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### Envoys, Princesses, Seamen and Captives

The Muslim Presence in Portugal in the 18th and 19th Centuries

*Envoyés, princesses, marins et prisonniers. La présence musulmane au Portugal  
aux XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles*

*Emissários, princesas, marinheiros e cativos. A presença muçulmana em  
Portugal nos séculos XVIII e XIX*

**Eva-Maria von Kemnitz**

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## ENVOYS, PRINCESSES, SEAMEN AND CAPTIVES

### *The Muslim Presence in Portugal in the 18th and 19th Centuries*

A prevailing opinion has it that there were no Muslims in Portugal after the expulsion decree of 1496. However, while working on Portuguese–North African diplomatic and commercial relations in the 18th and 19th centuries, quite a contrary picture emerged revealing differentiated categories of Muslims. Apart from the most numerous group constituted by captives as a result of war, the Muslim universe also encompassed envoys, princesses and seamen. Their presence derived from the specific legal framework created in the wake of bilateral treaties concluded first with Morocco and later with other Barbary states. During the *Ancien Régime* period Muslim presence in Portugal had been an exception permitted only in certain specific cases. The situation underwent a complete change upon the establishment of the Liberal regime in 1834 which proclaimed that no restrictions were applicable to people professing other religions.

*Envoyés, princesses, marins et prisonniers.*

*La présence musulmane au Portugal aux XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles*

Une opinion très largement répandue veut qu'il n'y ait pas eu de musulmans au Portugal après le décret d'expulsion de 1496. Cependant, le travail effectué sur les relations diplomatiques et commerciales entre le Portugal et l'Afrique du Nord au XVIII<sup>e</sup> et au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles, a fait émerger un tableau très différent, révélant des catégories différenciées de musulmans. En dehors du groupe le plus nombreux, constitué de prisonniers de guerre, l'univers musulman comprenait également des envoyés, des princesses et des marins. Leur présence découlait du cadre légal spécifique créé dans le sillage des traités bilatéraux conclu d'abord avec le Maroc et plus tard avec d'autres États de « Barbarie ». Durant la période de l'Ancien Régime, la présence musulmane au Portugal constituait une exception, permise uniquement dans certains cas particuliers. La situation changea complètement lors de l'établissement du régime libéral en 1834, qui proclama que plus aucune restriction ne s'appliquait aux personnes pratiquant d'autres religions.

*Emissários, princesas, marinheiros e cativos.*

*A presença muçulmana em Portugal nos séculos XVIII e XIX*

Prevalece uma opinião que não havia muçulmanos em Portugal após o decreto de expulsão de 1496. Contudo, estudando as relações comerciais e diplomáticas Portugal – África do Norte nos séculos XVIII e XIX, emergiu uma imagem completamente oposta que revela categorias diferenciadas de muçulmanos. Posto à parte o grupo mais numeroso constituído de prisioneiros, resultante da guerra, o universo muçulmano compreendia também emissários, princesas e marinheiros. A sua presença derivava do quadro legal específico criado na esteira dos tratados bilaterais concluída primeiro com Marrocos e, mais tarde, com outros Estados berberescos. Durante o período do Antigo Regime a presença muçulmana em Portugal tinha sido uma excepção, permitida apenas em certos casos específicos. A situação sofre uma mudança completa com o estabelecimento do regime liberal de 1834 que proclama que nenhuma restrição era aplicável às pessoas que professam outras religiões.

This somewhat literary sounding title is in tune with differentiated categories of Muslims whose presence in Portugal in the 18th and 19th centuries is attested by documents. The period contemplated here covers however two distinct phases. The first lies within the epoch of Absolutism and the second belongs to that of Liberalism, the distinction being made on grounds of the legal situation ascribed to Muslims. On the whole the period in question reveals a significant change of the phenomenon as compared to previous centuries.

The code promulgated in 1521, known as the *Ordenações Manuelinas*, brought about a drastic alteration in the juridical framework concerning the composition of the Portuguese society. Its Second Book revoked the legislation concerning two religious minorities, namely the Muslims and the Jews, imposing thus a compulsive uniformity of the society. It came in the wake of a former Decree of 1496, ordering the expulsion of these two groups, but in practical terms it had not been applied to Muslims. The new law stipulated that “no Muslims nor Jews could dwell in the realms of Portugal under the penalty of death and confiscation of their properties”. It put an end to a century long existence of these two groups in one territory as a result of a common history of *al-Andalus*, the situation “inherited” by the Portuguese state upon completing the reconquest in the midst of the 13th century. The kings of Portugal acknowledged it by granting the freedom of practice of religion to Muslims requiring the payment of established taxes and services and it will be interesting to recall that this specific legislation applied to free Muslims in the Portuguese territory was based on the model of the *dhimmi* statute granted to Christians and Jews in the Islamic state<sup>1</sup>.

Therefore after 1521 the only condition for a Muslim “to be legally” in Portugal was that of a slave. The enslavement came as a result of belligerency that opposed Christians and Muslims in North Africa and on the Mediterranean.

By the end of the 17th century a new *modus vivendi* between Christians and Muslims began to emerge, as both sides recurred to different premises on which to build their relationship. It coincided with the Muslim acceptance to negotiate with Christians, not only to conclude a truce, restricted usually to a period of 10 years maximum, but to conclude treaties that aimed to put end to war. This new attitude was based on a concept of *dar al-ahd* (the abode of pact<sup>2</sup>) that gradually replaced a bipolar vision of the world, divided into two opposed spheres, that of *dar al-Islam* (the abode of Islam) and that of *dar al-harb* (the abode of war).

As far as Portugal and its relations with Islamic world are concerned, the first peace treaty that was signed in this new context was the one concluded with

<sup>1</sup> In consequence of the conquest of Lisbon and the adjacent territories in 1147, the first king of Portugal, D. Afonso Henriques granted a Charter to the free Muslims in 1170. *Leges et Consuetudines*, Lisbon, 1856: 405-410. It became a pattern for other charters granted to Muslims as the reconquest evolved. See E-M. von KEMNITZ, “A construção de uma nova sociedade: o caso específico da minoria moura”, *Revista de Guimarães* (Guimarães), 106, 1996: 161-174. For its Islamic prototype see A. FATTAL, *Le Statut légal des non-Musulmans en Pays d’Islam*, Beyrouth, Imprimerie catholique, 1958: 72 onwards.

<sup>2</sup> *Ahd*, initially a quranic term, was later used to signify civil contracts, including treaties or alliances concluded with non-Muslims living outside the *dar al-Islam*. Cf. E. TYAN, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, Paris, Siney, 1, 1954: 270 onwards.

Morocco in 1774<sup>3</sup>. It defined the conditions of bilateral relationship based on diplomacy and was consolidated by an intensive exchange of embassies<sup>4</sup>. Furthermore it opened the path for negotiations with other Muslims states of the region like the regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli<sup>5</sup>.

By the Treaty the contracting parties agreed, amongst other items, on the free access of Moroccan subjects to Portugal for the purpose of trading and other dealings, as well as for Moroccan ships to enter the Portuguese ports and leave without any constraint<sup>6</sup>. It also abolished the condition of slavery, providing that even in case of an outbreak of hostilities no Moroccan prisoner could be enslaved or forced to labour whilst awaiting to be set free<sup>7</sup>.

These provisions, although at the time restricted to subjects of only one Muslim state, were revolutionary in character. They may be regarded, to a certain extent, as an expression of Illuminist mentality that was taking hold of Portugal<sup>8</sup>. After more than two centuries long of absolute banishment of Muslims from Portuguese territory, under the threat of impending capital penalty in case of transgression, they established a juridical framework allowing the presence of Moroccan Muslims. They set also precedent for further practice.

## Envoys

As an immediate consequence, a Moroccan embassy was despatched to ratify the treaty concluded months earlier. By happy coincidence, we can exploit the reports written by Fr. João de Sousa<sup>9</sup>, who in his capacity of interpreter of the Arabic language, accompanied all the Moroccan diplomats who in the late 18th century came to Portugal. They shed light on little known facts and help understand the

<sup>3</sup> National Archives of the Torre do Tombo, Tratados Marrocos, Caixa 1, Doc. 1. Cf. F. Castro BRANDÃO, "Subsídios para a história diplomática portuguesa. O tratado luso-marroquino de 1774", *Studia* (Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos), 1971: 303-370. It includes the text of the Treaty: 357-363.

<sup>4</sup> Between 1774 and the end of the 18th century three Moroccan embassies were sent to Lisbon in 1774, 1777 and 1780 and also three Portuguese diplomatic missions were received in Morocco in 1773, 1790 and 1798. Due to a turbulent situation in both countries these contacts became scarce in the 19th century. On Moroccan embassies received in Portugal see E-M. von KEMNITZ, "Moroccan Envoys in Portugal (18th and 19th centuries)", in A. Pellitteri (ed.), *Magaz. Culture e Contatti nell'area del Mediterraneo. Il Ruolo dell'Islam*, Palermo, Università de Palermo, 2003: 179-190.

<sup>5</sup> F. Castro BRANDÃO, *Portugal e as regências de Argel, Tunes e Tripoli: subsídios para a história diplomática portuguesa*, Porto, Secretaria de Estado da Emigração, 1985.

<sup>6</sup> Article I.

<sup>7</sup> Articles XXI and XXII.

<sup>8</sup> At almost the same time the Decree of May 25, 1773 abolished the legal distinction hitherto made between the "old Christians" and the "new Christians" (the descendants of Portuguese Jews forced to convert). See *Collecção das leys, decretos e alvarás do Reinado de El-Rei D. Joze I (1769-1775)*, II, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa.

<sup>9</sup> Fr. João de Sousa (Damascus, 1730 ?-Lisbon, 1812), a pioneer of Arabic studies in Portugal. About his life, diplomatic missions and intellectual achievements see J. FIGANIER, *Frei João de Sousa. Mestre e intérprete da língua árabe*, Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1949.

undergoing change of mentalities on both sides. The “otherness” is explained by the interpreter, himself a Christian but Syrian by birth and therefore knowledgeable of Muslim customs and usages that he elucidates for his readers, in the first instance his hierarchical superiors, the Secretary of State of the Navy and Ultramarine Affairs.

The first embassy headed by ‘Umar b. al-Daudi<sup>10</sup> accompanied by a retinue of 39 persons arrived in November 1774. The envoy, as the representative of the Moroccan monarch, was received with full honours and protocol due to his rank<sup>11</sup>. The principal aim was to ratify the Treaty. Additionally the ambassador was charged with some semi-official incumbencies related to his kingdom’s interest in military organization, the production of weapons and munitions, and the construction of ships that materialized in visits to the Arsenal and shipyards<sup>12</sup>. Apart from the formal part of the programme banquets, feasts and entertainments were offered by the Portuguese court and aristocracy<sup>13</sup>.

What is however most striking in this context is the way the Envoy’s Muslimness was observed and described. The mission coincided with the month of *Ramadan* when the specific rituals of fasting and prayers are performed. The report alludes to the fact that during certain official ceremonies, the envoy and his secretary withdrew in order to say their prayers and that the food had to be prepared according to Islamic prescriptions.

The impression the envoy caused was extremely positive. His openness of mind and vivid interest were appreciated favourably. The King of Portugal in a letter addressed to the Sultan praised his qualities enhancing his “agreeable manners and praiseworthy conduct”<sup>14</sup>.

The second embassy came in 1777 on account of D. José I’s death and the accession to the throne of his daughter, D. Maria I. Apart from the protocolary offer of condolences and congratulations presented to the new monarch, the principal objective of this mission was the desire to reassert the maintenance of good relations with Portugal. The choice of the ambassador expressed clearly the importance attached to this mission. Hadjdi ‘Abd al-Madjid al-Azraq, pasha of the Taza province was a cultured man and an experienced politician with good knowledge

<sup>10</sup> ‘Umar al-Daudi was later appointed governor of the port of al-Suwayra and was responsible for the increase of commercial exchange between the two countries. Cf. R. LOURIDO DIAS, *Marruecos y el mundo exterior en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*, Madrid, Instituto de Cooperación con el Mundo árabe, 1989: 352.

<sup>11</sup> Fr. João de SOUSA, *Diário da Primeira Embaixada que da Corte de Marrocos se enviou para esta de Lisboa ...*, ACL, Ms. 696 A., 1774.

<sup>12</sup> E-M. von KEMNITZ, “As Instituições militares portuguesas nas relações com Marrocos nos séculos XVIII e XIX”, *Actas do XIIº Congresso de história militar. Laços histórico-militares luso-magrebínos. Perspectivas de valorização*, Lisbon, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 2002: 147-163. E-M. von KEMNITZ, *A participação da armada portuguesa nas relações com o Norte de África nos séculos XVIII e XIX*, Lisbon, Academia de Marinha, 2004.

<sup>13</sup> E-M. von KEMNITZ, 1996, “O exótico na festa de Lisboa. As festas em honra dos enviados marroquinos”, in *Comunicações ao Simpósio Lisboa em Discussão*, special issue, *Olisipo* (Lisbon), II Série, 2: 21-27.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted by Frei João de SOUSA in his report of 1774, *Diário da Primeira Embaixada ...*

of international relations due to his previous residence at the court of Madrid<sup>15</sup>. He stayed at Lisbon for about four months as the Portuguese court dwelled in the province at the time of his arrival. Like his predecessor he paid various visits to military establishments and had encounters with prominent politicians. He was charged also with an incumbency of economic character that consisted in contracting specialists in coinage techniques to teach Moroccan apprentices their art, request that was granted by the Queen<sup>16</sup>.

His intellectual interests brought him in contact with the members of the cultural elite. The Moroccan envoy visited the Historical Cabinet of the Marquis of Angeja renowned for its collections that comprised also a section of ancient Arabic coins<sup>17</sup>. On another occasion he examined an Arabic inscription on a cannon, referred to as a cannon of Diu<sup>18</sup>. Another of his non-official visits deserves to be mentioned, namely the one to the Convent of the N.S. de Jesus where Arabic language was officially taught<sup>19</sup>. The envoy examined the Arabic manuscripts in the convent's library, most of them of Moroccan provenance, with deep interest.

In his report Frei João de Sousa registered an offer of lambs and turkeys from the Queen on the occasion of *Id al-Fitr*, the feast that closes the period of *Ramadan*. Among customary gifts offered to the Sultan mention should be made of a precious necklace called *Sultane* designed to Moroccan taste and usage by a jeweller working for the royal family. These details witness not only the desire to please but manifest interest taken in the culture of the "Other" as means of approach.

The third Moroccan embassy despatched to Lisbon in 1780 was the result of a well consolidated relationship and mutual trust if we consider the very delicate matter that stood at the origin of this confidential mission entrusted to Sidi Hadjdj Muhammad al-Anaya, educated together with the Sultan's children<sup>20</sup>. Due to a growing instability in the country and fearing the riots, the Sultan Mawlay

<sup>15</sup> Frei J. de SOUSA, *Da Segunda Embaixada, que El-Rei de Marrocos mandou a esta Corte de Lisboa no anno de 1777*, ACL, Ms. 989 A. See also J. FIGANIER, *op. cit.*: 56.

<sup>16</sup> Documentation at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Norte de África, Caixa n° 397. Louis Chénier, Consul of France reported the arrival of the Portuguese technicians. Cf. R. LOURIDO DIAS, *op. cit.*: 482.

<sup>17</sup> This occurrence was reported by Frei João de Sousa. See also J. FIGANIER, *op. cit.*: 74. In what concerns the Marquis of Angeja's collection that constituted one of the first public museums in Portugal see J.C. PIRES BRIGOLA, *Coleções, Gabinetes e Museus em Portugal no século*, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, Ministério da Ciência e do Ensino Superior, 2003: 370-380.

<sup>18</sup> The episode of the discovery of this cannon during his visit to the Arsenal and the attempt to translate it by the envoy are referred to by J.C. MURPHY, *Travels in Portugal*, London, 1795: 58 and 112.

<sup>19</sup> Teaching of Arabic on a more or less regular basis began there in 1772, having been granted the official statute in 1795 by the Decree of April 12, 1795. Frei João de Sousa was appointed professor of this chair. The process is fully described by J. FIGANIER, *passim*, 1949. For a more recent analysis consult A. SIDARUS, "Os estudos árabes de Portugal (1772-1962)", in "Islão e Arabismo na Península Ibérica", Actas do XI Congresso da UEAI, Évora, University of Évora, 1986: 40 onwards.

<sup>20</sup> Frei J. de SOUSA, *Diário da Terceira Embaixada que da Corte de Marrocos se fez a esta de Lisboa no ano de 1780*, ACL, ms. 989 A.

Muhammad b. ‘Abdallah (1757-1790) decided to deposit a considerable sum of money at the Lisbon Mint to be raised in case of necessity at the order of Queen D. Maria I. For the purpose of raising the money a Moroccan agent Hadjdj Al-Tayyib Buhetal was appointed. He lived in Lisbon under the protection of the Queen<sup>21</sup>.

### Princesses

In 1793 an unusual and unexpected event took place in Lisbon promptly reported by the *Gazeta de Lisboa*<sup>22</sup>. The royal interpreter charged to accompany these visitors whose arrival aroused tremendous curiosity published a detailed description he deemed might interest the public<sup>23</sup>. The attention was focused on “the African Princesses” as the women of the family of ‘Abd al-Salam<sup>24</sup>, brother of the then reigning Sultan Mawlay Sulayman (1792-1822) were referred to. Having embarked in Agadir, being Salé their port of destination, the ships were diverted by storm and landed first in the island of Madeira and then again swept by winds and maritime currents arrived to the Azores archipelago and then at Lisbon. Although their presence in Portugal resulted from mere chance, the treatment bestowed on them derived from the existing diplomatic relations between the two countries, sealed by the Treaty of 1774<sup>25</sup>. They were treated according to their social standing and were received with sympathy by the Portuguese court that provided all possible means to render their “involuntary displacement” as agreeable as possible. The party of 221 persons was lodged at the Necessidades Palace. A special reception was organized in honour of the Moroccan Princesses by the Portuguese royal family at the Queluz Palace and finally a secure ship for their return was provided. All care had been taken to assure their Muslimness was respected so that at no occasion they might be molested by curiosity or malice. Concern was shown concerning the meals and their preparation according to Muslim requirements. Two of the women died of illness during their stay and the burial was celebrated according to the Muslim custom. To avoid any improper behaviour or mischief it was carried out at night and under the protection of a Cavalry Regiment.

<sup>21</sup> J. FIGANIER, *op. cit.*: 69, refers to a warrant dated November 4, 1780 signed by the Queen granting a special statute to this man.

<sup>22</sup> Supplements of the *Gazeta de Lisboa* of July 16, July 19, July 23, July 27, August 2, August 6, August 9, August 10, August 13, August 30, 1793 that reported all the details.

<sup>23</sup> Frei J. de SOUSA, *Narração da arribada das princesas africanas ao Porto da capital de Lisboa, seu desembarque para terra, alojamento no Palacio das necessidades, hida para Queluz, seu embarque, e volta para Tangere*, Lisbon, Officina da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1793. This work of 36 pages was dedicated by his author to the Regent, the future king D. João VI.

<sup>24</sup> This Prince acted on behalf of his father, Sultan Mawlay Muhammad b. ‘Abdallah, as mediator during the negotiations that led to the signature of the Treaty of 1774. In view of this and the ensuing friendly relationship with the Portuguese the instructions he gave to the captain who transported the party of his wives and servants that in case of danger he should demand Portugal, invoking “constant friendship” of the Portuguese court.

<sup>25</sup> J.J. da Costa Rodrigues da SILVA, “A ‘Arribada’ das princesas marroquinas a Lisboa em 1793”, in “Comemorando 230 Anos do Tratado Luso-Marroquino de 1774”, Actas do xiv Colóquio de História Militar, Lisbon, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 2005: 55-60.

The concern for the Moroccan Princesses was acknowledged by the Sultan and the Prince 'Abd al-Salam who sent letters expressing their gratitude and despatched three men to bring gifts for the Regent and his wife<sup>26</sup>.

In most of the circumstances the transport of Moroccan envoys was carried out by the Portuguese men-of-war. However by the terms of the Treaty the entry of Moroccan ships and their crew was authorized and could suffer no restrictions. In the case of the arrival of "the African Princesses" the captain who conducted the ships was a Moroccan *al-raïs* Ahmed Scarige<sup>27</sup>. The category of seamen was therefore one represented in relatively numerous terms.

### Apostates, seamen and captives

A very peculiar category constituted the apostates who on abjuring Islam, just as Christians were allowed to dwell in the Portuguese territory. Two such cases were registered at the end of the 18th century but no names are mentioned<sup>28</sup>.

This universe of Moroccan envoys, princesses and seamen were the only Muslims who could enjoy a statute of free people in the Portuguese territory. They constituted however an exception arising from the terms of the Treaty of 1774. Apart from their number there were at the same time other Muslims in Portugal, reduced to slavery as the result of practice having its origin in the Code of 1521. They were subjects of other Muslim states, at war with Portugal, who did not enjoy any rights. They were mainly subjects of North African Regencies and Turks. That fate was also shared by Moroccan Muslims in Portugal before 1774.

These non-Moroccan Muslims were property of the state and were obliged to work in very harsh conditions. Eventually they might expect that one day they would be exchanged for Portuguese captives in the Regencies<sup>29</sup>. Their exact numbers are not known but a well documented process of exchange of the Portuguese captives held in Algiers after the signature of the truce in 1810<sup>30</sup> indicates some reliable figures. Between 1810 and 1813 when the Treaty of Peace was signed with Algiers<sup>31</sup>, the Muslim captives held in Portugal were conducted to Algiers to

<sup>26</sup> ANTT/MNE, Legação de Marrocos, Caixa 299. Dispatch dated September 16, 1793. See also J. FIGANIER, *op. cit.*: 148.

<sup>27</sup> Fr. João de SOUSA, *Narração da arribada ...*, *op. cit.*: 5.

<sup>28</sup> A letter of Fr. João de Sousa, dated January 2, 1784, mentions "an African Moor" who's going to embrace Catholicism and speaks about another one "from Fez" who became Christian two years before. B.P.E., Cod. CXXVIII/1-4, Doc. n° 39.

<sup>29</sup> The most numerous community of Portuguese captives resided at Algiers. See J. AFONSO, "A marinha de guerra portuguesa e o Magrebe: os cativos, o corso e a importância do poder naval na definição da política externa do reino", in F. Contente Domingues & J. Semedo de Matos (eds), *A guerra naval no Norte de África (séculos XV-XIX)*, Lisbon, Edições Culturais da Marinha, 2003: 191 onwards.

<sup>30</sup> Concluded July 6, 1810. See J. Ferreira Borges de CASTRO, *Collecção dos Tratados, Convenções, Contratos e Actos Publicos Celebrados entre a Coroa de Portugal e as mais Potências desde 1640 até ao Presente*, IV, 1856: 437 onwards.

<sup>31</sup> Signed June 14, 1813, National Archives of the Torre do Tombo, Tratados Argel, Caixa 1, doc. 2. Cf. J. Ferreira Borges de CASTRO, *op. cit.*: 454-459.



be exchanged as a part of ransom for the Portuguese captives. The ransom was divided into three parts exchanged in 1810, 1811 and 1812<sup>32</sup>. In 1809, according to one official source their number totalled 82 captives kept in Lisbon, including 29 Turks and 53 Algerians<sup>33</sup>.

Negotiations with the Regencies of Tripoli and Tunis led to a signature of a Treaty in 1799<sup>34</sup> with the first and to a conclusion of a truce with the second in 1799<sup>35</sup>, renewed in 1813 and again in 1818<sup>36</sup>. In 1815 it was decided in the Congress of Vienna that slavery was to be proscribed on international scale<sup>37</sup>.

In the meantime the political regime in Portugal underwent decisive changes. The Inquisition was abolished in 1820 and two years later the first Constitution was proclaimed stating, among others, that no one could be persecuted on the ground of religious beliefs<sup>38</sup> and after the turbulent years of the Civil War (1828-1834) a Liberal regime was implanted in 1834<sup>39</sup>. Based on the Liberal regime's principles no restrictions were applicable to people professing other religions. Henceforth the presence of Muslims in Portugal did not depend on any specific legal regime nor resulted from terms granted by a bilateral treaty.

Portugal expanded its diplomatic relations to other Muslim states such as the Ottoman Empire, Egypt and the Sultanate of Zanzibar concluding treaties in 1843<sup>40</sup>, 1885<sup>41</sup> and 1879<sup>42</sup>. The relations between Portugal and Morocco remained friendly and observant of the spirit of the first Treaty concluded in 1774 but the diplomatic contacts became less frequent. Only in 1878 another Moroccan embassy was received in Lisbon, composed of Sidi Tayeb Benhima and a retinue

<sup>32</sup> A.M. ESPARTEIRO, *Três séculos no mar. Fragatas*, II, 1980: 125-126.

<sup>33</sup> J. AFONSO, *op. cit.*: 191-192. This information is based on an information dated November 27, 1809. A.H.U. – Caixa Norte de África, n° 413. One of the Turks died of disease and his companions were asked to sign a document stating that he had received treatment in a hospital.

<sup>34</sup> Signed May 14, 1799. National Archives of the Torre de Tombo, Tratados Tripoli, Caixa 1, doc. n° 3. Cf. J. Ferreira Borges de CASTRO, *op. cit.*: 99 onwards.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*: 109-111.

<sup>36</sup> National Archives of the Torre do Tombo, Tratados Tunis, Caixa 1, docs. n° 1 and n° 3. Cf. J. Ferreira Borges de CASTRO, *op. cit.*: 109-111 and 460-465. *Ibid.*: 1857, V: 440-441.

<sup>37</sup> F. de Castro BRANDÃO, *Da crise do Antigo Regime à Revolução Liberal 1799-1820. Uma cronologia*, Lisbon, Europress, 2005: 97.

<sup>38</sup> A.H. Oliveira MARQUES, *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Palas Editores, 1977, II: 34 and 63-64.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*: 94.

<sup>40</sup> A Treaty of Commerce, Friendship and Navigation concluded in London, March 20, 1843. Cf. *Tratado de amizade, commercio, e navegação entre Sua Magestade a Rainha de Portugal e dos Algarves e Sua Magestade o Sultão Imperador dos Ottomanos assignado em Londres pelos respectivos plenipotenciarios em 20 de Março de 1843*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1843.

<sup>41</sup> A Commercial Agreement. Portugal was represented by a consul residing in Alexandria. F. de Castro BRANDÃO, *História diplomática de Portugal. Uma cronologia*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2002: 246.

<sup>42</sup> A Treaty of Friendship and Commerce signed October 25, 1879. Cf. *Tratado de amizade e commercio entre Sua Magestade El-Rei de Portugal e dos Algarves e Sua Alteza o Sultão de Zanzibar, assignado na cidade de Zanzibar aos 25 de Outubro de 1879*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1883. F. de Castro BRANDÃO, *História diplomática ...*, *op. cit.*: 228, mentions only a commercial treaty of 1861, not ratified.

of 12 persons<sup>43</sup>. Lisbon was just one place on the route that took the Moroccan party further to Berlin. The last visit of the kind occurred on the occasion of the acclamation of the new King of Portugal, D. Carlos I, in January 1890. Sidi Muhammad b.al-Mudden was appointed for this courtesy mission<sup>44</sup>.

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The above examined overview involving cases of differentiated nature demonstrate how the evolution of the legal framework, closely related to the political regime, accompanied by a change of mentality contributed to a radical change in the situation of the Muslims who due to one or another reason happened to come to Portugal in the 18th and 19th centuries. Further it reconfirms a corollary between a comprehension and knowledge of the “Other” and the respect bestowed.

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**Eva-Maria von KEMNITZ**

Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Lisboa

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<sup>43</sup> The Portuguese press paid much attention to this visit reporting the programme in detail. See *Diário de Lisboa* of May 4, 5, 7, 9 and 10, 1878. *Diário Illustrado* of May 11, 12 and 14 published the news of the departure of the embassy from Tangier. The magazine *O Ocidente* of June 1, 1878 published a photograph of the whole party. To our knowledge, this picture is the first iconographic representation of any Moroccan embassy received in Portugal, contrary to what is known about similar visits in other countries. See also Eva-Maria von KEMNITZ, “Moroccan Envoys in Portugal ...” (2003), *op. cit.*: 186-187.

<sup>44</sup> *Diário Illustrado* gave a detailed covering of this visit in its editions of January 16, 18 and 20, 1890. Also the *Revista Ocidente* of January 21, 1890 inserted news concerning the event.