

CULTURE AND COSMOS

A Journal of the History of Astrology and Cultural Astronomy

Vol. 13, no. 2, Autumn/Winter 2009

Published by Culture and Cosmos
and the Sophia Centre Press,
in partnership with the University of Wales Trinity Saint David,
in association with the Sophia Centre for the Study of Cosmology
in Culture,
University of Wales Trinity Saint David,
Faculty of Humanities and the Performing Arts
Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales, SA48 7ED, UK.

www.cultureandcosmos.org

Cite this paper as: Carlos Ziller Camenietzki and Luís Miguel Carolino, 'Astrologers at War: Manuel Galhano Lourosa and the Political Restoration of Portugal, 1640–1668', *Culture and Cosmos*, Vol. 13, no. 2, Autumn/Winter 2009, pp. 63–85.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue card for this book is available from the British Library

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the Publishers.

ISSN 1368-6534

Printed in Great Britain by Lightning Source

Copyright © 2018 Culture and Cosmos
All rights reserved

Astrologers at War: Manuel Galhano Lourosa and the Political Restoration of Portugal, 1640–1668

**Carlos Ziller Camenietzki^{*} and
Luís Miguel Carolino^{**}**

Abstract. This paper analyses the involvement of the astrologer Manuel Galhano Lourosa in the restoration of political independence of Portugal from Spain between 1640 and 1668. Lourosa was the most successful astrologer and almanac maker in seventeenth-century Portugal. He published astrological almanacs for several decades, wrote an astrological and astronomical treatise on comets, and addressed astrological writings to Portuguese society urging support for the new political order that issued from the revolution of 1640. Some of these writings were consistent with the feelings of the urban professional and mercantile classes. We argue that, by publishing and using his social prestige in favour of the Restoration cause, Lourosa used the sphere of public opinion to act politically along with the interests of the urban middle class.

Historical studies on the practices and uses of astrology in early modern Europe have paid special attention to the close relationship that was perceived to exist between astrology and politics. Prophecies such as those put forward by the British astrologer and leading Parliamentarian William Lilly announcing the death of King Charles I or astrological prognostications such as the one by the Seville astrologer and publisher

^{*} Instituto de História, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. E-mail: ziller@historia.ufrj.br.

^{**} Centro InterUniversitário de História das Ciências e da Tecnologia UL/UNL, Faculdade de Ciências—Universidade de Lisboa, Museu de Ciência da Universidade de Lisboa. E-mail: lm.carolino@gmail.com.

Juan Gomez de Blas¹ claiming the recovery of Catholic Monarchy in the mid-seventeenth century² or, on the contrary, proclaiming its ruin, as an anonymous pamphlet on the 1643 conjunction that came out during the Catalan war of the *segadors* (reapers) did,³ have led historians to delve into the political and social impact of predictions made by astrologers. Historians have stressed the deep involvement of astrologers in the early modern politics, either by participating directly in the political events or by inciting people to act. This is true not only for the Stuart England, which has been studied in detail by Patrick Curry and others,⁴ but also for the cases of France, Spain, or Portugal.⁵ A number of those astrologers authored influential almanacs. Nevertheless historical studies that focus on astrological almanacs tend to emphasize the role played by these popular booklets in disseminating scientific and astrological beliefs.⁶ In

1 Compare with Carmen Espejo Cala, 'El impresor sevillano Juan Gomez de Blas y los orígenes de la prensa periódica', *Zer* Vol. 13, no. 25 (2008): pp. 243–267.

2 Juan Gomez de Blas, *Discurso Astrologico sobre los sucessos del año de 1652 y parte del de 1653 com las pronosticaciones que los malevolos planetas indican a los Reynos de Francia, Inglaterra y Portugal, y reduccion de este ultimo a la obediencia de su legitimo Rey Y Señor* (Seville: Juan Gomez de Blas, 1652).

3 *Magna Conjunction de Saturno, Y Jove, sobre la triplicidad aquea en dos de março del presente año 1643* (Barcelona, 1643).

4 Patrick Curry, *Prophecy and Power. Astrology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989); Patrick Curry, 'Astrology in Early Modern England: the making of a vulgar knowledge', in S. Pumfrey, P. Rossi and L. R. Slawinski (eds.), *Science, Culture and Popular Belief in Renaissance Europe*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 274–91; Ann Geneva, *Astrology and the Seventeenth Century Mind. William Lilly and the Languages of the Stars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

5 See, among others, Luís Miguel Carolino, *Ciência, Astrologia e Sociedade. A teoria da influência celeste em Portugal, 1593-1755* (Lisbon: FCT/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2003); Hervé Drévilion, *Lire et écrire l'avenir. L'astrologie dans la France du Grand Siècle (1610-1715)* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1996); Micheline Grenet, *La Passion des Astres au XVIIe. Siècle. De l'Astrologie à l'Astronomie* (Éditions Hachette, 1994).

6 Geneviève Bollème, *Les Almanachs populaires aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. Essai d'histoire sociale* (Paris: Mouton, 1969); Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the*

fact, it has been demonstrated that in some extraordinary cases astrological almanacs contributed to the diffusion of some avant-garde theories, such as the case of heliocentrism in early America.⁷ This is very interesting since the capacity of early modern astrology to face the outcome of the so-called Scientific Revolution has also been an issue traditionally scrutinized by historians of astrology.⁸

Yet historians have seldom paid attention to the strategy brought into play by early modern astrologers which consisted in exploring the sphere of public opinion to act politically. Astrologers, particularly through their widespread almanacs, influenced early modern societies. The increasing expansion in the early modern period of a ‘culture of the masses’, in the sense José Antonio Maravall described,⁹ was mastered by astrologers who made the most of being public figures. The printing revolution also strengthened their role, as it allowed the boom of an almanac culture throughout Europe.¹⁰

This paper focuses on Manuel Gomes Galhano Lourosa, the most

Popular Press. English Almanacs, 1500–1800 (London: Faber & Faber, 1979); Bernard Capp, ‘The Status and Role of Astrology in Seventeenth-Century England: the Evidence of the Almanac’, in *Scienze, Credenze Occulte, Livelli di Cultura* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1982), pp. 279–90; Luís Miguel Carolino, *A Escrita Celeste. Almanagues astrológicos em Portugal nos séculos XVII e XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro: Access Editora, 2002); Carmen Corona, *Lunarios. Calendarios novohispanos del siglo XVII* (City of México: Publicaciones Mexicanas, 1991).

7 Harry Woolf, ‘Science for the People: Copernicanism and Newtonianism in the Almanacs of Early America’, in Jerzy Dobrzycki (ed.), *The Reception of Copernicus’ Heliocentric Theory* (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1972), pp. 293–309.

8 See, for example, Mary Ellen Bowden, *The Scientific Revolution in Astrology: the English Reformers, 1558–1686* (PhD diss., Yale University, 1975).

9 José Antonio Maravall, *La Cultura del Barroco. Análisis de una estructura histórica* (1975; repr. Barcelona, Editorial Ariel, 1996).

10 Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Bollème, *Les Almanachs populaires aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*; Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*; Capp, ‘The Status and Role of Astrology in Seventeenth-Century England’; Carolino, *A Escrita Celeste*.

successful astrologer and almanac maker in seventeenth-century Portugal.¹¹ He published astrological almanacs for several decades, wrote an astrological and astronomical treatise on comets, and addressed astrological writings to Portuguese society urging support for the new political order that issued from the revolution of 1640. Following the battle of El-Ksar-el-Kebir that took place in Morocco in August 1578, in which the Portuguese king Sebastião (1554–1578) and significant part of the prime nobility of Portugal died leaving the Portuguese throne with no direct heir, the king of Spain Felipe II (1527–1598), who was a collateral descendent of the Portuguese king D. Manuel I (1469–1521), became king of Portugal in 1580 after a military incursion. Yet on the first of December 1640 a *coup-d'état* took place in Lisbon. Supported by the urban bourgeoisie of Lisbon, Duke João of Braganza and a group of nobles removed from power the Spanish ruler, Margarida of Savoia, duchess of Mantua (1589–1656), killing her secretary, the Portuguese Miguel de Vasconcelos (1590–1640) and declared the independence of Portugal from Spain.¹²

In the aftermath of this revolt, which marked the start of the Braganza dynasty, war between Portugal and Spain continued until 1668, when the Iberian countries sealed the peace in the Treaty of Lisbon.¹³ During this

11 On Manuel Gomes Galhano Lourosa, see Inocência Francisco da Silva, *Dicionário Bibliográfico Português* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1858–1923), Vol. 5, p. 444.

12 A broad view in English on Portugal's early modern history can be found in A. H. De Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire, 1415–1808: A World on the Move* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), A. R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire. Vol. 1, From Beginnings to 1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

13 On the 'Restauração' and the Restoration war, see E. D'Oliveira França, *Portugal na Época da Restauração* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1997); F. Dores Costa, *A Guerra da Restauração (1641–1668)* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2004); G. do Espírito Santo, *A Grande Estratégia de Portugal na Restauração (1640–1668)* (Casal de Cambra, 2009). Spanish historians have also published on this topic. See, for example, R. Valladares, *La Rebelión de Portugal (1640–1668)* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla Y Leon, 1998); F. Bouza Álvarez, *Portugal no Tempo dos Felipes* (Lisbon: Cosmos, 2000).

period, political instability was aggravated by the fact that a number of the Portuguese high nobility sided with the Spanish Habsburgs and left Portugal. In this context, the authorities that came out of the Restoration revolt embarked on an articulated policy of propaganda to legitimize the new political *status quo* both at an internal and international level. As far as domestic policy is concerned, periodical publications on the Restoration War,¹⁴ several war and diplomacy reports and, in the 1660s, the *Mercurio Portuguez com as novas da Guerra entre Portugal e Castela* by the secretary of State António de Sousa Macedo,¹⁵ were published regularly with the encouragement and support of the new government. Those publications were to play a key role in deepening an identity link between the new ruling elite and the Portuguese people, as well as in keeping people engaged in the war effort. An identical strategy aiming to demonstrate the legitimacy of the Restoration revolt and accordingly the right of the Braganza family to the Portuguese crown was pursued in foreign affairs. Thus, the publication of works such as Sousa Macedo's *Lusitana Liberata* (London, 1645) or John Dauncey's *A Compendious Chronicle of the Kingdom of Portugal* (London, 1661) was supported by the Braganza regime.

Manuel Galhano Lourosa played a part in this effort to legitimize the newly-established dynasty of Braganza. He not only made constant references to the Restoration as a godly event and to the superior character of João IV in his annual astrological almanacs, but he also addressed a political treatise to the king soon after the revolt, with the aim of legitimizing the event and gathering the Portuguese people in favour of the Braganza's party. Yet, in this writing, meaningfully entitled *Alvitre mathematico. Tratado politico, physiologico, democratico, ethico, aristocratico e theologico* [Mathematical prediction. A political, physiological, democratic, ethic, aristocratic, and theological treatise],¹⁶

14 Such as *Gazeta em que se relatam as novas todas que ouve nesta Corte*, published from as early as November 1641. *Gazeta*, the first Portuguese newspaper to appear, has recently been republished by E. Gomes Dias (ed.), *Gazetas da Restauração (1641-1648)* (Lisbon: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 2006).

15 Compare with E. Gomes Dias, *Olhares sobre o Mercurio Portuguez (1663-1667)—Transcrição e Comentários* (Lisbon: INCM, 2010).

16 Manuel Gomes Galhano Lourosa, *Alvitre Mathematico. Tratado Politico, physiologico, democratico, ethico, aristocratico e theologico. Dado et dirigido*

Lourosa decided not to approach separately the three distinct groups comprising the *ancien régime* society, as one might have expected. In fact, he addressed his discourse to the Portuguese people who took part in the event. By doing so, he emphasized the role played by the urban middle class, attributing a political importance to this social group, which, from Lourosa's perspective, should be taken into account by the winning party in the new state of affairs.

In this paper, we argue that Lourosa aimed at influencing Portuguese politics, not particularly by putting forward astrological prognostics, in the manner of Gomez de Blas or Lilly, but by using his social prestige in favour of the Restoration cause. His annual almanacs, and to some extent the publication of a treatise on the comet of 1664, made him an influential character in Portuguese society. Taking advantage of that, he addressed his *Alvitre mathematico* to King João IV and afterwards he constantly supported the Braganza party in his almanacs. In other words, by publishing and using his social prestige in favour of the Restoration cause, Lourosa used the sphere of public opinion to act politically.

This case demonstrates that in contexts of political instability where propaganda was a main tool of political agency, early modern astrologers made use of their influence over public opinion to try to keep a tight rein on political developments, and in Lourosa's case, advocating the interests of the urban middle classes.

Astrologers at war in the Restoration

In April 1644, the impressive *Historia del levantamiento de Portugal* by Antonio Seyner was published in Saragoza.¹⁷ Seyner was a Spanish Austin friar who remained in Portugal until 1642, two years after the political liberation of Portugal from Spanish rule. Focusing on the Portuguese revolt, this book puts in evidence some of the most

ao novo monarcha da lusitania, aos briosos fidalgos et leays deste reyno, aos nobres vassalos seus et ao fidelissimo povo de Portugal. Repartido em quatro discursos breves et ultimamente em hum epilogo succinto de todo tratado historico. Offerecido ao mesmo monarcha excelso Dom João IIII Rey do nome dado pelo ceo a esta monatchia lusitana. Composto pelo licenciado Manuel Gomes Galhano Louroza Medico et Mathematico natural da villa de Almada. This manuscript is preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, cod. 517.

¹⁷ Antonio Seyner, *Historia del levantamiento de Portugal* (Saragoza: Pedro Lanaja y Lamarca, 1644).

fundamental features of the political rebellions and popular uprisings that took place in early modern Europe: civil disobedience towards ruling powers seen as foreign to local traditions, the quest for a reassuring and immanent justice, eschatological hopes of the establishment of a divine kingdom on Earth, social tension vis-à-vis the long-lasting process of political centralization, and the peasantry's hopes of emancipation from their servitude and personal dependence.¹⁸

Seyner started his book by underlining that major and devastating events are usually preceded by celestial tokens or freaks of nature, such as the appearance of comets, whose role was to disclose the near future. The restoration of the political independence of Portugal was a case in point. According to the Spanish Austin friar, in May 1640, a huge wave of locusts hit Lisbon and clouded the city for four entire days. Surprisingly, this massive swarm of locusts did not threaten farms nor cause any damage where they passed. As soon as the insects set down they suddenly collapsed. This extraordinary event did not pass unnoticed by the Portuguese and Spanish active in the Portuguese capital city at the time. As Antonio Seyner put it:

Some Portuguese (acknowledging the learned character of the subject) gave full credit to what the main surgeon of that city (and likewise the main astrologer) stated, and whose name is Guilherme. This gentleman used to declare among his friends that before the end of the year 40, Portugal would have a new government. When people with whom he spoke objected that they were already in November of that year and no signal of his prognosis was visible, revealing the failure of his 'science', he answered that the year had not finished yet. This happened in mid November and, soon afterwards, the uprising took place.¹⁹

The surgeon referred to by Seyner was the celebrated Francisco Guilherme Casmach (1569–16--), a court savant and graduate in

18 Yves-Marie Bercé, *Revolt and revolution in early modern Europe*, tr. J. Bergin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987). For the Portuguese case, see particularly António de Oliveira, *Poder e oposição política em Portugal no período filipino* (Lisbon: Difel, 1990).

19 Seyner, *Historia del levantamiento*, p. 5.

medicine from the University of Salamanca who, after the Restoration of 1640, would reach the post of royal surgeon.²⁰ Alongside some works in medicine and surgery, Guilherme Casmach authored two astrological prognostications, the *Almanach Prototypo* (1644) and *Brachylogia Astrologica* (1646), dedicated respectively to Queen Luíza de Gusmão and to the Portuguese nobility.²¹ Casmach's prognostications were certainly regarded as masterpieces in the almanac market. Not only were their titles quite unusual for this sort of literature, but also their layouts and contents were distinctly rich compared with the common almanac. The frontispiece of *Almanach Prototypo* was provided with a distinct frame and included a vivid dedication to the queen. It also comprised an unusual Latin poem by theologian Diogo de Paiva de Andrada—a distinguished ideological supporter of the Restoration movement—and the astrological figure of the planetary conjunction at the beginning of 1645.²² Such a luxury has its price, and in fact Casmach's almanacs were much more expensive than the usual almanacs. *Brachylogia astrologica*, for example, cost forty réis, ten times more than the popular almanacs.²³ That is to say, Casmach's almanacs were addressed to a more wealthy social class. Longer phrases, copiously intercalated by Latin quotations, also denote the higher level of literacy of Casmach's readers.

In the strange locusts affair of 1640, Guilherme Casmach became famous by opposing a rising star in the Portuguese astrological scene, Manuel Gomes Galhano Lourosa.²⁴ Publishing his astrological almanacs regularly from 1637 to 1675, Lourosa would become the most successful almanac maker throughout the seventeenth century in Portugal. Together with his astrological activity, and probably closely related to it, Lourosa

20 On Francisco Guilherme Casmach, see Silva, *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez*, Vol. 2, pp. 388–89.

21 Francisco Guilherme Casmach, *Almanach Prototypo e exemplar de Prognosticos* (Lisbon: Paulo Craesbeeck, 1644); Francisco Guilherme Casmach, *Brachylogia Astrologica e apocatastasis apographica do Sol, Lua & demais planetas* (Lisbon: Paulo Craesbeeck, 1646).

22 Casmach, *Almanach Prototypo*, pp. 4r.–5r.

23 Casmach, *Brachylogia Astrologica*, p. 1v..

24 The controversy between Casmach and Lourosa on the wave of locusts of 1640 has already been analysed in Carolino, *A Escrita Celeste*, pp. 55–61.

practised medicine in Almada, a city near Lisbon. This astrologer also claimed to be a natural philosopher. In effect, Lourosa was graduated in medicine from the University of Coimbra, having thus studied philosophy. He authored an extensive treatise on the comet of 1664, which paid special attention to the hypothetical implications of this natural phenomenon on human health. Unlike the courtier Guilherme Casmach, Lourosa addressed his astrological production to the urban professional and mercantile classes, including lawyers, physicians and clergy as well as tradesmen, shopkeepers and artisans—all with different levels of literacy.²⁵

Thus, underlying the controversy on the prophetic meaning of the invasion of locusts, there was a social tension between two different sorts of intellectuals, a ‘philosopher, astrologer and surgeon to their Royal Majesties’,²⁶ on the one hand, and an urban professional astrologer and local physician, on the other.

Lourosa’s profile as popular astrologer and almanac maker

The entrance of Guilherme Casmach into the profitable world of almanac making, with his 1644 *Almanach prototypo e exemplar de pronosticos*, had an impact upon common astrologers. A couple of years later, vexed by the episode of the invasion of locusts, Lourosa issued a severe critique of Casmach, accusing his opponent of being a snob who tried to cover up his ignorance in astrological matters by exploiting his social and economic condition and by making use of pretentious strategies to impress his audiences. In his almanac for 1647, Lourosa stressed the fact that the use of peculiar titles and expressions and the making of odd prophecies based upon the uncertain character of astrology was nothing but a ruse used by Casmach to veil his lack of knowledge. As he put it, ‘by this adverse shortcut [the uncertainty of astrology] walks a certain visionary of these our times who, taking himself as an astrologer, fancies in his *Almanach prototypo* signing inventive prologues and, in *Brachyologia* (whose title in full display limits because of the shortness

25 A study on the structure of Portuguese society can be found in Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *A estrutura na antiga sociedade portuguesa* (Lisbon: Editora Arcádia, 1971). See also Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, *Elites e Poder. Entre o Antigo Regime e o Liberalismo* (Lisbon: Imprensa das Ciências Sociais, 2003).

26 As Guilherme Casmach presented himself in the frontispieces of *Almanach Prototypo* and *Brachylogia Astrologica*.

of his knowledge), put forward chimerical and nauseous notions'.²⁷ He preceded his critique by alluding to the social issue that divided both the astrologers. 'I do not spend as much as the rich can, but I spend to the level of my wealth', Lourosa stated.²⁸

Unlike Guilherme Casmach, Lourosa's aim was to be a popular astrologer. An analysis of the astrological almanacs that he produced for almost four decades demonstrates that he intentionally addressed his astrological publications to a larger audience, which included the urban professional and working classes. Not only were the prices much cheaper compared with those of Casmach—for example, the almanac for 1644 cost four *réis*²⁹—, but also Lourosa decided to compose his text by using systematically short phrases, especially in the utilitarian content of the almanac, thus allowing people with less literacy skills to make use of his booklets. Lourosa also depicted himself as a *popular* and self-made astrologer, living in a village far away from the Court milieu.³⁰ Lourosa claimed that, while studying medicine at the local university in Coimbra, he had occupied himself by studying astrology in his leisure time.³¹ His ability for astrological science was furthermore facilitated by his melancholic character, which he regarded, in keeping with the astrological tradition,³² as 'fitted to speculate on meteors and secrets of nature'.³³ In all these aspects, Lourosa intentionally contrasted himself

27 Lourosa, *Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1647 com os aspectos mais principaes de todos os 7 planetas* (Lisbon: António Alvarez, 1647), pp. 4v.–5r.

28 Lourosa, *Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1647*, p. 6v.

29 Lourosa, *Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1644* (Lisbon: António Alvarez, 1643).

30 Lourosa, *Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1651* (Lisbon: António Alvarez, 1650), p. 2v.

31 Lourosa, *Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1667* (Lisbon: Joam Pereira, 1666), p. 4v–5.

32 See, for example, Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy. Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art* (1964; repr. Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1979).

33 Lourosa, *Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1651*, p. 1v.

with Guilherme Casmach.

Nevertheless in order to become an influential and successful astrologer, Lourosa had to create his trademark. Indeed, despite changing printing houses quite often during his career as an almanac maker, Lourosa was successful in preserving the fundamental characteristics of his almanacs. Lourosa's almanacs were published annually in a small format (in *octavum*) with an average number of twenty-four pages, though slightly fewer when he first started publishing. The title and the cover page were simple and distinctive. From time to time, the cover page included an astrological engraving, such as the representation of Mars in the almanac for 1644,³⁴ or a sylvan scene in the almanac for 1666.³⁵ This was Lourosa's distinctive trademark. The readers who looked for his astrological booklets at the beginning of every year would find it easy to distinguish Lourosa's from the wide array of astrological productions on sale in Lisbon, Évora, or Coimbra.

The contents included in the almanacs produced by this astrologer also maintained an effective regularity. Lourosa's almanacs started with a prologue in which the author addressed his reader, informing him or her about the conditions under which the almanac was produced and obviously about the news of war. Quite often he also exhorted his reader about the political difficulties of the Portuguese monarchy. After this introduction, the booklet proceeded with the astrological judgment for the year, which formed the core part of the almanac, as well as information on the moveable feasts, the phases of the moon, a calendar, and notices of eclipses and particular planetary conjunctions. In some cases, Lourosa also supplied his readers with information on 'scientific' matters. For example, in the almanac for 1653, he presented the supposed dimensions of the Sun and its distance from the Earth.³⁶ Later, after the appearance of a comet in 1664, which remained visible in Lisbon until the winter of 1665, Lourosa included a note on the nature of this phenomenon in his

34 Lourosa, *Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1644*. Also used in *Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1660* (Lisbon: António Craesbeeck, 1659) and in *Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1665* (Lisbon: Domingos Carneiro, 1664).

35 Lourosa, *Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1666* (Lisbon: Domingos Carneiro, 1665).

36 Lourosa, *Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1653* (Lisbon: António Alvarez, 1652), fl. 5r–5v.

Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1666.³⁷ Thus, as happened throughout Europe, Lourosa's almanacs provided not only astrological news but also useful and educational information. Nevertheless, we cannot ascribe to the Portuguese astrologer a role of disseminating scientific ideas in the manner that this occurred in England and its American colony.³⁸

As Bernard Capp has already pointed out, the inclusion of different sorts of information, from the astrological to the utilitarian, was crucial for the success enjoyed by astrological almanacs at the time.³⁹ Of course, Lourosa's almanacs were no exception. We have no way of exactly measuring the success achieved by Lourosa as an almanac maker. No evidence seems to have survived on the number of copies printed and/or sold.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, Lourosa's impressively long career in the almanac business suggests that he was very successful indeed. In Portugal, no other astrologer produced almanacs over such a long period.⁴¹ Indirect evidence also suggests that Lourosa made himself conspicuous as an astrologer and almanac maker. For example, Francisco Manuel de Melo (1608–1666), a celebrated writer and influential politician who played an

37 Lourosa, *Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1666*, fl. 2 n.n.

38 For the English and American cases, see Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, pp. 191–99 and 257–58; Capp, 'The Status and Role of Astrology in Seventeenth-Century England', pp. 282–83; Woolf, 'Science for the People: Copernicanism and Newtonianism in the Almanacs of Early America', pp. 299ff.

39 Capp, 'The Status and Role of Astrology in Seventeenth-Century England', p. 280.

40 Ribeiro Guimarães estimated that in eighteenth-century Portugal the sales of this sort of literature averaged about 20,000 copies annually. If we compare that to the 400,000 copies sold in the 1660s in England (Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p. 23), we conclude that Guimarães was probably too conservative in his estimation. J. Ribeiro Guimarães, *Summário de Varia História. Narrativas, Lendas, Biographias, Descrições de Templos e Monumentos, Estatísticas, Costumes Civis, Políticos e Religiosos de outras eras* (Lisbon: Rolland & Semiond Ed., 1873), p. 196.

41 A table comparing the period of activity of almanac makers in Portugal during the seventeenth century can be found in Carolino, *Ciência, Astrologia e Sociedade*, p. 208.

important role as diplomat of King João IV in several European courts, referred to Lourosa in 1650 as a ‘recognized diviner of times and novelties’.⁴² In the eighteenth century, when astrology was no longer recognized among the range of sciences and useful knowledge, Manuel Lourosa was the figure used in order to satirize astrology and its cultivators.⁴³ One could say that the Enlightenment society showed disdain for Lourosa as much as the Baroque society had shown respect for him.

‘Who said that philosophers could not also be astrologers, and vice versa?’ The astrologer turned philosopher: Lourosa and the comet of 1664

In late November 1664 a comet was seen over Lisbon. Manuel Lourosa observed it for the first time on 23 November in Costa da Caparica, a fishing village near Almada, where he lived at the time, and continued his observations until March 1665, when the comet ceased to be visible.⁴⁴ As elsewhere in seventeenth-century Europe, the appearance of comets and other celestial phenomena stirred up the Portuguese savant community. Philosophers discussed the topic widely in their philosophical discourses. Moreover, astronomers and astrologers perceived the extraordinary appearance of this phenomenon as an invaluable occasion to display themselves as professional experts on comets and on astronomical

42 Francisco Manuel de Melo, *Cartas Familiares* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 1981), p. 415.

43 See, for example, *Pronostico verdadeiro e serto calendario com todos os aspectos do Sol, da Lua, e conjunções dos planetas, e dos signos celestes a todo o nobilissimo reyno de Portugal, e ao meredianno da famosa Cidade de Lisboa para o anno bissexto de 1753 que depois delle findado, e acabado ficará perpetuo até o fim do mundo. Mal composto, e runhado por hum curioso çapateiro de obra groça, natural da Caparica, a quem chamam por antonomazia o insigne Astolfo, que tudo adivinha*, with no reference to the printing house and year of publication. This copy is inserted in Miscelânea 430 (n° 6959), Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra.

44 Lourosa, *Polymathia exemplar. Doctrina de discursos varios. Cometographia meteorologica do prodigioso e diuturno cometa, que appareceo em Novembro do anno de [1]664* (Lisbon: António Craesbeeck de Mello, 1666), pp. 11, 19, and 59.

matters more broadly. Historians have pointed out the emergence of a new sort of *persona scientifica* in early modern Europe, advocating that, in some cases, it was instrumental in the shaping of new developments in astronomy.⁴⁵ In Portugal, the appearances of comets clearly emerge as key moments in the rise of a local community of astronomers. After the observation of a comet, there was usually a wave of publications by astronomers and astrologers discussing the astronomical content and the astrological meaning of the phenomenon.⁴⁶ In some cases, such as Manuel Bocarro Francês's *Tratado dos cometas que appareceram em Novembro passado de 1618* (Lisbon, 1619), astronomers went even so far as to discuss cosmological topics and, in this context, they strongly criticized the community of philosophers who were traditionally concerned with the cosmological discussion of cometary phenomena.⁴⁷ In Portugal, as happened in a similar way in Germany,⁴⁸ the community of philosophers was essentially academic-based. The issues, purposes and books of Portuguese philosophers derived fundamentally from their activity as professors of philosophy at the University of Coimbra's *Colégio das Artes* (College of Arts) and at the University of Évora. Both the *Colégio das Artes* and the University of Évora were ruled by the

45 See, for example, Robert S. Westman, 'The Astronomer's Role in the Sixteenth Century: A Preliminary Study', *History of Science* Vol. 18 (1980): pp. 105–47 and Mario Biagioli, 'The Social Status of Italian Mathematicians', *History of Science* Vol. 28 (1989): pp. 41–95.

46 See Luís Miguel Carolino and Carlos Ziller Camenietzki, 'Tokens of the Future: Comets, Astrology and Politics in Early Modern Portugal', *Cronos* Vol. 9 (2006): pp. 33–57.

47 Carlos Ziller Camenietzki, Luís Miguel Carolino and Bruno Martins Boto Leite, 'A Disputa do Cometa: Matemática e Filosofia na controvérsia entre Manuel Bocarro Francês e Mendo Pacheco de Brito acerca do cometa de 1618', *Revista Brasileira de História da Matemática* Vol. 4, no. 7 (2004): pp. 3–18.

48 Ian Hunter, 'The University Philosopher in Early Modern Germany' in: C. Condren, S. Gaukroger and I. Hunter (eds.), *The Philosopher in Early Modern Europe. The Nature of a Contested Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 35–65; Joseph S. Freedman, *European Academic Philosophy in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries. The Life, Significance, and Philosophy of Clemens Timpler (1563/4–1624)* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1988).

Society of Jesus, which means that Jesuits virtually monopolised the teaching of natural philosophy in Portuguese universities.⁴⁹

Lourosa was intensely aware of the importance of publishing on comets. The extraordinary and striking character of these phenomena paved the way for him to be publicly recognized as an astronomer who was well prepared in philosophical matters. The comet of 1664 provided him with the chance to do so in a book which dealt with the standard topics on comets. This book, entitled *Polymathia exemplar... Cometographia meteorologica do prodigioso e diuturno cometa, que appareceo em Novembro do anno de [1]664*, was finished in April 1665.⁵⁰ The thoroughness of his approach and the wide range of authorities quoted by the Portuguese astrologer reveal that he regarded *Polymathia* as his philosophical tour de force. He went through the main questions on the matter, including the nature, location, and effects of comets, and discussed the theories of philosophers and astronomers from Tycho Brahe, Girolamo Cardano, and the stoic-inspired Bocarro Francês to a panoply of Jesuit authors, whom Lourosa considered the ‘masters in all the arts and sciences’.⁵¹ Thus, like many other philosophers throughout Europe, Lourosa entered into the field of discussion conventionally reserved for philosophers, but as he rhetorically put it, ‘who said that philosophers could not also be astrologers, and *vice versa*?’⁵²

Despite clearly being well informed about the mainstream view, and being consequently aware that, in the 1660s, the majority of astronomers agreed on the celestial location and nature of comets,⁵³ Lourosa argued

49 Institutional histories of these universities can be found in Mário Brandão and Lopes de Almeida, *A Universidade de Coimbra. Esboço da sua história* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1937), and José Maria de Queirós Veloso, *A Universidade de Évora. Elementos para a sua história* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1949). For a broader view, see Rómulo de Carvalho, *História do Ensino em Portugal* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1986) and *História da Universidade em Portugal, vol. I, t. II: 1537–1771* (Coimbra and Lisbon: Universidade de Coimbra and Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997).

50 Lourosa, *Polymathia exemplar*, fl.n.n, [dedication].

51 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

53 Lourosa recognized it clearly in *Polymathia exemplar*, pp. 6, 15–16, 22 and

that these were no more than meteorological phenomena. According to the Portuguese astrologer, ‘a comet is a multitude of warm, viscous and well-blended exhalations that are inflamed by the action of fire’.⁵⁴ The short duration of a comet as well as the fact that it was usually associated with the occurrence of huge winds proved that a comet is generated by terrestrial exhalations that arose from the Earth’s surface up to the upper region of the air, where they entered into contact with the sphere of fire, producing a comet.⁵⁵ Philosophical and mathematical reasons also pointed to the meteorological nature of comets. As Lourosa mentioned, alluding to the inevitable question of celestial incorruptibility, ‘comets sometimes changed from small into large bodies, and from large into small ones. Heaven does not suffer that kind of change, but air does; thus, comets are airy bodies and not celestial ones’.⁵⁶ The mathematical evidence according to which astronomers using proper instruments had observed that comets move below the Moon corroborated this philosophical reasoning.⁵⁷

As a committed champion of the theory that celestial bodies exerted an unceasing influence on terrestrial bodies,⁵⁸ Lourosa recognized that conjunctions of celestial bodies were the instrumental causes that provoke exhalations to rise and concentrate at a certain point.⁵⁹ In the

62. For generic histories of cometary theories, see Tofiq Heidarzadeh, *A History of Physical Theories of Comets, from Aristotle to Whipple* (Springer, 2008), and Andrea Gualandi, *Teorie delle comete. Da Galileo a Newton* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2009).

54 Lourosa, *Polymathia exemplar*, p. 10. See also pp. 7, 16 and 21–22.

55 Ibid., pp. 16–17.

56 Ibid., p. 17.

57 Ibid.

58 On the theory of celestial influence, see John D. North, ‘Celestial Influence—the Major Premiss of Astrology’, in Paola Zambelli (ed.), *Astrologi hallucinati. Stars and the End of the World in Luther’s Time* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986), pp. 45–100; Edward Grant, *Planets, Stars, and Orbs. The Medieval Cosmos, 1200–1687* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 569–617, and Carolino, *Ciência, astrologia e sociedade*, pp. 45–77.

59 Lourosa, *Polymathia exemplar*, pp. 23 and 30.

case of the 1664 comet, it was preceded by a set of conjunctions of superior planets, as these planets moved then behind the Sun (as seen from the Earth) and occidental to it. More particularly, once the comet appeared in Libra, it was possible to recognize that Saturn played the most important part in its production, Lourosa stated.⁶⁰ From this perspective, a number of astrological considerations necessarily followed. Thus, Lourosa proceeded by referring to meteorological effects usually associated with this phenomenon (strong winds, rain, inundations, and tempests⁶¹) and difficulties they generically provoke in human health (illness related to the excess of humidity and dry exhalations⁶²).

In short, Lourosa followed a conventional position while discussing comets philosophically. Furthermore, his physical theory of comets is entirely consistent with a traditional understanding of the cosmos. Although he did not expose his cosmological theories explicitly, he most likely endorsed the view that the heavens were incorruptible and solid bodies. By supporting these views, Lourosa was clearly at odds with the mainstream Portuguese philosophical community. In fact, there is strong evidence that from the time when the Italian astronomer Cristoforo Borri taught mathematics in Coimbra and Lisbon, in the late 1620s, Portuguese philosophers increasingly adopted the view that the heavens were fluid and corruptible bodies, associating these notions with a Tyconic planetary system.⁶³ Lourosa discussed Borri's theories at length in his *Polymathia exemplar*, yet he preferred to anchor his philosophical theory in an authority that he clearly perceived as more deeply established in Portuguese society and its intellectual milieu: the Jesuit philosophers of the Coimbran *Colégio das Artes*. At the end the sixteenth century, they had elaborated a celebrated commentary on Aristotle's philosophy that

60 Ibid., pp. 23–24.

61 Ibid., pp. 43–45.

62 Ibid., pp. 47–49.

63 Luís Miguel Carolino, 'Cristoforo Borri e o impacto da *nova astronomia* em Portugal no século XVII', *Revista Brasileira de História da Ciência* Vol. 2 (2009), pp. 160–81.

had over two hundred editions throughout seventeenth-century Europe.⁶⁴ In Lourosa's treatise on the comet of 1664, he frequently praised the Coimbra Jesuits as the great authority in philosophical matters. For example, after establishing his position on the matter from which comets are constituted, based upon the authority of the Coimbra Jesuits,⁶⁵ Lourosa exclaimed, 'Oh, how well the erudite *Conimbricenses* philosophize!'⁶⁶

Apart from Lourosa's own philosophical convictions, the prestige that Jesuit philosophers enjoyed at the time, having the exclusivity of university teaching of philosophy in Portugal, certainly played its role in Lourosa's preference for the authority of the *Conimbricenses*. In fact, Lourosa had such a high opinion of the Jesuits that, in the controversy that opposed him to Guilherme Casmach, he attributed the valuable part of Casmach's astrological works not to the court physician, but actually to some unidentified member of the Society of Jesus.⁶⁷ By associating himself with the celebrated Coimbran Jesuits, Lourosa most likely aimed at establishing himself as a reputable philosopher.

Lourosa's political agenda and his support for the Restoration cause

When the Restoration uprising took place, Manuel Lourosa was still a young and promising astrologer. Nevertheless, he had his political agenda and possibly his political ambitions well defined. One year after the Restoration, in December 1641, Lourosa submitted his *Alvitre mathematico. Tratado politico, physiologico, democratico, ethico, aristocratico e theologico* for publication. This text is addressed to Portuguese society and urged it to support the new political order that issued from the insurrection of 1640. It is divided into four parts, the first being addressed to the newly-established King João IV, the second to the nobles who brought about the political change, the third to the whole noble class (excluding those who took the Spanish side), and the final

64 On the so-called *Conimbricenses*, see the introductory study by Pinharanda Gomes, *Os Conimbricenses*, 2nd revised edition (Lisbon: Guimarães Editores, 2005).

65 Lourosa, *Polymathia exemplar*, pp. 15, 21 and 27.

66 Ibid., p. 29 ('Oh como bem philosophão os doutos Conimbricenses!')

67 Lourosa, *Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1647*, fl. 5.

part to the Portuguese people in general.⁶⁸ As mentioned above, Lourosa quite tellingly avoided writing according to the structure of the *ancien régime* society. He preferred to emphasize the role each of these four particular groups played in the events of 1640 and especially the role each one might yet play in the post-Restoration era.

Although Lourosa made use of a few heavenly references in his text, the suggestions put forward by this astrologer were not based upon his astrological expertise. When used, the astrological motives are vaguely presented, without any effort to establish a correlation between them and the political course of events. In one of the few mentions of celestial phenomena, for example, Lourosa generically stated that ‘in the following year of 1642 we have a maximum conjunction formed by the superior planets (...) which assures us a joyful victory over the Castilian’.⁶⁹ Yet, he does not go into detail on the concrete position of celestial bodies, nor explain why this celestial conjunction means the defeat of Habsburg Spain. One could say that Lourosa was more concerned here in bringing into play his prestige as an astrologer and almanac maker than in presenting any astrological reasoning based on the superior conjunction of 1642.

From Lourosa’s point of view, the period during which Portugal was ruled by the Spanish Crown meant hard times for the Portuguese people. The Spanish regime harassed the native Portuguese, constantly violating their rights and deeply affecting their lives. As he put it, praising the Restoration, ‘that iron age, so painful and so hard, during which everything was but great wickedness, severe insolences, clear frauds, huge perfidies, unrestricted covetousness and, at last, where rare traces of truth existed or no shadow of it (I declare), nor safe and manifest loyalty, that iron age has just finished’.⁷⁰

By characterizing the Habsburg period in these terms, Lourosa identified what was for him the main reason for Portuguese political insubordination: the Spanish misruled the Portuguese kingdom. Unlike the position of the juriconsults and some noblemen, for Lourosa, the key point was not whether the Spanish King Filipe II had a legal right to the Portuguese crown, nor even the validity of waging war against Spain

68 Lourosa, *Alvitre Mathematico*. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, cod. 517.

69 Lourosa, *Alvitre Mathematico*, fl. 10v.

70 *Ibid.*, fls. 22r–22v.

based upon the argument that Spanish troops brought about a usurpation *manu militari* of the Portuguese kingdom in 1580. The argument, for Lourosa, was the way that the Spanish authorities ruled Portugal for sixty years.

This line of argumentation is consistent with the feelings of the urban professional and mercantile classes. From the point of view of tradesmen, shopkeepers, and artisans, the hypothetical usurpation of the royal succession rights, the oaths imposed upon the Portuguese noblemen and people's deputies to the court of Filipe II that celebrated the unification of the Portuguese and Spanish Crowns, or even the disrespect of ancient rights, did not appear as critical as their concrete political experience. The *ethos* of the urban professional and mercantile classes was built not upon the idea of 'honour', 'loyalty', and 'oath' as the nobles conceived it, but principally upon notions such as respect for contracts and commercial assurance.⁷¹ In this context, the political practice emerged as a crucial topic. By stressing the political practice of the Spanish ruling power, Manuel Lourosa was doubtless in tune with the urban professional and mercantile classes.

In the first part of *Alvitre*, addressed to King João IV, the Braganza sovereign was depicted as the king who combined all the characteristics needed for a perfect ruler. He was fair, reasonable and, moreover, he was surrounded by a group of courageous noblemen who had risked their lives to acclaim him as the king of Portugal. Those 'heroes' deserved the king's ultimate confidence, Lourosa added. Noblemen such as Gastão Coutinho, António Teles da Silva, and Álvaro de Abranches took upon themselves Horace's tenet according to which 'it is a supreme and delight achievement and a great honour to die illustriously and generously for the fatherland [*pátria*]'.⁷² The second part of *Alvitre* is dedicated to those heroes. They freed the oppressed fatherland and it was accordingly a duty of all the Portuguese to support them vigorously 'because the mere

71 Historians of law have shown that notions such as 'oath' and 'honour' were understood differently in the early modern period depending on the social context in which they were used. Despite often using the same expressions, the nobility and mercantile classes increasingly had different interpretations of these concepts. Among many others, see the seminal work by Paolo Prodi, *Il Sacramento del Potere. Il giuramento politico nella storia costituzionale dell'Occidente* (Rome: Il Mulino, 1992).

72 Lourosa, *Alvitre Mathematico*, fl. 33v.

memory of the beloved fatherland is sufficient to turn a coward into a generous and strong man'.⁷³

Lourosa was not the first to make use of this argument. In September 1641, Diogo Gomes Carneiro published his *Oração apodixica aos scismaticos da patria*, in which he urged the Portuguese people to take courageous actions and engage in the autonomy movement.⁷⁴ The early 1640s were critical times for the Braganza cause. A number of high-ranking nobles went into exile in Spain, after the move of the heirs of the marquis of Montalvão and the governors of Ceuta and Tanger in February 1641. Successive conspiracies against João IV by members of the high nobility and the high clergy also took place, such as that attempted, in July 1641, by the marquis of Vila Real, the duke of Caminha, the count of Armamar, the archbishop of Braga, the General Inquisitor of Portugal and the bishop of Martíria, among others.⁷⁵ In this context, it was urgent to mobilize the whole of Portuguese society. Accordingly, in the third part of his *Alvitre*, Lourosa addressed the nobles who took the Braganza side, exhorting them to stay loyal to the Portuguese king and, in the final part of his patriotic work, the astrologer resorted to the people, whom he saw as the great beneficiary of the Restoration. Early modern writers usually portrayed the popular classes as a throng of anonymous and uncontrollable people, and the Portuguese nobles who distinguished themselves in the Restoration wars were no exception.⁷⁶ Yet Lourosa had a different perspective. For him, the popular classes were the guarantor of Portuguese independence. 'You, who are brave though humble-born, pluck up your courage and do not be afraid because heaven is with you!' exclaimed Lourosa.⁷⁷

73 Ibid., fl. 34r.

74 Diogo Gomes Carneiro, *Oração Apodixica aos Scismaticos da Pátria* (Lisbon: Lourenço de Anvers, 1641).

75 Mafalda Soares da Cunha, 'Elites e mudança política. O caso da conspiração de 1641', in Eduardo França Paiva (ed), *Brasil-Portugal. Sociedades, culturas e formas de governar no mundo português (séculos XVI-XVIII)* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2006), pp. 325–43.

76 See, for example, Luís de Menezes, Count of Ericeira, *História de Portugal Restaurado* (Porto: Civilização, 1945), vol. 1, p. 148.

77 Lourosa, *Alvitre Mathematico*, fl. 52v.

Despite being clearly engaged in the Restoration cause, Lourosa failed to have his *Alvitre mathematico* accepted for publication. The reason remains unknown, but we can securely conjecture that such an appeal to the Portuguese popular classes and to their patriotic feelings displeased the noble ruling group. Some years later, in 1648, Lourosa published a laudatory poem in Latin dedicated to João IV, in which the Braganza king and his role in the 1640 political event were glorified.⁷⁸ Yet, this *poema historicum* was not directed to the same audience as his *Alvitre* and, of course, his astrological almanacs.

Lourosa's political agenda, thoroughly exposed in *Alvitre mathematico*, found in his annual almanacs a more suitable and effective tool to reach larger audiences. Year after year, while giving news on the course of the war against Spain, Lourosa pushed his readers to become engaged supporters of the Braganza cause. For example, in the almanac for 1654, a year influenced by Mars according to the Portuguese astrologer, Lourosa urged his readers not to neglect the war efforts. 'Although we have Venus as the almuten [ruler of the Ascendant] of the year, we should not be asleep and neglect arms, because Mars, in this year of 54, plays a great part'.⁷⁹ Almanacs were thus privileged instruments of propaganda and social cohesion in favour of the political state of affairs established with the revolt of 1640. Yet, in the almanacs elaborated by Lourosa there is no reference to any astrological theory justifying the Restoration movement. When mentioned in these popular publications, 'heavens' meant not the astrological heaven, but the divine heaven: 'Heaven preserves those who defend us from those who offend us so much. Let us be aware, because God is with us, interested in the defence of Portugal'.⁸⁰

Conclusion

Manuel Galhano Lourosa was doubtless an astrologer deeply committed to the restoration of the political independence of Portugal from Spain

78 Lourosa, *Sellum filius iabes goniuravit contra Zachariam regem Israel dominum suum. Poema historicum, in quo celebre miraculi portentum circa Ioannem IV Lusitaniae regem divinitus per acti decantatur, cui almadensis medicus Lourosa dedicat, ac consecrat* (Lisbon: Manuel da Silva, 1648).

79 Lourosa, *Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1654* (Lisbon: António Alvares, 1653), p. 5v.

80 Lourosa, *Prognostico e lunario do anno de 1644*, pp. 3v.–4r.

that took place on 1 December 1640. Yet, unlike other astrologers involved in political revolts throughout Europe, such as, for example, the Sevillian Juan Gomez de Blas who also addressed particularly the urban classes of his city, Lourosa did not foresee the Portuguese revolt based upon some hypothetical astrological evidence or theory. In Lourosa's manuscripts, such as *Alvitre mathematico*, there are no references to a direct astrological influence on the course of political events. This absence suggests that, from Lourosa's point of view, political uprisings, such as that of João IV and his entourage, were mainly acts produced by men with divine assistance.

Being an event produced by men, the political revolt and uprisings were justified by the political situation. More precisely, revolts such as the Portuguese Restoration were the result of a ruinous political practice. From 1580 to 1640, the Spanish regime dealt with the Portuguese people in a dreadful way. The suffering that the Portuguese underwent during this period legitimized by itself—from Lourosa's perspective—the Restoration. Basically it was not a question of discussion of the rights of the Spanish King Filipe II to the Portuguese throne, but a matter of political practice. By endorsing this view, Lourosa placed himself alongside the urban professional and mercantile classes, whom he represented and to whom he wrote and addressed astrological almanacs for almost forty years.

The fact that Manuel Lourosa did not give his support to an astrological theory of history and had an understanding of political change consistent with the urban professional and mercantile classes does not mean that the Portuguese astrologer did not act politically in events that followed the Restoration. On the contrary, from the reading of his almanacs there emerges an author deeply engaged in supporting the new political state of affairs that resulted from the insurrection of 1640. In fact, making the most of being a very successful almanac maker and a recognized astronomer/philosopher in seventeenth-century Portugal, Lourosa urged his contemporaries to support the Restoration cause and, to a certain extent, the newly established political order to proceed with a fair and right politics as well as to recognize the efforts of those who stood behind them. By doing so, he resolutely used the sphere of public opinion to act politically along with the interests of the urban middle classes.