

# Jesuits in Portuguese-Speaking America: A Historiographic Vacuum in Post-Restoration Period

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Historiography of the Society of Jesus in Portuguese America during the post-restoration period raises methodological problems that should be pointed out from the beginning in order to provide a clearer organization of the literature produced on the subject in the last century. The Portuguese world before the expulsion was territorially complex. It integrated Portuguese America, divided in various *capitanías*, into a larger group that also included Africa and Asia.<sup>1</sup> Losing sight of this aspect carries the risk of isolating the region as pioneering work of Dauril Alden remarked in his analysis of the Old Society of Jesus.<sup>2</sup> In fact, much of the historiography has emphasized the role of the Jesuits in the global economic and cultural connections, regarding Portuguese America as a piece of a larger puzzle that fragments itself after the expulsion, suppression, and restoration of the order.<sup>3</sup> The expulsion of the order from the Portuguese domains, in 1759–60, marks a radical turn that would be characterized by territorial fragmentation and increasing weight of the regional and national dimension.<sup>4</sup> Since then, a tension between a universalist tendency

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1 The Jesuit assistance of Portugal was established in 1558. It was composed by seven provinces: Lusitania, Goa, Malabar, Japan, China, Brazil and Maranhão. It reached the number of forty-nine schools (fifteen in Portugal, six in the Azores, Madeira and East Africa, Angola, eleven in the Far East, and seventeen in Brazil), twenty-seven residences, two professed houses, three seminaries, four novitiates, and sixty-three missions in Pará and Maranhão. In 1665, Lusitania is divided into two provinces, Goa, and Malabar (founded in 1610). In 1612, Goa is separated from Japan. In turn, China is separated from Japan in 1618. In 1549, the Jesuits arrive in Brazil, where a new province is created in 1553. In 1615, the vice province of Maranhão was formed, dependent on the province of Brazil. It became independent in 1712. By the date of the expulsion, the assistance of Portugal had about 1,700 Jesuits, 817 of them working in Portugal. The others, dispersed in Brazil, Africa, India, Indochina, Macao, and China. 474 were in the province of Brazil, and 155 in the province of Maranhão. See José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli, *La expulsión y extinción de los jesuitas según la correspondencia diplomática francesa* (Zaragoza/San Cristóbal: Universidad de Zaragoza/Universidad Católica del Táchira, 1996).

2 Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and beyond, 1540–1750* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

3 Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O trato dos viventes: Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul; Séculos XVI e XVII* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000).

4 The expelled Jesuits embarked to Europe in 1760. 125 of them left Rio de Janeiro in March. The following month two ships left Bahia with 124 Jesuits. In May, other fifty-three from Recife were collected and embarked on September 15, from Pará. They counted 670 in total. Jorge Couto, "As missões americanas na origem da expulsão da Companhia de Jesus de Portugal e seus domínios ultramarinos," in *A expulsão dos jesuítas dos domínios portugueses: 250º aniversário* (Lisbon: BNP, 2009). António Júlio Trigueiros, S.J. "O negócio jesuítico e o papel da política regalista portuguesa," *Brotéria: Cristianismo e cultura* 169 (2009): 149–69. Mar García Arenas, "Ecos de uma expulsão: paralelismos e divergências no desterro dos jesuítas ibéricos," *Brotéria: Cristianismo e cultura* 169 (2009): 191–209. Carla Galdeano, Larissa Maia Artoni, Maria Azevedo, eds. *Bicentenário da restauração da Companhia de Jesus (1814–2014)*. Anais do simpósio nacional realizado por ocasião do bicentenário da restauração da Companhia de Jesus, 8 a 10 de maio de 2014 (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 2014), 358.

defended by the order and a localist tendency promoted by local and regional actors grows. Nineteenth-century historiographic production would reflect that tension.

In this essay, we propose a journey through post-restoration historiographic production from the late nineteenth century to the present. The first part focuses on the role of Jesuit historiography in the foundation of Brazilian national history. We highlight the role played by the Brazilian Historical Geographical Institute in the vindication of the figure of the first Jesuits arrived in Brazil. The second part focuses on the pioneering work of Jesuit Serafim Leite (1890–1969), quickly adopted by the national historiography to provide a coherent image of the Brazilian colonial past with the Jesuits at the center. The third and fourth parts address the development of historiography since the 1970s, when “jesuitology” becomes a non-confessional transdisciplinary field. We argue that most of the post-restoration bibliography is devoted to the Old Society of Jesus, reified as a pillar element of Brazilian nationhood.

## Brief Context

Already before the expulsion of the Jesuits, Portuguese America embarked in a wave of reforms aimed at the reorganization of the colonial administration. Reforms entailed the removal of the power Jesuits had had in economic and political affairs for around two centuries. The Society of Jesus was considered an obstacle to the consolidation of monarchical power. By 1755, the project of modernizing the state gave impulse to border colonization, territorial reorganization, industry and commerce, which immediately produced clashes with the Jesuits. A critical event of the period, such as the signing of a Treaty of Limits (also known as the “Treaty of Madrid” in 1750) and the so-called War of the Seven Reductions or “Guarani War” (1754–56) had a great impact on the court of Lisbon, and fed animosity of the royalist factions towards the Jesuits, accused of sedition. In the north of Brazil, Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado (1701–69), relative of José Sebastião de Carvalho (1699–1782) (future Marquis of Pombal) ordered land demarcations and introduced new economic and missionary policies, triggering various incidents with the Jesuits since 1757.

The strong gravitation of Pombal, the attack against the king, the alleged incitements of the Jesuit Gabriel Malagrida (1689–1761), the dissemination of the *Relação abreviada*, accompanied by a documentary annex that compromised the Jesuits, finally led to the expulsion of the Jesuits from the kingdom of Portugal.<sup>5</sup> This ideological environment precipitated the expulsion and marked in a decisive and irreversible way a new profile for Lusitanian colonization and economic administration in the American continent, based on

5 *Relação abreviada da republica que os religiosos Jesuitas das provincias de Portugal, e Hespanha, estabelecerão nos dominios ultramarinos das duas monarchias, e da guerra, que nelles tem movido, e sustentado contra os exercitos hespanhoes, e portuguezes; formada pelos registos das secretarias dos dous respectivos principaes commissarios, e plenipotenciarios; e por outros documentos authenticos* V (Lisbon, 1757). On the “Guarani War,” see Guillermo Wilde, *Religión y poder en las misiones de Guaraníes* (Buenos Aires: Editorial SB, 2009). Kenneth Maxwell, *O marquês de Pombal* (Lisbon: Presença, 2001). Joaquim Serrão Veríssimo, *O marquês de Pombal: O homem, o diplomata e o estadista* (Lisbon: Câmaras Municipais de Lisboa, 1982). António Lopes, *Marquês de Pombal e a Companhia de Jesus: Correspondência inédita ao longo de 115 cartas (1743 a 1751)* (Cascais: Principia, 1999). José Alves de Souza Junior, *Tramas do cotidiano: Religião, política, guerra e negócios no Grão-Pará do Setecentos* (Belém: UFPA, 2012). Arthur Cezar Ferreira Reis, *A Amazônia e a Cobiça internacional* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1982). Luiz Fernando Medeiros Rodrigues, “As prisões e o destino dos jesuítas do Grão-Pará e Maranhão: Narrativa apologética, paradigma de resistência ao anti-jesuitismo,” *CLIO: Revista de pesquisa histórica* 27, no. 1 (2009): 9–45.

Enlightenment thinking.<sup>6</sup> While from an economic point of view reforms aimed at giving new impetus to industry and commerce, from a social and political point of view they sought to give homogeneity to the territory and the population, reorganizing the indigenous policy.<sup>7</sup> Until then, the Jesuits had defended a model of residential segregation of the indigenous population by promoting the standardization of the “general language” (a model also used in other mission areas such as Mojos and Chiquitania).<sup>8</sup> The explicit imposition of the Portuguese language as the only mission language after the expulsion involved a break with the previous Jesuit paradigm.<sup>9</sup> From 1755, the indigenous policy was changing through the introduction of licenses in favor of the colonists. In the *Diretorio dos índios* of 1757, the missionaries lost the control of their villages, being allowed to only exercise mere religious assistance.<sup>10</sup>

Jesuit missionary activities in Brazil were regionally divided between the *aldeias* (Indian villages) and colleges in the northern region, and the mission towns or “reducciones” of Guarani Indians located in the south, under the jurisdiction of the Jesuit province of Paraguay. While the Paraguayan province gradually gained autonomy, the northern region was vulnerable to the interference of colonial society.<sup>11</sup> Mestizo settlers known as “bandeirantes” expanded the interior border, capturing indigenous population as slaves for the coastal plantations.<sup>12</sup> A conflict between the settlers and the Jesuits regarding the treatment of the Indians soon raised and reached its peak in the seventeenth century.<sup>13</sup> Documents in the collection of Pedro de Angelis (1784–1859), acquired by the Brazilian government in the mid of the nineteenth century, depict well the history of this period.

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- 6 Antonio Paulo Cyriaco Fernandes, *Missionários jesuítas no Brasil no tempo de Pombal* (Porto Alegre: Livraria do Globo, 1941); Eduardo Neumann, “Ni V. E ignora que no he tenido ociosa la pluma: A polémica produção escrita de um jesuíta durante o tratado de limites,” *Revista de estudos de cultura* 5 (2016): 35–48; Felix Becker, *Um mito jesuítico: Nicolás I Rey del Paraguay* (Asunción: Carlos Schauman Editor, 1987). José Alves de Souza Junior, “A política pombalina na Amazônia e o projeto de transformação do índio em colono,” in Edilza Fontes, ed. *Contando a história do Pará*, vol. 1: *Da conquista à sociedade da borracha (séculos XVI–XIX)* (Belém: E. Motion, 2002), 177–94.
- 7 Pombal’s propaganda against the Jesuits also implied an important literary aspect. Brazil did not have a university or a printing press until the arrival of the Portuguese court that fled Napoleon in 1808. That is why many Brazilian intellectuals who did their training in Coimbra and wrote books published in Lisbon. A major example is the epic of José Basílio da Gama (1741–95) *O Uruguay*, poem published in Lisbon at the Regia Officina Typografica in 1769, which had a Jesuit response probably by Lourenço Kaulen (1716–c.1797), *Reposta Apologetic ao poema intitulado O Uruguay*, composto por José Basílio da Gama, e dedicado a Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, irmão de Sebastião José de Carvalho, conde de Oeyras, e marquês de Pombal, Lugano, 1786. Maria Regina Celestino Almeida, “Os vassalões d’el Rey nos confins da Amazônia: A colonização da Amazônia Ocidental (1750–1798)” (MA thesis, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 1990).
- 8 Mauro Cezar Coelho, “Do Sertão para o Mar: Um Estudo sobre a Experiência Portuguesa da América, a partir da Colônia; O Caso do Diretório dos índios (1751–1798)” (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 2005). Luiz Fernando Medeiros Rodrigues, “O ‘Plano do governo superior’ do duque Manoel Teles da Silva e as missões jesuítas do Grão-Pará e Maranhão nas instruções de Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado,” in Carla Galdeano, Larissa Maia Artoni, Sílvia Maria Azevedo, eds., *Bicentário da Companhia de Jesus (1814–2014): Anais do Simpósio nacional por ocasião do bicentário da restauração da Companhia de Jesus em São Paulo, de 8 a 10 de maio 2014* (São Paulo: Loyola, 2014). Rita Heloisa de Almeida, *O Diretório dos índios: Um projeto de civilização no Brasil do século XVIII* (Brasília: Editora Universidade de Brasília, 1997). José Alves de Souza Junior, “O Projeto Pombalino na Amazônia e a Doutrina do Índio-Cidadão,” in Armando Alves, ed. *Pontos de história da Amazônia* (Belém: Paka-Tatu, 2001), 35–53. Charlotte de Castelneau L’Estoile, “En raison des conquêtes, de la religion et du commerce: L’invention de la langue générale dans le Brésil du XVIe siècle,” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 45, no. 1 (2015): 77–98.
- 9 Carla Mary S. Oliveira and Ricardo Pinto de Medeiros, *Novos olhares sobre as capitanias do norte do estado do Brasil: História Colonial; Brasil; América Portuguesa* (Editora Universitária/ UFPB, 2007).
- 10 Heloisa de Almeida, *O Diretório dos índios*. Mauro Cezar Coelho, “Do sertão para o mar: Um estudo sobre a experiência portuguesa da América, a partir da colônia: O caso do Diretório dos índios (1751–1798)” (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 2005). Medeiros Rodrigues, “O ‘Plano do Governo Superior’ do duque Manoel Teles da Silva.” José Alves de Souza Junior, “O projeto pombalino na Amazônia e a ‘Doutrina do índio-cidadão,’” in Armando Alves, *Pontos de História da Amazônia* (Belém: Paka-Tatu, 2001), 35–53. De Castelneau L’Estoile, “En raison des conquêtes, de la religion et du commerce,” 77–98.

Based on this documents, Jaime Cortesão (1884–1960) published a seven-volume collection on the Jesuits and the colonization of southern Brazil.<sup>14</sup>

In the zones of interaction there was an early bilingualism that involved both the indigenous and Portuguese population. The “general language” became a fundamental vehicle for communication, especially in areas with greater cultural differentiation, such as the north of the country.<sup>15</sup> In the Amazonian area, the Indians spoke a multitude of languages and the use of a general language was the only method to make catechesis possible. The “língua geral” would even be used with populations that did not speak it originally. Although there was an interest in other languages of the area, few grammars of those languages were preserved and published.<sup>16</sup>

Jesuit historiography after the restoration was influenced by national historiographic trends that would mark the presence of independent states in tension with the universalist Romanizing orientation of the Society of Jesus. Unlike the Spanish domains, the territory of Portuguese America was not affected by a radical rupture with the colonial regime. It was rather characterized by an important degree of continuity after the Portuguese royal family had moved to Brazil in 1808. However, the dynamic of the Portuguese world resembles that of the Spanish world in the fact that it rapidly developed a secularizing nationalism that

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- 11 Alida Metcalf, “Harvesting Souls: The Society of Jesus and the First Aldeias of Brazil,” in *Native Brazil: Beyond the Convert and the Cannibal, 1500–1900*, ed. Hal Langfur (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), 29–61; Charlotte de Castelnau-L’Estoile, *Les ouvriers d’une vigne stérile: Les jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil, 1580–1620* (Lisbon: Centre culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 2000); Karl-Heinz Arenz, *De l’Alzette à l’Amazone: Jean-Philippe Bettendorff et les jésuites en Amazonie portugaise (1661–1693)* (Berlin: Éditions universitaires européennes, 2010). Breno Machado dos Santos, *Os jesuítas no Maranhão e Grão-Pará seiscentista: Uma análise sobre os escritos dos protagonistas da Missão* (Jundiá: Paco Editorial, 2015). Eunícia Barros Barcelos Fernandes, *Futuros outros: Homens e espaços; Os aldeamentos jesuítas e a colonização na América portuguesa* (Rio de Janeiro: Contra Capa, 2015). Maria Emília Monteiro Porto, “Missões de fronteiras: Metodologias missionárias no contexto precário das missões do Rio Grande,” in Maria Cristina Bohn Martins, Leny Caselli Anzai, eds. *Pescadores de almas: Jesuítas no Ocidente e Oriente* (São Leopoldo: Oikos; Editora Unisinos; Cuiabá: EdUFMT, 2012), 147–61.
- 12 John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians* (London: Pan Books, 2004); John Hemming, “Indians and the frontier in colonial Brazil,” in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 501–46; John M. Monteiro, *Negros da terra: Índios e bandeirantes nas origens de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1994); Stuart Schwartz, “Brazilian ethnogenesis: mestiços, mamelucos, and pardos,” in *Le nouveau monde, mondes nouveaux: L’expérience américaine*, ed. Serge Gruzinski y Nathan Wachtel (Paris: Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations/ École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1996), 7–28.
- 13 The state of Brazil and the northern region of Maranhão were administratively separated. The north was very slowly colonized by the Portuguese, occupied by the French between 1612 and 1615, and the Dutch between 1624 and 1654. Parts of the north were lately colonized by missionaries as Bettencourt, who used methods of other regions and resorted to the use of the general language. Historiography paid more attention to the coastal region influenced by the Paulist *bandeirantes* that penetrated the interior than to the northern region that in fact had stronger contacts at the beginning.
- 14 Josefa Emilia Sabor, *Pedro de Angelis y los orígenes de la bibliografía argentina: Ensayo bio-bibliográfico* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Solar, 1995); Jaime Cortesão, *Manuscritos da coleção De Angelis*, vol. 1, *Jesuítas e bandeirantes no Guairá (1549 [i.e. 1594]–1640)* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Obras Raras e Publicações, 1951); Cortesão, *Manuscritos da coleção De Angelis*, vol. 2, *Jesuítas e bandeirantes no Itatim, 1596–1760* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Obras Raras e Publicações, 1952); Cortesão, *Manuscritos da coleção De Angelis*, vol. 3, *Jesuítas e bandeirantes no Tape, 1615–1641* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Publicações e Divulgação, 1969); Cortesão, *Do Tratado de Madri à conquista dos Sete Povos (1750–1802)* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Publicações e Divulgação, 1969); Cortesão, *Antecedentes do Tratado de Madri* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Obras Raras e Publicações, 1955). On the *De Angelis* collection see Franz Obermeier, “El Apéndice a la Colección de obras impresas y manuscritas [1853] de Pedro de Angelis: Una reconstrucción de la parte etnolingüística de su colección,” *IHS* 5, no. 2 (2017): 3–27, <https://revistas.unc.edu.ar/index.php/ihs/index> (accessed November 18, 2018).
- 15 John Monteiro, *Negros da terra: Índios e bandeirantes nas origens de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1994). De Castelnau L’Estoile, “En raison des conquêtes, de la religion et du commerce,” 77–98.
- 16 Volker Noll, Wolf Dietrich, and Aryon Dall’Igna Rodrigues, eds., *O português e o tupi no Brasil* (São Paulo, SP: Editora Contexto, 2010).

regarded the Jesuits with great distrust. The Jesuits, first proscribed and then restored and returned, never regained the dominating position they had had in colonial society. Instead, they negotiated a new position in a Brazilian society marked by anti-Jesuitism. New secular governments demanded from them an involvement in the construction of new states, ironically excluding them from any initiative that did not submit to the nationalist and secular policies. Despite this, since the end of the nineteenth century, members of the order would be allowed to work in the formation of the elites of the country, as was the case of some German Jesuits who fled Otto von Bismarck's (1815–98) *Kulturkampf* against political Catholicism. For example, Jesuit Ambrosius (Ambros) Schupp (1840–1914) was a professor in Porto Alegre in the Seminar of Education of the Clergy and in the Conceição College in São Leopoldo. He founded the School of Engineering of Porto Alegre and wrote a book about the Mucker revolt in that area. *Die Mucker* (1900) was translated into Portuguese shortly after.<sup>17</sup>

Nineteenth century witnessed a growing separation of the historiographical discourse between Brazil and Portugal. While in the first case the apologetic vision of the history of the order would find a place in the national historiography (initially hostile to the Jesuits), in the second, it would be practically marginalized by the anti-Jesuit currents that dominated the Lusitanian intellectual field since the end of the nineteenth century. In contrast to the Spanish case, the literature of the Portuguese Jesuit exile would not develop or find a place in the process of construction of the identity of the new secular states, neither in the peninsula nor in the overseas territories. The writings of the Jesuits depending on the Portuguese assistance in exile, although existent, cannot properly be considered a *sui generis* genre as it is in the Spanish case. Until recently, Jesuit texts of exile remained virtually unknown.<sup>18</sup> Simone Tiago Domingos points out that the Society's activity was regarded as a destabilizing factor against the projects of national sovereignty. Jesuit universalism seemed to be in contradiction with the development of secular autonomy and "civil liberties."<sup>19</sup>

Medeiros Rodrigues points out that the return of the Jesuits to Brazil in the nineteenth century was not a formal or planned restoration of the order, but rather a process derived from "successive requests and opportunities presented to the Society."<sup>20</sup> The first Jesuits who returned to Brazil was Mariano Berdugo (1803–57), founder of the Argentine mission in 1836. After maintaining conflicts with the governor of Buenos Aires, Juan Manuel de Rosas (1793–1877), Berdugo travelled to Rio de Janeiro in 1841 to negotiate with Bishop Manuel do Monte Rodrigues de Araújo (1798–1863) a grant for establishing missions in Rio Grande do Sul. Cândido Mendes Almeida (1818–81) was one of the main defenders of the Jesuits at the

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17 Ambrósio Schupp, *Os muckers: Episódio histórico extraído da vida contemporânea nas colônias alemãs do Rio Grande do Sul* (Porto Alegre: Selbach & Mayer 1905).

18 It should be noted that in the Portuguese world figures equivalent to the Jesuits expelled from the Hispanic world, later recognized as promoters of independence ideas, did not emerge. In 1820, a manuscript of the Jesuit João Daniel was "discovered" in the National Library of Rio de Janeiro and published later by the IHGB. Other Jesuit writers were only published at the end of the twentieth century. On the Jesuit literature about the Amazon see Beatriz Helena Domingues, *Tão longe tão perto: A Ibero-América e a Europa ilustrada* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Museu da República, 2007). Anselmo Eckart, *Memórias de um jesuíta prisioneiro de Pombal* (Braga – Lisbon: Livraria A. I. – Edições Loyola, 1987).

19 Simone Tiago Domingos, "Política e memória: A polémica sobre os jesuítas" (MA thesis: UNICAMP, 2009), 278.

20 Luiz Fernando Medeiros Rodrigues, "Algunas fuentes documentales acerca de la llegada y misión de los primeros jesuitas de la Compañía restaurada en el sur de Brasil," in *La restauración de la Compañía de Jesús en la América hispanolusitana: Una antología de las fuentes documentales*, ed. Teresa Matabuena Peláez, María Eugenia Ponce Alcocer, and Jorge Enrique Salcedo Martínez (México: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana/ Universidad Iberoamericana Puebla/ Universidad Iberoamericana Ciudad de México, 2014), 219–31.

monarchical court in Rio. In 1843, the Jesuits founded the first residence in Porto Alegre, and the following year, another in Desterro (now Florianópolis). From these residences they conducted missionary work in Rio Grande and Santa Catarina. This was a complicated period in Brazil characterized by the ascent of federalist and republican movements. Among the most dramatic events there was the *Farroupilha* revolution, which brought to the province of São Pedro a civil war that lasted from 1835 to 1845. This situation prevented the Jesuits from returning to the areas they had been in previous times. They frequently attended to the needs of Catholic immigrants from the colonies of São Leopoldo, in 1842.

In 1847, the Jesuits founded the first school of Latin and, between 1848 and 1852, they launched missions with the Indians called “bugres” (a pejorative name used for the Kaingang Indians), who lived in the outskirts of the missions of Uruguay and Southern Brazil. These missions soon needed the assistance of other Jesuits, who came from German-speaking lands in 1849, and gradually replaced the Spanish-speaking Jesuits. In 1864, the Jesuit Jacobus Razzini (1816–96) proposed to reopen a school in the zone of ancient missionary activity, obtaining authorization from the emperor in person, under the condition that the Jesuits would not disturb state affairs. In 1869, the residence of Porto Alegre and the German-speaking Jesuits became dependent on the German province of the Society of Jesus, while the rest remained directly under the Roman jurisdiction. The information about this period of Jesuit ministry is highly fragmentary and scarce. There is also a lack of information about the schools they founded. In the nineteenth century, a group of Jesuit-friendly fathers founded in Itu, a region of sugar plantations, a Jesuit-like school. São Luis school was moved to São Paulo in 1917. Another very famous school was that of Nova Friburgo, which was frequented by Rio de Janeiro’s elite.

Amongst the pioneering works in the study of Jesuit activity in the post-restoration period is *La Compañía de Jesús restaurada en la República Argentina y Chile*, published by Rafael Pérez (1842–1901) in 1901.<sup>21</sup> After this work, which covered that first missionaries arrived in Brazil, a historiographical silence of many decades predominated.

In the nineteenth century, there was an interest in the Jesuits fostered by the work of French priest naturalized Brazilian, João Pedro Gay (1815–1891), who had many contacts at the court of Brazil and the honorary title of *conego*. Gay worked as priest of the town of São Borja, founded by the Jesuits in 1682. His work in the missions’ area and his interest in the Guaraní language can be considered as an early attempt to integrate Jesuit history with national history. In his book *Historia da republica jesuitica do Paraguay desde o descobrimento do Rio da Prata até nossos dias*, published in 1861, Gay describes the ecclesiastical administration and the system of indigenous militias of the missions emphasizing the hope of recovering the prosperity of the old times in the region.<sup>22</sup>

Although recent collections related to the commemorations of the bicentenary of the restoration of the Society of Jesus reintroduced relevant questions for historiographical

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21 Rafael Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús restaurada en la República Argentina y Chile* (Barcelona: Impr. de Henrich, 1901).

22 Joao Pedro Gay, *História da república jesuítica do Paraguay* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1863), <http://www.ihgb.org.br/publicacoes/revista-ihgb/itemlist/filter.html?category=9> (accessed November 8, 2018). Leonardo Cerno and Franz Obermeier, “El Padre João Pedro Gay (1815–1891) y su contribución a la historia social del guaraní de Corrientes,” *Corpus: Archivos virtuales de la alteridad americana* 7 (2017), <http://corpusarchivos.revues.org/1774>.

reflection, they do not provide new information about the activity of the Jesuits in that period.<sup>23</sup>

## The Jesuits, Pedro II, and the Foundation of Brazil

A review of the literature produced since the third decade of the nineteenth century leads to a series of conclusions. The first is that the greatest historiographical interest is centered on the activity of the Jesuit missionaries in Brazil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Despite the intense activity that the Jesuits developed in Brazil since the beginning of the twentieth century, including promoting prestigious educational institutions, the attention is almost exclusively placed on the early days of Jesuit activity, as if this was the only relevant period for historiographical investigation. The second is that the history of the Jesuits of Brazil was, especially since the beginning of the twentieth century, highly territorialized, markedly differentiating two regions of ministry, the north and the south. While the north corresponded to the regions of Pará and Maranhão, the south corresponded to the region widely known as the Jesuit province of Paraguay. Although this last region in the strict sense was part of the Spanish domains of the Society of Jesus, it would occupy an important place in the Brazilian production on the Jesuit missionary activity during the twentieth century. Southern region was the scene of intense territorial disputes since the second half of the eighteenth century, such as those triggered by the signing of the Treaty of Madrid (1750). In addition, part of the territory of the ancient missions of Paraguay became part of Portuguese-Brazilian territory in 1801, corresponding today to the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Much of the historiography of southern Brazil was in fact centered on the dynamics of the so-called “missões orientais” (eastern missions), from the early sixteenth century until at least the first half of the nineteenth century, when they were secularized.<sup>24</sup> Decades later, the Triple Alliance War (1865–70) also caused major territorial changes and discussions about the historical legitimacy of territorial claims. The history of the Jesuit province of Paraguay drew great interest of Emperor Pedro II (1825–91), who promoted the publication of documents of this area, especially those that corresponded to the expansion of the *bandeirantes* in the interior and the development of indigenous languages.<sup>25</sup> An interesting example among his initiatives is a Guarani language version of *Conquista espiritual* by the Jesuit Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (1585–1652), translated into Portuguese and published by Almeida Nogueira (1826–82), in the *Anais* of the Rio de Janeiro National Library, which was in fact dedicated to Pedro II.<sup>26</sup> This is one of the first editions of an original missionary manuscript in an indigenous language.

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23 Galdeano, Artoni, and Azevedo, eds. *Bicentenário da restauração da Companhia de Jesus (1814–2014)*; Robert A. Maryks and Jonathan Wright, *Jesuit Survival and Restoration: A Global history, 1773–1900* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Matabuena Peláez, et al., eds. *La restauración de la Compañía de Jesús en la América hispanolusitana*.

24 As mentioned, a pioneering work in the early history of the “eastern missions” is Gay, *História da república jesuítica do Paraguai*. See also Aurélio Pôrto, *História das missões orientais do Uruguai: A arte na civilização jesuítica das missões* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Selbach, 1954).

25 An important line of historiography would be devoted to the sworn enemies of the Jesuits, the *bandeirantes*, seen as national heroes in the history of the foundation of Brazil. On this, see the already mentioned important documentary collection organized by Jaime Cortesão and continued by Hêlio Vianna, *Manuscritos da coleção De Angelis*.

26 The translation into Guarani language is dated 1733 in San Nicolas, one of the mission towns. It was published in 1879 in *Anais da Biblioteca nacional de Rio* (vol. 6) with the title “Manuscrito guarani da Bibliotheca nacional do Rio de Janeiro sobre a primitiva catechese dos índios das missões composto em castelhano pelo P. Antonio Ruiz Montoya, vertido para guarani por outro Padre Jesuíta e agora publicado com a traducção portugueza, notas e um esboço gramatical do Abãnee pelo Dr. Baptista Caetano de Almeida Nogueira.” The subsequent volume of *Anais* (7) contains and analysis of the vocabulary (Rio de Janeiro, 1880), [http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo\\_digital/anais/anais.htm](http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/anais/anais.htm) (accessed November 8, 2018).

As noted, until the expulsion the Portuguese assistance of the Society of Jesus was politically and territorially complex. It included Goa, Macao, Angola, Mozambique, Grão Para, and proper “Brazil.” One of the last works related to the Jesuits in the Portuguese territory in all its amplitude is the three-volume *História de Companhia de Jesus na assistência de Portugal (1560–1615)*, published by Jesuit Francisco Rodrigues (1873–1956) in 1931.<sup>27</sup>

After the restoration, it would no longer be possible to speak of a unified Jesuit history in the Portuguese world. The events that precipitated at the beginning of nineteenth century (Napoleonic invasions and the transfer of the Portuguese royal family to Rio de Janeiro) produced a crisis in the regimes of representation of spatial and temporal order. In the Iberian peninsula, the Jesuits were generally identified with monarchical restoration, which made them object of constant attacks.<sup>28</sup> Anti-Jesuit trends deepened in Portugal after the expulsion and were strong well until the first half of the twentieth century. As late as 1910, the Jesuits were again expelled from the Republic of Portugal, having previously suffered numerous attacks.<sup>29</sup> Upon their return in the 1930s, the Portuguese Jesuits promoted a recovery of the memory of the expulsion, with the project of publishing the work of expelled Jesuit José Caeiro (1712–91).<sup>30</sup> In this context, it is important to mention the work of João Lúcio de Azevedo (1855–1933), considered one of the most important Portuguese historians of the time. Azevedo, who had lived in Belém do Pará in his youth, edited the letters of António Viera and wrote a history of the Jesuits in Pará, which for years was a major reference work on the Jesuit presence in that region.<sup>31</sup> Much of the intellectual activity of the Jesuits of Lisbon during the twentieth century revolved around the journal *Brotéria*, which exists to this day.<sup>32</sup>

The situation was different in Brazil, where the academic institutions promoted by the empire gradually valorized the figure of the Jesuits in the foundation of Brazil. The Brazilian Geographical Historical Institute (IHGB) played a key role in defining the parameters of national past, assigning the Jesuits a privileged place after initial reticence. Important historians of the institute promoted anti-Jesuit currents.<sup>33</sup> Between 1850 and 1880 arose a

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27 Francisco Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus na assistência de Portugal: Acção crescente da Província portuguesa, 1560–1615*, 2 vols. (Pôrto: Livraria Apostolado da Imprensa, 1938).

28 In Spain, the Jesuits were expelled several times. An early but ephemeral return was possible due to the political change initiated in 1798, when a decree of Carlos IV allowed the exiled Jesuits to return. The well-known Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735–1809) was among the returnees. The external reason was the papal decree of Pius VII (1742–1823, r.1800–23) *Catholicae fidei* (March 1801) that recognized the branch of the order never suppressed in Bielorrussia. The Holy See had tacitly accepted the novitiate in Colorno (Emilia-Romagna) in 1799. That is why the restoration could be expected in Spain. But it was for a short time, until a new expulsion decree in 1801–2.

29 José Eduardo Franco, “O triunfo internacional do antijesuítismo pombalino: Do sucesso a incerteza ou os limites da eficácia do mito negro dos jesuítas,” in Galdeano et al., eds. *Bicentenário da restauração da Companhia de Jesus*, 93–154.

30 The figure of the Jesuit José Caeiro is comparable to that of the Spanish Jesuit Manuel Luengo. Caeiro also wrote a monumental work in several volumes. His *História da expulsão da Companhia de Jesus da província de Portugal*, was translated from Latin by Julio Morais in the 1930s. In 1936, parts of the manuscript referring to the expulsion from Brazil and India were published: José Caeiro, *Jesuítas do Brasil e da Índia na perseguição do Marquês de Pombal (século XVIII)* (Bahia: Ed. Academia Brasileira de Letras / Tip. Salesiana, 1936). José Leite continued the work of publication in the 1990s: José Caeiro, *História da expulsão da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Portugal (séc. XVIII)*, 4 vols. (Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 1991–99).

31 João Lúcio Azevedo, *História de António Vieira* (Lisbon: A. M. Teixeira, 1920); João Lúcio de Azevedo, *Os jesuítas no Grão-Pará: Suas missões e a colonização* (Belém: SECULT, 1999).

32 João Lúcio Azevedo, *História de António Vieira* (Lisbon: A.M. Teixeira, 1920). Teófanos Egido, ed. *Los jesuítas en España y en el mundo hispánico* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2004). Niccolò Guasti, *L'esilio italiano dei gesuiti spagnoli: identità, controllo sociale e pratiche culturali, 1767–1798* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2006).



debate that confronted accusers and defenders of the Jesuits. Famous Brazilian historian Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen (1816–78), author of the *General History of Brazil* (1854), was one of the contenders. Varnhagen claimed that the Jesuits had been politicians more than priests and that works such as the history of Simão de Vasconcellos (1597–1671), first appeared in 1663,<sup>34</sup> had exalted in excess figures such as José de Anchieta (1534–97), who was for Varnhagen no more than a “simple thaumaturge.”<sup>35</sup>

The sudden inauguration of the Brazilian Republic in 1889 implied the replacement of Pedro I (1798–1834), emperor of Brazil between 1822 and 1831, and his successor Pedro II by republican “heroes” such as Tiradentes (Joaquim José da Silva Xavier, 1746–92), who—accused of sedition—was eventually hanged at the end of the eighteenth century. However, the Jesuits were increasingly valorized. Anchieta started to be regarded as a wise and virtuous man, who brought civility to early Brazil, a country that was born from the hands of degraded and dissolute men. In 1890, the Jesuits founded the Anchieta College (Colégio Anchieta) in Porto Alegre and soon after began a series of academic meetings known as “Anchietan Conferences,” which for several years gathered prominent figures of the Brazilian intellectual and political world.

In the same period, some Jesuits become members of the IHGB. Until then, the Jesuits had largely been authors of didactic history books published in São Paulo and Porto Alegre. In this context, the academic historiography of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century began to associate the missionary activity of the Jesuits to Brazil’s nation building, reflected in the foundation of important cities such as Salvador de Bahia, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro and the catechetical work carried out among the indigenous people. This explains why the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are widely represented in Jesuit historiography (as part of national historiography) since then. Some recognition of the intellectual contribution of the Society of Jesus to Brazil through figures such as Anchieta and Antônio Vieira (1608–97) had already existed. The IHGB was the first institution to publish works of the pre-suppression Jesuits. Until then, only few Jesuit documents were known.<sup>36</sup> This is the case of works by João Felipe Bettendorff (1625–98), João Daniel (1722–76), Manuel de Nóbrega (1517–70), Luis Figueira (1573–1643), Fernão Cardim (1540–1625), and Samuel Fritz (1654–1728), among others.<sup>37</sup>

In short, Brazilian Jesuit historiography gradually configured an explicit response to Portuguese prevailing anti-Jesuitism, finding its place in the secular academy represented

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33 Simone Tiago Domingos, *Política e memória: A polémica sobre os jesuítas na Revista do IHGB e a política imperial (1839–1886)* (Jundiaí, SP: Paco Editorial, 2013).

34 Simão de Vasconcellos y Serafim Leite, *Vida do venerável padre José de Anchieta* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa nacional, 1943).

35 It is worth noting that there already existed biographic literature about Anchieta from colonial times. For example, *Josephi Anchietae Societatis Iesv sacerdotis in Brasilia defuncti vita: Ex iis, quae de eo Petrus Rotorigius, quatuor libris Lusitanico idiomate collegit, aliisque monumentis fide dignis; A Sebastiano Beretario descripta prodiit nunc primum* (Lyon, 1617). On the ideas of Varnhagen and the controversy about the Jesuits, see Domingos, *Política e memória*. See also Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, Paulo Restivo, and Nicolas Yapuguay, *História da paixão de Christo e taboa dos parentescos em língua tupi* (Vienna: Imp. I. e R. do estado, 1876) and Fernando Torres Londoño, “Memoria y religión en la historia del Brasil: La Compañía de Jesús, el Instituto Histórico Geográfico Brasileiro y la definición de la historia nacional,” *REVER: Revista de estudos da religião* 18, no. 1 (2018): 175–93, <http://revistas.pucsp.br/index.php/rever/article/view/37383>.

36 The IHGB produced editions of documents of the War of the Triple Alliance with Paraguay, as a curious handwritten catechism in Guarani captured during the conflict: “Declaración de la *Doctrina christiana* (1851),” *Revista do Instituto historico e geografico brasileiro* 43 (1880): 165–90, <http://www.ihgb.org.br/rihgb.php>. Text begins on page 169.

by the IHGB and the universities. This process reached its maturity with the work of the Jesuit Serafim Leite, precursor of more critical Jesuit historiography. His ten-volume *Historia da Companhia de Jesus em Brasil* and five-volume *Monumenta Brasiliae*, quickly gained an important place in the development of Brazilian historiography.<sup>38</sup> The celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the city of São Paulo concluded this process of academic legitimation. In 1954, Leite organized a pioneering work in three large volumes that contained the letters of the first Jesuits in Brazil, with a critical apparatus of positivist inspiration.<sup>39</sup>

Jesuit institutions continued accompanying the growth of secular institutions in the research of Brazilian past.<sup>40</sup> Linguistics had a special place in this development, specifically “Tupinology,” which played an important role not only in the Jesuit documentary heritage, but also in the very construction of the identity of Brazil.<sup>41</sup> The linguistic work of the Jesuits as first “Tupinologists” received particular attention among intellectuals involved in the building of Brazilian nation, especially after the war of the Triple Alliance against Paraguay. We already mentioned above the close link between Almeida Nogueira and Pedro II, who also considered Guaraní as a national language.<sup>42</sup> Paraguay was a country widely recognized for the use of the Guaraní language. Brazil put at the center the Tupi language, marking a contrast that was not so clear until then. Plínio Ayrosa (1895–1961) became the founder of a Tupi language chair in the twentieth century, following the legacy of the Jesuits as its first

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- 37 Jesuit texts continued to be published during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997). Manoel Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil (1549–1560)* (Belo Horizonte: Editora Itatiaia, 1988). João Felipe Bettendorf, *Compêndio da Doutrina cristã na língua portuguesa, e brasileira* (Lisbon: Na. offic. de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, 1800). João Daniel, *Quinta parte do thesouro descoberto no Rio Maximo Amazonas: Contêm hum novo methodo para a sua agricultura, utilíssima praxe para a sua povoação, navegação, augmento, e commercio, assim dos índios como dos europeos* (Rio de Janeiro: Imp. Regia, 1820). Samuel Fritz and Renan Freitas Pinto, *O Diário do padre Samuel Fritz* (Manaós: EDUA, 2006). Luis Figueira, *Arte de grammatica da língua brasílica* (Lisbon: Da Silva, ca. 1621). For nineteenth-century linguistics, see Franz Obermeier, “La contribution allemande à une étude linguistique du tupi-guarani au XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle,” in *Journée “Babel transatlantique” en Mai 2015 à Paris*, [https://macau.uni-kiel.de/receive/macau\\_publ\\_00001532](https://macau.uni-kiel.de/receive/macau_publ_00001532).
- 38 Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* (Lisboa: Livraria Portuguesa, 1938). Leite, *Monumenta Brasiliae*, 5 vols. (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1956). Leite, *Os missionários da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil e a sua contribuição para as ciências médicas* (Lisbon: Casa holandesa, 1938). Leite, *Cartas dos primeiros jesuítas do Brasil*, 3 vols. (São Paulo: Comissão do IV Centenário da Cidade de São Paulo, 1954), v. 1 (1538–1553), v. 2 (1553–1558), v. 3 (1558–1563). Leite, *Suma histórica da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil (assistência de Portugal) 1549–1760* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1965).
- 39 Among the collections of letters published by Leite is *Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio* (1556), which is considered the first book written in Brazil. Manuel da Nóbrega and Serafim Leite, *Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio* (Lisbon: IV Centenário da fundação de São Paulo, 1954). See also José Eisenberg, *As missões jesuíticas e o pensamento político moderno: encontros culturais, aventuras teóricas* (Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2000).
- 40 An important center of production in the humanities was the Institute of Research on Anchieta (Instituto Anchietano de Pesquisa) created in the city of São Leopoldo, at UNISINOS. The institute promotes research in the field of history, archeology, and linguistics. The Jesuit Pedro Ignacio Schmitz was a pioneer in the archeological studies of the region. The institute still publishes the journal *Pesquisas*.
- 41 Benedito Prezida, *Os indígenas do planalto paulista: Nas crônicas quinhentistas e seiscentistas* (São Paulo: Humanitas, FFLCH-USP, 2000).
- 42 There is much to say about the early interest in Tupi-Guarani linguistics. Pedro II promoted the publication of a few documents in Guaraní. The emperor’s German teachers also were interested in the Guaraní and the Tupi. The German scholar Karl Friedrich Henning (1843–87) was Pedro II’s first full-time teacher. He had a strong interest in Tupi-Guarani linguistics. Henning was followed in 1886 by the German Arabist Christian Friedrich Seybold (1859–1921), who accompanied Pedro II in his exile to Paris in 1891 and later published early Jesuit sources in the Guaraní language. Among them were the Jesuit Paulo Restivo’s (1658–1740) *Lexicon Hispano-Guaranicum inscriptum to Paulo Restivo secundum Vocabularium Antonii Ruiz de Montoya anno 1722 denuo editum et adauctum posthac redimpressum necnon praefatione notisque instructum opera et studiis Christiani Frederici Seybold* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1893) and *Linguae Guarani grammatica Hispanice...* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1892). He also published a short anonymous but probably Jesuit manuscript grammar that the emperor owned as: *Brevis linguae Guarani grammatica Hispanice a Paulo Restivo secundum libros Antonii Ruiz de Montoya et Simonis Bandini... a 1718 composita* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1890).

systematizers. Something similar can be said about the field of ethnology.<sup>43</sup> First professional ethnologists used the work of the Jesuits who acted in the middle of the sixteenth century to propose a systematic vision of Tupinambá religion and culture. Two central figures of intellectuals who first acknowledged the Jesuit ethnographic legacy were Alfred Métraux (1902–63) and Florestan Fernandes (1920–95).<sup>44</sup>

## Serafim Leite and Scientific Historiography

The corner stone of Jesuit historiography in Brazil is Leite's *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*. The work is a collection of ten volumes about the activity of the Jesuits in Portuguese America from its establishment until the expulsion of the Society, covering both northern and southern areas. Leite began to publish the collection in 1934, explicitly following positivist criteria of documentary editing. He gathered a large number of documents from the General Archive of the Society of Jesus and other Roman archives, public and private archives of Portugal and Brazil, and as he himself stated, any repository where he was able to find documents referring to the presence and activity of the Society.<sup>45</sup> Leite asserted that his work was scientific because it was based on collecting documentation, avoided any kind of hagiography or devout approach, and was free of biased—either positive or negative—representations of the Jesuits (such as Anchieta as “saint” or Vieira as “politician”). Leite affirmed that history “is simply the truth.” He wrote in the introduction of his work: “Scientific history is and will always be dates and men, with their multiple activity in time and space. Through rigorous research, it seeks to clearly reveal everything in the general line of events.”<sup>46</sup>

As most of the intellectuals of his time, Leite's work was based on a Eurocentric understanding of colonization that regarded Latin civilization of the Portuguese as “superior to that of the Tupinambas or the fetishist Africans.” Leite believed that the Jesuits had converted barbarian beings into men through Christian faith.<sup>47</sup> He tried to show that the Jesuits placed themselves in a intermediary position between the excesses and disobedience of the Portuguese colonists for protecting the Indians and helping them develop. In addition to resettling and fixing the Indians, Jesuits taught them how to work the land regularly. Leite also emphasized the enormous amount of ethnological and linguistic knowledge produced by the Jesuits that could be easily mapped in the indices of

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43 Maria Cândida Drumond Mendes Barros, “Uma visão romântica da língua tupi,” *Ameríndia* 15 (1990): 85–94. Franz Obermeier, “Deutsche in Brasilien und Argentinien: Die Anfänge einer ethnolinguistischen Forschung in Brasilien und Argentinien im 19. Jahrhundert; Indigene Sprachen, Varietäten und Forschungsnetzwerk,” in Joachim Born and Anna Ladilova, eds. *Sprachkontakte des Portugiesischen* (Hamburg/Frankfurt am Main: Institut für Romanistik der Universität Hamburg und der Deutsche Lusitanistenverband, 2016), 191–224, [http://macau.uni-kiel.de/receive/macau\\_publ\\_00001534](http://macau.uni-kiel.de/receive/macau_publ_00001534)

44 Alfred Métraux, *La religion des tupinamba et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus tupi-guarani* (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux / Bibliothèque de L'École des Hautes Études Sciences Religieuses, 1928); Florestan Fernandes, *Organização social dos Tupinambá* (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1963).

45 On Leite, see Flávio Massami Martins Ruckstadter and Maria Cristina Gomes Machado, “Um projeto católico de nação: Serafim Leite S.J. (1890–1969) e a obra *Páginas de história do Brasil*,” in *Teoria e prática da educação* 18, no. 1 (2015): 111–21, <http://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/TeorPratEduc/article/view/29004>. Flávio Massami Martins Ruckstadter and Oriomar Skalinski Junior, “Os textos do Pe. Serafim Leite, S.J. na *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*: Um projeto formativo centrado na ideia de nação católica,” *Práxis educativa* 12, no. 1 (2017): 64–82.

46 Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, vol. 10, *Índice geral* (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 2004), xxviii.

47 Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, xxvi. We find similar assessments in Varnhagen's seminal historiographic work. However, Varnhagen would not have agreed with Leite's positive evaluation of the Jesuits.

their work, which would be organized not according to the periods already established by Portuguese history, but following a chronological, geographical or ideological order, thus producing an autonomous work.<sup>48</sup> Finally, evoking one of the reformers of Brazilian historiography, Capistrano de Abreu (1853-1927), who had said at the beginning of the twentieth century that without the history of the Society of Jesus there would be no “história” of Brazil, Leite claimed that Brazil was born from the collaboration of the Portuguese crown and the religious work of the Society of Jesus: “While the governors, captains, and officials were laying the foundations of the state, the religious element laid the foundation of the new edifice with so lofty and noble forms, which would give to the whole the solidity of Eternity.”<sup>49</sup>

In his book *Capítulos de história colonial*, Capistrano de Abreu retrieved, through letters and other documents, Jesuits’ activity in the different regions of Portuguese America since their arrival until their expulsion. For Capistrano, the Jesuits took distance from *bandeirantes* and colonizers since the very beginning.<sup>50</sup> Capistrano emphasized the peaceful role of the Jesuits in the occupation of the territory through the missions and the various conflicts in which they became involved over 210 years of existence in Brazil. In this regard, historiography considers Capistrano de Abreu as a historian that overcome the positivist influence of Varnhagen.<sup>51</sup>

In a political situation of the beginning of the twentieth century the work of Leite was very well received by the IHGB. Leite was formally incorporated as a member of the institution in 1939 and in a solemn session at the institute, the Ministry of Foreign Relations in the name of the government of Getúlio Vargas (1882–1954) recognized him with the Ordem do Cruzeiro. Such a recognition contributed to forge a new image of the Society of Jesus, overcoming the anti-Jesuitism of mainstream academia. In 1940, the IHGB organized a commemoration of the founding of the Society of Jesus. The occasion served as a means to promote the idea that both the Society of Jesus and Brazil were born together in the same civilizing movement. The Jesuits thus became central agents in the foundation of Brazil, obfuscating the presence of older orders such as the Franciscans. The work of Leite also spread the idea that the Jesuits were pioneers in the defense of the Indians from slavery and exploitation.

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48 Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, xxvii.

49 Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, xxviii. It should be noted that similar positions were defended by Jesuit Guillermo Furlong in the first half of the twentieth century in Argentina. See, Maria Elena Imolesi, “De la utopía a la historia: La reinvencción del pasado en los textos de Guillermo Furlong,” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome - Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* (2014): 126–21, <http://journals.openedition.org/mefrim/1713>. See also Torres Londoño, “Memoria y religion.”

50 Capistrano de Abreu, *Capítulos de historia colonial (1500–1800)* (Brasília: Conselho Editorial do Senado Federal, 1998), 60–61.

51 José Carneiro de Almeida Filho, Briele Olivera Santos, and Antenor de Oliveira Silva Neto, “A historiografia brasileira: Antes e depois de Capistrano de Abreu a escola dos annales,” *Encontro Internacional de Formação de Professores e Fórum Permanente de Inovação Educacional* 8, no. 1 (2015), <https://eventos.set.edu.br/index.php/enfope/article/view/1556>. Katherine Fringer, “The Contribution of Capistrano de Abreu to Brazilian Historiography,” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 13, no. 2 (1971): 258–78. Rebeca Gontijo, “Capistrano de Abreu, viajante,” *Revista brasileira de história* 30, no. 59 (2010): 15–36. Maria Verônica Secreto, “Capistrano de Abreu and J. F. Turner: A national historiography and an environmental history,” *Estudos sociedade e agricultura* 3 (2007).

## The New Jesuit History and the *terra incognita* of the Restored Order

A vision of the Society of Jesus as a civilizing agent in the formation of Brazil predominated until the 1930s. Such vision established by Leite consolidated in the following decades. However, since the late 1970s, new approaches to the role played by the Jesuits in the colonial period were applied. A doctoral thesis in history by José Carlos Sebe Bom Meihy, defended at the University of São Paulo in 1975, was one of the steps in this process.<sup>52</sup> In “A presença do Brasil na Companhia de Jesus 1549–1649,” Meihy differentiated two kinds of Jesuit documentation: “edificante,” intended for the affirmation of the Society of Jesus, and “informativa,” oriented to expose the internal tensions and conflicts of the missionary project of the Jesuits in Brazil. Some years later, the work of the anthropologist Luiz Felipe Baeta Neves *O combate dos soldados de Cristo na terra dos papagaios* (1978) came out, proposing an anthropological critique of the process of Christianization of the indigenous peoples. Baeta Neves sought to illustrate the Jesuits’ persecution of the indigenous population in the imposition of the Christian worldview.<sup>53</sup>

These two works among others of the time mark a new historiographical method, inaugurating a trend of critical studies that has continued up to date. The creation of the first graduate programs in the humanities and social sciences in Brazil decisively influenced this renewal, covering a wide range of fields from social, economic, and cultural history to psychology and linguistics. From the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, several students, mostly lay people, defended numerous theses and published books and articles. The University of São Paulo, the University of Vale dos Sinos (UNISINOS), the Pontifical Catholic Universities of São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul, and the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, are among the most important academic centers of intellectual production in the field of Jesuit studies.<sup>54</sup>

The most notorious works belong to the fields of economic and social history, psychology, anthropology, and literature. Economic history had a continuous production from the 1980s in Brazil, expressed in comprehensive monographs on specific regions or edited books on daily life in the missions and *haciendas* (ranches), and on the context of the expulsion of the Jesuits.<sup>55</sup> As it is well known, Jesuits had attracted the attention of historians such as Magnus Mörner (1924–2012) and Juan Carlos Garavaglia (1944–2017), who wrote excellent

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52 José Carlos Sebe Bom Meihy, “A presença do Brasil na Companhia de Jesus, 1549–1649” (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 1975).

53 Luiz Felipe Baeta Neves, *O combate dos soldados de Cristo na terra dos papagaios: Colonialismo e repressão cultural* (Rio de Janeiro: Forense-Universitária, 1978); Baeta Neves, *Vieira e a imaginação social jesuítica: Maranhão e Grão-Pará no século XVII* (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 1997).

54 Researchers of the Museu Emilio Goeldi in Belém do Pará published several books and articles dealing with linguistics.

55 Regina Maria A. F. Gadelha, *As missões jesuíticas do Itaitim: Um estudo das estruturas sócio-econômicas coloniais do Paraguai (séculos XVI e XVII)* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1980). José Alves de Souza Júnior, *Tramas do cotidiano: Religião, política, guerra e negócios no Grão-Pará do setecentos* (Belém: Ed. UFPA, 2012). Paulo de Assunção, *Negócios jesuíticos: O cotidiano da administração dos bens divinos* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 2004). Marcia Amantino et al., eds., *Povoamento, catolicismo e escravidão na antiga Macaé (séculos XVII ao XIX)* (Rio de Janeiro: Apicuri, 2011). Some interest was also given to the shift in economic policies in the region of Grão Pará and Maranhão and the conflicts with the Jesuits that led to various expulsions before 1759. From 1621 on, Ceará, Maranhão, and Pará constituted a unit known as “Estado do Maranhão,” which was different from the “Estado do Brasil,” the former southern captaincies, until 1774. In 1755, Marquis of Pombal funded the Companhia de Comércio do Grão-Pará e Maranhão. His brother Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado was named governor of the region, which was an attempt of modernizing Brazil.

economic histories of Paraguay and the Río de la Plata region in the context of the transatlantic world.<sup>56</sup> In their works published in the 1990s, Dauril Alden provided a broad overview of Jesuit economic activity throughout the Portuguese world and Luiz Felipe de Alencastro inserted the economic activity of the Jesuits in the Atlantic world. Alencastro examined the performance of the Jesuits in Brazil and Angola since the sixteenth century, showing that the position Jesuits adopted in front of indigenous slavery was not isolated from the strategies they promoted for controlling and regulating the trade of African slaves. He questioned the idea that the Jesuits were opposed to slavery and their unrestricted defense of the freedom of the Indians. These works still serve as important references.<sup>57</sup>

In 1993, ethnologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro published the essay “A inconstância da alma selvagem,”<sup>58</sup> which was essential to theoretically rethink the interactions between Jesuits and natives in sixteenth-century Brazil. Viveiros de Castro explored the basic misunderstandings of the Jesuits in interacting with the Indians and reconstructs the indigenous concepts of identity and otherness. The article constitutes an influential and definitive irruption of ethnological reflection in the field of Jesuit studies. It also raises a question on the very nature of religious conversion.<sup>59</sup> In this context, a rereading of the Jesuit texts as sources of anthropological knowledge *avant la lettre* also consolidated. Classic authors of Americanist ethnography, such as aforementioned Métraux and, since the 1970s, Pierre Clastres (1934–77) and Hélène Clastres, had founded their claims predominantly on Jesuit sources to reconstruct the indigenous religious worldview but without investigating the context of production of that missionary sources.<sup>60</sup>

An alternative approach displaced the interest from the indigenous concepts of “pure state” to mediations involved in the interactions with the Jesuit missionaries, revealing that the missionary writings reflected more Jesuit aspirations and projections than indigenous reality. This historical approach is well represented in the works by Ronaldo Vainfas, Paula Montero, and Cristina Pompa.<sup>61</sup>

Other authors addressed the work of the Society of Jesus from broader transdisciplinary frameworks, emphasizing the study of daily life in colleges, residences and houses, evidenced by annual letters and letters of rectors and provincials. Castelnau studied the Brazilian province and the clashes among colonizers, Indians, and authorities, and the

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56 Magnus Mörner, *Actividades políticas y económicas de los jesuitas en el Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires: Hyspamerica, 1985). Juan Carlos Garavaglia, *Mercado interno y economía colonial: Tres siglos de la yerba mate* (México: Grijalbo, 1983).

57 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*; Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O trato dos viventes: Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul, séculos XVI e XVII* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000). For a framework for the borderlands situation, see Tamar Herzog, *Frontiers of possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

58 Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, *A inconstância da alma selvagem* (São Paulo: Cosac & Naify, 2002).

59 Carlos Fausto, “Se Deus Fosse Jaguar: Canibalismo e Cristianismo entre os Guarani (XVI–XX séculos),” *Mana* 11 (2005): 385–418; Aparecida Vilaca and Robin Wright, *Native Christians: Modes and Effects of Christianity among Indigenous Peoples of the Americas* (Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate, 2009).

60 Pierre Clastres, *La société contre l'État: Recherches d'anthropologie politique* (Paris: Les éditions de minuit, 1974); Hélène Clastres, *La terre sans mal* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1975); Francisco Noeli, “Curt Nimuendajú e Alfred Métraux: A invenção da busca da “terra sem mal,” *Suplemento antropológico* 34 (1999): 123–66; Métraux, *La religion des tupinamba*. Guillermo Wilde, *Religión y poder*.

61 Ronaldo Vainfas, *A heresia dos índios: Catolicismo e rebeldia no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995). Paula Montero, ed., *Deus na aldeia: Missionários, índios e mediação cultural* (São Paulo: Editora Globo, 2006); Cristina Pompa, *Religião como tradução: missionários, Tupi e Tapuia no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo: EDUSC-ANPOCS, 2003). See also Jean-Claude Laborie, *Mangeurs d'homme et mangeurs d'âme, une correspondance missionnaire au XVIe, la lettre jésuite du Brésil, 1549–1568* (Paris: Champion, 2003).

relationship with the general government in Rome. She paid attention to the visits, the exercise of obedience, and the constitution of a complex equilibrium between missionaries' activities and the interests of colonizers and colonial authorities. From the point of view of political sciences, José Eisenberg examined the way how Jesuit Scholastics confronted the conditions of the "gentios," servitude, inspired civilizing plans, necessary coercion, and adaptation from the point of view of law. Carlos Zeron studied the juridical categories and the philosophical and political concepts employed in treatises and other texts by the Jesuits in which they justified slavery both of Africans and Indians. Adone Agnolin, in dialogue with anthropology, analyzed "the negotiation of faith" through catechesis understood as translation.<sup>62</sup>

In the field of psychology, psychoanalyst Roberto Gambini devoted his works to the Jesuits since the 1980s. His book *O espelho do índio* had a significant impact especially after its new edition was published in 1990.<sup>63</sup> By then, Marina Massimi opened an original perspective focused on different aspects of Jesuits' identity, spirituality, and imaginary.<sup>64</sup> Massimi also investigated the concept of Jesuits' missionary desire in the *indipetae* letters before and after the expulsion of the Jesuits.<sup>65</sup> In the field of literature, it is worth highlighting a series of works on Jesuit literary production. The writings of Vieira and Anchieta occupied a central place in these studies, which received attention from acclaimed literary critics, such as Adolfo Hansen, Alzir Pecora or Alfredo Bosi.<sup>66</sup> Fernando Torre-Londoño has embarked on a project to explore the scarcely known writings of the Portuguese exiled Jesuits.<sup>67</sup>

62 José Eisenberg, *As missões jesuíticas e o pensamento político moderno* (Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 2000). Adone Agnolin, *O apetite da antropologia: O sabor antropológico do saber antropológico; Alteridade e identidade no caso tupinambá* (São Paulo: Associação Editorial Humanitas, 2005); Adone Agnolin, *Jesuítas e selvagens: A negociação da fé no encontro catequético-ritual americano-tupi (séculos XVI–XVII)* (São Paulo: Humanitas-FAPESP, 2007). Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile*. Charlotte Castelnau, "De l'observation à la conversation: le savoir sur les indiens du Brésil dans l'œuvre d'Yves D'Evreux," in *Missions d'évangélisation et circulation des savoirs*, ed. de Castelnau-L'Estoile et al. (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2011), 269–93; Carlos Zeron, "Les aldeamentos jesuítas au Brésil et l'idée moderne d'institution de la société," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 76, no. 151 (2007): 38–74. Zeron, *Linha de fé: A Companhia de Jesus e a escravidão no processo de formação da sociedade colonial (Brasil, séculos XVI e XVII)* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 2011). See also Filipe Eduardo Moreau, *Os índios nas cartas de Nóbrega e Anchieta* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2003). Adone Agnolin et al., *Contextos missionários: Religião e poder no império português* (São Paulo: Editora HUCITEC, 2011).

63 Roberto Gambini, *O espelho índio: Os jesuítas e a destruição da alma indígena* (Rio de Janeiro: Espaço e Tempo, 1988).

64 Marina Massimi, *Palavras, almas e corpos no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 2005). Massimi, *A novela História do predestinado peregrino e de seu irmão precito (1682): Compêndio dos saberes antropológicos e psicológicos dos jesuítas no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 2012).

65 Marina Massimi and André Barreto Prudente, *Um incêndio desejo das índias* (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 2002). Emanuele Colombo and Marina Massini, "Cartas de un viaje interior: Una investigación en curso sobre las cartas *indipetae* italianas de la Nueva Compañía," in *Las misiones antes y después de la restauración de la Compañía de Jesús: Continuidades y cambios*, ed. Leonor Correa Etchegaray, Emanuele Colombo, and Guillermo Wilde (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana de México/Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2014), 69–100.

66 João Adolfo Hansen, Adma Muhana, and Hélder Garmes, *Estudos sobre Vieira* (São Paulo: Ateliê Editorial, 2011); António Vieira and João Adolfo Hansen, *Cartas do Brasil: 1626-1697, Estado do Brasil e Estado do Maranhão e Grão Pará* (São Paulo: Hedra, 2003); Alfredo Bosi, *Cultura brasileira: Uma dialética de la colonización* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2005); Alcir Pecora, *Teatro do sacramento: A unidade teológico-retórico-política dos sermões de Antônio Vieira* (Campinas: Editora da Unicamp - EDUSP, 1994). Among the various works by João Adolpho Hansen stand out those on António Vieira's letters, published with an introduction in 2003. Hansen presents the Jesuit epistolary "genre" and the composition of the text inspired by the Latin *sermocinatio* that divided it into *salutatio*, *exordium*, *captatio benevolentiae*, *narratio*, *argumentatio*, *petitio*, *conclusio*, and *subscriptio*. Hansen also contributed an essay on Vieira's sermons in Lourenço Dantas Mota, ed. *Introduction to Brazil: A banquet in the tropics* (São Paulo: SENAC Publishing House, 2001).

67 Fernando Torre-Londoño, "Visiones jesuíticas del Amazonas en la Colonia: De la misión como dominio espiritual a la exploración de las riquezas del río vistas como tesoro," *Anuario colombiano de historia social y de la cultura* 39, no. 1 (2012): 183–213. See also Fernando Torres Londoño, "Escrevendo Cartas: Jesuítas, escrita e missão no século XVI," *Revista brasileira de história* 22, no. 43 (2002): 11–32.

A special mention deserves the scholarship on the Jesuit missions of Paraguay, where Portuguese-speaking literature had and has an important presence.<sup>68</sup> Numerous publications emerged from symposia and regional conferences, among them the Jornadas internacionales sobre las misiones jesuíticas, which have been held since 1984, rotating their headquarters among Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Chile.<sup>69</sup> In this geographical area, the history of science and culture has received growing interest in the last years.<sup>70</sup> Recent works such as Eliane Deckmann Fleck's and Miguel de Asúa's renewed a tradition initiated by the Jesuit Guillermo Furlong in the 1940s.<sup>71</sup> On the other hand, the recent work of Eduardo Neumann on the written missionary culture, expanded considerably the perspective of Bartomeu Melià's precursory works.<sup>72</sup>

The historiography reviewed so far reveals that the interest in Jesuit activity in Brazil corresponds mostly to the sixteenth, seventeenth, and part of the eighteenth centuries. The era of expulsion, suppression, and restoration, and in general the nineteenth century, constitutes until now a historiographic *terra incognita*. Even the empirical reconstruction of this period is fragmentary and full of gaps. One possible reason for this is that Brazil's emerging national project, as in the case of other republics in the region, initially did not see in the Jesuit past as a valid element of its foundations.<sup>73</sup> When Leite reversed this tendency, he did so by recovering only the old Jesuit past, leaving aside the history of the restored Society of Jesus, marked by the conflicts of the nineteenth century and the

68 Arno Alvarez Kern, *Missões, uma utopia política* (Porto Alegre: Mercado Aberto, 1982). Arno Alvarez Kern, "O processo histórico platino no século XVII: Da aldeia guarani ao povoado missionário," *Estudos ibero-americanos* 11 (1985): 23–41.

69 The precursors of these meetings were Ernesto Maeder (1931–2015), Arno Alvarez Kern, and Bartomeu Melià, among other experts from the region. Regina Maria A. F. Gadelha, ed., *Missões Guarani: Impacto na sociedade contemporânea* (São Paulo: EDUC-FAPESP, 1999). Bartomeu Melià, *Historia inacabada futuro incierto: VIII Jornadas Internacionales sobre las Misiones Jesuíticas, Encarnación, Paraguay, 28 al 30 de setiembre de 2000* (Asunción: Centro de Estudios Paraguayos "Antonio Guasch," Universidad Católica "Nra. Sra. de la Asunción," 2002).

70 Camila Loureiro Dias, "Jesuit Maps and Political Discourse: The Amazon River of Father Samuel Fritz," *The Americas* 69, no. 1 (2012): 95–116. Guillermo Wilde, *Saberes de la conversión: Jesuitas, indígenas e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad* (Buenos Aires: Editorial SB, 2011). Charlotte de Castelneau-L'Estoile, *Missions d'évangélisation et circulation des savoirs: XVIe–XVIIIe siècle* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2011); Eliane Cristina Deckmann Fleck, *Entre a caridade e a ciência: A prática missionária e científica da Companhia de Jesus (América platina, séculos XVII e XVIII)* (São Leopoldo: Oikos Editora / UNISINOS, 2014); Eliane Cristina Deckmann Fleck, *As artes de curar em um manuscrito jesuítico inédito do setecentos: O Paraguai natural ilustrado do padre José Sánchez Labrador (1771–1776)* (São Leopoldo: Oikos/Editora UNISINOS, 2015).

71 Miguel de Asúa, *Science in the Vanished Arcadia: Knowledge of Nature in the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay and Río de La Plata* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

72 Eduardo Neumann, *Letra de índio: Cultura escrita, comunicação e memória indígena nas Reduções do Paraguai* (São Bernardo do Campo, São Paulo: Nhanduti, 2015). Eduardo Neumann, "A escrita dos guaranis nas reduções: Usos e funções das formas textuais indígenas: Século XVIII," *Topoi* 8 (2007): 48–79. Eduardo Neumann, "Escribiendo en la frontera del Paraguay: Prácticas de la escritura guaraní durante la demarcación de límites (siglo XVIII)," *Cultura escrita & sociedad* 7 (2008): 159–90. Neumann, "Mientras volaban correos por los pueblos: Autogobierno e prácticas letradas nas missões guaranis; século XVIII," *Horizontes antropológicos* 22 (2004): 67–92; Neumann, "Razón gráfica y escritura indígena en las reducciones guaranínicas," in *Saberes de la conversión*, ed. Wilde, 99–130; Bartomeu Melià, *El Guaraní conquistado y reducido: Ensayos de etnohistoria* (Asunción: Centro de Estudios Antropológicos "Antonio Guasch," 1986). Bartomeu Melià, *La lengua Guaraní en el Paraguay colonial: La creación de un lenguaje cristiano en las reducciones de los Guaraníes en el Paraguay* (Asunción: CEPAG, 2003). Melià, "Fuentes documentales para el estudio de la lengua Guaraní de los siglos XVII y XVIII," *Suplemento antropológico* 5 (1970): 113–61. Franz Obermeier and Leonardo Cerno, "Nuevos aportes de la lingüística para la investigación de documentos jesuíticos de los siglos XVII y XVIII," *Folia histórica del Nordeste* 21 (2013): 33–56. Harald Thun, Leonardo Cerno, and Franz Obermeier, ed., *Guarinihape tecocue: Lo que pasó en la guerra (1704–1705)* (Kiel: Westensee-Verlag, 2015).

73 See Ana Couchonnal, Ignacio Telesca, and Guillermo Wilde, "Paraguay: La mémoire des missions jésuites dans la fondation de la nation," *Raison présente (Revue trimestrielle)* 193 (2015): 19–31.



secularization of state institutions in Brazil. But this story did indeed exist, and its fragments are just beginning to be reunited.<sup>74</sup>

## Conclusion

In this historiographic essay, we have sought to make a chronological bibliographical journey, considering some key moments in the research on the Jesuits in the Portuguese-speaking world. The first moment corresponds to the nineteenth century, marked by a strong anti-Jesuit bias, which made difficult any research on the activity of the Jesuits in the period of restoration. Most of the historiography was then concentrated on recovering the early past of the Jesuit order, basically in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The IHGB played a key role in this task, publishing for the first time documents, such as the Jesuit letters and chronicles. With the fall of the Brazilian empire the perception of the history of the Society changed, which increasingly received a positive assessment in the different fora of academic debate.

The second historiographical moment corresponds to the work of the Jesuit Serafim Leite, which, due to its monumentality and the recognition it obtained by the IHGB, transformed a vision of the history of the Society of Jesus as a key element in the national foundation of Brazil. Catechesis, the defense of the Indians, the political mediation with colonizers, the linguistic and literary production pointed to Jesuits' role as civilizers in the formation of Brazil. Leite also approached historiography from a more scientific angle, based on data and documents, a method that dominated until the end of the 1960s.

The third moment, beginning in the 1970s, is represented by emerging critical perspectives regarding the role of Jesuit activities. New methodologies influenced by European social intellectual and economic history influenced these perspectives. This intellectual turn, along with the creation of numerous postgraduate courses in the main universities of Brazil, promoted, since the 1980s, a largely non-Jesuit scholarship on the history of the Society of Jesus in Brazil. Although the emphasis of this production is chronological, placed in the colonial period, the Jesuits are portrayed as having crucial influence in the contemporary debate on indigenous policies.

Despite an increasing interest in the post-restoration period, very little historiography on it has been produced in recent years. The publication of collections and anthologies of sources since 2014 points to a growing scholarly attention to this period. Much research, however, still needs to be done in order to have a comprehensive historiographical panorama of the history of the Society of Jesus that returned to the Portuguese-speaking America after the global and local restorations of the order in the nineteenth century.

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74 It is worth noting how some works indirectly establish connections between the missionary politics of the first centuries of the Jesuit presence and the methods deployed by Jesuit missionaries in the twentieth century, with a strong anthropological content. These features of continuity are sometimes pointed by indigenous cosmologies, such as the Guarani one that includes in its pantheon the figure of the "kechuita." Judith Shapiro, "From Tupã to the Land without Evil: The Christianization of Tupi-Guarani Cosmology," *American ethnologist* 14 (1987): 126–39. Judith Shapiro, "Ideologies of Catholic Missionary Practice in a Postcolonial era," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23, no. 1 (1981): 130–49. Jean-Philippe Belleau, "The Ethnic Life of Missionaries: Early Inculturation Theology in Mato Grosso, Brazil (1952–1990)," *Social Sciences and Missions* 26 (2013): 1–36. Belleau, "History, Memory, and Utopia in the Missionaries' Creation of the Indigenous Movement in Brazil (1967–1988)," *The Americas* 70, no. 4 (2014): 707–30. Egon Schaden, *Aspectos fundamentais da cultura guaraní* (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1962).