

## Introduction

### Partial Enlightenments: Precedents & Possibilities for the 18<sup>th</sup> Century in Luso-Brazilian Studies

As the One World Trade Center building in lower Manhattan reached its final height of 1776 feet, it reasserted the enduring symbolic power of the thirteen English colonies' declaration of independence. Given the polarization of contemporary political landscapes in the United States, few historical references could be less controversial. The date even has some broader appeal, since the movement that led to the creation of the United States inspired revolutionaries throughout the Americas and beyond.<sup>1</sup> But the commemoration of a national feat in a building with a name invoking global finance unwittingly evinces contradictions of our age: in the ostensibly most capitalist of corners, it is historical memory rather than the putative rationality of the so-called free market that determined the skyscraper's height. Harkening back to a celebrated date allows the now tallest building in the Americas to be read as a response to the terrorist acts of 9/11, as if reaffirming a form of national belonging with inexorable roots, in a world where "all that is solid melts into air."<sup>2</sup>

The combination of traditionalist patriotic imaginaries and the universalist promises of a world trade center marked by cutting-edge engineering and modern forms embodies tensions familiar to those who study the eighteenth century. If the building's height reveals the symbolic power of 1776, it also conceals the extent to which, in the United States, the legacies of the "founding fathers" continue to be disputed by scholars, pundits, liberals, and conservatives. The point can be pressed further: debates about the eighteenth century in the United States, as in much of Europe, appear to be unusually self-conscious about contemporary issues. Anthony Pagden's recent book *The Enlightenment* (2013), for example, contains the subtitle *And Why It Still Matters*. This is not simply a generic editorial attempt to appeal to a broader reading public's utilitarian expectations. The subtitle taps into a consistent implication by scholars of the period that when the legacies of the Enlightenment are discussed, our very future is at stake.

The eighteenth century remains a contested field, where fault lines tend to be as much about the present as about the past.<sup>3</sup>

Despite a host of excellent works and several studies that make the Enlightenment speak to us in new ways, the period is less charged as a field of inquiry in Iberian and South American contexts. The lack of high profile historical turning points like the independence of the United States, the French Revolution, and the Haitian Revolution provides a partial explanation, but this relative indifference appears to be greater in the fields of literary and cultural studies than in history. And with few exceptions, it is certainly more pronounced in Spanish and Portuguese or Romance languages and literatures departments in the U.S. and the U.K. The eighteenth century is often underrepresented in syllabi, professional conferences, dissertation topics, and publications. Aside from notable references, to which this introduction will return, it is generally not at the fulcrum of how Lusophone (and Hispanic) societies imagine their pasts and make sense of their present.

This special issue of Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies attempts to take the pulse of eighteenth-century studies in the field and to give visibility to some of its most compelling developments. At the invitation of the journal's editor at the time, João Cezar de Castro Rocha, I accepted the challenge of devising a set of questions to colleagues working on the period. The following call for papers was circulated:

Despite the general lack of the printing press and universities in its colonies, the Portuguese empire maintained a global reach throughout "the long eighteenth century." Challenging the notion of the Portuguese-speaking world as "backwards" or merely obscurantist during the period, this special issue aims to explore how the circulation of new forms of knowledge generated resistance as well as selective and creative appropriations. The geographer Charles Withers proposes that once we consider the European Enlightenment's concerns with pushing the boundaries of knowledge about the world, "the margin becomes the core." In broad strokes, we seek articles that seek to understand the Lusophone eighteenth century in transatlantic and hemispheric contexts, while shedding light on some of its specific dimensions. Can a closer look at Lusophone experiences and texts help us to recognize forms of knowledge that Enlightenment luminaries tended to neglect? Can the study of "peripheries" serve to uncover part of the period's epistemological instabilities and wealth of ontological possibilities, sometimes flattened as it becomes understood either as an Age of Reason or as an age of colonial exploitation?

The call encouraged scholars to consider a set of issues that specialists in the Portuguese-speaking world are well positioned to take on. Dozens of article submissions indicate that academics in Brazil, Portugal, the United States and Europe continue to reflect on the eighteenth century with rigor and verve. Despite extensive efforts, the submission pool was marked by an absence of authors based in other parts of the world and of articles focusing on Lusophone Africa.

The five articles published in this special issue represent a range of approaches and, at the same time, reflect the persistence of certain themes and areas of focus in the field. All authors are either trained in the study of literature or identified with it by their previous work or institutional affiliations. The editorial process privileged scholarship that opened itself up to comparisons or connections between various regions, fields, and areas of study. Indeed, the work here is marked by dialogue with the history of science, philosophy, philology, critical theory, visual arts, landscape studies, and other disciplines. As befits a publication dedicated to literary and cultural studies, the articles display a careful treatment of texts and consideration of aesthetics and form. In all cases, close readings generate insights that should, in turn, be useful to scholars in other disciplines. To varying degrees, transatlantic and hemispheric awareness permeate each of the five studies, and the geographical distribution is reasonably well balanced between Europe and the Americas. The vast majority of submissions, however, maintained Lisbon or Minas Gerais as a locus of attention. This is also reflected in the articles selected and represents a shortcoming of this issue and, apparently, of eighteenth-century studies in the Portuguese-speaking world. It is to be hoped that younger scholars with an interest in the period will take note.

In “Um bosque nos trópicos: natureza e sociabilidade no Rio de Janeiro setecentista,” Claudete Daflon offers original and stimulating readings of familiar figures and places—the Passeio Público in Rio de Janeiro (inaugurated in 1783), the sculptor known as Mestre Valentim, and the poet Manuel Inácio da Silva Alvarenga. Focused on Rio but transatlantic in scope, the essay takes on the complex relations between urbanization and the construction of nature in the tropics. Concerned with both European perspectives and South American responses, Daflon’s analyses of poetry and urban spaces probe some of the ambiguities that characterized the dynamics of culture and sociability. Her essay is exemplary of interdisciplinarity at its most productive. In the next article, Márcia Almada brings attention to seldom-explored local aspects of (relatively) well known worldwide processes of manuscript production. “Os homens da boa pena e os

manuscritos iluminados na Capitania de Minas Gerais no século xviii” focuses on illumination art in the passage between the medieval to the early modern and modern periods and from Europe to Brazil. With meticulousness and breadth of knowledge, Almada traces the activities of manuscript calligraphers and painters working for lay brotherhoods in Minas Gerais, inserting their practices and techniques within broader contexts.

The third article, “Discourse and Disaster: A Universal History of Lisbon’s 1755 Earthquake,” analyzes one of the most cited first-person accounts of the disaster, Joaquim José Moreira de Mendonça’s *História universal dos terremotos*. Estela Vieira, against the grain of prior readings, foregrounds the text’s narrative structure and “universal” scientific ambitions. By highlighting the inroads of a “culture of reason” in Enlightenment-era Portugal, the article sheds new light on the period of Pombaline reforms and attests to the value of applying methods from literary studies to our interpretation of historical documents. In “Estrangeirados, Iluminismo, Enlightenment—uma revisão de conceitos no contexto português,” Onésimo T. Almeida also demonstrates that historiographic debates have much to gain from a focus on cultural or conceptual questions. The essay re-situates longstanding Portuguese discussions around the “estrangeirados” in terms of disputes over Enlightenment ideals and legacies. Likewise, in “Aleijadinho, the ‘Baroque Hero’ and Brazilian National Identity,” Guiomar de Grammont reflects on how eighteenth-century references are re-signified in the twentieth century. Here evocative essay investigates the rendering of the Minas Gerais artist and architect Aleijadinho into a mythic character, capable of incarnating national qualities. It engages with Hispanic perspectives and a rich critical tradition, making Aleijadinho’s history resonate with a host of contemporary concerns.

This issue showcases the vibrant and diverse scholarship in eighteenth-century Luso-Brazilian literary and cultural studies, while building on precedents and hinting at some of its promising prospects. In the remainder of this introduction, I would like to return to some of the themes mentioned above in an attempt to suggest further lines of inquiry. It is noteworthy that outside of academic production and specialized circles, a natural disaster and a republican martyr are likely the most recognized references from the Luso-Brazilian eighteenth century. In the Portuguese case, the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 is often remembered as a catalyst for Enlightenment-era debates about theodicy, as well as for developments in seismology. Estela Vieira’s article will shed more light on this episode’s reception.

In contrast, the most widely commemorated figure in Brazil's eighteenth century does not receive comparable attention outside of the country. Joaquim José da Silva Xavier led a failed republican movement in Minas Gerais in 1789. It preceded the French revolution and was at least in part inspired by the independence of the United States. In 1890, under Brazil's newly installed republican regime, a national holiday was declared in his honor, the Dia de Tiradentes.<sup>4</sup> The moniker Tiradentes refers to his activities as a "tooth-puller" (tira-dentes), which along with his functions as a second-lieutenant, brought him into contact with a broad swath of people. This lower station also helped to ensure that he would be the only one among his wealthier fellow conspirators to be put to death when the Portuguese crown suppressed the conspiracy, before it even took off. On April 21, 1792, after being tried, Tiradentes was hanged and quartered in the colonial capital of Rio de Janeiro, in a public square now named after him. But in a sign of legacies fraught with contradictions, Tiradentes Square has a mid-nineteenth-century equestrian statue of Dom Pedro I at its center, honoring the emperor whose very mother, Queen Maria I, had been ultimately responsible for the death of the revolutionary.

Posthumous representations of Tiradentes are lieux de mémoire that crystallize contemporary sensibilities more than they attempt to make sense of historical events—not unlike the 1776-foot height of the One World Trade Center. Tiradentes is reimagined by nineteenth-century painters as a romanticized Christ-like martyr, bearded and long-haired (actual impossibilities for a military man of his period because of concerns with lice). A memorable samba from 1949 sings that "Joaquim José da Silva Xavier / Morreu a 21 de abril / Pela Independência do Brasil / Foi traído e não traiu jamais / A Inconfidência de Minas Gerais // Joaquim José da Silva Xavier / Era o nome de Tiradentes / Foi sacrificado pela nossa liberdade / Este grande herói / Para sempre há de ser lembrado."<sup>5</sup> Inconfidência was, of course, the name acquired by the movement, despite being part of the language used by its suppressors. It references disloyalty, though this is perhaps not a meaning recognized across a broad spectrum of the population. In the song, the mixture of a popular musical genre with the high linguistic register of more literary verb choices (há de) responds to dual pressures: it communicates directly with a broad public and dignifies a historical, heroic subject. Samba, as we know, was an important instrument of national propaganda in twentieth-century Brazil. As he had been since the nineteenth century, Tiradentes remained in the twentieth century a harbinger for the construction of national narratives—even if he largely preceded the ideas of national unity that his memorializing sought to instill.

In their seminal essay “The Concept of Enlightenment,” Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer wrote that the “Enlightenment’s program was the disenchantment of the world,” adding: “It wanted to dispel myths, to overthrow fantasy with knowledge” (2002: 1). Popular responses to the Lisbon earthquake often invoked the order of the supernatural. It probably would have been similarly so in other European capitals, and the city’s reconstruction actually sought to apply some of the period’s most advanced technical knowledge. But the general reactions in Portugal reinforced religious worldviews, seeing the earthquake as divine punishment for human sins. A similar tension is at play in the Brazilian case. Tiradentes and his fellow revolutionaries had access to several of the texts—often censored—that revolutionized modern philosophy and political theory, yet yearnings for social and secular justice in the Portuguese Americas were in all likelihood also animated by the persistent forms of folk Christianity that pervaded life in the colony.<sup>6</sup> Approaches to any sort of Enlightenment “program” in the Luso-Brazilian world must proceed with caution, so that seeming contradictions are not dismissed as mere signs of backwardness or as paradoxical. Rather, they may be understood in connection to often unsettling compromises between divergent worldviews.

In the original German of Adorno and Horkheimer, “disenchantment of the world” (*Entzauberung der Welt*) echoes Max Weber and could be translated more precisely as the de-magicization of the world, whereby modern social life’s processes of secularization and rationalization seek to “overthrow fantasy with knowledge.” A translation of “fantasy” is itself easily assimilated into a secular, mundane realm in contemporary Portugal and Brazil through a double meaning: *fantasia* as costume (e.g., during carnival). The corresponding *desencantamento* also contains added layers: as in other Romance languages, *encanto* is even closer than the English cognate to the Latin root *cantare* (to sing) + *in* (upon, into). Tiradentes and his movement become quite literally re-enchanted in republican Brazil, a myth invoked and sung rather than dispelled.

Before the German critics associated with the Frankfurt School, Immanuel Kant had made similar observations about the Enlightenment. But the Prussian thinker had welcomed *Aufklärung*, unlike Adorno and Horkheimer, who found in it an opening through which rationality itself becomes “mythologized,” with its absolute expression in the horrors of twentieth-century totalitarian regimes and World Wars. To Adorno and Horkheimer, technology at the service of maximizing death and destruction was one dimension of this dialectic. They write

that “the wholly enlightened earth is radiant with triumphant calamity,” after all, in the immediate aftermath of the Holocaust. The samba musicians celebrating Tiradentes wrote at the same historical moment, but in a different hemisphere, where Auschwitz could feel more distant.<sup>7</sup>

In “The Concept of Enlightenment,” then, enlightenment is not imbued with desirable attributes, as it was in Kant’s “Was ist Aufklärung?” (1784). That text’s opening, at another turning point of modernity, alludes to some of the eighteenth-century philosopher’s seminal concepts. Adorno and Horkheimer state: “Enlightenment, understood in the widest sense as the advance of thought, has always aimed at liberating human beings from fear and installing them as masters [Herren].”<sup>8</sup> Kant, in turn, had written:

Enlightenment is man’s release from his self-imposed tutelage [Unmündigkeit]. Tutelage is man’s inability to make use of his understanding without direction from another. Self-incurred is this tutelage when its cause lies not in lack of reason but in lack of resolution and courage to use it without direction from another.<sup>9</sup>

Unmündigkeit has been translated more accurately as nonage, or the period of legal minority—where *Mund* in its root, meaning “mouth,” suggests an equivalence between adulthood, independence, and logocentric faculties. Kant articulates the promises of liberation that Adorno and Horkheimer critique as perils, but in both instances there remains an implication that enchantment is the provenance of children or barbarians.<sup>10</sup> The advance of independent thought renders those of nonage into gentlemen [Herren] or masters. If the process might be profoundly ambivalent to Adorno and Horkheimer, it is no less so because rationality remains enshrouded in its own forms of myth and fantasy.<sup>11</sup>

Something more inconspicuous approximates these divergent approaches to *Aufklärung*: the centrality of writing to the advancement of serious critical thought. Kant proposes *Sapere Aude* as the Enlightenment’s motto.<sup>12</sup> “Dare to know,” the philosopher prescribes. But know what? What could count as knowledge? Recent scholarship has continued to reveal significant eighteenth-century Luso-Brazilian contributions to conventional fields of knowledge, such as cartography, botany, and medicine. Several prominent events and figures from the Portuguese-speaking world, however, clearly do not seem to fit the Enlightenment mold. Its champions of reason are far from being assigned reading in today’s college classrooms (as Voltaire and Thomas Paine continue to be); its scientists and

thinkers are generally relegated to footnotes outside of the specialized literature; its known revolutionaries are at most consecrated as national martyrs, rather than as visionary “founding fathers.” A closer look at the Luso-Brazilian eighteenth century, however, can help us to uncover forms of knowledge overlooked by the Enlightenment, and often neglected in discussions about its legacies.

It might be productive to place the question of what constitutes knowledge at the center of our research on the period. The question elicits immediate answers: knowledge was very often gendered, as the passages from Kant indicate.<sup>13</sup> And increasingly, as the eighteenth century progresses, knowledge that counts is recorded or reproduced in print, be it written, painted, drawn, charted, etc. That is the case, almost always, for knowledge to count in Enlightenment discourse. The lack of the printing press and of universities, as we know, were fundamental to the Luso-Brazilian world’s eccentricity relative to other colonial societies of the “New World.” This created an important contrast to the English, French and Spanish Americas, where colonial subjects could, to a greater degree, actively participate in Enlightenment-era systems of knowledge production, as protagonists, antagonists, collaborators, disseminators and/or consumers. To Kant, the “public” use of one’s reason constituted a crucial element of the Enlightenment, by which he meant “that use which a man, as scholar, makes of it before the reading public.”<sup>14</sup> In that regard, we might easily imagine that the lingering Inquisition and the obscurantist reputation of Portugal, added to the absence of the printing press and of universities in its American colonies, meant that the Luso-Brazilian world remained in the Enlightenment’s shadows.

That is not, however, the way in which this introduction’s title refers to partial Enlightenment, at least not primarily. Rather than accepting the diffusionist paradigm of the Portuguese-speaking world as “backwards” or merely obscurantist during the Enlightenment, it is worthwhile to explore how the circulation of new forms of knowledge generated resistance as well as selective and creative appropriations, often inflected by sustained engagement with “non-western” epistemologies. After all, key texts of the Enlightenment circulated in Portugal and Brazil even when censored, political and economic reforms were enacted, and a number of institutions attempted to keep pace with European developments in science and the arts. Books arrived in the most far-flung corners of Brazil, and colonial subjects studied and published in Europe. The flow of new ideas, methods, and information was indeed often “lagging” relative to European centers, but scientific innovations and secular outlooks emanating



from “leading” hubs transformed Luso-Brazilian mentalities and institutions in profoundly original, sometimes unintended ways. Conversely, ideas and practices of what we may deem the Enlightenment were themselves transformed in the “New World” and deserve to be understood on their own terms. Portuguese and Brazilian literary studies might do well to strengthen dialogue with recent works by historians, such as Kenneth Maxwell, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Laura de Mello e Souza, Neil Safier and Júnia Furtado, who recognize that we must not dismiss so-called peripheral Enlightenments as merely derivative—or as simply “pallid and oblique.”<sup>15</sup>

Aside from heated debates over the when, where and what of the Enlightenment, the significance of new methodological procedures can be agreed upon. This introduction refers to plural Enlightenments in recognition of its multiple definitions, meanings and genealogies.<sup>16</sup> In many instances, the production of knowledge became increasingly reliant on transnational networks and shared empirical evidence. These procedures remained largely limited to lettered circles, but self-ascribed “enlightened” elites often engaged in exchanges of information and ideas that spread around the globe, part of the creation (or intensification) of early modern world-systems. A few Luso-Brazilians were participants or even protagonists in these emergent cartographies of knowledge, and some are subjects of excellent studies. Yet, given the lack of the printing press and of universities in the Portuguese Americas, but not of books or thought, our focus would perhaps be better directed to a question that scholars of the Luso-Brazilian world should be well-equipped to address: how are ideas transformed as they circulate outside of print and even literacy?

Different versions of this question have been asked with frequency by historians, theorists, and literary critics. Amid the current digital revolution, on the heels of new media that have seemingly rendered writing less dominant as a mode of cultural transmission, we can perhaps no longer take for granted early modern biases toward the book as an artifact of knowledge. In this case, such a reflection seeks to shed light on another sense in which we might want to think about partial Enlightenments. Placing the Luso-Brazilian world at the center of studies of the eighteenth century brings to the fore biases of the period’s intellectuals—some of the ways in which lettered cultures could be partial toward or against certain places, practices, races, languages, and epistemes. At best, recovering and articulating Luso-Brazilian alterities against which modern worldviews were constructed can help us to understand how we have inherited particular epistemological claims.

And further: “To confront entrenched intuitions with alternatives enlarges the domain of the thinkable,” as Lorraine Daston has put it (2002: 395).

Let us then return to the geographer Charles Withers’s proposal, quoted in this issue’s call for papers, that once we consider the European Enlightenment’s preoccupation with pushing the boundaries of knowledge about the world, “the margin becomes the core” (40). Eighteenth-century Luso-Brazilians, as Americans and Iberians (to very different extents), occupied a space in-between: neither fully bearers of European “lights,” nor confined to “blind-spots” like parts of Africa or the Pacific. Historian Júnia Furtado has coined the ingenious term “emboabas ilustrados,” enlightened emboabas, adopting an adjective native to Brazil—but used to describe outsiders—as a way of signifying this double condition (Furtado 2012). Lettered men understood well what could be characterized as Knowledge, what types of knowledge might count from a European or a “civilized” perspective. Luso-Brazilians often enacted these biases with particular assertiveness: the “disenchantment program” could target non-European practices as infantile, or when they constituted threats, as barbarian—or heretical. The Inquisition sought to suppress non-orthodox practices because they abounded, and while eighteenth-century statist reforms often inscribed themselves as secular, they could adopt tools like *autos-de-fé*. This was the case with the Jesuit sermonist Gabriel Malagrida, burned at the stake just as Lisbon was being rebuilt as a modern city, after the 1755 earthquake. The mixture of Enlightenment-inflected expectations and reforms with contradictory amalgams of authoritarianism, religiosity and alterity marked social life, producing unusual combinations of practical-mindedness and doctrinarism.

Just as lettered Luso-Brazilians were not immune to biases toward written knowledge and European principles about civilization, they were evidently also not impervious to the context of Portugal’s role in Europe’s expansion and to the extraordinary mobility that fueled its imperial engines, as well as the aspirations of both its rogues and luminaries. The subtitle of A. J. R. Russell-Wood’s survey, in this sense, could not be more felicitous: *The Portuguese Empire, 1415-1808: A World on the Move* (1998). It is not easy to come up with a Luso-Brazilian man of letters who lived without ever leaving his native town, as in Kant’s case with Königsberg. This was due not only to the fact that functionaries circulated between Portugal’s possessions, but also because of the many who left their native country, suspected of Jewish descent and persecuted well into the eighteenth century. To speak of Luso-Brazilians nonetheless makes sense to the

extent that Portugal and the Portuguese Americas were deeply interconnected. In many instances, Asian and especially Western African connections prove to be deeply consequential. In Brazil, lettered subjects were often acutely (and sometimes painfully) aware of the extent to which everyday life was defined not just by “pre-modern” practices but also by African, Amerindian, and indigenous presences. These confluences had seemingly incompatible, manifold repercussions: discourses about universality, autonomy of the self and natural rights made some headway, and so did the dismissal of non-European, non-written cultural practices or forms of knowledge. How might we take on the challenges of emphasizing the latter?

The pursuit of gaps between empirical or printed knowledge and the incantatory or non-written (oral, musical, embodied) forms of knowledge presents obvious questions of methodology and documentation. How to write studies and cultural histories that incorporate that which left little to no written record? Besides the self-evident limitations of accessing the non-written, the various books and documents of the Luso-Brazilian eighteenth century that have been lost to us lend yet another dimension to how we are necessarily dealing with partial Enlightenments.<sup>17</sup> But nonetheless, these are challenges to which the methods of literary and cultural studies can make meaningful contributions, in attempts to read between the lines of scientific texts, to interrogate how Luso-Brazilian poets assimilated European conventions in transformative ways, to examine how political agreements and maps brought new worlds into being. In these and other areas, dialogue with historians can be especially fruitful, and mutually beneficial.

The historian of science Lorraine Daston writes that “all of modernity cannot be found tiny and pre-formed in the early modern” (1998: 11). Once we turn to spaces at the margins of modernization processes, her assertion becomes even more acute. Luso-Brazilian experiences, discourses and practices evince the partialities of Enlightenment thought as well as the lack of inevitability in the consolidation of modern epistemologies. As the opening reference to New York City’s One World Trade Center suggests, we should be attentive to how turning points, references and legacies of the eighteenth century are resignified in later periods and have meaningful repercussions in our world. But those of us who study Enlightenments should also be engaged in recovering early modern dead-ends, in breathing life into the outmoded, in taking seriously ideas and forms of knowledge that eighteenth-century intellectuals might have condemned or rejected. At the same time, we can find a sense of adventure and multiple possibilities in

eighteenth-century intellectual life, when we conceive of it imaginatively. This issue aims to contribute to discussions about why the period “still matters” and about how focus on the Enlightenment’s margins can compel us to stretch the limits of the thinkable. This is, I believe, an important if modest effort amid crises that demand an imagination and responses matching their scale.

### notes

1. See Armitage 2007: 103-23.
2. It is noteworthy that in this context the phrase ceases to be only metaphoric. In the English version of Karl Marx’s and Friedrich Engels’s “Manifesto of the Communist Party” (1848), we read: “All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.” Marshall Berman uses it as the title of his book, *All That is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (1982).
3. As Robert Darnton writes, “Whoever has a bone to pick or a cause to defend begins with the Enlightenment” (2003: 31).
4. See *A República no Brasil* 2002: 51.
5. At the time, samba songs connected to the annual parades in Rio de Janeiro had to confine themselves to “national themes.” Mano Décio, Estanislau Silva and Penteadó authored this particular samba, “Exaltação a Tiradentes,” for Império Serrano.
6. In a section of her forthcoming book, *A liberdade era amável*, Heloísa Starling explores some of the more popular characters in a conspiracy usually deemed as aristocratic; for insights into folk, “unorthodox” religious practices and beliefs in the colony, based on material such as inquisition records, see Laura de Mello e Souza, *The Devil and the Land of the Holy Cross*, 2004.
7. In a 1949 essay, “Cultural Criticism and Society,” Adorno posits that “Cultural criticism finds itself faced with the final stage of the dialectic of culture and barbarism,” adding a phrase that became as well-known as it is misconstrued: “To write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric [Nach Auschwitz ein Gedicht zu schreiben ist barbarisch]” (1981: 34).
8. The German “Herren” might mean something close to “gentleman,” implying polished adults as opposed to subsumed children or unwieldy barbarians—to use a word (“barbarisch”) from Adorno’s provocative dictum.
9. In the original: “Aufklärung ist der Ausgang des Menschen aus seiner selbstverschuldeten Unmündigkeit. Unmündigkeit ist das Unvermögen, sich seines Verstandes ohne Leitung eines anderen zu bedienen. Selbstverschuldet ist diese Unmündigkeit, wenn die Ursache derselben nicht am Mangel des Verstandes, sondern der Entschließung und des Mutes liegt, sich seiner ohne Leitung eines andern zu bedienen.” The quoted translation is from Isaac Kramnick’s *The Portable Enlightenment Reader* (1995).

10. We therefore have the familiar configuration of opposition between civilized (often logocentric) Culture and practices deemed of a lower order, or unrecognized forms of knowledge—misunderstood, ignorant, strange, as the etymology of barbarian reveals (Latin *barbaria* meaning “foreign country,” from Greek *barbaros*, echoing the unintelligibility of foreigners—bar-bar—evocative of infancy).

11. This is, of course, not an assertion lost on the vast specialized literature on the work of the German critics. Their essay “The Concept of Enlightenment,” although hardly a reflection on the Enlightenment, as it does not directly confront authors and texts associated with the movement, is often criticized by scholars of the period, particularly historians. See, for instance, Rouanet 1987, Darnton 2003, Israel 2011, and Pagden 2013.

12. Kant takes up a phrase used by Horace in *Epistularum liber primus*; Foucault returns to it in “Qu’est-ce que les Lumières?” (1994).

13. On Enlightenment and gender, see Outram (2005: 77-92).

14. Kant called “private use” that “which a man makes of his reason in a civic post that has been entrusted to him.”

15. “Pálidas e oblíquas luzes” is the title of a study of Azeredo Coutinho and slavery by Guilherme Pereira das Neves (2000).

16. Some historians, such as John Pocock, prefer use of the plural, which we will not consistently do here outside of the title. More recently, Dan Edelstein posited a “narratological” rather than an epistemological innovation in locating the Enlightenment’s genealogy in the work of French scholars—and while recognizing heterogeneity, argues that its multiple versions shared “an assumption that the Enlightenment was nonetheless a singular entity (2010: 14).

17. On the destruction of the Real Biblioteca during the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, see the beginning of Schwarcz 2002.

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bruno carvalho's interests range from the early modern period to the present, and include literature, culture, and the built environment in Latin American and Iberian contexts, with emphasis on Brazil. He has published widely on topics related to poetry, film, architecture, cartography, city planning, environmental justice, race and racism. He is the author of the award-winning *Porous City: A Cultural History of Rio de Janeiro* (2013), and co-editor of *O Livro de Tiradentes: Transmissão atlântica de ideias políticas no século xviii* (2013), *Occupy All Streets: Olympic Urbanism and Contested Futures in Rio de Janeiro* (2016), and of *Essays on Hilda Hilst: Between Brazil and World Literature* (forthcoming). Currently, he is completing *Partial Enlightenments: Race, Cities, and Nature in the Luso-Brazilian Eighteenth Century*, and working on *Brazil's Imagined Futures: Urban Visions Revisited*, on how different designers, writers and artists have imagined urban futures. He is co-editor of the book series *Lateral Exchanges*. An Associate Professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at Princeton University, he co-directs the Princeton-Mellon Initiative in Architecture, Urbanism & the Humanities, and is associated faculty in the Department of Comparative Literature, the Princeton Environmental Institute, the Programs in Latin American Studies and Urban Studies, and the School of Architecture. A Rio de Janeiro native, Bruno Carvalho received his Ph.D. in Romance Languages and Literatures at Harvard University.