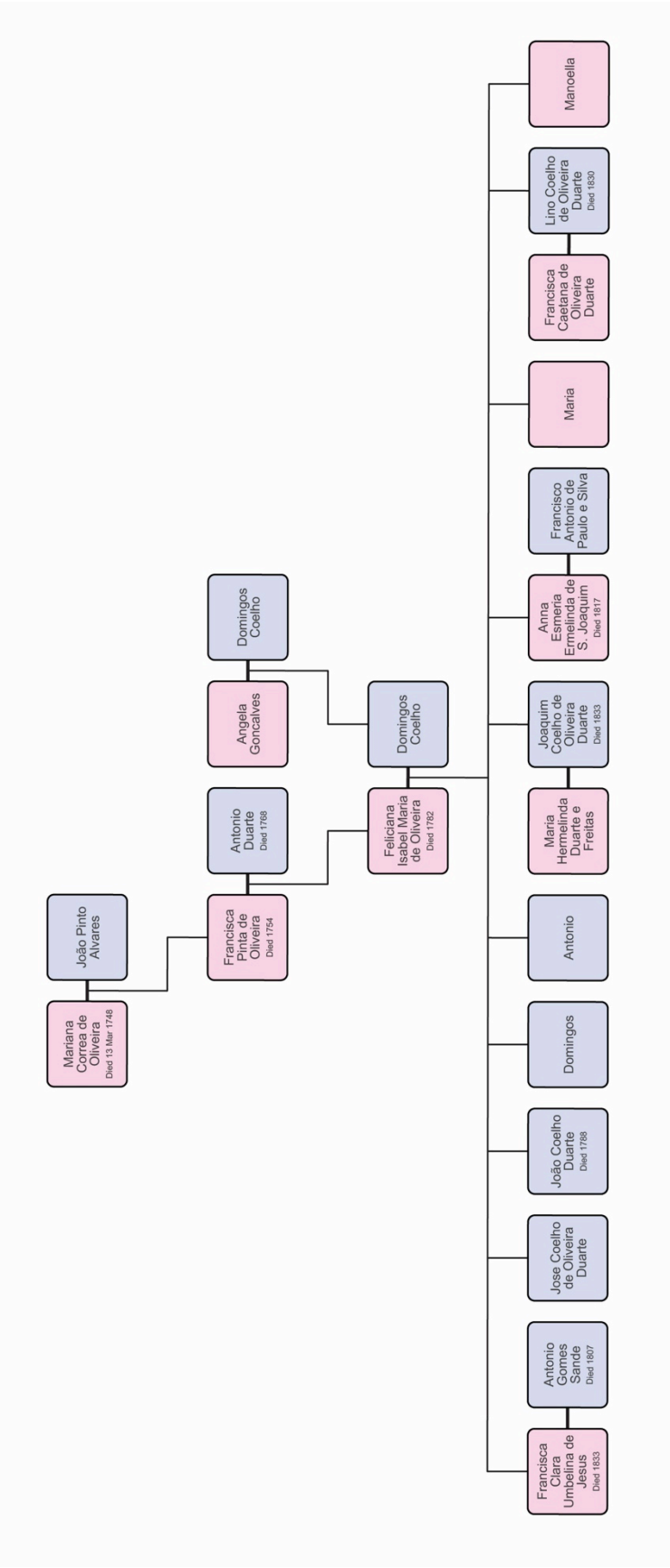


Figure 5 Feliciano and Domingos’ family tree.

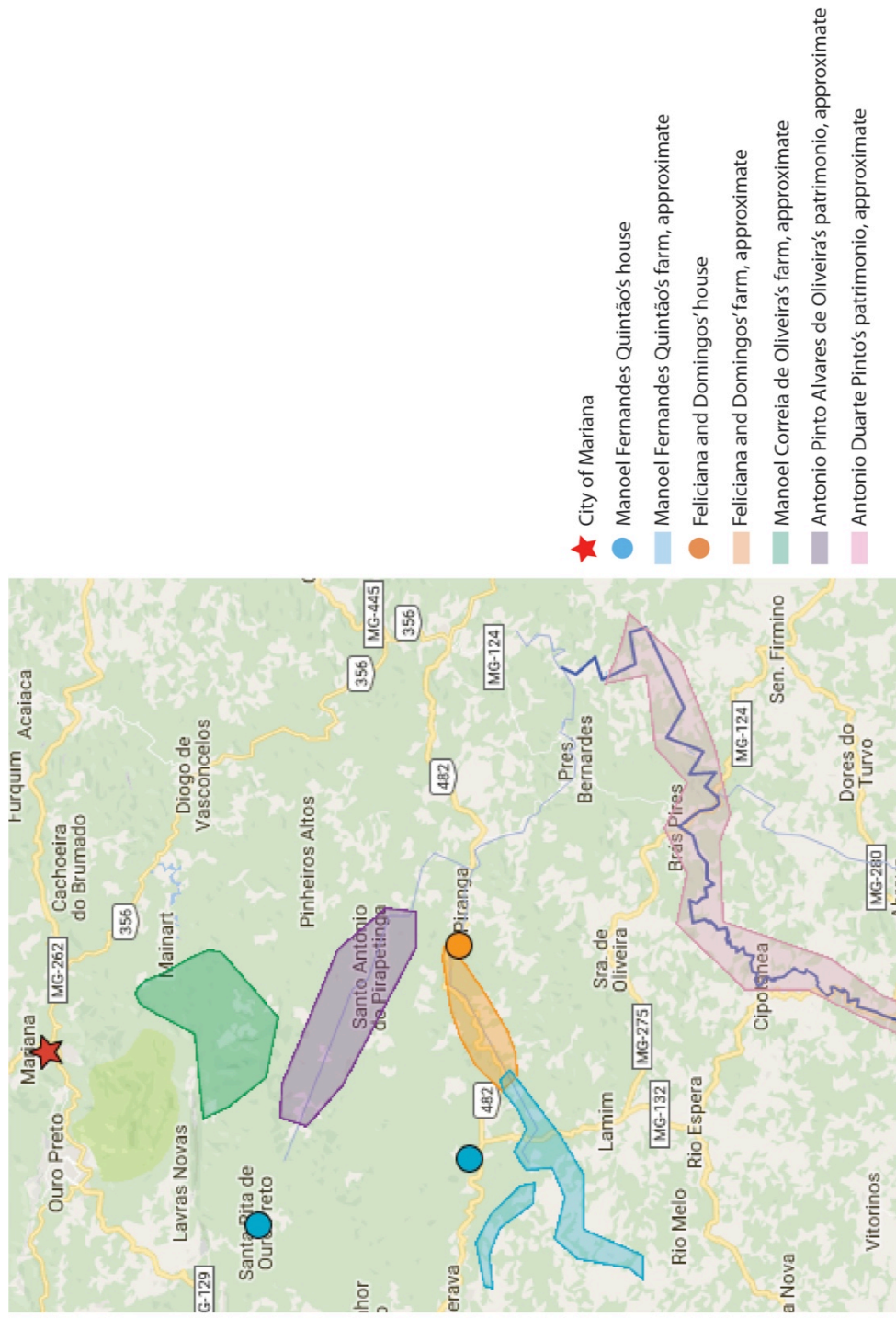


Figure 6 Map of the Oliveira Pinto family's residences south of Mariana.

Chapter 4

POSSESSIONS: LUXURIES IN THE OLIVEIRA PINTO FAMILY HOMES

The previous chapter demonstrated that a close reading of the lives of wealthy residents of Minas Gerais complicate long-held conceptions. The same is possible with a thorough examination of the possessions of individuals. Twentieth-century scholarship about material culture in colonial Minas Gerais is largely based on stereotypes and assumptions either about the dearth of resources in frontier areas or the excessive opulence of residents of rich mining regions. More recent research involving statistical analysis of goods described in inventories has proven valuable for the understanding of the economics of Minas Gerais, but the methods employed rarely enable exploration of the cultural significance of objects.

New strategies are necessary to interpret the cultural messages that objects embodied, as well as the reasons why certain luxuries were desired and others were rare. Examination of the context in which objects appeared, in particular their precise owners, provides information about how those commodities were used and what they signified. In addition, an understanding of material culture among similar socioeconomic groups in Portugal and recognition of the cultural biases of foreign travelers are essential for drawing conclusions about objects within a larger Portuguese cultural context. Finally, as the eighteenth-century progressed, Portugal and Brazil both experienced significant cultural and material changes, thus necessitating research approaches that consider the dates in which objects were purchased, used, and described.

This chapter employs such methods to challenge existing assumptions about elite *mineiro* material culture. The following discussion examines post-mortem inventories to reconstruct the belongings of several members of the Oliveira Pinto family. When possible, the discussion is paired with illustrations of objects similar to those described in the inventories. The textual descriptions coupled with extant examples clarify the visual and material culture that the elites of colonial Minas Gerais desired and acquired. In addition, the analysis suggests the possible places of origin of the possessions within the family's homes, further illuminating the access to and demand for imports, and demonstrating the family's familiarity with the materials and manufactured goods of distant places.

The analysis of the family's post-mortem inventories reveals broad shifts in consumption patterns throughout the eighteenth century, the availability of foreign imports in Minas Gerais, and the effect of an individual's lives on their possessions. The changes in elite material culture in Minas Gerais paralleled shifts occurring in Portugal. In both Portugal and Brazil new furniture designs, new clothing types, and new styles were introduced from other parts of Europe. Furthermore, Brazil and Western Europe experienced an increase in consumerism throughout the century. By the end of the century, the elite owned large numbers of consumer goods each serving one specific function rather than possessing a smaller number of multi-functional pieces. Throughout the century, elite consumers were able to acquire luxury goods from various parts of Asia, Africa, and from places outside of the Portuguese empire. Such goods were often considered more valuable and prestigious than Portuguese manufactured goods. The acquisition of imported and locally produced luxuries was not solely related to monetary wealth. When considering the quantity and quality of

luxuries, factors typically analyzed in scholarship, such as the total value of the estate and the number of slaves, are often less important than details about the life of the objects' owner. Considering elements such as nobility, occupation, education, marital status, and rural versus urban residence can elucidate the differences between the lists of possessions for various people.

The reconstructions of the belongings of the Oliveira Pinto family members are organized chronologically, with the exception of Antonio Duarte's inventory, which succeeds his wife's. The inventories were chosen based on the completeness of the documentation, and the inclusion of unusual or remarkable objects within the lists of possessions. I have selected one inventory per decade from the 1740s to the 1800s, beginning with Mariana Correia de Oliveira's in 1748, Francisca Pinta de Oliveira's in 1754, Antonio Duarte's from 1772, Jose de Araujo Correia's in 1760, Feliciano Isabel Maria de Oliveira's in 1782, Manoel Correia de Oliveira's in 1798, and finally, Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho's inventory from 1807. All the inventories discussed in this chapter are transcribed in Appendix A, "Manuscript Transcriptions."

This chapter groups possessions based on their function, thus presenting a clearer view of the context in which objects appeared. Their discussion focuses on the materials and forms that the textual records describe. The first reconstructions address the contents of the inventories in full to elucidate the kinds of objects that people owned, while the later discussion focuses primarily on luxury goods and items that point toward local manufacturing.

Before moving to the reconstructions themselves, the limitations of working with post-mortem inventories must be addressed. Although post-mortem inventories are useful resources, they must be understood as legal documents produced for a

specific purpose. In fact, the family's inventories conceal a considerable amount of information about the homes and their contents. As Anne E. C. McCants has stated, post-mortem inventories must be interpreted as the minimum of property.¹ While it is unlikely that individuals would be motivated to invent possessions that did not truly exist, there are several reasons for the omission, whether intentional or accidental, of property. Within the Portuguese context, certain goods were expected to be omitted from the inventories. According to Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, widows were not required to list some of their personal property, such as garments, jewelry, and bedding.² Similar guidelines appear to have existed for widowers who did not include their own clothing in their deceased wives' inventories. Moreover, since the function of the inventories was to calculate the value of the estate for distribution among heirs, objects of insignificant monetary value were usually omitted.³ In addition, any goods that could not be sold or distributed among the heirs, such as slaves freed at the death of their master, were not included. The practice of selling all or part of the estate to a relative, as discussed in the previous chapter, prevents the sold property from being described in the inventory.

When attempting to understand the material characteristics, appearances, and cultural associations of objects, the place of origin is significant. This chapter suggests

¹ Anne E. C. McCants, "Porcelain for the Poor: The Material Culture of Tea and Coffee Consumption in Eighteenth-Century Amsterdam," in *Early Modern Things*, ed. Paula Findlen (New York: Routledge, 2012), 319.

² Silva, "Family and Property in Colonial Brazil," 70.

³ Giorgio Riello discusses this practice in the European context. Giorgio Riello, "Things Seen and Unseen: The Material Culture of Early Modern Inventories and their Representation of Domestic Interiors," in Findlen, *Early Modern Things*, 137.

the most likely place of origin for luxury goods within the inventories based on information about trade routes, manufacturing centers, and the textual descriptions of the objects. A relatively small portion of objects in inventories is labeled with the perceived place of origin. Far more common is the inclusion of a place name within the label given to a material. For instance, textiles are frequently named after a location, such as *Bretanha*, *Cambraya*, or *Guimarães*.⁴ Nevertheless, textiles named after a specific city or region were not necessarily produced in that place. Often a manufacturing center became well known for producing a certain type of cloth, and that fabric was named after its place of origin. Successful fabrics were constantly being imitated elsewhere, and the names of such imitations could also be deliberately misleading. For instance, British wool textiles were so popular that French producers of woolens called their products *londrins* to associate them with the city of London.⁵ Thus, knowledge about the most active centers of production and the trade routes is crucial to inform suggestions about the place of origin of textiles and other objects listed in the inventories.

Unlike in some other parts of the world, post-mortem inventories in colonial Brazil group objects by material rather than by location within the home. In addition,

⁴ The meanings of textile terms often changed significantly in the nineteenth century. Therefore, I am relying primarily on eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century dictionaries to identify textiles rather than Manuela Pinto da Costa's widely used glossary, which does not aim to associate definitions with particular historical periods. Manuela Pinto da Costa, "Glossário de Termos Têxteis e Afins," *Revista da Faculdade de Letras-Ciências e Técnicas do Patrimônio* 3 (2004): 137-161.

⁵ Melinda Watt, "'Whims and Fancies': Europeans Respond to Textiles from the East," in *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800*, ed. Amelia Peck (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 84.

the descriptions of houses typically only mention whether the house had one or two stories. Thus, the inventories provide little information about the architectural structure and organization of the house itself. While one of the eighteenth-century homes surviving within Mariana's city center likely belonged to Jose Pinto Alves de Oliveira, the vast majority of the homes of the Oliveira Pintos and their acquaintances have not survived (fig. 7). Presumably, their homes followed the common patterns found in existing eighteenth-century homes.⁶

An urban home with two stories typically had shops on the ground floor and living spaces above. Houses were generally organized in an L, U, or O-shape around a courtyard at the back or center of the property. The rooms for socializing with visitors were placed at the front of the house, and a corridor, sometimes a covered walkway around the courtyard, led to smaller, more intimate spaces. Towards the back of the house was the kitchen, adjacent to the courtyard to allow ventilation.⁷ Instead of an interior courtyard, rural homes featured a covered veranda along at least one exterior wall.⁸ A surviving example of a rural home is that of Jose Aires Gomes, one of the men tried for the *Inconfidência Mineira* (fig. 8). He was of a similar socioeconomic status to the Oliveira Pintos, and his home may have been similar to some of the family's rural homes.

⁶ Brazilian domestic architecture was similar to that in Portugal. For a general overview of early modern Portuguese domestic architecture, see Drumond Braga, *Bens de Hereges*, 93-4.

⁷ J. Wasth Rodrigues, "A Casa de Moradia no Brasil Antigo," *RSPHAN* 9 (1945): 170-1; Robert C. Smith, "Arquitetura Civil do Período Colonial," *RSPHAN* 17 (1969): 48-54, 92-3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 57-8, 66.

The surviving eighteenth-century houses near the cathedral in Mariana demonstrate that urban homes could be architecturally ornate, with carved stone and jacarandá wood ornamenting the balconies, and door and window frames. Rural homes typically featured less architectural ornamentation. The interior walls and ceilings of colonial homes have typically been reworked in the past centuries. Only a small number of domestic ceiling paintings have survived. Therefore, information about the decoration of interiors is extracted from early nineteenth-century travel accounts, which are generally critical of the Portuguese approach to interior ornament. Overall, colonial Brazilian interiors appear to have had relatively little ornamentation compared to English or French homes. Despite their white walls, the homes of the wealthy often contained brightly colored doorways and window frames. Ceilings were often decorated with roccailles, floral designs, and occasionally figurative scenes.⁹

Mariana and João's Estate in 1748

At the time of Mariana Correia de Oliveira's death at age thirty-eight, João Pinto Alvares was around fifty years of age and can be considered to have been mid-career. He had not yet attained many of the honors that he would acquire by the time of his death twenty-six years later. In 1748 he had not yet become a member of the Order of Christ nor the Prior of the Third Order of Our Lady of Carmel which had yet to be established in Vila do Carmo. João was simply a mine owner with the title of captain who was significantly wealthier than most other individuals in the area.

⁹ On the decoration of interiors, see *ibid.*, 111-115.

The family's sole residence was located on the Morro Santo Antonio adjacent to the family's mining land.¹⁰ The couple had eleven living children, only three of whom were living with their parents: the seventeen-year-old Maria, seven-year-old Jose, and the infant Angelica. Angelica likely spent most of her time in the slave quarters with the woman who nursed and cared for her.¹¹ At this date, the family estate solely involved mining without any agricultural work. Mariana and João did not own any tools other than those used for mining. Their tools consisted of thirty-three levers and twenty-four hoes for mining.¹² A copper scale was used to weigh the gold. The family owned eighty-six slaves, most of whom were occupied with mining. Sixty-two of the slaves were natives of the *Costa da Mina*, and were, thus, considered to be naturally skilled miners. The remaining slaves were mostly mulattos and creoles born within Minas Gerais, and a small number of individuals were listed as from Benguela, Angola, Congo, and Cape Verde.¹³

¹⁰ The following information is drawn from Mariana's post-mortem inventory, transcribed in Manuscript Transcriptions, 387-95.

¹¹ On the typical treatment of infants and children in the early modern period, see Stephanie R. Miller, "Parenting in the Palazzo: Images and Artifacts of Children in the Italian Renaissance Home," in *The Early Modern Italian Domestic Interior, 1400-1700 Objects, Spaces, Domesticities*, ed. Erin J. Campbell, Stephanie R. Miller, and Elizabeth Carroll Consavari (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 68-75; Silva, *Vida Privada e Quotidiano no Brasil*, 13-29.

¹² Rather than hoes used for agriculture, the hoes are *almocafres*, a type used for mining. See descriptions of mining by Antonil and Johann Moritz Rugendas in Ernani Silva Bruno, *Equipamentos, Usos e Costumes da Casa Brasileira: Equipamentos* (São Paulo: USP, 2000), 20-21.

¹³ While Benguela was part of the colony of Angola, the generic term Angola may refer to slaves that left Africa from Luanda.

Some of these slaves had special skills that allowed them to abstain from working in the mines. Antonia, a twenty-four-year-old creole woman, and the twelve-year-old mulatta Ignes were seamstresses; the eleven-year-old mulatto Manoel was apprenticing to become a tailor. Francisco, a forty-year-old mulatto, was a shoemaker. The thirteen-year-old mulatto Gonçallo was a barber and Domingos, aged thirty from the *Costa da Mina*, was a barber and bloodletter. None of these individuals' professions provided a significant amount of revenue, and these slaves performed their services primarily or exclusively for members of the family. These slaves were tasked with ensuring that the Oliveira Pintos were well-dressed and groomed.

The inventory reveals that the family enjoyed European cuisine. According to travel accounts, having access to typical European foods was crucial for sophisticated and respectable living. Mariana's inventory includes numerous copper cooking vessels, including five cake pans and six pans for making meat pies.¹⁴ In addition, the family owned an old, copper chocolate pot (fig. 9).¹⁵ These instruments allowed them to partake of meals similar to those enjoyed in Europe, and to indulge in the stimulating and highly fashionable chocolate beverage. Dishes involving significant amounts of wheat flour, needed for cakes and pies, were highly prized in Brazil where wheat was not cultivated in any significant quantities, and was thus an expensive

¹⁴ The family likely also possessed other wood and clay vessels for food preparation which were omitted from the inventory due to insignificant monetary value. For a discussion of the scarcity of kitchen utensils in inventories, see Drumond Braga, *Bens de Hereges*, 167-8.

¹⁵ See the Glossary for translations and definitions of common terms found in the inventories. When the meaning of a term is uncertain or disputed, the various definitions are discussed in the footnotes of this chapter. Otherwise, the sources used for the definitions are included solely in the Glossary.

import.¹⁶ Mariana and João's ownership of such a number of cake and pie pans suggests that they were able to entertain distinguished guests with traditional Portuguese cuisine.

The family was able to hold both simple meals and formal dinners. During informal family meals, they could eat from pewter plates. Following the meal, they washed their hands with a pewter basin and ewer, and dried them on simple linen towels. Informal meals were probably consumed while sitting on the floor on mats, cushions, or low stools. For more formal dinners, instead, family and guests sat at a table. The inventory lists three tables, all with drawers, locks and keys. One was a simple, rustic table, while the other two were nicer and were described as *bufetes*. All three tables were of similar sizes and were probably moved throughout the home to serve various functions.

Although a *bofete* or *bufete* can refer to a, frequently multi-tiered, sideboard or credenza used for display, in the Portuguese and Brazilian context, *bufete* more often referred to a single-tiered table, often with drawers, that was used for a variety of purposes.¹⁷ Mariana and João's *bufetes* are specifically described as having only one

¹⁶ When the governor of the captaincy of São Paulo and Minas Gerais, Pedro Miguel de Almeida Portugal, arrived in 1717 in Rio de Janeiro and embarked on the journey to the regions under his administration, his anonymous chronicler noted the scarcity of wheat flour throughout their travels. "Diario da Jornada, que fes o Exm.o Senhor dom Pedro desde o Rio de Janeiro até a Cid.e de São Paulo, e desta athe as Minas no anno de 1717," *Revista do Patrimônio Histórico Nacional* 3 (1939): 296. John Luccock, traveling through Brazil from 1808 to 1818, remarked on the scarcity of bread and the use, instead, of manioc flour. Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro*, 121. Portugal did not produce enough wheat for local consumption or for its overseas territories, and wheat was a major import into Portugal.

¹⁷ *Bofete* or *bufete* derives from the French term for a sideboard or credenza. In Portuguese this type of furniture was also described as an *aparador*. On the display

tier. Thus, the family's *bufetes* could be used as writing surfaces and places to store important documents, as well as dining tables. One *bufete* was made of ordinary wood and did not feature any decorative carving, while the other had turned legs and was made of *vinhático*, a yellow wood native to Brazil that was quite desirable for furniture-making (fig. 10).¹⁸

The tabletops were each about forty-eight by twenty-four inches in dimension, allowing no more than six individuals to sit at each. During formal meals, the *vinhático* table could have been used along with the six hide-covered chairs. The table would have been covered with one of the patterned linen tablecloths from Guimarães, Portugal, and matching napkins allowed guests to clean their hands and faces. Diners ate with silver spoons, forks, and knives from porcelain plates and bowls, especially small, shallow bowls called nappies.¹⁹ Foods were served in a silver tureen and in two

and preparation of foods for formal dining on sideboards, see Thomas Rudi, *Augenlust und Gaumenfreude: Fayence-Geschirre des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, 1998), 8. An *aparador* or *bufete* could also be used for display of silver, ceramics, and other valuables, not tied to dining. For a definition of *aparador* that refers to a display for ceramics and silver, see Maria da Conceição Borges de Sousa, and Celina Bastos, *Normas de Inventário: Artes Plásticas e Artes Decorativas: Mobiliário* (Instituto Português de Museus, 2004), 73. For a definition as a single-tiered table, see Moraes, *Dicionário*, Vol. 1, 201. Bluteau's definition does not reference a sideboard, and merely indicates that a *bofete* is a table for writing and counting money. Raphael Bluteau, *Vocabulário Portuguez & Latino*, Vol. 2 (Lisbon: Pascoal da Sylva, 1712), B 141. For a description of the *bufete* as a table with drawers, see Sousa and Bastos, *Normas de Inventário*, 73-4.

¹⁸ On Brazilian woods desirable for carpentry, see Drumond Braga, *Bens de Hereges*, 130-1.

¹⁹ A nappy is called *prato de guardanapo* in Portuguese. The family owned sixty-six porcelain nappies, and John Luccock writes that food was "eaten from small Lisbonian plates" likely referring to nappies. Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro*, 121.

large, fine porcelain tureens (fig. 11). Wine was likely served from a silver cup, elegantly displayed on a silver salver (fig. 12).²⁰ Tea and chocolate were drunk from the appropriate porcelain cups and saucers.

After dinner, teeth could be cleaned with the gold toothpick housed in a gold case. A slave would have offered each diner the opportunity to wash their hands from the gilded porcelain ewer and basin, and to dry their hands on one of five lace-edged britannias towels. Britannias, *Bretanha* in Portuguese, refers to a fine linen cloth originally made in Brittany, France. The name came to be applied to imitations produced in other regions of Europe, such as Scotland, Saxony, and Silesia.²¹ The britannias towels owned by Mariana and João were presumably of higher quality, and greater prestige, than the less expensive Portuguese Guimarães tablecloth. The lace edging added considerable value, and may have been either imported or made locally.

When not dining, the tables could be used for business purposes, as writing surfaces and surfaces for weighing gold. The locked drawers could guard documents and precious belongings, such as jewelry. Other belongings were stored in chests. Mariana and João's chests were quite nice. They owned two locked chests, one large and one small, both covered in Russia leather, a specific type of leather produced

²⁰ For a brief discussion of salvers, see Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín eds., *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 217.

²¹ Florence M. Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870: A Dictionary Based on Original Documents, Prints and Paintings, Commercial Records, American Merchant's Papers, Shopkeepers' Advertisements, and Pattern Books with Original Swatches of Cloth* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007), 177. Moraes defines *Bretanha* as "linen cloth of fine linen, that was brought from Brittany." The use of the past tense further suggests that the term was by this time applied to textiles produced outside of Brittany. Moraes, *Diccionario*, Vol. 1, 197.

solely in Russia (fig. 13).²² They also possessed a highly decorative *vinhático* chest with turned jacarandá feet, and jacarandá moldings.

As was common in the Iberian world, women of the family and female guests typically engaged in leisure activities while seated on the floor. Mariana's inventory lists four large and four small britannias-covered pillows decorated with lace that were likely used as seats. In addition, the family owned eight low stools covered in hide.

Mariana and João's state bed was composed of an expensive and ornate turned jacarandá bedstead covered with yellow damask curtains and a matching quilt (figs. 14-16). The quilt was further adorned with striped fringe and lined with fine blue silk. The couple owned a considerable number of linen sheets, including eight sheets of britannias with lace edges. As was customary with the state bed, Mariana and João's bed richly displayed their socioeconomic status to guests, and served as an honorary seat during social visits. At night, the couple could use one of the copper chamber pots and keep a candle lit in the silver candlestick. During cold winters, sleeping family members could use the two fulled wool blankets. Both were ornamented with a patterned design, one with large motifs, and the other small motifs. In addition, the family owned a second quilt that was warmer than the damask quilt matching the bed curtains. The quilt was made of brocatelle and was lined in bay. In English and Spanish, brocatelle refers to a brocaded fabric that can contain numerous fibers.²³

²² The methods for making Russia leather were not known in Europe, and Moraes' definition of *moscovia*, "tooled leather of purple color, that comes from Moscow," implies that imitations were not given the same name. Moraes, *Diccionario*, Vol. 2, 99.

²³ Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 179; Carlos F. Duarte, *Patrimonio Hispánico Venezolano Perdido: Con un Apéndice sobre el Arte de la Sastería* (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 2002), 388.

However, both Rafael Bluteau and Antonio de Moraes Silva, lexicographers who published Portuguese dictionaries in the eighteenth century, describe brocatelle as cloth containing silk and silver.²⁴ Mariana's quilt is not particularly expensive suggesting that it does not contain silver, and may not be silk. The bay lining is a worsted and woolen cloth, making this quilt suitable for cold temperatures.²⁵ The bay may have been woven in Portugal, but it was more likely produced in England.²⁶

While João's clothing is not included in Mariana's inventory, he may have used some of the gold buttons, buckles, and rings that were listed. The inventory of gold adornments is quite long and contains a wide variety of objects, mostly made of local gold and diamonds. Several pieces of jewelry featured religious imagery. The couple owned two crosses with diamonds on the arms, a diamond cross with pendants, a gold crucifix, a pendant containing the text of a short prayer, five gold pendants of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, one of Saint Goncalo, and a pair of buttons containing an icon of Saint Benedict.²⁷ Some of the figurines of saints are described as

²⁴ Bluteau, *Vocabulario*, Vol. 2, B 197; Moraes, *Diccionario*, Vol. 1, 199.

²⁵ Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 159-160.

²⁶ There are many historical references to the exportation of English bay to Portugal. See for instance, *ibid.*, 159; Fisher, *The Portugal Trade*, fig. 2.

²⁷ The pendant with the prayer is described as a "Caxilho de ouro de breve de marca..." Mariana Correia de Oliveira's inventory, f. 4v. The definition for a *breve da marca* is not included in any of the eighteenth-century dictionaries. However, a posthumous edition of Moraes' dictionary describes it as a paper with prayers, often used as the cover for relics. Antonio de Moraes Silva, *Diccionario da Lingua Portuguesa*, Vol. 1 (Lisbon: Impressão Regia, 1831), 295. The buttons are described as displaying "a veronica of Saint Benedict." Mariana Correia de Oliveira's inventory, f. 5r.

hanging from gold chains, and the others were likely also pendants. These small, precious objects are the only overtly religious artworks that the family listed in the inventory. As was common in Brazil, Mariana owned numerous gold chains to be worn around the neck, with or without pendants. In addition, Mariana could wear a pair of gold buttons on her skirt, and gold buckles on her shoes. Mariana's gold and diamond *rosicler* was a roughly triangular ornament worn either on the hair, bodice or neck (fig. 17).²⁸ Mariana owned two pairs of gold and diamond hoop earrings, and three pairs of pendant diamond earrings.

In addition to the many diamonds, the family owned a few pieces of jewelry embellished with other local stones. The inventory lists six pairs of buttons of crystal set into gold mounts. Mariana and João owned two gold rings, likely both made locally since they are described as rustic. One contained one red stone and two white stones, while the other included three stones from Itatiaia, a small town west of Vila Rica. Mariana also owned a pair of earrings each with two stones from Itatiaia. Since the soil of Minas Gerais contains a great mineralogical diversity, stones from Itatiaia could be any number of stones, and probably refer to any type of stone found in that location rather than one specific variety. The most likely possibility may be that the stones from Itatiaia were tourmalines, a stone that appears in a wide variety of colors. An important mine of high quality purple tourmalines was encountered in Itatiaia in

²⁸ Bluteau defines *rosicler* as a decoration of the head, while Moraes indicates that it was for the neck, likely reflecting changes in fashion and language throughout the century. Bluteau, *Vocabulario*, Vol. 7, R 380; Moraes, *Diccionario*, Vol. 2, 357. Vieyra defines *rosicler* as “a sort of ornament for women, made of many bobs or drops.” Anthony Vieyra Transtagano, *A Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages, in two Parts, Portuguese and English: and English and Portuguese*, Vol. 1 (London: J. Nourse, 1773), unpaginated.

1978 and pockets of similar stone may have been available in the eighteenth century (fig. 18).²⁹ The only record that I have found that indicates the color of an Itatiaia stone is the listing of a ring with a yellow Itatiaia stone in João Ferreira Almada's inventory in 1769.³⁰ While this could be yellow tourmaline, the 1978 mine in Itatiaia contained some yellow fluorapatite and yellow sericite, as well as many other types of stones.³¹ In addition to being incorporated into local jewelry, Itatiaia stones were exported to Portugal.³²

Some of Mariana's pieces of jewelry incorporated seed pearls and coral, materials foreign to Brazil. She owned seven pieces of red coral threaded onto gold wire.³³ In addition, she possessed several strings of seed pearls, two with small seed pearls strung onto gold wires, one with both large and small seed pearls, and two with small seed pearls encased in gold beads.³⁴ Mariana further owned two pairs of gold

²⁹ On the 1978 mine, see Wendell E. Wilson, "The Jonas Mine: Itatiaia, Minas Gerais, Brazil," *The Mineralogical Record* 43 (2012): 289-317.

³⁰ João Ferreira Almada's inventory. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 418-23.

³¹ Wilson, "The Jonas Mine," 316.

³² In 1737 stones from Itatiaia were recorded as being sold in Rio de Janeiro. Pereira, "Das Minas a Corte, de Caixeiro a Contratador", 73; Pereira, "Um Mercador de Vila Rica," 25. In 1753, a merchant's account book recorded Itatiaia stones for export to Portugal. Borrador de Contas Particulares de João de Souza Lisboa, 1748-1755, CC-2033, APM.

³³ The coral is described as "*coral macho*," which refers to the belief that coral becomes redder when worn by men. Bluteau, *Vocabulario*, Vol. 2, C 542-3.

³⁴ The pearls are described as "entre-cachados com continhas de ouro." Bluteau and Moraes define *cachado* as covered. Bluteau, *Vocabulario*, Vol. 2, C 25; Moraes, *Diccionario*, Vol. 1, 208.

earrings with seed pearls and green enamel. Both pearls and coral were available in waters near Portuguese territories. Red coral was acquired in the western Mediterranean, while India's southeastern coast was a well-known source of pearls.³⁵

While Mariana's jewelry was mostly composed of local gold, likely much of it manufactured locally, her clothing was all imported. The pieces of clothing in the inventory are fairly few in number. Although Mariana must have worn a chemise, none are listed. However, two linen under-petticoats are included. The outer layers of clothing are predominantly made of luxurious materials. Mariana owned four petticoats. In addition to the yellow silk petticoat, the green velvet petticoat was likely made of silk, possibly from Italy. Another petticoat is listed as made of serge, a twill fabric that could be composed of either wool or silk. The last petticoat was made of camlet, a fine plain weave that, according to Florence Montgomery, can contain wool, silk, linen, or goat hair.³⁶ Eighteenth-century Portuguese sources tie camlet primarily to camel hair, as well as silk, wool, and goat hair.³⁷ Both the Portuguese sources and Montgomery's many references often describe camlet as watered, a finishing

³⁵ Gedalia Yogev, *Diamonds and Coral: Anglo-Dutch Jews and Eighteenth-Century Trade* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1978), 103-4; Molly A. Warsh, "Adorning Empire: A History of the Early Modern Pearl Trade, 1492-1688," (Ph.D. diss, Johns Hopkins University, 2009), 13-14.

³⁶ Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 188-9. The 1837 edition of Vieyra's dictionary translates *camelão* as camlet. Antonio Vieyra and J. P. Aillaud, *Novo Dicionario Portatil das Linguas Portuguesa e Ingleza*, Vol. I (Paris: J. P. Aillaud, 1837), 87.

³⁷ In Portuguese, camlet is termed *camelão* or *chamalote*. Moraes, *Diccionario*, Vol. 1, 260; Bluteau, *Vocabulario*, Vol. 2, C 268. In the entry for *chamalote*, Vieyra describes camlet as "a sort of stuff, partly silk, and partly camel's hair." Vieyra, *A Dictionary*, Vol. 2.

technique that produces an irregular waving pattern across the fabric. Regardless of the fiber used, Mariana's petticoat was probably made of a fine plain weave with considerable sheen. Mariana could have worn these petticoats with a sleeveless silk waistcoat. For women, a waistcoat was a fitted bodice with or without sleeves, also called a jacket (fig. 19).

In addition, Mariana owned a complete riding suit. Women's riding suits emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century and were composed of a safeguard (an outer skirt to protect the petticoat underneath), a waistcoat, and a coat reminiscent of men's coats (fig. 20).³⁸ Mariana's riding suit appears to contain these three elements. The safeguard and coat were made of blue fabric while the waistcoat was dark and adorned with gold thread. As this riding suit indicates, both Mariana and João made use of their horse for transportation.³⁹ The horse is the only animal listed in the inventory. An alternative mode of transportation was the hammock carried by slaves. The couple owned a hammock made of multi-colored bay. The hammock was suspended from a bamboo pole imported from Angola, and was held in place on the pole with turned ivory pins. Narrow rugs were hung over the pole to provide privacy.

Overall, Mariana and João's possessions were quite traditional. Their furnishings were few and limited to pieces that could serve multiple functions. They did not own any cotton, and their wealth was largely displayed through silver, gold,

³⁸ Kathleen A. Staples, and Madelyn Shaw, *Clothing through American History: The British Colonial Era* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2013), 244-5.

³⁹ Eschwege remarked that horseback riding was popular in Minas Gerais and even women learned to ride at a young age. Eschwege, *Journal von Brasilien*, part 2, 120. John Luccock also described *mineiro* women traveling on horseback. Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro*, 516.

and jewels, objects that can become family heirlooms or be used as currency. The exception is their substantial collection of porcelain, a testament to their sophistication. Such conservative tastes are appropriate to a couple whose parents were not wealthy. The types of goods that Mariana acquired were the luxuries that her parents aspired to own, but could not have afforded. Mariana had never visited Portugal and João had not returned to Europe since moving to Brazil as a child. His childhood memories of Portugal stem from a time before many of the changes in fashion that are reflected in subsequent inventories of Minas Gerais had occurred. It is quite likely that João acquired many more modern and fashionable possessions in the last decades of his life when his appearance and home needed to correspond to his noble position.

Francisca and Antonio's Household in 1754

Although Francisca Pinta de Oliveira passed away only seven years after her mother's death, the belongings of Antonio Duarte and Francisca are less traditional than those of the previous generation.⁴⁰ Antonio Duarte had been a member of the nobility for some time, as he was a member of the Order of Christ and the Order of the Holy Office. He was more formally educated, having been licensed in surgery at Coimbra. Moreover, Francisca was only twenty-eight-years-of-age at the time of her death. As part of a younger generation, she may have been more interested in newer trends.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Although Francisca's inventory was taken in 1754, she died in September 1753. Francisca Pinta de Oliveira's inventory. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 395-401.

⁴¹ On the other hand, Antonio Duarte was two years older than his father-in-law, assuming that João stated his age accurately at the time of his marriage.

The couple may have visited Portugal after 1746, where they could have learned of innovations in furnishings and clothing.

Francisca and Antonio owned a single residence on the Morro Santo Antonio. At the time of Francisca's death, the couple had seven children, all of whom were minors. The inventory does not indicate whether any children were being educated outside of the family home. The main industry that appears on Antonio and Francisca's estate was gold mining. Their mining lands were adjacent to the river in the valley near the village of Passagem rather than on top of the mountain near their home. The four troughs, mining hoes, and sixteen bateas listed in the inventory were used for gold mining, and of the forty-seven slaves, only seven were not from the *Costa da Mina*.

Unlike Mariana's inventory, Francisca's does not designate the occupation of any of the slaves listed. Nevertheless, the tools that the couple owned indicate that in addition to gold mining, other types of labor were performed on the estate. These other tools could have served various functions, but it appears that some of the slaves were employed in construction, involving the cutting of stone and shaping of timber. While these tools may have been left from the construction of buildings on the family estate, the family may have earned a portion of their fortune by contributing to other building projects. Francisca and Antonio possessed twenty-five sledgehammers for breaking stone, seventeen levers, three large and five small mallets, seven drills, two pestles, four wedges, two heavily-used hoes, three adzes, two heavily-used axes, a hand saw, and thirty-six stamps.⁴² The description of their mining land affirms that the property

⁴² An adze is a cutting tool for shaping wood. The inventory appears to list thirty-six *carumbos*. Today, *carimbo* refers to a stamp or seal; however, neither *carumbo* nor *carimbo* are listed in eighteenth-century dictionaries.

included a quarry, and attests to the division of labor on the estate. In addition to slave quarters, the property contained a ranch to house the supervisors of the slaves' work. Material evidence of physical coercion is found in the pole to which slaves were tied, and a chain with six collars.

Unlike her parents, Francisca's kitchen utensils were simpler, merely consisting of some copper cooking pots. The only items that indicate what type of food was prepared are the three chocolate pots. The family's ownership of three pots for making chocolate further supports the popularity of this prestigious and comforting drink. In addition to food preparation, the inventory includes items for storing goods. They owned three large chests used for food storage, and possessed a box containing ten bottles. These may have been used for storing imported liquids such as wine, olive oil, or vinegar.

Like Mariana and João, Antonio and Francisca used pewter plates, and a pewter basin and ewer to wash their hands at informal family meals. More formal dinners were taken at the three jacarandá *bufetes*, which were likely joined to produce a larger surface. Although the couple did not own any chairs, there were ample options for seating. They owned four simple stools and eight decoratively turned stools made of dark wood. Lastly, the inventory includes five benches, one with a backrest (fig. 21).

The tables could be covered with the Guimaraes tablecloth and matching napkins. On special occasions, a lace-trimmed cambric tablecloth could instead be used. Cambric was a very fine linen cloth produced in the Flemish town of Cambray, now located in France. Like her parents, Francisca owned silver forks, spoons, knives, and a silver cup and salver set. In addition, Antonio and Francisca possessed a silver

cruet set that included a saltcellar. Francisca and Antonio's porcelain collection was smaller and less impressive than Mariana and João's. However, their porcelain table service of large and small plates was unusual at this time, and they owned two gilded bowls with lids. Two of their porcelain pieces may have been decorative figurines rather than functional objects. In addition to porcelain, the couple owned a glass cup and a white stoneware cup. Although salt-glazed stoneware was originally invented in the German states, England had become a major exporter of white stoneware and Francisca's cup was mostly likely English (fig. 22).⁴³ The stoneware cup is given the same value as each of the porcelain bowls with lids, suggesting that it was of considerable quality and that English wares were more expensive than goods imported from within the Portuguese empire.

The state bed was surrounded by linen curtains ornamented with fringe. The family owned quite a bit of bedding, such as four linen sheets and seven burlap sheets. The state bed was likely outfitted with the four britannias sheets with lace trim listed in the inventory. The couple owned two quilts, one an expensive crimson damask with striped fringe and tassels, and the other of brocatelle lined with bay, the same description as in Mariana's inventory. Francisca therefore may have been using the same quilt previously in the possession of her parents.⁴⁴ In addition, the couple owned five wool blankets. The inventory lists numerous pillowcases, for use either on beds or

⁴³ On British salt-glazed stoneware, see Diana Edwards, and Rodney Hampson, *White Salt-Glazed Stoneware of the British Isles* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 2005).

⁴⁴ Although in Mariana's inventory the brocatelle quilt was described as used while in Francisca's it was not, the two were assigned the same monetary evaluation, four *oitavas* being equivalent to 4,800 *reis*.

as seating on the floor. Francisca owned twelve small and twelve large linen pillowcases, as well as two small and two large britannias pillowcases with lace trim.

Antonio and Francisca owned a larger quantity of furniture than listed in Mariana's inventory. In addition to the state bed, their home contained a smaller turned bedstead made of black wood. They also owned two leather *preguiceiros*, day beds used for napping after dinner during the hottest part of the day (fig. 23). Along with the typical storage boxes and chests, the couple owned an ornately turned round jacarandá table that may have been used for serving tea and chocolate. Although the family owned eighty-six books, primarily related to Antonio's profession as a surgeon, as well as a few religious texts, no bookcase is listed in the inventory.

As with the previous inventory, Antonio Duarte's clothing is not included. However, at least one piece of jewelry belonged to him. The inventory lists a quite expensive gold chain with five insignias of nobility. In addition, either he or Francisca could have worn the pair of gold buckles, the five pairs of gold buttons, the five pairs of buttons with Itatiaia stones, the two diamond rings, and the two rings with Itatiaia stones. Francisca could have worn the eight gold chains, the four pairs of diamond earrings, and the three diamond *rosiclers*. The only religious item listed was an expensive gold rosary. However, religious texts or images could have been inserted into the two *caixilhos*, small gold frames hanging on chains. Mariana and João's *caixilho* contained a religious text.

Like her mother, Francisca owned numerous jewelry pieces containing coral and seed pearls. She had three pairs of diamond and seed pearl earrings, three strands of small seed pearls, a necklace composed of four strands of seed pearls, and five coral bracelets. In addition to pearls and coral, she owned three strands of silver and gold

beads. Francisca's wardrobe was much more extensive than her mother's, though. Francisca possessed six expensive and richly adorned petticoats, one of black velvet, another of embroidered black velvet, one of yellow velvet, one of crimson silk, one blue with trim, and one of *galas*, a rich silk used for courtly dresses. The *galas* may have been brocade or damask from Portugal, France, or China. The blue petticoat may have had a matching bodice and jacket.⁴⁵ In addition, Francisca owned a tissue bodice, a luxury fabric often embroidered or brocaded with gold and silver threads. Finally, she possessed a jacket of green velvet with lace trim and a *galas* jacket, possibly to be worn with the *galas* petticoat.

The inventory further lists numerous elegant mantles and capes to be worn for warmth in the winter and for adornment in the summer.⁴⁶ Francisca owned one cape of blue silk with trim, an embroidered cape, and an off-white cape. Her two mantles made of *lustro* were draped over the head rather than tied around the shoulders. *Lustro* translates to luster, and was probably a highly lustrous fabric made of silk, worsted wool, or both.⁴⁷ Worsted wool refers to a method of preparation and spinning of the wool fibers that produces a smooth yarn. England was famed for producing extraordinarily lustrous and fine worsted wool textiles, the result not only of the

⁴⁵ Following the petticoat, are listed "a jacket and bodice of the same," either indicating that the jacket and bodice match one another, or are of the same fabric as the petticoat. Francisca Pinta de Oliveira's inventory, f. 12v.

⁴⁶ Bluteau specifies these functions in his definition of *capa*. Bluteau, *Vocabulario*, Vol. 2, C 117.

⁴⁷ Unfortunately, Bluteau, Moraes, and Vieyra do not offer a definition for *lustro*. In English in the early nineteenth century "luster" referred to a lustrous fabric made of silk and worsted wool. Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 282.

production method, but also of the characteristics of the breeds of sheep employed and the finishing techniques.

Francisca and Antonio's luxurious appearance would have been enhanced by their chosen mode of transportation. Their horse was elegantly outfitted with a saddle, bridle, and a horsecloth decorated with trim. In addition, the couple owned two pairs of silver spurs, one for boots and one for shoes. Like Mariana and João, Antonio and Francisca also had the option of being carried in a hammock. Francisca's inventory lists a hammock with all its trappings, likely referring to the pole from which it was suspended, and probably curtains and cushions. The couple owned a second blue hammock with trim that was not hanging from a pole at the time of Francisca's death. The two hammocks may have shared a single pole. The rug listed between the two hammocks was probably draped over the hammock's pole. In addition to hammocks, Antonio and Francisca owned a sedan chair, quite a rare possession in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais. Brazilian sedan chairs were typically of a different form than their European counterparts. Instead of an enclosed wooden structure, the Brazilian variety was composed of a small chair attached to a platform and surrounded by curtains (fig. 24). Since Francisca and Antonio's sedan chair was listed with the textiles rather than furnishings, it was most likely of the Brazilian type. The wooden portions of Francisca and Antonio's sedan chair were gilded.

The State of Antonio Duarte's property in 1772

Luckily, Antonio Duarte's post-mortem inventory also survives, offering a glimpse of the changes to the family's estate by the time of his death at the age of seventy-six.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Antonio Duarte's inventory. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 402-10.

Since his wife's Antonio's finances had become considerably more complicated since his wife's death. A large portion of the lands, slaves, and tools were co-owned with his daughter Mariana Rosa Clara de Oliveira, likely the result of a business partnership with her late husband João Ferreira Almada. Another section of mining land belonged to Antonio Duarte, his daughter Mariana, Antonio dos Santos, and Jose Ribeiro Forte.

Antonio lived in, and was the sole owner of, a two-story house located on the "small mountain" of Passagem, which appears to be the Morro Santo Antonio.⁴⁹ The yard was surrounded by a stone wall, and the property contained banana and citrus orchards, a stable, and slave quarters. Among the property that he shared with his daughter were further slave quarters on the Morro Santo Antonio, in all likelihood to house slaves occupied with mining, and two farms used for mining and agriculture. The family's agricultural activities not only allowed them to be self-sufficient, but also enabled them to profit from the sale of foods and other agricultural products. At the time of his death, the barn contained a significant quantity of beans and rice. In addition to mules and oxen, Antonio owned sixty pigs.

Not only the real estate, but also the portable possessions of the family had changed in the eighteen years since Francisca's inventory. Since Antonio no longer shared his residence with a wife and children, all clothing and jewelry included in the inventory was presumably his personal property, providing a clearer understanding of the splendorous appearance of noblemen in Minas Gerais. Antonio owned a gold medal of the Order of the Holy Office, and five insignias of the Order of Christ, all of gold: One with red and white enamel, another with diamonds and enamel, a small

⁴⁹ Another listing in the same inventory describes a mine "located on the Morro Santo Antonio on the small mountain of Passagem."

insignia on a gold chain, a small gold cross, and an enameled “veronica” of the order of Christ (fig. 25).

Antonio had an extensive wardrobe with all kinds of accessories and ornaments. He owned four shirts made of *esguião*, a fine linen fabric, possibly from Ireland.⁵⁰ These shirts had decorative cambric cuffs. Antonio owned a black velvet coat with matching breeches and an offwhite, sleeveless waistcoat made of *melania*, which was either mohair or the less expensive imitation, moreen (fig. 26). He owned another suit containing a blue coat, and yellow waistcoat and breeches, all made of *canga*. *Canga* is a variant of the word *ganga*, an Indian cotton typically yellow, blue or black in color.⁵¹ Antonio owned a second pair of yellow *canga* breeches, this time paired with a blue drugget waistcoat. Drugget was a lightweight wool cloth, sometimes containing silk or linen. Antonio’s wardrobe included three used linen *jalecos*, which Antonio Vieyra, the author of an eighteenth-century English-Portuguese dictionary, defines as a type of doublet typically worn in winter.⁵²

While at home, Antonio wore a pair of slippers, and on the streets shoes with silver buckles. Antonio was well groomed, owning two wigs, a small mirror, and a lace-edged *penteador*, a cape used to cover the torso while combing one’s hair. His

⁵⁰ Vieyra defines *esguião* as “Irish linens.” Vieyra, *A Dictionary*, Vol I. Bluteau reinforces that the cloth originated from the North of Europe. Rafael Bluteau, *Supplemento ao Vocabulario Portuguez, e Latino*, Vol. 1 (Lisbon: Joseph Antonio da Sylva, 1727), 398.

⁵¹ Gracinéa Imaculada Oliveira, “Estudo do Vocabulário em Documentos Setecentistas de Minas Gerais,” (Master’s thesis, Universidade Federal do Estado de Minas Gerais, 2010), 100; Moraes, *Diccionario*, Vol. 1, 651.

⁵² Vieyra, *A Dictionary*, Vol. 1.

appearance was completed with a cravat either with ruffles or lace, or a simpler, pleated stock (fig. 27). He owned a dozen such neckties made of cambric and fastened the stocks at the back of the neck with a gold or silver buckle. To further mark his body as noble, he owned two bamboo canes with silver crooks, and a silver rapier. Finally, the inventory lists several ribbons and other trims. These would have been used for the adornment of Antonio's clothing and other textiles within his home. Examples of trims popular among consumers in the Portuguese world in the eighteenth century can be seen in figure 28.

While Francisca's inventory listed eighty-six books, in 1772 Antonio only owned forty-nine books. Fortunately, they are individually listed in Antonio's inventory, providing some information about the titles and authors. While several of the entries were too vague to allow for identification, I was able to find probable matches for numerous descriptions. Among the texts that were identifiable, Antonio primarily owned books related to his profession as a surgeon. Original texts by Portuguese authors include one volume of Manoel da Costa Monteyro's *Opusculo Chirurgico* from 1712,⁵³ one volume of Feliciano de Almeida's *Cirurgia Reformada*,⁵⁴ and a copy of *Madeyra Illustrado*, an illustrated edition of Duarte Madeyra Arraez' *Methodo de Conhecer, e Curar o Morbo Gallico*.⁵⁵ Antonio further owned a copy of

⁵³ Manoel da Costa Monteyro, *Opusculo Chirurgico* (Lisbon: Antonio Pedrozo Galraõ, 1712).

⁵⁴ Feliciano de Almeida, *Cirurgia Reformada Dividida em dous Tomos* (Lisbon: Officina Real Deslandesiana, 1715), republished in 1738.

⁵⁵ Duarte Madeyra Arraez, *Methodo de Conhecer, e Curar o Morbo Gallico* (Lisbon: Lourenço de Anueres, 1642). The illustrated editions were published in 1715 and 1751.

Manuel da Sylva Leitão's 1738 text, *Arte com Vida, ou Vida com Arte*, a book about hygiene and nutrition aimed at doctors, surgeons, and the general public, particularly newly-weds.⁵⁶

Antonio Duarte possessed numerous foreign texts and Portuguese translations of foreign texts, such as the first volume of an edition of the Italian doctor Giovanni da Vigo's 1514 text *Practica in Arte Chirurgica Copiosa*;⁵⁷ Jose Ferreira's *Cirurgia Medico-Pharmaceutica*, a 1740 publication based on the work of the German physician Georg Ernst Stahl;⁵⁸ a Spanish translation of a Latin text by the Italian scholar Bernardino Genga on the writings of the ancient Greek physician Hippocrates;⁵⁹ and the second volume of *Tratado das mais Frequentes Enfermidades*, a Portuguese translation of a French text by Jean-Adrien Helvétius.⁶⁰

Several of the descriptions in the inventory list the author but do not provide sufficient information about the specific texts under consideration to allow identification. Antonio owned one book by João Cardoso de Miranda, a contemporary

⁵⁶ Manuel da Sylva Leitão, *Arte com Vida, ou Vida com Arte* (Lisbon: Antonio Pedrozo Galraão, 1738).

⁵⁷ Giovanni da Vigo, *Practica in Arte Chirurgica Copiosa* (Rome: S. Guillireti and H. Bononiensem, 1514). Antonio Duarte may have owned the Portuguese translation of the text, Joam de Vigo and Joseph Ferreyra de Moura, *Syntagma Chirurgico Theorico-Practico* (Lisbon: Officina Real Deslandesiana, 1713).

⁵⁸ Jose Ferreira, *Cirurgia Medico-Pharmaceutica* (Lisbon, 1740).

⁵⁹ Bernardino Genga, *Cirujía de Hipócrates, y Comentarios sobre sus Aforismos, Pertenecientes á la Cirujía*, trans. Andres Garcia Vazquez (Madrid: L. Francisco Mojados, 1744).

⁶⁰ Jean-Adrien Helvétius, *Tratado das mais Frequentes Enfermidades*, trans. Antonio Francisco da Costa (Lisboa: Miguel Rodrigues, 1747).

of Antonio's who worked as a surgeon in Bahia and Minas Gerais. His publications include a text focusing on scurvy, and a book about a healing lake in Minas Gerais.⁶¹ Antonio owned a book by Antonio Ferreira described as having the title "surgery." Although Ferreira does not have any publications with that title, the book might be *Luz Verdadeyra, e Recopilado Exame de toda a Cirurgia*.⁶² Antonio's inventory lists a book as titled "Guido of Surgery." Guido Guidi, also known as Vidius, was a sixteenth-century Italian surgeon who created influential anatomical studies.⁶³ Guidi published numerous texts in Latin. Antonio's book may be Guidi's heavily illustrated 1544 text *Chirurgia è Graeco in Latinum Conversa* or a later translation.⁶⁴ Antonio owned five books by Dr. Carlos Musitano, a seventeenth-century scholar who worked in Naples. Musitano published numerous medical texts written in Latin. Finally, Antonio owned twenty-two books by the Castilian physician Francisco Suárez de

⁶¹ João Cardoso de Miranda, *Relaçãõ Cirurgica, e Médica, na qual se Trata, e Declara Especialmente hum Novo Methodo para Curar a Infecçãõ Escorbutica* (Lisboa: Miguel Rodrigues, 1747), republished in 1752, and João Cardoso de Miranda, *Prodigiosa Lagoa, Descoberta nas Congonhas das Minas do Sabará* (Lisbon: Miguel Manescal da Costa, 1749).

⁶² Antonio Ferreira, *Luz Verdadeyra, e Recopilado Exame de toda a Cirurgia* (Lisbon: Domingos Carneiro, 1670). It is possible, however, that the earlier listing in the inventory of a book titled "verdadeira cirurgia" refers to this text by Ferreira.

⁶³ For information on Guido Guidi, see Ronaldo Simões Coelho, "Glossário de Médicos," in *Erario Mineral*, ed. Luís Gomes Ferreira, and Júnia Ferreira Furtado (Rio de Janeiro: Fiocruz, 2002), 810, <http://books.scielo.org/id/ypf34>.

⁶⁴ Guido Guidi, *Chirurgia è Graeco in Latinum Conversa* (Luteciae Parisiorum: Petrus Galterius, 1544).

Rivera. Rivera was a prolific author who published dozens of texts in the first half of the eighteenth century.⁶⁵

At least two of Antonio's books treated subjects outside of the field of medicine. Antonio de Sousa de Macedo's *Flores de España, Excelencias de Portugal*, written during the period of Iberian unification, celebrates the Portuguese climate, land, and culture, primarily highlighting the honesty and morality of the people of Portugal.⁶⁶ In addition, Antonio owned a book whose inventory listing is unfortunately riddled with holes, the only clearly recognizable word being "guadalupe." While this book could be a text on the New Spanish miraculous image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, it is likely a text related to the deceased bishop of Rio de Janeiro, Antonio de Guadalupe. Minas Gerais was part of his bishopric. Antonio Duarte's text may have been one of the eulogies published about Guadalupe or a posthumous collection of his sermons.⁶⁷ All these books were housed in an elegant bookcase with jacarandá ornamentation. Owning books was a rare privilege in Minas Gerais and a sign of

⁶⁵ At least one of his texts was published in Portuguese: Francisco Soares Ribeira, *Cirurgia Methodica, e Chymica Reformada*, trans. Manoel Gomes Pereira (Lisbon: Officina Ferreyrenciana, 1721). However, given the number of Rivera's texts that Antonio owned, they were likely in the original Spanish.

⁶⁶ Antonio de Sousa de Macedo, *Flores de España, Excelencias de Portugal* (Lisbon: Jorge Rodriguez, 1631), republished in Coimbra in 1737.

⁶⁷ Likely titles are Manuel Freire Batalha, *Sermão, que na Funesta, e Magnifica Pompa, com que na sua Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Villa Real do Sabará dos Minas Celebrou as Memorias do Excelentissimo, e Reverendissimo Senhor Bispo do Rio de Janeiro D. Fr. Antonio de Guadalupe* (Lisboa: Na Officina Alvarense. 1742), and Antonio de Guadalupe, and Manoel de San Damaso, *Sermoens do Excelentissimo e Reverendissimo D. Fr. Antonio de Guadalupe Religioso Menor da Santa Provincia de Portugal Bispo do Rio de Janeiro e Nomeado de Visêao* (Lisboa: Antonio Pedrozo Galram, 1749).

uncommon education. Antonio Duarte's collection attests to the breadth of his medical interests and the depth of his expertise. Furthermore, they reveal that Antonio was proficient in Spanish and Latin.

Antonio and Francisca's state bed did not have a clear description in the 1754 inventory, but was described as made of turned jacarandá in 1772. Antonio still owned the same fringed linen bed curtains, now listed as used, and some of the other bed linens described are likely the same as he had owned at the time of his wife's death.⁶⁸ The items acquired since Francisca's death include a blue patterned silk quilt lined with red taffeta. This quilt was ornamented with silver lace. In addition, Antonio owned a cotton quilt and a chintz quilt that was already ragged. His final quilt was made of *serafina*, most likely a twill cloth with a worsted warp and woolen weft, sometimes referred to as long ells in English.

Many of the furnishings and table linens match descriptions from his wife Francisca's inventory. New among the table linens were tablecloths, napkins, and towels for washing hands made of cotton. Another noteworthy item is Antonio's coffee mill, the only material evidence for the consumption of coffee within the family's inventories. Finally, the inventory lists an *estrado*, a slightly raised platform that was typically a place for women to sit on mats or cushions. While *estrados* are assumed to have been common in Luso-Brazilian homes, they rarely appear in the

⁶⁸ Unfortunately, the decline in value of the bed's curtains cannot be accurately gauged since Francisca's inventory provides a single value, 32,400 *reis*, for the bed and its curtains. Antonio's inventory provides a value of 8,400 *reis* for the bed and 4,800 *reis* for the curtains, apparently a significant decline although it is not certain that he continued to use the same bed.

inventories I have examined.⁶⁹ The *taboleiro*, a small, low table that appears in the inventory, would have been used on the *estrado*.

With his medical career and membership in two noble orders, Antonio Duarte was an exceptional member of the Oliveira Pinto family. He and his wife's possessions reflected and enhanced their advanced social standing and education. They both possessed the richest of garments and jewelry, and traveled in style. In comparison to Mariana and João's possessions, Antonio and Francisca's belongings reflect newer ideas about material culture, such as the introduction of a variety of cotton products and the proliferation of pieces of furniture.

Jose and Maria's Assets and Debts in 1760

In 1749, Francisca's sister, Maria Pinta de Oliveira, married Jose de Araujo Correia, a former merchant advanced in age. After only a decade Jose died, leaving Maria with three minor children, a vast amount of debt, and many of their belongings pawned.⁷⁰ The family's primary residence appears to have been a house on the Morro Santo Antonio, next door to João Pinto Alvares' home. Jose and Maria also kept some belongings at a farm with mining lands in Piranga that they shared with their brother-in-law João Ferreira Almada. Although Jose did not own any property in Vila Rica, he appears to have visited the town frequently. He died in Vila Rica and his adult illegitimate son lived there.

⁶⁹ In contrast, Beatriz Ricardina Magalhães, using inventories from Ouro Preto from 1740 to 1770, states that *estrados* were "always present." Magalhães, "A Demanda do Trivial," 189.

⁷⁰ Jose de Araujo Correia's inventory. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 410-17.

At the house on the Morro Santo Antonio, the couple had kept only the bare necessities in terms of furniture: the state bed and three storage boxes. These four pieces of furniture had been pawned, while all other objects within the house still belonged to Jose and Maria. In addition to the typical pewter plates, the couple owned some fine porcelain. Unlike most, this inventory provides some detail about the ornamentation of the porcelain pieces. The couple owned two blue-on-white plates, and eight plates with red enamel, probably ornamented in the Imari style (figs. 29-30) Imari was a Japanese port that became associated with the export of porcelain decorated with underglaze blue, red enamel, and gilding. The color scheme's popularity led to the production of Imari-style ceramics in other parts of East Asia and in Europe.⁷¹ The final pieces of porcelain listed are a cracked tureen and four cups and saucers. The couple additionally owned three small glass cups, and six silver spoons and six silver forks. The table linens consisted of three used britannias tablecloths with lace edges, a heavily worn Guimarães tablecloth with matching napkins, a tablecloth made of "cloth from the North", and two hand towels from the same type of Northern cloth. The designation "cloth from the North" refers to a linen fabric from Northern Europe.

The couple's bedding also contains this linen from the North. The costly and large turned jacarandá state bed was covered with expensive fringed curtains of "cloth from the North." The rest of the bedding was equally fine. The sheets and pillows were made of lace-edged britannias. This was complemented by a crimson embroidered quilt described as from Macau, China (fig. 31). The quilt was almost

⁷¹ Rose Kerr, Luisa E. Mengoni, and Ming Wilson, *Chinese Export Ceramics* (London: V & A Publishing, 2011), 30.

certainly made of silk, most likely in China, but not necessarily in Macau. The mention of Macau indicates the Portuguese trade post from which the quilt was exported rather than the place of production.⁷²

Jose's clothing was nice, although not as lavish as that of the nobleman Antonio Duarte. Jose wore *esguião* shirts with ruffles, as well as simpler linen shirts. The inventory also lists two pairs of linen stockings, one pair of fine cotton stockings, and a worn pair of linen drawers. Jose owned a worn coat and matching breeches made of *lemiste*, and a second pair of *lemiste* breeches. *Lemiste* appears to have been derived from the English "Lemster" a variation of "Leominster," a monastery that had been associated in the late medieval period with the sale of wool from the Ryeland breed of sheep.⁷³ Ryeland wool was known as the finest British wool available, and eighteenth-century Portuguese definitions of *lemiste* describe the fabric as exceptionally fine British wool. Jose also owned a suit composed of matching off-

⁷² On the question of Chinese manufacturing centers producing textiles for the Portuguese market, see Maria João Pacheco Ferreira, "Chineses Textiles for Portuguese Tastes," in Peck, *Interwoven Globe*, 52.

⁷³ On Leominster and Ryeland sheep, see Kirstie Buckland, "The Monmouth Cap," *Costume* 13, no. 1 (1979): 30-31; William Youatt, *Sheep: Their Breeds, Management, and Diseases* (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1840), 258-261. Oliveira discusses the etymology of *lemiste* as derived from the castillian *limiste*, based on the English "Lemster." Oliveira, "Estudo do Vocabulario," 104. However, the 1734 Castillian dictionary claims *limiste* to be a fine fabric produced in the region of Segovia, Spain, rather than of British manufacture. Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana*, Vol. 4 (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1734). Possibly, imitations of the British cloth were produced in Segovia using Spanish Merino, a wool with similar characteristics to Ryeland wool. In Portugal, the term was applied to the British product, as Bluteau's definition demonstrates. Bluteau, *Vocabulario*, Vol. 5, L 77.

white coat and breaches, and a grosgrain waistcoat. Grosgrain is a silk or worsted wool fabric with a texture of fine horizontal lines.⁷⁴

One piece of clothing in Jose's inventory was rare in Minas Gerais: the *timão*. *Timão* is the Brazilian variation of *queimão*, or *quimão*, the early modern Portuguese term for the Japanese kimono.⁷⁵ In the seventeenth century, the Dutch, the only Europeans permitted to trade directly with Japan, had been introduced to what they termed the *Japonse rok*, long, loose garments made of two layers of silk stuffed with silk filling.⁷⁶ These became highly fashionable garments and were imported from Japan to the Netherlands (fig. 32). By the eighteenth-century, imitations were produced locally. The demand for such garments spread throughout Western Europe, and similar loose garments began to be commissioned from manufacturers in India, who typically produced the garments out of cotton. The Indian garments were thinner, without the thick stuffing between the outer layer and the lining. The English designation *Banyan* most frequently refers to such Indian-made garments, although many historical terms were used to describe the many variations of the long, loose garments.⁷⁷ By the middle of the eighteenth-century, banyans could be the traditional,

⁷⁴ Color images of grosgrain samples are found in Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, Pl. D-53.

⁷⁵ Oliveira, "Estudo do Vocabulário," 137.

⁷⁶ Amelia Peck, ed., *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 261-2, 264; Karina H. Corrigan et al., *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 195.

⁷⁷ Watt, "'Whims and Fancies,'" 94; Peck, ed. *Interwoven Globe*, 263.

unfitted kind or be tailored after men's coats and worn over a waistcoat (fig. 33-34).⁷⁸ Jose's *timão* was made of off-white silk and lined with blue satin. It may have been sewn in Europe, or acquired via Dutch merchants from Japan. The inventory does not indicate whether it was tailored or was stuffed. Finally, Jose owned a linen cloth "to cover the clothing." This could simply be a piece of fabric used to protect garments during storage, or might refer to another non-western mode of dress with fabric wrapped around the body.

The house on the Morro Santo Antonio also contained several weapons, including a pair of pistols, a sword with a silver handle, and a silver rapier. In addition, Jose owned a bamboo cane with a small silver crook. Other than these objects and the forks and spoons, the couple did not own any precious metals at the time of Jose's death. All gold and the remaining silver had likely been sold to pay off debts or to make purchases. The last of the objects within the home were two used hammocks, both likely made of chintz. Both were listed as made of cotton and one was printed or otherwise patterned, while the other was painted, indicating that it was in all likelihood made of Indian chintz.

The couple kept six slaves at their main residence, while the remaining twenty-five slaves were listed with the farm in Piranga. In addition to a horse and some tools, the house on the farm contained some pewter dishes and utensils, copper cooking vessels, three linen shirts, some pillows, bed sheets, and hand towels, a Guimarães tablecloth, a cotton tablecloth with matching napkins, and a chintz quilt lined with linen. No furniture is listed, most likely because it had all been sold.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 204.

Jose had amassed great debt, all of his slaves, his home, and his four remaining pieces of furniture had been pawned, and he had likely sold any gold jewelry. Nevertheless, the family owned some exquisite objects that demonstrated their sophisticated taste and interest in exotic lands. As a former merchant, Jose probably had expert knowledge about luxury goods from East Asia, and after becoming a mine owner continued to have ties to merchants who could supply him with desirable foreign goods. He was probably well informed about the origins of different objects and likely shared his knowledge about his possessions with his wife. This might explain why slightly more of his belongings are described with a place of origin than is common in *mineiro* inventories at this date.

Feliciano and Domingos' Estate in 1782

Like his father-in-law Antonio Duarte, Domingos Coelho was a licensed surgeon. He was about fifty-six years of age at the time of Feliciano Isabel Maria de Oliveira's death from the birth of their tenth child.⁷⁹ All of the couple's children were minors, and the inventory does not indicate which, if any, were living away from home. Feliciano and Domingos acquired clothing and furnishings suitable to the newest fashions; however, they owned less of the traditional signifiers of luxury and wealth, such as silver and porcelain, than the previous two generations. The differences in the quantity and quality of objects owned is likely due to the fact that Domingos was not a nobleman and that the family lived in a rural setting. Unlike her parents and grandparents, Feliciano did not live near the city of Mariana. All of her residences

⁷⁹ Feliciano Isabel Maria de Oliveira's inventory. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 423-31.

were located in the parish of Piranga, a part of the municipality of Mariana. Although she and Domingos owned a house within the village of Piranga, their main residence was on a farm located half a league up-river from the village.

In 1756, prior to his marriage to Feliciana, Domingos Coelho was described as a mine owner.⁸⁰ By 1782, the family estate occupied ninety-nine slaves, whose work included gold mining, smithing, and various agricultural activities, sugar cane cultivation and alcohol distillation, in particular. When the inventory was taken, the family possessed a sugar cane field worth one million *reis*, a factory for extracting sugar cane juice, and a still.⁸¹ In addition, the farms contained significant numbers of livestock, indicating not only that the family was well fed, but could also sell animal products. They owned five horses, numerous cattle, including cows and calves, and fifty pigs. Having more than one horse was likely a necessity when living in such a rural area, allowing multiple family members to travel at once. They possessed three saddles, and a luxurious set of horse cloths made of blue velvet with gold embroidery. In addition to horses, the family owned a large canoe, possibly to transport goods for sale to the village of Piranga.

Feliciana and Domingos only kept one table without drawers at their main residence in the country. Four benches and eleven stools provided seating. According

⁸⁰ Almeida, *Ricos e Pobres*, 226.

⁸¹ The production of alcohol was prohibited in Minas Gerais unless the king or queen had granted permission. Laird W. Bergad, *Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720-1888* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 12-13. Lucas Endrigo Brunozi Avelar, “A Moderação em Excesso: Estudo Sobre a História das Bebidas na Sociedade Colonial,” (Master’s thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2010), 132-5.

to the inventory, the couple's choice of dinnerware was quite different from that of the previous generations. The numbers of utensils and vessels of traditional luxury materials are relatively small. The only pieces of porcelain listed are five cups and saucers, and the silver was reduced to only seven forks and spoons and two knives. In contrast to the abundant porcelain and silver in the households of Mariana and Francisca, Feliciana and Domingos' tableware was primarily composed of what is described as "estanho fino." While *estanho* refers to pewter, Vieyra writes that *estanho fino* can be either tin or pewter.⁸² The inventory lists twenty-three tin or pewter nappies, ten tin or pewter plates, and seventeen nappies that are described as "inferior," and are valued at half the cost of each of the "fine" nappies. Like her mother, Feliciana also owned a pewter basin and ewer to wash hands.

In addition to pewter and a small amount of porcelain, Feliciana and Domingos owned some types of ceramics that were not listed in any previous family member's inventories. They possessed five plates and seven bowls of thick ceramic, most likely tin-glazed earthenware (fig. 35). Their tin-glazed earthenware could have been produced throughout Europe or the Americas, but was probably Portuguese. Finally, the inventory lists a single creamware or pearlware plate.⁸³ Since creamware manufacturing began in Portugal only after 1784, Feliciana's plate was, in all likelihood, English.

⁸² Vieyra, *A Dictionary*, Vol. 1.

⁸³ Pearlware is a variation of creamware that features a slight blue tint to the glaze. Both types were invented in England. For more information, see Tom Townsend Walford, and Roger Massey eds., *Creamware and Pearlware Re-Examined* (Beckenham: English Ceramic Circle, 2007).

The family's table linens included traditional types as well as the more recently introduced cotton. Their nicest tablecloth was, as was traditional, made of cambric. All the other tablecloths, napkins, and towels to dry hands were made of cotton. Although the couple owned a loom, and cotton cloths were presumably produced on their estate, it is highly unlikely that their homemade cotton cloths were included in the inventory.

Scholars disagree about the quantity and quality of textiles produced in Minas Gerais. In 1775 rumors circulated that textiles fine enough to compete with imports from Europe were being produced in Minas Gerais, and many scholars have embraced the idea that an industry of luxury textiles existed in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais.⁸⁴ In response to a royal order issued in 1785 prohibiting all manufacturing in

⁸⁴ On the rumors, see Liana Maria Reis, and Virgínia Maria Trindade Valadares, *Capitania de Minas Gerais em Documentos: Economia, Política e Sociedade* (Belo Horizonte: C/Arte, 2012), 18. Scholars who argue for the existence of fine textile manufacture include Kenneth Maxwell, *A Devassa da Devassa: A Inconfidência Mineira: (Brasil-Portugal), 1750-1808*, trans. by João Maia (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1985), 86, and José Jobson de Abdrade Arruda, "A Produção Econômica," in *O Império Luso-Brasileiro (1750-1822)*, Vol. 3 (Lisbon: Estampa, 1986) cited in Reis and Valadares, *Capitania de Minas Gerais em Documentos*, 19n5; Lima Júnior, *História da Inconfidência*, 35-6; Reis, *O Colonialismo Português*, 49-50; Douglas Cole Libby, "Proto-Industrialisation in a Slave Society: The Case of Minas Gerais," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 23, no 1 (1991): 23; Roberta Marx Delson, "Brazil: The Origin of the Textile Industry," in *The Ashgate Companion to the History of Textile Workers, 1650-2000* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2010), 81. These arguments for a luxury textile industry in Minas Gerais prior to 1785 are based on a letter written in 1775 by the newly appointed governor Antonio de Noronha in which he forbids the manufacture of luxury textiles in Minas Gerais. Carta (copia) de D. Antonio de Noronha..., July 17, 1775, caixa 108, doc. 42, Minas Gerais, AHU, <http://www.cmd.unb.br/biblioteca.html>. After inspection of the state of textile production throughout the captaincy, he, however, concluded in 1777 that no such industry existed. His successor Luis da Cunha Menezes likewise dismissed the claims since the area did not possess the resources for a luxury textile industry. Reis and Valadares, *Capitania de Minas Gerais em Documentos*, 18, 28, 46-9.

Brazil, with the exception of coarse cotton cloths produced by and for the poor, a survey was conducted of the looms and weavers in Minas Gerais. The surviving survey results, all from the north of the captaincy, indicate that nearly all of the cloth produced within the households under inspection was made of locally spun or imported cotton thread, only a small percentage containing coarse wool or linen.⁸⁵ Thus, the Portuguese textile industry, which the decree aimed to protect, was not threatened by the domestic production of cloth in Minas Gerais. With the exception of a small number of professional weavers, the cotton being produced was too coarse to be used by the elite.⁸⁶ Feliciano and Domingos' loom can be assumed to have likewise been used for the production of coarse fabric to clothe slaves, rather than the family's table and bed coverings. There could have been professional weavers around Vila Rica and Mariana from whom Feliciano and Domingos acquired their fine cotton tablecloths, napkins, and towels. However, locally produced cotton may not have been considered prestigious enough for elite consumers. Although some of Feliciano's cotton could have been Brazilian, it was probably either British or Indian in origin. By this time, Manchester, England was a booming cotton center, producing a wide variety of textures and patterns.⁸⁷ The listing of two thick, cotton table cloths might refer to

⁸⁵ Douglas Cole Libby, "Reconsidering Textile Production in Late Colonial Brazil: New Evidence from Minas Gerais," *Latin American Research Review* 32, no. 1 (1997): 96, 102.

⁸⁶ On the few professional weavers, see *ibid.*, 92, 98-99.

⁸⁷ Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 151-152.

Manchester cotton velvet or quiltings, a weave structure that imitates quilted textiles (fig. 36).

In addition to cotton table linens, the couple also owned nineteen cotton bed sheets. In contrast to the single table, the family's country home contained numerous beds. Guests and the children of the family could sleep on two turned beds and three smooth beds using the cotton sheets or the two linen sheets with two pillows. In winter, one bed could be covered with the crimson wool damask blanket. The state bed featured turned carvings and was covered with lace-edged *esguião* with matching pillowcases. This elegant bed was complemented with a crimson damask quilt lined with silk and decorated with a ruffled edge. In addition, the family's main residence contained two daybeds, two cupboards, two *estrados*, four boxes, and an expensive Russia leather trunk. Their house in the village of Piranga contained a round table, a rectangular table, two benches, eight turned stools, a cupboard, and a pair of dueling pistols.

Feliciano possessed a large quantity of clothing made of fine and fashionable materials. She owned four petticoats of black voided velvet, blue wool moreen, old silk, and black *gala*. She may have worn these petticoats with her two *macaquinhos*, one of yellow silk and the other of bay. Unfortunately, I have been unable to find a definition for a *macaquinho* despite the term's frequent appearance in inventories.⁸⁸ In addition to wearing separate petticoats and bodices, Feliciano owned two robes, one of

⁸⁸ Gracinéa Oliveira encountered a reference to a garment called *macaquinho* being used in the late nineteenth century. At that time, the term was used for an undergarment similar to a romper. It is highly probable that the form of the garment and the meaning of the term had changed since the eighteenth century. Oliveira, "Estudo do Vocabulário," 148.

white silk with a floral branch pattern, and one of chintz. The chintz robe is specifically described as “Chintz from the North,” indicating that it was most likely British, or from another Northern European region, rather than of Indian origin. Thus, the robe was made of a cotton, linen or mixed cloth that was printed rather than painted, likely with one or more colors on a white ground (fig. 37). The description of the white silk dress as having branches could mean that the silk is covered in a brocaded or painted branch design, or features embroidered edges similar to those on the Portuguese robe in figure 38 (figs. 39-40). The silk fabric for the robe was likely of Chinese, French or Portuguese origin.

As is appropriate for a woman living in a rural area, Feliciana owned a luxurious riding suit. Hers was composed of a short skirt and matching jacket made of crimson *gala* with a yellow silk waistcoat. By the middle of the eighteenth century, women’s riding suits were usually tailored in a more feminine style than earlier examples. Unlike her mother and grandmother, Feliciana owned silk stays to provide firm support around her torso. In addition, she possessed a wool stuff belt that could be tied around her chemise to emphasize and support the waist when not wearing the stays. Feliciana complemented her garments with an elegant “sponge-colored” drugget cloak ornamented with satin embroidery, a simpler blue drugget cloak, a bay cloak, or a silk veil. Lastly, the couple owned a hat from Braga, Portugal.

Feliciana’s jewelry included two religious pieces: a prayer in a gold frame hanging from a chain, slightly smaller than the one owned by her grandmother Mariana, and a gold pendant of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception on a chain. Feliciana owned several gold buttons, a gold ring with a stone from Itatiaia, and a pair of gold and diamond earrings. Finally, the inventory lists two corresponding sets

containing a pendant in the shape of a ribbon and a pair of earrings. One set was made of gold and amethysts, while the other contained gold and diamonds (figs. 41-42).

While Feliciano's clothing was luxurious and highly fashionable, the remaining domestic possessions were not as numerous or as expensive as the belongings of Francisca and Antonio Duarte. This is in all likelihood due to the more rural lifestyle. When visiting the village or the city of Mariana, the family could dress in the richest garments. Their rural home, on the other hand, may not have received many visits from distinguished guests. Therefore, fine tableware was not necessary. Although Domingos Coelho shared Antonio Duarte's profession as surgeon, Domingos may not have owned books, and does not appear to have attained the same noble status as his father-in-law.

Manoel Correia de Oliveira's Possessions in 1798

The life and belongings of Manoel, Mariana Correia de Oliveira's younger brother, are quite different from other family members.⁸⁹ In 1798, at the end of a long life as a bachelor, Manoel lived on an extensive country estate that offered a variety of goods and services to the surrounding rural area. His residence and lands were located in the parish of Sumidouro, part of the district of Mariana. The inventory includes relatively few domestic possessions, while the work tools are numerous. He owned a respectable quantity of fine ceramics and glassware, an ivory signet with silver handle, some simple cotton table and bed linens, and a small number of fine garments, whose monetary values were relatively modest. He wore a silk waistcoat with silver embroidery, an old blue coat, a complete black suit made of *fineza*, a textile type that,

⁸⁹ Manoel Correia de Oliveira's inventory. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 439-44.

given its name, must have been fine, and an inexpensive pair of slippers made of Turkey leather. The pieces of furniture were not described individually, but were listed with the buildings and lands. Manoel's furniture was probably simple and consisted of seven beds, three cupboards, five benches, three tables, five tall wooden lamp stands, and storage boxes.

Manoel's estate boasted a private chapel, a useful convenience in a rural area. He likely was able to offer occasional religious services to friends living in the area who did not wish to travel to the closest churches. His chapel was furnished with all the vestments and instruments to celebrate a proper mass. Unfortunately, the inventory does not provide details about materials or ornamentation. However, the liturgical objects listed were not inexpensive, indicating that they were decorously elegant, but not excessively lavish. The visiting priest was clothed with an alb, amice, chasuble, and stole. The altar was fully furnished with three altar cloths, an expensive new missal, a bookstand, a pall and corporal, a small bell, and a pair of pewter cruets for the water and wine.

Manoel's farm served for the cultivation of foods and raising of livestock, as well as manufacturing. He only possessed twenty-two slaves; however, his estate contained a carpentry workshop, mills, barns, and a large variety of tools. Manioc appears to be one of the crops cultivated on the farm, although there was also a vegetable garden, banana trees, and citrus trees. Among the tools are objects likely used for metalsmithing.

One of his belongings hints toward the participation in the textile industry. Although his inventory does not list any spinning wheels, looms, thread, or sheep, Manoel owned a fulling mill, a wheel with wooden posts that move up and down to

pound cloth. Such finishing processes would not have been applied to the legal, locally produced coarse cotton cloths that clothed slaves and the poor. Thus, Manoel's fulling mill suggests that textiles of slightly higher quality than those legally permitted were being produced. While cotton and linen could be finished with such a device to produce a smooth surface, wool was most commonly treated in such a manner.⁹⁰

I am unaware of any evidence for the local cultivation of linen, but cotton was grown throughout Minas Gerais, and there is some evidence that sheep's wool was of greater significance than the 1786 report on textile manufacturing indicates. While insufficient research has been conducted on Manoel's region of Sumidouro, evidence suggests that the adjacent district to the south, Piranga, was home to substantial sheep farms.⁹¹ For instance, in 1803, five years after Manoel's inventory, a wealthy landowner in Piranga died leaving an estate containing sixty-nine sheep and one loom.⁹² Such a large flock implies that the estate had been involved in shepherding for some years and was supplying a fair number of spinners, weavers, and consumers with wool. One branch of the Oliveira Pinto family even owned a significant number of sheep. Antonio Gomes Sande, Feliciano and Domingos Coelho's son-in-law, owned an estate in Piranga that was inventoried in 1807, and contained a flock of twenty-four

⁹⁰ A beetling mill was used to finish cotton and linen.

⁹¹ On the agricultural activities in Piranga from 1780 to 1820, see Luís Henrique de Oliveira, "Guarapiranga: Características Econômicas e Produtivas de uma Freguesia Camponesa," *Anais do I Colóquio do LAHES* (2005), <http://www.ufjf.br/lahes/producao-cientifica/anais-do-i-coloquio-do-lahes-13-a-16-de-junho-de-2005/>

⁹² Jose Alves de Oliveira's inventory, 1803, caixa 40, auto 1048, 2nd ofício, CS, f. 7v, 10r.

sheep.⁹³ Other estates in Piranga also contained smaller flocks of sheep that, nevertheless, produced more wool than could have been used within the owner's household.⁹⁴

Such evidence for the presence of sheep suggests that the production of wool cloth must have been carried out to a larger extent than the 1786 survey results indicate, at least in some regions of Minas Gerais. The survey results on textile manufacturing for Piranga and Sumidouro do not appear to have survived, and quite different modes of textile production might have been recorded in those regions. While Manoel's inventory does not list sheep, it is possible that Sumidouro was likewise an area with significant shepherding. As early as 1739, the aristocratic captain major Jose Ferreira Pinto, who lived in Sumidouro, owned three sheep.⁹⁵

Some of Manoel's female slaves may have spent a portion of their time spinning and weaving cotton, linen and wool cloth, the wheels and looms having been omitted from the inventory. Alternately, other households in the region could have produced cloth, which they had finished on Manoel's estate. It is possible that the cloth produced was sold at his storefront. Whether cotton, linen, or wool, the cloth being produced would have defied the 1785 prohibition on textile manufacturing,

⁹³ Antonio Gomes Sande's inventory, 1807, caixa 25, auto 645, 1st officio, CS. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 450-8.

⁹⁴ See, for instance, Manoel de Oliveira Pinto's inventory, 1777, caixa 115, auto 2376, 1st officio, CS; Oliveira, "Guarapiranga," n18.

⁹⁵ Jose Ferreira Pinto's inventory, 1739, caixa 106, auto 2181, 1st officio, CS. Incidentally, Jose Ferreira Pinto appears to have been the neighbor of Jose de Araujo's business partner Domingos da Rocha Ferreira, whose estate was producing coarse cotton cloths in 1774.

since it was nicer than the cotton worn by slaves. The addition of finishing processes increased the time and resources expended on the cloth's production, indicating that the textiles were of higher monetary and social worth. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that the resulting textiles were considered luxury goods. Most probable is that the device was used to manufacture simple woolen textiles.

While Manoel was included in the 1756 list of wealthiest men as a mine owner, he chose to leave the mining center of the Morro Santo Antonio for a more secure and steady income from agriculture and manufacturing. Overall, Manoel's inventory contains few domestic luxuries, and many farming and manufacturing tools. This was probably the result of his life as a bachelor with illegitimate daughters. Of the men discussed in this chapter, Manoel was the only one to have been born in Brazil rather than in Portugal, and was the only life-long bachelor with illegitimate children whose paternity was acknowledged since birth. Because of this, Manoel was not eligible for the honors that the other men of the family were able to attain. Although he lived comfortably with sufficient luxuries to ensure respectability, he did not need to acquire substantial amounts of jewelry and clothing for extravagant formal occasions.

Jose and Angelica's Fortune in 1807

In contrast to Manoel Correia de Oliveira, Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho and Angelica Amatilde Eufrazia de São Joaquim, Mariana and João's youngest daughter, were married and had seven legitimate children who were adults at the time of their father's death in 1807.⁹⁶ The family was quite wealthy, and Jose held the title of captain. Since

⁹⁶ Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho's inventory. See Manuscript Transcriptions, 444-50.

he did not know his family history, he probably could not enter noble orders.

Nevertheless, the family was of high standing within the community, as demonstrated not only by their wealth and possessions, but also by the fact that one son was a priest.

Although João Pinto Alvares' inventory has not survived, the possible future of his estate might be glimpsed in his son-in-law's inventory. Angelica had purchased her father's entire estate in 1770, and although much must have changed within a span of thirty-seven years, some items appear to have remained from the previous generation. In his lifetime, João had formed a business partnership with Antonio Duarte. Thus, the items in Jose's inventory that are listed as shared with Antonio Duarte' heirs had most likely been part of João's estate. These items include mines in the village of Passagem, a mine on the Morro Santo Antonio, and a mine along the Matacavallos stream, located near the Morro Santo Antonio.

Jose and Angelica owned numerous houses and farms. They possessed a two-story house in the village of Passagem, and two single-story houses across the street from the sacristy of the cathedral in Mariana. In addition, they owned numerous properties that contained residences. One of the properties, on the outskirts of the city, included mines and a ceramic manufactory to produce roof tiles. The inventory lists three more farms, at least one of which was located in the parish of Piranga.

Although none of the family's properties describe a separate chapel, one of their homes contained an altar with an altar stone at which masses were held. Unlike Manoel's liturgical textiles, Jose and Angelica's were all described as used. The visiting priest could dress in a used alb, amice, cincture, and chasuble. The two altar cloths were also described as used, as was the missal. The more expensive items were the silver chalice and paten, a small bell, and a gilded wood tabernacle containing a

sculpture of the Virgin of Sorrows. In addition, they owned small, inexpensive sculptures of the Crucified Christ, Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, Saint Anne, and Saint Anthony. These were most likely polychrome wood sculptures that were produced locally.

Angelica and Jose had amassed a sizeable collection of ceramics that reflected late eighteenth-century changes in the ceramics trade and industry. They owned numerous pieces of porcelain, including an expensive basin and ewer set, eight large fine plates, a dozen nappies, a dozen cups and saucers, three teapots, a large tureen, four small tureens, a butter dish, and five mismatched plates. In addition to porcelain, the couple owned a tureen with its platter, a pair of cruets, and five large plates, all described as “ceramics from Porto.” In the second half of the eighteenth century, ceramics manufacturing flourished in various regions in the North of Portugal.⁹⁷ The manufactories primarily produced tin-glazed earthenware. Although Porto was home to several ceramic manufactories, the designation of ceramics from Porto may describe a variety of earthenware produced in the North of Portugal and exported from Porto, rather than vessels produced within that specific city.⁹⁸ Angelica and Jose’s Porto tureen and platter were quite costly, indicating that the set was large and intricately adorned, possibly with enameled decoration (fig. 43).

⁹⁷ Margarida Rebelo Correia, “Os Grandes Centros de Produção Cerâmica do Norte de Portugal,” in *Céramique du Portugal du XVIe au XXe siècle*, ed. Roland Blaettler, and Paulo Henriques (Geneva: Musées d’Art et d’Histoire, 2004), 126-7.

⁹⁸ Late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century inventories frequently list ceramics from Porto or ceramics from Lisbon, the two main ports, while I am unaware of any other Portuguese towns being named. For a description of the ceramic manufactories in the city of Porto, see Aurélio de Oliveira, “As Indústrias no Porto nos Finais do Século XVIII,” in *A Indústria Portuense em Perspectiva Histórica: Actas do Colóquio*, ed. Jorge Fernandes Alves (Porto: Universidade do Porto, 1998), 300-301.

Finally, the couple owned a significant quantity of creamware or pearlware: a dozen nappies and thirteen mismatched plates. While Feliciano's creamware could not have been Portuguese, some of Angelica and Jose's might have been produced in Portugal. Since 1787, one factory across the river Douro from Porto, the Cavaquinho factory in Vila Nova de Gaia, had exclusive rights to produce creamware, imitating English designs (fig. 44).⁹⁹ Creamware is exceptionally versatile, allowing for a wide variety of decorative techniques and styles. The diversity of types produced in England and imitated in Portugal was likely reflected in the thirteen plates that the couple owned (fig. 45). In addition to ceramics, the couple owned several fine pieces of glass. They possessed four small cups, a pair of cruets, five chalices, and a dish for sweets. The fine glass and ceramics were complemented by rich silverware. Angelica and Jose owned a dozen each of silver spoons, forks, and knives, a small silver kettle, and a large silver salver.

Although the inventory does not list any table or bed linens, it contains a remarkably long list of furniture, including ten tables and four beds. The tables are described as two round tables of white wood with turned legs; a round turned jacarandá table; a large table with a white wood top and jacarandá legs; two white wood tables; a table that is ornamented, but not turned, likely with decorative inlay or paint, and black jacarandá legs; a table with drawers with turned jacarandá legs; a large white wood table with drawers and red jacarandá moldings; and, lastly, a round

⁹⁹ Correia, "Os Grandes Centros de Produção," 132. On the creamware factory and its owner, see José Acúrsio das Neves, *Noções Historicar, Economicas, e Administrativas sobre a Produção, e Manufactura das Sedas em Portugal, e Particularmente sobre a Real Fabrica do Suburbio do Rato, e suas Annexas* (Lisboa: Na Impressão Regia, 1827), 242-243.

“modern” table. Such references to the style of an object are exceedingly rare, and I have encountered only a small number of descriptions of “modern” objects in inventories of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. At this time, the new style emerging in Minas Gerais was neoclassicism, a distinct change from the widespread baroque and rococo designs with which *mineiros* were familiar. In all likelihood, descriptions of domestic objects as “modern” refer to the new neoclassical style.

The family’s beds and daybeds were equally elegant, all containing some jacarandá. The inventory lists three old turned jacarandá beds, a “very large” turned jacarandá bed, three daybeds with turned jacarandá feet and carved headboards, and two used daybeds that are not turned but have jacarandá legs. Instead of the more traditional and rustic use of benches, the family owned a significant number of chairs, including six folding chairs covered with tooled leather, six folding chairs with hide seats and turned backs, and six hide-covered stools (fig. 46).

The inventory not only features a large quantity of furnishings, but also new furniture types. In addition to fourteen boxes and chests, and one cupboard, Jose and Angelica owned a white wood chest of drawers, a rarity in the Portuguese world until the very end of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, their home contained several

¹⁰⁰ Beatriz Ricardina Magalhães examined inventories in Ouro Preto from 1740 to 1770 and found some chests of drawers. Unfortunately, she does not specify how many were recorded and at what dates they appear. Magalhães, “A Demanda do Trivial,” 191. On the other hand, Drumond Braga found no chests of drawers in her examination of the belongings of New Christians throughout the Portuguese world. Drumond Braga, *Bens de Hereges*, 139. According to Carlos Franco’s research, chests of drawers do not appear to have been common in Portugal in the eighteenth century. Carlos Franco, *O Mobiliário das Elites de Lisboa: Na Segunda Metade do Século XVIII* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2007), 98.

pieces of upholstered furniture. They owned six old jacarandá chairs and sixteen turned jacarandá stools, all with cushions covered in *riço*, a silk fabric. Finally, the couple owned an upholstered armchair with turned jacarandá legs.

Jose's wardrobe was composed of richly decorated garments. He owned a blue military suit with decorative trim, a coat of *belbute*, a new black coat, an old silk *brilhante* coat, and a purple coat with matching *jaleco*. He further owned a pair of breeches and *jaleco* of black satin, another set of breeches and *jaleco* of old silk *brilhante*, and, finally, an ornate hat. The name *belbute* is derived from the English word "velvet," but refers to velveteen, a cotton velvet.¹⁰¹ Jose's velveteen coat was most likely cut from English cloth, possibly from Manchester. The fabric of Jose's worn silk *brilhante* breeches, coat and *jaleco* corresponds to the fabric swatches in figure 47. The Portuguese word *brilhante* and English *brilliant* derive from the French name for silk fabrics with small brocaded floral, sprig, and lace designs.¹⁰² While the English term is more commonly used for glazed worsted imitations produced in Norwich, the designation of silk *brilhante* in Jose's inventory, indicates that his garments were tailored either out of the French fabric, or a Portuguese imitation, likely from the *Real Fabrica das Sedas*. Jose's garments were complemented by silver buckles for his shoes and breeches, and a short sword of gilded silver.

Although Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho and Angelica Amatilde's estate was only valued at about fifteen million *reis*, half that of Mariana and João, or of Antonio and Francisca, the couple's possessions were numerous and highly fashionable. Although

¹⁰¹ Oliveira, "Estudo do Vocabulário," 98; Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 370.

¹⁰² Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 176.

Jose's inventory does not list any gold jewelry, the remaining possessions, such as the silver, ceramics, clothing, and upholstered furnishings, convey a sense of refinement and sophistication. Jose and Angelica were part of one of the most prestigious families in the region, were highly educated, and aspired to enjoy the same standards of living as similar elites in Europe. The family had successfully diversified the industries performed on their properties, allowing them to remain financially stable despite the decline in the productivity of gold mines, and continuing the family legacy of wealth and high standing.

Conclusions

These inventories of a wealthy mine owning family demonstrate that elite consumers in Minas Gerais acquired luxury goods produced outside of the Portuguese empire. While scholarship often remarks on the abundance of luxuries from Portuguese Asia within Brazil, objects from foreign European regions, in particular, have not received sufficient attention prior to the opening of Brazilian ports to foreign trade in 1808. However, as recent scholarship on trade routes suggests, and post-mortem inventories support, a large portion of the goods transported to Brazil on Portuguese ships was not of Portuguese manufacture, and illegal trade was prevalent.

Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho's inventory is particularly illuminating, as it describes the possessions of a rich family acquired in or before 1807 *prior* to the arrival of the Portuguese court in Rio de Janeiro the following year, the result of Napoleon's impending invasion of Portugal. Scholars frequently mention the cultural and material revolution that the establishment of the court on Brazilian soil caused. At that time, Brazilian ports were opened to free trade with foreign powers allowing a

great influx of goods produced outside of Portugal to reach Brazilian consumers. Recent trends in clothing, furnishing, and fine art styles that had become common in Europe were supposed to have suddenly overtaken Brazil. Even though the movement of the court certainly caused great political and economic change, evidence from early nineteenth-century inventories suggests that the effects on material culture may have been less dramatic, at least for the very wealthy and educated. Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho's inventory contains at least one neoclassical object, a variety of new furniture types, new ceramic types, and a great quantity of goods manufactured outside of the Portuguese empire and not traditionally a part of Portuguese culture.

This apparent increase in the access to British, French, and Dutch goods prior to 1808 is most likely a result of the steady increase in the second half of the eighteenth century of contraband trade along Brazilian shores, as well as cultural changes in Portugal. Over the course of the eighteenth century royalty, nobles, and other wealthy consumers in Portugal slowly adopted the use of the new furnishing types developed in other parts of Europe, such as sofas, upholstered chairs, and chests of drawers. These new modes of storing items and of providing seating did not immediately replace Portuguese traditions. William Beckford, an Englishman who circulated among the nobility in Portugal and visited numerous palaces in 1787 and 1788, noted that within court culture certain traditions remained, such as women sitting on the floor and meals being eaten with fingers rather than utensils.¹⁰³ At the same time, upholstered sofas could often be encountered within Portuguese palaces.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ William Beckford, *The Journal of William Beckford in Portugal and Spain, 1787-1788* (New York: J. Day Co., 1955), 203, 232.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 65, 254.

As these new ideas about material culture became more common among the elite in Portugal, they also began to enter the homes of the educated elite in Brazil who were aware of cultural changes in Europe and wanted to partake in fashionable trends. Because of such cultural and material changes, the date of an inventory must be taken into account when analyzing trends in Brazilian material culture. One of the few studies of *mineiro* material culture to consider changes over time, Beatriz Ricardina Magalhães's examination of inventories in Ouro Preto, also suggests that the quantity and quality of furniture generally increased in the households of the wealthy over the course of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁵

Cultural differences between the Portuguese world and Northern Europe have, for centuries, resulted in a misinterpretation of domestic material culture in Portugal and Brazil. Early modern and early nineteenth-century visitors to Portugal and Brazil frequently remarked upon the emptiness of the homes of the wealthy as compared to those in England or France.¹⁰⁶ Until the last decades of the eighteenth century, the homes of the wealthy, in both Portugal and Brazil, contained relatively little furniture.¹⁰⁷ Mariana and João's possession of chairs in 1748 demonstrates their high socioeconomic status even though they lacked much of the other furniture common in elite homes a few decades later. Large numbers of furnishings were not deemed necessary, since each piece served a variety of purposes. For most of the eighteenth

¹⁰⁵ Magalhães, "A Demanda do Trivial," 190.

¹⁰⁶ Helder Carita, and Homem Cardoso, *Oriente e Ocidente nos Interiores em Portugal* (Porto: Livraria Civilização, 1980), 134; Magalhães, "A Demanda do Trivial," 191.

¹⁰⁷ Angela Brandão, "Anotações para uma História do Mobiliário Brasileiro do Século XVIII," *Revista CPC* 9 (November 2009–April 2010): 44.

century, elites were not expected to have much furniture, and their homes were not seen as any less decorous because they lacked multiple beds, daybeds, cupboards, and chairs.

As the family's inventories demonstrate, taking biographical details into account is essential when examining inventories. While the date of the record typically affects the types of goods included, details about the specific individual to whom the estate belonged are often far more significant. In addition to overall wealth and race, the marital status, gender, age, noble status, education, and occupation of individuals appears to have a great effect on their possessions. Therefore, delving into various aspects of a person's biography enriches the interpretation of domestic material culture, enabling analysis of the object's function and meaning for its owner. For instance, the amount of debt that an individual owes can be difficult to gauge when only examining the lists of possessions and the overall value of the estate. Often wills and statements by the heirs more clearly indicate the significance of an individual's debts. As Jose de Araujo Correia's inventory reveals, debt greatly reduced the furnishings and gold listed in his inventory, despite his status as a prestigious mine owner. Furthermore, although none of the inventories of any of the priests in the Oliveira Family appear to have survived, examination of the belongings of other priests indicates that their profession likely had the greatest consequences for material culture. In the inventories of priests, the value of the estate and the number of slaves is often not particularly great. Nevertheless, their domestic possessions are frequently unusually rich, and they are more likely to own books and fine art.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ João Ferreira de Souza's inventory, 1777, caixa 46, auto 1945, 2nd ofício, CS; João Paulo de Freitas' inventory, 1803, caixa 53, auto 1202, 2nd ofício, CS; João Alves da Costa's inventory.

The class of wealthy elites in Minas Gerais consisted of a diverse group of people with varying levels of education, experience overseas, and ties to the local region. When acquiring possessions, the objects' cultural connotations and the associations that foreign and local materials and forms evoked were significant. In order to further explore how the *mineiro* elite used luxury goods to articulate their position within the local community and within the empire, the next chapter delves into three groups of particularly meaningful and rich objects: ceramics, clothing and jewelry, and hammocks.

FIGURES

ALL IMAGES REMOVED DUE TO COPYRIGHT

Chapter 5

PORCELAIN, DRESS, AND HAMMOCKS: LOCAL WEALTH AND GLOBAL ASPIRATIONS

Ceramics, apparel, and hammocks were especially potent signifiers of taste, education, and status for the Oliveira Pinto family. They shaped social dynamics and created a powerful dialogue between the local and the global. Ceramics, mostly porcelain, played a prominent role in the domestic and social life of this wealthy family. The elegant and exotic dishes decorated the family's walls and tables, and stimulated civilized and sophisticated consumption among family members, with close friends, and with important guests. Ceramics marked the Oliveira Pintos' behaviors as cultivated, while their clothing and jewelry marked their bodies as honorable. Each individual's apparel circumscribed their position within the family, within the community, and within the world. In a time and place where social hierarchy determined livelihood, the visual signifiers on the body were tremendously important. The public presentation of the body was further elaborated by the chosen mode of transportation. The Oliveira Pintos used the uniquely American hammock to state their place within the community both on the streets and in their home. The family members' bodies and homes displayed the riches of Minas Gerais—the gold and diamonds—and the privilege that this economic power enabled. The family's possessions foregrounded the economic role they played not only within the empire

but within the entire world, and signified their participation in the transformation of Minas Gerais into a place where the best of the world's commodities met.

Ceramics

Ceramics were important to Mariana and João. Most of the elite individuals of Minas Gerais who died within the first half of the eighteenth-century only possessed few fine ceramics. They more often displayed their wealth and status with precious metals and gems. In contrast, Mariana and João owned not only fine jewelry but also a substantial collection of ceramics. The ceramics collection listed in Mariana's inventory in 1748 is the largest I have encountered in any *mineiro* inventory of the eighteenth century, containing 121 pieces. Although owning fine ceramics became considerably more common as the century progressed, Mariana and João amassed a collection greater in quantity and quality than any in the late eighteenth-century records, even those of the men sentenced for the *Inconfidência Mineira*.¹

Some other branches of the family, such as Francisca and Antonio, and Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho and Angelica, also possessed extensive collections of ceramics, albeit significantly smaller than Mariana and João's. The inventories suggest that family members were invested in displaying their refined and sophisticated tastes with their ceramics collections. While the other branches of the family typically possessed some earthenware or stoneware, Mariana's collection appears to have been composed

¹ The next largest collections within the records I have examined are Antonio Gonzalves Torres' ninety-eight pieces of porcelain, which includes three broken items, in 1776, and the *Inconfidente* Francisco Antonio de Oliveira Lopes' ninety pieces of various ceramic types in 1789.

entirely of porcelain. In addition to the exceptional quantity of porcelain pieces in Mariana's inventory, her list of ceramics includes several pieces of particularly high monetary value and, therefore, of exquisite quality.

Ceramics can be produced anywhere with access to clay and heat. *Mineiros* certainly had the technology and resources to build and use kilns, and ceramic manufactories are mentioned in eighteenth-century records. For instance, the manufactory in Vila do Carmo was opened in 1713.² These kilns are known for the production of roof tiles, but likely also produced other functional earthenwares such as floor tiles and vessels. Such locally-produced wares were excluded from post-mortem inventories due to their low monetary value. Detailed descriptions of ceramic production in Minas Gerais only appear in the nineteenth century with the foreign travel accounts. According to John Mawe, a ceramic manufactory had "recently" begun production in Vila Rica. The vessels and plates created there were "bulky and heavy, but by no means strong," and, according to the British traveler, their one redeeming quality was the "excellent thick glazing," that reduced the fragility.³

In addition to such simple earthenware, Minas Gerais was home to the essential resource necessary for the creation of porcelain: kaolin clay. However, evidence is lacking for any attempts to produce fine ceramics in the eighteenth century. Eschwege reported finding kaolin on his journey from Rio de Janeiro to Minas Gerais, and John Mawe was presented with "the finest porcelain clay" from

² Cláudia Damasceno Fonseca, "Mariana: Gênese e Transformação de uma Paisagem Cultural" (Master's thesis, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 1995), 59n14.

³ John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 179.

near Congonhas do Campo, but states that ceramic production was “entirely neglected.”⁴

On rare occasions, post-mortem inventories hint toward the possibility of the local production of fine ceramics. In 1803, João Paulo de Freitas owned some “louça da terra” (ceramics of the land), which implies manufacture somewhere within Brazil.⁵ More significantly, in 1769 João Antonio dos Santos owned six tureens with lids specifically described as made in Santa Barbara.⁶ Presumably, these were glazed earthenware vessels manufactured in the town of Santa Barbara, Minas Gerais, about forty miles north of Mariana. The possibility of such manufacturing deserves further research.

Beside those two exceptions, *mineiro* inventories generally describe imported ceramics. Since ceramics are relatively fragile and bulky to transport, questions arise about the access to high quality ceramics in the mining region. As discussed in Chapter Two, direct trade between Asia and Brazil increased in the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century, with ships often stopping in Salvador on their way from India to Portugal. In all likelihood, Salvador enjoyed a surge in the availability of high quality East Asian porcelain.⁷ To reach Minas Gerais, porcelain was either

⁴ Eschwege, *Journal von Brasilien*, Part 2, 82; John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 179, 270.

⁵ Conego João Paulo de Freitas’ inventory.

⁶ João Antonio dos Santos’ inventory, 1769.

⁷ A letter written in 1718 from a merchant in Bahia to the well-known merchant Francisco Pinheiro in Lisbon mentions two ships that had recently arrived from China carrying silk, fine ceramics, and tea. Luis Lisanti, *Negócios Coloniais: (Uma Correspondência Comercial do Século XVIII)*, Vol. 1 (São Paulo: Visão Editorial, 1973), 85-6.

illegally carried over land from Salvador, or was first shipped to Rio de Janeiro and then transported by mule. The most desirable merchandise may have been purchased by consumers in Salvador and Rio de Janeiro, and only the remaining wares sent on to Minas Gerais. However, shop owners and consumers in Minas Gerais are likely to have specifically requested high quality goods to be reserved for them. Merchants were motivated to oblige, since *mineiros* were willing to pay significantly higher prices for their wares than consumers along the coast of Brazil.⁸

In the last decades of the eighteenth century, inventories increasingly mention a variety of fine ceramics from Europe in addition to porcelain. Although several ceramic manufacturers in Europe were producing soft-paste porcelain and true porcelain throughout the eighteenth-century, the porcelain mentioned in *mineiro* inventories in the first half of the century is most likely to be East Asian. German, French, English, and other European porcelain would have been subject to numerous tariffs on its journey to Brazil, substantially increasing the cost of the wares and diminishing profits for Brazilian merchants. Nevertheless, it is possible that at least some of the Oliveira Pintos' porcelain was European.

Little is known about the sale of either Asian or European porcelain in Minas Gerais. Ceramics are rarely mentioned in the surviving ledger books from eighteenth-century shops. The ledger book from 1737 and 1738 that Alexandra Maria Pereira examined only mentioned the sale of two porcelain plates.⁹ These were large and expensive, nearly the value of Mariana's large plates discussed below. I did not find

⁸ Laird W. Bergad, *Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720-1888* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 7.

⁹ Pereira, "Um Mercador de Vila Rica," 74.

mentions of ceramics in two other shops' ledger books available at the Arquivo Publico Mineiro.¹⁰ Since ceramics were less lucrative than other wares and were fairly bulky for overland transport, imported ceramics may have only been sporadically available in Minas Gerais. When cargos of fine ceramics arrived in the local shops, they may have been quickly purchased by those with personal connections to the merchants.

Archaeological examinations could provide more extensive knowledge of the quality and variety of porcelain available in Minas Gerais. Unfortunately, few archaeological studies of eighteenth-century material culture have been conducted within colonial towns in Minas Gerais. Not only are such examinations lacking in Minas Gerais, but archaeology in Portugal has also largely neglected porcelain in favor of earthenware. The examination of porcelain has been relegated to art historians and antiques collectors.¹¹ Therefore, knowledge about porcelain within the Portuguese world revolves exclusively around matters of style and iconography rather than function and meaning within historical contexts. Furthermore, attention is paid to the examples most desirable to collectors today, those of exceptional quality, rather than the more common wares that played a greater role in the daily life of eighteenth-century consumers.

¹⁰ Borrador de contas particulares de João de Souza Lisboa; Borrador de Creditos de João Rodrigues de Macedo Relativos a suas Atividades Comerciais, 1768-1793, CC-2106, APM.

¹¹ José Pedro Vintém Henriques, "Do Oriente para Ocidente: Contributo para o Conhecimento da Porcelana Chinesa nos Quotidianos de Epoca Moderna: Estudo de Três Contextos Arqueológicos de Lisboa," in Teixeira, and Bettencourt, *Velhos e Novos Mundos*, 919. A recent publication dealing with porcelain found in Salvador da Bahia is brief and lacks historical analysis. Etchevarne, and Gomes, "Porcelana Chinesa em Salvador da Bahia (Séculos XVI a XVIII)," 933–35.

The preferences of modern collectors have also biased scholarship toward a focus on Portuguese tin-glazed earthenware. However, it appears that by the eighteenth century Portuguese and Brazilian writers considered tin-glazed earthenware crude and cheap, preferring porcelain and more durable, lighter-weight materials such as creamware and stoneware.¹² Tin-glazed earthenware is frequently found archaeologically in other regions of Brazil and was, in all likelihood, common in eighteenth-century homes in Minas Gerais. However, it is rarely mentioned in inventories due to its low cost.

Scholarship has also largely neglected the consumption of English ceramics within the Portuguese world. Given the extent of the trade between Portugal and England, a fair amount of English ceramics likely reached Minas Gerais. England was home to ceramic manufacturing centers that produced a diversity of ceramic types, including stoneware, creamware, and various soft-paste porcelain varieties. In 1763 the ceramics producer Josiah Wedgwood received an order for a variety of ceramics to be sent to Portugal, and in 1770 he wrote that creamware had been exported to Portugal for a long time.¹³ The taste for foreign ceramics in Portugal led to the creation of manufactories that imitated English and French wares. To protect the new Portuguese ceramic industry, the importation of foreign ceramics was prohibited in

¹² Moraes shares the opinion of Antonio Vieyra, who first published in 1652, that faience is crude, poorly executed and a worthless industry. See Antonio Vieyra, *Arte de Furtar, Espelho de Enganos, Theatro de Verdades, Mostrador de Horas Minguadas, Gazua Geral dos Reynos de Portugal* (Amsterdam: Martinho Schagen, 1744), 54-5; Moraes, *Diccionario*, Vol. 1, 594.

¹³ Alan Smith, "John Wyke of Liverpool, and the Staffordshire Pottery Export Trade," *Northern Ceramic Society Journal* 3 (1978): 80.

1770.¹⁴ Only ceramics transported from India or China on Portuguese vessels could be legally imported. Unsurprisingly, the law was unable to replace imports with Portuguese manufactures. The continuing desire for English innovations in ceramic production among Portuguese consumers is demonstrated in the 1783 law that permitted importation of English creamware, a ceramic type not yet produced in Portugal.¹⁵ According to the legislation, English creamware had become commonplace in Portugal despite the ban on imported ceramics. As Feliciano's inventory demonstrates, creamware had also reached Minas Gerais by this time.

Although creamware often appears in *mineiro* inventories of the end of the eighteenth century, earlier inventories primarily describe porcelain. The majority of porcelain in shops and homes was probably blue on white of relatively low quality, but Mariana's porcelain collection featured some extraordinarily fine pieces. For instance, each of her seven large plates were ascribed ten times the value of a porcelain cup or saucer. This indicates that the plates were outstanding pieces of Chinese or Japanese export porcelain, or possibly even European porcelain, with intricate ornamentation executed with a high level of craftsmanship. They may have been enameled which substantially raised the cost of production. In addition to the quality of Mariana's collection, the exceptional number of pieces owned would have impressed visitors. For instance, the inventory lists sixty-six nappies, which are small, shallow bowls. The

¹⁴ Antonio Delgado da Silva, *Collecção da Legislação Portuguesa desde a Ultima Compilação das Ordenações: Legislação de 1763 a 1774* (Lisbon: Typografia Maignense, 1829), 503.

¹⁵ *Eu a Rainha. Faço saber aos que este Alvará virem, que havendo prohibido, pelo outro Alvará de 7 de Novembro de 1770. a entrada neste Reino, de toda a louça de Paizes Estrangeiros...* (Lisbon: Regia Officina Typografica, 1783).

ceramics collection allowed Mariana and João to distinguish themselves as sophisticated porcelain connoisseurs.

Vessels made of silver were esteemed because of their high monetary cost, and were desirable heirlooms that could function as currency in times of need. Instead, the appreciation for porcelain was based on its visual and tactile qualities. Porcelain's distinct material characteristics were central for Europe's ruling elite when porcelain first became a regularly accessible commodity. In 1563 the archbishop of Braga, Bartolomeu dos Martires, reportedly proposed to the pope that instead of spending excessive sums on gold and silver tableware, the far less costly porcelain should be used.¹⁶ He praised porcelain as exceeding silver in "grace and cleanliness," comparing its thinness and transparency to crystal and alabaster, and the appearance of blue-on-white porcelain to alabaster and sapphires.

Bartolomeu dos Martires does mention porcelain's one disadvantage: the possibility of breaking. Unlike metals, worn or broken porcelain cannot be melted down and reused. However, compared to earthenware, porcelain is durable and resistant to wear. The smooth, glazed surface is easily washed, does not tarnish, and

¹⁶ The story initially appeared in Spanish in 1614. The first Portuguese edition is Frei Luis de Sousa and Luis Cacegas, *Vida de Dom Frei Bertolameu dos Martyres da Orde dos Pregadores Arcebispo e Senhor de Braga Primas das Espanhas* (Viana do Castelo: Nicolau Carvalho, 1619), 91. This story is often referenced. See, for instance, Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos and João Pedro Monteiro, *A Influência Oriental na Cerâmica Portuguesa do Século XVII = Oriental Influence on 17th Century Portuguese Ceramics: Museu Nacional do Azulejo* (Lisboa: Electa, 1994), 19; Eldino da Fonseca Brancante, *O Brasil e a Louça da Índia* (São Paulo: Pocaí, 1950), 66; Maxine Berg, "Asian Luxuries and the Making of the European Consumer Revolution," in *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, ed. by Maxine Berg, and Elizabeth Eger (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2003), 230. Secondary sources occasionally give the date of Bartolomeu's description of porcelain as 1562; however, a letter appearing in some earlier pages is dated February, 1563.

the white color provides the visual impression of cleanliness. Furthermore, the tactile experience of porcelain is far more pleasant than silver. While metals quickly conduct heat and cold, porcelain protects the consumer from extreme temperatures. In addition, the light weight and translucency of porcelain were particularly appealing qualities.

Much of the production of fine ceramics in early modern Europe aimed to imitate porcelain. Imitation was not merely a means of manufacturing cheaper substitutions. Consumers marveled at craftspeople's abilities to produce successful imitations.¹⁷ Since the majority of porcelain exported to Europe was blue-on-white, the most common means of alluding to porcelain was through blue-on-white ornamentation.

The word porcelain was deliberately used in Portugal to describe ceramics that merely imitated the material's appearance.¹⁸ In 1619 the potters' guild of Lisbon put on display "a porcelain vase made in Lisbon counterfeited from China."¹⁹ Likewise, Manuel Severim de Faria's *Noticias de Portugal*, first published in 1655, celebrates the "porcelains of Lisbon" that equal Chinese porcelain in their "beauty and

¹⁷ On imitation, see Reed Benhamou, "Imitation in the Decorative Arts of the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Design History* 4, no. 1 (1991): 1–13; Maxine Berg, "From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *The Economic History Review* 55, no. 1 (2002): 1–30.

¹⁸ It was common practice for ceramicists to deliberately associate their earthenware products with porcelain throughout Europe. Ceramic factories often called themselves porcelain factories. See for instance the names of the German and Dutch manufactories listed in Rudi, *Augenlust und Gaumenfreude*, 29.

¹⁹ "um vaso de porcelana da que se fazem em Lisboa contrafeita da China," Matos, and Monteiros, *A Influência Oriental na Cerâmica Portuguesa*, 21.

perfection.”²⁰ These Portuguese imitations of porcelain were tin-glazed earthenware. Materially, this type of ceramic has little in common with porcelain, but the tin-glaze created an opaque white surface in imitation of white porcelain. Decorative motifs similar to those found on export porcelain were typically added in cobalt blue. From a distance, tin-glazed earthenware can successfully mimic the appearance of porcelain vessels; however, a closer examination easily reveals material differences. Tin-glazed earthenware is thicker and heavier than porcelain. In addition, the material chips and cracks easily exposing the yellowish or reddish clay underneath. It is significant that the above-mentioned comparisons between Portuguese tin-glazed earthenware and Chinese porcelain were written by men who were promoting and celebrating Portuguese manufacturing. Consumers, on the other hand, may have been less inclined to view tin-glazed earthenware as a perfect imitation of porcelain.

In Europe porcelain was considered the finest type of ceramic, and when luxury was desired, porcelain was preferred over any substitutes.²¹ However, European elites did not limit themselves to porcelain, but found delight in the variety and novelty of the available ceramic types.²² The distinct visual, tactile, and physical properties of ceramic bodies and glazes provided opportunities to practice

²⁰ Ibid., 22.

²¹ Roger Massey, “Understanding Creamware,” in *Creamware and Pearlware Re-Examined*, ed. by T. Townsend Walford, and Roger Massey (Beckenham, Kent: English Ceramic Circle, 2007), 25.

²² Hilary Young, *English Porcelain, 1745-95: Its Makers, Design, Marketing and Consumption* (London: V&A Publications, 1999), 180; Massey, “Understanding Creamware,” 25.

connoisseurship. Consumers marveled at the artifice involved in transforming earth into elaborate and luxurious consumer goods.²³

Like consumers in Europe, the Oliveira Pintos likely collected a wide variety of both fine and ordinary ceramics. Although the decorative techniques, styles, and iconography included in the family's collections are unknown, we can explore some of the tactile experiences engendered by the various ceramic types they owned. As has been previously determined, Mariana and João owned porcelain of exceptional quality, most likely East Asian export porcelain, which was nevertheless typically of lower quality than the wares reserved for the local elite.²⁴ Porcelain intended for export to Europe was made more quickly and hence had thicker walls. Even an exceptionally fine piece of export porcelain, such as the armorial platter commissioned by the Pimentel family, has a relatively thick body that, although still lightweight, is not translucent (fig. 48).²⁵ The high cost derives from the intricacy and complexity of the enamel and gilt ornamentation.

²³ For a discussion of the importance of technical innovation and artifice in ceramics production, see Christine A. Jones, *Shapely Bodies: The Image of Porcelain in Eighteenth-Century France* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2013).

²⁴ Anne Gerritsen, "Global Design in Jingdezhen: Local Production and Global Connections," in *Global Design History*, ed. by Glenn Adamson, Giorgio Riello, and Sarah Teasley (London: Routledge, 2011), 26, 29.

²⁵ This piece is of extraordinarily fine craftsmanship, although not of the quality appropriate for a Chinese emperor. The basket weave relief was likely printed from a mold and the blue rings of ornament were also printed. However, the delicacy and intricacy of the painting in enamel and gold is quite extraordinary. The many colors must have also required numerous firings which adds considerable cost. I would like to thank Tiernan Alexander for sharing her expertise on this piece. The plate, along with numerous identical examples in other collections, is thought to have been commissioned by Francisco António da Veiga Cabral da Câmara Pimentel, the Viscount of Mirandela. One of the plates in the series is published in Nuno de Castro,

In general, the quality of most Chinese export porcelain is determined by the time, resources, and skill employed in the ornamentation. The highest quality porcelain reaching Minas Gerais likely had a fairly thick body like the Pimentel plate. Although European imitations of porcelain are usually easy to distinguish from porcelain, their tactile qualities can approach characteristics similar to the thick export porcelain. For instance, stoneware can be made remarkably thin. Although the orange-peel surface of salt-glazed stoneware would not have been mistaken for the smooth glow of porcelain's surface, stoneware features almost the strength and lightness of porcelain. Imported pieces of white salt-glazed stoneware would have been experientially similar to porcelain: white, light, thin, and durable.

Francisca's white stoneware cup is the only specifically mentioned piece of stoneware in the family's collections. Interestingly, the cup is valued about the same as a simple porcelain plate or cup and saucer. The stoneware cup may have been elaborately decorated. It is also possible that the English provenance significantly raised the cost because of additional layers of import duties. Additional pieces of stoneware may have been included in the Oliveira Pintos' ceramics collections without being specifically described as such in the inventories. Some of the pieces listed as "fine" but of moderate cost might refer to white stoneware. For instance, some of the inexpensive cups and saucers might be English stoneware, as it was a suitable material for holding hot beverages.²⁶ Although lacking the elite and exotic associations of

Chinese Porcelain and the Heraldry of the Empire, trans. by Ana Madeira (Porto: Civilização, 1988), 177.

²⁶ S. Robert Teitelman, et. al., *Success to America: Creamware for the American Market: Featuring the S. Robert Teitelman Collection at Winterthur* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors Club, 2010), 43.

porcelain, the Oliveira Pintos would have considered white salt-glazed stoneware a fine and respectable type of ceramic. Its English origin would have added a layer of interest for Brazilian consumers.

In contrast to stoneware, creamware often appears in inventories toward the end of the eighteenth century and is common in early nineteenth-century inventories. Creamware was one of the few ceramic innovations of the eighteenth century that did not initially attempt to replicate the experience of porcelain.²⁷ Creamware, a fine, cream-colored earthenware, has a distinctive appearance and feel. Although the ceramic body is molded of the same clay as white stoneware, the lower firing temperature requires thicker walls to produce a sufficiently strong finished product. Furthermore, the applied lead glaze adds additional weight. Unlike stoneware, the glaze produces a smooth surface reminiscent of porcelain; however, the yellow or pink tinge of the clay belies that the material is not porcelain. Nevertheless, creamware was a feat of English innovation and a desirable novelty in Europe and the Americas.

While the Oliveira Pintos likely delighted in the different tangible qualities of the various ceramic types, they probably also found pleasure in the repetition found in matching sets of plates, bowls, or cups and saucers. Except for Jose and Angelica's mismatched plates and the occasional solitary item, the descriptions of ceramics in the Oliveira Pintos' inventories suggest that many entries were composed of vessels with matching shapes and decorative schemes. As Mimi Hellman has discussed, the

²⁷ Much early creamware was given a solid colored glaze or was speckled to imitate tortoiseshell. Massey, "Understanding Creamware," 19.

manufacture of matched sets required great skill prior to the industrial revolution.²⁸

Although ceramic vessels could be shaped using molds, and decorative motifs could be applied via printmaking processes, achieving multiples with only a small degree of variation was a challenge. Matching sets, especially of finely painted and enameled designs, were more expensive than single items, and were, therefore, only accessible to the wealthy.

In addition to the aesthetic and tactile enjoyment of ceramics, the family's porcelain collections carried rich cultural associations. Despite the many European imitations of East Asian porcelain, the material maintained its associations with the East. Bluteau's lengthy entry on porcelain describes its Chinese and Japanese origins.²⁹ Even decades after true porcelain began to be manufactured in Europe, the material continued to be described as East Asian. A 1762 decree mentions porcelain as Chinese ceramics, while Moraes briefly defines porcelain as "ceramics from Japan."³⁰ Within the *mineiro* post-mortem inventories I have examined, porcelain is almost

²⁸ Mimi Hellman, "The Joy of Sets: The Use of Seriality in the French Interior," in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us About the European and American Past*, eds. Dena Goodman, and Kathryn Norberg (New York: Routledge, 2007), 140.

²⁹ Bluteau, *Vocabulário*, Vol. 6, P 616.

³⁰ Jorge Getulio Veiga, *Chinese Export Porcelain in Private Brazilian Collections*, trans. by Carlos Eduardo de Castro Leal (London, UK: Distributor, Han-Shan Tang, 1989), 30-31. The text of the decree is published in Antonio Delgado da Silva, *Collecção da Legislação Portuguesa desde a ultima Compilação das Ordenações: Legislação de 1750 a 1762* (Lisbon: Typografia Maignense, 1830), 858-9. Moraes, *Diccionario*, Vol. 2, 219.

always labeled as “louça da Índia” meaning ceramics from India.³¹ This name emerged around 1500 when the first shipments of Chinese porcelain arrived in Portugal on vessels returning from India around the Cape of Good Hope. This term continuously reminds consumers of the exotic origins of their porcelain.

The term *louça da Índia* also reinforces porcelain’s connections to Portuguese imperial power. With the creation of a maritime route to Asia in the fifteenth century, the Portuguese enabled large-scale importation of porcelain into Europe for the first time in history. Portugal’s status as the first European power to hold strong maritime trade relations with East Asia was important to Portuguese economics and culture. However, Portugal’s position in Asia had been seriously reduced by the eighteenth century, even though the Portuguese maintained trade posts throughout the continent. Dutch and English merchants had taken over many Portuguese trade posts and dominated the trade in spices, textiles, and porcelain to Europe. The unwillingness to recognize the role of such foreign actors in some early modern Portuguese publications reinforces the significance of Portugal’s early exploration of Asia. For instance, Bluteau’s discussion of Portuguese Asia briefly mentions decline as a natural phenomenon within an empire, instead of acknowledging that the Portuguese lost their power in Asia because of other European rivals.³²

³¹ Interestingly, Eldino da Fonseca Brancante’s study of inventories in São Paulo from 1600 to 1625 indicates that the terms, “porcelain,” and “ceramics from India” were used with similar frequency, while I have rarely encountered the term “porcelain” in Minas Gerais.

³² Bluteau, *Diccionario*, Vol. 4, I 104-6.

Throughout the eighteenth century, young Portuguese men fought to keep Goa, India, as part of the empire. The ongoing struggle to maintain crucial trade posts in Asia would have been well known to educated elites in Brazil. Some *mineiro* elites directly financed the protection of Portuguese Asia. When petitioning for entrance into the Order of Christ or Order of the Holy Office, the petitioner could make a gesture of service to the crown by paying for a certain number of sailors to be sent to India.³³ Access to Asian porcelain served as evidence that the Portuguese presence in Asia was not merely a high point in the empire's history. Porcelain collections in Brazil attested to the continuation of the global expanse of the Portuguese empire.

In addition to imperial connections to the East, porcelain held specific connotations because of its unique material characteristics and functions. Much recent scholarship uses a variety of literary sources, from theatrical performances to advertisements, to explore the meanings porcelain held within Britain and France. The English associated porcelain with the body, fragility, femininity, and with superfluous consumption and ever-changing fashion, while the French focused on the importance of luxury, fashion, innovation, and artifice for the French economy and culture.³⁴ The educated elite in Portugal and Brazil were likely aware of such attitudes. Foreign literature and plays were often translated into Portuguese and performed on

³³ Almeida, "Uma Nobreza da Terra," 165, 173.

³⁴ John Potvin, and Alla Myzelev, "Introduction: The Material of Visual Cultures," in *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, ed. by John Potvin, and Alla Myzelev (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009), 10, 20, 27; Jones, *Shapely Bodies*, 26; Mimi Hellman, "The Nature of Artifice: French Porcelain Flowers and the Rhetoric of the Garnish," in *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-century Porcelain*, ed. by Alden Cavanagh, and Michael Elia Yonan (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2010), 44-5, 57.

Portuguese stages.³⁵ However, research on the specific meanings of porcelain has not been conducted for the Portuguese world. Further studies are necessary to determine whether porcelain held similar connotations for residents of Portugal and Brazil.

Like other Europeans, Portuguese consumers associated Asia with exquisite craftsmanship and marvelous materials. For centuries, Europeans had admired the quality of silk, lacquer, and porcelain produced in Asia. The quality and aesthetic of East Asian manufacturing probably contributed greatly to Mariana and João's reasons for acquiring such a large collection of porcelain. The Oliveira Pintos likely conceived of Asia as a place of sophistication and refinement, as well as mysterious and alluring exoticism. A significant portion of their porcelain may have been ornamented with *chinoiserie* designs, reinforcing the fascination with the East. Several of the surviving eighteenth-century ceramics from the episcopal palace of Mariana—examples of the domestic possessions of the *mineiro* elite—are decorated with *chinoiserie* designs.³⁶ Moreover, the imitation lacquer in some *mineiro* churches and on oratories attests to the local interest in *chinoiserie*.³⁷ Similar lacquer designs and other instances of *chinoiserie* ornament are likely to have adorned colonial homes.

³⁵ Maria Camara mentions the performance of an Italian opera in Lisbon in Maria Alexandra Trindade Gago da Câmara, "Cenografias Exóticas no Azulejo Setecentista," in *O Exótico Nunca está em Casa? A China na Faiança e no Azulejo Portugueses (Séculos XVII-XVIII): The Exotic is Never at Home? The Presence of China in the Portuguese Faience and Azulejo (17th-18th Centuries)*, ed. by Alexandre Curvelo (Lisbon: Museu Nacional do Azulejo, 2013), 129. The collections of *cordel* literature at the National Library of Portugal and the library of the *Teatro Nacional D. Maria II* contain numerous theater pieces translated from other European languages.

³⁶ These are on display at the Museu Arquidiocesana de Arte Sacra de Mariana.

³⁷ Some instances of surviving imitation lacquer in Minas Gerais are discussed in Carr, "Chinoiserie in the Colonial Americas," 125-6.

In addition to introducing Western consumers to new materials and visual vocabularies, porcelain played a prominent role in new social rituals. Because of its insulating properties, strength, and sophistication, porcelain was considered one of the best materials for the consumption of coffee, tea, and chocolate.³⁸ Mariana's inventory includes eleven cups and saucers for tea, and eleven cups and saucers for chocolate. Cups intended for tea differed in form from chocolate cups. In Europe, chocolate and coffee were typically consumed out of the same vessels—tall, narrow cups with handles—while tea was served in cups that were shallower and wider. Tea bowls, without handles, were still common among the middle class in British America, but had fallen out of favor in Europe. Unfortunately, Mariana's inventory does not mention handles; however, the family's interest in European forms, their wealth and their status suggest that they owned tea cups rather than tea bowls. In addition to cups and saucers, two of the Oliveira Pinto inventories list teapots. In 1772 Antonio Duarte

³⁸ For recent research on chocolate in the Portuguese world, see Isabel M. R. Mendes Drumond Braga, "O Chocolate à Mesa: Sociabilidade, Luxo e Exotismo," in *Actas do Colóquio Formas e Espaços de Sociabilidade—Contributos para uma História da Cultura em Portugal* (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 2008), https://www.academia.edu/6931933/_O_Chocolate_%C3%A0_Mesa_Sociabilidade_Luxo_e_Exotismo_Col%C3%B3quio_Formas_e_Espa%C3%A7os_de_Sociabilidade_Contributos_para_uma_Hist%C3%B3ria_da_Cultura_em_Portugal_Lisboa_Universidade_Aberta_2008_cd_rom_; Timothy Walker, "Slave Labor and Chocolate in Brazil: The Culture of Cacao Plantations in Amazonia and Bahia (17th-19th Centuries)," *Food and Foodways* 15, no. 1–2 (2007): 75-106; Timothy Walker, "Cure or Confection? Chocolate in the Portuguese Royal Court and Colonial Hospitals, 1580-1830," in *Chocolate: History, Culture, and Heritage*, ed. by Grivetti, Louis, and Howard-Yana Shapiro (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2009), 561-568; Timothy Walker, "Establishing Cacao Plantation Culture in the Atlantic World: Portuguese Cacao Cultivation in Brazil and West Africa, circa 1590-1912," in Grivetti, and Shapiro, *Chocolate: History, Culture, and Heritage*, 543-560.

owned a gilded ceramic teapot, most likely of porcelain, as well as an old pewter teapot, and in 1807 Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho possessed three porcelain teapots.³⁹

So far, knowledge about tea consumption in eighteenth-century Portugal is fairly sparse. As João Teles e Cunha has argued, tea was far less widely consumed in Portugal than in Britain and other areas of Northern Europe.⁴⁰ When the Portuguese Catherine of Braganza arrived in Britain in 1662 as the bride of Charles II, her dowry included tea and she has become famed for popularizing the drink throughout Britain.⁴¹ Despite this reputation, evidence suggests that tea was not common in the Portuguese court, but may have merely been an occasional treat among the royal family.⁴² Early eighteenth-century Portuguese publications that discuss tea consider the beverage medicinal and do not mention tea drinking as a part of everyday life.⁴³ The fashion for tea became more widespread throughout the nobility in the second half of the eighteenth century, although tea consumption remained modest in comparison to its fervent popularity in the British world.⁴⁴

³⁹ Antonio Duarte's inventory; Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho's inventory.

⁴⁰ João Teles e Cunha, "Chá - A Socialização da Bebida em Portugal: Séculos XVI-XVIII," in *Aquém e Além da Tropabana, Estudos Luso-Orientais à Memória de Jean Aubin e Denys Lombard*, ed. by Luís Filipe F.R. Thomaz (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de Além-Mar, 2002), 313, 315, 317, 318.

⁴¹ Yao-Fen You, "From Novelty to Necessity: The Europeanization of Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate," in *Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate: Consuming the World*, ed. by Yao-Fen You (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 19-20.

⁴² Teles e Cunha, "Chá," 313.

⁴³ Ibid., 215-6

⁴⁴ Ibid., 319-21.

The elites in Portugal and Brazil who enjoyed the occasional cup of tea would have viewed tea drinking as a decorous social ritual tinged with the exotic allure of East Asian origins. The significant presence in Portugal of British merchants and wares likely also contributed to the taste for tea.⁴⁵ While both Bluteau and Moraes discuss the Japanese origins of tea, and Bluteau claims Japanese tea to be of higher quality, by the eighteenth century most tea arriving in Portugal and Brazil was shipped from Macau.⁴⁶ In 1789 Domingos Vandelli recommended that tea should be cultivated in Brazil; yet the first successful attempts to grow tea in Portuguese America postdate the court's arrival in the early nineteenth century.⁴⁷

According to Teles e Cunha tea became part of the royal table to serve as a substitute for chocolate after the end of the Iberian Union in 1640.⁴⁸ Since the Spanish were the first Europeans to embrace the consumption of chocolate, the Iberian Union is likely to have strengthened, or even initiated, the Portuguese affinity for the beverage. A plant native to Mesoamerica, the Spanish first encountered cacao in 1502

⁴⁵ Teles e Cunha discusses tea in France as related to Anglophilia. *Ibid.*, 318.

⁴⁶ Bluteau, *Vocabulario*, Vol. 2, C 264-5; Moraes, *Diccionario*, Vol. 1, 259; Teles e Cunha, "Chá," 315, 321; Lisanti, *Negocios Coloniais*, Vol. 1, 85-6.

⁴⁷ Domingos Vandelli, "Memoria sobre Algumas Produções Naturaes das Conquistas, as quaes ou são pouco conhecidas, ou não se Aproveitaô," in *Memorias Economicas da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, para o Adiantamento da Agricultura, das Artes, e da Industria em Portugal, e suas Conquistas*, Vol. 1 (Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1789), 197. Warren Dean, *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 127, 171-3.

⁴⁸ While tea was abundantly available within Portuguese Asia, Brazilian cacao cultivation was in its infancy. Thus, after Restoration the Portuguese court could more easily access tea than chocolate. Teles e Cunha, "Chá," 313.

and soon learned of the preparation and consumption of the chocolate beverage.⁴⁹ Central American chocolate was exported to Spain and from there to the rest of Europe. Cacao also grew in the northern Amazon and was commercialized by the Jesuits in the Grão-Para and Maranhão area beginning in the sixteenth century. In the late seventeenth century, the Portuguese court promoted cacao cultivation in Bahia in order to further take advantage of the lucrative crop.⁵⁰

By the eighteenth-century chocolate was esteemed throughout Europe and the Americas. The inventories I have examined contain significant evidence for the consumption of chocolate in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais. *Chocolateiras*, chocolate pots for stirring the ingredients and creating a frothy texture, were quite common in the mining region.⁵¹ Numerous branches of the Oliveira Pinto family owned at least one chocolate pot. In addition, in 1777, the priest João Ferreira de Souza owned eight pounds of chocolate, cacao that has been processed for preparation into the chocolate beverage.⁵²

⁴⁹ You, "From Novelty to Necessity," 14; For a detailed discussion of the Spanish adoption of chocolate, see Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

⁵⁰ On cacao production in Brazil, see Walker, "Slave Labor and Chocolate in Brazil," 75-106; Walker, "Establishing Cacao Plantation Culture in the Atlantic World," 543-560.

⁵¹ When the inventories list the material, the chocolate pots are always described as made of copper. They could, however, also be made of cheaper materials, such as clay. In such instances, they are likely to have been excluded from post-mortem inventories. Drumond Braga, "O Chocolate à Mesa," 5.

⁵² João Ferreira de Souza's inventory, f. 23r.

Although chocolate was an American plant, wealthy *mineiros* would have associated the consumption of chocolate with elite European customs rather than Native American rituals. In Portugal, the penchant for drinking chocolate likely began with the beverage's popularity among the Spanish royalty and nobility. The Iberian Union, in particular, created a shared culture among royalty in the Iberian Peninsula, and chocolate maintained its royal and noble associations after Portuguese restoration.⁵³ However, recent English-language publications on the consumption of chocolate claim that residents of Portugal and its overseas territories were not interested in chocolate and that the beverage held undesirable connotations.⁵⁴ For the case of Brazil, I have found no evidence that chocolate was viewed negatively, and on the contrary the inclusion of drinking vessels and chocolate pots in elite inventories suggests that chocolate was a respectable element of elite domestic life.⁵⁵ Furthermore,

⁵³ On the consumption of chocolate among Portuguese royalty, see Drumond Braga, "O Chocolate à Mesa," 13-4; Isabel M. R. Mendes Drumond Braga, "A América à Mesa do Rei," in *A Mesa dos Reis de Portugal: Ofícios, Consumos, Cerimónias, Representações (Séculos XVII-XVIII)*, ed. by Ana Isabel Buescu and David Felismino (Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 2011), 343, 345-6; Walker, "Cure or Confection?," 561, 565.

⁵⁴ William Gervase Clarence-Smith states that the Portuguese preferred tea, and Timothy Walker, citing Clarence-Smith, argues that chocolate was perceived as a low-class commodity in the Portuguese world. Walker explains that chocolate was associated with Native Americans and Africans, and that Portuguese and Brazilian consumers preferred coffee and tea for their prestigious Asian associations. William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Cocoa and Chocolate, 1765-1914* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), 12-13, 18; Walker, "Slave Labor and Chocolate in Brazil," 98-9; Walker, "Cure or Confection?," 564.

⁵⁵ The inventories examined by Vasconcelos e Sousa likewise indicate that chocolate was just as favored within elite households as tea and coffee. Gonçalo Vasconcelos e Sousa, "Ouro, Prata e Outras Riquezas Setecentistas Numa Herança da Baía (Brasil),"

travel accounts report that royalty and nobility in Portugal drank chocolate, the royal family owned luxurious chocolate pots and chocolate cups, and King João V was portrayed enjoying the beverage among his courtiers in an intimate and luxurious miniature on ivory with an elaborate silver frame (figs. 49-51).⁵⁶

Chocolate, coffee, and tea all became part of European consumption due to the encounter with foreign lands and cultures. By the eighteenth-century, however, all three beverages had been subsumed into conceptions of European civility and gentility. The Oliveira Pintos' consumption of chocolate from porcelain cups signaled their status, sophistication, and refined taste. In contrast to the many records of chocolate, coffee is only mentioned once in the Oliveira Pintos' inventories: Antonio Duarte's coffee grinder. Within the inventories I have examined, the word "coffee" most often refers to the color of a textile. Other than Antonio Duarte's coffee grinder in 1772, I have found only two other references to coffee consumption prior to the arrival of the court in 1808: a second coffee grinder in 1774, and a bill of sale for various foods including coffee from 1801.⁵⁷

Coffee cultivation had begun in northern Brazil in 1727, but remained a modest industry throughout the eighteenth century.⁵⁸ Authors writing on agriculture

Revista da Faculdade de Letras, Ciências e Técnicas do Património 3 (2004): 293–316.

⁵⁶ See for instance, Beckford, *The Journal of William Beckford*, 65.

⁵⁷ Domingos da Rocha Ferreira's inventory; João Antonio dos Santos' inventory, 1801.

⁵⁸ Affonso de E. Taunay, *Historia do Café no Brasil*, Vol. 1, *No Brasil Colonial 1727-1822*, Tome 1 (Rio de Janeiro: Departamento Nacional do Café, 1939), 286; Ibid., Vol. 2, Tome 2, 100-101.

and economics at the end of the eighteenth century showed little interest in coffee. The beverage's appeal among elite consumers in Portugal and Brazil, however, has not been thoroughly investigated. Writing in 1712, Bluteau suggests that coffee consumption was fairly new in Portugal.⁵⁹ In 1739 officials in Pará, Brazil asked the court to forbid trade in foreign coffee to protect the local coffee industry.⁶⁰ A Portuguese official overseeing the empire's overseas dominions decided that this was a reasonable request and that the coffee shipped annually from Pará was sufficient to satisfy Portuguese demand. He stated that 420 *arrobas*, equivalent to 6,169 kg, of Pará coffee had arrived in Lisbon in the previous year.⁶¹ While this quantity may not have truly been able to meet the demand of consumers in Portugal, the letters suggest that coffee consumption in Portugal was modest and restricted to the elite.

Drinking hot beverages was not only a personal comfort, but was also a social ritual. Hosts would offer chocolate or tea to guests both during intimate gatherings between friends and formal social engagements. The consumption of these hot beverages signaled a break from Portuguese tradition, which had focused on wine as

⁵⁹ Bluteau, *Vocabulario*, Vol. 2, C 36.

⁶⁰ Carta dos Oficiais da Câmara da Cidade de Belém do Pará para o Rei, 1739-1741, caixa 23, doc. 2125, CU-013, AHU.

⁶¹ The conversion to kilograms is based on the numbers presented in Luís Seabra Lopes, "A Cultura da Medição em Portugal ao Longo da História," *Educação e Matemática*, no 48 (2005): 47. According to Affonso Taunay, a record from 1740 states that 400 *arrobas*, or just over 5,000 kilograms, of coffee was shipped annually from Pará to Portugal. Taunay, *Historia do Café no Brasil*, Vol. 1, 259. Taunay provides no indication of the source of this data. He claims that it derives from "official documents," but does not specify the archive or context in which they were written. Taunay likely used the document discussed above, although his conversion to kilograms is inaccurate.

the most important drink. Indeed, authors and consumers in the Portuguese world were conscious of the foreignness of tea, chocolate, and coffee. The celebrated Portuguese playwright Manoel de Figueiredo wrote of the influx of foreign goods and habits in his 1773 comedy *Perigos da Educação* (Dangers of Education):

The teas, coffees,
Chocolates, butters, the cookies,
Pins, potatoes, ribbons, fans,
The clothing, hairstyles; the mustards,
Cooks, the dances, manners,
The writing, the language, the gestures; everything, everything
Comes to us from the Foreigners...⁶²

As in the rest of Europe, cultural change and the importation of foreign luxury goods caused anxiety for economists and other members of Portuguese society. However, consumers delighted in the sensual pleasures of new consumer goods. Not only tea, chocolate, and coffee, but the porcelain vessels themselves were exotic imports. The exquisite quality of manufacture, the tactile qualities of the material, and the associations with Asia, most obviously pronounced when ornamented with

⁶² Os chás, cafés.
Chocolates, manteigas, os biscoitos,
Alfinetes, batatas, fitas, leques,
Os trajes, penteados; os mostardas,
Cozinheiros, das danças, cortezas,
A letra, a língua, os géstos; tudo, tudo
Nos vem dos Estrangeiros...

Manoel de Figueiredo, “Perigos da Educação,” in *Theatro de Manoel de Figueiredo*, Vol. 1 (Lisbon: Imprensa Regia, 1804), 31. This text is often referenced in discussions of tea, chocolate and coffee, but has been incorrectly cited. See Maria A. Lopes, *Mulheres, Espaço e Sociabilidade: A Transformação dos Papéis Femininos em Portugal à Luz de Fontes Literárias (Segunda Metade do Século XVIII)* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1989), 77; Drumond Braga, “O Chocolate à Mesa,” 12; Drumond Braga, “A América à Mesa do Rei,” 342.

chinoiserie scenes, compelled the Oliveira Pintos to acquire impressive porcelain collections.

Clothing and Jewelry

Although the adornment of the home and the ability to provide elegant settings for formal dining signaled education and wealth, clothing was arguably the most important signifier of identity. Displaying legal, social, and economic status was a major function of clothing. This display of status was circumscribed by both sumptuary laws and social convention. Cultural norms proscribed the types of clothing required in various contexts and by various peoples. Moral codes not only determined the coverage of flesh but also addressed the appropriate use of adornment. Although excessive luxury was condemned, women were encouraged to adorn themselves to visually appeal to their husbands and to appropriately project their husbands' status.⁶³ Likewise, men with military and noble titles and aspirations needed to visually project that status.

Clothing was often the primary subject of Portuguese sumptuary laws. In 1698, Dom Pedro II issued a long decree summarizing the sumptuary laws that were in effect at that date. The legislation was primarily based on the extensive sumptuary law issued in 1677 and incorporated the revisions and additions made in subsequent years. The king introduced the 1698 decree as being “about my vassals' manner of dressing, as well as about the things that they may use in their clothes, adornment of homes,

⁶³ Diogo de Payva de Andrada, *Casamento Perfeyto* (Lisbon: Miguel Rodrigues, 1726), 305, 317.

coaches, litters and carriages.”⁶⁴ As royalty and clergy were exempt from these and subsequent sumptuary laws, the aim was to control the public display of wealth among the remaining classes, including the nobility.

The decree addressed who could wear certain types of garments, under what circumstances attire for mourning was permitted, how clothing must be tailored, and what materials were forbidden. Along with the decree, prints were distributed to tailors illustrating the approved tailoring of clothing. Silk was only permitted along the hem of women’s petticoats, and any gold, silver, lace or embroidery was forbidden in clothing. Although simple silver buttons were permitted, gold buttons were prohibited. Finally, any colored textiles manufactured outside of Portugal were forbidden, except when re-exported to “India,” in this case likely a reference to any of Portugal’s overseas territories.⁶⁵

This legislation remained in effect until the 1749 sumptuary law modified many of the strictures. The first chapter forbids nearly all of the adornment of the body. Forbidden are “ornaments and embellishments, *telas*,⁶⁶ brocades, tissues, *galaces*,⁶⁷ passementeries, fringes, cords, *espiguilhas*,⁶⁸ *debruns*, tassles, or any other

⁶⁴ “...sobre o modo de vestir de meus vassallos. como tambem sobre as cousas, de que nos vestidos, adornos das casas, coches, liteiras, ou seges, poderiam usar.” José Justino de Andrade Silva, *Collecção Chronologica da Legislação Portuguesa, 1683-1700*, (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1859), 419.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 419-20.

⁶⁶ *Telas* is a generic term for fabrics containing gold or silk threads.

⁶⁷ *Galaces* refers to gala, a lustrous wool or silk fabric worn to court festivities and other prestigious events.

⁶⁸ *Espiguilhas* refers to a type of lace or trim.

sort of fabric, or piece that contains silver, or gold whether fine or false,” as well as any ornament other than the crosses of the noble orders.⁶⁹ Simple, undecorated silver and gold buttons and buckles were permitted; buttons and buckles could not be made of filigree, be gilded or silver-plated or feature enamel or other ornament.⁷⁰ Initially, all lace, and fabrics imitating lace, were prohibited, but this was retracted only a few months later.⁷¹ In addition to addressing materials and adornments, the decree includes several restrictions on imports. Embroidery was only permitted if applied within Portugal, and any multicolored or patterned silk was prohibited unless manufactured within the Portuguese empire. The only foreign silks that could be imported were voided velvet and damask of a single color.⁷²

The 1749 sumptuary law was the first to address social conditions outside of Portugal. It contained an entire chapter about the dress of people of color, making no distinction between the free and the enslaved. As Silvia Lara has shown, this inclusion

⁶⁹ “ornatos e enfeites, telas, brocados, tissús, galacés, fitas, galões, passamanes, franjas, cordoes, espiguihas, debruns, borlas, ou qualquer outra sorte de tecido, ou obra, em que entrar prata, nem ouro fino ou falso, nem riço cortado á semelhança de bordado.” *Appendix das Leys Extravagantes, Decretos, e Avisos, que se tem Publicado do Anno de 1747 até o Anno de 1761* (Lisbon: Mosteiro de S. Vicente de Fóra, 1760), 20.

⁷⁰ “Permitto, que se possaõ trazer botões, e fivelas de prata, ou de ouro, ou de outros metaes, sendo lisos, batidos, ou fundidos, e não de fio de ouro ou prata, nem dourados, ou prateados, nem com esmalte, ou labores.” *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Silvia Hunold Lara, “The Signs of Color: Women’s Dress and Racial Relations in Salvador and Rio de Janeiro, ca 1750-1815,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 6, n. 2 (1997): 208.

⁷² *Appendix das Leys*, 20. Both voided velvet and damask are common in the Oliveira Pinto households.

was the result of many letters sent from Brazil to Portugal voicing concerns about luxury among people of African descent. However, the court's response, unlike the Brazilian pleas, did not take into account the great degree of socioeconomic stratification within the black population. This portion of the legislation was swiftly annulled, possibly due to protests from Brazil.⁷³ The Portuguese court apparently did not understand the need to be able to visually distinguish subtle variations of status within all races and classes of the diverse Brazilian population. This lack of a visible social hierarchy was a source of anxiety for the Brazilian governors and viceroys.

For the Oliveira Pintos, pronouncing their achieved status with luxurious clothing and jewelry was important. None of the family members were descended from a noble lineage, but instead attained their wealth through landownership in Brazil and the mineral wealth that the land produced. Their status was based on money rather than blood, and therefore they needed to constantly reinforce their social standing through consumption and display. In public spaces, clothing and jewelry were the most effective demonstrations of wealth. In theory, the Oliveira Pintos were subject to the sumptuary laws that nearly entirely eliminated opportunities to display wealth on the body. However, sumptuary laws were rarely if ever enforced anywhere within the Portuguese empire. The Oliveira Pintos clearly ignored the bans on gold, silver, and silk ornaments, and violated laws against goods manufactured outside of the empire.

Sumptuary laws were largely intended to protect the interests of Portuguese manufacturers. However, in the case of textiles, Portugal simply did not produce

⁷³ Lara, "The Signs of Color," 205-209.

sufficient fine textiles to meet demand in Portugal and Brazil.⁷⁴ Despite numerous efforts to improve the Portuguese textile industry, a significant increase in the quality and quantity of production only occurred in the second half of the eighteenth century when the Marquis of Pombal focused on the expansion of manufacturing.⁷⁵

Government efforts to support the textile industry focused on silks. The Real Fábrica das Sedas (Royal Factory of Silks) was among the most successful manufacturing center. Under Pombal, the Real Fábrica das Sedas oversaw manufacturing of all kinds throughout Portugal, but the factory's own production focused heavily on silk textiles. Although the factory had been opened in 1734, production was initially slow due in part to the scarcity of available raw or spun silk. Economists recognized the need for silk cultivation within Portugal to truly allow a national silk industry to thrive.⁷⁶

Nevertheless Portuguese silk cultivation remained modest and the Real Fábrica das Sedas and other textile centers were dependent on the importation of raw materials.⁷⁷

Inadequate fiber production also plagued the linen, wool, and cotton industries. According to Domingos Vandelli, a major proponent of supporting local agriculture,

⁷⁴ Isabel M. R. Mendes Drumond Braga, "Teares, Fios e Tecidos em Viagem: Produções e Exportações da Real Fábrica das Sedas para o Brasil (1734-1821)," *Revista de Artes Decorativas* 4 (2010): 104.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 106-8.

⁷⁶ See for instance, Rafael Bluteau, *Instrucçam sobre a Cultura das Amoreiras, e Criação dos Bichos da Seda Dirigida a' Conservação e Augmento das Manufacturas de Seda* (Coimbra: Real Imprensa da Universidade, 1769).

⁷⁷ In 1804, only 18% of silk thread used in the Tras-os-Montes silk weaving industry had been cultivated locally. Alberto da Conceição Magalhães, "A Real Fábrica das Sedas e o Comércio Têxtil com o Brasil" (Master's thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2010), 49.

Portuguese sheep were not as well bred as those of England or Spain, and the resulting textiles were coarser than those imported from England.⁷⁸ Although Guimarães was a well-known center of linen production and by 1788 linen textiles were produced in other regions of Portugal, local linen cultivation was not sufficient to meet demand, and the industry depended on imports of linen fiber.⁷⁹ According to Magalhães, linen processing in Portugal also did not meet the standards of other European textile centers.⁸⁰ In 1789 the priest João de Loureiro argued for the cultivation of cotton in Northern Brazil and Angola, and for the creation of a Portuguese cotton textile industry, since the Portuguese cotton industry had been mainly centered on printing imported cotton textiles rather than local spinning and weaving.⁸¹ The establishment of cotton spinning began in the 1770s using cotton imported from Brazil, and the Real Fábrica das Sedas produced some cotton cloths after 1780.⁸²

⁷⁸ Domingos Vandelli, “Memoria Sobre Algumas Produções Naturaes deste Reino, das quaes se Poderia tirar Utilidade,” in *Memorias Economicas da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, para o Adiantamento da Agricultura, das Artes, e da Industria em Portugal, e suas Conquistas*, Vol. 1 (Academia Real das Sciencias, 1789), 184.

⁷⁹ Jorge Fernandes Alves, *Fiar e Tecer: Uma Perspectiva Histórica da Indústria Têxtil a Partir do Vale do Ave* (Vila Nova de Famalicão: Câmara Municipal, 1999), 2, 16; Nuno Luís Madureira, *Cidade: Espaço e Quotidiano (Lisboa 1740-1830)* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1992), 237; Magalhães, “A Real Fábrica das Sedas,” 128.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁸¹ João de Loureiro, “Memoria sobre o Algodão, sua Cultura, e Fabrica,” in *Memorias Economicas da Academia Real das Sciencias*, Vol. 1, 32-40. On the Portuguese chintz industry, see Maria Augusta Lage Pablo da Trindade Ferreira, *Lenços & Colchas de Chita de Alcobaça* (Lisbon: Instituto Camões, 2001).

⁸² Magalhães, “A Real Fábrica das Sedas,” 55-6, 61-2, 136; Alves, *Fiar e Tecer*, 32, 34-5.

With Pombal's initiatives to hire foreign workers and acquire specialized machinery, exports from the Real Fábrica das Sedas to Brazil increased after 1750.⁸³ However, Portuguese textiles likely represented only a small fraction of the fabrics that arrived in Brazil. As the century progressed, the Real Fábrica das Sedas was able to ship ever greater quantities of textiles to its American colony; however, the same period also saw increasing contraband trade with other European nations with long-standing traditions of textile manufacture.

An aspect of the textile trade that requires further research is the importation of Asian silks. Since such silks were shipped directly from Asia to Brazil, they are rarely mentioned in the letters of merchants communicating between Portugal and Brazil, nor are they recorded in export and import records in Portugal. Thus, the subject has received relatively little attention. Reportedly, a decree issued on September 15, 1788 forbade the importation of Asian silks, and was renewed in 1793 and 1799 in order to protect the Portuguese silk industry.⁸⁴ The effect such measures may have had on Brazilian consumers has not been explored. While the Oliveira Pintos' inventories rarely indicate the place of origin of their textiles, the state of manufacturing and trade suggests that much of their belongings did not comply with Portuguese law. Many of the textile types listed in their inventories were not produced within the Portuguese

⁸³ Some data is available from the trading companies to the captaincies of Grão Pará e Maranhão, Pernambuco and Paraíba. Drumond Braga, "Teares, Fios e Tecidos em Viagem," 118-9. See also Magalhães, "A Real Fábrica das Sedas."

⁸⁴ I have been unable to locate the text of the decrees. They are mentioned by José Accursio das Neves in 1827, and subsequent authors have referenced his statement. Neves, *Noções Historicas, Economicas*, 332; Jorge Miguel Viana Pedreira, *Estrutura Industrial e Mercado Colonial: Portugal e Brasil (1780-1830)* (Lisbon: Difel, 1994), 288; Magalhães, "A Real Fábrica das Sedas," 128-9.

empire, such as *lemiste*, *belbute*, and the many Northern European varieties of linen. Furthermore, family members wore a great variety of silks, as well as fabrics containing gold or silver threads.

In addition to fabric types, the varieties of garments listed in post-mortem inventories provide glimpses of the effect of culture, commerce, and climate on elite dress in Minas Gerais. Throughout most of the eighteenth century, the types of garments worn in public in Europe remained fairly constant. Changes in fashion altered the cut, colors, and fabric-types used, but the basic items of clothing remained the same. The first layer of mens' clothing consisted of knee-length drawers and a linen shirt. These absorbent layers of white linen could be frequently washed and protected the fine outer layers from perspiration. Throughout the eighteenth century, men's public attire was standardized to be comprised of three pieces that were always worn: coat, vest, and breeches. The breeches ended just below the knee, slightly overlapping with the knit stockings. The vest, also known as a waistcoat, could be sleeved or sleeveless. Since the coat always covered the vest in public, only the visible fronts needed to be presentable. Some vests were designed to be more cost effective while still presenting an element of luxury, with simple linen backs and elaborately decorated fronts. The length of the vest shortened throughout the century. It was initially knee-length, the same as the coat, but shortened to just below the waist by the 1770s. Finally, the knee-length, tailored coat completed the trio.

In the first half of the century, breeches, vests, and coats were purchased separately, while in the second half of the century, fashionable men purchased complete sets that featured matching or corresponding fabrics, colors, and trims. Buttons and buckles are consistently found in inventories and were essential to proper

dress. The vest and the coat were both buttoned up the front. In addition, the cuffs of the coat sleeves might be buttoned. The breeches were buttoned or buckled at the knee, and shoes were buckled. Finally, respectable men wore powdered wigs in public to protect from pests.⁸⁵

Womens' clothing began with a similar layer of washable linen. In Portuguese, mens' shirts and women's shifts were both termed *camisas*. Over the shift, women wore stays or jumps of varying degrees of stiffness to mold the torso into a conical shape. Women had more options than men regarding the visible layers of clothing. There were three main types of ensembles. The first, was a separate petticoat and jacket; the second, a closed gown composed of a bodice and attached petticoat; the third option was a gown that opens down the front to reveal a petticoat and a stomacher. Any of these ensembles could be supplemented with additional underpetticoats for warmth.⁸⁶

As part of the white elite, the Oliveira Pintos would have desired to emulate such European fashions in their dress. Although post-mortem inventories are useful tools for comparing *mineiro* clothing to that of Europe, they must be approached with caution since inventories are subject to both intentional and accidental omissions. The family's inventories are clearly missing pieces of clothing of relatively low value. For instance, few of the inventories mention the ever-present shirt, drawers appear only

⁸⁵ For an explanation of the elements of mens' dress, see Staples and Shaw, *Clothing through American History*, 312-349.

⁸⁶ On women's dress, see *ibid.*, 243-280.

once, and shoes are rarely listed despite the presence of shoe buckles.⁸⁷ Furthermore, some of the inventories appear to catalog only the belongings of the deceased, omitting garments belonging to their spouse and children. As is common with descriptions of clothing in inventories, the type of garments, material, and color are listed, but the cut or style is not mentioned. Since the main shifts in fashion were based on changes in tailoring, the available evidence does not address whether the Oliveira Pintos were keeping up with current trends. However, the inventories hint at their participation in broader shifts in taste.

Examination of the family's post-mortem inventories reveals deviations from the European standards of dress outlined above, particularly among women who lived in the first half of the eighteenth-century. The two women who died around the middle of the century, Mariana and Francisca, owned a fairly large number of petticoats, but few bodices and no stays or other stiff supports for the torso, suggesting that their clothing was less restrictive and rigid than elite women's clothing in Northern Europe. Indeed, these two women likely spent most of their time wearing only the chemise and a petticoat. Such scanty dress is common in tropical climates and was frequently remarked upon by Northern European travelers. In Northern Europe, respectable men and women wore the same types of garments in the summer as in winter, but used cooler fabrics, such as linen, silk, and cotton rather than wool. Even when entertaining close friends at home, the European elite wore the many layers of tailored garments

⁸⁷ The absence of shoes in inventories was also common in Portugal. Nuno Luís Madureira, *Lisboa: Luxo e Distinção, 1750-1830* (Lisbon: Fragmentos, 1990), 2-3.

that covered most of their flesh. As such, travelers to Brazil were shocked to see women wearing an uncovered chemise and a petticoat.⁸⁸

Overall, it appears that women in Brazil were less inclined toward strictly confining their torsos in rigidly tailored stays. The Englishwoman Mrs. Kindersley, who visited the north of Brazil on her way to the East Indies in 1764, described the most well-dressed woman she had seen as wearing a chintz petticoat, a chemise and a velvet sash wrapped around her waist, but no stays or bodice.⁸⁹ Mrs. Kindersley's experiences do not reflect the heights of fashion in Brazil, because she was prevented from interacting with women at events in which Brazilian women wore their formal clothing. However, her description supports that women were able to create a clean and composed appearance wearing only the chemise.

This tendency toward more relaxed garments and fewer layers, dictated by the climate, was likely also part of elite men's daily life. Although the men's inventories contain proper suits, they, too, likely only wore the entire set of breeches, vest, and coat on formal occasions. At home and when entertaining close friends, they may have only worn the breeches and shirt. In contrast, in Northern Europe a man entertaining male friends might take off his coat, but would not remove the vest.⁹⁰ When John Mawe visited Brazil, he was taken aback by the informality of dress used in the

⁸⁸ Reports of elite women's clothing in the home must be approached with caution, since it is unlikely that traveling men would have been allowed to view women in an informal state. Luccock claims that women discarded their stockings and wore merely the loose chemise. Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro*, 111.

⁸⁹ Mrs. Kindersley, *Letters from the Island of Teneriffe, Brazil, the Cape of Good Hope, and the East Indies* (London: J. Nourse, 1777), 42.

⁹⁰ Staples and Shaw, *Clothing through American History*, 314.

privacy of the home.⁹¹ According to John Luccock, when a man received a visit from a friend, the host wore only his cotton shirt, often left unbuttoned exposing the chest. Stockings were discarded, leaving the calves bare.⁹² Even with “ceremonious” visits, when the master of the house took half an hour to prepare himself, Luccock considered the resulting appearance “a sort of half dress.”⁹³

While climate and comfort dictated such undress, which was viewed as indecent by foreign visitors, another variety of informal dress was, in contrast, quite fashionable in Europe: the banyan. Jose de Araujo Correia’s banyan allowed him to wear loose garments, while remaining fully covered. While a banyan was considered informal, it functioned to display the wearer’s worldliness and sophistication. Jose’s ownership of a banyan is appropriate given his career as a merchant. Although banyans were fashionable among European and American intellectuals of various professions, they are particularly associated with merchants who often had themselves portrayed in their sumptuous banyans.⁹⁴ Banyans were rare in Minas Gerais, making Jose’s example an even more powerful statement of his cosmopolitan tastes.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 197.

⁹² Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro*, 122.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Dennis Carr, “Introduction: Asia and the New World,” in Carr, *Made in the Americas*, 34-5; Corrigan et al. ed, *Asia in Amsterdam*, 195, 201.

⁹⁵ I have only encountered two other owners of banyans prior to 1808: Francisco de Velloso de Miranda’s inventory, 1764, caixa 88, auto 1859, 1st ofício, CS; João Paulo de Freitas’ inventory.

Residents of Minas Gerais were required to contend not only with humid heat, but also with cold winters. In contrast to many other areas of Brazil, winters in Minas Gerais approach freezing temperatures. As is common in Portugal, men wore cloaks and women wrapped themselves in mantles to protect from the cold. Among other coverings, Francisca owned two mantles made of *lustro*, a blue silk cape, and an embroidered cape. Feliciano also owned several mantles and capes of fine materials, including one of voided velvet, one silk, and one decorated with embroidery. These rich and ornate pieces served as the prominently displayed outer layer of the winter outfit. In addition to providing warmth in the winters, the silk mantles may have also been used during warmer times of the year to cover the upper body in more than the chemise. The mantles could provide greater modesty and present elegant fabrics, while still enabling cooling air to circulate.

In addition to climate, the family's mode of dress adapted to their rural context. Mariana and her granddaughter Feliciano both owned riding suits. Although the women owned riding suits out of necessity, needing to travel a ways to reach the nearest village or town, both riding suits were elegantly designed. The women likely wore them when visiting nearby churches for mass and baptisms. At such events a fashionable and decorous appearance was deemed essential; however, in a rural environment a riding suit of fine materials was likely considered appropriate.

Since the men of the family held prominent positions within their communities, most holding military titles and some being members of noble orders, their public appearance was dictated by formal customs. The men of the family owned apparel that appropriately reflected the social and political positions they had achieved. For João Ferreira Almada and Antonio Duarte, the most formal and

traditional garments were the black velvet suits. Evidently, respectable men no longer were required to sport such a black suit by Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho's death in 1807. His wardrobe is instead more varied, his most formal suits likely being the blue military suit and the brocaded silk outfit.

Cultural changes throughout the century are perceptible in the family's garments. For instance, the earliest inventories do not list cotton garments, while cotton becomes prevalent in dress in the second half of the century. The earliest record of cotton used in clothing is Jose de Araujo Correia's pair of cotton stockings in 1760, and João Ferreira Almada's inventory from 1769 which includes both male and female garments contains no cotton. In contrast, cotton is a prominent element of dress in suits and robes for Antonio Duarte (1772), Feliciano Isabel Maria de Oliveira (1782), Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho (1807) and Antonio Gomes Sandes (1807). Moreover, the women's clothing shifted from the more conservative combination of petticoats with bodices to robes later in the century.⁹⁶

Although the rich, imported textiles that clothed elite bodies were important signifiers of status and taste, local materials also served a prominent role in personal adornment. In general, *mineiros* owned and wore significant quantities of jewelry made of local gold and stones; travelers indeed repeatedly remarked upon the richness of jewelry worn throughout Brazil.⁹⁷ Overall, the Oliveira Pintos owned large numbers

⁹⁶ Staples and Shaw note that wearing a petticoat and jacket was more conservative than wearing gowns, whether open or closed. *Clothing through American History*, 244.

⁹⁷ Such remarks must be approached with caution as they are part of the discourse on excess, sinfulness, and pride.

of chains, buttons, buckles, and earrings, among other things. These were almost always made of gold and frequently adorned with diamonds. Occasionally, the gold jewelry contained stones from Itatiaia, seed pearls, crystal, and in a few instances coral. In all the inventories, it is evident that materials mined within Minas Gerais far outnumbered the imported pearls and coral.

According to travelers, Brazilian women wore gold chains around their necks, some with pendants of a religious nature.⁹⁸ Mariana and Francisca were able to partake in the custom of wearing numerous gold chains, as each woman owned eight gold chains in addition to other necklaces. Both the men and the women of the family could have worn any number of gold and diamond accessories. The glimmering gold and diamonds would have perfectly complemented the lustrous fabrics and trims, creating a dazzling display of wealth.

Jewelry possessed a particularly strong relationship to social and economic value. This is exemplified by the 1749 sumptuary law's statement that it is a far more serious offense for people of African descent to wear fine jewelry than to wear fine textiles. The decree strictly forbids people of color from "adorn[ing] themselves with jewels, or silver or gold, no matter how small these ornaments may be."⁹⁹

Interestingly, the otherwise highly restrictive decree does not forbid the white

⁹⁸ Gold chains, some with gold pendants of saints, are frequent in inventories and are mentioned in travel accounts. See Mrs. Kindersley, *Letters from the Island of Teneriffe*, 42; Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 153, 281; Thomas Lindley, *Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil; Terminating in the Seizure of a British Vessel, and the Imprisonment of the Author and The Ship's Crew, by the Portuguese* (London: J. Johnson, 1805), 55.

⁹⁹ An English translation of this portion of the decree is included in Lara, "Signs of Colors," 207.

population from wearing precious stones. Although the use of gold and silver threads in textiles is frequently mentioned as prohibited, jewelry is rarely mentioned. While diamonds and pearls are not addressed, the use of *false* jewels and pearls is forbidden, except during funerals in the colonies.¹⁰⁰ This suggests that the main concern surrounding jewelry was the ability to feign wealth.

Since gold and silver functioned as currency, the Oliveira Pintos were literally placing their wealth on display as they walked about adorned with jewelry. The common practice of wearing gold and diamonds potentially held potent political meaning as both these locally mined materials were subject to strict government regulation. All gold and diamonds were to be surrendered to the government for taxation, and metalsmithing was strictly forbidden. The materials used in the Oliveira Pintos' jewelry might have been mined locally, taxed, and exported to Portugal. Then the finished jewelry would have been reimported into Minas Gerais. However, it is more likely that much of the family's gold and jewels never left Minas Gerais, thereby breaking numerous regulations. These illegal adornments were then prominently displayed. Furthermore, the jewelry was worn in conjunction with textiles, many of which are likely to have been manufactured outside of the Portuguese empire, in violation of further laws.

The Oliveira Pintos took advantage of local resources to adorn their bodies and adapted European modes of dress to their needs in a tropical climate. The family's public presentation revolved around displaying their wealth and status through shimmering textiles and jewelry. The imported fabrics, made of the most costly

¹⁰⁰ This includes the use of crystal, as it was seen as an inexpensive imitation of diamonds. *Appendix das Leys*, 20.

materials and with fine craftsmanship, visibly pronounced the family as actors within a global culture of exchange. Their part in this exchange of materials, manufactured goods, and ideals is displayed in the gold and diamonds that complement, and finance, the textiles.

Hammocks¹⁰¹

Hammocks are frequently included in inventories in Minas Gerais, and several of the Oliveira Pinto households contained at least one hammock. Europeans first encountered hammocks when the Spanish arrived in the Caribbean. Hammocks were also common among native Brazilian tribes. The first texts about Brazil describe naked inhabitants who slept suspended above fires in simple cotton nets tied to trees or wooden posts.¹⁰² The Native American origin of the hammock was a significant element in the device's appeal for the elite of Minas Gerais. In fact, hammocks came to serve as an effective status symbol that enforced the global reach of *mineiro* power.

At the time of the arrival of the first Europeans in the Americas, hammocks were used as beds throughout the Caribbean, Mesoamerica, and northern portions of South America. Numerous European writers embraced the hammock as a convenient device. Spanish chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés published the first

¹⁰¹ For a more thorough exploration of the hammock's significance in early modern Brazil, see my forthcoming article "American Invention, African Labor, and Asian Prestige: The Hammock as an Honorary Mode of Transportation in Colonial Brazil," in *Circulación: Movement of Ideas, Art and People in Spanish America*.

¹⁰² One such description is found in Padre Manuel da Nobrega's letter from Bahia to Coimbra in 1549. Sheila Moura Hue ed. *Primeiras Cartas do Brazil, 1551-1555* (Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2006), 35.

print of a hammock in 1526 to accompany his description of what is now Venezuela (fig. 52).¹⁰³ His account praises the hammock for raising the sleeping body off the damp and pest-ridden ground, as well as for its simplicity, light weight, and portability. Hammocks were quickly adopted for sleeping on ships, and Oviedo remarks on their utility during military campaigns.¹⁰⁴ While sixteenth and seventeenth-century texts describe the hammock's functions within native communities, they provide little detail about the creation and use of hammocks among Europeans. However, settlers appear to have adopted the custom of sleeping in hammocks quite early.

At least in some of the areas in which hammocks were used as beds, they were also suspended from poles and used as a form of transportation carried by two men. This use of the hammock to transport distinguished individuals, the sick or wounded, and the dead has a long history. Several Classic-period Maya ceramic cylinders depict hammocks being used to transport individuals (fig. 53). The same method of carrying a body in a hammock is represented on ceramic vessels created by the Chimú in the North of Peru (fig. 54).¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *De la Natural Hystoria de las Indias* (Toledo, 1526), f. 16r-17v.

¹⁰⁴ Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *La Historia General de las Indias* (Seville: Juam Cromberger, 1535), f. 48r.

¹⁰⁵ A similar Maya representation of hammocks can be found in Barbara Kerr, and Justin Kerr eds., *The Maya Vase Book: A Corpus of Rollout Photographs of Maya Vases*, Vol. 6 (New York: Kerr Associates, 2000), 960. Numerous depictions of hammocks from Peru are discussed in Rebeca Carrión Cachot, *Andas y Literas de la Costa Peruana* (Lima: Compañía de Impresiones y Publicidad, 1940).

According to several Spanish authors, hammocks continued to be used as a mode of transportation in Mesoamerica during the conquest and in Peru throughout the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁶ It is, however, unclear whether Native Brazilians used hammocks as a mode of transportation prior to contact with Europeans. Nilza Botelho, writing in 1943, stated that Native Brazilians had used the hammock for travel, while in 1959 Luis da Camara Cascudo claimed that Native Brazilian cultures were far too egalitarian for one individual to be carried by others.¹⁰⁷ Some Native Brazilian groups may have used the hammock for transportation prior to European contact, although it is equally likely that the Portuguese introduced the practice to Brazil after encountering this use of the hammock in other parts of the Americas.

In some parts of the Americas, hammocks became fashionable among the Spanish and Portuguese elite. For instance, post-mortem inventories in Venezuela describe hammocks in the homes of wealthy Spaniards and Creoles throughout the early modern period.¹⁰⁸ These Spanish American elites appear to have used their

¹⁰⁶ Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, Part 2, Vol. 2 (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1853), 77, 126, 181, 405, 498. Sarah H. Beckjord, "'Con Sal y Aji y Tomates': Las Redes Textuales de Bernal Díaz en el Caso de Cholula," *Revista Iberoamericana* 170-171 (June 1995): 152-4. Susan E. Ramírez, *To Feed and Be Fed: The Cosmological Bases of Authority and Identity in the Andes* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 185-6, 191.

¹⁰⁷ Nilza Botelho, "Serpentinas e Cadeirinhas de Arruar," *Anais do Museu Histórico Nacional* 4 (1943): 445; Cascudo, *Rede de Dormir*, 28. Neither author provides evidence to support their view. Edelweiss reiterates the argument about egalitarianism, but he specifically refers to the Tupi, thereby leaving the question open as to whether other Brazilian cultures may have traveled in hammocks. Edelweiss, *A Serpentina e a Cadeirinha de Arruar*, 7.

¹⁰⁸ Carlos F. Duarte, *Mobiliario y Decoración Interior Durante el Periodo Hispánico Venezolano* (Caracas: Armitano Editores, 1980s), 78-9, 146-7. 215-6, 301-2, 389; Duarte, *Patrimonio Hispánico Venezolano Perdido*, 220, 223.

hammocks for rest and for sleep; however, I have not yet encountered evidence that hammocks were commonly used as an honorary mode of transportation among the white elite in the Spanish world after the early sixteenth century. In contrast, correspondence, legal records, and travel accounts frequently remark upon the hammock's use for both sleep and travel among the white population in Brazil. The earliest accounts of Europeans using hammocks in Brazil describe missionary priests who were carried by their indigenous allies and slept in hammocks. Fernão Cardim's account of the lives of Jesuit missionaries in Brazil in the last two decades of the sixteenth century mentions the use of hammocks on numerous occasions, both for sleeping and for travel.¹⁰⁹ At that time, Fernão Cardim viewed sleeping in a hammock as a sign of humility among the traveling missionaries.¹¹⁰

By the first quarter of the seventeenth-century, the elite in the colonial towns had adopted the practice of using hammocks as a mode of transportation. In 1627 Frei Vicente do Salvador expressed his surprise at the governor's desire to ride on horses and in coaches rather than be carried in a hammock as was "customary in Brazil."¹¹¹ Enslaved Africans had replaced Native Brazilians as porters and the hammock had become a symbol of status. With its Native American origins and continued use among people of low socioeconomic status, visual and material modifications were required to make the hammock suitable for the elite. Wealthy individuals transformed

¹⁰⁹ Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (São Paulo: Biblioteca Pedagógica, Companhia Editora Brasileira, 1939), 257-258, 281, 290.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 281, 290.

¹¹¹ Frei Vicente do Salvador, *História do Brasil* (São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, 1954), 464.

their hammocks into status symbols by incorporating the most expensive commodities: African slaves and fine textiles. When used as a means of transportation, the two slaves serving as porters were a powerful signifier of status. In addition, further attendants typically accompanied elite men and women. Slaves were expensive to acquire and were essential to the Brazilian economy. Expending valuable slave labor on transportation signaled great wealth.

Hammocks often incorporated a variety of fine textiles. Native Brazilian women in the mission towns in the captaincy of Grão Pará e Maranhão wove cotton hammocks both for local use and for export to other regions of Brazil. European travelers marveled at the fine quality of the spun cotton and the woven hammocks.¹¹² The Portuguese artist Joaquim Jose Codina's watercolor of a loom used in the Pará region corresponds to textual descriptions of hammocks patterned with floral and figurative imagery (fig. 55).¹¹³ Codina depicts a large spool of bobbin lace, presumably to adorn the edges of the hammock. Hammocks were frequently edged with long fringe, lace or gold or silver trim. Hammocks were also made of fine imported cotton and silk textiles. In addition, hammocks were typically outfitted with

¹¹² Claude d'Abbeville, *Historia da Missão dos Padres Capuchinhos na Ilha do Maranhão e suas Circumvisinhanças*, trans. Cezar Augusto Marques (Maranhão, 1874), 320, 356; Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Voyage du Chevalier des Marchais en Guinee, Isles Voisines, et a Cayenne, fait en 1725, 1726 & 1727*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Saugrain l'aîné, 1730), 264-6.

¹¹³ D'Abbeville, *Historia da Missão dos Padres Capuchinhos*, 356; Johan Nieuhoofs, *Gedenkweerdige Brasiliaense Zee- en Lant-Reize* (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1682), 219; James Barbot, and John Casseneuve, "A Voyage to Congo-River. An Abstract of a Voyage to Congo River, or the Zair, and to Cabinde, in the year 1700," in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. Awnsham Churchill and John Churchill (London: John Walthoe, Tho. Wotton, Samuel Birt, Daniel Browne, Thomas Osborn, John Shuckburgh, Henry Lintot, 1732), 554.

cushions, and when used for transportation, with curtains draped over the supporting pole. The curtains protected the traveler from sun, rain, and, particularly for women, the gaze of passers-by.

Most descriptions of hammocks in post-mortem inventories are brief; when any descriptive detail is provided, it is typically restricted to color and fiber. Most of the hammocks recorded were likely woven within Brazil. Hints to the function of the hammock as for sleeping or travel are scarce. Since the *mineiro* elites whose belongings I have examined owned fairly few horses or mules and rarely possessed other human-powered modes of transportation such as sedan chairs, they probably used their hammocks both for rest at home as well as for travel. Within the Oliveira Pinto family, Mariana and João, Francisca and Antonio, and Jose de Araujo Correia and Maria owned hammocks. With the exception of the hammock in Mariana's inventory, which will be discussed in detail below, all of the family's hammocks were probably made of cotton. One of Francisca and Antonio's was decorated with ornamental trim, and one of Jose and Maria's was made of imported chintz.

By the eighteenth century, hammocks were commonplace within Brazilian culture; therefore, Brazilian writers rarely commented on their use. In contrast, foreign travelers were intrigued by the Brazilian use of hammocks and described various contexts within which they were used. Within the home, the hammock served as a prominently displayed seat. In 1815 Henry Koster described his visit to the home of a "respectable family."¹¹⁴ Koster and his companions were invited into a room containing a bed, some chairs, and three hammocks described as "handsomely

¹¹⁴ Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 181.

worked.”¹¹⁵ During the evening conversation, the mistress of the house and her female friend each sat in a hammock while other guests and family members sat on chairs. Within elite homes hammocks may have functioned as supplements to the state bed, being outfitted in the finest textiles and serving as seats of honor during social gatherings. The hammock would have been a particularly welcome addition to the available seating earlier in the eighteenth century when even the elite often owned relatively few chairs.

According to the English explorer William Dampier, social interaction was also an important element of the hammock’s function outside of the home.¹¹⁶ Men and women greeted their friends while being carried through the streets, and when a longer conversation was desired, the slaves drove forked poles into the ground to support the hammock at rest. Despite the curtains, such social use of the hammock would have allowed the owner’s body, textiles, and slaves to be prominently displayed in the most public of spaces.

Despite being part of the culture of the elite, hammocks maintained their association with Native Americans who remained a visible presence within the colony. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Portuguese launched numerous military campaigns against indigenous communities living in lands adjacent to the colonial towns of Minas Gerais. These campaigns were justified by claims that the tribes were composed of dangerous cannibals who attacked settlers and refused religious

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ William Dampier, *A Voyage to New Holland, &c. In the Year, 1699*, Vol. 3 (London: James Knapton, 1703), 59-60.

instruction.¹¹⁷ Even though Native Brazilian individuals were a nuisance to *mineiros* whose rural estates infringed upon indigenous lands, Native Brazilian traditions paradoxically functioned as charming and harmless symbols of the Americas within elite visual culture. Representations of Native Brazilian women as personifications of the Americas appear in ceiling paintings and on maps of Minas Gerais, emphasizing the natural abundance of the land (figs. 56-57). The indigenous manufacture of high quality hammocks further reinforced for the *mineiro* elite the conception of Native Brazilians as peacefully sharing their talents and creations.

The popularity of hammocks among the *mineiro* elite reveals an appreciation for the simple, versatile, and effective Native American device. As previously mentioned, the European equivalent of the hammock was the sedan chair. Although sedan chairs were used alongside hammocks in Rio de Janeiro, sedan chairs were exceedingly rare in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais. So far, I have encountered only two sedan chairs in *mineiro* inventories, one belonging to Francisca and Antonio Duarte, and the other to Ignácio José de Alvarenga Peixoto, one of the men condemned for the *Inconfidência Mineira*.¹¹⁸ As an object associated with European nobility, it is appropriate that Antonio Duarte and Francisca were among the few *mineiros* to own a sedan chair. Reportedly, a visiting official in Rio de Janeiro in

¹¹⁷ Marcia Amantino, “As Guerras Justas e a Escravidão Indígena em Minas Gerais nos Séculos XVIII e XIX,” *Varia Historia* 22, no. 35 (2006): 189–206. Little is known about the cohabitation with Native Americans within colonial towns. On attempts by the Portuguese to deny the Native American heritage of laborers, see Maria Leônia Chaves Resende, “Gentios Brasília: Índios Colonias em Minas Gerais Setecentista” (PhD dissertation, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2003).

¹¹⁸ “A sedan chair with armrests with crimson velvet curtains.” *Autos de Devassa da Inconfidência Mineira*, Vol. 6, 170.

1722, Antonio de Souza de Abreu Grade, declared that only the nobility may use sedan chairs.¹¹⁹ While this could not be enforced and may not have held much legal claim, the instance hints at the higher status attributed to sedan chairs, and their specific association with nobility.

Both of the *mineiro* sedan chairs corresponded to the Brazilian type, which could have been manufactured locally. As discussed in the previous chapter, Francisca's inventory specifies that their chair was gilded, but does not provide details about the curtains. Given the luxury of a gilded chair and the considerable cost of Francisca and Antonio's sedan chair, the curtains were probably sumptuous. Despite owning a sedan chair, Antonio and Francisca also owned two hammocks that were used for transportation.¹²⁰

Since Francisca and Antonio owned both a sedan chair and hammocks, considerations about which mode of transportation to use likely involved more than just the projection of nobility. The hammock held several practical advantages over the sedan chair. The Englishwoman Mrs. Kindersley who visited the north of Brazil in 1764, very much disliked the experience of being carried in a Brazilian sedan chair. She complained, the "little seat [is] about the breadth of two hands; I suppose those who are used to them, can sit very well; but between the narrowness of the seat, and

¹¹⁹ This is reported in Noronha Santos, *Meios de Transporte no Rio de Janeiro: História e Legislação* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do Jornal do Commercio, 1934), 7. However, Santos does not provide any sources for this information and I have not been able to identify any documents corroborating this claim. Furthermore, I cannot be certain that Grade's prohibition did not also address hammocks.

¹²⁰ The description "aparelhada" indicates that the hammock was fully outfitted with a pole and curtains.

the motion of the chair, a stranger is in danger of being thrown out at every step.”¹²¹ In contrast, the hammock securely envelops the passenger’s body and sways gently, thus provided a more relaxing journey, especially on the steep hills of the mining towns. Furthermore, hammocks were far lighter than wooden sedan chairs, an advantage that was certainly relevant during longer journeys.

Despite such practical concerns, the scarcity of sedan chairs in Minas Gerais was more likely due to the appreciation of the hammock as a uniquely American status symbol. Instead of adopting the European sedan chair, the use of the hammock demonstrated pride in the role that Brazil played within the empire. *Mineiros*, in particular, had reason to view their homeland as the economic center of the empire that brought together the best resources from all over the globe. Although hammocks were an American invention and often produced locally, they could also function as an effective display of the cosmopolitan position of their owners, particularly when used for transportation.

Mariana and João’s hammock pronounced a particularly strong statement about the global exchange within which the *mineiro* elite participated. Mariana and João owned what must have been a remarkable hammock. Unlike the common cotton hammocks, theirs was made of multi-colored bay, a woolen and worsted cloth most likely imported from Britain. Theirs is the only wool hammock I have encountered. Using bay rather than cotton tied the hammock to traditional European materials, tactile qualities, and visual characteristics. The wool cloth was also suitable for providing warmth, appropriate for winters in Minas Gerais.

¹²¹ Mrs. Kindersley, *Letters from the Island of Teneriff*, 46-7.

The hammock was complemented with a narrow rug that was draped over the bamboo pole. No details about the rug's materials or provenance were included in the description. While knotted rugs are traditionally associated with the Middle East, woven and embroidered rugs were also made in the Iberian Peninsula. If Mariana's rug was of Portuguese origin, it was most likely composed of a woven linen ground embroidered with wool or silk.¹²²

The most interesting feature of Mariana's hammock was the bamboo pole from which it was suspended. The pole was, in fact, imported from Angola. After the Portuguese adopted the custom of being carried in hammocks in Brazil, they introduced the practice into several areas along the western coast of Africa, primarily Angola, the Gold Coast, and Slave Coast.¹²³ A report, likely written in the first half of the eighteenth century, on the exports and imports of Pernambuco in the northeast of Brazil, states that bamboo poles to support hammocks were imported from Angola.¹²⁴ Their inclusion in this brief report suggests that a substantial number of Angolan hammock poles reached Brazil.

¹²² This association between rugs and embroidery, at least toward the end of the eighteenth century, is evidenced by Moraes' definition of an *alcatifa*, which he describes as a "*cobertor bordado*." Moraes, *Diccionario*, Vol. I, 53.

¹²³ On the use of hammocks in Africa, see Henry Usher Hall, "Congo and West African Woodcarvings," *The Museum Journal* 13-14, (1922): 51-55; Karl Gerhard Lindblom, *The Use of the Hammock in Africa* (Stockholm: Bröderna Lagerström Boktryckare, 1928); Stanley B. Alpern, "What Africans Got for Their Slaves: A Master List of European Trade Goods," *History in Africa* 22 (1995): 30.

¹²⁴ "Informação Geral da Capitania de Pernambuco," 482.

I have found four records of such poles in eighteenth-century inventories from Minas Gerais.¹²⁵ Considering that my research has focused on a relatively small number of people living in a region distant from the coast, the number of Angolan poles becomes significant. Angolan hammock supports were probably more common in the coastal commercial centers, Pernambuco, Bahia, and Rio de Janeiro. The Angolan poles contributed significantly to the monetary and cultural value of the hammocks they supported. One element that made the poles particularly unique within the context of Minas Gerais was the inclusion of ivory. Three of the Angolan hammock supports, including Mariana's, used turned ivory pins to hold the hammock in place, such as is depicted in the Gobelin tapestry (fig. 58).

Ivory was quite rare in Minas Gerais. The only other ivory listed in the family's inventories is Manoel Correia de Oliveira's seal. The ivory that adorned the poles would have served as a symbol of luxury and of the commercial ties to exotic lands. Although most of the hammocks listed in the elite's inventories were probably used for transportation, I have not found any records of hammock poles other than the four from Angola. Locally made poles were likely not considered valuable enough to be recorded, while their Angolan counterparts were highly esteemed. Indeed, the Angolan poles were quite expensive. For instance, one blue hammock with an

¹²⁵ "Uma rede de baeta de varias cores com sua tacoara de Angola com seus bilros de marfim e seus tapetes tudo usado," Mariana Correia de Oliveira's inventory. "Uma rede azul com algum uso e cana de Angola," Ana Gonçalves de Camargo's inventory, 1723, caixa 71, auto 1514, 1st officio, CS. "Uma tacoara de Angola com tornos de marfim," Maria da Cunha da Natividade's inventory, 1727, caixa 67, auto 1473, 2nd officio, CS. "Uma rede com sua tacoara e tornos de marfim." Paulo Rodrigues Durão's inventory, 1743, caixa 115, auto 2377, 1st officio, CS. The inclusion of ivory suggests that this pole was of Angolan origin like the others.

Angolan bamboo pole, without ivory, was assigned a value of sixteen *oitavas*, while another hammock listed in the same inventory composed of crimson damask ornamented with silver trim and lined with crimson taffeta was only valued twelve *oitavas*.¹²⁶ One inventory includes a separate listing for an ivory-adorned Angolan pole that was valued 19,200 *reis*, equivalent to the considerable sum of sixteen *oitavas*, similar to the value ascribed to Francisca and Antonio's set of five large and twenty small porcelain plates.¹²⁷

Not only the ivory, but the Angolan provenance itself appears to contribute to the perceived value of the poles. In three of the four inventories, the poles are specifically described as from Angola. This is significant for two reasons. Firstly, when an object's origin is given, it is usually because the place name forms part of the name for the material, such as *Bretanha* or *louça da Índia*. Only rarely does a scribe choose to include an object's place of origin. Secondly, other than slaves, the hammock poles are the only commodities I have encountered in the inventories that are assigned an African provenance. The Angolan origin of the poles was significant to the owners who were certain to include that information when describing their hammocks.

With its Middle Eastern or European rug, European bay, Angolan bamboo and ivory, and Native American form, Mariana and João's hammock was a compilation of materials, styles, and traditions from diverse regions of the globe. It could have functioned like a cabinet of curiosities, bringing together the finest products and

¹²⁶ Ana Gonçalves de Camargo's inventory.

¹²⁷ Maria da Cunha da Natividade's inventory.

natural materials. This hammock not only tied Mariana and João to Portuguese imperial power, but also pronounced Brazil's involvement in that power. Mariana and João would have been aware that their ivory-adorned bamboo pole resulted from the exportation of Brazilian customs to Africa. The hammock's connection to Native Brazilian culture was never forgotten; in fact, the inventory describes the Angolan pole with the Tupi word *tacoara*, which means bamboo.¹²⁸

Conclusions

The Oliveira Pintos actively participated in Portuguese imperialism by extracting gold, purchasing slaves, and bringing the most sophisticated European customs and international aesthetics to the newly settled region. Minas Gerais had been, according to the Portuguese perspective, a place of savage cannibals and uninhabited, wild rainforest. The Oliveira Pintos brought civility to this place with their particular interest in collecting porcelain. Their collections evoked an equally exotic place, Asia, which was, however, refined and sophisticated.

Local gold allowed *mineiros* to acquire the Asian trade goods that had been sought after for centuries, including not only porcelain but also a wide variety of fine textiles. The family wore fabrics created in the textile centers of Europe and Asia, of lustrous silks, wools, and fashionable cottons. Their sense of fashion and their connection to prestigious places and materials was evidently more significant to the

¹²⁸ Thanks to José Geraldo Begname for deciphering the word *tacoara* in Mariana's inventory. The word *tacoara* or *taquara* often appears in nineteenth-century dictionaries of Native Brazilian languages. An early example is Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro*, 638.

family than compliance with Portuguese legislation. The gold and diamonds that they proudly displayed signified their colonization of Minas Gerais and entitled them to exert their wealth with fine commodities.

The selected modes of transportation further projected the family's status. When Mariana or João were carried in their hammock, the most powerful signifiers of wealth were the slaves carrying the hammock and acting as attendants. The colonization of Brazil was integrally entwined in the domination of enslaved Africans. All major industries in eighteenth-century Brazil, including gold-mining, were driven by slave labor. Mariana and João's hammock exemplified how Africa played a supporting role to Brazilian power and the family's display of their possessions celebrated Brazil's participation in global trade networks, evidence of the colony's central importance to the empire.

FIGURES

ALL IMAGES REMOVED DUE TO COPYRIGHT

CONCLUSION

The Oliveira Pinto family was established with the marriage of Mariana Correia de Oliveira, an illiterate young girl from a simple family of farmers, and João Pinto Alvares, a man from a humble family who had traveled to Brazil in his youth and managed to acquire productive mining lands and the title of captain. This union resulted in an extensive family network of highly educated, well-respected elites living on rural estates. Their material wealth consisted of lands, slaves, homes, rich textiles, precious jewelry, fine ceramics, and a host of other luxury goods imported from all four continents and used in conjunction with locally sourced woods, gems, and gold. Certain individuals owned objects that were unusual within Minas Gerais, such as the banyan, Angolan hammock pole, and chest of drawers, demonstrating their specific interests and cosmopolitan knowledge of trends throughout the world.

A thorough investigation of the lives and belongings of this wealthy family challenges existing scholarship on life in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais which has, until recently, emphasized urbanization, concubinage, and isolation. The family placed emphasis on education and literacy for both boys and girls. Some of the family's children were educated at seminaries within Brazil while others received their education in Portugal. Family members traveled across the Atlantic not only for their education, but also to visit family and conduct business. Overall, the family was familiar and comfortable with long travels throughout the hilly *mineiro* landscape. Most of the family members lived the life of the rural aristocracy on large tracts of

land outside of villages, towns, and cities. On their rural estates, family members typically supplemented the income gained from gold mining with agricultural products and manufacturing. With few exceptions, the large network of family members was the result of legitimate marriages and legitimate children. Marriages to respected and wealthy immigrants from Portugal were advantageous to protecting and enhancing the social and financial success of the family.

The documents that the family left behind provide evidence of an elite life that contradicts many of the claims contained in travel accounts written by Northern European visitors to the area. For instance, in the early nineteenth century John Mawe described what he considered a family from “the middling classes of society,” owning “fifty or sixty negroes, with *datas* [lots] of gold mines, and the necessary utensils for working them.”¹ While Mawe did not explain how he defined this “middling class,” ownership of such a number of slaves and mining lands would place the family well within the elite, as late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century records from the Oliveira Pintos demonstrate. Manoel Correia de Oliveira owned twenty slaves, Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho thirty-seven, Antonio Gomes Sande fifty-two, and Manoel Fernandes Quintão possessed sixty-seven slaves. John Mawe continued, “without exaggeration or extenuation,” describing the domestic possessions of such a family as of the poorest sort:

Their dwelling scarcely merits the name of a house; it is the most wretched hovel that imagination can describe....The floors are of clay, moist in itself, and rendered more disagreeable by the filth of its inhabitants, with whom the pigs not unfrequently dispute the right of possessions....The furniture of the house is such as might be expected from the description above given. The beds are

¹ Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 358.

very coarse cotton cases, filled with dry grass, or the leaves of Indian corn. There are seldom more than two in a house; for the servants generally sleep upon mats, or dried hides on the floor. The furniture consists of one or two chairs, a few stools and benches, one table, or perhaps two, a few coffee-cups and a coffee-pot of silver; a silver drinking cup, and, in some instances, a silver wash-hand bason (sic), which, when strangers are present, is handed round with great ostentation, and forms a striking contrast to the rest of the utensils.²

This description contrasts with the elegant furnishings, luxurious bedding, and array of fine ceramics that the Oliveira Pintos possessed. Thus, it becomes clear that the motivations and cultural biases of the authors of such travel accounts affected their descriptions of the living conditions in Brazil. The trope of the lazy, proud, and ignorant Brazilian resident, who did not efficiently take advantage of the excellent natural resources that their lands offered, benefitted foreign commercial interests. Many of the foreign travelers desired to establish mines and factories in Brazil, making use of the land's abundance that the local population had, according to their travel accounts, neglected.

In addition to such political and commercial incentives, the authors of travel accounts were usually ethnocentric, expressing disdain for much of Portuguese culture. Similar disparaging comments about the quantity and quality of domestic possessions were made about elite homes in Portugal, even when discussing the palaces of royalty and nobility. As in Brazil, scholarship on Portuguese elite material culture often relies on such travel accounts, thus continuing to perpetuate cultural norms that are based on Northern European ideals.³ In exploring how the Brazilian

² Ibid., 359.

³ See for example, Franco, *O Mobiliário das Elites de Lisboa*, 32, 49-50, 53, 58; Lopes, *Mulheres, Espaço e Sociabilidade*.

elite viewed their own domestic possessions, this dissertation challenges the eurocentrism and prejudice of historic travel accounts.

When investigating the possession of luxuries within the Portuguese world, Portuguese traditions and views must be taken into account. As yet, such Portuguese perspectives are rarely utilized for research on material culture. Instead, studies on Portugal and Brazil frequently cite books on the changes in consumption in Northern Europe.⁴ Abundant primary and some secondary resources do exist for analyzing debates about luxury and consumption in Portugal.⁵ The primary sources—cordel literature and other publications, economic manuscripts, and sermons—indicate that ideas surrounding luxury in Portugal were often similar to perspectives elsewhere in Europe. Nevertheless, differences in religion, domestic customs, and economic circumstances are likely to have allowed Portuguese perspectives to diverge from the prevailing ideals in Britain, France, and the Dutch Republic.

⁴ See for instance, Brandão, “Anotações para uma História do Mobiliário Brasileiro,” 43; Madureira, *Cidade*.

⁵ The writings of eighteenth-century Portuguese intellectuals discussing the 1749 sumptuary law are analyzed in Luis Fernando de Carvalho Dias, “Luxo e Pragmáticas no Pensamento Económico do Séc. XVIII,” *Boletim de Ciências Económicas* 4, no. 2–3 (1955): 103–146; Luis Fernando de Carvalho Dias, “Luxo e Pragmáticas no Pensamento Económico do Séc. XVIII,” *Boletim de Ciências Económicas* 5 (1956): 73–144. Maria Jose Moutinho de Santos’ well-researched article is only very rarely cited and those citations are in discussions of *cordel* literature rather than of luxury. Maria Jose Moutinho Santos, “O Luxo e as Modas em Textos de Cordel da Segunda Metade do Séc. XVIII,” *Revista de Historia* 9 (1989): 137–64; Isabel Cristina Silva da Costa Moura, “Moda em Cordel: Aspectos e Sugestões da Moda em Finais de Antigo Regime” (Master’s thesis, Universidade de Porto, 2010).

Luxury was predominantly viewed as necessary in religious contexts, for the projection of royal and noble status, and for women to be attractive to men.⁶ However, numerous Portuguese writers criticized luxury. Some writers objected to luxury for moral reasons, luxury being considered related to the deadly sin of lust.⁷ Economic arguments against luxury often focused on the importation of foreign luxury goods.⁸ On the other hand, local production of luxury goods could serve to improve the economy.⁹ The strictest argument against all forms of luxury, whether locally manufactured or imported, derives from an Enlightenment rejection of femininity, frippery, and excessive consumerism.¹⁰

Further study of early modern Portuguese texts will continue to elucidate how Portuguese individuals viewed their living spaces and what choices informed acquisitions. Personal perspectives and cultural changes were certainly relevant. For instance, in contrast to most other testaments, a few of the Oliveira Pintos and their acquaintances requested that their funerals be performed without “pomp.”¹¹

⁶ David C. Amott, “Church, City, Citizen: The Colonial Cathedral and the City of Mariana, Minas Gerais, Brazil” (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 2013), 219-21; Andrada, *Casamento Perfeyto*, 305. Santos, “O Luxo e as Modas em Textos de Cordel,” 151.

⁷ Bluteau, *Vocabulario*, Vol. 5, L 214-5; Moraes, *Diccionario*, Vol. 2, 37; Silva, “Parecer de Wencesláo Pereira da Silva,” 28-9.

⁸ Ibid., 29-30.

⁹ Dias, “Luxo e Pragmáticas,” 119-23.

¹⁰ Shovlin, “The Cultural Politics of Luxury,” 577-8; *Effeitos do Luxo nas Sociedades Politicas* (Porto: Antonio Alvares Ribeiro, 1793).

¹¹ Francisco Soares de Araujo’s testament, 1788, rol de testamentos 234, f. 4320, 1st ofício, CS; João Antonio dos Santos’ inventory, 1801; João Duarte Pinto’s inventory.

While the writings of foreign travelers contain ethnocentric biases, comparison between homes in Brazil and homes of individuals of a similar socioeconomic status in Portugal provides a more culturally appropriate understanding of elite life in Brazil. Fortunately, a large body of research exists that examines elite material culture in Portugal using post-mortem inventories. However, the primary focus has been the possessions of royalty and the old nobility. Those groups, whose rank was based on numerous generations of noble lineage, held a social position quite distinct from that of the Brazilian elites, most of whom were descended from families of the lower classes and had more recently achieved their status through service.

Some books conducting statistical analysis of inventories include a broader overview of Portugal's elite. Nuno Luís Madureira's book on elite homes and furnishings in eighteenth-century Lisbon divides the elite under consideration into three groups: royalty and nobility; merchants; and those with high-ranking military titles, advanced degrees, and government officials.¹² The latter two groups correspond to the socioeconomic status of Brazil's elite. Similarly, Carlos Franco's dissertation on elite domestic life, material culture, and ornamentation in Lisbon examines individuals based on their purchasing power rather than their noble status, thus he includes both the old nobility and groups with a similar claim to status as the elite in Brazil, such as merchants, lawyers, the clergy, and men with military titles.¹³

¹² Madureira, *Cidade*, 115, 128, 134.

¹³ Carlos Franco, "Casas das Elites de Lisboa: Objectos, Interiores e Vivências (1750-1830)" (Ph.D. diss., Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2014), 13-14.

Although further research on elites outside of the court and consideration of those living outside of Lisbon will enable greater contextualization of the material culture of Brazil, the vastly different circumstances in which the elite of Portugal and those of Brazil lived complicate comparison between these two groups. Determining the socioeconomic status of *mineiros* in comparison to residents of Portugal is particularly challenging. Residents of Minas Gerais invested the majority of their wealth in extensive tracts of land and large numbers of slaves, resources not available to and not necessitated by the elite in Portugal. Furthermore, the Oliveira Pintos and other *mineiro* elites regularly sent large sums of gold to family in Portugal. As yet, the quantities remitted are unknown and, thus, the actual income of residents of Minas Gerais cannot be determined. In a sense, the possessions of family members in Portugal might be considered part of the estates of the *mineiro* elite.

Comparisons between residents of Portugal and of Brazil not only involve what people owned, but also the cultural perspectives that informed consumer decisions. For much of the century, the *mineiro* elite possessed plenty of gold, a substance that due to its rarity, versatility, and stability has been recognized in various parts of the world as having currency value. However, *mineiros* did not want gold just for the sake of having gold, but mined it in order to purchase other goods that could fray, degrade, rot, and shatter, but that represented human artifice.

As Georg Simmel argued in 1907, value is never inherent but is, instead, subjective.¹⁴ The prolific economic historical research on colonial Minas Gerais has yet to thoroughly explore the cultural factors that drove demand. The monetary values assigned to objects in inventories were informed by current modes of thought in

¹⁴ Appadurai, "Introduction," 3.

Portugal, as well as local conditions, such as the proliferation of gold, diamonds, and other stones, and the custom of using hammocks.

The nuanced meanings of objects are likely to have varied significantly among the diverse population of consumers in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais. Writing on the importance of objects in the early modern period, Erin K. Lichtenstein states, “in an age of linguistic diversity and limited literacy, the power of things to project meaning often bridged the gap between disparate groups and societies.”¹⁵ Eighteenth-century Minas Gerais was certainly a place inhabited by individuals from numerous linguistic and cultural backgrounds, with varying degrees of literacy. Exploring the connotations of luxury goods among the white elite establishes the foundations for examining the cultural, religious, and economic significance of those objects among other socioeconomic groups.

Imported luxuries were essential to elite life but were combined with the local. The local gold, diamonds, stones, and hardwoods were highly prized resources and materials for the creation of decorative art objects, and the local penchant for the use of the hammock was long lasting. An individual’s understanding of and desire for specific local products and traditions as opposed to imported alternatives depended on their relationship to the local land, to Portugal, and to other parts of the globe.

A common thread that pervades many of the most sought-after imported commodities was that they were not actually Portuguese. Porcelain, silk, cotton, silver, ivory, and countless other luxuries arrived in Brazil from Asia, Africa, the Spanish Americas, and regions of Europe other than Portugal. Although some of the goods

¹⁵ Erin K. Lichtenstein, “Identities through Things: A Comment,” in Findlen, *Early Modern Things*, 379.

traveled first to Portugal prior to being transported to Brazil, much was shipped to Brazil directly from Portugal's overseas territories and from lands outside of the Portuguese world. While the combination of local, foreign and Portuguese in the possessions of the *mineiro* elite can be viewed as signaling Portuguese global expansion, the possession of non-Portuguese items, many of which may have been acquired through contraband, can also be interpreted as countering the typical narrative of the metropole supplying the colony with goods, customs, and ideologies.

The interpretation of residents of Minas Gerais as rejecting ties to Portugal has been tremendously popular in scholarship, and arguments often revolve around the relationship that *mineiros* held with consumer goods. Numerous revolts, including the *Inconfidência Mineira*, have been described as reactions to the restrictive measures imposed upon Minas Gerais that inhibited the access to imported consumer goods and restricted local manufacturing. Furthermore, the presence of manufacturing within the captaincy of Minas Gerais has often been viewed as subversive. Examination of the inventories of the local population sheds light on the effectiveness of such measures, and complicates the present theories about local manufacturing. Further evidence surrounding the *mineiro* textile industry and hints of the production of relatively fine ceramics at Santa Barbara deserve further inquiry. However, when considering the presence or absence of local manufacturing the tastes of consumers must be taken into account in addition to economic considerations.

Domestic customs and consumer preferences underwent cultural change throughout the century, with new attitudes toward the body, the home, and luxury most evident at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. The possible cultural, economic, and political causes and ramifications of these shifts, such

as the emergence of Enlightenment ideals, require further research. Elite consumption indicates that neoclassicism, the aesthetic preferred among Enlightenment thinkers, indeed arrived in Minas Gerais prior to the court's move to Rio de Janeiro. In 1807 two branches of the Oliveira Pinto family recorded their ownership of goods ornamented with this modern style.¹⁶ While their owners may have purchased these neoclassical objects for their novelty and aesthetic interest, they may have also been familiar with the ideological underpinnings of Enlightenment writings.

The elite possession of luxurious decorative art objects in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais was far more complex than the traditional bipolar tropes of scarcity on the frontier and opulence in mining areas. Personal possessions were fundamental for the acquisition and exertion of social status and economic power, and the Oliveira Pintos and other *mineiro* elites ensured their access to the finest consumer goods. This acquisition of commodities, involving the exchange of local gold for manufactured goods from the far reaches of the globe, was essential to the *mineiro* elite's perception of their homeland as the economic center of the Portuguese empire.

¹⁶ Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho's inventory; Antonio Gomes Sande's inventory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript Sources

Arquivo da Casa Setecentista. Mariana, Brazil (CS):

Ana Esmeria Ermelinda de São Joaquim's inventory, 1817, caixa 31, auto 742, 1st ofício.

Ana Gonçalves de Camargo's inventory, 1723, caixa 71, auto 1514, 1st ofício.

Anna Maria Pereira da Silva's inventory 1784, caixa 29, 723, 1st ofício.

Antonio Domingues do Cabo Pinto's inventory, 1805, caixa, 56, auto 1239, 1st ofício.

Antonio Duarte's inventory, 1772, caixa 69, auto 1517, 2nd ofício.

Antonio Gomes Sande's inventory, 1807, caixa 25, auto 645, 1st ofício.

Antonio Pereira Carneiro's inventory, 1775, caixa 54, auto 1210, 1st ofício.

Antonio Santiago de Salazar's inventory, 1796, caixa 48, auto 1104, 1st ofício.

Domingos Moreira de Oliveira's inventory, 1794, caixa 9, auto 341, 1st ofício.

Domingos da Rocha Ferreira's inventory, 1774, caixa 83, auto 1774, 2nd ofício.

Feliciano Isabel Maria de Oliveira's inventory, 1782, caixa 74, auto 1569, 1st ofício.

Felipe Benicio Duarte's inventory, 1777, caixa 75, auto 1585, 1st ofício.

Francisca Clara Umbelina de Jesus' inventory, 1833, caixa 151, auto 3174, 1st ofício.

Francisca Pinta de Oliveira's inventory, 1754, caixa 10, auto 360, 1st ofício.

Francisca Pinta de Oliveira's inventory, 1772, caixa 22, auto 591, 1st ofício.

Francisco Soares de Araujo's testament, 1788, rol de testamentos 234, f. 4320, 1st ofício.

Francisco de Velloso de Miranda's inventory, 1764, caixa 88, auto 1859, 1st ofício.

Francisco Xavier dos Santos' inventory, 1766, caixa 141, auto 2936, 1st ofício.

Gregorio Mathias Neves' inventory, 1778, caixa 117, auto 2420, 1st ofício.

João Alves da Costa's inventory, 1811, caixa 23, auto 613, 1st ofício.

João Antonio dos Santos' will, 1769, caixa 225, auto 4177, 1st ofício.

João Antonio dos Santos' inventory, 1801, caixa 65, auto 1405, 1st ofício.

João Duarte Pinto's inventory, 1817, caixa 94, auto 1964, 1st ofício.

João Ferreira Almada's inventory, 1769, caixa 80, auto 1696, 1st ofício.

João Ferreira de Souza's inventory, 1777, caixa 46, auto 1945, 2nd ofício.

João Paulo de Freitas' inventory, 1803, caixa 53, auto 1202, 2nd ofício.

Joaquim Coelho de Oliveira Duarte's inventory, 1833, caixa 46, auto 1043, 2nd ofício.

Jose Alves de Oliveira's inventory, 1803, caixa 40, auto 1048, 2nd ofício.

Jose de Araujo Correia's inventory, 1760, caixa 45, auto 1016, 2nd ofício.

Jose Ferreira Pinto's inventory, 1739, caixa 106, auto 2181, 1st ofício.

Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho's inventory, 1807, caixa 53, auto 1202, 2nd ofício.

Jose Ribeiro Forte's inventory, 1793, caixa 43, auto 978, 2nd ofício.

Lino Coelho de Oliveira Duarte's inventory, 1830, caixa 26, auto 647, 2nd ofício.

Luis da Costa Athaide's inventory, 1802, caixa 33, auto 792, 2nd ofício.

Manoel Simoens' inventory, 1727, caixa 67, auto 1467, 2nd ofício.

Manoel Correia de Oliveira's inventory, 1798, caixa 95, auto 2035, 2nd ofício.

Manoel Correia de Oliveira's will, 1794, caixa 45, fls. 132, rol de testamentos, 1st ofício.

Manoel de Oliveira Pinto's inventory, 1777, caixa 115, auto 2376, 1st ofício.

Maria da Cunha da Natividade's inventory, 1734, caixa 67, auto 1473, 2nd ofício.

Maria Hermelinda Duarte e Freitas' inventory, 1848, caixa 100, auto 2122, 2nd ofício.

Mariana Correia de Oliveira's inventory, 1748, caixa 46, auto 1050, 1st ofício.

Paulo Rodrigues Durão's inventory, 1743, caixa 115, auto 2377, 1st ofício.

Pedro Alves Bacellar's inventory, 1781, caixa 118, auto 2370, 2nd ofício.

Sebastião Martins da Costa's inventory, 1769, caixa 89, auto 1923, 2nd ofício.

Arquivo Eclesiástico da Arquidiocese de Mariana. Mariana, Brazil (AEAM):

Processos de genere, vita e moribus:

Antonio Duarte Pinto, 1756, armario 1, pasta 119.

Antonio Pinto Alvares de Oliveira, armario 2, pasta 272.

Jose Pinto Alves de Oliveira, c. 1756-1764, armario 7, pasta 1271.

Testamentos:

João Pinto Alvares, 1770, numero 629.

Jose Fernandes Pintos, 1801, numero 718.

Processos Matrimoniais:

Domingos Coelho and Feliciano Isabel Maria de Oliveira, 1759, numero 1774, armario 2, pasta 178.

João Pinto Alvares and Mariana Correia de Oliveira, 1723, numero 129343, armario 52, pasta 12935.

João Varella da Fonseca and Justa Inocencia de Guadalupe, 1763, numero 4262, armario 4, pasta 427.

Jose de Araujo Correia and Maria Pinta de Oliveira, 1749, numero 4725, armario 4, pasta 473.
Jose Pereira Silva and Vicencia Correia de Oliveira, 1784, numero 5438, armario 5, pasta 544.
Jose Felix Machado and Joana Correia das Neves, 1773, numero 4914, armario 4, pasta 492.
Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho and Angelica Amatilde Eufrazia de São Joaquim, 1774, numero 005490, armario 5, pasta 549.

Livros Paroquiais:

Baptisms, 1719-1736, prateleira O, numero 3.
Baptisms, 1731-1807, prateleira O, numero 6.
Baptisms 1731-1777, prateleira O, numero 5.
Baptisms, 1732-1740, prateleira T, numero 4.
Baptisms, Weddings and Obituaries, 1712-1733, prateleira O, numero 2.
Obituaries, 1724-1730, prateleira Q, numero 12.
The Third Order of Nossa Senhora do Carmo, 1758, prateleira Q, numero 32.

Arquivo Histórico de São João del-Rei. São João del-Rei, Brazil (AHUSJDR):

Manoel Fernandes Quintão's inventory, 1790, caixa 503.

Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. Lisbon, Portugal (AHU)

<http://www.cmd.unb.br/biblioteca.html>:

Carta de Antônio de Noronha, governador de Minas, informando Martinho de Melo e Castro, entre outros assuntos, sobre os socorros, em tropas, que pretende enviar ao Marquês de Lavradio, July 25, 1775, caixa 108, doc. 47, Minas Gerais.

Carta (copia) de D. Antônio de Noronha, governador de Minas, dando conta das providências que tem tomado no sentido de impedir a introdução de manufacturas na referida Capitania, July 17, 1775, caixa 108, doc. 42, Minas Gerais.

Carta dos Oficiais da Câmara da Cidade de Belém do Pará para o Rei, 1739-1741, caixa 23, doc. 2125, CU-013.

Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino sobre o requerimento de João Pinto Alvares, 1735, caixa 30, documento 36, Minas Gerais.

Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino sobre o requerimento de Antonio Duarte, 1746, caixa 46, documento 6, Minas Gerais.

Requerimento de João Pinto Alvares, before 1734, caixa 27, doc. 53, Minas Gerais.

Requerimento de João Pinto Alvares, before 1747, caixa 48, documento 9, Minas Gerais.

Requerimento de João Pinto Alvares, before 1755, caixa 68, documento 50, Minas Gerais, AHU,

Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Lisbon, Portugal (ANTT):

Antonio Duarte's proof of qualifications for entrance into the Holy Office, c. 1741-1758, maço 134, doc. 2228, Tribunal do Santo Officio, Conselho Geral, Habilitações. <http://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=2320527>.

Arquivo Publico Mineiro. Belo Horizonte, Brazil (APM):

Borrador de Contas Particulares de Comerciante, 1749-1769, CC-2036.
Borrador de Contas Particulares de João de Souza Lisboa, 1748-1755, CC-2033.

Borrador de Creditos de João Rodrigues de Macedo Relativos a suas Atividades Comerciais, 1768-1793, CC-2106.

The Winterthur Library, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera. Wilmington, DE:

Codecasa, Benedict, Muster karte von iermesût, scalli, cettari, und scalagia nach Ostindischer Art, col. 50, acc. 62x32

J. Tuthill & Son(s), Norwich worsted pattern book, 1794-1797, col. 50, acc. 65x695.3

Manchester pattern book, 1783, col. 50, acc. 65x698

Maurepas, Jean-Frédéric Phélypaux, 1701-1781, Papers, 1731-1743, col. 300

Swatch book, ca. 1800-ca. 1825, col. 50, acc. 69x216

Print Primary Sources

Andrada, Diogo de Payva de. *Casamento Perfeyto*. Lisbon: Miguel Rodrigues, 1726.

Antonil, André João. *Cultura, e Opulencia do Brasil por suas Drogas, e Minas*. Lisbon: Na Officina Real Deslandesiana, 1711.

Appendix das Leys Extravagantes, Decretos, e Avisos, que se tem Publicado do Anno de 1747 até o Anno de 1761. Lisbon: Mosteiro de S. Vicente de Fóra, 1760.

Autos de Devassa da Inconfidência Mineira, Vol. 6. Belo Horizonte: Imprensa Oficial de Minas Gerais, 1982.

Azeredo Coutinho, José Joaquim da Cunha de. *Ensaio Económico Sobre o Comércio de Portugal e suas Colónias*. Lisboa: Academia Real das Siências, 1794.

- Barbot, James, and John Casseneuve. "A Voyage to Congo-River. An Abstract of a Voyage to Congo River, or the Zair, and to Cabinde, in the year 1700." In *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*. Edited by Awnsham Churchill and John Churchill, 497-588. London: John Walthoe, Tho. Wotton, Samuel Birt, Daniel Browne, Thomas Osborn, John Shuckburgh, Henry Lintot, 1732.
- Beckford, William. *The Journal of William Beckford in Portugal and Spain, 1787-1788*. New York: J. Day Co., 1955.
- Bluteau, Rafael. *Supplemento ao Vocabulario Portuguez, e Latino*. Lisbon: Joseph Antonio da Sylva, 1727-1728.
- . *Instrucçam sobre a Cultura das Amoreiras, e Criação dos Bichos da Seda Dirigida a' Conservação e Augmento das Manufacturas de Seda*. Coimbra: Real Imprensa da Universidade, 1769.
- Bluteau, Raphael. *Vocabulario Portuguez & Latino*. Lisbon: Pascoal da Sylva, 1712-1728.
- Brotero, Felix de Avellar. *Compendio de Botanica, ou, Noções Elementares desta Sciencia*. Paris: Paulo Martin, 1788.
- "Cartas de Sesmarias, 1749-1753." *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro* 19 (1921): 345-436.
- Carvalho, José Monteiro de. *Diccionario Portuguez das Plantas, Arbustos, Matas, Arvores, Animaes Quadrupedes, e Reptis, Aves, Peixes, Mariscos, Insectos, Gomas, Metaes, Pedras, Terras, Mineraes, &c. que a Divina Omnipotencia Creou no Globo Terraqueo para Utilidade dos Viventes*. Lisbon: Officina de Miguel Manescal da Costa, 1765.
- Dampier, William. *A Voyage to New Holland, &c. In the Year, 1699*, Vol. 3. London: James Knapton, 1703.
- Davenant, Charles. *An Account of the Trade between Great-Britain, France, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Africa, Newfoundland*. London: Printed for A. Bell, in Cornhill; W. Taylor and J. Baker, in Pater-Noster-Row, 1715.
- "Diario da Jornada, que fes o Exm.o Senhor dom Pedro desde o Rio de Janeiro athé a Cid.e de São Paulo, e desta athe as Minas no anno de 1717," *Revista do Patrimonio Historico Nacional* 3 (1939): 295-316.

"Documentos Officiaes Ineditos Relativos ao Alvará de 5 de Janeiro de 1785, que extinguiu no Brasil todas as fabricas e manufacturas de ouro, prata, sedas, algodão, linho, lã, etc.," *Revista Trimensal de Historia e Geographia* 10 (1870): 213-239.

Effeitos do Luxo nas Sociedades Politicas. Porto: Antonio Alvares Ribeiro, 1793.

Eschwege, Wilhelm Ludwig von. *Journal von Brasilien, oder Vermischte Nachrichten aus Brasilien, auf Wissenschaftlichen Reisen Gesammelt*. Weimar: Im Verlage des Gr. H.S. pr. Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs, 1818.

Eu a Rainha. Faço saber aos que este Alvará virem, que havendo prohibido, pelo outro Alvará de 7 de Novembro de 1770. a entrada neste Reino, de toda a louça de Paizes Estrangeiros.... Lisbon: Regia Officina Typografica, 1783.

Faria, Manoel Severim de. *Noticias de Portugal*. 2nd ed. Lisbon: Antonio Isidoro da Fonseca, 1740.

Figueiredo, Manoel de. "Perigos da Educação." In *Theatro de Manoel de Figueiredo*. Lisbon: Impressão Regia, 1804.

Fonseca, Padre Manoel da. *Vida do Veneravel Padre Belchior de Pontes, da Companhia de Jesus da Provida do Brasil*. Lisbon: Francisco da Silva, 1752.

Gazeta de Lisboa 3, no 2 (1717): 5-12.

Graham, Mary. *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil and Residence There, During Part of the Years 1821, 1822, 1823*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and J. Murray, 1824.

"Informação Geral da Capitania de Pernambuco." *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* 28 (1908): 119-496.

Kindersley, Mrs. *Letters from the Island of Teneriffe, Brazil, the Cape of Good Hope, and the East Indies*. London: J. Nourse, 1777.

Koster, Henry. *Travels in Brazil*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1816.

Labat, Jean-Baptiste. *Voyage du Chevalier des Marchais en Guinee, Isles Voisines, et a Cayenne, fait en 1725, 1726 & 1727*, Vol. 2. Paris: Saugrain l'aîné, 1730.

- Leybourn, William. *Panarithmologia: Or, the Trader's Sure Guide, Containing Exact and Useful Tables, Ready Cast Up, Adapted to the Use of Merchants, Mercers, Bankers, Drapers, ... to Which Is Added a Table of Commission, or Brokage, ... with a Calculation of Portugal Coin*. London: Printed for J. F. and C. Rivington, T. Caslon, T. Longman, B. Law, C. Dilly, T. Lowndes, and E. Johnston, 1780.
- Lindley, Thomas. *Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil; Terminating in the Seizure of a British Vessel, and the Imprisonment of the Author and The Ship's Crew, by the Portuguese*. London: J. Johnson, 1805.
- Loureiro, João de. "Memoria sobre o Algodão, sua Cultura, e Fabrica," in *Memorias Economicas da Academia Real das Sciencias*, Vol. 1, 32-40.
- Luccock, John. *Notes on Rio de Janeiro, and the Southern Parts of Brazil; Taken during a Residence of Ten Years in That Country, from 1808-1818*. London: Samuel Leigh, 1820.
- Manoel, Francisco. *Carta e Guia Casados: Para que Pelo Caminho da Prudencia se Acerte com a Casa do Descanso*. Lisbon: Typologia Rollandiana, 1827.
- Martius, Carl Friedrich Philipp von. *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Brasiliens*. Erlangen: Junge & Sohn, 1863.
- Mawe, John. *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, Particularly in the Gold and Diamond Districts of That Country*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row, 1812.
- Memorias Economicas da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, para o Adiantamento da Agricultura, das Artes, e da Industria em Portugal, e suas Conquistas*, Vol. 1. Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1789.
- Moraes Silva, Antonio de. *Diccionario da Lingua Portugueza composto pelo Padre D. Rafael Bluteau, Reformado, e Accrescentado*. Lisbon: Simão Thaddeo Ferrereira, 1789.
- . *Diccionario da Lingua Portugueza*, Vol. 1. Lisbon: Impressão Regia, 1831.
- Nieuhofs, Johan. *Gedenkweerdige Brasiliaense Zee- en Lant-Reize*. Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1682.
- Oviedo y Valdés, Gonzalo Fernández de. *De la Natural Hystoria de las Indias*. Toledo, 1526.

- . *La Historia General de las Indias*. Seville: Juam Cromberger, 1535.
- . *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, Part 2, Vol. 2. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1853.
- Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana*. Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1726-1739.
- Salvador, Frei Vicente do. *História do Brasil*. São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, 1954.
- Silva, Antonio Delgado da. *Collecção da Legislação Portuguesa desde a Ultima Compilação das Ordenações: Legislação de 1775 a 1790*. Lisbon Typografia Maigrense, 1828.
- . *Collecção da Legislação Portuguesa desde a Ultima Compilação das Ordenações: Legislação de 1763 a 1774*. Lisbon: Typografia Maigrense, 1829.
- . *Collecção da Legislação Portuguesa desde a Ultima Compilação das Ordenações: Legislação de 1750 a 1762*. Lisbon: Typografia Maigrense, 1830.
- Silva, José Justino de Andrade. *Collecção Chronologica da Legislação Portuguesa, 1683-1700*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1859.
- Silva, Wenceslão Pereira da. “Parecer de Wenceslão Pereira da Silva, em que se Propõem os Meios Mais Convenientes para Suspender a Ruina dos Tres Principaes Generos do Commercio do Brazil, Assucar, Tabaco e Solla, Bahia, 12 de Fevereiro de 1738.” *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional* 31 (1913): 27-31.
- Sousa, Frei Luis de, and Luis Cacegas, *Vida de Dom Frei Bertolameu dos Martyres da Orde dos Pregadores Arcebispo e Senhor de Braga Primas das Espanhas*. Viana do Castelo: Nicolau Carvalho, 1619.
- The Trade with France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal Considered: With Some Observations on the Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and France*. London: J. Baker, 1713.
- Vandelli, Domingos. “Memoria Sobre Algumas Produções Naturaes deste Reino, das quaes se Poderia tirar Utilidade.” In *Memorias Economicas da Academia Real das Sciencias*, 176-186.
- . “Memoria sobre Algumas Produções Naturaes das Conquistas, as quaes ou são pouco conhecidas, ou não se Aproveitaô.” In *Memorias Economicas da Academia Real das Sciencias*, 187-206.

Vieyra, Antonio. *Arte de Furtar, Espelho de Enganos, Theatro de Verdades, Mostrador de Horas Minguadas, Gazua Geral dos Reynos de Portugal*. Amsterdam: Martinho Schagen, 1744.

Vieyra, Antonio, and J. P. Aillaud. *Novo Diccionario Portatil das Linguas Portugueza e Ingleza*. Paris: J. P. Aillaud, 1837.

Vieyra Transtagano, Anthony. *A Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages, in two Parts, Portuguese and English: and English and Portuguese*. London: J. Nourse, 1773.

White, John. *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales*. London: J. Debrett Piccadilly, 1790.

Secondary Sources

D'Abbeville, Claude. *Historia da Missão dos Padres Capuchinhos na Ilha do Maranhão e suas Circumvisinhaças*. Translated by Cezar Augusto Marques. Maranhão, 1874.

Adamson, Glenn, Giorgio Riello, and Sarah Teasley, eds. *Global Design History*. London: Routledge, 2011.

Ajmar-Wollheim, Marta, and Luca Molà. "The Global Renaissance: Cross-Cultural Objects in the Early Modern Period." In Adamson, Riello, and Teasley, *Global Design History*, 11-20.

Almeida, Carla Maria Carvalho de. "Do Reino as Minas: O "Cosmopolitismo" da Elite Mineira Setecentista." In Fragoso, *Nas Rotas do Império*, 331-356.

-----, "Uma Nobreza da Terra com Projeto Imperial: Maximiliano de Oliveira Leite e seus Aparentados." In *Conquistadores e Negociantes: Histórias de Elites no Antigo Regime nos Trópicos: América Lusa, Séculos XVI a XVIII*. Edited by João Luís Ribeiro Fragoso, Carla Maria Carvalho de Almeida, and Antonio Carlos Jucá de Sampaio, 137-173. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2007.

-----, *Ricos e Pobres em Minas Gerais: Produção e Hierarquização Social no Mundo Colonial, 1750-1822*. Belo Horizonte: Argumentum, 2010.

Alpern, Stanley B. "What Africans Got for Their Slaves: A Master List of European Trade Goods." *History in Africa* 22 (1995):

Alves, Jorge Fernandes. *Fiar e Tecer: Uma Perspectiva Histórica da Indústria Têxtil a Partir do Vale do Ave*. Vila Nova de Famalicão: Câmara Municipal, 1999.

- Amantino, Marcia. "As Guerras Justas e a Escravidão Indígena em Minas Gerais nos Séculos XVIII e XIX." *Varia Historia* 22, no. 35 (2006): 189–206.
- Amott, David C. "Church, City, Citizen: The Colonial Cathedral and the City of Mariana, Minas Gerais, Brazil." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Delaware, 2013.
- Anastasia, Carla Maria Junho, and Junia Ferreira Furtado. "A Estrada Real na História das Minas Gerais." *História & Perspectivas* 20/21, (1999): 33-54.
- Andrade, Mário de. *A Arte Religiosa no Brasil: Crônicas Publicadas na Revista do Brasil em 1920*. Edited by Claudéte Kronbauer. São Paulo, SP: Experimento : Editora Giordano, 1993.
- Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias. "O Comércio com o Brasil e a Comunidade Mercantil em Moçambique (Séc. XVIII)." In *Actas do Congresso Internacional Espaço Atlântico de Antigo Regime: Poderes e Sociedades*. Lisbon: Instituto Camões, 2005.
- ."Alguns Interiores Domésticos nos Inventários de Mercadores Lisboetas: Uma Avaliação do Valor Simbólico de Objectos Asiáticos." In *O Reino, as Ilhas e o mar Oceano: Estudos em Homenagem a Artur Teodoro de Matos*. Edited by Avelino Freitas de Meneses, and João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, 751-69. Lisbon: Ponta Delgada, 2007.
- ."A Influência Africana e Indiana no Brasil, na Virada do Século XVIII: Escravos e Têxteis." In Fragoso, *Nas Rotas do Império*, 125-150.
- Appadurai, Arjun. "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value." In *The Social Life of Things*. Edited by Arjun Appadurai. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Araújo, Jeaneth Xavier de. "A Pintura de Manoel da Costa Ataíde no Contexto da Época Moderna." In *Manoel da Costa Ataíde: Aspectos Históricos, Estilísticos, Iconográficos e Técnicos*. Edited by Adalgisa Arantes Campos, 32-62. Belo Horizonte: Editora C/Arte, 2005.
- ."Artífices na Vila Rica Setecentista: Possibilidades de Pesquisa." *Atas do I Encontro de História da Arte do IFCH* 2, (2005): 66-73.
- Araujo Junior, Delson Aguinaldo de. "Estampas como Inspiração para a Pintura em Minas Gerais." *V Encontro de História da Arte - IFCH/UNICAMP* (2009): 144-157.

- Aste, Richard, ed. *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898*. Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 2013.
- Avelar, Lucas Endrigo Brunozi. “A Moderação em Excesso: Estudo Sobre a História das Bebidas na Sociedade Colonial.” Master’s thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2010.
- Avila, Cristina, and Augusto C. da Silva Telles. “Brazilian Baroque Art / Brazilian Baroque Architecture.” In *Brazil: Body & Soul*. Edited by Edward J. Sullivan, 128-149. New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2001.
- Bailey, Gauvin Alexander. *The Spiritual Rococo: Decor and Divinity from the Salons of Paris to the Missions of Patagonia*. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2014.
- . “Religious Orders and the Arts of Asia.” In Carr, *Made in the Americas*, 91-110.
- Baird, Ileana. “Introduction: Peregrine Things: Rethinking the Global in Eighteenth-Century Studies.” In Baird, and Ionescu, *Eighteenth-Century Thing Theory in a Global Context*, 1-16.
- Baird, Ileana, and Christina Ionescu, eds. *Eighteenth-Century Thing Theory in a Global Context: From Consumerism to Celebrity Culture*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013.
- Ball, S. H. “Historical Notes on Gem Mining.” *Economic Geology* 26, no 7 (1931): 681–738.
- Barbuy, Heloisa. “Entre Liteiras e Cadeirinhas.” In *Como Explorar um Museu Histórico*, 19-21. São Paulo: Museu Paulista, 1992.
- Bargellini, Clara. “Asia at the Spanish Missions of Northern New Spain.” In Pierce, and Otsuka, *Asia & Spanish America*, 191-99.
- Bastos, Celina. “Das Cousas da China: Comércio, Divulgação e Apropriação do Mobiliário Chinês em Portugal. Séculos XVI a XVIII.” In Curvelo, *O Exótico Nunca está em Casa?* 145-60.
- Bayón, Damián, and Murillo Marx, eds. *History of South American Colonial Art and Architecture: Spanish South America and Brazil*. New York: Rizzoli, 1992.
- Bazin, Germain. *A Arquitetura Religiosa Barroca no Brasil*. Translated by Glória Lúcia Nunes. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1956.

- Beckjord, Sarah H. "'Con Sal y Aji y Tomates': Las Redes Textuales de Bernal Diaz en el Caso de Cholula," *Revista Iberoamericana* 170-171 (June 1995): 147-60.
- Benhamou, Reed. "Imitation in the Decorative Arts of the Eighteenth Century." *Journal of Design History* 4, no. 1 (1991): 1-13.
- Benisovich, Michael. "The History of the *Tenture des Indes*." *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 83, no 486 (1943): 216-25.
- Berg, Maxine. "From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain." *The Economic History Review* 55, no. 1 (2002): 1-30.
- , "Asian Luxuries and the Making of the European Consumer Revolution." In Berg and Eger, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, 228-244.
- Berg, Maxine, and Elizabeth Eger. "The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates." In Berg and Eger, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, 7-27.
- Berg, Maxine, and Elizabeth Eger, eds. *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*. Houndmills: Palgrave, 2003.
- Bergad, Laird W. *Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720-1888*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Bernardini, Paolo, and Norman Fiering, eds. *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2001.
- Beumers, Erna, and Erik Hesmerg. *Africa Meets Africa: The African Collection of the Museum of Ethnology Rotterdam*. Rotterdam: Museum of Ethnology, 1996.
- Bohrer, Alex Fernandes. "Buril Planetário: Minas Gerais, de Rafael a Rubens." *Atas do IV Congresso Internacional do Barroco Íbero-Americano* (2006): 321-336.
- Borges, Adélia. *Coleção Museu da Casa Brasileira*. São Paulo: Museu da Casa Brasileira, 2007.
- Borucki, Alex. "The Slave Trade to the Rio de la Plata, 1777-1812: Trans-Imperial Networks and Atlantic Warfare." *Colonial Latin American Review*. 20, no 1 (2011.): 81-107.
- Borrego, Maria Aparecida de Menezes. *A Teia Mercantil: Negócios e Poderes em São Paulo Colonial (1711-1765)*. São Paulo: Alameda, 2010.

- Boschi, Caio César. *O Barroco Mineiro: Artes e Trabalho*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1988.
- Botelho, Nilza. "Serpentinas e Cadeirinhas de Arruar." *Anais do Museu Histórico Nacional* 4 (1943): 445–71.
- Bowen, Monica Jayne. "A Call for Liberation: Aleijadinho's *Prophets* as Capoeiristas." Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 2008.
- Boxer, Charles R. *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: Growing Pains of a Colonial Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962.
- , "Brazilian Gold and British Traders in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 49, no. 3 (1969): 454–72.
- Brancante, Eldino da Fonseca. *O Brasil e a Louça da Índia*. São Paulo: Pocaí, 1950.
- Brandão, Angela. "Anotações para uma História do Mobiliário Brasileiro do Século XVIII," *Revista CPC* 9 (November 2009–April 2010): 42-64.
- , "Inventários como fontes para a História da Arte e do Mobiliário Brasileiro." *Cultura Visual* 13 (2010): 11-23.
- Bremer-David, Charissa. "'Le Cheval Rayé': A French Tapestry Portraying Dutch Brazil." *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 22 (1994): 21–29.
- Bretas, Rodrigo José Ferreira. "Traços Biographicos Relativos ao Finado Antonio Francisco Lisboa distinto escultor mineiro, mais conhecido pelo appellido de—Aleijadinho," *Correio Oficial de Minas* 169 (1858): 3-4.
- , "Traços Biographicos Relativos ao Finado Antonio Francisco Lisboa distinto escultor mineiro, mais conhecido pelo appellido de—Aleijadinho," *Correio Oficial de Minas* 170 (1858): 2-3.
- Brouwer, Louisa Elena. "*At the Plume of Feathers*": *Susanna Passavant and the Jewelry Trade of Eighteenth-Century London and Abroad*. Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 2011.
- Brown, Roxanna M. "Shipwreck Evidence for the China-Manila Ceramics Trade." In Pierce, and Otsuka, *Asia & Spanish America*, 59-68.
- Brügger, Silvia Maria Jardim. "Familia e Patriarcalismo em Minas Gerais." In Paiva, *Brasil-Portugal*, 43-60.

- . *Minas Patriarcal: Família e Sociedade, São João del Rei, Séculos XVIII e XIX*. São Paulo: Annablume, 2007.
- Brunelle, Gayle K. "Sixteenth-Century Perceptions of the New World: Rouennais Commerce and a Renaissance Tableau." *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 17, (1990): 75-81.
- Bruno, Ernani Silva. *Equipamentos, Usos e Costumes da Casa Brasileira: Equipamentos*. São Paulo: USP, 2000.
- Buckland, Kirstie. "The Monmouth Cap." *Costume* 13, no. 1 (1979): 23-37.
- Bujok, Elke. "Africana und Americana im Ficklerschen Inventar der Münchner Kunstkammer von 1598." *Münchner Beiträge zur Völkerkunde* 8 (2003): 57-142.
- . *Neue Welten In Europäischen Sammlungen: Africana und Americana in Kunstkammern bis 1670*. Berlin: Reimer 2004.
- . "Ethnographica in Early Modern Kunstkammern and their Perception." *Journal of the History of Collections* 21, no 1 (2009): 17-32.
- Buono, Amy. "'Their Treasures are the Feathers of Birds': Tupinambá Featherwork and the Image of America." In *Images Take Flight: Feather Art in Mexico and Europe 1400-1700*. Edited by Alessandra Russo, Gerhard Wolf and Diana Fane, 179-89. Munich: Hirmer, 2015.
- Bury, John. "The 'Borrominesque' Churches of Colonial Brazil," *The Art Bulletin* 37, no. 1 (1955): 27-53.
- . "O Aleijadinho." In *Arquitetura e Arte no Brasil Colonial*. Edited by Myriam Andrade Ribeiro de Oliveira, and translated by Isa Mara Lando, 15-24. São Paulo: Nobel, 1991.
- . "A Arquitetura e a Arte do Brasil Colonial." In *Arquitetura e Arte no Brasil Colonial*. Edited by Myriam Andrade Ribeiro de Oliveira, and translated by Isa Mara Lando, 162-191. São Paulo: Nobel, 1991.
- Cachot, Rebeca Carrión. *Andas y Literas de la Costa Peruana*. Lima: Compañia de Impresiones y Publicidad, 1940.
- Caldeira, Arlindo Manuel. *Escravos e Traficantes no Império Português: O Comércio Negreiro Português no Atlântico Durante os Séculos XV a XIX*. Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2013.

- Calvão, João Rodrigues. *Caminhos da Porcelana: Dinastias Ming e Qing = The Porcelain Route: Ming and Qing Dynasties*. Lisboa: Fundação Oriente, 1998.
- Câmara, Maria Alexandra Trindade Gago da. "Cenografias Exóticas no Azulejo Setecentista." In Curvelo, *O Exótico Nunca está em Casa?* 125-31.
- Campbell, Erin J. "Balancing Act: Andrea Brustolon's "La Forza" and the Display of Imported Porcelain in Eighteenth-Century Venice." In Cavanagh, and Yonan, *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-century Porcelain*.
- Campbell, Erin J., Stephanie R. Miller, and Elizabeth Carroll Consavari, eds. *The Early Modern Italian Domestic Interior, 1400-1700: Objects, Spaces, Domesticities*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2013.
- Cantarino, Nelson Mendes. "A Razão e a Ordem: O Bispo José Joaquim da Cunha de Azeredo Coutinho e a Defesa Ilustrada do Antigo Regime Português (1742-1821)." Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2012.
- Cardim, Fernão. *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil*. São Paulo: Biblioteca Pedagógica, Companhia Editora Brasileira, 1939.
- Carita, Helder, and Homem Cardoso. *Oriente e Ocidente nos Interiores em Portugal*. Porto: Livraria Civilização, 1980.
- Carr, Dennis, et al., *Made in the Americas: The New World Discovers Asia*. Boston: MFA Publications, 2015.
- Carr, Dennis. "Introduction: Asia and the New World." In Carr, *Made in the Americas*, 19-37.
- , "Chinoiserie in the Colonial Americas." In Carr, *Made in the Americas*, 111-31.
- Carrara, Angelo Alves. "À Vista ou à Prazo: Comércio e Crédito nas Minas Setecentistas." In *À Vista ou a Prazo: Comércio e Crédito nas Minas Setecentistas*. Edited by Angelo Alves Carrara, 7-19. Juiz de Fora: Editora UFJF, 2010.
- Cascudo, Luís da Câmara. *Rede de Dormir: Uma Pesquisa Etnográfica*. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, Serviço de Documentação, 1959.
- , *Made in Africa (Pesquisas e Notas)*. Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Civilização Brasileira, 1965.

- Castro, Armando. *A Dominação Inglesa em Portugal: Estudo Seguido de Antologia, Textos dos Séculos XIII e XIX*. Porto: Afrontamento, 1972.
- Castro, Nuno de. *Chinese Porcelain and the Heraldry of the Empire*. Translated by Ana Madeira. Porto: Civilização, 1988.
- Cavanagh, Alden, and Michael Elia Yonan, eds. *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century Porcelain*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.
- Chantal, Suzanne. *A Vida Quotidiana em Portugal ao Tempo do Terramoto*. Translated by Alvaro Simões. Lisbon: Livros do Brasil, 1965.
- Chaves, Cláudia Maria das Graças. *Perfeitos Negociantes: Mercadores das Minas Setecentistas*. Belo Horizonte, Brazil: Unicentro Newton Paiva, 1999.
- Childs, Adrienne L. "Sugar Boxes and Blackamoors: Ornamental Blackness in Early Meissen Porcelain." In Cavanagh, and Yonan, *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-century Porcelain*, 159-78.
- Clarence-Smith, William Gervase. "The Portuguese empire in Asia, 1500-1700." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 58, no 3 (1995): 609-611.
- . *Cocoa and Chocolate, 1765-1914*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Coclanis, Peter A, ed. *The Atlantic Economy During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005.
- Coelho, Ronaldo Simões. "Glossário de Médicos." In *Erario Mineral*. Edited by Luís Gomes Ferreira, and Júnia Ferreira Furtado. Rio de Janeiro: Fiocruz, 2002. <http://books.scielo.org/id/ypf34>.
- Correia, Margarida Rebelo. "Os Grandes Centros de Produção Cerâmica do Norte de Portugal." In *Céramique du Portugal du XVIe au XXe siècle*. Edited by Roland Blaettler, and Paulo Henriques. Geneva: Musées d'Art et d'Histoire, 2004.
- Corrigan, Karina H. "Asian Luxury Exports to Colonial America." In Carr, *Made in the Americas*, 39-52.
- Corrigan, Karina H., et al. *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.
- Costa, Antônio Gilberto. *Os Caminhos do Ouro e a Estrada Real*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2005.

- . *Cartografia da Conquista do Território das Minas*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2004.
- Costa, Leonor Freire. “Entre o Açúcar e o Ouro: Permanência e Mudança na Organização dos Fluxos (Séculos XVII e XIII).” In Fragoso, *Nas Rotas do Império*, 97-134.
- Costa, Manuela Pinto da. “Glossário de Termos Têxteis e Afins.” *Revista da Faculdade de Letras-Ciências e Técnicas do Patrimônio* 3 (2004): 137-161.
- Costa e Silva, Alberto da. “Do Índico ao Atlântico.” In Fragoso, *Nas Rotas do Império*, 13-22.
- Crossley, Brian. “Caned Furniture.” *East India Company at Home, 1757-1857*. Last modified February, 2014. <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2014/02/Caned-Chairs-Final-PDF-19.08.14.pdf>.
- Crowley, John E. *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities & Design in Early Modern Britain & Early America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- . “From Luxury to Comfort and Back Again: Landscape Architecture and the Cottage in Britain and America.” In Berg and Eger, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, 135-150.
- Cunha, Luís António. *O Ensino de Ofícios Artesanais e Manufactureiros no Brasil Escravocrata*. São Paulo: Editora da UNESP, 2005.
- Cunha, Mafalda Soares da, and Nuno Gonçalo F. Monteiro. “Governadores e Capitães-Mores do Império Atlântico Português nos Séculos XVII e XVIII.” In Monteiro, Cardim, and Cunha, *Optima Pars*, 191-252.
- Curiel, Gustavo. “Perception of the Other and the Language of “Chinese Mimicry” in the Decorative Arts of New Spain.” In Pierce, and Otsuka, *Asia & Spanish America*, 19-36.
- Curvelo, Alexandre, ed. *O Exótico Nunca está em Casa? A China na Faiança e no Azulejo Portugueses (Séculos XVII-XVIII): The Exotic is Never at Home? The Presence of China in the Portuguese Faience and Azulejo (17th-18th Centuries)*. Lisbon: Museu Nacional do Azulejo, 2013.

- Dangelo, André Guilherme Dornelles. "A Formação da Cultura Arquitetônica em Portugal Durante os Séculos XVII e XVIII e seus Agentes de Transposição para o Brasil e as Terras Mineiras: O Doutor Antônio Pereira de Souza Calheiros e sua Contribuição para a Construção da Arquitetura Erudite das Minas Gerais Setecentistas." In Paiva, *Brasil-Portugal*, 345-67.
- Dean, Warren. *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Delson, Roberta Marx. "Brazil: The Origin of the Textile Industry." In *The Ashgate Companion to the History of Textile Workers, 1650-2000*. Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2010.
- Detweiler, Susan Gray. *George Washington's Chinaware*. New York: Abrams, 1982.
- Dias, Hécio. "O Mobiliário dos Inconfidentes." *RSPHAN* 3 (1939): 163-172.
- Dias, Luis Fernando de Carvalho. "Luxo e Pragmáticas no Pensamento Económico do Séc. XVIII." *Boletim de Ciências Económicas* 4, no. 2-3 (1955): 103-146.
- , "Luxo e Pragmáticas no Pensamento Económico do Séc. XVIII." *Boletim de Ciências Económicas* 5 (1956): 73-144.
- Dickenson, John, and Roberta Delson. *Enterprise under Colonialism: A Study of Pioneer Industrialization in Brazil 1700-1830*. Liverpool: University of Liverpool, 1991.
- Dordio, Paulo, Ricardo Teixeira, and Anabela Sá. *Faianças do Porto e Gaia: O Recente Contributo da Arqueologia*. Porto: Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis, 2001.
- D'Orey, Leonor. *Five Centuries of Jewellery: National Museum of Ancient Art, Lisbon*. Lisbon: Português de Museus, 1995.
- Drescher, Seymour. "Jews and New Christians in the Atlantic Slave Trade." In Bernardini, and Fiering, *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe*, 439-70.

- Drumond Braga, Isabel M. R. Mendes. “O Chocolate à Mesa: Sociabilidade, Luxo e Exotismo.” In *Actas do Colóquio Formas e Espaços de Sociabilidade—Contributos para uma História da Cultura em Portugal* (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 2008),
https://www.academia.edu/6931933/O_Chocolate_%C3%A0_Mesa_Sociabilidade_Luxo_e_Exotismo_Col%C3%B3quio_Formas_e_Espa%C3%A7os_de_Sociabilidade_Contributos_para_uma_Hist%C3%B3ria_da_Cultura_em_Portugal_Lisboa_Universidade_Aberta_2008_cd_rom_.
- . “Teares, Fios e Tecidos em Viagem: Produções e Exportações da Real Fábrica das Sedas para o Brasil (1734-1821).” *Revista de Artes Decorativas* 4 (2010): 103-24.
- . “Inquisição e Cultura Material: Os Inventários de Bens como Fontes para o Estudo do Quotidiano.” *Lusíada História* 2, no 7 (2010): 289–322.
- . “A América à Mesa do Rei.” In *A Mesa dos Reis de Portugal: Ofícios, Consumos, Cerimónias, Representações (Séculos XVII-XVIII)*. Edited by Ana Isabel Buescu and David Felismino, 336-49. Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 2011.
- . *Bens de Hereges: Inquisição e Cultura Material, Portugal e Brasil, Séculos XVII-XVIII*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2012.
- Drumond Braga, Isabel M. R. Mendes, and Paulo Drumond Braga. “As Jóias de D. Pedro e D. Maria, Príncipes do Brasil em 1765: Cor, Brilho e Exotismo na Corte.” In *Rumos e Escrita da História: Estudos em Homenagem a A. A. Marques de Almeida*, ed. by Maria de Fátima Reis, 287-309. Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2007.
- Duarte, Carlos F. *Mobiliario y Decoración Interior Durante el Período Hispánico Venezolano*. Caracas: Armitano Editores, 1980s.
- . *Patrimonio Hispánico Venezolano Perdido: Con un Apéndice sobre el Arte de la Sastería*. Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 2002.
- DuPlessis, Robert S. “Cottons Consumption in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century North Atlantic.” In Riello, and Parthasarathi, *The Spinning World*, 227-46.
- Earle, Rebecca. “Consumption and Excess in Spanish America (1700-1830).” Manchester: University of Manchester, 2003.

- . "Luxury, Clothing and Race in Colonial Spanish America." In Berg and Eger, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, 219-27.
- Edelweiss, Frederico G. *A Serpentina e a Cadeirinha de Arruar: (Acheugas Históricas)*. Salvador: Universidade Federal da Bahia, 1968.
- Edwards, Diana, and Rodney. Hampson. *White Salt-Glazed Stoneware of the British Isles*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 2005.
- Eger, Elizabeth. "Luxury, Industry and Charity: Bluestocking Culture Displayed." In Berg and Eger, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, 190-206.
- Eltis, David, and David Richardson, eds. *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Etchevarne, Carlos, and João Pedro Gomes. "A Cerâmica no Quotidiano Colonial Português: O Caso de Salvador da Bahia." In Teixeira, and Bettencourt, *Velhos e Novos Mundos*, 821-828.
- . "Porcelana Chinesa em Salvador da Bahia (Séculos XVI a XVIII)." In Teixeira, and Bettencourt, *Velhos e Novos Mundos*, 933-936.
- Ebert, Christopher. "From Gold to Manioc: Contraband Trade in Brazil during the Golden Age, 1700-1750." *Colonial Latin American Review* 20, no 1 (2011): 109-130.
- Espir, Helen. *European Decoration on Oriental Porcelain, 1700-1830*. London: Jorge Welsh, 2005.
- Falcon, Francisco José Calazans. "O Império Luso-Brasileiro e a Questão da Dependência Inglesa - Um Estudo de Caso: A Política Mercantilista Durante a Época Pombalina, e a Sombra do Tratado de Methuen." *Nova Economia* 15, no 2 (2005): 11-34.
- Faria, Sheila Siqueira de Castro. "Fontes Textuais e Vida Material: Observações Preliminares sobre Casas de Moradia nos Campos dos Goitacases, sécs. XVIII e XIX." *Anais do Museu Paulista* 1 (1993): 107-306.
- Ferreira, Maria Augusta Lage Pablo da Trindade. *Lenços & Colchas de Chita de Alcobaça*. Lisbon: Instituto Camões, 2001.

- Ferreira, Maria João Pacheco. "Chinese Textiles for Portuguese Tastes." In Peck, *Interwoven Globe*, 46-55.
- , "Ecos de Hábitos e Usos nos Inventários: Os Adereços Têxteis nos Interiores das Residências Senhoriais Lisboa e no Rio de Janeiro: Anatomia dos Interiores." In *A Casa Senhorial em Lisboa e no Rio de Janeiro: Anatomia dos Interiores*. Edited by Isabel M. B. Mendonça, Helder Carita, Marize Malta, 536-61. Lisbon: Instituto de História da Arte, 2014.
- Ferreira, Roberto Guedes, and Márcio de Sousa Soares. "Tensões, Comportamentos e Hábitos de Consumo na Sociedade Senhorial da América Portuguesa." In *Coleção o Brasil Colonial*, Vol. 3. Edited by João Fragoso and Maria de Fátima Gouvêa, 523-594. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2014.
- Ferreira, Roquinaldo. *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- , "Biografia, Mobilidade e Cultura Atlântica: A Micro-Escala do Tráfico de Escravos em Benguela, Séculos XVIII-XIX." *Tempo* 10, no. 20 (January 2006): 23-49.
- , "'A Arte de Furtar': Redes de Comércio Ilegal no Mercado Imperial Ultramarino Português (c. 1690-c. 1750)." In *Na Trama das Redes: Política e Negócios no Império Português, Séculos XVI-XVIII*. Edited by João Fragoso and Maria de Fátima Gouvêa, 203-241. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2010.
- Figueiredo, Luciano Raposo de Almeida. *Barrocas Famílias: Vida Familiar em Minas Gerais no Século XVIII*. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1997.
- Findlen, Paula, ed. *Early Modern Things*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Finlay, Robert. *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Fisher, Abby Sue. "Trade Textiles: Asia and New Spain." In Pierce, and Otsuka, *Asia & Spanish America*, 175-190.
- Fisher, Harold Edward Stephen. *The Portugal Trade: A Study of Anglo-Portuguese Commerce, 1700-1770*. London: Methuen, 1971.

- Fletcher, Catherine. ““Uno Palazzo Belissimo”: Town and Country Living in Renaissance Bologna.” Campbell, Miller, and Consavari, *The Early Modern Italian Domestic Interior, 1400-1700*, 19-32.
- Fonseca, Cláudia Damasceno. “Mariana: Gênese e Transformação de uma Paisagem Cultural.” Master’s thesis, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 1995.
- Fonseca, Sonia Maria. “*Orientalismos: O Barroco em Minas Gerais e a Circularidade Cultural* entre o Oriente e o Ocidente.” *Revista de Cultura* 22 (1996): 109-116.
- Fonseca, Thais Nívia de Lima e. “A Inconfidência Mineira e Tiradentes Vistos Pela Imprensa: A Vitalização dos Mitos (1930-1960).” *Revista Brasileira de História* 22, no. 44 (2002): 439-462.
- Fragoso, João Luis Ribeiro. *Homens de Grossa Aventura: Acumulação e Hierarquia na Praça Mercantil do Rio de Janeiro, 1790-1830*. Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1992.
- . “Potentados Coloniais e Circuitos Imperiais: Notas Sobre uma Nobreza da Terra, Supracapitanias, no Setecentos.” In Monteiro, Cardim, and Cunha, *Optima Pars*, 133-68.
- Fragoso, João Luis Ribeiro, ed. *Nas Rotas do Império: Eixos Mercantis, Tráfico e Relações Sociais no Mundo Português*. Ilha de Vitória: EDUFES, 2006.
- Franco, Carlos. *O Mobiliário das Elites de Lisboa: Na Segunda Metade do Século XVIII*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2007.
- . “Casas das Elites de Lisboa: Objectos, Interiores e Vivências (1750-1830).” Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2014.
- Freestone, Ian C. “The Science of Early British Porcelain.” *Sixth Conference and Exhibition of the European Ceramic Society (British Ceramic Proceedings 60)* (2000): 19–27.
- Furtado, Júnia Ferreira. *Homens de Negócio: A Interiorização da Metrópole e do Comércio nas Minas Setecentistas*. São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, 1999.
- . “As Mulheres nas Minas do Ouro e dos Diamantes.” In Resende, Villalta, and Campos, *História de Minas Gerais*, Vol. 2, 481-504.
- . “Pérolas Negras: Mulheres Livres de Cor no Distrito Diamantino.” In Furtado, *Diálogos Oceânicos*, 81-121.

- . “Teias de Negócio: Conexões Mercantis entre as Minas do Ouro e a Bahia, Durante o Século XVIII.” In Fragoso, *Nas Rotas do Império*, 151-176.
- . “Um Cartógrafo Rebelde? José Joaquim da Rocha e a Cartografia de Minas Gerais.” *Anais Do Museu Paulista* 17, no 2 (2009): 155–87.
- Furtado, Júnia Ferreira, ed. *Diálogos Oceânicos: Minas Gerais e as Novas Abordagens para uma História do Império Ultramarino Português*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2001.
- Gavin, Robin Farwell, Donna Pierce, and Alfonso Pleguezuelo Hernández, eds. *Cerámica Y Cultura: The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.
- Gerritsen, Anne. “Global Design in Jingdezhen: Local Production and Global Connections.” In Adamson, Riello, and Teasley, *Global Design History*, 25-33.
- Gerritsen, Anne, and Giorgio Riello, eds. *Writing Material Culture History*. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.
- Goodman, Dena. “Furnishing Discourses: Readings of a Writing Desk in Eighteenth-Century France.” In Berg and Eger, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, 71-88.
- Goodman, Dena, and Kathryn Norberg. *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us About the European and American Past*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Gorenstein, Lina. *A Inquisição Contra as Mulheres: Rio de Janeiro, Séculos XVII e XVIII*. São Paulo: Associação Editorial Humanitas, 2005.
- Grammont, Guiomar de. *Aleijadinho e o Aeroplano: O Paraíso Barroco e a Construção do Herói Colonial*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2008.
- Gravatá, Hélio. *Hélio Gravatá: Resgate Bibliográfico de Minas Gerais*, Vol. 1. Edited by Cristina Ávila and Kátia Miranda. Belo Horizonte: Sistema Estadual de Planejamento, Fundação João Pinheiro, Centro de Estudos Históricos e Culturais, 1998.
- Grivetti, Louis, and Howard-Yana Shapiro, eds. *Chocolate: History, Culture, and Heritage*. Hoboken, N.J: Wiley, 2009.

- Guimarães, Carlos Magno, and Flávia Maria da Mata Reis. "Agricultura e Mineração no Século XVIII." In Resende, Villalta, and Campos, *História de Minas Gerais*, Vol. 1, 321-335.
- Hall, Henry Usher. "Congo and West African Woodcarvings." *The Museum Journal* 13-14, (1922): 47-84.
- Heintze, Beatrix. "The Angolan Vassal Tributes of the 17th Century" *Revista de Historia Economica e Social* 6 (1980): 57-78.
- Hellman, Mimi. "The Joy of Sets: The Use of Seriality in the French Interior." In Goodman, and Norberg *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century*, 129-154.
- , "The Nature of Artifice: French Porcelain Flowers and the Rhetoric of the Garnish." In Cavanagh, and Yonan, *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-century Porcelain*, 39-64.
- Henriques, José Pedro Vintém. "Do Oriente para Ocidente: Contributo para o Conhecimento da Porcelana Chinesa nos Quotidianos de Epoca Moderna: Estudo de Três Contextos Arqueológicos de Lisboa." In Teixeira, and Bettencourt, *Velhos e Novos Mundos*, 919-32.
- Herckmann, Elias. "Descrição Geral da Capitania de Parahyba." Translated by Jose Hygino Duarte Pereira. *Revista do Instituto Archeologico e Geographico Pernambucano* 21, (1998): 239-88.
- Higgins, Kathleen J. "Licentious Liberty" in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region: *Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabará, Minas Gerais*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.
- Honour, Hugh. *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1975.
- Hudson, Pat. "The Limits of Wool and the Potential of Cotton in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries." In Riello, and Parthasarathi, *The Spinning World*, 327-50.
- Hue, Sheila Moura, ed. *Primeiras Cartas do Brazil, 1551-1555*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2006.
- Jenkins, T. Atkinson. "Origin of the Word Sedan." *Hispanic Review* 1, no 3 (1933): 240-42.

- Jolly, Anna, ed. *A Taste for the Exotic: Foreign Influences on Early Eighteenth-Century Silk Designs*. Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2007.
- Jones, Christine A. *Shapely Bodies: The Image of Porcelain in Eighteenth-Century France*. Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2013.
- , "Caution, Contents May Be Hot: A Cultural Anatomy of the Tasse Trembleuse." In Baird, and Ionescu, *Eighteenth-Century Thing Theory in a Global Context*, 31-48.
- Keller, Peter C. "Emeralds of Colombia." *Gems & Gemology* 17, no 2 (1981): 80-92.
- Kelmer, Mathias, Carlos Leonardo. "A Composição e a Concentração da Riqueza no Termo de Vila Do Carmo, Século XVIII." Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora, 2010. <http://www.ufjf.br/virtu/files/2010/05/artigo-6-a-6.pdf>.
- Kern, Daniela Pinheiro Machado. "Hanna Levy e a História da Arte Brasileira como Problema." *X Encontro de Historia da Arte* (2014): 1-9.
- Kerr, Barbara, and Justin Kerr eds. *The Maya Vase Book: A Corpus of Rollout Photographs of Maya Vases*, Vol. 6. New York: Kerr Associates, 2000.
- Kerr, Rose, Luisa E. Mengoni, and Ming Wilson. *Chinese Export Ceramics*. London: V & A Publishing, 2011.
- Klatte, Gerlinde. "New Documentation for the 'Tenture Des Indes' Tapestries in Malta." *The Burlington Magazine* 153, no 1300 (2011): 464-69.
- Kuwayama, George. *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial Mexico*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1997.
- , "Chinese Porcelain in the Viceroyalty of Peru." In Pierce, and Otsuka, *Asia & Spanish America*, 165-174.
- Lamego, Alberto Ribeiro, et. al. *Arquitetura Civil III: Mobiliário e Alfaias*. São Paulo: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1975.
- Lapa, José Roberto do Amaral. *A Bahia e a Carreira da Índia*. São Paulo: Cia. Ed. Nacional, 1968.
- Lara, Sílvia Hunold. "The Signs of Color: Women's Dress and Racial Relations in Salvador and Rio de Janeiro, ca 1750-1815." *Colonial Latin American Review* 6, no 2 (1997): 205-24.

- ". "Sedas, Panos e Balangandás: O Traje de Senhoras e Escravas nas Cidades de Rio de Janeiro e de Salvador (Século XVIII)." In *Brasil: Colonização e Escravidão*. Edited by Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, 177-191. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2000.
- Leibsohn, Dana. "Made in China, Made in Mexico." In Pierce, and Otsuka, *At the Crossroads*, 11-40.
- Leite, José Roberto Teixeira. *A China no Brasil: Influências, Marcas, Ecos e Sobrevivências Chinesas na Sociedade e na Arte Brasileiras*. Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 1999.
- Lemire, Beverly. *Dress, Culture, and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade before the Factory, 1660-1800*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
- ". "Revising the Historical Narrative: India, Europe, and the Cotton Trade, c. 1300-1800." In Riello, and Parthasarathi, *The Spinning World*, 205-26.
- Levenson, Jay A. *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th & 17th Centuries*. Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2007.
- Levy, Hannah. "Modelos Europeus na Pintura Colonial." *Revista do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* 8 (1944): 7-66.
- Libby, Douglas Cole. *Transformação e Trabalho: Em uma Economia Escravista: Minas Gerais no Século XIX*. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1988.
- ". "Proto-Industrialisation in a Slave Society: The Case of Minas Gerais." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 23, no 1 (1991): 1-35.
- ". "Reconsidering Textile Production in Late Colonial Brazil: New Evidence from Minas Gerais." *Latin American Research Review* 32, no. 1 (1997): 88-108.
- Lichtenstein, Erin K. "Identities through Things: A Comment." In Findlen, *Early Modern Things*, 375-380.
- Lima Júnior, Augusto de. *História da Inconfidência de Minas Gerais*. Belo Horizonte: Editora Itatiaia, 2010.
- Lindblom, Karl Gerhard. *The Use of the Hammock in Africa*. Stockholm: Bröderna Lagerström Boktryckare, 1928.

- Lisanti, Luis. *Negócios Coloniais: (Uma Correspondência Comercial do Século XVIII)*. São Paulo: Visão Editorial, 1973.
- Lopes, Luís Seabra. "A Cultura da Medição em Portugal ao Longo da História." *Educação e Matemática*, no 48 (2005): 47.
- Lopes, Maria A. *Mulheres, Espaço e Sociabilidade: A Transformação dos Papéis Femininos em Portugal à Luz de Fontes Literárias (Segunda Metade do Século XVIII)*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1989.
- Loureiro, Rui Manuel. "A Construção da Imagem da China no Século de Quinhentos." In Curvelo, *O Exótico Nunca está em Casa?* 27-41.
- Machado, Alcântara. *Vida e Morte do Bandeirante*. São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial, 2006.
- Madureira, Nuno Luís. *Lisboa: Luxo e Distinção, 1750-1830*. Lisbon: Fragmentos, 1990.
- . *Cidade: Espaço e Quotidiano (Lisboa 1740-1830)*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1992.
- Magalhães, Alberto da Conceição. "A Real Fábrica das Sedas e o Comércio Têxtil com o Brasil." Master's thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2010.
- Magalhães, Beatriz Ricardina. "A Demanda do Trivial: Vestuário, Alimentação e Habitação." *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos* 65 (July 1987): 153-199.
- Marx, Murillo. "Brazilian Architecture in the XVIII and Early XIX Centuries." In *History of South American Colonial Art and Architecture: Spanish South America and Brazil*. Edited by Damián Bayón, and Murillo Marx. New York: Rizzoli, 1992.
- Marzagalli, Silvia. "Atlantic Trade and Sephardim Merchants in Eighteenth-Century France: The Case of Bordeaux." In Bernardini, and Fiering, *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe*, 268-86.
- Massey, Roger. "Understanding Creamware." In *Creamware and Pearlware Re-Examined*. Edited by T. Townsend Walford, and Roger Massey, 15-30. Beckenham, Kent: English Ceramic Circle, 2007.
- Matos, Edvete Andrade, and Silvana Sá de Carvalho. "Mobilidade Urbana em Salvador: Da Cadeira de Arruar ao Interminável Metrô." *Revista Transporte y Territorio* 7 (2012): 119-149.

- Matos, Maria Antónia Pinto de. *Chinese Export Porcelain: From the Museum of Anastácio Gonçalves, Lisbon*. London: Philip Wilson, 1996.
- ."O Prestígio e Impacto da Porcelana da China no Mundo Ocidental." In Curvelo, *O Exótico Nunca está em Casa?* 43-57.
- Matos, Maria Antónia Pinto de, and João Pedro Monteiro. *A Influência Oriental na Cerâmica Portuguesa do Século XVII: Oriental Influence on 17th Century Portuguese Ceramics: Museu Nacional do Azulejo*. Lisboa: Electa, 1994.
- Mawe, John. *Viagem ao Interior do Brasil: Principalmente aos Distritos do Ouro e dos Diamantes*. Translated by Solena Benevides Viana. Rio de Janeiro: Zelio Valverde, 1944.
- Maza, Sarah. "Luxury, Morality, and Social Change: Why There Was No Middle-Class Consciousness in Prerevolutionary France." *Journal of Modern History* 69, no. 2 (1997): 199–229.
- McCabe, Ina Baghdiantz. *A History of Global Consumption: 1500 - 1800*. Routledge, 2014.
- McCants, Anne E. C. "Porcelain for the Poor: The Material Culture of Tea and Coffee Consumption in Eighteenth-Century Amsterdam." In Findlen, *Early Modern Things*, 316-41.
- Miller, Leslie Ellis. "Material Marketing: How Lyonnais Silk Manufacturers Sold Silks, 1660-1789." In *Selling Textiles in the Long Eighteenth Century: Comparative Perspectives from Western Europe*. Edited by Jon Stobart, and Bruno Blondé, 85-98. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Miller, Stephanie R. "Parenting in the Palazzo: Images and Artifacts of Children in the Italian Renaissance Home." In *The Early Modern Italian Domestic Interior, 1400-1700 Objects, Spaces, Domesticities*. Edited by Erin J. Campbell, Stephanie R. Miller, and Elizabeth Carroll Consavari, 68-75. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.
- Miller, Susan. "Europe Looks East: Ceramics and Silk, 1680-1710." In Jolly, *A Taste for the Exotic*, 155-174.
- Mitchell, David M. "The Influence of *Tartary* and the Indies on Social Attitudes and Material Culture in England and France, 1650-1730." In Jolly, *A Taste for the Exotic*, 11-44.

- Mól, Cláudia Cristina. "Mulheres Forras: Cotidiano e Cultura Material em Vila Rica (1750-1800)." Master's thesis, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 2002.
- , "Entre Sedas e Baetas: O Vestuário das Mulheres Alforridadas de Vila Rica." *Varia Historia* 32 (July 2004): 176-189.
- Monteiro, Nuno G. F., Pedro Cardim, and Mafalda Soares da Cunha, eds. *Optima Pars: Elites Ibero-Americanas do Antigo Regime*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2005.
- Montgomery, Florence M. *Textiles in America, 1650-1870: A Dictionary Based on Original Documents, Prints and Paintings, Commercial Records, American Merchant's Papers, Shopkeepers' Advertisements, and Pattern Books with Original Swatches of Cloth*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007.
- Morley-Fletcher, Hugo, and Roger McIlroy. *Christie's Pictorial History of European Pottery*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1984.
- Moreau, Pierre, and Roulox Baro. *História das Últimas Lutas no Brasil entre Holandeses e Portugueses e Relação da Viagem ao País dos Tapuias*. Translated by Lêda Boechat Rodrigues. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1979.
- Moura, Isabel Cristina Silva da Costa. "Moda em Cordel: Aspectos e Sugestões da Moda em Finais de Antigo Regime." Master's thesis, Universidade de Porto, 2010.
- Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. *Portugal and the East through Embroidery: 16th to 18th Century Coverlets from the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon*. Washington, D.C.: The International Exhibitions Foundation, 1981.
- Museu Nacional do Traje. *300 Anos de Traje*. Lisbon: Ministério da Cultura e Coordenação Científica, 1982.
- Myers, Kathleen Ann, and Nina M. Scott. *Fernández de Oviedo's Chronicle of America: A History for a New World*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.
- Nagashima, Meiko. "Japanese Lacquers Exported to Spanish America and Spain." In Pierce, and Otsuka, *Asia & Spanish America*, 107-118.
- Nazzari, Muriel. *Disappearance of the Dowry: Women, Families, and Social Change in São Paulo, Brazil (1600-1900)*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

- Nelson, Louis P. *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.
- Neves, Erivaldo Fagundes, and Antonieta Miguel, eds., *Caminhos do Sertão: Ocupação Territorial, Sistema Viário e Intercâmbios Coloniais dos Sertões da Bahia*. São Paulo: Arcadia, 2007.
- Neves, José Acúrsio das. *Noções Historicas, Economicas, e Administrativas sobre a Producção, e Manufactura das Sedas em Portugal, e Particularmente sobre a Real Fabrica do Suburbio do Rato, e suas Annexas*. Lisboa: Na Impressão Regia, 1827.
- Newson, Linda A., and Susie Minchin, *From Capture to Sale: The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Newstead, Sarah. "Merida No More: Portuguese Redware in Newfoundland." In *Exploring Atlantic Transitions: Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands*. Edited by Peter E. Pope, and Shannon Lewis-Simpson, 140–51. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013.
- Nordensklöld, Erland. *The Changes in the Material Culture of two Indian Tribes under the Influence of new Surroundings*. Göteborg : Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1920.
- Norton, Marcy. *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- Nosch, Marie-Louise, Feng Zhao, and Lotika Varadarajan, eds. *Global Textile Encounters*. Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2014.
- Novais, Fernando A., ed. *História da Vida Privada no Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997.
- Novinsky, Anita. *Inquisição: Inventários de Bens Confiscados a Cristãos Novos: Fontes para a História de Portugal e do Brasil*. Lisbon: Impr. Nacional, Casa de Moeda, 1976.
- , "Marranos and the Inquisition: On the Gold Route in Minas Gerais, Brazil." In Bernardini, and Fiering, *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe*, 215-241.
- Odell, Dawn. "Porcelain, Print Culture, and Mercantile Aesthetics." In Cavanagh, and Yonan, *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-century Porcelain*, 141-58.

- Oliveira, Aurélio de. "As Indústrias no Porto nos Finais do Século XVIII." In *A Indústria Portuense em Perspectiva Histórica: Actas do Colóquio*. Edited by Jorge Fernandes Alves, 285-302. Porto: Universidade do Porto, 1998.
- Oliveira, Gracinéa Imaculada. "Estudo do Vocabulário em Documentos Setecentistas de Minas Gerais." Master's thesis, Universidade Federal do Estado de Minas Gerais, 2010.
- Oliveira, Luís Henrique de. "Guarapiranga: Características Econômicas e Produtivas de uma Freguesia Camponesa." *Anais do I Colóquio do LAHES* (2005). <http://www.ufjf.br/lahes/producao-cientifica/anais-do-i-coloquio-do-lahes-13-a-16-de-junho-de-2005/>
- Oliveira, Myriam Andrade Ribeiro de. "Brazilian Colonial Sculpture." In *History of South American Colonial Art and Architecture: Spanish South America and Brazil*. Edited by Damián Bayón, and Murillo Marx, 365-390. New York: Rizzoli, 1992.
- , "Barroco e Rococo na Arquitetura Religiosa Brasileira da Segunda Metade do Século 18." *Revista do IPHAN* 29, (2001): 145-169.
- , *Rococó Religioso no Brasil e seus Antecedentes Europeus*. São Paulo: Cosac & Naify, 2003.
- Oliveira, Myriam Andrade Ribeiro de, Olinto Rodrigues dos Santos Filho, and Antonio Fernando Batista dos Santos, eds. *O Aleijadinho e sua Oficina: Catálogo das Esculturas Devocionais*. São Paulo: Capivara, 2002.
- Oliveira, Octavia Correia dos Santos. "Ourivesaria Brasileira." *Anais do Museu Histórico Nacional* 9 (1948): 22-37.
- Pais, Alexandre Nobre, and João Pedro Monteiro. "O Exótico na Faiança e Azulejo do Século XVII." In Curvelo, *O Exótico Nunca está em Casa?* 59-79.
- Paiva, Eduardo França. *Escravidão e Universo Cultural na Colônia: Minas Gerais, 1716-1789*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2001.
- , "Trânsito de Culturas e Circulação de Objetos no Mundo Português – Séculos XVI a XVIII." In Paiva, *Brasil-Portugal*, 99-122.
- Paiva, Eduardo França, ed. *Brasil-Portugal: Sociedades, Culturas e Formas de Governar no Mundo Português (Séculos XVI-XVIII)*. São Paulo: Annablume, 2006.

- Parks, Sarah. "Britain, Brazil, and the Trade in Printed Cottons, 1827-1841." Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 2010.
- Pastora, Chaela. "Mahogany as Status Symbol: Race and Luxury in Saint Domingue at the End of the Eighteenth Century." In Goodman, and Norberg. *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century*, 37-38.
- Paula, João Antonio. "A Mineração de Ouro em Minas Gerais do Século XVIII." In Resende, Villalta, and Campos, *História de Minas Gerais*, Vol. 1, 279-301.
- Peck, Amelia. *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013.
- Pedreira, Jorge Miguel Viana. *Estrutura Industrial e Mercado Colonial: Portugal e Brasil (1780-1830)*. Lisbon: Difel, 1994.
- , "From Growth to Collapse: Portugal, Brazil, and the Breakdown of the Old Colonial System (1750-1830)." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (2000): 839-864.
- , "Contraband, Crisis, and the Collapse of the Old Colonial System." *The Hispanic American Historical Review*. 81, no. 3 (2001): 739-44.
- Pereira, Alexandra Maria. "Um Mercador de Vila Rica: Atividade Mercantil na Sociedade do Ouro (1737-1738)." Master's thesis, UFJF, 2008.
- , "Das Minas á Corte, de Caixeiro a Contratador: Jorge Pinto de Azeredo: Atividade Mercantil e Negócios na Primeira Metade do Século XVIII." Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2013.
- Pereira, Ana Luiza de Castro. "Viver nos Trópicos com Bens do Império: A Circulação de Pessoas e Objectos no Império Português." In *Anais do XIV Seminário sobre a Economia Mineira*. Belo Horizonte: Cedeplar, 2010.
- , "'Lençóis de Linho, Pratos da Índia e Brincos de Filigrana': Vida Cotidiana numa Vila Mineira Setecentista." *Estudos Históricos* 24, no. 48 (December 2011): 331-50.
- Pereira Filho, Jorge da Cunha. "Tropas Militares Luso-Brasileiras nos Séculos XVIII e XIX." *Boletim do Projeto "Pesquisa Genealógica Sobre as Origens da Família Cunha Pereira"* 3, n. 12 (1998): 46-80. http://buratto.org/gens/gn_tropas.html.

- Peterson, Mark A. "The World in a Shilling: Silver Coins and the Challenge of Political Economy in the Early Modern Atlantic World." In Findlen, *Early Modern Things*, 252-273.
- Pezuela, María Bonta de la, "The Perils of Porcelain: Chinese Export Porcelain for the Mexican Colonial Market." In Pierce, and Otsuka, *At the Crossroads*, 41-52.
- Phipps, Elena. *Looking at Textiles: A Guide to Technical Terms*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011.
- Phipps, Elena, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martín eds., *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004.
- Pierce, Donna. "'At the Ends of the Earth': Asian Trade Goods in Colonial New Mexico, 1598-1821." In Pierce, and Otsuka, *At the Crossroads*, 155-82.
- , "By the Boatload: Receiving and Recreating the Arts of Asia." In Carr, *Made in the Americas*, 53-74.
- , "Popular and Prevalent: Asian Trade Goods in Northern New Spain, 1590-1850." *Colonial Latin American Review* 25, no 1 (2016): 77-97.
- Pierce, Donna, and Ronald Otsuka, eds. *At the Crossroads: The Arts of Spanish America & Early Global Trade, 1492-1850*. Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2012.
- , *Asia & Spanish America: Trans-Pacific Artistic & Cultural Exchange, 1500-1850*. Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2009.
- Pijning, Ernst. "Passive Resistance: Portuguese Diplomacy of Contraband Trade during King John V's Reign (1706-1750)." *Arquipélago História*, II, 2 (1997): 171-191.
- , "A New Interpretation of Contraband Trade." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81, no. 3-4 (2001): 733-38
- , "Contrabando, Ilegalidade e Medidas Políticas no Rio de Janeiro do Século XVIII." *Revista Brasileira de História* 21, no 41 (2001): 397-414.
- , "New Christians as Sugar Cultivators and Traders in the Portuguese Atlantic, 1450-1800." In Bernardini, and Fiering, *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe*, 485-500.

- . "Sources and Historiography: Conceptualizations of Contraband Trade in Colonial Brazil." *América Latina en la Historia Económica*, no. 24 (2005): 67–84.
- . "Regulating Illegal Trade: Foreign Vessels in Brazilian Harbors." *Portuguese Studies Review* 15, no. 1–2 (2007): 321–366.
- Pimentel, António Filipe. "Do Portugal Exótico ao Exotismo Europeu: O Fenómeno da *Chinoiserie* em Portugal." In Curvelo, *O Exótico Nunca está em Casa?* 97–109.
- Pinto, Virgílio Noya. *O Ouro Brasileiro e o Comércio Anglo-Português: Uma Contribuição aos Estudos da Economia Atlântica no Século XVIII*. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1979.
- Porter, David L. "Monstrous Beauty: Eighteenth Century Fashion and the Aesthetics of the Chinese Taste." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 3 (2002): 395–412.
- Potvin, John, and Alla Myzelev. "Introduction: The Material of Visual Cultures." In Potvin, and Myzelev, *Material Cultures, 1740-1920*, 1–36.
- Potvin, John, and Alla Myzelev, eds. *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*. Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009.
- Preservando a História e a Cultura Mineira: Um Olhar sobre o Patrimônio Arqueológico de Minas Gerais*. Belo Horizonte: Ministério Público do Estado de Minas Gerais, 2014.
- Prous, André. "As Muitas Arqueologias das Minas Gerais." *Revista Espinhaço* 2, no. 2 (2013): 36–54.
- Quarcoopome, Nii O, ed. *Through African Eyes: The European in African Art, 1500 to Present*. Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 2009.
- Queirós, José. *Cerâmica Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Oficina Gráfica, 1948.
- Raminelli, Ronald. *Imagens da Colonização: A Representação do Índio de Caminha a Vieira*. Rio de Janeiro: J. Zahar Editor, 1996.
- Ramírez, Susan E. *To Feed and Be Fed: The Cosmological Bases of Authority and Identity in the Andes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- Ray, Anthony. *Spanish Pottery, 1248-1898: With a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum*. London: V & A, 2000.

- Reis, Liana Maria, and Virgínia Maria Trindade Valadares. *Capitania de Minas Gerais em Documentos: Economia, Política e Sociedade*. Belo Horizonte: C/Arte, 2012.
- Reis, Paulo Pereira dos. *O Colonialismo Português e a Conjuração Mineira; Esboço de uma Perspectiva Histórica dos Fatores Econômicos que Determinaram a Conjuração Mineira*. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1964.
- Renger, Friedrich E. "A Origem Histórica das Estradas Reais nas Minas Setecentistas." In Resende, Villalta, and Campos, *História de Minas Gerais*, 127-137.
- Resende, Maria Efigênia Lage de, Luiz Carlos Villalta, and Adalgisa Arantes Campos, eds. *História de Minas Gerais: As Minas Setecentistas*. Belo Horizonte: Companhia do Tempo, 2007.
- Resende, Maria Leônia Chaves. "Gentios Brasíliaicos: Índios Colonias em Minas Gerais Setecentista." Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2003.
- Resende, Maria Leônia Chaves, and Hal Langfur. "O Ouro Vermelho de Minas Gerais." *Revista de História* (2007), <http://www.revistadehistoria.com.br/secao/capa/o-ouro-vermelho-de-minas-gerais>
- Richards, Sarah. *Eighteenth-Century Ceramics: Products for a Civilised Society*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Richardson, Annie. "From the Moral Mound to the Material Maze: Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*." In Berg and Eger, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, 119-134.
- Richardson, David, and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, eds., *Networks and Trans-Cultural Exchange: Slave Trading in the South Atlantic, 1590-1867*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Riello, Giorgio. "The Globalization of Cotton Textiles: Indian Cottons, Europe, and the Atlantic World, 1600-1850." In Riello, and Parthasarathi, *The Spinning World*, 261-290.
- , "Things Seen and Unseen: The Material Culture of Early Modern Inventories and their Representation of Domestic Interiors." In Findlen, *Early Modern Things*, 125-50.
- , *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

- Riello, Giorgio, and Prasannan Parthasarathi, eds. *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Rivas Pérez, Jorge F. "Of Luxury and Fantasy: The Influence of Asia on the Furniture of Viceregal Spanish America." In Pierce, and Otsuka, *Asia & Spanish America*, 119-128.
- , "Domestic Display in the Spanish Overseas Territories." In Aste, *Behind Closed Doors*, 49-104.
- Rodrigues, André Figueiredo. "Os "Extravios que tão Continuados têm sido...": Contrabando e Práticas Comerciais Ilícitas nas Atividades do Contratador João Rodrigues de Macedo," *Locus: Revista de Historia* 11, no 1-2 (2005): 117-136.
- , "Estudo Econômico da Conjuração Mineira Análise dos Seqüestros de Bens dos Inconfidentes da Comarca do Rio das Mortes." Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2008.
- , "O Sequestro de Bens Como Fonte de Pesquisa para o Estudo da Inconfidência Mineira." *Mnemosine Revista* 3, no. 2 (2012): 6-19.
- Rodrigues, J. Wasth. "Móveis Antigos de Minas Gerais." *RSPHAN* 7 (1943): 79-98.
- , "A Casa de Moradia no Brasil Antigo," *RSPHAN* 9 (1945): 159-198.
- Rodrigues, Vilmaria Lucia. "Negras Senhoras: O Universo Material das Mulheres Africanas Forras." *Anais do I Colóquio do LAHES – 13 a 16 de Junho de 2005*. <http://www.ufjf.br/lahes/files/2010/03/c1-a69.pdf>.
- Rodríguez, Etsuko Miyata. "Early Manila Galleon Trade: Merchants' Network and Market in 16th- and 17th-Century Mexico." In Pierce, and Otsuka, *Asia & Spanish America*, 37-58.
- Rosa, Mercedes. "Ourivesaria Baiana Colonial: Os Ourives e suas Obras." *Artistas e Artífices e a sua Mobilidade no Mundo de Expressão Portuguesa: Actas VII Colóquio Luso-Brasileiro de História da Arte*. Edited by Natalia Marinho Ferreira-Alves, 403–11. Porto: Universidade do Porto, 2005,
- Rosa, Ricardo Alfredo de Carvalho. "A Casa de Intendência e Fundação do Ouro de Sabará: A Sala dos Quatro Continentes e Algumas Questões Iconográficas." In *Ars, Techné, Technica: A Fundamentação Teórica e Cultural da Perspectiva*. Edited by Magno Moraes Mello, 137-149. Belo Horizonte: Argumentum, 2009.

- Rothstein, Natalie, ed. *Silk Designs of the Eighteenth Century: In the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, with a Complete Catalogue*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1990.
- Rudi, Thomas. *Augenlust und Gaumenfreude: Fayence-Geschirre des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, 1998.
- Russell-Wood, A. J. R. *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia and America, 1415-1808*. Manchester: Carcanet, 1992.
- , "Holy and Unholy Alliances: Clerical Participation in the Flow of Bullion from Brazil to Portugal during the Reign of Dom João V (1706-1750)." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (2000): 815–37.
- , "A Brazilian Commercial Presence Beyond the Cape of Good Hope, 16th - 19th Centuries." In *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean, and European Bridgeheads, 1500-1800: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K. S. Mathew*. Edited by Pius Malekandathil and T. Jamal Mohammed, 191-211. Tellicherry, India: Institute for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities of MESHA, 2001.
- Salzman, Mary. "Decoration and Enlightened Spectatorship." In Goodman, and Norberg, *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century*, 155-166.
- Sampaio, Antonio Carlos Jucá de. "Comércio, Riqueza e Nobreza: Elites Mercantis e Hierarquização Social no Antigo Regime Português." In Frago, *Nas Rotas do Império*, 67-88.
- Sampaio, Consuelo Novais. *50 Anos de Urbanização: Salvador da Bahia no Século XIX*. Rio de Janeiro: Versal, 2005.
- Santiago, Camila Fernanda Guimarães. "Os usos de Gravuras Europeias como Modelos pelos Pintores Coloniais: Três Pinturas Mineiras Baseadas em uma Gravura Portuguesa que Representa a Anunciação." *Temporalidades* 3, no 1 (2011): 185-198.
- Santos, Joaquim Felício dos. *Memórias do Distrito Diamantino*. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 1978.
- Santos, Maria Jose Moutinho. "O Luxo e as Modas em Textos de Cordel da Segunda Metade do Séc. XVIII." *Revista de Historia* 9 (1989): 137–64.
- Santos, Noronha. *Meios de Transporte no Rio de Janeiro: História e Legislação*. Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do Jornal do Commercio, 1934.

- Sarmiento, Therezinha de Moraes. "Um Preguiceiro no Museu Histórico Nacional." *Anais do Museu Histórico Nacional* 21 (1969): 43-52.
- Scarano, Julita. "Roupas de Escravos e de Forros." *Resgate: Revista de Cultura* 4 (1992): 51-61.
- , *Cotidiano e Solidiariiedade: Vida Diária da Gente de Cor nas Minas Gerais, Século XVIII*. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1994.
- Schoeser, Mary. *French Textiles: From 1760 to the Present*. London: L. King, 1991.
- Schulz, Andrew. "'Ties that Bind': Relations between the Royal Academy of San Fernando and the Royal Porcelain Factory of the Buen Retiro." In Cavanagh, and Yonan, *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-century Porcelain*, 179-97.
- Schwartz, Stuart. "De Ouro a Algodão: A Economia Brasileira no Século XVIII." *História da Expansão Portuguesa* 3 (1998): 86-103.
- , "Brazil: Ironies of the Colonial Past." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (2000): 681-94.
- Sena, Tatiana da Costa. "O Consumo de Louças Estrangeiras e Produção Artesanal de Louça Vidrada em Vila Rica (1808-1822)." Bachelor's thesis, Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto, 2007.
- Shaw, L. M. E. *Trade, Inquisition, and the English Nation in Portugal, 1650-1690*. Manchester: Carcanet, 1989.
- , *The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance and the English Merchants in Portugal, 1654-1810*. Aldershot, UK; Ashgate, 1998.
- Shillington, Violet Mary, and Annie Beatrice Wallis Chapman. *The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal*. London: George Routledge & Sons, 1907.
- Shirley, Rodney W. *Courtiers and Cannibals, Angels and Amazons: The Art of the Decorative Cartographic Titlepage*. Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2009.
- Silva, Maria Beatriz Nizza da. "Family and Property in Colonial Brazil." *Portuguese Studies* 7 (1991): 61-77.
- , *Vida Privada e Quotidiano no Brasil: Na Época de D. Maria I e D. João VI*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1993.

- "Sítio Arqueológico Morro Santo Antônio." *Portal Patrimônio Cultural*. Accessed October 29, 2015, http://www.portaldopatrimoniocultural.com.br/site/bensinventariados/detalhe_pa.php?id=10.
- Sloboda, Stacey. "Porcelain Bodies Acquisitiveness, Gender, and Taste in Eighteenth-Century England." In Potvin, and Myzelev, *Material Cultures*, 19-36.
- Sousa, Avante Pereira. "Circuitos Internos de Produção, Comercialização e Consumo na América Portuguesa: O Exemplo da Capitania da Bahia (Século XVIII)." In *Colóquio Internacional Consumo e Abastecimento na História*. Edited by Denise A. Soares de Moura, Margarida Maria de Carvalho, and Maria-Aparecida Lopes, 139-166. São Paulo: Alameda, 2011.
- Sousa, Maria da Conceição Borges de, and Celina Bastos. *Normas de Inventário: Artes Plásticas e Artes Decorativas: Mobiliário*. Instituto Português de Museus, 2004.
- Souza, George Bryan. "Convergence Before Divergence: Global Maritime Economic History and Material Culture," *International Journal of Maritime History* 17, no 1 (2005): 17-27.
- , "Early Global Encounters with Beauty: The Pacific and Indo-Atlantic Exchanges between Asia and America." *Review: Literature and Arts of the Americas* 39, no. 1 (2006): 13-29.
- Souza, Laura de Mello e, *Desclassificados do Ouro: A Pobreza Mineira no Século XVIII*. Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1982.
- , *O Sol e a Sombra: Política e Administração na América Portuguesa do Século XVIII*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2006.
- Smail, John. *Merchants, Markets and Manufacture: The English Wool Textile Industry in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Smith, Alan. "John Wyke of Liverpool, and the Staffordshire Pottery Export Trade." *Northern Ceramic Society Journal* 3 (1978): 79-88.
- Smith, Robert C. "The Colonial Architecture of Minas Gerais in Brazil." *The Art Bulletin* 21, no. 2 (1939): 110-159.
- , "Arquitetura Civil do Período Colonial." *RSPHAN* 17 (1969): 27-126.

- Stanfield-Mazzi, Maya. "The Possessor's Agency: Private Art Collecting in the Colonial Andes." *Colonial Latin American Review* 18, no 3 (2009): 339-64.
- Staples, Kathleen A., and Madelyn Shaw. *Clothing through American History: The British Colonial Era*. Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2013.
- Stratton-Pruitt, Suzanne L. "From Spain to the Viceroyalty of Peru: Paintings by the Dozen." In Pierce, and Otsuka, *At the Crossroads*, 71-90.
- ". "Paintings in the Home in Spanish Colonial America." In Aste, *Behind Closed Doors*, 105-129.
- Stratton-Pruitt, Suzanne L, and Mark A Castro, eds. *Journeys to New Worlds: Spanish and Portuguese Colonial Art in the Roberta and Richard Huber Collection*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2013.
- Styles, John. "What were Cottons for in the Early Industrial Revolution?" In Riello, and Parthasarathi, *The Spinning World*, 307-326.
- ". "Indian Cottons and European Fashion, 1400-1800." In Adamson, Riello, and Teasley, *Global Design History*, 37-46.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*. London: Longman, 1993.
- Taunay, Affonso de E. *Historia do Café no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Departamento Nacional do Café, 1939.
- Teitelman,, S. Robert, et. al., *Success to America: Creamware for the American Market: Featuring the S. Robert Teitelman Collection at Winterthur*. Woodbridge: Antique Collectors Club, 2010.
- Teixeira, Andre, and Jose Antonio Bettencourt, eds. *Velhos e Novos Mundos: Estudos de Arqueologia Moderna*, Vol. 2. Lisbon: Centro de Historia de Alem-Mar, 2012.
- Teles e Cunha, João. "Chá - A Socialização da Bebida em Portugal: Séculos XVI-XVIII." In *Aquém e Além da Tropabana, Estudos Luso-Orientais à Memória de Jean Aubin e Denys Lombard*. Edited by Luís Filipe F.R. Thomaz, 289-329. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de Além-Mar, 2002.

- Thomas, Gertrude Z. *Richer than Spices; How a Royal Bride's Dowry Introduced Cane, Lacquer, Cottons, Tea, and Porcelain to England, and so Revolutionized Taste, Manners, Craftsmanship, and History in Both England and America*. New York: Knopf, 1965.
- Trentmann, Frank, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Trindade, Raymundo Octavio de. *Instituições de Igrejas no Bispado de Mariana*. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1945.
- Valadares, Virgínia Maria Trindade. *Elites Mineiras Setecentistas: Conjugação de dois Mundos*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2004.
- Vasconcellos, Joaquim de. "A Exposição de Cerâmica." *Revista da Sociedade de Instrução do Porto* 3 (1883-1884): 186-200, 265-81, 312-26, 376-92, 393-405, 471-75, 537-42.
- Vasconcellos, Sylvio de. *Vila Rica: Formação e Desenvolvimento, Residências*. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1956.
- Vasconcelos, Pedro de Almeida. *Salvador: Transformações e Permanências (1549-1999)*. Ilhéus: Editus, 2002.
- Vasconcelos e Sousa, Gonçalo. "Ouro, Prata e Outras Riquezas Setecentistas Numa Herança da Baía (Brasil)." *Revista da Faculdade de Letras, Ciências e Técnicas do Património* 3 (2004): 293-316.
- . "Traje na Documentação da Aristocracia Portuguesa de Setecentos (I)." *Revista de Artes Decorativas* 3 (2009): 323-43.
- Veiga, Jorge Getulio, and Carlos Eduardo de Castro Leal. *Chinese Export Porcelain in Private Brazilian Collections*. London: Han-Shan Tang, 1989.
- Veríssimo, Francisco Salvador, and William Seba Mallmann Bittar. *500 Anos da Casa no Brasil: As Transformações da Arquitetura e da Utilização do Espaço de Moradia*. Rio de Janeiro: Ediouro, 1999.
- Vicente, Marta V. *Clothing the Spanish Empire: Families and the Calico Trade in the Early Modern Atlantic World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- . "Fashion, Race, and Cotton Textiles in Colonial Spanish America." In Riello, and Parthasarathi, *The Spinning World*, 247-260.

- Villalta, Luiz Carlos. "Educação: Nascimento, 'Haveres' e Gêneros." In Resende, Villalta, and Campos, *História de Minas Gerais*, Vol. 2, 253-287.
- Villalta, Luiz Carlos, and Andre Pedroso Becho. "Lugares, Espaços e Identidades Coletivas na Inconfidência Mineira." In Resende, Villalta, and Campos, *História de Minas Gerais*, Vol. 2, 555-578.
- Vincent, Frank. *Actual Africa: Or, The Coming Continent: a Tour of Exploration*. London: W. Heinemann, 1895.
- Walford, Tom Townsend, and Roger Massey eds. *Creamware and Pearlware Re-Examined*. Beckenham: English Ceramic Circle, 2007.
- Walker, Timothy. "Slave Labor and Chocolate in Brazil: The Culture of Cacao Plantations in Amazonia and Bahia (17th-19th Centuries)." *Food and Foodways* 15, no. 1-2 (2007): 75-106.
- , "Establishing Cacao Plantation Culture in the Atlantic World: Portuguese Cacao Cultivation in Brazil and West Africa, circa 1590-1912." In Grivetti, and Shapiro, *Chocolate: History, Culture, and Heritage*, 543-560.
- , "Cure or Confection? Chocolate in the Portuguese Royal Court and Colonial Hospitals, 1580-1830." In Grivetti, and Shapiro, *Chocolate: History, Culture, and Heritage*, 561-568.
- Warsh, Molly A. "Adorning Empire: A History of the Early Modern Pearl Trade, 1492-1688." Ph.D. diss, Johns Hopkins University, 2009.
- Watt, Melinda. "'Whims and Fancies': Europeans Respond to Textiles from the East." In Peck, *Interwoven Globe*, 82-103.
- Weber, Caroline. *Queen of Fashion: What Marie Antoinette Wore to the Revolution*. New York: H. Holt, 2006.
- Welsh, Jorge. *Zhangzhou Export Ceramics: The So-Called Swatow Wares*. London: Jorge Welsh Books, 2006.
- Wilson, Wendell E. "The Jonas Mine: Itatiaia, Minas Gerais, Brazil," *The Mineralogical Record* 43 (2012): 289-317.
- Wintroub, Michael. "Civilizing the Savage and Making a King: The Royal Entry Festival of Henri II (Rouen, 1550)." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no 2 (Summer, 1998) 465-94.

- Yogev, Gedalia. *Diamonds and Coral: Anglo-Dutch Jews and Eighteenth-Century Trade*. New York: Leicester University Press, 1978.
- Yonan, Michael Elia. "Igneous Architecture: Porcelain, Natural Philosophy, and Rococo Cabinet Chinois." In Cavanagh, and Yonan. *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century Porcelain*, 65-85.
- You, Yao-Fen. "From Novelty to Necessity: The Europeanization of Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate." In *Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate: Consuming the World*. Edited by Yao-Fen You, 11-68. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.
- Youatt, William. *Sheep: Their Breeds, Management, and Diseases*. London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1840.
- Young, Hilary. *English Porcelain, 1745-95: Its Makers, Design, Marketing and Consumption*. London: V & A Publications, 1999.
- Zanettini, Paulo Eduardo. "Pequeno Roteiro Para Classificação de Louças Obtidas em Pesquisas Arqueológicas de Sítios Históricos." *Arqueologia Curitiba* 5 (1986): 117-130.
- Zemella, Mafalda P. "O Abastecimento da Capitania das Minas Gerais no Século XVIII." Ph.D. diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 1951.

Appendix A

MANUSCRIPT TRANSCRIPTIONS

Notes: The following are partial transcriptions of some of the family's inventories and testaments. Formulaic sections of the manuscripts have been omitted, including the long introductions to testaments, and the formula used to describe the age of slaves. The ages of slaves are given in years unless otherwise noted. Words or sections that were unclear or damaged are given in brackets. Long sections of damage or formulaic sections that have been omitted are indicated with ellipses. Mariana Correia de Oliveira's inventory gives values in *oitavas*, while the remaining documents use *reis*. In this instance, one *oitava* can be considered equivalent to 1,200 *reis*. Digital reproductions of some of the manuscripts can be accessed at <http://www.lampeh.ufv.br/acervosmg/>.

Mariana Correia de Oliveira's inventory, 1748, caixa 46, auto 1050, 1st officio, CS.
Taken by João Pinto Alvares
Available online

Inventario q se fez por falecimento da defunta Marianna Correia de Oliveira cazada q foy com o cap.m João Pinto Alz. m.or no morro da Passagem falecida abintestada em 29 de Sbr.o de 1748

3r) *Declaração dos herdeiros q fas o cabeça de cazal seos filhos legitimos e de sua m.er def.ta*

1. Francisca Pinta de Oliveira cazada com o licenciado Antonio Duarte.....	23
2. João de Oliveira Pinto que se acha em Coimbra nos estudos.....	22
3. Antonio de Oliveira Pinto que se acha nos estudos em Coimbra.....	19
4. Maria de Oliveira.....	17
5. Manoel de Oliveira Pinto assistente no estudo do Seminario do Rio de Janeiro.....	15
6. Fernando de Oliveira Pinto assistente no estudo do Seminario do Rio de Janeiro...	14
7. Jeronima de Oliveira Pinta que foy para Portugal Ser Freira.....	12
8. Sebastiana de Oliveira Pinta que foy para Portugal para Freira.....	11
9. Anna de Oliveira Pinta que foy para Portugal para Freira.....	9
10. Jose de Oliveira Pinto.....	7
11. Angelica Thereza.....	10 mezes

3v) *termo de nomeação de louvados avaliadores*

Manoel Fernandes Guimarães

Alferes Jose Pereira de Barros

4r) *Bens moveis*

Ouro Lavrado

um rucicler de ouro e Diamantes com peso de sinco oitavas um quarto e quatro vintens em bom uso	30/8
uma cruz de ouro com suas lareas de Diamantes com peso de quatro oitavas um quarto e quatro vintens usada	10
uma cruz de ouro com suas lareas de Diamantes usada com peso de duas oitavas e tres quartos	5
um par de cadeados de ouro e Diamantes com peso de duas oitavas e meia e quatro vintens	8
um par de cadeados de ouro e Diamantes com pezo de duas oitavas e tres quartos em bom uso	8
um par de brincos de ouro com duas pedras cada um da Ititiaya com 4v) com pezo de duas oitavas e tres quartos	7
um par de brincos de ouro e Aljofares esmaltados de verde com pezo de nove oitavas e quatro vintens	10
um caxilho de ouro de breve da marca com seu cordão do mesmo com pezo de vinte e oito oitavas e tres quartos	28 3/4
uma cruz de ouro com uma imagem de Santo Christo com seu cordão do mesmo com pezo de vinte e oito oitavas	28
uma imagem de Nossa Senhora da Conceição de ouro com seu cordão do mesmo	11
uma Imagem de Nossa Senhora da Conceição de ouro com seu cordão do mesmo com pezo de treze oitavas e tres quartos de ouro	13 3/4
tres Imagens de Nossa Senhora	
5r) Senhora da Conceição de ouro e uma de São Gonçalo do mesmo tudo com peo de oito oitavas e mea usado	8 1/2
quatro cordoes de ouro finos com pezo de trinta e uma oitavas e mea	31 1/2
sinco pares de botoes de ouro de camiza um didal do mesmo e uma [figa] do mesmo uma veronica de Sam Bento e uma memoria tudo de ouro com pezo de des oitavas e mea usado	10 1/2
dous pares de botoes de ouro de Saya aconfeitados com pezo de des oitavas e mea	10
sinco coraes machos e uma conta de [urcaco] tudo emgrazado e encastoadado em ouro com pezo de catorze oitavas e mea	10
um par de brincos de Aljofares esmaltados de verde com pezo de tres	

oitavas e mea e quatro vintens	7
um palhiteiro de ouro com um palito dentro do mesmo 5v) com pezo de des oitavas	10
um par de fivellas de ouro de capatos com trinta oitavas de pezo usadas	30
um par de botoes de ouro de Saya aconfeitados com pezo de des oitavas e mea usados	10 1/2
dous pedacos de cordão de ouro e umas continhas do mesmo tudo com pezo de seis oitavas e mea	6 1/2
dous aneis de ouro um com tres pedras da Ititiaya e outro com tres pedras duas brancas e uma vermelha tudo tosco com pezo de duas oitavas	2
dous coraes machos engrazados em ouro com pezo de quatro oitavas	2
seis pares de botoes de christal 6r) de christal encastoados em ouro [apes] do mesmo com pezo de quarenta e seis oitavas e mea	20
dous fios de contas pretas meadinhas e um de grunichaes tudo engrazado em ouro com pezo de sete oitavas e meya	5
dous fios de Aljofars finas entre-cachados com continhas de ouro com pezo de quinze oitavas	32
um fio de Aljofars finos e grocos com pezo de sete oitavas e mea	30
duas meadinhas de Aljofars finas meudinhos grazados em ouro com pezo de duas oitavas e quarto	6
dous cordoes de ouro finos com pezo de dezaseis oitavas	16
dous [alias] uma cruz de Diamantes com pingentes e pezo de oito oitavas e um quarto	40
6v) tres pares de brincos de Diamantes com pezo de seis oitavas e mea	24

Prata Lavrada

vinte e oito colheres de prata usadaos com pezo de duzentos e quarenta e nove oitavas	23 1/2
vinte e sete garfos de prata com pezo de cento e setenta e oito oitavas	14 1/4
dous garfos de trincar uma carretilha e um canivetezinho tudo de prata com pezo de setenta e nove oitavas e mea	6 1/4 4v
dezaseis facas de meza com cabos de prata uzados	20
uma caldeirinha de prata usada com cento e sesenta e oito oitavas de pezo	13 1/2
um copo de prata com pezo de cento e vinte e sinco oitavas 7r)	10
um [pularo] de prata lavrada com oitenta e oito oitavas de pezo	7
uma salva de prata lavrada com trezentas e vinte oitavas de pezo	25 1/2 4v
um castiçal de prata com pezo de cento e sincoenta e sete oitavas	12 1/2 2v

Cobres

uma bacia de cobre de pes rendada com sete libras e meya de pezo	2
--	---

um taxo de cobre com muito uso e pezo de oito livras	2 1/2
um taxo novo com pezo de dezaseis livras	8
um taxo usado com pezo de 7v) de doze livras	4 1/2
uma bacia de pes com pezo de des Livras usada	3 4v
dous taxos pequenos que pezaõ seis livras	1 3/4 4v
tres bacias de pe de cama de cobre que pezaõ seis livras	2 1/4
duas bacias de cobre de fazer pao de ló usadas com pezo de tres livras de pezo	3/4
seis torteiras de cobre com pezo de nove livras	2 1/4
um calderao de cobre usado com pezo de sinco livras	3
uma chocolateira de cobre velha	1/4 4v
8r) tres bacias de cobre de fazer pao de ló velhas com pezo de sinco livras	1 1/4
uma balança com marco de livra de pezar ouro	1 1/2

Estanho

trinta e tres pratos de estanho razos usados e um prato meao usado	6 1/2
uma bacia e prato de estanho de agoar maos usado	1 1/2

Louça da India

um serviço de agoar maos de branco e ouro	4
sete pratos grandes finas da India razos	14
sesenta e seis pratos finas razos pequenos de goardanapo 8v)	16 1/2
onze pratos finos fundos	2 3/4
duas tigellas finas	1
quatro pires finos	3/4
duas sopeiras finas grandes	10
sinco tigellas de caldo de galinha com tampas e pratos	5
onze chcaras com seos pires para chá	2 3/4
onze chcaras com seos pires para chocolate	2 3/4

Roupas

des lancoes de pano de linho 9r) de pano de linho seis de tres panos e quatro de dous panos em bom uso	15
oito lancoes de Bertanha com suas rendas de tres panos uzados	32
tres toalhas de guimarães da marca pequena com seos goardanapos uzados	4 1/2
sinco toalhas de Bertanha arrendadas para agoar mãos	5
sinco ditas de pano de linho de agoar maos lizas e uzadas	1 1/4

oito travesseiros com suas fronhas quatro grandes de Bertanha e quatro pequenos tudo arrendadas uzados	2
uma colxa de Damasco amarello uzada com franja de riscos forrada de nobreza azullada 9v)	15
um vestido de mulher de montar caçaca saya de pano azul ferrete caçaquinha abotoada de fio de ouro uzada	18
uma colxa de borcatel forrada de baeta uzada	4
dous cobertores de papa um da marca grande e um da marca pequena uzados	8
quatro Sayas uma de veludo verde liza uma de seda amarella uma de sarja e uma de camillao [farro] todas usadas	23
duas anagoas brancas de pano de linho usadas	3
um colete de seda da fabrica nova lizo uzado	3
uma rede de baeta de varias 10r) de varias cores com sua tacoara de Angola com seos bilros de marfim e seos tapetes tudo uzado	18
<i>Armas</i>	
duas clavinas curtas usadas	4
um bacamarte usado	4
<i>Madeiras</i>	
um bofete de vinhatico de uma taboa so com duas gavetas fechaduras e chaves com seos pes torniados com seis palmos de comprido e tres de largo	6
um bofete de madeira branca com duas gavetas fechaduras e chaves e pes lizos com seis palmos de comprido e tres de largo usado	4
uma meza tosca com sua gaveta fechadura e chave com sinco palmos de comprido e tres de largo uzado	1 1/2
10v) seis tamboretas de encosto de couro cru usados	6
oito moxos razos de couro cru usados	4
um catre de Jacaranda torneado com seu cortinado de Damasco amarello com muito uso	30
duas arcas de moscovia uma grande de duas fechaduras e outra pequena com uma so com suas chaves usadas	10
uma caixa de vinhatico com seos pes torneados de Jacaranda e molduras do mesmo com fechadura e chave usada	5
<i>Escravos</i>	
uma crioula das minas por nome Perpetua 28 com algumas ameaços de estupor em algumas occasioes	100

11r) Uma mulatinha filha da dita crioula por nome Senhorinha 4 com achoque de estupor em algumas occasioes	40
um mulatinho filho da dita por nome Manuel 2	35
uma preta por noeme Violante de nação Banguella 30 com achoque de storçao	80
uma crioulinha por nome Eugenia filha da dita 4	32
um crioulinho por nome João filho da dita 6	35
uma crioulinha por nome Appolinaria filha da dita 18 mezes	25
uma crioula por nome Antonia das minas	
11v) 24 com habelidade de costureira	128
um mulatinho por nome Jose filho da dita 2	35
uma crioula das minas por nome Thereza 30	120
uma preta por nome Thereza de nação Angola 25	100
um crioulo por nome Leandro das minas 9	64
um mulato das minas por nome Gonçallo 13 barbeiro	140
um mulato das minas	
12r) das minas por nome Manuel com seu principio de alfayate 11	130
um mulato das minas por nome Francisco 40 official de çapateiro	140
uma mulata das minas por nome Ignes 12 costureira	120
um preto por nome Pedro de nação mina Fam 45	110
um preto por nome Ventura de nação mina Courano 38	120
um preto por nome Antonio de nação mina Courano 25	140
um preto por nome Paulo	
12v) Paulo de nação mina chamba 60	30
um preto por nome João de nação mina Courano 38	110
um preto por nome Francisco Mina de nação Courano quebrado das varilhas 50	80
um preto por nome Bernardo de nação mina 17	128
um preto por nome Luis de nação mina Fao 25	120
um preto por nome Manuel de nação Banguella 28	
13r)	120
um preto por nome Benedito de nação mina Fap 50	100
um preto por nome Thome de nação mina Fam 50	100
um preto por nome Antonio de nação mina Cobu 30	140
um preto por nome Pedro de nação mina Cobu 30	150
um preto por nome Manoel de nação mina Fam 65	80
um preto por nome Joachim de nação mina Sabaru 30	
13v)	135
um preto por nome Domingos de nação mina Courano 50	90
um preto por nome Miguel de nação mina Ladano 40	120
um preto por nome Luis Minas de nação Fam com algumas fistolas pelas partes baixas 50	60

um preto por nome João de nação mina Sabaru 36 malfeito dos pes	100
um preto por nome Bernardo de nação mina Nago 35	140
um preto por nome Felipe de nação mina Fam 14r) 38	150
um preto por nome Joze de nação mina Sabaru 25	155
um preto por nome Agostinho de nação mina lada 45	100
Christovao mina de nação Fao 30	160
um preto por nome Pedro de nação Congo 40	140
um preto por nome Joze de nação mina Courano 40	160
um preto por nome Christovao mina de nação Nago 56 14v)	80
um preto por nome João de nação mina Sabaru 45	140
um preto por nome Antonio de nação mina Courano 35	80
um preto por nome Lourenço mina de nação Nago 45	80
um preto por nome Miguel de nação mina Courano 60	80
um preto por nome Manoel de nação mina Courano 35	160
um preto por nome Domingos 15r) Domingos de nação Angola 50	100
um preto por nome Manoel de nação mina Fam 45	100
um preto por nome Cosme de nação mina Courano 45	140
um preto por nome Jeronimo de nação Fam 40	150
um preto por nome Andre de nação mina Courano 56	64
um preto por nome João de nação mina Fam 50 15v)	90
um preto por nome Feliciano de nação mina Ladano 40	140
um preto por nome Francisco de nação mina Courano 40	90
um preto por nome Mathias de nação mina Nago 40	100
um preto por nome Caetano de nação Angola 17	80
um preto por nome Joze de nação mina Courano 32	100
16r) um preto por nome Domingos de nação mina Lada 30 barbeiro e sangrador	160
um crioulo das minas por nome João com alguma nichação nas pernas ambos por causa de Erzipella 30	120
um preto por nome Francisco de nação mina Courano 28	150
um preto por nome Joze de nação mina Lada 40	140
um preto por nome João de nação cabo verde 20	128
um preto por nome Leonardo de nação mina Courano 24	155
um preto por nome Angelo de nação mina Courano 16v) 28	160
um preto por nome Anacleto de nação mina Fam 20	135
um preto por nome Cypriano de nação mina Sabaru 25	145
um preto por nome Manoel de nação mina Fam 50	110

um preto por nome Joze de nação mina Cobu 40	135
um preto por nome Pedro de nação mina Fao 35	140
17r) um preto por nome Paulo de nação mina Sabaru 27	160
um preto por nome João de nação mina Fao 22	150
um preto por nome Vitorino de nação mina Fam 25	145
um preto por nome Simao mina Fam 70	70
um preto por nome Manoel de nação mina Fao 28	140
um preto por nome Antonio de nação Banguella 45 com queixo de escrobuto	64
17v) um preto por nome Joze de nação mina Fao com queixo de accidentes de gotacoral	80
um preto por nome Innocencio de nação mina Fao 18	150
um preto por nome Gabriel de nação mina Sabaru 20	150
um preto por nome Joze de nação mina Nago 30	160
um preto por nome Joze de nação mina Sabaru 38	145
um preto por nome Jeronimo Mina de nação Fam 23	
18r)	150
um preto por nome Thomas de nação mina Sabaru 25	135
um preto por nome Joze de nação mina Timbu 50	80
um preto por nome Antonio de nação mina Fam 40	80

Ferramentas

trinta e uma alabancas grandes e pequenas usadas	93
vinte e tres almocafres usadas	5 3/4

Criações

um cavalo Lazao calçado dos pes sellado e enfreado	50
--	----

18v) Bens de Raiz

uma lacra cita no Morro da Passagem com sua agoa metida em a qual lavra trabalha a talhe aberto que houve por titulo de compra que della fes a Francisco Carvalho Pinto e a seu Irmao Antonio Carvalho Pinto com suas cazas de vivenda e Senzallas tudo cuberto de telha e as ditas cazas e Senzallas se achao citas por cima da mesma lavra e esta parte com terra de Capitão Antonio de Oliveira Paes e seu Socio Leonel de Abreu e com varias terras do povo e pela parte debaixo do dito Morro parte com o Rio Ribeirao e com quem mais deva e haja de partir	8,000
22r) devia ao casal Manoel Francisco Pereira por credito	250,000
	reis
o capitão Antonio de Oliveira Paes por credito	150,000
Joze de Prado Leme por credito	75,000
Joze Alvares de Sousa e Domingos Alvares da Costa por credito	576,000

Manoel Joze Pinto por uma execucao	1,800,000
João da Costa Baptista por credito	200,000
Domingos Alvares de Carvalho por uma execucao a qual tem assinado compromisso por sinco annos	800,000
João Correia Tavares sem credito	300,000
22v) Luis Correia Caro por credito e tem asinado compromisso por sinco annos	400,000

Francisca Pinta de Oliveira's inventory, 1754, caixa 10, auto 260, 1st officio, CS.

Taken by Antonio Duarte

Available online

Inventario dos bens q' ficarão por falecimento de Dona Francisca Pinta de Oliveira casada que foy com o licenciado Antonio Duarte falecida no morro da passagem termo da cid.e Mariana a 23 de Septembro de 1753 com testam.to

4r) Traslado do testamento

... no Anno do Nascimento de Nosso Senhor Jesus Christo de Mil setecentos e cincoenta e tres annos nos vinte e quatro dias do mes de Janeiro do dito anno estando eu Dona Francisca Pinta de Oliveira doente de doenca ...

4v) ...Meu corpo será sepultado na Matriz ou Capella donde meu testamenteiro ordenar e lhe parecer e tambem amortalhado acompanhado e sufragiado a eleição e vontade do dito meu testamenteiro.

Declaro que sou natural desta Freguesia da Se da cidade Marianna Comarca e Bispado da mesma e Filha Legitima de João Pinto Alvares de Carvalho e de Marianna Correia de Oliveira ja defunta e que sou cazada com o licenciado Antonio Duarte e que de entre ambos temos sete Filhos entre machos e femeas e que [eses] são os meus herdeiros e [por taes] nomeio e instituo da sua parte que lhes toca somente; e da minha terça que [por dos isto] me pertence de todos os bens que ao presente posuo e mais meu Marido della instituo e nomeio por meu universal herdeiro de toda ella a meu marido acima declarado para della

5r) della gozar como sua sem que seja obrigado a dar contas algumas della tanto em juizo como fora ao qual peso rogo queira ser meu testamenteiro por serviço de Deos ... E para cumprimento de tenho declaro nomeio e instituo ao dito meu marido por meu testamenteiro e universal herdeiro de tudo que da minha terça ...

5v)...e de vadeira (sic) vontade pedi a Antonio Carvalho dos Santos que me fizesse este meu testamento por mim e que por mim o asinasse por eu não poder e tambem com o testamunha e vay miuto conforme a minha vontade pelo mandar ler antes do o mandar aprovar hoje morro da Passagem da cidade Marianna dia mes anno eraut supra fiz e asinei tudo a rogo da testadora Antonio Carvalho dos Santos...

6r) ...Sendo testemunhas presentes Antonio Pinto alvares de Oliveira, Domingos da Rocha Villas Boas, Antonio Domingues do Cabo, Antonio da Cunha de Carvalho, Francisco da Costa e Almeida moradores neste morro ...

8r) *Declarou o Inventariante viuvo cabeça de casal q havião ficado da mesma sua mulher e de seu Legitimo matrimonio sete filhos a saber*

Dona Marianna Roza Clara de Oliveira.....	12
Antonio Duarte.....	11
Dona Feliciano Izabel Maria de Oliveira.....	10
Dona Jenobeba Thereza de Jesus.....	9
João Duarte Pinto.....	7
Manoel Duarte Pinto.....	6
Felippe Joze Duarte.....	5

Tr. de nomeação de Louvados

8v) Simão de Souza Rodrigues
Antonio da Silva Correia

9r) *Descrição dos bens do casal com suas avaliações*

Ouro Lavrado

oito cordoes de ouro que pezão trinta quatro oitavas	
9v)	47,600 reis
sinco pares de botoes que pezão doze oitavas	16,800
um par de fivellas com pezo de quatro oitavas e meya	6,300
um Rosario com sua flor com pezo de trinta e sete oitavas	51,800
quatro pares de brincos com Diamantes e pezo de des oitavas e meya	14,700
tres Rucicles com Diamantes e pezo de des oitavas e meya	14,700
dous aneis com Diamantes e pezo de duas oitavas e um quarto	3,150
dous aneis com pedras da Ititiaya e pezo de uma oitava	1,400
tres pares de brincos com Diamantes [e pernas] de aljofares que pezão sinco oitavas	7,000
10r) sinco barceletes (sic) de coraes engrazados em ouro	20,000
tres pares de botoes com pedras da Ititiaya e pezo de duas oitavas	2,800
dous caixilhos com suas cordoes e pezo de trinta oitavas	42,000
ouro Lavrado dezermanado com pezo de trinta e oito oitavas	53,200
uma meada de Aljofares que tem quatro voltas	50,000
tres meadas ditas meudos	18,000
tres fios de contas de prata com extremos de contas de ouro	8,400
sinco veneras de cavaleiro em um trancelim de cosa e pezo de quarenta oitavas	56,000

<i>Prata Lavrada</i>	
doze facas de mesa com cabos de prata 10v)	15,000
vinte e tres colheres e vinte e quatro garfos com pezo de quinhentos e setenta oitavas	68,400
um talher com seu saleiro e galhitas com pezo de Setecentos e vinte e quatro oitavas	86,880
uma Salva com seu copo e pezo de trezentos e noventa e quatro oitavas	47,280
dous pares de esporas um de botas e outro de Çapatos que pezão cento e vinte oitavas	14,400
<i>Louça da India</i>	
uma mesa de pratos da India com sinco grandes e vinte pequenos	20,000
oito pratos finas de tintas groças	1,800
duas porçolanas	600
11r) duas tigellas com suas tampas e pratos dourados	3,600
duas tigellas com tampas de tintas groças	600
quatro tigellas sem tampas	1,500
oito pires	1,200
quatro pires com chicras	1,200
um copo de pedra branca	300
uma caneca de vidro	400
<i>Estanho e Cobre</i>	
tres pratos de meya cozinha ja velhas	900
quinze pratos fundos e Sete razos pequenos	3,300
sinco bacias duas de estanho e tres de arame com muito uso	4,800
duas bacias de agoar maos	
11v) maos com seos jarros	3,600
tres chocolateiras de cobre pequenas	2,400
sinco taxos de cobre com muito uso e pezo de trinta e nove Livras	11,700
um caldeirão de Cobre ja amaçado	1,800
<i>Roupa branca usada</i>	
quatro lançoes de pano de linho	7,200
sete ditos de niage	6,300
doze fronhas pequenas de pano de linho	1,800
doze ditas grandes	3,600
quatro ditas de Bertanha com rendas duas grandes e duas pequenas	4,800
quatro lancoes de Bertanha	
12r) Bertanha com renda	15,000
sinco toalhas de cambraya com renda	12,000

duas ditas de pano de linho	1,200
tres ditas de niagem	750
quatro ditas de Guimaraes com dezoito guardanapos	7,200

Roupa de cor usada

duas sayas de veludo preto uma bordada e outra liza	76,800
uma de veludo amarello com muito uso	12,000
uma dita de galace	38,400
uma dita de seda carmezim	14,400
um colete de tiço	2,400
uma saya de pano azul agaloada 12v)	30,000
uma caçaquinha e vestia do mesmo	18,000
uma caçaquinha de veludo verde agoloada com Renda	6,000
uma dita de galace	6,000
dous mantos de lustro um novo e outro muito usado	20,000
uma capa de seda azul agaloada	7,200
uma dita bordada	16,000
uma dita de pano alvadio liza	8,000
um (sic) colxa de Damasco carmezim com franjas e borlas de riscos	25,000
uma dita de Borcatel forrada de baeta 13r)	4,800
um pano de Rede azul com seu galao	12,000
um Tapete	5,000
uma rede aparelhada	14,400
sinco cobertores de papa	12,000
uma cadeirinha dourada	38,400

Trastes de casa

quatro bofetes de Jacaranda um redondo torneado e tres lizos com duas gavetas cada um	30,000
oito tamboretas de pau preta torneados	4,800
quatro ditos lizos	1,200
tres bancos um de encosto e dous de [osubello]	3,000
13v) dous bancos pequenos	300
um leito pequeno de pao preto torneado	7,200
um dito grande com cortinado de pano de linho com sua franja	32,400
Dous baues de moscovia com muito uso	8,000
sinco caixas de pau uma grande e quatro pequenas	9,800
dous perguiceiros de couro	4,800
uma frisqueira com des frascos vazios	1,800

oitenta e seis Livros de medecina e Cyrurgia e alguns espirituas grandes e pequenos	100,000
um cavallo sellado com friado com chaireis de pano aga 14r) agaloado	76,800
<i>Escravos</i>	
Uma mulata das minas por nome Eugenia 16	200,000
Uma crioula por nome Elina 40	80,000
Uma preta por nome Eufrazia de nação mina 26	160,000
Uma mulatinha por nome Anna 3	35,000
Uma crioulinha por nome Maria 4	35,000
Um preto por nome Antonio de nação mina 26	220,000
14v) um preto por nome Antonio de nação mina 25	180,000
Um preto por nome Antonio de nação mina 24	210,000
Um preto por nome Antonio de nação mina 40	170,000
Um preto por nome João de nação mina 26	250,000
Um preto por nome João de nação mina 27	200,000
Um preto por nome João de nação mina 25 15r)	220,000
Um preto por nome Jacinto de nação mina 26	225,000
Um preto por nome Joze de nação mina 24	180,000
Um preto por nome Joze de nação mina 26	250,000
Um preto por nome Joze de nação mina 27	240,000
Um preto por nome Joze de nação Angola 28	180,000
Um preto por nome Antonio de nação mina 15v)	225,000
Um preto por nome Joze de nação mina 26	240,000
Um preto por nome Joze de nação mina 25	250,000
Um preto por nome Ignacio de nação mina 26	220,000
Um preto por nome Ignacio de nação mina 24	200,000
Um preto por nome Domingos de nação mina 25	250,000
Um preto por nome Domingos de nação mina 40	180,000
16r) um preto por nome Antonio de nação mina 26	240,000
Um preto por nome Domingos de nação mina 25	280,000
Um preto por nome Ilario cego de um olho de nação mina 25	160,000
Um preto por nome Lourenço de nação mina 24	250,000
Um preto por nome Caetano de nação mina 26	170,000
Um preto por nome Gonçalo de nação mina 25	180,000
Um preto por nome Gonçalo de nação mina 26 16v)	240,000
Um preto por nome Manoel de nação mina 26	240,000
Um preto por nome Miguel de nação mina 25	230,000

Um preto por nome Miguel de nação mina 26	250,000
Um preto por nome Sebastiano de nação mina 24	250,000
Um preto por nome Francisco de nação mina 26	230,000
Um preto por nome Pedro de nação mina 25 17r)	200,000
Um preto por nome Antonio de nação mina 25	220,000
Um preto por nome Pedro de nação mina 26	220,000
Um preto por nome Felippe de nação mina 27	260,000
Um preto por nome Thomas de nação mina 25	230,000
Um preto por nome Patricio de nação mina 25	250,000
Um preto por nome Eugenio de nação mina 24	200,000
Um preto por nome Domingos de nação mina 26	240,000
Um pardo por nome Manoel 18	200,000
Um crioulo por nome januario 14	150,000
Um preto por nome Felix mina 15	180,000

Ferramentas

Vinte e sinco marrões de quebrar pedra	30,000
Dezaseis alabancas grandes e uma pequena	39,600
Tres malhos grandes	7,200
Sinco malhos pequenos	4,800
Sete brocas	9,000
Dous socadores	600
18r) quatro cunhas	1,200
Oito almocafres	3,600
Duas enxadas muito gastas	900
Tres enxos	1,800
Dous machados muito gastos	600
Uma serra de mão	900
Dezaseis bateas uzadas	2,400
Trinta e seis carumbos	2,700
Quatro gamellas de Lavar ouro uma comprida e tres redondas	10,800
Um tronco de pao de meter negros	6,000
Uma corrente de ferro com seis colares	6,000
18v) tres caixoes de botar mantimento	14,400

Raiz

uma morada de cazas de sua vivenda com cozinha e asto e baria tudo cuberto de telha e senzalla cuberto de capim tudo sito no morro da Passagem desta Freguesia	180,000
uma Lavra de talho aberto de minerar um rancho para feitores, uma senzalla feita de pedra e um soca pedra tudo cuberto de capim e duas	

canoas no Rio tudo cito abaixo da ponte da passagem	2,400,000
---	-----------

Dividas activas

Declarou o inventariante Ser devedor ao Seu casal aguardamor Maximiano de Oliveira Leite por dous creditos	5,000,000 e juros
Ser devedor o capitam João Pinto Alvares por credito	4,800,000
ser devedor Leonel de Abreu Lima	315,000
19r) ser devedor o Reverendo Padre João de Araujo por credito da quantia de doze digo da quantia de duzentos e vinte mil reis	220,000
ser devedor o mesmo Reverendo Padro João de Araujo por credito	4,200,000 e juros
ser devedor Mattheus Simoes por um credito	244,400
ser devedor o Guardamor João Ferreira Almada por credito	300,000
ser devedor Manoel Martins de Souza por credito	75,000
ser devedor Antonio da Silva Correia por um credito	400,000 e juros
ser devedor o Sargento mor Jose de Araujo Correia por credito	600,000
ser devedor o mesmo Sargento mor Joze de Araujo Correia [sem] credito	120,000
ser devedor João Barrozo Monteiro por credito	15,000
ser devedor João Ribeiro da Silveira por credito	54,000
19v) ser devedor Antonio Carvalho dos Santos por credito	36,000
ser devedor Manoel Correia de Oliveira de resto de um credito	65,000

21v) *Resumo da part.a*

Montemor 30,249,160
Meação 15,124,580
Terça da defunta 5,041,525
A herdr.a D. Marianna 1,440,436
Ao herdr.o Antonio 1,440, 436
A herdr.a D. Feliciano 1,440, 436
A herdeira D. Genoveva 1,440, 436
Ao herdr.o João 1,440, 436
Ao herdr.o Manoel 1,440, 436
Ao herdr.o Felipe 1,440, 436

Antonio Duarte's inventory, 1772, caixa 69, auto 1517, 2nd officio, CS.

Taken by João Duarte Pinto

Note: The second half of the manuscript containing the division of goods among the heirs is cataloged as Francisca Pinta de Oliveira's inventory, 1772, caixa 22, auto 591, 1st officio, CS.

Inventario que se fes dos bens que ficarão por morte, falecimento do sargento mor Antonio Duarte Professo [n] ordem de Christo casado que foi com dona francisca pinta de oliveira taõbem falecida e moradores neste morro da passage onde faleceu o Testador em 25 de [Abr.] do corrente anno de 1772 sim M.

Escrivão Varella

Titullo dos herdeiros

D. Marianna Roza Clara de Oliveira viuva do goardamor João Ferreira Almada.....	1. Dotado
Padre Antonio Duarte Pinto	30
D. Felicianna Izabel Cazada com o l.do Domingos Coelho	2. Dotado
D. Genoveva cazada com o Alferes Manoel Fernandes Quinhao	3. Dotado
Joam Duarte Pinto	26
Manoel Duarte Pinto	24
Felipe Benicio Duarte	22

T. de Nomeacao de Louvados

Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho

tenente Antonio Mendes da Fonseca

descrição dos bens

um habito de Christo de ouro x maltado de vermelho, branco que pesa vinte e seis oitavas e quarto	36,750
outro dito pequeno de ouro com [seu malae] encarnado e seu transelim de ouro que pesa desaseis oitavas de ouro	22,400
dous outros pequenos de ouro hum de cruz e outro de feitio de veronica taobem x maltados que ambos pesão duas oitavas e doze vintens	3,325
outro habito de ouro x maltado com suas [quadrinhas] de diamantes que peza [] oitava e doze vintens	6,000
uma medalha do santo officio de ouro que peza tres oitavas	4,200
uma fivella de pescosinho de ouro e que pesa seis oitavas e quatro vintens	8,575

Prata

des colheres de prata que peza centos e trinta e duas oitavas	15,840
des garfos de prata que peza noventa e nove oitavas	10,880
seis facas de meza com suas cabos de prata	8,640
uma fivella de pescosinho de prata	420
um espadim de prata [lizo e antigo]	6,000
uma cana da india com seu costao de prata	1,800
outro dito com seu costao de prata	2,400

Cobre

um caldeirão de cobre que peza seis libras	1,800
duas chicolateiras velhas de cobre	450
um par de fivellas de prata de sapatos que pesão [desanove] oitavas e meia	1,950
um par de esporas de prata que pesão oitenta oitavas	8,000
tres tachos pequenos e dous maiores que todos peza vinte e seis libras	7,800
uma balanca de pesar ouro de meia libra com seu Marco [caina]	1,200
uma dita de libras com seu marco [claina]	1,500
duas bacias de arame uma de pé de cama outra grande de banhos	1,200
vinte seis libras de estanho velho	1,950
...um estojo com varios ferros de surgea e outros mais ferros [pertensente a mesma arte como sao serra boticoares e mais adjuntos]	4,800

Louça fina

quinze pratos finos de guardanapo	4,500
dois ditos maiores ja rachados	900
tres ditos de meia cozinha um ja quebrado e outro com sua trincadura	3,000
um covillete com sua tampa de louça fina dourada	600
um Bule de da mesma louça	600
um covillete com sua chicara um pires com sua chicara e dous pires	600
duas tigelas e dous pratos de Louca em [frior]	900
tres vidros de guardar remedios e dous copos []	375
um copo verde de vidro	300
uma calafiteira de [cazo]	300
uma Alinterna de folha de flandes com seu vidro	900
um Bule de Estanho velho	300
uma bacia e Jarro de estanho velho	600
um moinho de moir café	600

Madeiras

um bau coberto de Moscovia ja velho	2,400
uma caixa de vestidos com sua fechadura e chave	1,500
outro dito mais inferior com sua fechadura e chave	900

uma caixa grande [velha de pau branco]	900
uma mesa lisa com duas gavetas com suas fechaduras e chaves	1,200
outra dita velha com duas gavetas fechaduras e chaves	900
outra dita redonda com seus pes torneados	3,600
outra dita de pau branco com seus pes torneados redonda com sua gaveta com sua fechadura e chave	4,800
um catre de jacaranda torneado com sua cabeceira e armacao para cortinado	8,400
um Espriguceiro de jacaranda cuberto de couro cru	3,600
tres ditos velhos	2,700
um taboleiro velho	300
sete mochos de couro uma com seus pes torneados	2,800
sinco cadeiras de pau branco lisos	1,500
dous bancos	300
um estrado	450
uma banquinha	300
um espelho com sua caixa	300
dous candieiros um de latao e outro de folha de flandes	600
uma estante com suas molduras	1,200
uma gamela grande	1,200
duas Trempes de ferro	600
uma [fa ao]	150
um machado velho	300
um almofaris de Bronze Sim mao	450
dous Espetos de ferro	225
uma Tizoura grande	300
um [Tendeiro] de xitra	150
quatro barris de garregar (sic) agua ja velhos	1,200
dous cocos de cobre velhos	300
um chapeo de sol de oliado verde ja velho	900

Roupas

uma cazaca de veludo preto com calção do mesmo e vestia de melania alvadia sim mangas tudo uzado	12,000
uma dita de canga azul com calção e vestia de canga amarela	6,4000
uma vestia de druguete azul muito usado com calção de canga amarella	2,400
uma colxa de seda azul lavrada forrada de tafeta encarnado com sua espeguilha de prata [] tudo usado	4,800
uma dita de algodão em bom uso	6,000
uma dita de serafina forrada de baeta tudo usado	1,800
uma dita de chita toda rota	600

dous enchergeiros um de lenhaje outro de riscado ja velhos	1,200
quatro lansois de pano de linho em mui uso	3,600
dous ditos de bretanha com sua renda ja velhos	900
um penteador com sua renda ja usado	[1,500]
tres fronhas grandes e duas pequenas de pano de lenho tudo uzado	600
dous travesseiros e duas almofadinhas	750
uma duzia de pescosinhos de cambraia	900
um cortinado de pano de linho de cama com sua franja ja usada	4,800
uma toalha de algodao com doze guardanapos do mesmo ja usados	1,800
sinco toalhas de algodao de agoa as maos ja usados	1,500
[quatro] camisas de esguiao com seus punhos de cambraia tudo usado	6,000
uma [] de bretanha ja velha	450
tres jalecos de pano de linho ja usados	450
tres panos de mesas de pano de linho ja velhos e rotos	300
um par de sapatos usados, um par de chinellas	900
tres varas de fita de [moélla] larga encarnada	3,360
sinco varas de fita da mesma qualidade mais estreita	2,250
uma vara dita mais estreita	225
uma vara da dita ainda mais estreita	150
um espingarda comprida ja velha	1,800
um cavallo estanho sellado com freiado com seus xaireis estribeiras de [pais chistocas] bronzeadas	42,000
<i>Escravos</i>	
um escravo por nome [] de nação Angola []	130,000
outro dito por nome Joze de nação angola 24	150,000
outro escravo por nome Jacinto de nação mina 29	180,000
<i>Raiz</i>	
uma morada de casas de sobrado com seu muro aroda e portao com seu quintal murado de pedra com seu bananal e [] espinho com suas estrebaria e senzalas citas no morro pequeno da pasaje	150,000
<i>Dividas</i>	
hera devidor ao cazal Antonio Courano a quantia de sesenta mil reis produto em que foi quartado pelo testador...	60,000
Manoel [] da quantia de oitenta mil reis preso em que foi quartado pelo testador para pagar a dita quantia em quatro annos ...	80,000
Manoel Correia de Oliveira por um [credito] pasado em vinte de Agosto de mil setecentos sesenta tres...	157,979
Antonio Coelho da Silva a quantia de sesenta oitavos de ouro por hum crededo...	72,000

o tenente João da Cunha [rullvio] a quantia de sincoenta oitavas de ouro por um credito...	60,000
o tenente João [da Cunha Velloco] sem credito	10,300
Josefa [Tinoca]	900
Joanna Fernandes [raeina]	900
[Gaspar] Jorge Cunhado	3,300
Lina Dias	2,400
Martinho da [Seu artilheiro]	2,400
Antonia Teixeira [Tolgota]	3,000
[] Pires	2,400
item que hera devidor ao cazal [m] como Jose [coirho] da quantia de treze mil e duzentos reis	13,200
Manoel Reis da Siena	1,500
Antonio da Cunha criança forra	1,200
[o alferes] Coutano de Souza	2,400
Gonzalo Alvares [Peropina]	1,800
...	1,200
Maria de []	1,200
João da Costa [Guerra]	1,200
Manoel [Vieira] [Lanhoco]	3,600
Antonio Pereira Machado como herdeiro e testamenteiro de ... Pereira Machado	1,800
Antonio [Gargacous] morador no [tacoaral]	2,400
dous cabeleiras de chicote	1,200
hera devidor ao cazal dona Marianna Rosa Clara de Oliveira de resto da compra que o defunto seu marido o guardamor João Ferreira almada fes a testador	362,563
um credito pasado em tres de novembro de mil setecentos e sincoenta [que a qual deve] João Barrozo de oitavas tres quartos a quatro vintens de ouro	13,5000
outro credito pasado em vinte quatro desembro de milsetecentos e quarenta e sete pelo qual hera devidor Antonio Carvalho dos Santos da quantia de trinta oitavas de ouro	36,000
[] cadeirinha que []	12,000
uma [] de [] de prata que peza desoito oitavas	1,800
um molatinho por nome Dizidrio 5	40,000
uma molatinha por nome Maria 6	50,000
[] terras minerais citos no chopoto na [] do ribeirao de santo antonio em que he socio com Antonio dos Santos, Jose Ribeiro Forte e Dona Marianna Rosa Clara de Oliveira	a parte que pertensa ao testador 30,000

<i>Livros</i>	
dous livros intitulados pharmacopia	9,600
outro dito intitulado Curvo	2,200
outro dito intitulado [Blervofinos] do cunno	1,200
outro dito [] intitulado [] da [guadalupe]	2,400
outro dito intitulado Flores da Espanha primeiro tomo	1,200
outro dito intitulado Vigo de sirurgia primeiro tomo	2,400
dous ditos intitulados [capetulo] Forte	4,800
outro dito intitulado arte com vida primeiro tomo	1,800
um livro de João Cardoso de Miranda	1,200
um livro intitulado Fragozo de sirurgia	3,000
um dito intitulado Guido de sirurgia primeiro tomo	1,200
sinco livros do Doutor Carlos Musitano	6,900
vinte dous livros composto pelo doutor Francisco Soares de Ribeira	12,900
um livro de sirurgia [de] Joze Ferreira primeiro tomo	900
um livro intitulado [] surgia [] hipocrates com comentario [] sobre suas aforismos	900
outro dito intitulado [ley da] verdadeira sirurgia	600
outro dito intitulado hacouro apotincto primeiro tomo	600
um tratado das mais frequentes enfermidades tomo segundo	1,200
um livro intitulado opusculo cirurgico	600
um livro intitulado mirandees	2,200
um livro intitulado sirurgia de Antonio Ferreira	1,800
um livro intitulado cirurgia de Feliciano de Almeida	1,200
um livro intitulado madeira ilustrada primeiro tomo	900
uma estante com suas guarnições de Jacaranda	3,000

Avaliação dos bens em que o casal [havao] socio em [] parte com D. Marianna Rosa Clara de Oliveira

<i>Escravos</i>	
um escravo por nome Lourenso de nação mina 50	160,000
outro dito por nome [Feisme] de nação courano 50	160,000
outro dito por nome Francisco mina 65	110,000
outro dito por nome Miguel [Esteves] 65	120,000
outro dito por nome Cosme de nação mina 70	20,000
outro dito por nome João Pereira de nação mina 57	60,000
outro dito por nome Goncallo mina 65	65,000
outro dito por nome Pedro de nação mina 70	30,000
outro dito por nome Manoel courano 50	90,000

outro dito por nome [cleam/cham] mina 80	40,000
outro dito por nome Joze mina 35	120,000
outro dito por nome Antonio Alvares alejado de nação mina 45	20,000
outro dito por nome Goncalo de Araujo de nação mina velho de mente 70	16,000
outro dito por nome Antonio Filgoea de nação mina 50	50,000
uma crioulla por nome [Mena] 64	35,000
um escravo por nome Domingos [banha cobu] 40	150,000
outro dito por nome Ignacio mina 45	120,000
outro dito por nome Eugnacio de nação de mina 45	150,000
outro dito por nome Felipe de nação mina 40	140,000
outro dito por nome Sebastião mina ... 50	110,000
outro dito por nome [Thomas] de nação mina 55	120,000
outro dito por nome Pedro de nação mina 56	150,000
outro dito por nome João [manis] de nação mina 50	100,000
outro dito por nome Joze do rio de nação mina 60	90,000
outro dito por nome Joze Sapara muito velho 80	10,000
outro dito por nome [Gomcalenho] de nação mina 35	160,000
outro dito por nome [Coutano] mina 36	120,000
outro dito por nome Domingos de nação 60	60,000
outro dito por nome Francisco Angela 19	130,000
outro dito por nome João [Feliz] crioulllo 30	140,000
outro dito por nome [Patrico] angola 40	110,000
outro dito por nome Antonio mina 50	95,000
outro dito por nome Joze de nação mina 47	90,000
outro dito por nome Ignacio mina 68	20,000
outro dito por nome Antonio mina 70	40,000
outro dito por nome Manoel [manono] 65	30,000
outro dito por nome [Teipul] mina 70	20,000
outro dito por nome Manoel mina 55	30,000
outro dito por nome Joze de nação de Angola 75	35,000
outro dito por nome Joze mina alejado das cadeiras 60	10,000
João de nação angola 40	100,000

mais bens pertensentes a mesma sociedade

que pertensia a sociedade que o testador tinha com dona Marianna Rosa Clara de Oliveira em igual parte trezentos alqueires de milho no Paiol	45,000
quarenta alqueires de feijao no paiol	9,000
desaseis alqueires de arroz e [] no mesmo ape	2,400
uma mulla sigano comos seus perparos	40,000
outra dita chamada estrella com seus perparos	45,000
outra dia brioca com seus peranos mama	25,000

outra dita pequena alejada com seus arejos	16,000
um macho chamado [corgim] com seus perpanos	50,000
outro dito chamado diamante com seus arejos	40,000
outro dito vermelho com seus perpanos alejado	25,000
outro dito um dito chamado [carvoir] perperado	30,000
um dito crioulo ja muito velho com seus perpare	16,000
um dito chamado [cabo] vende ja muito velho com seus perpare	20,000
sinco bois de carro	48,000
sesenta porcos entre grande e pequenos	20,000
um colção de linhaje ja uzada	1,000
um cobertor com seu uso	1,800
quatro [tachos] velhos que pezarão trinta e sinco libras	10,500
um forno de cobre que peza trinta e seis libras	7,800
uma chicultureira velha	600
quatro machados uma machadinha	4,500
oito fouses novos	7,200
seis ditos velhos	3,600
quinze machados velhos	11,220
uma alabanca velha	1,800
[decas Berramas]	220
[page cut off]	2,400
dous [picuires] de ferro	2,000
tres cunhas de ferro	600
uma serra de mao	400
uma enxo	300
um dito [gaiva]	300
uma [caira] velha lisa	600
um carro de pau liso velho	1,200
um [cairap] grande de pau	4,800
uma mesa lisa ja velha	450
um carro novo de pau liso fino ferraje	8,000
um dito ja muito velho	5,000
um carrecão ja usada	2,000
duas cangas de pau de carregar os bois	1,800
sinco duzias de tabeado de des o seis palmos de comprido	9,000
... quatro mil e quinhentos []	[page cut off]
Desasete [aneos] grandes que porafim	24,000
onze ditos pequenos	9,900
onze almocafres	4, 950
dous marroins de ferro	6,000

duas marrecas	2,400
uma braca de ferro	450
uma marreta um [joquete]	1,500
duas canhas de ferro	1,200
um gamilla grande de lavar pedras	3,600
sinco caixoins de Botar mantimentos	12,000
des taboas de vinte palmos	6,000
hum tronco com sua fechadura	2,400
uma mesa de pau lisa	2,400
duas correntes com seus colares	[page cut off]

Raiz

uma morada de cazas de pedras cobertas de telha que forao de senzala com suas tarinbos do taboado cito no morro de santo antonio	100,000
uma lavra de telha aberto cita no morro de santo antonio no morro pequeno de pasaje com seus [monduas] estaques e grades de ferro agoas mitidas por um rego umas [detende] terras minerais em mata cavalo outros [nectraje] de pasaje com cujos bens [teir] metade de [pretense] ao testador	3,400,000
um citio chamado a Ponte [teta] com terras mineiras e lavras de [telha aberto] com agoas terras e planta com suas casas de [vivenda] de sobrado cubertos de telhas [aurales tijol] moinho tudo cuberto de telha que parte com Francisco da Silva [liva] com a fazenda da Senhora da Oliveira com Izidorio de [Queiros] [] com quem mais deve haja de partir	2,000,000
um citio de rosa que [] sesmarias ou a que melhor ... sao cito no correjo do Antonio Duarte Pinto que comfronta com Manoel Mendes [Peyxoto] e doutra parte com Joze Barbosa dos Santos em cujo citio se achao plantados [] alqueiros de milho	2,200,000

Jose de Araujo Correia's inventory, 1760, caixa 45, auto 1016, 2nd officio, CS.

Taken by Maria Pinta de Oliveira and João Pinto Alvares

Titullo dos Herdeiros

Jose	10
Joaquim.....	8
Francisco.....	6
Francisco de Araujo morador em Villa Rica filho natural	

Tr.o de nomeação de louvados
 João de Arruda da Camara
 Antonio dos Santos Aguiar

Descrição dos bens que se havão na fazenda do Chopotó

<i>Estanho</i>	
quatros tacos de estanho fundos	900
sinco pratos de estanho razos uzados	1,350
dous pratos de estanho grandes a saber um de meya cozinha, e outro de cozinha inteira ja uzados	1,050
tres colheres e um garfo de metal	350
duas facas de meza com seu cabo de oso uzados	300
<i>Cobre</i>	
um tacho	3,000
outro tacho [] que pezara pouco mais ou menos seis libras	1,800
uma bacia de cobre que pezara pouco mais ou menos oito libras nova	4,800
uma bacia de arame de que [da cama] uzada	450
<i>Roupas</i>	
tres camizas de pano de linho uzadas	3,000
uma serola de pano de linho em bom uzo	600
quatro fronhas duas grandes e duas mais pequenas	1,200
uma toalha de maons uzada	600
tres lencoens de pano de linho muito uzados rotos e dous com sua renda	1,200
uma toalha de algodão com seu goardanapo tambem de algodão e outro de Guimarães	600
uma colxa de chita forrada de Briem	4,800
<i>Ferramentas</i>	
quatro emchadas em bom uzo	3,600 que declareu se achava ja penhorado por divida do defunto testador
quatro machados em bom uzo	3,000 penhorados em vida do testador

quatro alabancas em bom uzo	14,400 penhorados
sinco almacafres em bom uzo	2, 625 penhorado
duas [cadadeiras] em bom uzo	450
<i>Escravos</i>	
Alexandre de nação mina 30	230,000, penhorado pelos credores do testador
Luiz de nação mina 30	230,000 penhorado
Benidito de nação mina 31	230,000 penhorado
Domingos de nação courano barbeiro 35	240 penhorado
Valentim de nação mina 29	230,000 penhorado
Victorino de nação mina 32	200,000 penhorado em vida do testador
Francisco de nação mina 25	110,000 penhorado
Gaspar de nação Angola 36 com uma ...	[]
....40	50,000 penhorado
Pedro de nação mina coura 50	50,000 penhorado
Sebastião de nação naga 25 com uma quigila nos pes ambos	20,000 penhorado
Thereza de nação banguella 29	180,000, penhorada
Vicente crioulinho filho da dita 8	80,000 penhorado
Paulo crioulinho filho da dita 6	70,000 penhorado
Lusia crioulinha filha da dita 3	60,000 penhorado
Manoel crioulinho de peito filho da dita 9 meses	50,000

	penhorado
Antonia crioula 15 com uma ferada em uma perna	100,000
	penhorada
Tetrudos cobu 70	30,000
	penhorada
Maria de nação mina 50	30,000
Francisco de nação coura 20 com peributo nas pernas	100,000
	penhorado
Miguel de nação coura 80	30,000
	penhorado
Joze de nação mina alejado das maoens e com quigila nos pes 30	15,000
	penhorado
Domingos de nação angola 80 com um parmigueiro em uma perna	30,000
	penhorado
Matilhas de nação cobu 50 descadeirado	30,000
	penhorado
Paulo de nação [...mba] 60 descadeirado	30,000
	penhorado
um cavalo castanho curraleiro	30,000
	penhorado pelos credores do testador em sua vida

Rais

um citio de rosa com lavras de agoas e terras minerais cito no coro chamado de [] do chopoto frequesia da piranga que parte com Domingos Francisco pela parte de Norte e da parte do [] com Joze Baroza dos Santos e que [] da parte da sul com João de Arruda da Camara e com que mais deva e haja de partir vista e avaliada a metade deletao somente que he a que pertense ao testador por pertenser o outra a metade com o guardamor João Ferreira Almada por [] socios com cazas de vivenda [paipe] e senzalas vista a dita parte pertensete do defunto e avaliado pelos louvados em quatro mil cruzados preso	esta por pagar a seu dono 1:600,000 dono: o capitão João Ferreira da Silva
---	--

Traslado do testamento q faleceu Joseph de Ar.o Correia

... primeiro lugar ao capitão João Pinto Alvares morador no morro da pasage e em segundo lugar Joseph Goncalves Pereira morador em mata cavallos e em terceiro lugar o Capitão mor Domingos da Rocha Ferreira morador no morro desta villa e em quarto

lugar o guardamor João Ferreira Ramada morador na [Ponte Bata] que por serviço de Deoz e por me fazerem merce queirão ser meus testamenteiros.

Meu corpo sera sepultado neste freguezia de Nossa Senhora do Pillar acompanhado pello Reverendo Parrocho e mais seis reverendos sacerdotes e me acompanhara a minha veneravel ordem treceira (sic) de Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo desta villa de quem sou irmão apresentado em [...gra] e sepultura a irmandade do Senhor dos Pasos de quem sou irmão e tambem me acompanhara a irmandade do Santissimo Sacramento e a das Almas da freguezia de Antonio Diaz desta villa de quem sou de ambaz irmão de termo.

Declaro que sou natural e baptizado na freguesia do Santissimo Sacramento da cidade de Lisboa filho legitimo de Domingos de Araujo e de sua mulher [Nateyia] Correia ambos ja defuntos. Declaro que sou cazado com Dona Maria Pinta de Oliveira no dito matrimonio tenho trez filhos por nomes Joseph e Joaquim e Francisco e asim mais do tempo de solteiro tenho um filho pardo por nome Francisco de Araujo o qual o tive de uma preta por nome Ignacia dos Passoz ja defunta aos quais todos os nomeyo e deyxo por meis legitimos e ... herdeyros

Declaro... trinta e um escravos a saber Domingos Thereza sua mulher Bernardino pardo Vicente crioulo Paulo crioulo Lusía crioula Manoel crioulo Antonio mina Joseph angola Luiz mina Alexandre mina Benedito mina Sebastião mina Valentim mina Vicente mina Victorino mina Pedro mina Gonçalo mina Francisco mina Gaspar angola Miguel mina Domingos matangana Jose mina Paulo mina Francisco mina Mathias mina Getrudez mina Maria mina Antonia crioula Garcia mina e um que morreu haverá quinze dias pouco mais ou menos por nome João que todos fazem a sobredita quantia de trinta e um e asim mais pessuo uma fazenda de [casa e lavra] cita no corrego de são lourenço na freguezia da Piranga a qual indo esta por pagar ao capitão João Ferreira da Silva como do credito que lhe passou constara e asim pessuo duas terras partes em duas catas citas na lavra nova deste morro em que sou socio com capitão mor Domingos da Rocha Ferreira e Francisco de Almeida Pinto moradores no dito morro e tambem tenho uma mina com sua porta cita na lavra nova de frente donde mora o sargento mor Thomas Gomes de Figueiredo.

Declaro ... devo a Antonio Joseph Carneyro ... quarenta oitavas de ouro devo ao sargento mor Ignacio Mendes de Vasconcellos o que constar do seu credito devo a Domingos Pereira morador na cidade o que constar do seu credito Devo a Domingos Barros morador na pasage nove oitavas e meia de ouro devo a Pedro [Sahalheiro] morador no morro da passage tres oitavas ...quartos de ouro....

Devo no chapoto ... seu socio Lazaro duzentos e setenta alqueires de milho a razão de seis vintens o alqueire de ouro e mais vinte alqueires de feijão a nove vintens de ouro o alqueire e doze alqueires de arroz que este será o que elle disser que tudo lhe comprei para mim e para o guardamor João Ferreira de Almada que disto o dito Almada ha de pagar a metade.

Devo ao carapina Manoel Gomes morador no chopoto os jornais de umas poucas de madeiras que me fez no mato que sera de jular.

Devo a Joze Francisco morador na varge o que elle diser lhe devo do seu livro.

Devo a Jose Ferreira de Amaral morador aqui nesta [rua] o que constar do seu livro. Declaro que sou depozitario de ums poucos de negros de Miguel Diaz de Souza os quais paguei iguais capitações de eu procurador pagou outras de que não estou certo e asim pessoa quem pertencer os ditos bens haja com paixao de mim porque eu tambem fuy depositario de quatrocentas e tantas oitavas e destas he que paguei as ditas capitações dos negros que eu tinha em meu poder depositados e os que morrerão em meu poder tenho os certidões do falecimento delles e o que eu devo do dito ouro pouco mais ou menos serão [cento] e tantas oitavas e como não tenho com quaes pagar peço pello amor de Deoz [me] perdoe.

Declaro que o sargento mor Manoel Moreira de Vieire Mea ja defunto a muitos annos morador que foi na Itatiaya me deu um credito para eu lhe cobrar para desta cobrança me pagar des [] quantia que me devia o quan... dito o cobrey delle restava cento e tantas oitavas e como o dito lhes ...les nunca mais me procurou di...com ellas e lhe....

Declaro que eu devo ami...receirades...delle...dever como tambem os anuais da Irmandade dos Pasos e do Santisima Sacramento e Almas da freguesia de Antonio Dias isto peço se lhe pague como tambem se aquaes pessoas de conhecida verdade disserem lhe devo alguma couza mando se lhe pague sem comtenda de justica...

Declaro que devo Manoel Correia de Oliveira o que elle diser lhe sou devedor de mantimento com que me [afestio] eo dito he morador no Pinheiro termo da cidade...

...Manoel Luis Bernardo que este por mim fiz...

Declaro que devo ao boticario Antonio Pereira Carneiro o que constar das receitas que me tem dado para esta minha doença e as mais que apresentar...

...por esquecimento o não fizera no testamento a saber que elle testador era devedor a seu sogro o capitão João Pinto Alvares da quantia de coatro centos mil reis de resto que seus testamenteiros....

Descrição dos bens que existem no morro da pasage

quatro pratos de estanho grandes hum delles fundo todos de meia cozinha usados	2,100
nove pratos de estanho pequenos a saber oito razos e um fundos usados	1,350
um jarro e uma bacia de estanho ja furada com jarro quebrado	450
um galheteira de estanho com duas galhetos e um saleiro tudo uzado	600
uma bacia de arame grande com muito uso	600
uma dita pequena de arame em bom uso	600
um candieiro de latão muito uzado e quebrado	450
colheres uma que serve de secar ouro e outra de cozinha em bom uso	300

Prata

seis colheres e seis garfos de prata que tudo peza noventa [tres] oitavas ha usadas	9,300
---	-------

Louça da India

dous pratos de lousa da India com tinta azul	900
oito pratos finos de lousa da India ... e são de tinta emcarnada	4,800
supeira de lousa da India ja rachada	150
quatro pires e quatro chicharas	1,200
tres copos de vidro pequenos	300

Roupas

uma cazaca vestia e calção de Lemiste ja virado e muito usado	9,600
um calção de lemiste usado	1,200
uma cazaca e calção de pano alvadio com vestia de gorgorão em bom uso	24,000
um timão de seda alvadio forrada de setim azul	20,000
um pano de Brim de cobrir os vestidos	450
uma rede [algodão] Branca de marca pequena usada e ja furada	600
outra dita de algodão pintada ja muito usada	900
tres camizas de esguião de punhos usados	200
tres ditos de pano de linho	3,600
dous pares de meias de pano de linho usados	600
um par de meias de algodão fino	1,800
dous lancois de bertanha com sua renda um delles ja furado	8,400
duas fronhas de bertanha com sua renda e sua almofadinha tambem de renda tudo usado	1,800
duas fronhas de panno de linho e uma almofadinha do mesmo usadas e liza	1,200
tres toalhas de bertanha com suas rendas tudo usado	3,600
uma toalha de meza grande de Guimarães ja furada remendada com oito goardanapos tambem no mesmo estado alguns	1,200
outra toalha de mesa de guimarães e duas de maons do mesmo com seu uso visto tudo e avaliado em mil e duzentos reis e declaro que tudo he de pano do Norte	1,200
um cortinado de cama com suas franjas de pano do Norte ...e a franja e de linho branca com seu pano de pé de cama	30,000
uma colxa de macau cramizim bordada com seu uso	16,800

Armas

um par de pistolas em bom uso	3,600
uma silla aparelhada com ... com sua franja em bom uso	7,200
uma espada com seu punho de prata	1,800
um espadim de prata usado	4,800
uma bengala de cana da India com seu costão de prata pequeno	1,200

Madeiras

tres baus grandes cubertos de moscobia ja muito usados e velhos	7,200 penhorados
um catre de jacaranda torneado grande em bom uso	21,600 penhorado

Escravos

negro por nome Vicente Lada mina 38	210,000
negro por nome Gonçalo Lada mina 45 penhorado	190,000
negro por nome Antonio Garcia 40 ...de nação mina	170,000 penhorado
um preto por nome Antonio de nação mina sabera 30	220,000 penhorado
um preto por nome Jose de nação angola 40	180,000 penhorado
um molatinho por nome Bernardo 10	80,000 penhorado por credores do defunto testador

Raiz

uma morada de cazas cobertas de tella asobradadas citas no morro da pasage que partem de uma outra banda com cazas e terras de João Pinto Alvares com suas senzalas tambem cubertas de telha com suas paredes de pedra	200,000 que declarou o inventariante se achavão penhoradas por seu pai João Pinto Alvares
--	--

Partilha

montemor 6,262,075
meação 3,131,037 1/2
terça do defunto 1,043,679 1/3

João Ferreira Almada's inventory, 1769, caixa 80, auto 1696, 1st ofício, CS.

Taken by Mariana Rosa Clara de Oliveira

Available online

1r) Inventario que se fes dos bens que ficarao por morte do Guardamor João Ferreira Almada morador que foi neste morro de S. Antonio, e casado com D. Mariana Rosa Clara de Oliveira fallecido no 19 de Janeiro de 1769 com seu solemne TT.o

2r) *Traslado do Testamento com que faleceo o Guardamor João Ferreira Almada*
...Rogo em primei

2v) em primeiro lugar a Senhora Dona Marianna Rosa Clara de Oliveira minha mulher em segundo a meu cunhado o Senhor Reverendo Antonio Duarte Pinto e em terceiro a meu compadre o Senhor Francisco Soares de Araujo queirão por serviço de Deos e me fazerem merce serem meus testamenteiros bemfeitores procuradores e administradores de meus bens

Meu corpo será amortalhado no habito da minha veneravel ordem terceira da Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo na qual sou Profeso e indigno Irmão terceiro acompanhado pela mesma e sepultado na sua capella da cidade Marianna acompanhando [m] tambem todas as Irmandades de que sou Irmão.

Por minha alma se farão os sufragios que detreminar (sic) a dita minha mulher porque a sua eleição deixo os que a ella pareserem e da mesma sorte o acompanhamento para a sepultura. Declaro que sou natural e baptizado na freguezia de Santhiago da villa de Almada filho legitimo de Joseph Gonçalves e de sua mulher Maria Ferreira ja defuntos e estou cazado com a dita Dona Marianna Rosa Clara de Oliveira de cujo matrimonio tenho ao prezente dois filhos por nomes Francisca e João meus legitimos herdeiros das duas partes da minha fazenda ficando me a terça para della dispor.

Declaro que em razão da boa capadicade e inteligencia que sempre reconheci na dita minha mulher a nomeio e instituo por legitima Tutora de nossos filhos para os administrar e regar não só as suas pessoas mas tambem tudo quanto lhes pertencer sem que nisso haja genero algum [de] duvida.

Declaro que de todos os bens existentes no monte do cazal asim de raiz como moveis e moventes vendi a parte que me pertence a minha meação ao Sargento mor Antonio Duarte e ao Reverendo Padre Antonio Duarte Pinto por preço e quantia de quinze mil cruzados para [] satisfazerem a pagamentos de trezentos mil reis no fim

3r) no fim de cada um anno athe sua completa solução o que melhor consta do credito que me pasarão.

Declaro que há mais no monte do cazal uma devida que por clareza devem Jose Ribeiro Forte e Antonio dos Santos Aguiar ambos sociados com o mesmo cazal em a metade das lavras e rosas dos correjos de Sam João e Santo Antonio do chopotá na qual se comprehende a fabrica partencente a ellas e trinta e quatro [yeracos] pouco mais ou menos cujos bens constão da dita clareza que particularmente se fez entre noz onde lhe ficarão ampliados os pagamentos e se lhe levará em conta o que tiverem dado estandose pelas que declararem [respateos] a sociedade e assim mais existem no cazal

outras dividas que ao mesmo se devem por creditos e [] elles. Declaro que no mesmo cazal ouve um preto por nome Manoel de nação Cabo Verde com bastande idade ao qual eu e a dita minha mulher libertamos em atenção ao bem que nos servio e cazo lhe não tenha pasado carta de sua alforria e elle desta pesa titulo se lhe pasará sem genero de duvida visto não pertencer ao cazal.

Declaro que o preto João de nação Courano se acha com papel de quartamento que lhe pasei e delle constará o que restar a dever levando se lhe em conta os recibos que apresentar feitos por mim ou pela dita minha mulher para que havendo satisfeito o preço do seu quartamento se lhe passe carta de liberdade como lhe he devida e assim o ordeno.

Declaro que sou devedor ao sargento mayor Antonio Duarte o que consta por clareza que lhe passei a respeito dos bens que eu lhe havia comprado na forma do tracto que ouve entre nos pelo qual ficamos sociados athe o presente em tudo sustara pela sua conta para ser pago do que [] lhe estiver devendo com atenção ao quem tiver despendido e me achar obrigado a pagar em beneficio da mesma rendada.

Declaro que devo ao Doutor Manoel Braz Ferreira o que constar por hum credito que lhe passei e por outro ao sargento mayor Mathias Teixeira da Mota como também a João Pereira Lima por a [bono] que fis em um credito que lhe [pas...] Joze Ribeiro 3v) Ribeiro Forte e este declarará a formalidade da dita divida para della ser pago ditto credor.

Declaro que devo a Joze Francisco dos Santos mercador e morador na varge o que constar da sua conta pela qual se lhe pagará o que elle disser e a Manoel Coelho Lisboa sincoenta oitavas pouco mais ou menos que melhor constará de seu Livro procedidas de despendeo que fiz para a sociedade que tenho com meu sogro.

Declaro que devo trinta e sete mil e quinhentos reis a Irmandade de Santa Efigenia da cidade Marianna do anno em que nella fuy Juiz e no cazo de dever lhe mais alguma couza quero se lhe pague como tambem as mais Irmandades de que sou Irmão o que constar [dever...] asim de anuais como de esmollas mezarias.

Declaro que devo sem clareza a meu compadre Francisco Soares de Araujo cem mil reis de dois machos que lhe comprei para a sociedade de que tenho com o ditto meu Sogro e asim mais de parcellas que despendeu por mim o que constar da sua conta pela qual sustara para ser pago do que eu lhe dever.

Declaro que sou devedor a testamentaria do Alferes João Baptista Pereira de quem hé testamenteiro e herdeiro o Reverendo Padre Manoel Gonçalves Chaves o que constar por clareza que existe na mesma respective a minha parte sómente por que da outra fes separação o ditto credor no seu testamento para satisfazella meu compadre Bento da Silva Ferreira e o que este deixou de pagar por falta de bens não são os meus obrigados a semelhante divida conforme a vontade e disposição do ditto testador o que asim hei por advertido e muito recomendado a meus testamenteiros.

Declaro que por ser noviso na veneravel ordem Terceira de nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo fuy admittido a profesar estando com o presente molestia e por iso ordeno se lhe pague sincoenta oitavas de ouro atendida a despesa da Profissão

acompanhamento sepulture e sufragios que a mesma custuma fazer a qualquer Irmão que falesce para que desta sorte não receba prejuizo algum.

...

4r) Declaro que por falescimento do Padre Francisco Martins Torres aceitei os emcargos da sua testamentaria que tenho exercido e pelas contas dos autos respetives a ella e alguns documentos [qua...] se não [...tarão] sevirá melhor no conhecimento do estado em que a mesma se acha para se concluir o que amim diser respeito com abatimento do premio que me pertencer conforme o que se achar cumprido para ser inteirada e satisfeita sem prejuizo algum.

Declaro que a mesma Testamentaria tem concernado Sociedade com João Rodrigues Carvalhais na fazenda de engenho de cana escravos e seus pertences que o ditto tem adiministrado com o caixa della e por iso em tudo se deve estar pela sua conta em razão de ser homem de conhecida verdade e boa consciencia dandose inteiro credito a mesma nos livros dos assentos da dita sociedade os quais por nos estão ajustados nas contas que fizemos das quantias que recebi sem que niso ouve se genero de duvida.

...

4v) ...tenho mandado escrever por meo compadre Manoel Correia de Oliveira

5r) ...testemunhas presentes o sargento mor Antonio Duarte e Manoel Duarte Pinto Felipe Benisio Duarte estes moradores neste morro e Manoel Correia de Oliveira morador no Pinheiro e o licenciado Domingos Coelho morador na Piranga...

7r) *Titullo dos herdeiros*

D. Francisca	10
João	4

Tr.o de nomeação de Louvados

Francisco Soares de Araujo

Simão de Souza

8r) *Descrição dos Bens*

Um laso com seus brincos tudo de ouro goarnecido tudo com pedras de Diamantes doze maiores e os mais de olho de mosquito que pesa onze oitavas e meya	80,000
um par de brincos de ouro com diamantes que peza tres oitavas e tres quartos	24,000
dous aneis de ouro com suas pedras de Diamantes que ambos pezão oitava e meia e quatro vintens	12,000
um dito de ouro com sua pedra da Ititiaya amarella que peza oitava e meia	6,000
um Laso pequeno com seus brincos de ouro com suas pedras emcarnadas que [pezas] duas oitavas tres quartos e quatro vintens	8,000
dous pares de brincos de ouro com suas pedras emcarnadas que pesão tres oitavas tres quartos	9,600

uma caxilho de ouro com seu transelim que peza quatorze oitavas de ouro	19,600
8v) um rosario de ouro com sua flor de ouro que tudo peza vinte oitavas	28,000
tres cordoins de ouro finos que tudo peza doze oitavas	16,800
Sete pares de Botoins de ouro que pezão des oitavas	14,000
um transelim de ouro com seu Sino Salamão que pezão quatro oitavas	5,600
um par de fivellas de ouro que pezão quatro oitavas e meya	6,300
um transelim de ouro com seu relicario que tudo peza quatro oitavas e meya	4,900
uma [Bolrólá] de Ambre que peza oitava e meya	2,100
uma volta de coraes emcascados em ouro com seu transelim que pesa doze oitavas	9,600
outra	
9r) volta de coraes com quatorze coraes emfiados em um cordão de ouro que tudo peza sete oitavas e tres quartos	5,000
Umas folhetas de ouro [mosiso] que peza quatro oitavas tres quartos e quatro vintens	850
Vinte seis coraes sem feitio algum	900
uma meada de Aljofares finos enfiados em um cordão de ouro que tudo peza quatro oitavas e quarto e quatro vintes	4,000
tres fios de Aljofares um mais grosso e dous finos que pezão sinco oitavas e tres quartos	10,000
<i>Prata</i>	
umas Esporas de prata que pezão setenta e oito oitavas	7,800
um par de fivellas de prata que pezão vinte sinco oitavas	2,500
um Espadim de prata com seu Baldrie	9,600
9v) uma Bengala com seu costão de prata	2,400
um par de fivellas de prata de calção que pezão seis oitavas e meya	650
uma Bengala de cana da India com seu costão de ouro	12,000
<i>Roupas</i>	
uma cazaca e calção de veludo preto lizo com sua vestia de veludo lavrado tudo usado	15,000
uma cazaca de pano alvadio com seu colete de veludo azul tudo em bom uso	16,000
uma cazaca e calção de Brilhante alvadio com sua vestia de seda branca com ramos de ouro tudo usado	24,000
dous pares de meyas de seda um alvadio e outro preto usados	1,200
Umas xapenhas de ouro que pezão tres oitavas e tres quartos	5,250
um guarda pé de seda de [] em bom uso	30,000
10r) um guardape de galasi de ouro com muito uso	12,000

um guardape de Melania Branca com seus flores emcarnadas	Por muito uzada em 4,800
uma saya de veludo preto lavrado em bom uzo	30,000
um manto de seda preta	7,200
uma saya de veludo marelo (sic) uzada	9,600
um Borló de camelua azul em bom uzo	7,200
uma capinha de seda branca bordada com muito uso	4,800
umas [roupenhas] de seda cor de camursa ferrada de azul tudo uzada	2,000
Um Espartelho de setim branco com ramos azuis	4,000
uma capa de Durante cremezim em bom 10v) uzo	7,200

Creditos

era devedor ao casal seu pai o Sargento mor Antonio Duarte e seu Irmão o Reverendo Antonio Duarte Pinto da quantia de seis contos e quatrocentos mil reis por hum credito pasado em trinta de Dezembro de milsetecentos e sesenta e oito a pagamentos de trezentos mil reis no fim de cada um anno e se acha venser o primeiro em trinta de dezembro do corrente anno de milsetecentos e sesenta e nove e os mais sucesivamente he sua real satisfação com declaração poreu que esta quantia de seis contos de reis he unicamente pertensente a meação do falecido por ser prosedida da venda que fes da parte de sua meação aos ditos compradores ficando da outra meação de pose ella inventariante	6,000,000
Antonio dos Santos Aguiar, e Jose Ribeiro Forte da quantia de quatro contos novecentos trinta e sete mil seis centos e vinte sinco reis por hua escritura que suposto se achavão vensados os pagamentos dela fes ella dita inventariante cabeça de casal e o defunto seu marido [novo] tracto por papel particular que pasarão aos ditas devedores no mes de Setembro de mil setecentos e sesenta e seis para dahi em diante correrem os pagamentos de quatro centos mil reis no fim de cada um anno como mais lucro que acrescer tudo na forma da escritura celebrada na nota do Tabaleão Joaquim Jose de Oliveira [] cuja quantia se a de abonar o que 11r) o que mostrarem haver pago os ditos devedores	4,937, 625
Sargento mor Antonio Duarte por hum credito que se acha vensado	360,000
o mesmo sargentomor Antonio Duarte por hum credito pasado ao capitão João Ferreira da Silva e hoje pertensente ao casal a quantia de nove centos mil reis a pagamentos que se venseo o primeiro em trinta e hum de Maio de milsetecentos e sesenta e sinco da quantia de duzentos mil reis, e outra tanta quantia [se vensia] em outro tal dia do anno de milsetecentos e seis comais resto se acha todo vensido	900,000
uma execução contra o tenente Andre Correia Lima que se acha em	

nome do capitão Ciprianno da Silva rego da quem he asonario Antonio Gonsalves Pereira cujo principal são quatro centos mil reis e os juros que dos autos constem da qual execução pertensem sesenta mil reis ao tal asonario pelo premio de fazer [alo branca]

16v) *Partilha*

monte mor: 6,685,075

debts and expenses: 105,295

Liquido: 6,579,780

Feliciano Isabel Maria de Oliveira's inventory, 1782, caixa 74, auto 1569, 1st ofício, CS.

Taken by Domingos Coelho

Available online

1r) Inventario dos bens que ficarão por falecimento de Feliciano Maria de Oliveira casada que foy com o licenciado Domingos Coelho que faleceu sem TT.o em 24 de Janeiro de 1782

2r) *Titulo dos herdeiros*

D. Francisca Clara	22
Jose	19
João	18
Domingos	15
Antonio	13
Joquem (sic)	11
D. Anna	9
D. Maria	6
Lino que	2
D. Manoella	1 mes

Tr.o de Louvação

2v) Alferes Antonio Dias dos Anjos

Antonio Carvalho da Motta

3r) *Bens*

ouro em po outenta e duas oitavas	98,400
-----------------------------------	--------

Ouro Lavrado

um Caixilho de breve da marca com seu cordão tudo de ouro que tudo pesa vinte outavos e meya	28,700
--	--------

uma Senhora da Conceição com seu cordão que tudo pesa sete oitavas	9,800
Item dous pares de botois de ouro desmanadosa que pesão huma oitava e meya	2,100
Item huns botois emgrazados em 3v) em ouro que pesão sete oitavas e meya	9,800
um par de brincos de diamantes que pesão uma oitava e meya	3,300
um laço com seus brincos com suas pedras amatistas que pesão tres oitavas e meya	4,900
um laço com seus brincos com seus diamantes em ouro	60,000
um anel de ouro com sua pedra da Ititiaya	6,000

Prata

sete colheres e sete garfos de prata que pesão cento e secenta e oito oitavas	16,800
duas facas com seus cabos de prata	2,000
Um florete de prata	10,000

Estanho

vinte e tres pratos de estanho finos de guardanapos	6,900
seis ditos grandes finos	8,400
tres ditos de meya cozinha	2,700
dezasete ditos de guardanapo inferiors	2,400
4r) um jarro e bacia de estanho	1,200

Cobres

quatro taxos que pesarao seis arrobas pouco mais ou menos	86,400
um taxo grande de cobre que pesa dezasete libras	8,925
um dito velho	1,800
um funnel e hum ruminhol que pesão seis libras	2,250
um lambique (sic) de cobre com sua copella	100,000
um taxo de cobre que pesa doze libras	5,300
um dito que pesa quatro libras	1,800

Louça fina e grossa

sinco pires e sinco xicras da India	2,250
sinco pratos e sete tigelas de louça grossa	1,800
um prato de po de pedras	300

Escravos

Manoel de nasão Angolla 4v) 50	130,000
Isabel crioula mulher do dito 35	120,000

Ignacio crioulo filho dos ditos [8]	60,000
Belezandra crioulinha filha dos ditos 1	35,000
Vitorianno crioulo 26	135,000
Jeronemo crioulo 25	160,000
[Noruzo] crioulo 30	165,000
João de nação Angolla 30	165,000
Francisco crioulo 25	150,000
Simao de nação Banguella 25	130,000
Pedro crioulo 25	
5r)	130,000
João nação Rebollo 30	120,000
João de nação Banguella 40	130,000
Joaquim de nação Angolla 65	30,000
Francisco de nação Angolla 25	120,000
Manoel de nação Banguella 30	130,000
Domingos de nação Banguella 30	140,000
Jose crioulo com papo 40	80,000
Francisco de nação mina 60	50,000
Manoel de nação Banguella 30	135,000
Domingos de nação Rebollo 30	140,000
Domingos de nação Banguella	
5v) Banguella 60	70,000
Joze de nação Angolla 70	40,000
Caetano de nação Angolla 40	65,000
Jozefa crioula mulher do dito 23	105,000
Bernarda crioulinha filha dos ditos 1	36,000
Thome de nação Angolla com papo 30	130,000
Jose de nação Angolla 20	140,000
João de nação Coburda 30	165,000
Francisco de nação Banguella 55	120,000
Eugenia crioula mulher do dito 30	130,000
Manoel crioulo filho dos ditos 16	
6r)	125,000
[Emerenciana] crioula filha dos ditos 8	50,000
Manoel de nação Banguella 40	100,000
Micaella crioula 45	60,000
Jose de nação Angolla 50	100,000
Caetana crioula mulher do dito 40	100,000
Agostinho crioulo 30	140,000
Antonia crioula mulher do dito 30	125,000
Anacleto crioulo filho dos ditos 4	37,000

Jacinto crioulinho filho dos ditos 6 mezes	36,000
Manoel de nação Banguella 40 6v)	120,000
Maria crioula mulher do dito 35	120,000
Ifegenia crioula filha da dita 13	10,000 por ser muito doente
Isabel crioula filha dos ditos 12	75,000
Miguel crioulo filho dos ditos 10	80,000
Manoel crioulo filho dos ditos 6	50,000
Perpetua crioulinha filha dos ditos 3	40,000
Geminiana crioulinha filah dos ditos 2	40,000
Marco crioulinho filho dos ditos 6 mezes	35,000
Pedro de nação Angolla 40	100,000
Anna crioula mulher do dito 30	110,000
7r) Manoel crioulo filho dos ditos 18	115,000
Sebastiao crioulo filho dos ditos 13	60,000
[Gervalio] crioulo filho dos ditos 10	40,000
Sabina crioula filha dos ditos 7	40,000
Camilo crioulo filho dos ditos 3	35,000
Ventura de nação ganguella 50	100,000
Manoel de nação Angolla 26	120,000
Domingos de nação Angolla 25	130,000
Ventura crioulo [velho] 60	60,000
Roque de nação Benguella 40	160,000
7v) Roza crioula mulher do ditto 25	125,000
Maximiano crioulo filho dos ditos 5	45,000
Belchior de nação Banguella 30	135,000
Maria crioula mulher do ditto 30	110,000
Vitoria crioula filha dos ditos 10	70,000
Antonio crioulo [moso] 35	160,000
Ventura de nação Banguella 45	100,000
Anna crioula mulher do dito 25	110,000
Matheus de nação mina 70	12,000
Maria de nação Rebollo 40 8r)	40,000
Joanna crioula filha da dita 18	100,000
Cezilia crioula filha da dita Maria Rebolla 16	100,000
Placida crioula filha da mesma Maria Rebolla 7	60,000
Faustino crioulo filho da mesma Maria Rebollo 5	45,000
Joze de nação Cobú 60	40,000
Antonio de nação mina 60	10,000

Manoel de nação Banguella por alcunha o Coronel [80]	12,000
Joanna crioula 36	80,000
Manoel crioulo filho da dita 8	55,000
Vicente de nação Cobú 70 8v)	40,000
Luis de nação Cobú 60	40,000
Simao crioulo filho do dito 15	100,000
Sylverio crioulo 2	35,000
Antonio Rebollo 40	30,000
Thereza crioula 25	140,000
Francisco de nação Cabo verde 60	15,000
Caetana crioula 20	120,000
Domingos de nação Angolla 30	140,000
Francisca crioula 26	80,000
9r) Sebastiao de nação Angolla 40	115,000
Juliana crioula mulher do dito 25	120,000
Thomasia crioula 12	80,000
Manoel de nação Angolla 30	150,000
Antonio nação Cobunda 35	140,000
Apolinario crioulo 25	140,000
Maria Angelica mullata com molestia de [morfeo]	Pela sua incapacidade 0
Cristovao de nação mina muito velho	Pela sua incapacidade 0
Amaro de nação mina muito velho	Pela sua incapacidade 0
<i>Mais moveis</i>	
dous pegos que pesão uma arroba e des libras	6,300
uma corrente de ferro que pesa vinte e seis libras 9v)	3,900
tres collares que pesão sete libras	1,050
um marrao de ferro que pesa dezaseis libras	2,400
dous espingardas	7,200
um catre torneado	7,800
uma meza com sua gaveta	3,000
uma dita com duas gavetas	5,400
uma dita velha	900
um catre torneado	9,600

dous ditos mais inferiors	4,800
tres ditos lizos	4,500
um tear com seus lisos aparelado	5,400
dous espreguiseiros	3,600
uma mesa liza sem gaveta	1,200
quatro caixas	3,200
dous almarios	
10r)	4,800
dous estrados	2,400
um Bau de moscovia	6,000
quatro bancos	3,600
onze tamboretas	4,950
quatro bacias de arame	1,200
uma dita grande	1,800
uma dita de barba	450
uma balança de folha	900
uma balança de pesar ouro	1,650
tres sellas com todos seus pertences	26,400

Roupas

uma saya de velludo preto lavrado	2,400
uma saya de melania azul de lam	3,600
um sayote de galla carmezim uma cazaquinho de montar a cavallo do mesmo com vestia de seda amarella	
10v)	4,200
uma saya de galla preta	3,600
um vestido de mulher de seda branca com ramos muito usada	3,600
uma saya de seda muito velha	900
uma capa de dorguete cor de esponja bordada de setim novo	8,400
uma dita de Droguete Rey azul ja velho	1,200
um manto de seda em bom uso	7,200
um maquaquinho de seda amarella com uso	1,200
um mantoete de velludo preto lavrado com seu uso	1,200
um espartilho de seda com seu uso	1,500
uma sinta de estofo de lam com seu uso	1,200
Um maquaquinho de baeta	900
uma capa de baeta muito usada	1,200
uma coberta de cama de damasco de lam carmezim	4,050
uma colxa de damasco carmezim com forro de seda com seus babados com seu uso	
11r)	12,000
um chapau de Braga com seu uso	600

um vestido de Xita do Norte	3,600
dezanove lançois de algodao	11,400
dous lançois de esguiao com sua renda e seus fronhas do mesmo tudo com bastante uso	7,200
dous ditos de pano de Linho com com dous travesseiros	4,800
uma toalha de Cambraya com seu []	2,400
duas toalhas de algodao de agoa as maons	600
uma toalha de mesa de algodao com doze guardanapos em bom uso	4,800
outra dita com cinco guardanapos	3,000
duas toalhas de algodao grosso	1,800
tres toalhas de algodao de agua as maons	900

Ferramentas

vinte seis eixados [] 11v)	15,600
vinte sete foçeis	16,200
sete machados	4,200
uma Serro braçol um serrote	5,400
Outo [cascas] de Barris	2,400
Sinco alavancas tais e quais	8,000
Dezouto almocafres velhos	7,200
Onze canadeiras	4,800
Quatro martellos dous maiores e dous mais pequenos	1,650
Tres eixos	2,100
Quatro formais	1,500
Dous compasos	1,500
Tres serras duas maiores e uma mais pequena	2,200
Uma tenda de ferreiro que consta de Bigorna, folles, torna quatro martellos, duas [tunolos]	24,000

12r) Gado e Cavallos

Um cavallo russo pedres	14,400
Dous ditos russos pombos	48,000
Um dito castanho	24,000
Um dito Vayo	24,000
Tres bestas muares	52,800
Sete juntos de bois de carro [manças]	88,800
Tres vacas, tres novilhas, um jarrote, dous bezerros pequenos	27,600
Sincoenta cabeças de porcos entre grandes e pequenos	38,400
Uma roda de minerar com seu caixao e ferrages com seus pertences	125,000

Bens de Rais

uma fazenda de rosa [sofada] chamada o Fundão com sua caza metade coberta de telha metade coberta de capim com suas terras minerais aguas mitedas e pormeter com todos os seus pertences que parte com terras de Simão Tavares e com terras dos herdeiros de João Baptista Ferreira e do outra banda do Rio com terras de Quiteria Dias e pela parte debaixo com terras de Antonio Teixeira Civer e com quem mais deva e haja de partir	
12v)	600,000
uma fazenda de rosa com seu engenho paol (sic) de cana e de peloens com cazas de vivenda e cobertos de telha com seu moinho coberto de telha com seus senzallas cobertos de capim com suas terras [deptonta] de capoeiras e mattos virgens com suas [gerates] e Ponte com suas terras minerais aguas metidas e pormeter com sua rosa de milho na mesma rosa sita a mesma fazenda Rio asima da Piranga com todos os seus pertences que parte pela parte debaixo com terras do tenente Rodrigo Joze da Silva e com terras de Thomas Ferreira Braga e pela parte de sima com terras do capitão Joaquim Jose da Silva e com terras e de Ignacio Thereza de Jesus e correndo o Ribeirão da Pimenta asima parte com terras de Julião Jose da Viegas e com terras do Tenente Pedro da Fonseca Neves, e correndo pelo correjo de João Ferreira asima pelo lado esquerdo parte com terras do dito Tenente Rodrigo Jose da Silva e com terras do Alferes Antonio Dias dos Anjos	7,400,000
uma [pouca] de cana que se acha plantada na mesma rosa que se acha madura e pequena repartida em quarto quartéis	1,000,000

Devidos por Creditos

um credito feito e assignado pelo sargento mor Antonio Duarte porque se constituio devedor a elle inventariante viuvo cabeça de casal ou a quem lhe mostrase o mesmo credito da quantia de quatro centos mil reis [tem] um recibo nas costas por que consta receber a quantia de sincoenta e nove oitavas e quarto de ouro e se mostra ser o resto do mesmo credito da quantia de	328,900
um dito feito e assignado por Manoel Correia de Oliveira porque se 13r) se constituio devedor a elle inventariante ou o quem lhe mostrase o mesmo credito da quantia de quatrocentos mil reis a pagar para todos os vezes com os seus juros da ley athe [real] satisfação aqual credito declara elle inventariante fora pasado no anno de mil e setecentos e sincoenta e nove segundo a lembrança dele inventariante por estar o mesmo credito fora da casa	400,000 juros
uma execução que elle inventariante [fez] contra Dona Marianna Rosa Clara de Oliveira viuva e herdeiras (sic) do guardamor João Ferreira	

Almada [veja] execução he da quantia de sinco mil cruzados e tanto, o que da mesma constar por conta da qual tem recebido algumas parcellas de que tem pasado recibos o que dos mesmos constar

Cazas no Arrayal

uma morada de cazas de sobrado cobertos de telha sitas no Arrayal da Piranga com seu quintal, com duas mesas uma redonda e outra cumprida, dous bancos um grande e outro pequeno, uma guarda roupa e oito tamboretos torneados	347,600
um par de pistollas curtas	3,600

14r) *Bens*

Um xayrel, e [cappellados] de velludo azul bordados de ouro	30,000
Uma canoa grande	12,000

15v) Monte mor 20,302,925

16r) Divida 800,000

Monte liquido 19,502,925

Meação do viuvo 9,751,462

Meação da falesida 9,751,462

Cada herdeiro 975,146

Manoel Fernandes Quintão's inventory, 1790, caixa 503, AHSJDR.

Taken by Genoveva Theresa de Jesus

2v) *Filha*

Dona Maria Francisca Hermelinda de Jesus.....21

Bens

Prata

quatorze talheres de prata com o peso de trezentos e vinte oitavas	32,200
[sete] facas com cabo de prata	8,400
3r) uma caldeirinha de prata com peso de cento e vintequatro oitavas	12,400
quatrocentos e vinte e seis oitavas de pezo de prata velha em [esporas] e fivellas	42,600

Cobres

dois lambequis (sic) de Cobre com seus capellos com o peso de dezaseis arrobas	153,600
duas tachas de cobre com o peso de cinco arrobas	18,000

duas tachas de cobre com peso de Cquatro (sic) arrobas	38,400
um tacha grande de cobre e nove pequenos com o peso 3v) com o peso de quatorze arrobas e meia	43, 200

Moveis

duas bacias de arame	4,800
oito bacias de arame pequenas	1,200
dois almofarizes de Bronze	1,800
uma valança de livra	1,200
uma balança de quarta de pezar ouro	600

Louça

uma bacia com seu garro de [louça]	1,200
4r) uma bacia e jarro de estanho	1,000
vinte pratos de louça de guardanapo finas	3,000
quatro pratos finas grandes	1,800
doze sopeirinhas grossas pequenas e de qualidade ordenaria	1,300
cinco xicras com seus pires	1,125
des copos de vidro	1,800
um seleiro de vidro	600
um [Bule]	600
4v) um candieiro grande	6,000
sete pratos de estanho grandes	7,200
trinta e dois pratos de estanho razos	4,800

Ferramenta

uma pouca de taminda de carpenteira em que entra uma serra bractal opa	8,400
duas correntes de ferro com suas colares	4,800
duas arrobas de ferro velho	4,800
5r) seis [leva...s] de ferro velha	9,000
um martello e um [morrom]	3,600
duas bigornas pequenas tres martellas uma traques e um puxabande	7,462
trinta e seis fouces	21,600
des machados grandes e dois pequenos	8,400
cinco almocifres	225
quarenta e duas enxadas velhas	28,900
5v) tres sellas velhas com [seus] aparellos tudo usado	14,400
quatro espingardas velhas	9,600
um par de pistollas novas	3,600
dois pares de pistolas velhas	2,400
um par de xareis e [mano]	2,400

um sino pequeno	14,400
uma []	50,000
6r) uma tenda ferreiro com [seu] forno e outra perparas	60,000
cinco camas aparilhadas de todo o necessario	28,000
duas colxas de seda uma vermelha outra branca	20,000
um relógio de parede	38,400
tres gogos de Moendas brutas	24,000
quatro carros com dezaseis cangas	[31,200]
6v) uma Florete pequena de prata	10,000
um florete grande de prata	25,000
uma catana	1,800
setenta e hum carutribes	2,662
seis oitavas tres quartos e seis vintens de ouro maciço de ouro lavrado	10,300

7r) Gado vacuum e bestas

trinta e cinco bois de carro	140,000
sete ganotes	12,600
seis betallas	9,000
sete vacas duas das quais se acham com crias de leite	16,800
vinte bestas aliada com cangalhos	288,000
uma besta de sella muito velha e uma da [a...dorinha]	14,800
7v) um macho de sella ja velho	12,000
um macho de sella ja velho chamado orelha	12,000
uma [malla] de sella e uma do [carraceira]	30,000
um cavallo baio	14,400
um cavallo pintado	24,000
um potro pintado	12,000
[]	28,800
8r) dois maxinhos da mesma qualidade	19,200
sesenta cabeças de porcos na [temeio]	18,000

Escravos

um preto por nome [Jose] Rozado naçam banguella	70,000
uma crioula Joquina cazada com o dito asima	100,000
uma crioulinha do peito Rosalia filha dos ditos	25,000
8v) ... angolla	125,000
uma crioulla Eufrazia mulher do dito asima	100,000
um preto Antoio banguella	90,000
uma crioulla Anna cazada com o dito asima	60,000
um crioulllo Alexandre filho das ditas asima	90,000
um preto Joam rebollo	90,000

...	70,000
9r) um crioulo Pedro filho das ditas asima	60,000
um preto Manoel [poge]	50,000
uma crioulla Maria mulher do dito asima	80,000
um preto Domingos de naçam congo	45,000
uma crioulla Andrea mulher do dito	60,000
um preto Manoel casange	120,000
9v) Marianna ...[de naçam banguella] mulher do dito	90,000
preto Antonio angolla [p...relho]	25,000
um crioulo Germano	120,000
crioulo Jose	20,000
preto Manoel correiro	120,000
preto Gonçallo congo	50,000
preto Domingos de naçam banguella	120,000
10r) Joam naçam monjolla	80,000
preto Manoel naçam banguella	80,000
Joaquim naçam banguella	100,000
Joam naçam banguella	55,000
Joaquim banguella sapateiro	135,000
Pedro naçam angolla	60,000
10v) Antonio [varella]	120,000
Joam congo	40,000
Jose naçam banguella	90,000
Antonio naçam congo	50,000
Joam naçam banguella	120,000
Francisco banguella	40,000
...de nação banguella	50,000
11r) Manoel naçam congo	40,000
Belxior naçam banguella	50,000
Manoel naçam banguella ja velho	30,000
Joam mocasso	50,000
um preto por nome de naçam congo	120,000
Jose reboclo	...
11v) Joam da Silva	20,000
Ignacio naçam reboclo	30,000
Francisco naçam banguella	100,000
Manoel da Rego Banguella	130,000
Domingos banguella pequeno	125,000
Leandro crioulo	125,000
12r) Jose naçam ...	125,000
Bras crioulo	90,000

Isidoro crioulo	70,000
Manoel Alves	150,000
Manoel Antonio pardo	130,000
mulato Seutino	150,000
crioulla Rosa	...
12v) Domingos naçam angolla	40,000
Maria Ignacia	80,000
crioulla Marta	70,000
crioulla Siveria	25,000
crioulla Bebiamra	60,000
Anna banguella cazada com Domingos forro	50,000
um escravo Domingos [ca...pina] cazada....	90,000
13r) Thomas reboclo	80,000
Joam macongano	50,000
crioulla Vicencia	120,000
mulata Catherina	120,000
Antonio telelam	125,000

13v) *Bens de raiz*

uma fazenda chamada o Ingenho Debaixo que se compoem de terras de cultura com cazas do dito ingenho suporta que de [molhadas] o que se compoem de matos que parte com [] fazenda da Fundam e com a do alferes Felipe Duarte com a dos herdeiros do falecido Sebastiam Ferreira Machado e com quem mais deva e haja de partir	1,200,000
na dita fazenda do Ingenho Debaixo vinte e duas datas de terras minerais no rio da Piranga	400,000
mais esta fazenda chamada o Fundam que se compoem de cazas de vivenda cazas de ingenho de cana e farinha com todos os seus parparos cenxalas payois cazas de despezas cazas de garapas porais de guardar agua ardente terras de planta e matos virgens capoeiras e seus cagradeiras com todos os moveis de caza que parte com Miguel Cardoso o guarda mor Francisco Vieira Antonio Dias Ferreira Christovam Dias e com o alferes Felipe Gularte e com quem mais deva e haja partir e comfrontar	6,400,000
nesta mesma fazenda chamada o Fundam uns [sateillos] de terras minerais comprehendidas no mesmo rio da Itabirava que se compoem de trezentos e noventa datas	1,200,000
um canaviao de cana	1,600,000
uma morada de cazas citas no arrayal de catas altas citas de frente da capella de Sam Goncallo de sobrado que partem de huma banda com cazas de Domingos Pereira e da outra com cazas do falecido Francisco Pereira de Queiros	300,000

uma morada de cazas citas no arrayal da Noroega cobertas de telha com seu quintal com arvores de espinho que partem de huma banda com cazas de Jose Teixeira e da outra banda com a rua	100,000
14v) umas terras ou [cha...aris] que se compraram ao alferes Joam Martins Pedro citas no dito arrayal da Noroega	48,000
uma morada de cazas citas no arrayal de Santa Rita no caminho de Villa Rica em que he socio com o guardamor Francisco Vieira em igual parte para comodidade das tropas quando vem a dita villa	Metade do cazal 72,000
seis mil alqueires de milho na payol	800,000
cincoenta cascas de [barris]	15,000
noventa e oito Ba....	8,000
15r) dois quartos e uma baranda tudo feita de pedra e coberta de telha que mandou fazer a doto seu marido no arrayal da Passagem do Ouro Branco dentro do temira das cazas do patrimonio do reverendo padre Thome Fernandes Quintam	60,000
<i>Dividas que d.e o cazal</i>	
Cabeca de cazal devera o mesmo ao alferes Joam Martins Pedro testamenteiro do capitam Joam Teixeira de Miranda	[2,556,320]
15v) dever ao mesmo capitam Pedro Alves Rodrigues em tres de Novembro de mil setecentos e oitenta e dois reis e com juros	[...9,154]
ao guardamor Francisco Vieira da Silva que corre juros quatrocentos	731,826
licenciado Jose dos Santos [Correia]	[...46,255]
16r) licenciado Jose dos Santos	213,208
Jose dos Santos	44,400
Euzebio Jose Rodrigues Veves procedidas de fazenda	45,225
Bento Manoel Martins por creditos de comprestimo e fazenda	192,637
ao contratador Joam Rodrigues de Macido	222,000
16v) capitam Luis Rodrigues Milagres	100,847
ao contratador dos dizimos o tenente coronel Manoel Teixeira de Quiraga	200,000
ao capitam Antonio Francisco Guimaraens	74,400
Manoel Jose de Magalhaes	249,775
17r) Luis Gamacrus	138,600
Francisco de Novais Barros parte obrigar pella testamentaria de Sebastiam Ferreira Machado	137,920
o mesmo a testamenteira do falecido padre Manoel []	220,271
a Carlos Rodrigues de Oliveira de parte de sua venda	41,962
Manoel [Patrilla] Baneta ... de fazenda sua	45,350
Jose de Souza Leal de efeitos que lhe comprou	23,475
ao feitor Manoel Francisco que anda com a tropa	60,075
reverendo Luis Teixeira Coelho de	[24,600]

17v) Joam Teixeira Chaves de emprestimo	307,425
Manoel da Silva procedidas de alugueis de Escravos	115,537 1/2
Manoel Ferreira Campos precedida de [ritodidais] negras	226,000
Diogo Pedreiro de obras de seu officio	81,300
capitam Manoel [Sou] Correia parte lhe obrigar pella testamentaria de Sebastiam Ferreira Machado	130,200
Jeronima [Valeiro]	6,150
Joam Baptista Valeiro	13,800
18r)... declara a mesma irmandade do Santissima Sacramento do arrayal de Catas Altas ... recebido do tenente Antonio Pereira da	209,307
a irmandade da senhora Santa Anna de Catas Altas	5,400
Antonio Jose Mendes ... de emprestema	237,188

18v) *Dividas que se devem ao casal*

padre Luis Duarte Coelho por dois creditos	72,180
reverendo padre mestre Honorio Fidelis de Oliveira por hum credito	125,025
Manoel de Freitas de Araujo por hum credito	23,400
viuva e herdeiros do falecido Jose Coelho	100,000
coronel Jose Pereira Lima Velaceo por credito	300,000
testamentaria do falecido Sebastiam Pereira Machado	471,368

Testament, taken September 5, 1789

21v) ...Declaro que sou natural e baptizado na freguesia de Santo Andre de [camdella] bispado do Porto filho legitimo de Manoel Fernandes Quintam e de Maria Francisca Pedra ja falecidos.

Declaro que sou cazado em legitimo matrimonio com donna Genovefa Theresa de Jesus de cuja matrimonio temos huma filha por nome donna Maria Francisca Ermelinda de Jesus a qual nomeo e instituo por minha universal herdeira das duas partes da meaçam que posuemos eu e minha consorte e peço e rogo em primeiro lugar a minha mulher donna Genovefa Theresa de Jesus a qual pello conhecimento que tenho de sua capadidade de sua inteligencia [erello] na adiministracoem dos bens de nosso cazal nomeo tutora da dita minha filha, e em segundo lugar a minha filha e herdeira donna Maria Francisca Ermelinda de Jesus em terceiro lugar a meu Irmão reverendo Thome Fernandes Quintam que por serviso de Deos [] por me fazerem [merce] queiram ser meus testamenteiros ...

Declaro que meu corpo sera sepultado na capella de Sam Goncallo de Catas Altas filial da matriz e

22r) freguesia de Santo Antonio da Itaverava donde sou fregues amortalhado em o habito da ordem terceira da Senhora do Monte do Carmo da qual sou irmam profeso acompanhado pello meu reverendo parochio e por todos os mais sacerdotes que se acharem os quais todos me direm missa de corpo presente de esmolla de huma oitava

...

Declaro que me acompanharem tambem a irmandade do Santissima Sacramento de Santa Anna dom Goncallo e a ordem terceira da Senhora do Carmo das quais sou irmam.

...Declaro que os reverendos que asistirem a o meo funeral deram cada um vinte missas pella minha alma de esmolla ordinaria dentro em trinta dias as quais fazem certo o reverendo parochio para este em concluir estes sufragios na certedam do funeral.

Declaro que os bens que possuo he huma fazenda [] chamada a Fundam que parte pella [frente] com Miguel [Cordeiro] donna

22v) donna Joanna da Silva e tenente Antonio Gonçalves da Costa guardamor Francisco Vieira, Antonio Dias Ferreira, pello sul com o patrimonio de Nossa Senhora da Conceicam com o alferes Felipe Gonçalves Gualarte pella Noroega asima com Joam da Silva ...consta de ingenhos terras de culturas e minerais tudo por titullos escravos bestas bois e os mais pertences e fignalmente tudo o que por minha morte se achar com o nome de ...

Declaro que devo algumas dividas.....

23r) ...Deixo a minhas sobrinhas filhas de meu irmam Jose Fernandes Quintão ja defunto que sam tres cujos nomes Ignoro moradoras na freguesia da minha naturalidade cento e cincoenta mil reis cincoenta mil reis cada huma com a condiçam que se alguma dellas for falecida porçam respetiva se dara aos seus herdeiros legitimos e na falta destes se devidira pellas que existirem.

Deixo cento e cincoenta mil reis para algum empenho que tenha a caza dos falecidos meus pais em Portugal os quais seram remetidos a entregar a meu parente Manoel Domingues Beça ou a quem tivera admenistraçam da caza e para a conta que

23v) ...testamenteiro da saber façam destes dois ligados lhe bastara recibo do capitam da Nau em que o remetio sem mais alguma obrigaçam...testamenteiro destribuiria em sufragio de orfoens neceditados duzentos mil reis.

Declaro que tenho em minha caza um inquitado por nome Thomas como tambem hum menino por nome Lino filho do falecido licenciado Domingos Coelho os quais he minha vontade que se ordenem o meu testamenteiro lhe asistira com metade das despesas percizas exeito do patrimonio para o Lino ceito que he vontade de minha mulher asistir lhe com outra metade das dispesas da sua fazenda.

Deixo a meu afilhado Antonio Gomes filho do falecido Manoel Gomes Nunes e de sua mulher Maria Garcia de Jesus cem mil reis para ajuda de se ordenar.

Deixo a donna Anna Ermena filha do falecido licenciado Domingos Coelho da freguesia de Piranga cem mil reis.

Deixo a donna Francisca Marianna Rosa [C...ertina] filha do falecido guardamor Joam Ferreira Almada e de sua mulher donna Maria (sic) Rosa Clara cem mil reis.

Deixo a irmandade do Santissima Sacramento da matriz da Itaverava cincoenta mil reis.

Deixo para ajuda da acampada do Santissimo Sacramento da capella de Sam Gonçallo de Catas Altas cincoenta mil reis.

Deixo para ornato da capella de Sam Francisco de Catas Altas vinte e cinco mil reis.

Deixo para ornato da... Nosa Senhora da Conceição
 24r) da Conceiçam da Noroega cem mil reis.
 Deixo a irmandade de Sam Gonçallo de Catas Altas vinte mil reis.
 Deixo a irmandade de Santa Anna vinte mil reis.
 Deixo para a irmandade da Senhora do Rosario vinte mil reis.
 Deixo a Theodora exposta em minha caza cem mil reis.
 Declaro que entre os bens e escravos que possuo he hum por nome Domingos carapina a qual deixo forro pellas bons servicos que delle tenho recebido meu testamenteiro lhe assinará sua carta de alforria.
 Deixa a huma inquitida que tenho em caza por nome Francisca coarenta mil reis.
 Deixo a Joam Bonifacio filho de Joam Duarte Pinto e de sua mulher Sebastianna Maria de Jesus cem mil reis.
 Declaro que meu testamenteiro entregara ao reverendo vigario Joam Ferreria de Souza cem oitavas de ouro para certos dispozições que ao mesmo comoniquei.
 Declaro que o que restar de minha terça nomeio e instituo minha filha herdeira donna Maria Hermelinda de Jesus.
 Declaro que deixo ao testamenteiro que aceitar a disposiçam desta minha testamentaria quatrocentos mil reis e todo a dispeza que fizer para cumprir com as minhas dispozições alem ordenarias como extraordinarias seram tiradas de minha fazenda lhe concido para cumprir este meu testamento o tempo de oito annos
 24v) written by alferes Jose Joaquim Rodrigues
 25v) testemunhas presentes o reverendo vigario Joam Perreira de Souza, reverendo tenente coronel Jorge Duarte Pacheco, licenciado Thomas da Villa Nova Pereira da Silva, Eucebio Jose Rodrigues Neves

33v) monte 20,255,547
 dividas custas e funeral 7,890,070
 liquido 12,365,477

Manoel Correia de Oliveira's Testament, 1798, rol de testamentos 45, f. 132, 1st ofício, CS.

Taken by Antonio Machado Lima

132r) *registro do testamento com q faleceu Manoel Correia de Oliveira de quem he testador João Duarte Pinto*
 ...mil settecentos e noventa e quatro aos dezaseis dias do mes de setembro nesta fazenda do corrego de santo antonio em cazas de minha residencia ...
 Declaro q sou filho legitimo de Manoel Simoens, e de Francisca de Oliveira, ja falecidos nacido e baptisado na freguesia da cidade de Marianna então Villa do Ribeirão do Carmo nunca fui cazado presentemente tenho duas filhas huma por nome Vicencia e outra por nome Joanna ambas ja casadas aquella com Jose Per.a

132v) Per.a da Silva esta com João de Freitas e as ditas minhas duas filhas habelito, declaro instituo e nomeio por minhas universais herdeiras nos bens q ficarem pagas todas minhas dividas.

Declaro q o meu corpo sera amortalhado no habito de Terceiro da veneravel ordem de Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo onde sou Irmão professo na cidade de Marianna e sepultado na Igreja ou capella da mesma ordem sendo acompanhado pello r.do parcho e por todos os mais reverendos sacerdotes q por sua devoção, e caridade o quiserem fazer pello amor de Deos as quaes derão nese dia ou no seguinte huma misa pella minha alma de esmolla de meia oitava de ouro e a cada hum dos r.dos sacerdotes se dara uma de meia libra q acompanharem o meu corpo a sepultura.

Instituo e nomeio p.a meus testamenteiros em primeiro lugar ao capitão Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho em segundo lugar ao Tenente Jose da Cunha Osorio em terceiro lugar o meu sobrinho João Duarte Pinto, em quarto lugar a João de Alfonseca Silva em quinto lugar a meu genro Jose Per.a da S.a em Sexto Lugar a minha veneravel ordem Terceira

...

Declaro q a maior parte das minhas dividas se acham em execução e correm juros e outras dividas constão da lista ou rol por mim asignado...

Declaro q meus testamenteiros nao serão obrigados a dar contas das dispozições do mesmo no espaço de oito annos q lhe concedo;...

133r) ... testador Antonio Machado Lima...

... testamunhas presentes Francisco de Paula de Oliveira e Silva, Manoel Ramos da Silva, o Tenente Narciso Gomes Carneiro, Joaquim Coelho de Oliveira Duarte, serafim Affonço do Rego...

133v) ...não poso aceitar o comprimento dos despozições deste testamento por emconvinientes q tenho i por iso faço esta so por mim asignado hoje cid.e 28 de fevereiro de 1798. Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho=Dezisto do testamento q não poso por cauza das m.as molestias e inconvinientes q tenho por asim ter ser verdade faço esta disistencia ribeirão de santo antonio [13] de Marco de 1798 annos ...

Manoel Correia de Oliveira's Inventory, 1798, caixa 95, auto 2035, 2nd officio, CS.
Taken by João Duarte Pinto

Louvados

João Martins da Cunha

Joaquim de Souza Pinto

Descrição de bens moveis

quatro machados	3,000
sete foices	5,250
duas foices	900
nove enxadas	4,050
quatro [almocatras]	1,800

duas cavadeiras	900
duas alabancas	2,400
duas correntes de ferro com um collar	2,400
duas [enxoi] uma direita uma [giva]	900
um compaço	300
tres formoens direitos	600
um martello de unha	600
duas juntouras	600
um [tornada meia cana]	200
tres travadeiras	150
um compaço de pao	150
um plumo um graminho, dois esquadros e dezempenos	150
tres trados	2,000
um cerrote	2,400
uma cerra braçal	3,000
uma dita de mam	450
duas [cuntres] de ferro	375
duas torquilhas ao reda	600
onze libras de ferro velho	1,650
uma colher ao [reobcer]	150
uma rebollo de amollar	2,400
um pizão	450
um alicate	300
um almofaris com [resaman]	800
um facão de cozinha	300
uma bigorna que peza cincoenta e nove libras	17,700
dois [mulhos] e hum martello	2,400
dois [fornos] de olvados uma telhadeira	450
duas [tinares]	1,800
[bomba lisa ferro]	300
um forno de limar	8,000
uns folles	8,000
tachinho de cobre de suar virro	300
um mortello de atarracar ferraduras	1,200
um dito de atarracar cravo	600
um puxaovante	600
dois ponteiros	300
duas [aligras] e um saco	300
um mortello e uma torcur de terras	900
uma bigorna de cincoenta sette libras de peso	17,100
uma tezoira de [aparar clines]	450

dois tachos de cobre, duas chocolateiras, um coco, uma bacia de forno de peso trinta e tres libras e um quarto	9,900
tres bacias de arame velhas, sette libras de pezo e quatro vintens	1,050
cinco candeiras, duas de ferro, e tres de folha	750
um candeira de folha	300
vinte e duas libras de estanho velho em pratos, e bacia	3,375
sette pratos de Loiça fina	3,150
um bulle de loiça fina	225
duas tigellas finas com tampas	1,200
uma dita maior	900
chicaras [de] azas com seus pires	1,800
cinco ditas e um pires	1,125
um copo de vidro de beber aqua	450
dois ditos pequenos	225
dois ditos de calix	450
tres galhetas de vidro, uma sem aza	750
cinco garrafas	750
duas vintoras de vidro	300
des vidros de botica	1,500
um [boute] de pinho	450
uma terimpe de ferro e espeto di ferro que peção cinco libras de pezo	750
uma balança de folha	600
um dita de gancho com tres pezos pequenos	1,500
um sinete de marfim com cabo de prata	1,200
uma veste de seda bordada de prata	2,400
um vestido preto de finiza inteiro	4,800
uma cazaca velha de [panno] azul	1,200
quatro Lenções de algodão	3,000
uma toalha velha e seis guardanapos	600
cinco fronhas, tres pequenos e duas grandes	300
seis traveceiros, tres grandes e tres pequenos	300
um par de exporas de latão botas	300
uma balança de libra com seu marco	900
uma dita de meia libra com seu marco	900
uma dita de meia quarta sem marco	450
uma colxa de algodão	600
um par de chinellas de marroquim	150
um enxergão	900
uma caixa grande	4,800
duas caixas de vestidos	3,600
quatro moxos	900

uma gamilla grande	450
dois carros	8,400
madeiras que se tirarão para consertar o engenho	14,400
uma junta de boys de carro	14,400
vaca com huma bezerra	4,800
trastes da [vinda]	7,425
secenta e nove oitavas de prata	6,900
cavallo bayo	12,000
um dito manco	4,000
uma [epea] velha	2,000
um maxo	20,000
uma tezoira	150
um escravo de nome [Chen..r...] crioulo	35,000
Joam angola	10,000
Manoel angola	10,000
Gaspar agola	20,000
Antonio crioulo	120,000
Joze crioulo	60,000
Valentim crioulo	130,000
Manoel crioulo	100,000
Joam crioulo	140,000
Dezidirio	120,000
Adam crioulo	50,000
Mauricio crioulo	120,000
[Painlho] crioulo	80,000
Joam angola	20,000
Ignacio mina	10,000
Maria crioula	50,000
Feliciano crioula	100,000
[Pnuiana] crioula	80,000
Maria cabra	110,000
Joze mulato	60,000
[Nuncia] crioula	10,000
Manoel mulato	100,000
um Misal novo	10,000
alva, e amicto	4,000
cazula, cordão, estolla, pala, e corporal	10,000
tres toalhas de altar	4,000
uma estante	300
um par de galhetas de estanho	600
uma campainha	225

um forno de cobre que peza quarenta e nove libras	14,700
duas Cesmarias com cazas de vivenda, dois moinhos, engenhos de piloens e mandioca, senzalas, paios, caza de carapinteria, chiqueiros tudo coberta de telha, horta, bananas, arvores de espinho, terras minerais, constantes de titelos, regos, aguas mitidas, trastes de caza que sam sette catres, tres almarios, cinco bancos, tres mezas, quatro caixõens de mantimentos, duas canoas grandes de [coarfobas], um tronco ferrado e fechado, huma hermidia com seu sino, cinco veladores, uma caza de negocio na estrada asoalhada, e coberta de telha	2,800,000
umas lavras no ribeirão do Bacalhão, ja lavrados com capoeiras, satadas, em que ha sociedade de Donna Anna Maria de Jezus	100,000

Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho's inventory, 1807, caixa 53, auto 1202, 2nd officio, CS.
Taken by Angelica Amatilde Eufrazia de São Joaquim

capitão Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho casado que foi com Dona Angelica Matildes de São Joaquim que faleceu com testamento em 1 de julho de 1807.

Titulo de herdeiros

Padre Jose Vinuncio	29
Anna	28
Alferes Jose Ribeiro	26
Luis Gonzaga	25
Sebastiana	24
Maria	23
Francisco.....	20

Louvados

Capitão João Caetano de Almeida Cardozo
João Goncalves Gomide

Descrição dos Bens

declarou ella viuva inventariante que por falecimento do dito seu marido lhe não ficarão ouro algum em po em barra e somente os bens seguintes	
duzia de colheres com seus garfos e facas com cabos de prata com o pezo de seiscentos e vinte oitavas	62,000
uma salva grande de prata com o pezo de tres libras	38,400
uma caldeirinha de prata com sua corrente com o pezo de cento e sesenta oitavas	16,000
um par de fivellas de çapatos e outra de calção tudo de prata com o pezo de trinta e oito oitavas	3,800

um taixo de cobre com o pezo de trinta libras	11,250
outro taixo de cobre com o pezo de nove libras	3,375
um almofares de bronze com o pezo de seis libras	2,400
um taixo de cobre com pezo de des libras	3,750
outro taixo de cobre com pezo de vinte nove libras	12,875
outro taixo de cobre com o pezo de vinte sete libras	10,312
outro taixo de cobre com o pezo de vinte quatro libras	9,281
uma bacia de cobre com o pezo de doze libras	4,677
um forno de cobre com o pezo de vinte quatro libras	14,400
dois jarros com suas bacias de estanho com o pezo de quarenta e duas libras	6,300
seis pratos de estanho de meia cozinha usados com o pezo de doze libras	1,837
doze pratos ditos razos pequenos com o pezo de nove libras e meia	1,687
oito pratos de louça fina da India grandes	9,600
sinco ditos de louça do Porto grandes	2,400
uma duzia de chiearas da India com seus pires	3,000
quatro copos de vidro pequenos	450
um par de galhetas de vidro	300
sinco calix de vidro	750
tres bules de louça da India	1,900
um par de galhetas de louça do Porto	300
tres soupeiras de louça da India pequenos	1,500
uma doceira de vidro	600
uma soupeira grande de louça da India	1,200
uma mantegaira de louça da India	450
uma soupeira pequena de louça da India	600
des garrafas de vidro preto	3,000
uma farda de pano azul agaluada	10,000
uma cazaca de Belbute	6,000
outra dita preta nova	11,000
outra dita de Brilhante de seda antiga	3,000
outra cazaca de pano rouxo com seu jaleco	3,000
um par de calções e jaleco de setim preto	1,200
um par de calção e jaleco de Brilhante de seda antiga	900
um chapeo fino agaluado	3,000
uma espadinha de prata dourada com seu [feil]	8,000
uma meza redonda com pes tornados de madeira branca	1,200
outra dita redonda torniada de jacaranda	2,000
outra dita redonda de madeira branca torniada	1,600
uma dita grande de madeira branca com pes de jacaranda	2,400

outra dita redonda moderna	3,000
duas ditas lizas de madeira branca	2,000
uma dita liza com guarnição e pes de jacaranda preto	1,600
uma dita de pes de jacaranda torneado com suas gavetas	2,400
outra dita grande de madeira branca com suas gavetas e mulduras de jacaranda vermelho	1,800
dous caixões grandes com suas fechaduras	5,000
um dito grande sem feixadura	2,000
outro dito pequeno com feixadura	1,800
um armario grande	1,200
outro dito com suas gavetas e chaves com guarniçõens de jacaranda	3,600
uma comoda de madeira branca com suas gavetas sem feixaduras	9,600
sinco baus de moscovia com sua pregaria amarella usados	8,000
tres caixas grandes com feixaduras e suas guarniçõens de jacaranda	5,000
uma dita grande liza com feixadura	600
tres catres de jacaranda [ineto] torniados ja antigos	12,000
um dito muito grande de jacaranda torniado	6,000
tres prigueceiros de pes de jacaranda torniado com cabeceiras lavradas	6,000
dous ditos lizos com pes de jacaranda usados	2,600
seis cadeiras de encosto de jacaranda com suas almofadas de riso antigos	5,600
seis cadeiras de campainha de sola lavrada	5,000
seis ditas de couro cru de encosto torniadas	1,400
dezaseis tamboretos de jacaranda torniado com suas almofadas de riso	2,800
seis ditos cubertos de couro cru	900
uma poltrona de pes de jacaranda torniado	2,000

Ferros

nove enxados	8,000
des fouces em bom uso	10,000
sinco machados	6,000
uma eixo	600
uma Serra braçal usada e uma de mão	3,600
tres martelos grandes	1,200
duas [pegas] de ferro	5,400
quatro correntes de ferro duas caiores e duas pequenos	12,000
humazula ja usada	2,000
uma alva duas toalhas de altar singulo e amito usados	1,400
um misal usado	2,000
um calix e patena de prata	10,000
uma imagem da Senhora das Dores colocada em uma custodia de madeira com suas mulduras toda dourada	12,000

quatro imagens huma do Senhor crucificado, outra da Senhora da Conceição outra de Santa Anna e outra de Santo Antonio	1,800
uma pedra de [Ara]	2,400
um sino pequeno	16,000
dois candeleros grandes de latão em bom uso	6,000
outro dito pequeno usado	1,800
um jarro de louça fina da India com sua bacia	8,000
uma duzia de pratos de guardanapos da india	3,600
outra duzia ditos de po de pedra	2,400
sinco pratos de louça da India desirmanados	900
treze pratos de louça po de pedra desirmanados	1,800
uma terrina de louça do Porto com seu prato	2,100
outra terrina de louça da India fina	3,000

Escravos

Antonio congo 35 annos	120,000
Francisco crioulo 35 annos	120,000
Valentim crioulo 34 annos	140,000
Martinho cabra 20 annos	130,000
Angelo crioulo 18 annos	130,000
Caetano crioulo 10 annos	90,000
Fermiano crioulo 8 annos	89,000
Felipe crioulo 7 annos	76,000
Bernardino crioulo 10 annos	89,000
Patricio de nação angola 30 annos	130,000
	morto
Antonio angola 16 annos	140,000
	fugido
Jose Camoete de nação angola 35 annos	140,000
Jose Tores de nação mina 64 annos	70,000
Theodoro de nação mina 38 annos	110,000
Jose Guandu de nação angola 40 annos	110,000
Jacinto angolla 38 annos	140,000
Francisco Cazaquinha 33 annos	60,000
João de nação angola	140,000
João Vermelho de nação angola 50 annos	95,000
	fugido
Pedro de nação angola 49 annos	100,000
	fugido
Domingos Calandara angola 60 annos	80,000
	[rentatado]
Jose de nação rebolo 42 annos	130,000

	morto
Francisco catanga 40 annos	110,000
Miguel de nação angola 40 annos	130,000
Manoel pardo 40 annos	110,000
Dorothea crioula 50 annos	60,000
Jacinta crioula 41 annos	80,000
Cezilia de nação angola	80,000
Esmeria parda 30 annos	130,000
Francisca parda 12 annos	130,000
Maria crioula 16 annos	120,000
Benta crioula 14 annos	120,000
Maria do Carmo crioula 12 annos	120,000
Maria crioula 6 annos	70,000
Bras crioulo 3 annos	15,000
Matheus velho	0
Antonio Catanliou mina	0
sinco bestas arreados com cangalhas e [bmacas]	125,000
duas moradas de cazas terreas cubertas de telha citas na rua da intendencia desta cidade de frente da sachristia da Sé que partem com cazas do capitão Francisco de Paulo de Oliveira e Silva e com os do falecido capitão Felipe da Silva e Mello	300,000
uma morada de cazas de sobrado citas no arraial da passagem	300,000
umas lavras citas no mesmo arraial da passagem que tem sociedade com os herdeiros do sargento mor Antonio Duarte Pinto (sic)	1,000,000
outra lavra cita no correjo do mataballos em que tem sociedade com os mesmos herdeiros	600,000
outra lavra cita no morro de Santo Antonio em que ha sociedade com os mesmos socios	200,000
uma fazenda nos suburbios desta cidade denominada a Olaria com cazas de vivenda de sobrado cubertas de telha terras mineraes matos capoeiras olaria de fazer telha	1,200,000
outra fazenda que tem mais de sesmaria com cazas de vivenda minho terras de planta matos virgems e capoeira que partem com terras do capitão Francisco Bandeira com os de Manoel Mendes e com a fazenda denominada Santo Antonio cita no coqueiro	1,200,000
outra fazenda denominada Santo Antonio [] referida cita no coqueiro freguesia da Piranga que partem com terras do capitão Francisco Bandeira e com as do capitão Francisco Caetano	400,000
outra fazenda cita em Santa Rita do Turno com paiol e muinho com duas sesmarias unidas de terras de planta mattos virgems e capoeiras que partem com terras dos herdeiros de Paulo Rodriguez e com as dos herdeiros de Manoel Antonio	1,000,000

uma lavra cita nos suburbios desta cidade em que são socios o vigario Jose Alvares alias Antonio Mendes o capitão João Caetano de Almeida Cardoso o ajudante João Gonçalves Gomides e Thomas Gonçalves Gomides com todos os seus pertenses quais roda engenho e ferramenta carros e bois	5,600,000
um escravo de nome alixandre crioulo alfaiate quartado pelo falecido em treze de outubro de mil oitocentos e dous pelo tempo de sinco annos e não pagando no dito tempo ser reduzido a captureiro sendo a quantia de duzentos e sincoenta mil reis e tem um recibo pasado pelo falecido em treze de outubro de mil oitocentos e dois da quantia de sesenta mil reis e apresentou o mesmo quartado mais doze recibos pasados em vida do testador que formão setenta e nove mil setecento e quarenta e nove mil setecentos e vinte sinco reis	100,275
declarou que o herdeiro padre Joze Ribeiro em patrimonio o escravo Jose Canivete em cento e quarenta mil reis do escravo Caetano crioulo em noventa mil reis e uma morado de cazas na passagem ja descriptas neste inventario em trezentos mil reis	
deve o herdeiro João ao cazal	150,000

Traslado do testamento do capitão Jose Ribeiro de Carvalho

Declaro que sou natural do reino de Portugal esposto na Santa Caza da Misericordia da cidade do Porto baptizado na igreja cathedral da mesma.

Declaro que sou cazado a face da igreja com Dona Angelica Matildes Eufrazia de São Joaquim de cujo matrimonio tivemos oito filhos destes existem vivas o padre Jose Vinuncio Ribeiro, Luis Ribeiro, Franseiso Ribeiro, Dona Anna, Dona Sebastiana e Dona Maria, os quais instituo meus universais herdeiros ...

...em primeiro lugar a dita minha mulher a senhora Dona Angelica Matildes queria ser tutora dos nossos filhos por conhecer nella toda a capacidade de ajudecar reger e zellar seus bens ...em segundo lugar ao senhor reverendo padre João Ferreira Almada e em terceiro lugar a meus filhos o padre Joze Venuncio, João Ribeiro, Luis Ribeiro os quaes todos tres serão in juizo hum só ...

Declaro que sou indigno Irmão terceiro da veneravel ordem de meu patriarca São Francisco desta cidade e falecendo nesta freguesia da cathedral quero ser sepultado na capela da mesma ordem e sendo o meu falecimento fora desta freguezia na capella ou matriz mais vizinha e quero que o meu corpo seja involto no habito da mesma ordem conduzido pelos meus cressimos irmãos terceiros acompanhado pelo meu reverendo parocho reverendo começario e mais doze sacerdotes com as irmandades de que sou irmão as quaes se pagarão os annuaes que eu dever apresentando certidão de terem satisfeitos os sufragios ou misas que mandar os comprimisos e estatutos e se dará a cera precisa aos reverendos sacerdotes de sobrepelis e cruz e se me derão pela minha alma trinta missas de corpo presente de esmolla de oitava quinze na cathedral e outras quinze na capella da veneravel ordem terceira de São Francisco para o que se por a Pauta em huma outra igreja.

Quero que dentro dezoito dias depois do meu enterro se mandem celebrar por minha alma sincoenta misas de esmolla de meia oitava a saber vinte sinco na capella dos terceiros de São Francisco em altar privilegiado para o que se por a pauta em huma outra parte para se dizerem susificamante.

Meu testamenteiro o mandara dizer des missas pelas almas dos meus escravos des pelas almas dos meus defuntos amigos e de todos aquelles com quem teve contas e des pelas almas do prugatorio e outras des pelas almas dos que murrerão ce devar a todos de esmolos de meia oitava. Declaro que os bens que posuo e pertencem ao cazal constão de rossas lavras escravos cazas e tudo que constar ser meu ao tempo do meu falecimento e destes pagas as dividas do cazal do liquido qe tocar a minha meação satisfeitos as meus ligados e despozado meu funeral de minha terça o [premanventes] desta instituto por herdeiros as minhas tres filhas asima declarados Anna Sebastianna e Maria.

.... por fermeza de tudo roguei ao reverendo conego Antonio Duarte Pinto este por mim fizese...

...sendo testemunhas presentes o dito reverendo conego Antonio Duarte Pinto, Jose Luis de Brito, Antonio Bento de Vasconcellos Parada e Souza, Manoel Dias do Nascimento, o padre Joze Innocencio Parella de Mendonça moradores nesta cidade...

monte mor 14,966,171

metade da doação do patrimonio do herdeiro Padre Jose Venuncio Ribeiro 265,000

monte liquido 14,701,171

Antonio Gomes Sande's inventory, 1807, caixa 25, auto 645, 1st officio, CS.

Taken by Francisca Clara Umbelina de Jesus

Available online

1r) Inventario dos bens que ficarão no cazal do capitam Antonio Gomes Sande morador na Perapetinga freguesia de Guarapiranga q são dados a descrição pella viuva D. Francisca Clara Umbelina de Jesus e falleceu com tt.o em 8 de Sbr.o de 1806 e foi dado noticia pella viuva dentro dos trinta dias

2r) Titullo de Herdeiros

Dona Francisca Candida	16
Dona Theresa [Antona]	15
Dona Felicianna Izabel	12
Dona Antonia Leonor	11
Antonio Gomes Sande	9

Nomeação de Louvados

Jose Dias dos Anjos

Joaquim Luis de Mello

<i>3r) Descrição de bens</i>	
des oitavas de peso de ouro lavrado	14,000
um espadim com punho bocal e copos de prata	10,800
sinco facas de mesa com cabo de prata com o peso de noventa oitavas	9,000
seis facas mais modernos com cabos de prata estes pesão cento e duas oitavas	10,200
seis colheres e seis garfos de prata com o peso de cento e vinte e duas oitavas	19,950
dose garfos de prata modernos com o peso de cento noventa e sette oitavas e meya	19,750
seis pares de colheres com seus garfos de prata com o peso de cento sesenta e tres oitavas	16,300
pares (sic) de colheres com seus garfos de prato e sao seis com o peso de cento e quarenta	
3v) e quarenta e sette oitavas	14,700
seis colheres pequenas de prata com o peso de vinte e oito oitavas	2,800
um copo de prata com o peso de noventa e seis oitavas	9,600
em prata velha oitenta e tres oitavas	8,300
um par de fivellas de prata com o peso de dezaseis oitavas	1,600
um traseado aparelhado de prata com seu boldrie	18,000
um bostao de cana com costao de prata	3,600
uma espada com seu punho de prata	3,600
um par de esporas de cobre dourada em ouro	900
quatro pratos de estanho de meia cozinha com o peso de nove libras e meia	1,925
desoito pratos de estanho pequenos com o peso de quatorze libras e quarta	2,137
um candieiro de latão	
4r) com o peso de quatro libras	2,400
duas bacias de arame pequenos com o peso de duas libras	600
uma bacia de arame de barba	450
uma bacia grande usada com o peso de duas libras e meia	550
uma candeya de cobre	300
um lambique (sic) com seu capello com o peso de seis arrobas e vinte e nove libras de cobre	99,450
uma taxa de cobre com o peso de tres arrobas	28,800
outra taxa de cobre com o peso de quatro arrobas e des libras	57,960
dous escumadeiros e um remanhollo com o peso de sinco libras e meia	1,650
um taxo de cobre com o peso de vinte e quatro libras	7,200
outro taxo dito com o peso de treze libras	3,900

4v) outro taxa dito muito usado com o peso de seis livras	1,800
outro taxa de cobre com peso de sette livras	2,100
outro dito com o peso de uma livra	450
um forno de cobre com o peso de uma arroba e meia	14,400
doze pares de colheres de latão	600
uma caixa de ferro de engomar de latão	900
um almofaris de Bronze com sua mão de ferro	3,800
um sino de Bronze pequeno	5,500
uma campainha de Bronze	200
dous Foceis de folha	200
candeas de folha de flandes	300
duas candeias de ferro	750
uma balança de ganxo de ferro	2,100
5r) um braço de Balança de ferro com suas conxas	300
uma tenda de ferreiro com Bigorna com seu Forno com dous mochos tres [tenases] dous martellos talhadeira bomba e os mais pertences fulles	50,000
uma Bigorna de ferrador com seu puxavante martello de pregar troques martello de atarracar	5,000
sinco formoens duas eixos xato, duas dito, goivos tres martellos, suas barrumas hu trado dous ferros de sapo tres ferro de mão	3,600
uma serra brasal com sua armação	2,400
uma marrão	900
des enxadas	6,300
desoito foices	9,375
vinte e oito enxadas usadas	13,650
nove cavadeiras de ferro usados	1,800
onze almocafres velhos	2,475
sinco alabancas de ferro	8,700
uma corrente grande e duas de caxorro que pesão desasette livras	3,400
5v) um espeto de ferro	200
vinte e seis livras de ferro velho	2,925
uma balança com marco de meia livra de pesar ouro	900
uma bacia e jarro de estanho	1,200
duas espingardas em bom uso	9,000
um relógio de parede com sua caixa de madeira	25,000
um par de pistollas com canos de bronze	3,000
uma mesa grande com guarnição de jacaranda preto	2,000
outra dita mais pequena com nove palmos de comprido com suas molduras	1,800
duas ditas pequenas com gavetas	2,400
seis tamboretos torneados	900

quatro bancos	4,000
dous bancos lisos	300
tres catres torneados de jacaranda	9,000
6r) seis catres lisas	4,200
dous espreguiseiros	2,400
uma caixa grande com guarnicao e feichadura	3,000
outra caixa lisa grande	1,500
uma dita lisa pequena	900
um bau grande de pregaria	2,600
um par de canastras inferiores	1,800
um caixão grande	2,400
um caixão de guardar asucar	3,000
outro caixão mais pequeno com cadeiado	2,000
outro caixão grande de despejo	3,200
outro caixão	2,600
outro caixão mais pequeno	1,800
dezoito caixas de barril	5,400
uma canoa de madeira branca do Rio	6,000
6v) uma gamella grande tres pequenas	800 or 600
sete carames	300
quatro carros desferradas	16,000
des cangas	3,200
uma sella em bom uso com seus xaireis e estribos de latão	12,000
seis pratos de po de pedra grandes	5,400
vinte e quatro pratos de po de pedra pequenos	3,600
um aparelho de xa de Louça da India	7,200
seis tigellas de po de pedra	900
quatro copos de vidro branco	600
quatro garrafas ordinarias	400
dous frascos de vidro preto	600

Roupa

uma cama com enxergão de linho e colxa de Damasco de seda e lensois e fronha de bretanha	20,000
outra cama com colxão Cloxa (sic) de Baetão emcarnada e lençois e fronha de bretanha	8,400
7r) outra cama com colxão Colxa de Baetão riscado lençoes e fronha de algodão	2,400
outra cama com colxão colxa lensoes e fronha de algodão	2,300
outra cama com enxergão colxa lencoes e fronha de algodão	2,600
outra cama com colxa lençoes e fronha de algodão	2,400
duas toalhas de mesa com vinte e quatro guardanapos de algodão	4,200

tres toalhas de agoa as maons de bretanha	2,000
tres toalhas ditas de algodão	1,600
uma farda com galoens de ouro dragonos chapeo com cuirel calção e veste de cazimira	12,000
uma farda lisa com calção de pano azul veste de fustão riscado	5,000
um vestido preto de lemiste veste de setim preto calção de velbute	5,000
um vestido de pano cor de garrafa	9,000
uma veste sem mangas de pano encarnado espiguillado em prata	1,200
7v) um jalleco de algodão de []	300
um par de meias de seda cor de perulla	2,400
um par de meias de seda preta [alados]	450
dous pares de meias de algodão	900
dous camisotes de bretanha	1,500
duas camisas de bretanha e uma de algodão com bastante uso	900
um capote de mangas de pano azul	4,000
uma junta de bois grandes	16,000
outra junta de bois mais ordinaria	12,000
outra junta de bois do mesmo toque	12,000
	(mortos juram.to fl8)
sinco juntas de bois	40,000
um touro preto	4,800 (morto juram.to fl8)
seis vacas com sinco ciras	18,000
sette cabeças de gado	10,500 (morta 2, jurament.o fl8)
vinte e quatro cabeças de ovelhas	9,600
quarenta e seis cabeças de porcos entre 8r) entre grandes e pequenos	23,000
uma Mulla chamada Bonita	24,000
um Macho chamado Lumparino areado	24,000
um Macho chamado Farofa areado	22,000
uma Mulla chamada ligueira areada	20,000
um macho queimado torto de um olho areado	9,000
um macho chamado Bandarra areado	19,000
um macho chamado canivete	18,000
uma mulla Baua areada	24,000
uma mulla quatro olhos areada	19,200
uma mulla chamada fagote	20,000
uma mulla chamada cabocha areada	20,000
um macho chamado pimenta areado	17,000

um macho chamado gigante	21,000
um macho chamado Raveredo	18,000
8v) uma mulla chamada [X...ona] areada	17,000
outra mulla chamada Lontra areada	18,000
uma mulla chamada andorinha	16,000
outro mulla chada (sic) Estrella areada	17,000
um macho chamado Picapao	6,000
um macho chamado Ruai areado	12,000
uma mulla preta ja velha areada	10,000
uma mulla de sella chamado Fanxona	30,000
um cavallo lazão	20,000

Ermida

uma ermida ou oratorio com quatro Imagens do senhor crucificado senhora das dores santa anna santo Antonio	25,000
duas cazullas dos quatro cores uma alva, missal calis e Patena hamito cleos e tudo mais pertencente	80,000

Escravos

um escravo de nome Joaquim de nação Benguella apelidado o Tambor casado 36	125,000
Angelica crioulla mulher do asima 25	120,00
9r) João benguella apelidado o novo 32	130,000
Jeronimo crioulo casado e quebrado 57	50,000
Emerinianna crioulla mulher do asima 30	95,000
Venancio crioulo 23	125,000
Jose crioulo 22	110,000
Lourenço de nação banguella 38	115,000
Jose de nação banguella 28	132,000
Miguel de nação benguella 45,	80,000
João rebollo com molestia nos pes 34	95,000
Manoel crioulo 30	120,000
Manoel Ramos crioulo 40	135,000
João benguella apellidado o Botta casado 36	62,000
9v) Apolonia crioulla mulher de [] escrito 16	110,000
Izidero pardo 20	135,000
Salvador congo casado 42	60,000
Theodozia crioulla mulher do asima 15	110,000
Antonio benguella 40	90,000 morto juram fl8
Joaquim benguella 35	100,000
Fabião congo 68	20,000 por

	ser doente
Francisco benguella 65	35,000
Caetano songo 69	5,000 por ser aleijado e cheyo de emfermidades patentes
Bento crioulo com as pernas ariados 24	80,000
Alexandre congo casado 40	85,000
Luzia crioula mulher do asima 37	40,000
João crioulo 10r) 40	130,000
Manoel benguella 36	130,000
Ambrosio congo 45	45,000 por ser aleijado de huns dedos da mão
Simão crioulo 9	70,000
Manoel Vieira benguella casado 54	70,000
Agostinho crioulo mulher do asima 30	90,000
Jacinto crioulo 13	80,000
Maximinianno crioulo 6	50,000
Thome crioulo 2	45,000
Jose benguella 50	75,000
Francisco crioulo da lavra 50	76,000
Antonio angolla dos que estão na lavra	90,000
10v) Domingos benguella e he dos que estão na lavra 45	100,000
Felix songo e he dos que estão na lavra 52	70,000
Miguel rebollo 66 e he da lavra	30,000 em razão de ser quebrado
João [cairange] das que estão na lavra 67	20,000
Miguel crioulo 36 com defeito no olho	85,000 morto juramento fl8
Domingos benguella 25	135,000
Thomas crioulo vinte e oito	128,000
Lucianno crioulo 22	135,000
Marcelina crioula salteira 9	45,000
Eufrazia crioula 11	60,000
Anna crioula 44	75,000
Lucianna crioula comacho 22	100,000
11r) Isabel parda 27	130,000

	morto
Theresa crioulla aleijada 55	no value
<i>Mantimento</i>	
mil alqueires de milho no payol	150,000
um canavial que levara tres alqueires de terra de planta	200,000
uma morada de casas de sobrado citas no largo do arrayal de guarapiranga com seu quintal que comfrontão com casas de capitão Jose Coelho e as do licenciado João Xavier	70,000
uma mesa, dous bancos, um preguiseiro tudo velho e danificado e bem asim dous catres nas casas asima descritos	3,000
<i>De Raiz</i>	
outra morada de casas citas no dito arrayal na rua debaixo terreas na frente e asobradados nos fundos que partem com casas do capitão Jose da Costa Lima e com as do capitão Diogo Carvalho de Moraes com seu quintal e mais pertences	60,000
uma mesa, tres tamboretas, e um banco existentes na dita casa	2,600
umas terras de agricultura que levarão quarenta alqueires pouco mais ou menos com terras e agoas mineraes e regolitos no correjo chamado do Peixe dos Margens do Rio da Parapetinga que parte com terras da herança do capitão Simão Ferreira e Pedro Vieira Guimaraens e com quem mais deve e haja de partir e comfrontar nesta mesma freguesia de guarapiranga	220,000
11v) uma fazenda cita na beira do rio da perapetinga da ferguesia do guarapiranga com casas de vivenda payol engenho de piloens dous moinhos emgenho de cana senzallas casas de parol estrevaria com terras de planta mattos e capoeiras e pasto que terão duas sesmarias pouco mais ou menos que parte com a fazenda da Biendo que dizem ser patrimonio de Conego Jacinto Ferreira dos Santos e com as dos herdeiros do capitão Simão Ferreira da Silva e com os da herança de Nicolau Martins Ferreira e com quem mais deva e haja de partir e comfrontar	2,900,000
umas lavras do morro citas a margem do Rio de guarapiranga ao pe da fazenda do capitão Jose Coelho de Oliveira Duarte que parte com terras de planta do mesmo capitão e com as de guardamor Manoel Monteiro e com as do capitão Manoel Jose Ferreira e com quem mais deva e haja de partir e comfrontar em que actualmente se acha serviso aberto ...com seos regos e agoas metidos e as constantes dos titullos	4,000,000
he devedor ao casal o capitão Jose Coelho de Oliveira Duarte que o marido della inventariante por elle pagou a real fazenda de resto abatido os rendimentos que o marido della viuva inventariante foi	

fiador abatido os rendimentos da fazenda do dito devedor a quantia de 1,335,262

13r) *Traslado do Testamento do capitão Antonio Gomes Sande*

...sou natural de portugal

13v) portugal filho legitimo de Manoel Gomes da Conceição e Maria Gomes da freguesia de São Nicolão conselho de Basto arcebispado de Braga e me acho no estado de casado em face da igreja com dona Francisca Clara Umbelina de Jesus e do matrimonio que com esta contrahi tenho os filho (sic) seguintes, Francisca, Theresa, Antonia, Antonio e Felicianna, aos quais constituo por herdeiros... e da minha terça constituo a dita minha Mulher por minha herdeira a quem taobem constituo em primeiro lugar por minha testamenteira, em segundo lugar a minha filha mais velhas por nome Francisca, em terceiro lugar a meu cunhado Capitão Joaquim Coelho de Oliveira este no presente morador na cidade de mariannae os venderem sem dependencia de hirem a Praça e no que aseitar deixo de premio duzentos mil reis ... Declaro que por conhecer a capacidade da dita minha mulher por a bem educar meus filhos e administrar seus bens anoncio por tutora dos mesmos para o que aobono sendo meu pario.

Declaro que respetia ao meu funeral e legados para bem de minha alma deixo tudo a eleição e vontade de minha testamenteira.

Declaro que devo varias dividas minha testamenteira pagara tudo sem contenda de justiça sendo pessoas verdadeiras.

Declaro que deve minha mulher divemos alem das mais dividas aquantia de oito mul cruzados das quaes não existe

14r) clareza de cuja satisfação tinha emcarragado a minha mulher [muito] estreitamente ella sera obrigada a dar conta por recibos das pessoas aquem pertencer. ...testemunhas o reverendo Joaquim de Araujo Correia, reverendo Felipe da Motta, Lino Coelho Duarte, Francisco Manoel de Andrade, Francisco Jose de Jesus

18r) Acresimo de Bens

April 12, 1809

18v) ...acharem se mortos huma junta de bois, um toro, e dos sete cabeças de gado....mortos duas cabeças, e igualmente os escravos Miguel crioulo, Antonio benguella, Isabel parda, e Constancia filha de João banguella e de Apolonia crioulla de que apresentava certidão de morte dos escravos...

Descrição

Domingos Crioulo	
19r) 1 anno	40,000
Innocencio crioulo 6 mezes filho de Theodoria crioulla	30,000
Gracianna crioula 2 mezes filha de Apolonia crioula	25,000
quatro bizerras	3,600

23v) monte mor 14,570,959

Appendix B

GLOSSARY

The following is an alphabetical list of words for objects, materials and colors that appear in eighteenth-century inventories in Minas Gerais. The spellings found most frequently in the dictionaries are given first, followed by alternate spellings used in inventories. Common spelling variations include the substitution of “l” for “r,” and “x” for “ch.” Unless otherwise noted, definitions are derived from the following sources:

Bluteau, Raphael. *Vocabulario Portuguez & Latino*. Lisbon: Pascoal da Sylva, 1712-1728.

Bluteau, Rafael. *Suplemento ao Vocabulario Portuguez, e Latino*. Lisbon: Joseph Antonio da Sylva, 1727-1728.

Montgomery, Florence M. *Textiles in America, 1650-1870: A Dictionary Based on Original Documents, Prints and Paintings, Commercial Records, American Merchant's Papers, Shopkeepers' Advertisements, and Pattern Books with Original Swatches of Cloth*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007.

Moraes Silva, Antonio de. *Diccionario da Lingua Portuguesa composto pelo Padre D. Rafael Bluteau, Reformado, e Accrescentado*. Lisbon: Simão Thaddeo Ferrereira, 1789.

Vieyra Transtagano, Anthony. *A Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages, in two Parts, Portuguese and English: and English and Portuguese*, Vol. 1. London: J. Nourse, 1773.

Agaloada ornamented with ribbon or decorative trim. See **Galão**

Aljofar seed pearl

Almario, Armario cup-board or wardrobe (Bluteau, Vol. 1, A 268-9; Moraes, Vol. 1, 62; Vieyra)

Alva alb, a floor-length liturgical vestment (Bluteau, Vol. 1, A 304; Moraes, Vol. 1, 68; Vieyra)

Alvadio, Alvacento off-white (Bluteau I, A 305; Moraes, Vol. 1, 68)

Amicto, Amito amice, a liturgical vestment that covers the head or shoulders (Bluteau, Vol. 1, A 336; Moraes, Vol. 1, 75; Vieyra)

Amolar, Amollar to grind or sharpen (Bluteau, Vol. 1, A 344; Moraes, Vol. 1, 76; Vieyra)

Anagoa under-petticoat, a linen skirt worn under other garments. Vieyra, in contrast, describes it as a woman's shift. (Bluteau, Vol. 1, A 359; Moraes, Vol. 1, 79; Vieyra)

Arame a metal alloy with a yellowish color, such as bronze or brass. (Bluteau, Vol. 1, A 465; Moraes, Vol. 1, 106; Vieyra)

Assoalhado, asoalhada having a floor composed of wooden planks (Bluteau, Vol. 1, A 611; Moraes, Vol. 1, 132; Vieyra)

Babado ruffle, flounce

Baeta bay, a textile with a worsted warp and woolen weft. (Bluteau, Vol 2, B 11; Moraes, Vol. 1, 157; Vieyra; Montgomery, 159-160)

Belbute velveteen, a cotton velvet (Anthony Vieyra, and J. P. Aillaud, *A Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages, in two Parts*, Part 2 (London: F. Wingrave et al., 1813))

Borla tassel (Bluteau, Vol. 2, B 161; Moraes, Vol. 1, 190; Vieyra).

Bretanha, Bertanha britannias, a fine, plain weave linen cloth originally from Brittany (Bluteau, II, 189; Moraes, Vol. 1, 197; Vieyra; Montgomery, 177).

Breve da marca paper containing prayers, often used as a cover for relics (Antonio de Moraes Silva, *Diccionario da Lingua Portuguesa*, Vol. 1 (Lisbon: Imprensa Regia, 1831), 295)

Brilhante brilliant, silk textiles from France or worsted wool textiles from England featuring small floral or lace patterns (Montgomery, 176).

Brim canvas, a linen, flax or hemp textile (Bluteau, Vol. 2, B 193; Moraes, Vol. 1, 198; Vieyra)

Brocado brocade, a textile patterned with supplementary wefts. The term is also applied to other fine patterned cloths such as embroidered textiles (Bluteau, Vol. 2, B 196; Moraes, Vol. 1, 199; Vieyra; Montgomery 179).

Brocatel, Borcatel brocatelle. Definitions of brocatelle vary greatly. Early Modern English-language sources describe a fabric similar in appearance to damask, composed of a vegetal fiber ground and silk brocade designs. The 1726 Spanish dictionary provides the same definition of a vegetal fiber and silk brocade or damask. In contrast, Bluteau and Moraes describe a silk fabric containing silver. Finally, Vieyra translates *brocatel* as linsey-woolsey, a coarse linen and wool textile (Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana*, Vol. 1 (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1726); Bluteau Vol. 2, B 197; Moraes Vol. 1, 199; Vieyra; Montgomery 179, 279).

Bufete, Bofete a table with drawers (Bluteau, Vol. 2, B 141; Moraes, Vol. 1, 201, Vieyra)

Cajado a shepherd's crook (Bluteau, Vol. 2, C 40-1; Moraes, Vol. 1, 213; Vieyra)

Calçado any type of footwear (Bluteau, Vol. 2, C 50; Moraes, Vol. 1, 125; Vieyra)

Calção, Calções breeches (Bluteau, Vol. 2, B 52; Vieyra).

Camelão, Camellão a textile originally made of camel fiber, but by the eighteenth century made of wool, goat hair or silk (Bluteau, *Suplemento*, Vol. 1, 186)

Camisa shirt or shift (Bluteau, Vol. 2, C 82; Moraes, Vol. 1, 222; Vieyra).

Cambraia cambric, a fine, white plain weave linen originally from Cambray, but also produced elsewhere in the eighteenth century (Bluteau, Vol. 2, C 74; Moraes, Vol. 1, 221; Montgomery, 187).

Campainha a small bell (Vieyra). **cadeira de campainha** an X-shaped, folding chair. The name stems from *campanha*, the fields where the military marches (Bluteau, Vol. 2 C 83-4; Moraes, Vol. 1, 222).

Candeia, Candea a small portable lamp that can be hung on the wall (Bluteau, Vol. 2, C 97; Moraes, Vol. 1, 224; Vieyra)

Candieiro oil lamp (Bluteau, Vol. 2, C 98-9; Moraes, Vol. 1, 225; Vieyra)

Canga see **Ganga**

Capa cloak, worn from the shoulders to the knees or lower (Bluteau, Vol. 2, 117; Moraes, Vol. 1, 228; Vieyra)

Casaca, Cazaca coat (Bluteau, Vol. 2, C 175; Moraes, Vol. 1, 241; Vieyra)

Casacam, Casacão Overcoat or great-coat, a longer garment worn over the coat to provide further warmth (Bluteau, Vol. 2, C 175; Moraes, Vol. 1, 241; Vieyra)

Casula chasuble

Caxilho, Caixilho frame (Bluteau, Vol. 2, C 220; Moraes, Vol. 1, 250; Vieyra)

Chamalote, Chamelote A textile made of camel fiber, sometimes with a watered finish. Although the root of the word relates to the camel, the term was also applied to fabrics made of wool or silk. According to Vieyra *chamalote* translates to camblet or camlet which is a plain weave containing silk and goat hair among other possible fibers. (Bluteau Vol. 2, C 268; Moraes, Vol. 1, 260; Vieyra; Montgomery, 188-9)

Chicote 1. whip 2. braid of hair (Bluteau, Vol. 2, C 289; Moraes, Vol. 1, 266; Vieyra)

Chinela house slipper (Bluteau, Vol. 2, C 292; Moraes, Vol. 1, 266; Vieyra)

Chita, Xita chintz, originally from India, chintz referred to cotton textiles that were either printed or painted to create complex designs. In the eighteenth century, printed chintz was produced throughout Europe, sometimes using a base textile containing both cotton and linen. (Bluteau, Vol. 2, C 293; Moraes, Vol. 1, 280; Vieyra; Montgomery, 200).

Chocolateira chocolate pot

Cingulo, Singulo cincture, liturgical belt (Bluteau, Vol. 2, C 317-8; Moraes, Vol. 1, 273; Vieyra)

Cobertor blanket (Bluteau, Vol. 2, C 349; Moraes, Vol. 1, 280; Vieyra)

Colcha, Colxa quilt. Bluteau and Moraes consider it a more decorative and elaborately ornamented than a *cobertor* (Bluteau, Vol. 2, C 367; Moraes, Vol. 1, 284; Vieyra)

Colchão, Colxão, Colcham mattress (Bluteau Vol. 2, C 367; Moraes, Vol. 1, 284; Vieyra)

Colete jerkin, a type of vest without sleeves (Bluteau Vol. 2, C 369; Vieyra)

Commoda chest of drawers (Moraes, Vol. 1, 292)

Covilhete a patty-pan, a shallow vessel with slanted sides in which pies were baked and served (Bluteau Vol. 2, C 594; Moraes Vol. 1, 343; Vieyra)

Cuberta, Coberta cover, shelter, blanket (Bluteau Vol. 2, C 626; Moraes, Vol. 2, 280; Vieyra).

Damasco damask, a patterned fabric on satin or twill weave. Designs are created with alternating warp-facing and weft-facing. (Bluteau Vol. 3, D 2-3; Moraes Vol. 1, 359; Vieyra; Montgomery, 213-4)

Droguete, Dorguete drugget, typically a wool textile, but druggets can also contain silk or linen (Bluteau Vol. 3, D 306; Moraes, Vol. 1, 457; Vieyra; Montgomery, 226-7)

Durante durance or durant, a fine, worsted wool with a glazed finish (Moraes Vol. 1, 459; Vieyra; Montgomery, 229-30)

Encarnado/a red, the color of raw meat or a rose. (Bluteau, Vol. 3, E 84; Moraes, Vol. 1, 486; Vieyra)

Enxergão, Enxergam, Enchargeiro straw mattress (Bluteau, Vol. 3, E 165; Moraes, Vol. 1, 520; Vieyra)

Escrivaninha a case containing pen, ink and other writing implements (Bluteau, Vol. 3, E 228; Moraes, Vol.1, 546; Vieyra)

Esguião a fine linen fabric, often used for shirts. It was produced in Northern Europe, possibly Ireland (Bluteau, *Suplemento*, Vol. 1, 398; Moraes, Vol. 1, 542; Vieyra)

Espartilho stays, a rigid support for the female torso that creates a conical shape from the hips to the bust (Bluteau, Vol. 3, E 260; Moraes, Vol. 1 547; Vieyra)

Espiguilha bobbin lace (Bluteau, Vol. 3, E 277; Moraes, Vol. 1, 551; Vieyra)

Estofa stuff, a generic term for worsted wool cloth (Bluteau III, E324; Moraes, Vol. 1, 565; Vieyra; Montgomery, 353).

Estofa a textile that is stuffed with wool, cotton or other filling (Bluteau, Vol. 3, E 325; Moraes, Vol. 1, 565; Vieyra)

Ferrete dark in tone when describing a color (Antonio Vieyra and J. P. Aillaud, *Novo Dicionario Portatil das Linguas Portuguesa e Ingleza*, Vol. 1 (Paris: J. P. Aillaud, 1837), 205)

Fineza thin, fine, pure. Bluteau, Moraes and Vieyra do not define it as a textile term. Presumably the textile with that designation was particularly fine and elegant. (Bluteau, Vol. 4, F 125; Moraes, Vol. 1, 617; Vieyra)

Folha de flandres sheet of tin (Bluteau, Vol. 4, F 159; Moraes, Vol. 1, 624; Vieyra)

Forrada to be lined with something (Bluteau, Vol. 4, F 181; Moraes, Vol. 1, 630; Vieyra)

Galheta cruet (Bluteau, Vol. 4, G 70-1; Moraes, Vol. 1, 650; Vieyra)

Gala, Galas, Galace court dress or the fine fabric of which formal garments are made (Bluteau, Vol. 4, G 9; Moraes, Vol. 1 648; Vieyra)

Galão, Galam a trim, ribbon or strip of ornamental fabric (Bluteau, Vol. 4, G 11; Moraes, Vol. 1, 649; Vieyra)

Ganga an Asian cotton textile, typically died yellow, indigo blue or black (Moraes, Vol. 1, 651)

Gorgoram, Gorgorão grosgrain, a plain weave textile with a heavier weft yarn that creates a corded texture. Grosgrain is often made of silk. (Bluteau, Vol. 4, G 96; Moraes, Vol.1, 663; Vieyra; Montgomery, 252)

Guarda Pé underpetticoat, a skirt worn under open petticoats and robes (Bluteau, Vol. 4, G 673-4; Silva I, 673; Vieyra)

Hollanda a linen cloth from the Dutch Republic, finer than Portuguese linens but coarser than cambric (Bluteau, Vol. 4, H 42; Vieyra)

Jaleco a type of doublet (Vieyra)

Laçada a bow or slip knot (Bluteau, Vol. 5, L 11; Moraes, Vol. 2, 2; Vieyra)

Lançol, Lençol bedsheet (Bluteau, Vol. 5, L 36; Moraes, Vol. 2, 7; Vieyra)

Lemiste, Lemistre a fine black wool cloth from England (Bluteau, Vol. 5, L 77; Moraes, Vol. 2, 15; Vieyra)

Lenço handkerchief (Bluteau, Vol. 5, L 78; Moraes, Vol. 2, 15; Vieyra)

Lustro a textile term common in inventories but not found in the dictionaries. The name implies a lustrous cloth, and may be related to **Lustrilho**. Lustrilho is lustring or lutestring in English. According to Montgomery, lustring is a lustrous silk textile that was commonly single-colored, striped, or woven as shot silk. When patterned, chinoiserie designs were common. Bluteau and Moraes, on the other hand describe lustrilho as a shiny wool cloth (Bluteau, Vol. 5, L 209; Moraes, Vol. 2, 37; Vieyra; Montgomery, 283-5)

Manta a wool blanket (Bluteau, Vol. 5, M 298; Moraes, Vol. 2, 54; Vieyra)

Manto a women's veil that covers the head and torso (Bluteau, Vol. 5, M 302-3; Morais, Vol. 2, 55; Vieyra)

Marroquim Morocco leather, a type of leather originally produced in Morocco. In the eighteenth-century, it was also produced in Portugal (Bluteau, Vol. Moraes, Vol. 2, 61; Vieyra; Antonio Delgado da Silva, *Collecção da Legislação Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Typografia Maigrense, 1828), 529-30)

Melania either a textile made of mohair, or moreen, which is a worsted wool cloth originally intended to imitate mohair (C. H. Kauffman, *The Dictionary of Merchandize, and Nomenclature in ALL European Languages* (London: T. Boosey, 1815), xxv; Antonio Vieyra and J. P. Aillaud, *Novo Dicionario Portatil das Linguas Portuguesa e Ingleza*, Vol. 1 (Paris: J. P. Aillaud, 1837), 276; Montgomery, 297-298, 300-302)

Meya, Meia, Meas stockings (Bluteau, Vol. 5, M 378; Moraes, Vol. 2, 69; Vieyra)

Niagem, Niagem Grega burlap, a coarse linen cloth (Bluteau, Vol. 5, N 716; Moraes, Vol. 2, 115; Vieyra)

Nobreza a type of silk cloth. In Spanish, *nobleza* refers to a high-quality silk damask with delicate patterning suitable for the nobility. Portuguese sources are less specific, merely describing it as a silk textile. (Bluteau, Vol. 5, N 732; Moraes, Vol. 2, 116; Vieyra; Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana*, Vol. 4 (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1734)

Papa a wool textile used for blankets (Bluteau, Vol. 6, P 236; Moraes, Vol. 2, 154)

Passamanes passementerie, passements, narrow strips of trim, such as lace, braids, or fringe (Bluteau, Vol. 6, P 298-9; Moraes, Vol. 2, 165; Vieyra; Montgomery, 317).

Penteador a cloth to protect the clothing while grooming one's hair (Bluteau, Vol. 6, 402; Moraes, Vol. 2, 184; Vieyra)

Perpetuana perpetuana, perperets, or perpcheana in English, a twill wool cloth (Bluteau, Vol. 6, P 444; Moraes, Vol. 2, 191; Vieyra; Montgomery, 320-1)

Pescosinho A stock or cravat (Vieyra)

Pisão a fulling mill, a wheel that when turned hammers cloth to provide a smoother and firmer finish (Bluteau, Vol. 6, P 532; Moraes, Vol. 2, 206; Vieyra)

Poltrona a large, upholstered armchair (Moraes, Vol. 2, 214; Anthony Vieyra, and J. P. Aillaud, *A Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages, in two Parts*, Part 2 (London: F. Wingrave et al., 1813)

Prato de Guardanapo nappy, a small, shallow bowl

Preguiceiro, Espreguiceiro day bed

Punho 1. the hilt of a sword 2. a ruffled shirt cuff (Bluteau, Vol. 6, P 828; Moraes, Vol. 264; Vieyra)

Queimão, Queimam, Quimão kimono and its precursors (Bluteau, Vol. 7, Q 45; Moraes, Vol. 2, 277; Vieyra)

Ramo 1. Tree branch 2. The pieces of fabric from which a bedsheet is sewn (Bluteau, Vol. 7, R 102-3; Moraes, Vol. 2, 283; Vieyra)

Risso, Riço, Risu According to Moraes a wool or silk velvet, and according to Vieyra a silk fabric (Moraes, Vol. 2, 350; Vieyra)

Rosicler, Rucicler a roughly triangular piece of women's jewelry, worn on the head, neck or chest. It is typically composed of numerous pendant pieces. (Bluteau, Vol. 7, 380; Moraes, Vol. 2, 357; Vieyra)

Sapato, Çapato an ordinary buckled shoe (Bluteau, Vol. 7, S 470-1; Moraes, Vol. 2, 376; Vieyra)

Sarge, Sarja in English, serge, sarge, or searge, a twill textile of wool or silk (Moraes, Vol. 2, 378; Montgomery, 344-5)

Sargeta Imperial a particularly fine variety of serge (Bluteau, *Suplemento*, Vol. 2, 198; Vieyra)

Saya, Saia petticoat (Bluteau, Vol. 7, S 517; Moraes, Vol. 2, 367; Vieyra)

Sayote, Saiote a shorter petticoat (Antonio de Moraes Silva, and Theotonio José de Oliveira Velho, *Diccionario da Lingua Portuguesa*, Vol. 2 (Lisbon: Imprensa Regia, 1831), 680)

Serafina, Sarafina According to Moraes, serafina is a type of wool cloth woven in narrow pieces. Bluteau's definition suggests it is similar to perpetuana, and thus likely a twill wool cloth. Finally, Vieyra translates sarafina as long ells (also called longcloth or long lawn). Long ells can refer to any fabric woven in particularly long lengths. The term was used for a variety of textile types, including a twill cloth with a worsted warp and woollen weft, likely the type of textile the Portuguese sources describe (Bluteau, *Suplemento*, Vol. 2, 197; Moraes, Vol. 2, 394; Vieyra; Montgomery, 281)

Setim satin, a silk or worsted wool textile with a highly lustrous sheen created with long warp floats (Bluteau, Vol. 7, S 623; Moraes, Vol. 2, 399; Vieyra; Montgomery, 339-40)

Tafeta, Taffeta taffeta, a fine plain weave silk (Bluteau, Vol. 8, T 15; Moraes, Vol. 2, 439; Vieyra; Montgomery, 358).

Tela a fine textile typically containing silk, gold, and silver. According to Vieyra, the same as tissue. (Bluteau, Vol. 8, T 67; Moraes, Vol. 2, 448; Vieyra)

Tissu, Tessum tissue, a luxury fabric often containing gold or silver threads, and often patterned with floral designs (Moraes, Vol. 2, 461; Vieyra; Montgomery, 366-7)

Timam, Timão the Brazilian variant of **Queimão** (Moraes, Vol. 2, 459)

Veludo, Velludo velvet, a textile with a pile composed of supplementary warp threads. Velvets were most commonly silk, but could also be made of wool. Manchester velvets, often called velveteen, were made of cotton. Bluteau notes that Portugal imported velvets from France. (Bluteau, Vol. 8, V 392; Moraes, Vol. 2, 514; Vieyra; Montgomery, 287, 370)

Veste while *veste* can refer to clothing in general, *mineiro* inventories use the term to describe a type of coat (Bluteau, Vol. 8, V 456)

Vestia waistcoat, vest, with or without sleeves and worn under the coat (Bluteau, Vol. 8, V 456; Moraes, Vol. 2, 522; Vieyra)

