

**As Belas Letras na Livraria de Jean Baptiste Bompard (1824-1828)**

**The Works of *Belles Lettres* in Jean Baptiste Bompard's Bookshop (1824-1828)**

---

**Lucia Maria Bastos P. NEVES<sup>1</sup>**

**Resumo:** O presente artigo pretende analisar as obras de Belas Letras encontradas na livraria de Jean-Baptiste Bompard no Rio de Janeiro. De origem francesa, esse livreiro chegou à Corte em 1816 como caixeiro para a loja de seu primo, o destacado livreiro Paulo Martin. Após a morte deste último, em finais de 1823, Bompard assumiu a livraria, conservando-a até sua partida para a França em 1828. No momento, priorizam-se os livros franceses vendidos, bem como aqueles traduzidos para o português. Além do catálogo manuscrito do próprio Bompard com mais de quatro mil títulos (1825), utilizam-se como fontes os anúncios dos periódicos da época. Afinal, considerada então a própria língua como instrumento de civilização, o francês envolvia – ainda que, quase sempre, pertencente às elites intelectuais e políticas – considerável público leitor, inclusive feminino, em especial no tocante às novelas, majoritariamente oriundas da literatura francesa. Dessa maneira, busca-se ressaltar o papel de intermediários culturais entre Brasil e França daqueles que “tratavam em livros”, estimulando encontros e desencontros nas duas sociedades.

**Palavras-chave:** Belas Letras; Comércio de Livros; Brasil-Portugal: relações culturais.

**Abstract:** This paper analyzes the books included in the category of *belles lettres* available at Jean-Baptiste Bompard's bookshop in Rio de Janeiro. Of French origin, he arrived in the city in 1816, to serve as a clerk at the well-known bookshop of his cousin Paulo Martin. After the latter's death at the end of 1823, Bompard took over the business, which he sold before departing for France in 1828. On this occasion, the French books that were sold were prioritized, as well as those translated into Portuguese. Besides Bompard's own manuscript catalog, with over four thousand titles (1825), sales advertisements in the press were also used as sources. In fact, considered at the time as an instrument of civilization, the French language involved – although mostly drawn from the intellectual and political elites – a large reading public at that time, including women, who loved the novellas in French style. Therefore, the aim is to heighten the role of those who “dealt in books”, acting as cultural intermediaries between Brazil and France, promoting understandings as well as misunderstandings in both societies.

**Keywords:** *Belles Lettres*; Booktrade; Brazil-Portugal: cultural relationship.

---

<sup>1</sup> Professor of Modern History at the Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro. (State University) Pro-scientist UERJ. Researcher at CNPq and FAPERJ. (Research Center and Foundation for Support of Research in Rio de Janeiro)

In the late eighteenth century, the town of Briançon, a fortress remodeled by Vauban (1633-1707) in the service of Louis XIV, stood out among the small villages nearby, all surrounded by peaks, forming a valley that followed the old route from Italy. Villages such as La Grave, Le Monétier-les-Bains, Le Bez, La Salle-les-Alpes, composed of simple houses with steep roofs and lower lodgings to keep the animals in winter, a community oven for making bread<sup>1</sup>, and old churches made from cold and poor woods, just as they had been more than two hundred years ago, are important elements for those seeking to study the book trade in the Luso-Brazilian world between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

During that period, on one hand, the geography made the region strategic from a military point of view, but also an obligatory passing point for peddlers, that united Italy, France and Switzerland; on the other hand, it pushed any excess population out of that inhospitable environment, in search of better conditions. Such was the case of Martin and Bompard, and also of Borel, Reycend, Bertrand, Rolland, Aillaud, Faure, Rey, Gravier, Bonnardel. These families settled in Naples, Milan, Genoa, Paris, Barcelona, Lisbon, and some even reached as far as Rio de Janeiro.

Preserving ties to their places of origin, and marrying among themselves, these families established the relationship and information networks necessary to exercise trade in that era of difficult communications. In particular, they became booksellers. Perhaps due to a “Montagnard solidarity”, in the words of Georges Bonnant (1960), they went seeking their countrymen to regroup in the bookstore business by joining in “dense networks of commercial relationships” and forming a kind of extended family, as a study of about seven hundred booksellers in Portugal, by Diogo Ramada Curto and Manuela Domingos, clearly showed (2007, p. 163-164). The documents, which include records of births, marriages and deaths, also indicate this solidarity; as a rule, those who signed as witnesses to these already laicized acts, in France after the Revolution of 1789, were always the well-known booksellers, who joined together.

Several *Briançonnais* settled in Portugal, but here the focus returns to the Martin family and, more specifically, to the *Briançonnais* who came to Brazil – Jean-Baptiste Bompard – in 1818, as a clerk in the store of his cousin, Paulo Martin. After the latter's death in late 1823, Bompard took over the bookstore, preserving it until his definitive return to France in 1828. Thus, the purpose of this study is to analyze the works of *Belles Lettres* found in Jean-Baptiste Bompard's bookstore in Rio de Janeiro, prioritizing the French books sold as well as those translated into Portuguese. Besides Bompard's own manuscript catalog with over four thousand titles (1825), sales advertisements in the press were also used as sources. Considered, at that time, the language of civilization, French also involved, although almost always among the intellectual and political elites, a considerable readership, including women. It appears, therefore, that books and booksellers can construct diverse paths in historical research, both in addressing cultural and political practices

in the early decades of the eighteenth century and demonstrating the role of “cultural intermediaries” (CHARTIER; MARTIN, 1990, p. 777) between Brazil and France those who “dealt in books”, stimulating agreements and disagreements between the two societies (SILVA, 1922, p. 232).

*Comércio de livros no Rio de Janeiro (Book trade in Rio de Janeiro) – Paulo Martin Filho*

In 1795, the French bookseller Jean Reycend, established in Lisbon, requested permission from the censorship authorities to submit works to Rio de Janeiro, especially the complete collection of the *Mercúrio Histórico* newspaper, several comedies, tragedies, interludes and papers recently printed in Lisbon.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, correspondence, between the House of Francisco Rolland and wholesale traders in the market in Rio de Janeiro, showed that religious books were the ones that sold most – missals, Latin breviaries and hours – even though ‘books that were out of the ordinary’ were still attractive, pointing out new interests in Brazilian society.<sup>3</sup>

While at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the different announcements in the *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* indicated the sale in ‘book stores’, in ‘bookseller stores’ or in ‘book merchant stores’.<sup>4</sup> The latter were the actual booksellers themselves, who were devoted almost exclusively to selling works. It was even common for such booksellers to sell other products that were related to their activity. Thus, there are ads for the sale of sulfite paper, scrolls for writing, paint, lined books suitable for Portuguese or English bookkeeping, foreign playing cards, prints and drawings. With so many ways to sell books, one can say without a doubt that this was a profitable trade, despite the prevailing view in the historiography that there was no room for the book market in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>5</sup>

Between 1808 and 1828, therefore, those who *dealt in books* were numerous. Taking specialized salespeople as an example, it is possible to make a typology of their origins: there were those of French descent, those originating from Portugal and those born in Portuguese America. Quite often, the first two were combined, as was the case of Paulo Martin.

According to parish records and information from historians, the Martin family, originating from Briançon, was already established in Lisbon with a bookstore since 1777, with Paulo Martin senior having been associated previously with another bookseller family from Briançon – the Borel brothers – demonstrating the solidarity between the allied families, after generations. Evidence of these relationships can also be seen earlier, since his father, Alexander Martin, married Catherine Bompard in 1750, in La Salle. Years later, in 1775, Paulo Martin senior, entered into wedlock with the widow of Borel, Mary Magdalene Bompard (LA SALLE, 1745), with the bookseller's mother and another descendant of the Bompard family acting as witnesses. In 1786, Paulo Martin senior returned to the region where he was born to baptize one of Hyacinthe Borel's daughters, who later

married Jean-Baptiste Bompard's elder brother, demonstrating that the family relations continued to be maintained.<sup>6</sup>

Five children were born from the union of Paulo Martin senior and Mary Magdalene Bompard, one of them Paulo Martin Filho junior, who came to Rio de Janeiro in order to work as a clerk at the house of another bookseller, João Roberto Bourgeois, who would later become one of the city's most important booksellers. Obtaining a passport in October 1799, Paulo Agostinho Martin arrived here probably in early 1800s, at 20 years of age.<sup>7</sup> It is not possible to identify the moment when Paulo Martin began his personal activities as a bookseller in Rio de Janeiro, but the *Gazeta*, from its first issue, indicated that acquisitions and signatures could be performed 'in Paulo Martin Filho's house, book merchant in Rua Quitanda'. In 1811, the city *Almanaque* confirmed its position as official distributor of the *Gazeta* in the list of administrators and employees. Also, through licenses to send books to Rio de Janeiro, issued by the *Real Mesa Censória* (Royal Censorial Court) in Portugal, it can be affirmed that he sold various works, on behalf of his father.

In contrast, the circulation was not a one-way street. A catalog was found, that came to light in Lisbon in 1812, with printed works in Rio de Janeiro and which were placed for sale in the Paulo Martin and Sons Store, No. 6, in front of the Loreto Fountain. There were a total of 43 works, published by *Impressão Régia* (Royal Printing) of Rio de Janeiro, consisting largely of technical and scientific books, especially translations of books on mathematics and geometry, printed for the use of the Royal Military Academy in Rio de Janeiro, and scientific memoirs on agriculture. Then followed those dealing with *Belles Lettres*, such as the *Ensaio* (Essays) of Alexander Pope or the poem *Uruguai*, by José Basilio da Gama; Economics and Arts, with several works by José da Silva Lisboa on French trade, Legislation and various other topics, such as the *Almanack da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*, maps, among others.<sup>8</sup>

The *Jornal de Coimbra*, published between 1812-1820, also announced, in early 1814, books, that Paulo Martin and Sons "had recently arrived from Rio de Janeiro". Such works were printed here and came to be sold in Lisbon. The list included 19 titles, ten focused on *Belles Lettres*, such as the periodical *O Patriota* and some pieces related to the Portuguese victory over the Napoleonic troops, such as *O Patriotismo Acadêmico*, by Ovidio Saraiva de Carvalho e Silva, who recounted the deeds of the *Corpo Militar Acadêmico de Coimbra* (Military Academic Corps of Coimbra) in the French invasions, and praised the nations of Portugal, Spain and England on their union to defeat the French. The rest were eulogies. The other nine had topics relating to Science – treatises on algebra and geometry, differential calculus and physics, mainly used in the teaching of the Military Academies. It is curious that such books were translations of French authors such as Silvestre François Lacroix and Abbade Haüy performed by Luso-Brazilians.<sup>9</sup> Thus, consolidation of

family connections exploited by interested parties became common in the world of the book trade, at various points in America, constituting true “financial networks”.

Paulo Martin’s activity as an editor was also recorded in the requests from the Palace of Justice to print the *Notícia histórica da vida e das obras de José Hayden* (Historical News of the life and works of Joseph Hayden), in 1819, indicating, in some way, the musical interests that existed in circles linked to the Court. Rubens Borba de Moraes even affirmed that he was probably the first editor in Brazil. Undoubtedly, many novels, novellas, funeral prayers and poems produced in the Royal Printing - e.g., *O Diabo Coxo* (1707), by Lesage, considered the first novel printed in Brazil - were published by this bookseller.<sup>10</sup> In exchange for his contributions to the Crown, and his role in the book market, Paulo Martin obtained the *mercê* of the *Hábito da Ordem de Cristo* (Habit of the Order of Christ), in 1817.<sup>11</sup>

Despite being a major bookseller in Rio de Janeiro, and his involvement in other business activities, including politics<sup>12</sup>, Paulo Martin was a member of the *Companhia de Seguros Providence* (Providence Insurance Company) and then of *Tranquilidade* (Tranquility). In his political life, he was elected buyer for the parish of Santa Rita in Rio de Janeiro in 1821 – according to his family, at the end of 1815, he wanted to return to Portugal. None of his brothers, including João José and Inácio Augusto who had already come to Rio de Janeiro, agreed to keep on the store. The family then decided to look for another relative to continue the business in Rio de Janeiro. By then, Paulo Martin senior had already passed away. The solution was the choice of a direct cousin of the brothers Martin, Maria Madalena Bompard's nephew. This was the aforementioned Jean-Baptiste Bompard.

#### *A French bookseller in the Brazilian Court*

When it was decided that Jean-Baptiste Bompard would come to Rio de Janeiro, he was less than 20 years old, as he was born in Briançon in 1797. His father was a merchant and had been a member of the *Conselho dos Notáveis da República francesa* (Council of Notables from the French Republic) in Briançon (1793-1795). Jean-Baptiste was sent to study in Turin, Italy, a region where there were other people from his city, also booksellers, such as the Gravier family, which had had a close relationship with Bompard for a long time. Turin, meanwhile, had been occupied by Napoleon Bonaparte. Thus, in 1813, Jean-Baptiste's father made the decision to take him out of the colégio da Academia in Turin, administered under imperial authority, to prevent him from engaging in the Napoleonic army which was recruiting young students at that time. It was an attitude similar to that which often occurred in Portuguese America, documented by the complaints of Vilhena and Inácio

de Alvarenga, who protested against the forced recruitment of young students attending the “aulas régias” – classes funded by the Portuguese Crown.<sup>13</sup>

Returning to Briançon (1813), after a few years Jean Baptiste accepted the proposal and departed, first to Lisbon, where he remained for some time, to learn the bookselling business and prepare for his coming to Rio de Janeiro. Why, at such a young age, did he decide to embark on such an adventure? Firstly, following a tradition of families in the region, he sought an activity outside his homeland, which did not offer great possibilities to satisfy the ambitions of its young people; and second, because of the solidarity of his family relationships, which could bring him training to start his life in business, as well as financial support. Finally, it should also be noted that the fall of Napoleon Bonaparte, in August 1815, led to the siege of the town of Briançon by Austro-Sardinian troops. The town council decided to defend the city, placing themselves under the orders of General Eberlé, a baron of the Napoleonic Empire. Jean-Baptiste Bompard and his older brother were among the volunteers who joined the “Battalion of Hope” and successfully defended the town, preventing enemy troops from entering Briançon. Perhaps his participation, contrary to the Restoration forces, was what led him to leave his homeland. However, there is no documentation that would allow us be certain. Many years later, in 1857, Napoleon III decided to honor all those who were still alive and had served under the imperial command, creating the order of St. Helena. At that time, already back in France, Jean-Baptiste Bompard was awarded this commendation.

Bompard was authorized to make the trip from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, on 30 July 1818, «fully legitimized by the Police», according to what was stated in his passport, found in the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* (Overseas Historical Archive). He arrived in Rio de Janeiro in December 1818, according to the *Registro de Estrangeiros da Intendência* (Intendency Register of Foreigners):

JOÃO BATISTA BOMPARD - Resident at Rua da Quitanda, No.34, born in Briançon, 21 years old, single, came from Lisboa in December 1818, for the purpose of being a clerk at the house of Paulo Martin Filho.<sup>14</sup>

His early years in the then capital of the Portuguese Empire were spent as an assistant and clerk at the bookstore of his cousin, Paulo Martin, until the latter’s death. According to notes written by one of Bompard's grandsons, Paulo Martin had confirmed him as his “heir”, a fact that this still requires investigation, because despite the “montagnard and family solidarity” it is difficult to believe that the Martin Brothers from Lisbon accepted such a succession without any sale to Bompard for part of the bookstore.

In any case, Jean-Baptiste successfully carried out his commercial activity at Paulo Martin's book, mapping and publication store. According to Hallewell, he became the “principal bookseller

to the Court” from 1824, when he took over the bookstore, to 1827, when he closed the business and returned to France the following year. (HALLEWELL, 1985, p. 48; MACHADO, 2012, p. 46)

This activity can be analyzed in the newspaper advertisements – *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* and *o Spectador Brasileiro* – and also in the catalog manuscript of the Bompard bookstore, dated 1825, which is housed in the *Biblioteca Nacional* (National Library) of Rio de Janeiro.

With the lessons learned from Paulo Martin, Bompard continued his activities as a bookseller and even sold used books, as did the printer and editor Pierre Plancher<sup>15</sup>, a curious fact, since, according to Machado, such sales were commonly made between private seller to private buyer. In August 1825, Bompard announced having “a large quantity of old books and manuscripts”, sold for “amenable prices”. In another announcement, he reported that he had a “great deal of semi-used Spanish books”, among which was “the very rare work of Feijoo”.<sup>16</sup> He even traded pouch papers, maps, stationery, foreign currency, lottery tickets, books and some rare objects, like a “very tidy surgical cassette”.<sup>17</sup>

Also in these advertisements, one can see the connection of his business with France. Often, it was recorded in sales advertisements that various works “have recently arrived from France in the Bompard bookstore, rua dos Pescadores No. 49, recently arrived from France”.<sup>18</sup> In this case, it is seen that Bompard's commercial connection with France was more intense than that of Paulo Martin, since most of the documents regarding the arrival of books for the latter, were indicated as originating from Portugal. Bompard also received orders from Lisbon, as the Martin Brothers continued to supply works to his bookstore.<sup>19</sup>

Regarding the ads for book sales in the newspapers, the first one came to light in the *Spectador Brasileiro*, periodical published between 1824 and 1827, in the turbulent environment that followed the Independence. Playing a prominent role for its favorable positions with the government of Pedro I, after the granting of the Constitution of 1824, this was the first periodical edited by Frenchman Pierre René François Plancher de la Noé, who landed in Rio de Janeiro in 1824, from Paris. He had fled the political struggles in France during the Restoration, when he had several problems with trade, besides facing issues with French justice because of his known political position in favor of Napoleon Bonaparte (MOREL, 2005, p. 23-25). This fact may suggest Bompard's concern to maintain relationships with French booksellers, and thus a connection with his homeland. Such an approach was made in many directions: Bompard sold lottery tickets for Plancher books in his store<sup>20</sup>; subscriptions for books to be printed at Plancher's Typography, as well as the *O Spectador Brasileiro* newspaper itself.<sup>21</sup> Among these subscriptions, the translation of the work *l'Empire du Brésil*, drafted in Paris by La Beaumelle, can be highlighted. The translation would be corrected and augmented in Court by Father Luís Gonçalves dos Santos, who was a chronicler from the kingdom. To perform this work and help with the expenses of printing, which

was to be done in Plancher's Typography, the translator asked for a contribution of 1\$600 reais as payment for the work.<sup>22</sup>

In the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, Bompard, in one of his first announcements, dated December 1824, reported the sale of two *Belles Lettres* works: *Amanda e Oscar, ou Historia da Família de Dunreath* (The Children of the Abbey: a Tale), a novel, dated 1796, from a well known English writer at that time, Regina Roche. This novel was considered by José de Alencar as one of his fictional models, as well as *Saint-Clair das Ilhas* (ALENCAR, 1987, p. 23). The other one was the *Epistola de Manoel Mendes Fogaça dirigida de Lisboa a um amigo de sua terra, em que lhe refere como de repente se fez poeta e lhe conta as proezas de um rafeiro*, written by José Agostinho de Macedo and published in Lisbon in 1822, it was satirical poetry about the political events of that time.<sup>23</sup>

Many other titles came to the public from information in newspapers. These were works of *Belles Lettres*, political pamphlets, works of a *sebastianista* nature, scientific works and even a *Corografia Açoriana, ou Descrição Física, Política e Histórica dos Açores*, which came to light in 1822, written by João Soares de Albergaria de Sousa. This book, widely criticized at the time of its publication – particularly by the Royal Academy of Sciences in Lisbon, because of its inaccuracies –, was in fact more a political pamphlet, dedicated and offered to Azorean youth, than a compendium of history or geography. It became a flag of opposition for Azorean youth regarding the discussion of the new government on the archipelago, when in the Courts of Lisbon (REIS, 1983).

Also, in relation to announcements in periodicals, especially those published in the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, countless novels stood out in the category of *Belles Lettres*<sup>24, 25</sup>. The reading of novellas, short stories and novels was not new to the inhabitants of the Brazilian Empire. It was, however, with the arrival of the Portuguese Royal Family and the creation of Royal Printing – by royal decree on May 13, 1808, when a new historical and cultural moment in the country was inaugurated – that the circulation of this fiction literature widened. The booksellers sought to offer the general public, by means of different strategies, several titles, including novellas and novels which, according to Rubens Borba de Moraes, became usual in Portugal in the early nineteenth century, and with the coming of the Court, “the fashion of reading novels took off in the new capital”.<sup>26</sup> However, one can say that reading this type of literature had already begun in the eighteenth century. Even before the introduction of typography, such writings circulated through Rio de Janeiro and Bahia, through Maranhão, Pernambuco and Pará, as evidenced by the various requirements of Portuguese booksellers, sent to the Royal Censorial Court asking permission to dispatch volumes to these locations.<sup>27</sup>



In his library, Bompard sold novellas in Portuguese, translated from French, and others written in French. For example, *Os erros do amor e da filosofia ou o homem de duas mulheres*, translated from the original in French – *Les erreurs de l'amour et de la philosophie ou l'homme a deux femmes* – (The errors of love and philosophy or the man of two women) in 1801. In this same announcement, Bompard stated that, in his bookstore, there were “many French novellas, in addition to Portuguese and some Spanish ones as well”.<sup>28</sup> Other known titles were indicated: *Maclovia e Frederico, ou as minas do Tirol*, translated from the French original, drafted by Louise Brayer de Saint Léon, in 1804, constituting a kind of novella of the senses that achieved great success in Spain when it was published in 1814; *A filósofa por amor ou cartas de dous Amantes apaixonados e virtuosos*, published in Rio de Janeiro in 1810 by Royal Printing. Previously, however, he was criticized in Portugal for narrating the story of a young commoner, Durval, who fell in love with a noblewoman, Adelaide, and intended to marry her. On that occasion, the novel as a genre was not well regarded by the elites, as they feared their readers would follow the same conduct. Thus, according to the Portuguese reviewer Francisco Xavier de Oliveira, what would the world become if one followed the example of the protagonists of the novel? It would lose all sense of hierarchy, including the sense of respect for the paternal will. Thus, the plot, in his view, contained dangerous moral, religious and political deviations. In the latter case, he associated the love of Durval and Adelaide to the principles of the French Revolution, preceiving, in the dissemination of the story, a major risk to the state from a society of the Old Regime, of which Portugal was still part. But another opinion was given; allowing the publication of the novel.<sup>29</sup> Thus, the importance was shown, that reading novellas had begun to assume for the female public.

Also in newspaper announcements, other types of works appeared in French or translated from French into Portuguese and linked to the *Belles Lettres*: poems such as *Les Jardins L'art d'embellir les paysages*. Poème en quatre chants by Dellile Jacques (1738-1813); Correspondence, such as *Lettres Originales* by Mirabeau (1749-1791); short stories, like *Palemon ou efeitos da saudade*: pastoral tales, composed in French by Jean-François Marmontel (1723-1799) and translated in the common tongue by a Portuguese lady.

Another curious statement in their announcements in the periodicals was the publication of a *Biblioteca Juvenil* (Youth Library), which came out in eight fascicles, between May and November 1826. Each issue consisted of a short story, for the modest price of 80 reals. Basically, they were works translated from French written by Charles Perrault (1628-1703). They were extracted from the *Histórias ou contos do tempo passado com moralidades* (Stories and tales with morals from the past) that were known by the subtitle: *Contos da mamãe gansa* (*Tales of Mother Goose*). In the collection published here, appeared: *Puss in Boots*, *Bluebeard*, *Sleeping Beauty*, *The Story of Cenerentola* (based on the fairytale *Cinderella*), *Tom Thumb* (*The Little Thumb*) and a *true Story*

*Riqueto*, which was probably a tale by Perrault, *Riquet à la houppe*. This publication must have been a great success in terms of sales, as two years later, in 1828, the first volumes of the Biblioteca Juvenil were reprinted.<sup>30</sup>

There was another form of advertising that Bompard used; a public notice, printed on single sheet, which announced the sale for 1\$000, in his shop and in some other booksellers in Rio de Janeiro, of the *Diálogo Constitucional Brasiliense*, or the *Constituição Política do Império*, literally reduced to a catechism, annotated respectively with the whole of the Law, which prescribes the formula of the Solemn Act of Recognition of the Successors of the Throne of the Empire.<sup>31</sup>

Without doubt, the Catalog from his library, dated 1825 and now housed the National Library<sup>32</sup>, was the main instrument for enabling us to analyze the variety of works that Bompard offered in his establishment to his customers. It is a manuscript copy, a kind of survey of the books that would have been in his library.<sup>33</sup> The total number of titles is 4305. Undoubtedly, an extraordinary amount for the time, especially in Brazil, where most of the population was illiterate. Comparing it with the catalog of another major French bookseller, the aforementioned Pierre Plancher, analyzed by Brazilian historian Marco Morel, we can see that the latter catalog, in 1827, was printing 317 titles. Certainly, Plancher's catalog would have indicated only part of his stock, but this does not invalidate the comparison and acknowledgment of the large number of works in the Bompard bookstore (MOREL, 2005, p. 36-40).

Bompard's catalog was divided up as follows:

Type	volumes	%
Books in French	2245	52.1
French medical books	473	10.9
“Feuilletage français” (French lamination)	182	4.2
Books in Portuguese	1282	29.7
Books in Spanish	59	1.3
Books in Italian	36	0.8
German textbooks	3	0.1
Marine charts (in English)	13	0.3
Other maritime charts	12	0.3
Total	4305	100

As with Pierre Plancher's catalog, most of Bompard's books were in French: 63% (including the medical books) and 67.20% of the total, with titles that Bompard termed *feuilletage* in French. Next came the books in Portuguese (29.7%); then lesser in number, those in Spanish, Italian, English and German. The latter constituted a dictionary, a grammar book and a textbook translated

into German – *Robinson le Jeune*, a book from the eighteenth century, by Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746-1818), a German writer, linguist, educator and editor.

Among the most important books in the catalog written in Portuguese and French are the works of *Belles Lettres*, representing about 33.20% of all the titles. In the same way, the periodicals, novels and romances, read and published so much at the time, made up a significant part of the *Belles Lettres*. Texts announced in the newspapers were repeated, such as *Maclovio e Frederico* or *Os erros do amor e da filosofia ou o homem de duas mulheres*. However, the titles were expanding; in the catalog were the best-known novellas and novels of the time, such as *Le Diable Boiteux*, by Alain-René Lesage (1688-1747), originally published in 1707; this work, in fact, circulated among readers in the Luso-Brazilian world even during the period when it was banned by the censors. The success of the work among the public was confirmed, throughout the early years of the nineteenth century, through announcements informing the reader that “the novella has found general acceptance”.<sup>34</sup> Yet this same author had other titles: *Le Bachelier de Salamanque* or *Memoires et Aventures de D. Cherubin de la Ronda* and the translation in Portuguese and in French of *História de Gil Blas*. *Paul et Virginie*, by Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (1737-1814), appeared in the original edition and in another version translated into Portuguese. This was one of the most widely read novels in France in the second half of the eighteenth century, and it had a translation published by Imprensa Régia, in 1811, with the title *Paulo e Virgínia: Historia fundada em factos traduzida em vulgar*.<sup>35</sup> The novel also enjoyed great notoriety in Brazil, being cited by José de Alencar, decades later, in his novel *Lucíola* (1862). In *Helena* (1876), by Machado de Assis, the protagonist, whose name is the same as the title, tells of Estácio who picks up a novel from his library, which he supposed was *Paulo e Virgínia*. From this passage, it can be inferred that it was possible, to the eyes of a man of average means in the late nineteenth century, that this was a text that was presumably of female interest (MORAIS, 1945).

Other titles were also indicated: the celebrated letters of *Héloïse et Abeilard* or *les Victimes de l'Amour* (also offered in Portuguese); *Choupana da Índia; Contes et Nouvelles en Vers* by la Fontaine (1691-1695); *Les Cent Vingt jours ou les Quatres Nouvelles* by Pigaut Le Brum (1753-1835), an author who had been banned, at another time, in the Luso-Brazilian world because of his writing *Le Citateur* against Christianity, which was indicated in the catalog; *Julie* or *la nouvelle Héloïse*; *Lettres de Deux Amans, habitans d'une petite ville au pied des Alpes* by Rousseau (1712-1778) and *Suite des Nouvelles* by Madame Isabelle de Montolieu (1751-1832), well-known and popular French novelist, author of *Caroline de Lichtfield* – one of the great successes of the bookstore which lasted until the mid-nineteenth century – and included in Bompard's Catalog, as well as the french translation of another important literary success – *Saint-Clair das Ilhas* or *Os desterrados na Ilha da Barra* (MEYER). The *História de dois amantes* was also indicated,

published by the Imprensa Régia for the first time in 1811. The cover of this one indicated that it was a new edition, sold in Paulo Martin's Store. It was a short story with 60 pages, edited in a text that differed from that printed in Portugal in 1806 by the Royal Typography in Lisbon. The Portuguese edition contained 152 pages and was “translated and adapted” by J.P.S.A., probably José Pedro de Souza Azevedo,<sup>36</sup> the same translator behind the edition done in Portuguese America. The Luso-Brazilian copy from 1811 is a part of the one published across the Atlantic.<sup>37</sup> There is no data, however, to specify which issue was announced by Bompard.

It is also worth noting the list of known novels that were announced by various booksellers throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, demonstrating their importance and their popularity with the reading public. After all, the novel became popular in the 1800s, had success, and was sold and read. Firstly, *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (also indicated in the catalog with the Portuguese translation), written by François Fénelon (1651-1715) for the education of the Duke of Burgundy, grandson of Louis XIV, and published in 1699. Fenélon regained phrases from Homer's *Odyssey* to construct a narrative of the search by Ulysses for Telemachus. The work, in fact, turned into a discourse of political morality for the future sovereign. Indeed, according to studies by Márcia Abreu, this book was the “undisputed best seller” in the city of Rio de Janeiro since 1769 (ABREU, 2005, p. 131); it constituted, moreover, the novel that most featured in the bookstore circulation from Portugal to Brazil and vice versa.<sup>38</sup>

*The Thousand and One Nights*, a collection of stories and folk tales from the Middle East, which was compiled in Arabic from the ninth century and later translated into French in the early eighteenth century, became a classic of world literature.

In the line of moral tales, the works of François Marmontel (1723-1799): *A Caixinha*, *Belizaire* (also announced in Portuguese) and *Les Incas, or la Destruction de l'Empire du Perou*. The works of writer and essayist François-René Chateaubriand (1768-1848) can also be cited, such as *Atala*. And the important work of Samuel Richardson (1689-1761) cannot be left out, *Pamella or la vertu recompensée* (French translation), which inaugurated the modern novel in the eighteenth century. It was an epistolary novel about the conduct of power, but it was considered licentious, especially in countries where the Catholic religion prevailed and which were still under the tutelage of the Old Regime at the time of its publication in 1740.

To cater for the taste of the finest scholars, as in the best tradition of the Enlightenment, from the viewpoint of Peter Gay (1977, p. 72-126), a large number of authors of classical antiquity were also to be found in the catalog, translated into French; among others, *Les Poesies d'Horace* (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*, 65 BC - 8 BC) translated by R. P. Sanadone with a copy translated into Portuguese; *Art d'Aimer*, poem by Ovid (*Publius Ovidius Naso*, 43 BC - ca.18 BC), whose other works were also found in Portuguese, such as *As metamorfoses*; *L'Illiade* and *L'Odissée*, d'Homère,

translated from Greek; *Oraisons Choies de Ciceron Latines et Françaises*; *Oeuvres de Virgile Latin et Français (Publius Vergilius Maro, 70 BC – 19 BC)*; and *Oeuvres de Sêneca (Lucius Annaeus Seneca, 4 BC – 65 AD)*.

There were classics of humanism, such as the texts of Dante (1265-1321) *L'Enfer, Le Paradis et Le Purgatoire*, a French translation of some excerpts from the work of Camões (1524-1580), and the known work of Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616), *Histoire de Don Quixote*. Books from French classicism, among which stood out Corneille (1606-1684), Racine (1639-1699) and Molière (1622-1673). The presence of canonical texts from English authors such as Shakespeare (1564-1616) and John Milton (1608-1674) were also registered, announced in French, as *Théâtre de Shakespeare et Paradis Perdue*, translated by various authors, including Racine.

The titles of eighteenth-century authors were numerous: Voltaire (1694-1788) - *Théâtre, Contes en Vers et Satires Poesies melees, Henriade* (also translated into Portuguese) and the famous burlesque and satirical work about Joan of Arc, *La Pucelle d'Orleans*; Diderot (1713-1784) - *Théâtre Jacque le Fataliste et son maître and La Religieuse*, the latter, a novel written in the form of memoirs; Claude-Prosper Jolyot of Crébillon (1707-1777, known as Crébillon, the son), renowned playwright, member of the French Academy - *Oeuvres*, J. Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) - *Emile or Education and l'Lettre sur la Musique Française*, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), *Werther*, considered a milestone of romanticism.

Also demonstrating an open mind to new ideas, *Works of Ossiam* were on his list (*Ossian barde du 3<sup>eme</sup> Siècle, Poésies Galliques*), from a supposed Welshman, fictitiously translated by James MacPherson in 1762, which awakened the proto-Romantic sensibilities of the period.

Women were also catered for: Madame de Staël (1766-1817) – *De l'Allemagne; La Littérature; Lettres et Pensées du Maréchal Prince de Ligne* ; Madame Adelaïde Dufrenoy (1765-1825) – *Elegies suivis des Poésies Diverses*; and Jeanne Marie Leprince de Beaumont (1711-1780), a French educator who wrote *Le Magasin des Enfants, dialogues d'une sage gouvernante avec ses élèves*

Various dictionaries, thirty in all, also deserve mention. Several were texts in French for translation into other languages such as Spanish, German, Italian and Latin. There was also a French thesaurus. A curious fact is that no dictionaries were found from French into Portuguese, only a *Dicionário Francês e Português*, by Sousa and Sá and a *Dicionário Português Francês e Latino*, by Costa Sá. Demonstrating the appreciation of dictionaries in the eighteenth century, when there was an abundant editorial supply, there are many texts from that period in French on various subjects, such as, *Dictionnaire des Femmes Célèbres, Dictionnaire contenant des Anecdotes Historiques de l' Amour, Dictionnaire Social et Patriotique or précis raisonné de connoissances relatives à l'Économie Morale, Civique & Politique, Dictionnaire de Gens du Monde: historique,*

*littéraire, critique, moral, physique, militaire, politique, caractéristique & social, or Dictionnaire [portatif] des Faits [et dits] Mémorables [de l'Histoire Ancienne et Moderne].*

There were also numerous works of rhetoric and eloquence, essential aspects of literary men in the 1800s, for example: *Rhetoriqua Regra da Eloquencia* by Gilbert, *Essai sur l'Eloquence de la Chaire Panegyriques, Eloge et Discours* by Jean Sifrein Maury (1746-1817).

Just as a curiosity, there was an *Annales Maç... dédiées à son altesse sérénissime Le Prince Cambacérès, Archi-Chancelier de l'Empire*, published by Chez Caillot, in Paris. It was a sort of up-to-date French Masonic quarterly Gazette that, although foreign, contained several Masonic speeches, extracts from *Ensaio sobre as iniciações antigas e modernas* by Frère A. B. or *Mémoire sur la Maçonnerie* du Frère Boileau, as well as numerous ballads and songs. This publication was produced between 1807 and 1810 in eight volumes that were offered in that catalog to the reading public from Rio de Janeiro.

It can be affirmed, through reading the newspaper and catalog announcements, that Jean-Baptiste Bompard was a curious spirit, who sought to offer a wide range of options in his bookstore to the public who were in the Rio de Janeiro Court, and perhaps other regions nearby. He sought to cater for a specialized audience, consisting of professionals such as lawyers, doctors, military men and the clergy.

The events indicate that he became noteworthy in the Court society. Thus, he had his portrait done, in 1824, by Henrique José da Silva. It may seem curious that, being French, Bompard had chosen for this task a Portuguese artist, Henrique Jose da Silva, who besides being very slow in his drawing, became the first director of the School of *Belles Lettres* and had several disagreements with the artists of the “Lebreton colony”, who came specifically to structure the school (SCHWARCZ, 2008). Thus, the question arises: why not choose his fellow Frenchmen, including supporters of Bonaparte as he himself perhaps was, to execute his portrait? One reason is because Henrique da Silva had already painted other portraits of figures such as Senator Rodrigues de Carvalho and Pedro I himself.

Despite the success of his bookshop, confirmed by his extensive catalog and the information conveyed in the newspapers, Bompard decided to leave Brazil in 1827. The reasons? According to his descendants, as per some correspondence, Bompard found himself growing tired of the tropical climate. These descendants also claim that he had amassed a fortune in Brazil, probably by being involved with other businesses besides the bookstore. In fact, Bompard sold the bookstore to another known bookseller in Rio de Janeiro, Evaristo da Veiga, who was also an influential politician during the First Reign and Regencies (1831-1840), during the period when Pedro II was still a minor. According to comments made at the time, the purchase price must have been high, but it is not possible to determine the exact amount. Evaristo's political enemies always made mention

of an exorbitant amount. Later, in the *Aurora Fluminense* periodical, which was published for many years (1827-1835), Evaristo da Veiga himself justified this acquisition:

Let us go to the transaction of purchase of the house with which much has been done, and now that it has alluded several mysterious expressions of *Malagueta*. We bought the property we inhabit, and that its owner wished to discard, for 11 thousand reais, when he premeditatedly moved to Europe, as then ordered, some other buildings among those he had in Rio de Janeiro. Would it be amazing that a man who has negotiated with men for over eight years, who began with some inherited capital, who also has the products of his newspaper and the stipend of a deputy, had accumulated 11 thousand reis to buy the building in which he has his establishment?<sup>39</sup>

It appears, therefore, through this information, that Bompard must also have been successful in his business, because he owned other establishments and buildings in Rio de Janeiro. He returned to France on April 18, 1828, on the ship the *Antonin*, carrying with him books from his establishment<sup>40</sup>, his painted portrait, some souvenirs, an engraving of a character, which has been attributed by his family as being Paulo Martin, and some exotic wood to make furniture.

Upon arriving in France, he got married in 1829 and purchased an old building in the center of Briançon, which still belongs to his family today. He also inherited, from his father in 1818, an area in the country called La Vachère. In that area, where he always resided from late spring until late summer, he developed his activity as a beekeeper, earning him a medal from the Minister of Agriculture in 1884.

After his return from Brazil, he was elected member of the Municipal Council of the town of Briançon. He died in the same town in 1890, at the age of 93, according to his death record<sup>41</sup>. He was considered a *rentier*, no longer returning to the business world, but living off his incomes, perhaps acquired, essentially, on the other side of the Atlantic.

\* \* \*

The analysis of the works of *Belles Lettres* from the Library of Jean-Baptiste Bompard and his career in Rio de Janeiro, between 1818 and 1828, serves as a conclusion, to highlight some aspects of cultural practices and editorials of the period. Firstly, although no concrete data are available, it seems clear that there is a consumer audience well above what is recognized in the more classical historiography, based solely on the reports of travelers. This public was formed by an educated elite, certainly under the Portuguese enlightenment, who had grown up considerably with the transfer of the Portuguese Court to America, but whose intellectual autonomy is shown to be much more difficult to assess. In any case, the existence of a bookstore with so many diverse titles,

an in such high numbers, proves that this trade was attractive. It should be noted that there was a concern of the bookseller to cater not only for a specialized audience, but also new characters in that public: women, through novellas, and young people, offering the Juvenile Library.

Secondly, the analysis of family ties and business between Bompard, the Martins and the Borels, all of whom came from little Briançon, confirm the network of solidarity that was established between these men who dealt with books. Indeed, it was not only for emotional attachment, but for the power of money involving these issues, leading to marriages that united families and consolidated the most important bookstores in many cities, such as Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon.

Thirdly, this character - Jean-Baptiste Bompard - French bookseller in Rio de Janeiro, was, in addition to being a major dealer, an “active cultural transmitter<sup>42</sup>” who contributed to the circulation of ideas between Brazil and countries across the Atlantic, indicating the existence of several cultural exchanges that occurred at that time and also throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. In this sense, he contributed to the role assigned to books that made it possible for ideas to turn into merchandise and constitute ideologies. Thus allowing the meeting of two civilizations, sometimes in one direction only, because France was more disclosed in Brazil, creating a certain gap and mismatch between the two peoples.

If this illustrious, yet still little-known bookseller, Bompard, enabled the circulation of important books from French literature and, therefore, its culture in Brazil, by leaving and returning to his native land he took with him habits, objects and memories of the land that had welcomed him at a period of his life: the furniture in his house in Briançon was made with “exotic woods” that he took from the tropics; between 1834 and 1854, he devoted himself to making tapestries, whose motives represented memories of his life in Rio de Janeiro. Finally, he was known in his town as Bompard, *le brésilien*. It was a way of preserving the memory of this adventure between France and Brazil.

### **Bibliographic References**

ABREU, Márcia. **Caminhos dos Livros**. Campinas/São Paulo: Mercado de Letras/ ALB/ Fapesp, 2003.

ALENCAR, José de. **Como e porque sou romancista**. Rio de Janeiro: Academia Brasileira de Letras, 1987.

BONNANT, G. Les libraires du Portugal ao [sic] XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle vus à travers leurs relations d'affaires avec leurs fournisseurs de Genève, Lausanne et Neuchâtel. **Arquivo da Bibliografia Portuguesa**. Coimbra, 21-22 (6): 195-200, jan-juin 1960.



CAIEIRO, F. da Gama. Livros e livreiros franceses em Lisboa, nos fins de setecentos e no primeiro quartel do século XIX. In: \_\_\_\_\_. **Dispersed**. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2000. v. 2, p. 133-156.

**CATÁLOGO das obras impressas no Rio de Janeiro e que se acham à venda em Lisboa na loja de Paulo Martin e Filhos**. Lisboa: Oficina da Viuva Neves e Filhos, 1812, 2f.

CHARTIER, Roger; MARTIN, Henri-Jean (dir.). **Histoire de l'édition française**. Le livre triomphant (1660-1830). Paris: Fayard/Cercle de la Librairie, 1990.

COOPER-RICHET, Diana, Jean-Yves Mollier & Ahmed Silem (orgs.). **Passeurs culturels dans le monde des médias et de l'édition en Europe: XIX<sup>e</sup> e XX<sup>e</sup> siècle**. Villeurbanne: E.N.S.S.I.B., 2005.

CURTO, Diogo Ramada; DOMINGOS, Manuela et al. **As gentes do livro, Lisboa, século XVIII**. Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 2007.

**DIÁRIO do Rio de Janeiro**. Rio de Janeiro

GAY, Peter. **The Enlightenment: An Interpretation**. The Rise of Modern Paganism. New York: Norton, 1977.

**GAZETA do Rio de Janeiro**. Rio de Janeiro

HALLEWELL, Laurence. **O livro no Brasil (Sua história)**. São Paulo: T.A. Queiroz/Edusp, 1985.

LEITE, José Guilherme Reis. **Para uma leitura da Corografia Açórica de João Soares d'Albergaria de Sousa**. Universidade dos Açores, 1983. Disponível em [repositorio.uac.pt/bitstream/...3/.../ JoseGuilhermeReisLeite\\_p279-317.pdf](http://repositorio.uac.pt/bitstream/...3/.../JoseGuilhermeReisLeite_p279-317.pdf). Acesso em 30 abr 2013.

MACHADO, Ubiratan Machado. **História das livrarias cariocas**. São Paulo: Edusp, 2012.

MEYER, Marlyse. O que é, ou quem foi Saint Clair das Ilhas? **Revista Acervo. Arquivo Nacional**. Disponível em [http://143.107.31.231/Acervo\\_Imagens/Revista/REV014/Media/REV14-04.pdf](http://143.107.31.231/Acervo_Imagens/Revista/REV014/Media/REV14-04.pdf). Acesso em 01 mai 2013.

MORAIS, Maria Arisnete Câmara de. A leitura de romances no século XIX. **Cadernos CEDES**, Campinas, 19(45): Jul. 1998 - [http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S0101-32621998000200005](http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0101-32621998000200005). Acesso em 30 nov 2012.

MOREL, Marco. **As transformações dos Espaços Públicos**. Imprensa, atores políticos e sociabilidades na cidade Imperial (1820-1840). São Paulo: Hucitec, 2005.

NEVES, Lucia Maria Bastos Pereira das. Impressores e Livreiros: Brasil, Portugal e França, ideias, cultura e poder nos primeiros anos do oitocentos. **Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro**, Rio de Janeiro, 171(451): 231-256, abr/jun 2011.

**O SPECTADOR Brasileiro**. Rio de Janeiro.

SCHWARCZ, Lilia Moritz. **O Sol do Brasil: Nicolas-Antoine Taunay e as desventuras dos artistas franceses na Corte de D. João (1816-1821)**. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2008.

SILVA, Antonio de Moraes. **Diccionario da lingua portuguesa**. 2. ed. Lisboa: Tip. de M. P. de Lacerdina, 1813. [Ed. fac-simile: Rio de Janeiro, 1922], v. 2.

VILHENA, Luís dos Santos. **A Bahia no século XVIII**. Salvador: Editora Itapuã, 1969.

VILLALTA, Luiz Carlos. A Censura, a circulação e a posse de romances na América Portuguesa (1722-1822). In: Márcia Abreu (org.). **Cultura letrada no Brasil**: objetos e práticas. Campinas/São Paulo: Mercado de Letras/Fapesp, 2005.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> In the village of Le Bez, the community oven was used between 1712-1989.
- <sup>2</sup> Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Tombo Tower National Archive) (Hereinafter ANTT). Real Mesa Censória (Royal Censorial Court). Examination of books to leave the Kingdom to Rio de Janeiro, P.O. Box 153 Lisbon, 9 November 1795.
- <sup>3</sup> Private correspondence from booksellers in São Paulo, in the 18th century, 1791. Microfilm from Francisco da Gama Caieiro's private Archive. Library at the Education Faculty of São Paulo University. Cf. F. da Gama Caieiro, 'Livros e livreiros franceses em Lisboa, nos fins de setecentos e no primeiro quartel do século XIX' (French books and booksellers in Lisbon at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century). In: \_\_\_\_\_. *Dispersed*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2000. v. 2, p. 133-156.
- <sup>4</sup> For the expressions, see *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, No. 5, 17 January 1810, No. 7, 05 October 1808 and No. 10, 15 October 1808, respectively.
- <sup>5</sup> This vision was anchored in some reports of the time – such as that of Luís dos Santos Marroccos, royal librarian, who, in a letter to his father, in 1813, stated that he did “little business in books” and that there were only two booksellers in Rio de Janeiro, or in travelers' news, such as Theodor von Leithold who, in 1819, went on to say that there were no booksellers, despite the existence of lithographic merchants.
- <sup>6</sup> This information was obtained from documents in the Départementales des Hautes-Alpes Archives, kindly granted by Jean-Jacques Bompard, descendant of the bookseller, Jean-Baptiste Bompard.
- <sup>7</sup> Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Historical Archive). Códice (codex) 808, Passaportes (Passports) 1798-1806, pg. 54.
- <sup>8</sup> *Catalog of printed works in Rio de Janeiro and which are for sale at Paulo Martin e Filhos store in Lisbon*. Lisbon: Oficina da Viuva Neves e Filhos, 1812, 2f.
- <sup>9</sup> *Jornal de Coimbra*, No. 11, November 1812.
- <sup>10</sup> Almanaque in Rio de Janeiro for the year 1811. *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (Brazilian Historical and Geographical Magazine). Rio de Janeiro, 282:230, Jan-Mar 1969. *News of some modern and constitutional works, arrived modernly at the Paulo Martin store, rua da Quitanda, No. 33*. Rio de Janeiro: Typografia Nacional (National Typography), [1821]. 1 f. *Catalog of some works that are sold in Paulo Martin's store, rua da Quitanda No. 33, coming in the latest ship from Lisbon*. Rio de Janeiro: Typografia Nacional (National Typography), [1822]. 1 f. For the printing of works, see the National Archives of Rio de Janeiro. Mesa do Desembargo do Paço (Palace Justice Court). PO Box 171, pac 3, doc. 39, 1819. For Rubens Borba de Moraes' opinion, see *Ibid.* *O bibliófilo aprendiz*. 3ª ed., Brasília/Rio de Janeiro: Briquet de Lemos/ Livros/Casa da Palavra, 1998. p. 191-192.
- <sup>11</sup> Biblioteca Nacional – Rio de Janeiro. Divisão de Manuscritos. 14, 3, 12. Decretos de Mercês (1816-1819).
- <sup>12</sup> For such activities, see Lucia Maria Bastos Pereira das Neves, “Impressores e Livreiros: Brasil, Portugal e França, ideias, cultura e poder nos primeiros anos do oitocentos”. *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, Rio de Janeiro, 171(451): 231-256, April/June 2011.
- <sup>13</sup> For forced recruitment of young students in regal schools, see Luís dos Santos Vilhena. *A Bahia no século XVIII*. Salvador: Editora Itapuã, 1969, v. 1, p. 279. Cf. ainda Anita Correia Lima de Almeida. *A República das Letras na Corte da América portuguesa: a Reforma dos Estudos Menores no Rio de Janeiro Setecentista*. 1995. Dissertação (Mestrado em História) Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1995, p. 131.
- <sup>14</sup> Arquivo Nacional. Intendência da Polícia. Registro de Estrangeiros.
- <sup>15</sup> “Plancher, Printer, Bookseller established in Rua dos Ourives, No. 60, informs the public that he buys all secondhand books, which are thought to be used; the people that have them can go to the place indicated”. *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 31 March 1824.
- <sup>16</sup> It was about Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, who was an influential Spanish polygraph, essayist and philosopher, considered one of the most important literary figures of eighteenth-century Spain and one of the earliest advocates of the Enlightenment in the Iberian Peninsula. The work was, perhaps, the *Teatro Crítico Universal* (1726-1739). Cf. *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 20 September 1825.
- <sup>17</sup> Ubiratan Machado. *História das livrarias cariocas ...* p. 46. For the announcements, cf. *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, respectively, 18 August 1825, 4 December 1825 and 11 October 1824. For the last citation, see *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 3 October 1825.
- <sup>18</sup> *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 25 August 1826.
- <sup>19</sup> ANTT. List of books that the Martin Brothers sent to Brazil in 1827/1828.
- <sup>20</sup> *O Spectador Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro, No. 43, 8 October 1824.
- <sup>21</sup> *O Spectador Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro, various announcements between September and October 1825.
- <sup>22</sup> *O Spectador Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro, No. 31, 10 September 1824.
- <sup>23</sup> Lisboa: Printing by João Nunes Esteves, 1822. Rafeiro was a mongrel dog used to keep cattle, but figuratively, it means one who delights in spreading scandals.
- <sup>24</sup> The classification of the Biblioteca do Conde da Barca was used to define the category of *Belles Lettres*. Cf. Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro. Divisão de Manuscritos. 19.4, 4. *Catalog of Books in the Biblioteca do Conde da Barca in 1818*. Included in this category are: texts related to grammar, dictionaries, sacred and profane rhetoric, poetry, drama, fables, apologies, short stories, novellas, novels, satires, criticisms, proverbs and correspondence.
- <sup>25</sup> Contrary to the success in England, Portugal and Brazil, the use of the designation *novelas, contos e romances* (novellas, short stories and novels) was used without much distinction. It appears that in the announcements in

periodicals, there is a predominance of the denomination *novela*. According to the lexicographer Antonio Morais e Silva, the *novela* was “a fabulous tale of success among men, to give moral instruction: mumbo-jumbo, fabled, invented thing”. Likewise, the *conto* is a “fabulous story”. Cf. Antonio de Moraes Silva. *Diccionario ...* p. 349. For the *conto* entry, see v. 1, p. 459. Therefore, in the early years of the nineteenth century the “novella, short story and novel were therefore the same, all having fabulous character, lacking formal concerns that might need internal differences for the genders”. See Márcia Abreu. *Caminhos dos Livros*. Campinas/São Paulo: Mercado de Letras/ ALB/ Fapesp, 2003, p. 265-266.

<sup>26</sup> Rubens Borba de Moraes. “A Impressão régia do Rio de Janeiro. Origens e Produção”. In: Ana Maria de A. Camargo & Rubens Borba de Moraes. *Bibliografia da Impressão Régia do Rio de Janeiro*. São Paulo: Edusp/Livraria Kosmos Editora, 1993. v.1, p. XXIX. For the novellas from the beginning of the nineteenth century, see Lucia Maria Bastos P. Neves & Luiz Carlos Villalta (orgs.). *Quatro Novelas em tempos de D. João*. Rio de Janeiro: Casa da Palavra, 2008.

<sup>27</sup> Lucia Maria Bastos P. Neves. *Comércio de livros e censura de idéias: a atividade dos livreiros franceses no Brasil e a vigilância da Mesa do Desembargo do Paço (1795-1822)*. *Ler História*. Lisboa, 23:61-78, 1993; Luiz Carlos Villalta. *A Censura, a circulação e a posse de romances na América Portuguesa (1722-1822)*. In: Márcia Abreu (org.). *Cultura letrada no Brasil: objetos e práticas*. Campinas/São Paulo: Mercado de Letras/Fapesp, 2005, p. 161-182.

<sup>28</sup> *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, January 7, 1825.

<sup>29</sup> For the opinion of Francisco Xavier de Oliveira, see ANTT. Desembargo do Paço (Palace Justice). Real Mesa Censória (Royal Censorial Court). PO Box 109, 27 April 1805 See also, Márcia Abreu. O controle à publicação de livros nos séculos XVIII e XIX: uma outra visão da censura. *Revista Fênix. Revista de História e Estudos Culturais*, v. 4, No. 4, Oct-Nov-Dec. 2007. Available at [http://www.revistafenix.pro.br/PDF13/DOSSIE\\_%20ARTIGO\\_02-Marcia\\_Abreu.pdf](http://www.revistafenix.pro.br/PDF13/DOSSIE_%20ARTIGO_02-Marcia_Abreu.pdf). Accessed on Oct 10, 2012.

<sup>30</sup> For the announcement on the sale of the Biblioteca Juvenil, cf. *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, in the months of May, July, August and November 1826. The announcement about the reprinting came out in the same newspaper on September 9, 1828.

<sup>31</sup> Biblioteca Nacional (National Library). Divisão de Obras Raras (Rare Books Division). 102, 5, 220: Notice to the public [advertising from the bookstores of Veiga, Bompard, Baptista dos Santos and in the stationers Coutinho e Agra].

<sup>32</sup> Biblioteca Nacional – Divisão de Manuscritos. 14, 1, 15. Portuguese, French, Italian, German and Spanish book catalogs from João Baptista Bompard [sic], 1825.

<sup>33</sup> In the opinion of his descendant, Jean-Jacques Bompard, it is a copy made by the bookseller Bompard himself.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. for example, *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, No. 55, July 10, 1811.

<sup>35</sup> [Bernardin de Saint-Pierre]. *Paulo e Virginia*: story based on facts, translated in the common tongue. New Edition. Rio de Janeiro: Impressão Régia, 1811, p. 8-9 ([www.caminhosdoromance.iel.unicamp.br/biblioteca](http://www.caminhosdoromance.iel.unicamp.br/biblioteca) - Access Jan. 2008). On this subject, see: Simone Cristina Mendonça de Souza. A prosa de ficção na Impressão Régia do Rio de Janeiro. Encontro Regional da ABRALIC 2007. Available at <file:///C:/Documents%20and%20Settings/usuario/Meus%20documentos/ArtigosAlheios/Aprosadefic%C3%A7%C3%A3onaImprR%C3%A9giadoRJSimone.htm>, p. 2. Accessed on 29 May 2008. Cf. also, Ana Cristina Araújo. *A Cultura das Luzes em Portugal: temas e problemas*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2003, p. 99 e Lucia Maria Bastos P. Neves & Luiz Carlos Villalta (orgs.). *Quatro Novelas em tempos de D. João ...*

<sup>36</sup> José Pedro de Souza Azevedo was one of those deported to the Azores in the episode of Setembrizada (September 1810), having been accused of Jacobinism by the Regency of the Portuguese Kingdom.

<sup>37</sup> The Portuguese edition features the title *Templo de Jatab: colleção de memórias turcas* / translated and accommodated by J. P. S. A. Lisbon: Impressão Régia, 1806.

<sup>38</sup> This occurred in the legal shipments of books from Portugal to Rio de Janeiro, Maranhão and Pará, between 1769 and 1800; on those coming from Portugal towards Bahia, between 1769 and 1815, and on those leaving from Portugal to “Brazil” (name of document box that gathers lists of books sent to various parts of Brazil, often not itemized) and from “Brazil” to Portugal, between 1769 and 1821. Luiz Carlos Villalta, *A Censura, a circulação ...*, p. 175 and p. 177.

<sup>39</sup> *Aurora Fluminense*. Rio de Janeiro, No. 583, January 25, 1832.

<sup>40</sup> Some of these books - *Les Aventures de Télémaque* and several works of De Pradt - are still in possession of the Bompard family today, under the care of M. Jean-Jacques Bompard.

<sup>41</sup> Archives Départementales des Hautes-Alpes. Briançon, 1890, 2E 24/32.

<sup>42</sup> For the expression, see Diana Cooper-Richet. In: \_\_\_\_\_, Jean-Yves Mollier & Ahmed Silem (orgs.). *Passeurs culturels dans le monde des medias et de l'édition en Europe: XIX<sup>e</sup> e XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Villeurbanne: E.N.S.S.I.B., 2005.

Received in February/2013.

Approved in April/2013.