

A Multiethnic Trajectory within Identity and Consciousness. João Fernandes Vieira's Case

Uma Trajetória Multiétnica dentro da Identidade e da Consciência. O Caso de João Fernandes Vieira

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Abstract

João Fernandes Vieira's story has been chosen because it seems to trace a quintessential Atlantic journey. A Tricontinental trajectory that etymologically derives from the Latin *traicēre*: "to pass beyond" a point in motion, and in relation to a reference system. Therefore, it turns out to be the most appropriate term to name a life path that actually crossed the limits of his time. First, the meanings of identity and consciousness; must be defined and so it has been decided to opt for an epistemological study that involved: Philosophy, Biology, Neurology, Chemistry, Psychology and Sociology. Through this research, different tools have been collected that will be used as vectors both to guide the gnoseological understanding and its application in social contexts.

The narrative element has emerged as one of the most important, capable of shaping the interactions between consciousness and identity, as well as influencing the emotional responses of the individual, struggling inside a real internal conflict.

The "soul phases" methodology of analysis is suitable for the evaluation of the experience, or better the trajectory, of João Fernandes Vieira's life. The soul phases method allows to follow that dynamism aforementioned.

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It should be noted that this paper emerges from an Erasmus+ internship at Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico – Alberto Vieira.

The peculiarity of the path traced by João Fernandes Vieira lies in the information available, sometimes rich, detailed and fictionalized, sometimes scarce, null or clearly altered by Vieira himself. This certifies a friction between consciousness and identity that led him to sublimate political-media strategy of social affirmation.

Keywords: Identity; Consciousness; Memory; Forms of Dependence; Narrative Personality; Sameness; Selfhood; Outsider; João Fernandes Vieira; Multiethnicity.

Resumo

A história de João Fernandes Vieira foi escolhida porque parece traçar uma viagem atlântica por excelência. Uma trajetória tricontinental que etimologicamente deriva do latim *traicēre*: “passar além” de um ponto em movimento, em relação a um sistema de referência. Portanto, acaba por ser o termo mais apropriado para nomear um caminho de vida que realmente cruzou os limites do seu tempo. Primeiramente, os significados de identidade e consciência devem ser definidos e, por isso, optou-se por um estudo epistemológico que envolvesse: Filosofia, Biologia, Neurologia, Química, Psicologia e Sociologia. Através desta pesquisa, foram selecionadas diferentes ferramentas que serão utilizadas como vetores tanto para orientar a compreensão gnoseológica como para a sua aplicação em contextos sociais.

O elemento narrativo surgiu como um dos mais importantes, capaz de moldar as interações entre consciência e identidade, além de influenciar as respostas emocionais do indivíduo, lutando dentro de um verdadeiro conflito interno.

A metodologia de análise das “fases da alma” é adequada para a avaliação da experiência, ou melhor, da trajetória da vida de João Fernandes Vieira. O método das fases da alma permite acompanhar esse dinamismo acima mencionado.

A peculiaridade do percurso traçado por João Fernandes Vieira reside nas informações disponíveis, por vezes ricas, detalhadas e ficcionadas, por vezes escassas, nulas ou claramente alteradas pelo próprio Vieira. Isso atesta um atrito entre consciência e identidade que o levou a sublimar a estratégia político-mediática de afirmação social.

Palavras-Chave: Identidade; Consciência; Memória; Formas de Dependência; Personalidade Narrativa; Mesmidade; Ipseidade; Forasteiro; João Fernandes Vieira; Multiethnicidade.

I – Introduction to Identity and Consciousness

«En el progreso del conocimiento científico sobre las culturas prehistóricas, y más aún en tanto aprehensión de un proceso concreto de su dinámica sociocultural, como supone la transformación que se deriva del contacto con otras culturas, la Historia, a lo largo de todo el siglo XX, ha reconocido el valor de la interdisciplinariedad, al menos en términos de programa epistemológico, para tratar de afrontar con garantías lo que tradicionalmente se ha venido definiendo como la “Historia de los pueblos sin historia”»².

² BAUCCELLS MESA, 2004, «Historiografía y etnohistoria. Las fuentes narrativas canarias y el estudio del contacto entre aborígenes y europeo», pp. 225-250, cit. p. 226.

Sergio Baucells Mesa reveals the need for an “epistemological program” to recognize the value of an interdisciplinary discussion. For the analysis to be effective, it is essential to present, quantify and qualify the meanings of consciousness and identity. The aim is to filter the bibliographic contents in order to create a base able to support the events that will be exposed in the next chapters.

If within slavery, identity and consciousness are re-sized³, inside the forms of dependence, these terms acquire different meanings. The task is even more complicated because of the variety of subjects in which identity and consciousness converge.

Starting from a historical point of view, according to Giampiero Arciero in *Estudios y dialogos sobre la identidad personal*, the origin of these concepts refers to the invention of writing. From this moment forward, according to the author, a very subjective reflections have begun to be developed, while previously «no había un sentido de interioridad individual deslindada del colectivo»⁴. Greek philosophy, the Judeo-Christian tradition and medieval theology traced different forms of interiority, however it was only with Cartesian philosophy that occurred the first individualization of contents in the history of Western philosophy: «El fundamento de la certeza de existir como sujeto consciente es alcanzado por Descartes a través de la duda metódica [...] pienso, luego soy [...] asegura simultáneamente la realidad de mi existencia»⁵.

René Descartes overturned the use by altering the meaning of the terms subject and object, yet his speeches remained of an existential human nature⁶.

It was John Locke who later marked the turning point shifting the attention to the individual, by placing the rediscovered subject as the object of analysis. Locke's intuition was to introduce two elements that acted as a bridge for the achievement of a deeper, more specific, level. With experience and reflection, in fact, Locke was able to discover the double thread bond that unites identity and consciousness.

³ Exclusively theoretical annihilation. For obvious reasons, a living physical entity like that of a slave sometimes bypassed the legal limits imposed.

⁴ ARCIERO, 2005, *Estudios y diálogos sobre la identidad personal: reflexiones sobre la experiencia humana*, cit. p. 22.

⁵ ARCIERO, 2005, *Estudios y diálogos sobre la identidad personal: reflexiones sobre la experiencia humana*, cit. p. 23.

⁶ «En la Edad Media, el término subjectum fue usado para aquello que yace-delante. Un objectum, en cambio, era en la Edad Media algo que es arrojado-al-encuentro de mi representar; a mi repraesentatio. Objectum, en el sentido medieval, es lo que meramente es representado [...]. Al final de la Edad Media, en realidad todo es invertido de arriba abajo. Hoy usualmente por sujeto se entiende el “yo”, mientras que el nombre de objectum se reserva para designar las cosas que no tienen carácter de yo, vale decir, los objetos». HEIDEGGER, 1987, *Seminari di Zollikon*, cit. p. 190.

By analyzing the own experience in a detached way, the individual is able to detect “self-awareness”.

«Locke delinea así un sentido de interioridad, la conciencia de sí, que aunque acompaña cada experiencia se distingue de cada experiencia particular [...] lo que él llama sí mismo, y de ese modo se distingue a sí mismo de todas las demás cosas pensantes, en eso solamente consiste la identidad personal, es decir, la mismidad de un ser racional»⁷.

Thanks to Locke, consciousness become part of the epistemological discussion. Above all, by introducing the experience, he allowed to highlight the narrative memory as a constituent element of consciousness as well as identity. His thoughts stimulated those of later philosophers, such as David Wiggins who was fascinated by consciousness being understood as «self-recorder»⁸.

Mariano Rodríguez González managed to find a keystone in his own work thanks to the continuity granted by the conscience of memory⁹, and Adam Smith too, praising the reflective analysis of the individual capable of judging “from outside” his own experiences on the basis of feelings and emotions. Focusing on moral feelings, Smith, in continuity with Locke, proposed a model of consciousness that rework and evaluate our behaviours, and above all sensations and perceptions arising from them¹⁰. The intuition of the two philosophers has since been supported by empirical knowledge resulting from several experiments that ascertain an important influence, exerted by emotions, on the neuro-psychophysiological functions: «a negative emotional state, like anger or frustration, produces an incoherent order of erratic, irregular beat-to-beat waveforms»¹¹.

Smith’s theories and those of the moral philosophical current, will be useful later, for now the analysis is limited to the observation of the importance acquired by consciousness and all that results from it.

⁷ ARCIERO, 2005, *Estudios y diálogos sobre la identidad personal: reflexiones sobre la experiencia humana*, cit. p. 26.

⁸ WIGGINS, 1980, «Locke, Butler and the Stream of Consciousness: and Men as a Natural Kind», cit. p. 140.

⁹ In *El problema de la identidad personal*, Rodríguez González approaches the theme of identity by placing it in a long-term temporal context, presenting and comparing the same individual at different times in his life and questioning the equivalence of identity. «La identidad de la persona a través del tiempo se hace posible en virtud de su capacidad de considerarse a sí misma la misma a través del tiempo. Esto significa que la consciousness se convierte en la clave de todo el asunto, en el sentido de que la identidad de una persona llegaría hasta donde puede ser extendida hacia atrás su conciencia de acciones y experiencias, o sea, hasta donde alcanza su memoria». RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ, 2003, *El problema de la identidad personal: más que fragmentos*, cit. p. 64.

¹⁰ ARCIERO, 2005, *Estudios y diálogos sobre la identidad personal: reflexiones sobre la experiencia humana*, pp. 28-29.

¹¹ BRADLEY, 2011, «Resolving the enigma of nonlocal intuition: a quantum-holographic approach», cit. p. 207.

In the midst of a eulogy to Darwinism, Juan Gavilán explains that consciousness is not even the ultimate purpose of human evolution, but rather a result of the ability to sublimate the informative reworking of data from the outside world¹².

Without directly mentioning Locke, Gavilán also credits the importance of experience in building consciousness. He rarely uses the term “experience” but his writings evidence the influence of the English philosopher in the debate. With expressions such as: «Cuando se habla de conciencia, se hace referencia obligada a la capacidad de conocimiento de la realidad»; but especially with others like: «Tener conciencia significa, además de tener conocimiento de la realidad, la capacidad de acceder a la propia experiencia de ese conocimiento»¹³, the author resumes (voluntarily or not) the Lockean notion of reflection according to which through an intense analysis of experience, consciousness is generated.

Gavilán’s greatest contribution concerns the biological field, within which the nervous system and above all the brain are organs that have evolved over three thousand five hundred million years to develop a consciousness able to automatically process the individual, or building that “self-consciousness” to which Rodríguez González also refers to.

By highlighting the paternity of reflexivity on consciousness, Gavilán wants to eliminate the spirit aura that, starting from Plato, surrounds the subject of consciousness. According to the Greek philosopher, consciousness forms an abstract subject on the margins of the individual, an extracorporeal essence that flanked,

¹² Gavilán attributes consciousness to a series of chemical, biological and neurophysiological processes. He suggests the peculiarity of human characteristics and the functioning of the mind have led to the development of consciousness, «así como la capacidad de pensar y todo su potencial cognitivo». Here Gavilán gives a very firm tone to his theses but his speeches in *Cerebro, mente y conciencia* are more suggestive. He argues the issues by offering timely parallelisms by comparing man and animal, or by comparing animal with vegetable. GÁVILAN, 2012, *Cerebro, mente y conciencia: mecanismos cerebrales de la identidad personal*, cit. p. 37; for all else pp. 33-41. Gavilán’s theses suggest contradiction with Juan Manuel Argüelles, Melina Gastélum and Ximena González who, in *Autoconciencia e Identidad: dos fenómenos independientes*, speak about the influence of memory within the construction of the conscious narrative. The authors bring human characteristics significantly close to primate’s experiments in which memory related to future orientation: «deben ser considerados como parte de una organización general de memoria y acción encontradas en varios grados en un amplio rango de especies» ARGÜELLES SAN MILLÁN, GASTÉLUM VARGAS, GONZÁLEZ GRANDÓN, 2016, «Autoconciencia e Identidad: dos fenómenos independientes», cit. p. 221. If identity and conscience are distinguished, the theses by the different authors can be seen as congruent. This is precisely the invitation that is offered in «Autocoscienza e identidad: dos fenómenos independientes» as the title suggests. Associating Gavilán’s theories with consciousness and identity, it is evident how assumptions can lie in harmony. This comparison will be resumed in the next chapters and highlighted because it is decisive for the verification of the final hypothesis.

¹³ GÁVILAN, 2012, *Cerebro, mente y conciencia: mecanismos cerebrales de la identidad personal*, cit. p. 157.

interacted and has been influenced “from the outside”. On the contrary, for Gavilán it represents a «unidad»¹⁴ projected from various brain regions.

In relation to Plato, it is emblematic that Shaun Gallagher has both entitled his article and given as epithet (with consent) to Michael S. Gazzaniga: «The neuronal Platonist [...]». It consists of an interview in which Gazzaniga’s approach is explained exhaustively. In his experiments, the neurologist highlights the left hemisphere for acting as an event-sensing actor. This is the “interpreter”, the one who creates consciousness¹⁵.

Anthony Quinton took the same line of interpretation and went on saying the following about the soul:

«All I have tried to show is that there is no necessary connection between the soul as a series of mental states linked by character and memory and any particular continuing human body. The question now arises: must the soul be associated with some human body? The apparent intelligibility of my crude ghost story might seem to suggest that not even a body is required, let alone a human one»¹⁶.

By including an anatomical analysis, it is possible to know the mechanisms that determine the functioning of these elements.

An abstract character, almost dreamlike, reveals what experts define as a non-local transmission: «the empirical discovering of quantum entanglement or nonlocality – that everything in the universe at the subatomic level is interconnected and nonseparable»¹⁷. The concept of hologram can help to explain the non-local connection as the distributed and simultaneous organization of information exchange allows the action of a self-conscious “body” that encodes through energetic radiations.

Thus, self-consciousness has peculiar characteristics that will be discussed later. Firstly, various components have allowed biologists (in particular neurologists) to determine different types of consciousness.

¹⁴ GÁVILAN, 2012, *Cerebro, mente y conciencia: mecanismos cerebrales de la identidad personal*, cit. p. 160.

¹⁵ GALLAGHER, GAZZANIGA, 1998, «The neuronal platonist, Michael Gazzaniga in conversation with Shaun Gallagher», p. 713. His contribution does not stop there, Gazzaniga deepens the analysis accusing this interpreter of reconstructing a personal narrative based so much on «true facts of ones’ life as well as false facts, that we believe to be true. The resulting spin that comes out as our personal narrative is, as a result, a bit fictional, like the idea we are in control of our behaviour» cit. p. 713. This quotation allows us to identify another cardinal point of Gazzaniga’s thesis, that is, the questioning of the total control of our actions that will be taken up later when the characteristics of personal identity and in particular of the narrative aspect are exposed.

¹⁶ QUINTON, 1962, «The soul», cit. p. 408.

¹⁷ BRADLEY, 2011, «Resolving the enigma of nonlocal intuition: a quantum-holographic approach», cit. p. 201.

“Primary consciousness” consists of a state of sensory perception, a rudimentary and predefined state of lucidity, the synchronism within the brain systems ensures its functioning; in other words, the neuronal network, in its units and groups, generates consciousness thanks to a simultaneous and synchronized transmission of information interchange. In particular: «Son los núcleos dinámicos dentro del sistema talamocortical los que generan la conciencia, unos grupos de neuronas con una conexión funcional diferenciada en la que aparece un alto nivel de complejidad»¹⁸.

Vision has a similar organization to that of the functioning of consciousness with several centres that coordinate action for a complementary result. It is not by chance that one of the most influential elements is acquired from sight: “the visual consciousness”.

However not all visual information arrives in their appropriate areas for processing, the axiom that connects the view to the visual consciousness is less trivial if considered that a part is dispersed (without getting lost) within the subcortical transmission. These data offer the possibility for self-consciousness to reconstruct and detect perceptions/sensations even in the presence of damages or injuries to the cortex¹⁹.

¹⁸ The author repeatedly traces the importance of the unity of consciousness, the fact that there is no single centre and that it makes no sense to refer to consciousness as a separate entity. Yet what emerges from the studies that the author himself proposes appears controversial, especially if «La sincronización constituye el mecanismo fundamental para conseguir la interacción de unos grupos determinados de neuronas». It is not clear whether this small group of neurons that we will see later reside between the thalamus and the cerebral cortex is more responsible, or whether synchronism predominates over consciousness. Probably the cause of this confusion lies within that complexity of connections mentioned above. GÁVILAN, 2012, *Cerebro, mente y conciencia: mecanismos cerebrales de la identidad personal*, cit. p. 173; for all else pp. 171-176. This complexity requires a chemical contribution to speech. Studies show that serotonin and norepinephrine are the substances that promote a state of consciousness and vigilance; while ketamine and phenylclidine produce a loss of consciousness, in particular, there was a high presence of acetylcholine during sleep. On the contrary, to avoid unconsciousness, the body releases glutamate in the cerebral cortex, capable of blocking the production of the aforementioned molecules responsible for the loss of consciousness. GÁVILAN, 2012, *Cerebro, mente y conciencia: mecanismos cerebrales de la identidad personal*, cit. p. 176. The latter should be understood more as a state of lucidity that is related to the arguments of the elaborated and that indeed lies on the margins of the reference issues.

¹⁹ For example, when a monkey's cortex has been removed or in a human being with damage to the visual cortex, there is in both cases a resilient ability of processing data that «les permita la localización de los objetos, la orientación de la percepción del movimiento y la intensidad del estímulo. Posiblemente debido a alguna forma de procesamiento subcortical se produce una visión primitiva consistente en la discriminación visual de algún tipo de fenómeno, aunque el sujeto no logre tomar conciencia de esa visión». GÁVILAN, 2012, *Cerebro, mente y conciencia: mecanismos cerebrales de la identidad personal*, cit. p. 166. This can be highlighted in victims of Anton syndrome who «por una lesión en el lóbulo occipital no pueden ver, pero se niegan a reconocerlo», cit. p. 167.

«Hay conciencia del color, pero no hay conciencia de la presión sanguínea. Las neuronas conectadas a los barorreceptores de las paredes arteriales no producen un estado consciente, porque esas células no forman parte de los circuitos neuronales de la conciencia. Dicho de otra manera, los circuitos que regulan la presión sanguínea forman un arco reflejo, pero no pertenecen a los núcleos talamocorticales que regulan la conciencia»²⁰.

Needless to say, how important sight is in an individual's life²¹, Semir Zeki offers the opportunity to understand more of the relationship between sight and visual consciousness. Within his studies, it is clear that of the thirty areas involved in the development of a vision, only some generate consciousness, and more precisely, only those that receive and exchange information with the thalamus. Zeki estimates that, for there to be consciousness, the transmission of information of the thalamic-cortical zone must travel at a minimum frequency of 40 Hz²². This is also reinforced by the assumptions of Gerald Edelman and Giulio Tononi who discuss the relationship (through neuronal circuits) between the thalamus and the cerebral cortex: «Distributed neural activity, particularly in the thalamocortical system, is almost certainly essential for determining the contents of conscious experience»²³. For the authors it would be in particular reciprocity, more specifically the "return/reentry" of information that develops consciousness²⁴. For more technical clarity:

«el tálamo dispone del núcleo reticular que puede controlar la actividad cerebral en los estados como los de la vigilia y el sueño. En realidad, puede funcionar como un interruptor en el que se activa la conciencia. Es la puerta de entrada para la actividad cortical. Desde la parte central de los núcleos intralaminares se hacen proyecciones hasta la corteza visual; desde este núcleo hasta el cuerpo estriado se establecen las funciones motoras, pero también ciertas funciones cognitivas»²⁵.

Of the three most important types, the "mnemonic consciousness" is the closest function to the topics that will be developed during the next chapters. Axiomatically linked to experience and its storage inside the memory, mnemonic consciousness

²⁰ GÁVILAN, 2012, *Cerebro, mente y conciencia: mecanismos cerebrales de la identidad personal*, cit. p. 172.

²¹ H. Klüner e P. Bucy's experiments showed that by removing the temporal lobe, primates showed an increase in sexual activity, a reduction of stress and a total absence of anger excess. At the same time there were also difficulties in the cognitive recognition of objects that led them to the attempt of tasting whatever was offered; bringing the two scientists to treat the disorder as a syndrome of Klüner-Bucy. GÁVILAN, 2012, *Cerebro, mente y conciencia: mecanismos cerebrales de la identidad personal*, pp. 163-164.

²² ZEKI, 1995, *Una visión del cerebro*, pp. 401-41.

²³ EDELMAN, TONONI, 1998, «Consciousness and complexity», cit. p. 2.

²⁴ EDELMAN, TONONI, 2000, *A Universe of Consciousness: How Matter Becomes Imagination*, pp. 105-106.

²⁵ GÁVILAN, 2012, *Cerebro, mente y conciencia: mecanismos cerebrales de la identidad personal*, cit. p. 168.

and memory in general are the most affected by the narrative element. Both mnemonic consciousness and narrative element will be deepened later.

The nervous system is the basis of consciousness and yet, depending on the type, the concerned "centre" will be different. It is more appropriate to say that it is such an articulated element that arises from the interaction of various parts of the body that collect different information then transmitted to the brain. Based on the theory of nonlocal transmission, we cannot think that consciousness is the result of a process that is produced in a single centre²⁶. To better understand these functions it is necessary to tap into on the quantum universe, in particular the concept of hologram, previously mentioned. The communication between two or more interlocutors brings sometimes to the creation of an electric field within which an exchange of information occurs through the emission of energy waves:

«it is known that the returning wave contains nonlocal quantum-level information about the object's internal organization [...]. Moreover, the complete event history of the object's movement in time through its three-dimensional environment is carried by a quantum hologram. Taken altogether, this produces a holographic process in which micro-scale nonlocal quantum-level information about the object's organization and history is encoded and communicated back to the macro-scale source of the initial wave»²⁷.

This explains the nonlocal return/reentry that also occurs in the hologram creation of identity and consciousness. Yet, the thalamus-cortical bond seems to be the most incisive in the cognitive action. It relates in turn with an unconscious transmission network, or rather, subconscious, a mechanical function, an automatism that not only guarantees the supply of information but processes data, also autonomously «antes de que sus operaciones o sus efectos lleguen hasta la conciencia; procesa la información antes de que el sujeto sea consciente de que en su seno»²⁸.

It seems the already mentioned self-consciousness that deserves space and clarification. According to Gazzaniga, in the dorsal canal, which connects the parietal lobe, lies the "control centre" of self-conscious analysis²⁹.

²⁶ Gavilán invites not to consider consciousness as a «bloque monolítico». Either way, the study of consciousness provoked discordant interpretative lines. GÁVILAN, 2012, *Cerebro, mente y conciencia: mecanismos cerebrales de la identidad personal*, cit. p. 163.

²⁷ BRADLEY, 2011, «Resolving the enigma of nonlocal intuition: a quantum-holographic approach», cit. p. 204.

²⁸ GÁVILAN, 2012, *Cerebro, mente y conciencia: mecanismos cerebrales de la identidad personal*, cit. p. 168.

²⁹ «Something called the dorsal stream heads up toward the parietal lobe. The other stream of information, the ventral stream, projects into the temporal lobe. Well, the visual system listened to Yogi and took both streams, though inevitable duties to certain information may favour one stream over the other». GAZZANIGA, 1998, *The Mind's Past*, cit. p. 109.

José Maria Bermúdez and José Luis Díaz emphasize self-consciousness as the ultimate expression of animal physiological evolution. The information that processes and organizes at the service of the individual is so developed that it produces a «proprioception»³⁰; not only is, this image of the self, inserted into the average environmental dimension, but also the subject is able to consider itself in function of the other. This is another important characteristic of self-consciousness³¹. Bermúdez in particular associates self-consciousness with a «somatic proprioception» to offer a list of ways in which the brain would autonomously collect information, creating what the author calls: «somatic information systems»³².

Not only the brain, but also the heart and the general neurobiological apparatus is capable of perform this intuitive activity of projection of self:

«the interaction between these two wave fields generate an interference pattern in which [...] both waves are spatially and temporally coherent. As a holograph, the interference pattern spectrally encodes phase-dependent information about the object's internal and external organization, and its event history. To decode the information a reference wave is required»³³.

Spatial representation is another area within which self-consciousness acts. Bermúdez identifies two capacities that he claims are divergent: «cognitive maps» and «spatial-awareness component». The first represents a topographical environmental reading capable of coordinating the movement in the surrounding area, while the second would consist of a «personal-level state»³⁴, that is a cognitive virtualization of space and movement.

An environmental dimension within which self-consciousness is able to project the image of the individual. Together with the temporal dimension, the person comes to conceive own existence both in space and time. In fact, memory allows an introspective journey into the experiences of the past that, not only affect the

³⁰ BERMUDEZ, 1998, *The paradox of self-consciousness*, cit. p. 131.

³¹ This would represent an evolutionary point that few other animal species (besides the human being) can boast of having reached. From the sources it emerges that only in cases of a large proportionate development of the brain function the organism is able to generate consciousness of itself and the other; empathy has as well been found in pachyderm, primates and corvids, thus enabling them to recognize themselves in the mirror. DÍAZ GÓMEZ, 2016, «Cerebro, voluntad y libre albedrío», pp. 114-115.

³² BERMUDEZ, 1998, *The paradox of self-consciousness*, cit. p. 133.

³³ BRADLEY, 2011, «Resolving the enigma of nonlocal intuition: a quantum-holographic approach», cit. p. 204.

³⁴ BERMUDEZ, 1998, *The paradox of self-consciousness*, cit. p. 203. This series of assumptions helps to demonstrate not only how the debate on conscience and self-consciousness is controversial, but at the same time wide and multidisciplinary too. For further information: pp. 203-207.

choices of the present (thanks to moral and ethical evaluations) but can, through quantum analysis, determine future projections.

The capacity to generate «juicios valorativos, éticos y estéticos»³⁵ is another property akin to the issues that will be developed during the course of this paper. A truly peculiar aspect that if applied to cultural analysis is able to relate consciousness and identity on two levels: personal and social. Within the management of stored information, self-consciousness is therefore able to connect not only the two elements: identity and consciousness but also the two dimensions: individual and collective.

We can simplify by stating that the bridge that unites consciousness and identity is composed of pieces of memory. In fact, the self-conscious reworking of data is able to determine the affinity between consciousness and identity. Consequently, the social narrative, consisting of historical dynamics analysed in the broadest sense, will be a valid and useful foundation for the final hypotheses developed when the personal dimension of João Fernandes Vieira will be examined inside the interaction with the collective imagination, the historical narrative of which he was protagonist.

Within the reworking of historical data in memory, it could be possible to interpret João Fernandes Vieira's self-consciousness function in order to estimate a projection of his identity and conscience and in so doing evaluate the sense of belonging as well as the unease of belonging, those that are technically defined as «sameness» and «selfhood»³⁶.

For the operation to succeed, identity and consciousness will be conveyed inside a dialectic expression aimed at facilitating the identification of these introspective elements that by osmosis affect as well as are influenced by social dynamics.

Gavilán helps understanding the importance of memory with a practical analogy between brain functioning and that of a computer processor:

«Por los avances de la inteligencia artificial durante las últimas décadas del siglo XX, sabemos que el poder de procesamiento de una máquina depende de la capacidad de memoria de la que desponga. [...] Si atendemos al desarrollo de los procesos cognitivos en la inteligencia de los niños, podríamos comprobar que la diferencia en la capacidad de pensamiento con respecto a los adultos depende de la cantidad de mecanismos y de instrumentos, así como de la cantidad de información de la que pueda disponer

³⁵ ARGÜELLES SAN MILLÁN, GASTÉLUM VARGAS, GONZÁLEZ GRANDÓN, 2016, «Autoconciencia e Identidad: dos fenómenos independientes», cit. p. 216.

³⁶ ARCIERO, 2005, *Estudios y diálogos sobre la identidad personal: reflexiones sobre la experiencia humana*, cit. p. 60.

su memoria. De hecho, los psicólogos han podido establecer un principio de carácter general: que el nivel de desarrollo de las capacidades intelectuales depende del nivel de desarrollo de la memoria.»³⁷

Memory can be seen as a real library of information in which our brain is able to store a maximum of twenty million volumes. Within this library, self-consciousness or the conscious individual consults experiences and knowledge that were acquired in the past.

There is one last aspect, which is an obscure nuance of memory that needs to be revealed. The question revolves around the false memories and the ascendant that these exert on memory itself. Gazzaniga believes memory can be unreliable, especially because we are not able to distinguish false memories from true ones. This is the same perspective of the famous Marc Bloch that revolutionized the work of historians. Thanks to false testimonies of his comrades in arms during the First World War, Bloch was able to identify a real gap in the methodology of historical investigation. The war experience led him to deepen his intuition within a work that made him famous at the time and that still today fills the institutional and monographic programs of worldwide history courses: *Les rois thaumaturges*³⁸. His deductions highlighted the lack of reliability not only of an earlier past, but also of more recent events. For this reason, the key to understanding offered by Bloch will be taken into account within the methodology also because these parameters redefine the mnemonic consciousness.

Self-consciousness when stripped of its ancient Greek mysticism can impersonate a nonlocal physiological machine and is capable of reworking the data and information that is useful to ascertain the existence of «los pronombres en primera persona (“yo”, “mi” y “mío”)»; a semantic representation that together with an army of neurons, contribute to the creation of a «automonitorización»³⁹ system.

³⁷ «El cerebro humano depende de la memoria de la misma manera que el nivel de procesamiento de la máquina depende de la cantidad de memoria que pueda almacenar». GÁVILAN, 2012, *Cerebro, mente y conciencia: mecanismos cerebrales de la identidad personal*, cit. p. 178. Also interesting is the reference that the author makes to chess programs or those designed for the problems of thermodynamics that need a considerable amount of information to store. For chess in particular it is emblematic that the level of difficulty goes hand in hand with the amount of games available to the computer.

³⁸ As expressed about the war studies BLOCH, 1921, «Fausses nouvelles de la Guerre (Les réflexions d'un historien sur les)». Bloch's innovations were ahead on his time, he was able to identify "in mind" what is now being tested and verified "by machine" by neurologists: «we can't tell the difference between true and false memories. When complex scalp recordings are made, the experimenter cannot detect that the brain responds differently to a true as opposed to a false memory. In short, both are part of our fabric of our personal narrative». GALLAGHER, GAZZANIGA, 1998, «The neuronal platonist, Michael Gazzaniga in conversation with Shaun Gallagher», cit. p. 714.

³⁹ DÍAZ GÓMEZ, 2016, «Cerebro, voluntad y libre albedrío», cit. p. 115.

Following Locke, along with self-consciousness, an awareness of the other: a «heteroconciencia»⁴⁰ is also generated.

This is how consciousness becomes a mechanism for the construction of our personality; it is a system that is constantly bombarded and influenced by information from the experiences that lead it to «coadyuvar pero no determinar por completo el fenómeno de referencia social que supone la identidad»⁴¹.

At this point, the set of questions raised can be disorienting; the feeling of being in the middle of a maze is useful to stimulate the reader, pushing her/him to identify with the hypothetical subject in analysis: the individual who struggles between identity and consciousness. An “internal conflict” also affirmed by Kenneth J. Gergen in *El yo saturado* in which he highlights the concept of multiple voices that upset the mind⁴².

The ethnical and cultural differences that have composed Macaronesian contexts are similar to those that are still nowadays causing heated debates on belonging. From an anthropological perspective, it is clear that the Macaronesian identity issues are pioneers compared to contemporary European analogies. For this reason, the proposed models of “internal conflicts” that tend to be applied to individuals of contemporary age, are comfortable if inserted in the Atlantic mosaic on both personal and collective level.

A series of problems emerge that create dialectical contractures. Identity and consciousness have such rich meanings that affect different thematic levels. This only increases the difficulty coefficient, with the risk of getting lost within what Rodríguez González claims to be «El laberinto de la identidad personal»⁴³.

The assertions of Rodríguez González stand out from the development of this summary. His criticism of empiricism together with the inexorable philosophical openness allow to work with dynamic parameters that permit a correct assessment of personal identity. Even more resonant are the appeals launched by Anthony P. Cohen in *Self Consciousness* to reconsider the ego and consciousness indeed within anthropological analysis. The complex structure that capitalist society has assumed has forced European anthropologists to review modern methods of study. Macaronesian contexts seems to anticipate contemporary developments and

⁴⁰ DÍAZ GÓMEZ, 2016, «Cerebro, voluntad y libre albedrío», cit. p. 116.

⁴¹ ARGÜELLES SAN MILLÁN, GASTÉLUM VARGAS, GONZÁLEZ GRANDÓN, 2016, «Autoconciencia e Identidad: dos fenómenos independientes», cit. p. 222.

⁴² GERGEN, 2006, *El yo saturado: dilemas de identidad en el mundo contemporáneo*, p. 72.

⁴³ RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ, 2003, *El problema de la identidad personal: más que fragmentos*, cit. p. 33.

problems; archipelagos multiethnicity and multiculturalism are fertile grounds for the propagation of identity and consciousness crises.

This is why an efficient dialectic basis could be useful to calibrate the terms inside societies as articulated as the ones under consideration. To this end, there will be set benchmarks that define personal identity.

First of all, consciousness and identity are interconnected elements, reaffirming the bridge that unites them as constituted by the memory-narrative. Not only that, there is another equally important element that determines a pseudo-ambivalence between identity and consciousness: the social context that, first of all, determines "juridical identity" and then influences consciousnesses, filtering and sometimes manipulating perceptions or rather "proprioceptions" (a more accurate self-perception). Gergen explains how social relationships (more properly forms of dependence) compromise personal identity⁴⁴.

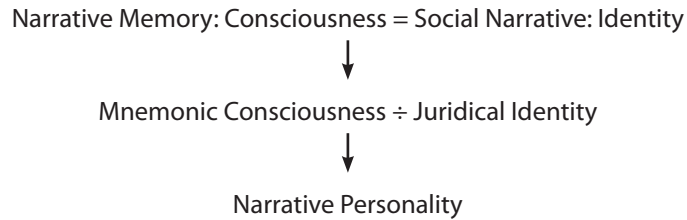
The result is another important aspect: the profession as an identity marker. Of particular interest because it's an obvious principle at the base of the social structure. Within the work context, the forms of dependence, together with the mnemonic narrative of experience, determine the "sense of belonging" of individuals and sometimes distinguish from an "unease of belonging" that in extreme cases can manifest a "sense of survival". The forms of dependence, associated with the historical dynamics of the Slave Trade, are fundamental to fix these levels of discrimination.

For greater understanding an organogram is offered within which these four elements bind within a proportion ratio where memory, which stores all data and information related to experiences, offers the consciousness the possibility of creating a story that fades, overlaps in a heterogeneous way or fits perfectly; that struggles or coexists in harmony with a personal identity that on the other side of the ego comes to be directly proportionate to the narrative generated by the social context⁴⁵. Simplifying, the consciousness that has become mnemonic is proportionate to an almost juridical identity.

⁴⁴ Gergen, in fact, approaches the speech with a very decisive character, as demonstrated by his chosen terminology. He refers to a «supresión contemporánea del yo individual», blaming «las tecnologías de la saturación social» to influence or, better «invadir la vida cotidiana». A real «colonización del ser propio» which has the consequence of reflecting our social environment, that is to say, making it fit with our identity. GERGEN, 2006, *El yo saturado: dilemas de identidad en el mundo contemporáneo*, cit. p. 80.

⁴⁵ Donald Spence, with his work *Narrative truth and Historical Truth*, allows a step forward in the understanding of the forces that regulate the perception of self. By identifying these two variants, these distinct truths, it gives a clearer idea of the resultants arising from the forces acting within and outside the individual. SPENCE, 1984, *Narrative Truth and Historical Truth: Meaning and Interpretation in Psychoanalysis*.

a) Narrative Personal ratio



An epistemological universe of elements that is essential for the correct identification of the "Narrative Personality".

The narrative component is a fundamental element in analysis. It connects the two members of the dialectical expression, representing their dynamism. Dressed in mnemonic experiences that have been revealed to be proportionate to consciousness, the narrative also falls within the variables of social contexts that are linked to identity. It follows that for an appropriate interpretation of personal identity and consciousness that passes precisely through the consideration of the relative socio-cultural contexts, the narrative returns to be a deterrent to the incoherent dynamics that develop between the socio-legal theory and the actual practice of the forms of dependence. The impression is that with the narrative method those false memories detected by Bloch can be tamed. Not only that, it can be also bypassed the discrepancies of the social machine generated by what we prefer to call forms of dependence, following the guidelines offered by Viti and Meillassoux⁴⁶.

João Fernandes Vieira is a striking example of how these forms of dependence and belonging create peculiar results sometimes in antithesis with laws and/or customs of the time.

Speaking of belonging, the emotional responses within his biography will determine the intensity of "sameness" and "selfhood". The first represents a value of emotional stability based on a continuity guaranteed by the consistent integration of experiences (which create a certain familiarity). On the contrary, selfhood means a sense of rejection in contrast with the «unidad organizativa del dominio emotivo [...] (selfhood/ipseidad) se opone a aquella de modo radical. El Sí Mismo, "fuera de sí",

⁴⁶ «Spetta a Marx, probabilmente, il merito di aver concettualizzato la "dipendenza personale" che caratterizza le forme economiche precapitalistiche, distinguendola dalla "dipendenza materiale", propria dei rapporti di produzione capitalistici, dove il denaro diventa il *nexus rerum et hominum* e dove l'indipendenza personale è fondata sulla dipendenza dalle cose». VITI, 2007, *Schiavi, servi e dipendenti: antropologia delle forme di dipendenza personale in Africa*, cit. p. 11. These, which are anthropological elements, are useful for understanding the cultural perceptions of the individuals under examination.

encuentra su ipseidad en su propio actuar y sentir inmediatos, y allí permanece cada vez»⁴⁷.

There is one last aspect that has not been previously introduced, which derives from the anthropological condition of “not relative”. Facing a basic coincidence that is not a prelude to slavery, Meillassoux, in fact, specifies that:

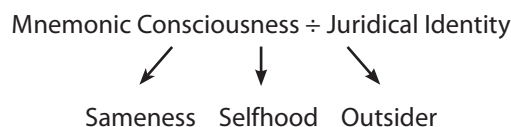
«Il fondamento economico di questa distinzione tra liberi e stranieri consente di scoprire una delle condizioni oggettive per la comparsa dello sfruttamento del lavoro nelle società domestiche. Occorre qui notare, per evitare ogni ulteriore confusione, che il funzionamento della società domestica genera semplicemente la distinzione tra ingenuo e straniero. Il rapporto di sfruttamento al quale essa, nel quadro di una società domestica, può servire da punto di partenza, è puramente occasionale. Esso può evolvere verso la schiavitù solo se, a seguito dell’inserimento della società domestica in una economia di scambio, mutano, e nello stesso tempo scompaiono, le condizioni della sua esistenza»⁴⁸.

Meillassoux explains that others before him had set the study in this way, that is by using the links of kinship and the concept of extraneousness. Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff already in 1977:

«propongono nella loro introduzione una spiegazione genetica della schiavitù [...]. Partendo dalla constatazione che quelli che chiamano i «minori» (bambini, giovani, donne) si trovano in una posizione di dipendenza all’interno della famiglia, e che, d’altra parte, il sistema di parentela permette dei trasferimenti di questi dipendenti, Miers e Kopytoff vedono nella schiavitù l’estensione di questo duplice fenomeno a degli stranieri. Di conseguenza il nucleo centrale della loro argomentazione verte intorno a ciò che essi definiscono il «continuum schiavitù-parentela»⁴⁹.

Based on emotional responses, the narrative interaction between consciousness and identity generates a threefold result from the dialectic proportion:

b) Emotional Belonging



⁴⁷ ARCIERO, 2005, *Estudios y diálogos sobre la identidad personal: reflexiones sobre la experiencia humana*, cit. p. 60; developing the immutable aspects of character and integrating them with the bewildered emotions that disturb this unity, the individual tries to model the narrative of his own identity in a coherent way to achieve that continuity that can safeguard it from possible trauma. ARCIERO, 2005, *Estudios y diálogos sobre la identidad personal: reflexiones sobre la experiencia humana*, pp. 60-63.

⁴⁸ MEILLASSOUX, 1992, *Antropologia della schiavitù*, cit. p. 31.

⁴⁹ MEILLASSOUX, 1992, *Antropologia della schiavitù*, cit. pp. 17-18.

By tracing the history of Vieira and by making a synthesis with all the elements, it will be finally possible to reconstruct the narrative personality. The peculiarity of the narrative approach is given above all by the possibility of temporal extension of the individual capable of projecting the perception of self in the future; not by chance Neisser calls it «extended self»⁵⁰, «the tacit information about remote or future events which is perceived and processed by the body's psychophysiological system»⁵¹. From past analysis to future planning, the intentions of the individual once again reside in the creation of their own "Socio-cultural Narrative Personality"⁵².

In order to reach the objectives that have been set, it is necessary to know how to maintain the right distance between identity and consciousness which, even if belong to the same individual, could diverge in semantics⁵³.

If it is true that, as Gavilán states, consciousness is generated in the uniqueness of the neuronal machine that reworks and assembles billions of information in memory, it is also true that it would be impossible for the individual to decompose this reworking; if in essence you wanted to enter inside your assembly line and analyse these billions of "bits" of information, the result on a computational level, would be the most classic of the "404 error".

In the evolution of the nervous system humanity has doubled in cognitive terms and it is the very structure of self-consciousness that confirms this⁵⁴. Consciousness

⁵⁰ «nonminimal self» for Daniel Dennett. ARGÜELLES SAN MILLÁN, GASTÉLUM VARGAS, GONZÁLEZ GRANDÓN, 2016, «Autoconciencia e Identidad: dos fenómenos independientes», cit. p. 220.

⁵¹ BRADLEY, 2011, «Resolving the enigma of nonlocal intuition: a quantum-holographic approach», cit. p. 197. «the theory explains how informations about a future or distant object/event is quantum-holographically encoded in the radiation of energy as an implicate order, which exists as a domain apart from space/time. [...] the human autonomic nervous system (ANS) unconsciously responds to randomly selected future emotional stimuli». BRADLEY, 2011, «Resolving the enigma of nonlocal intuition: a quantum-holographic approach», cit. p. 198.

⁵² Pribram provides the ontological contribution explaining how this temporal continuity arises from the interaction between «el sistema fronto-límbico (que incluye los polos anteriores de los lóbulos temporal y frontal) y elementos de la formación límbica». ARGÜELLES SAN MILLÁN, GASTÉLUM VARGAS, GONZÁLEZ GRANDÓN, 2016, «Autoconciencia e Identidad: dos fenómenos independientes», cit. p. 220.

⁵³ This division will be highlighted in the following chapters, for now we note that «una consciencia sin introspección del yo, narrativa de vida que proyecta un futuro y una biografía generada mediante la interpretación de situaciones y experiencias como generadora de personalidad no es condición necesaria para que un organismo presente una identidad». ARGÜELLES SAN MILLÁN, GASTÉLUM VARGAS, GONZÁLEZ GRANDÓN, 2016, «Autoconciencia e Identidad: dos fenómenos independientes», cit. p. 225; but the opposite could also happens: if the identity were to change, the consciousness could, remain anchored to a personal narrative belonging to past.

⁵⁴ Self-conscious analysis can be based on the subconscious and act independently of lucid and active cognitions.

and self-consciousness cannot exist without duplicity, specifically Gavilán's uniqueness cannot exist within a situation in which an individual, while striving, will never be able to conceive in real time the totality of his functions.

In this sense, another great contribution (in addition to the already mentioned studies on cardiac neuronal centre) is offered by the experiments of Benjamin Libet, thanks to whom it is easy to note a certain autonomy of the neuronal system, and not only, on consciousness. Libet's experiments also affect free will, he goes so far as to demonstrate how neuronal action, what he calls "readiness potential", anticipates both the moment of action and, above all, the onset of the conscious intention to act: «The initiation of the preparation to culminate in a freely voluntary movement arises unconsciously in the brain, preceding the conscious awareness of wanting or intending to "act now" by about 400msec or more»⁵⁵.

This is not surprising if we consider the reaction times of the neuronal analysis of the heart (which has already been mentioned) that arrive at anticipating the manifestation of facts in the short-term future of 4-5 seconds⁵⁶.

Careful analysis reveals a latent space where Platonic philosophy can still be inserted until science makes further progress. What is certain for now remains that «con la técnica de observación que existen actualmente, todavía resulta imposible conocer la relación que se produce entre las distintas áreas de la corteza visual y de cada una de las regiones de la corteza cerebral; e incluso es imposible conocer la relación que se establece entre la corteza y el tálamo»⁵⁷.

As well as is impossible to perceive the quantum transmission, specifically the: «logon»⁵⁸ namely the momentum in which a transfer of information exchange is created. Even if we were to object that we are aware of some "vibrations", we could not determine specifically the elements that make up this dimension, at least consciously it would be impossible to determine the parts; conversely self-consciousness continues diligent management of the memory database. In every biological func-

⁵⁵ LIBET, 2004, *Mind Time. The temporal factor in Consciousness*, cit. p. 141.

⁵⁶ BRADLEY, 2011, «Resolving the enigma of nonlocal intuition: a quantum-holographic approach», p. 199: «the heart activity patterns in the pre-stimulus period predicted the randomly generated outcome by as much as 12 to 14 seconds». This is made even more interesting by considering how the reaction times are affected depending on the emotional involvement of the individual. BRADLEY, 2011, «Resolving the enigma of nonlocal intuition: a quantum-holographic approach», cit. p. 200.

⁵⁷ GÁVILAN, 2012, *Cerebro, mente y conciencia: mecanismos cerebrales de la identidad personal*, cit. p. 172.

⁵⁸ Unit of measurement of the basic energy needed for the exchange of information, also called «quantum of information [...]». In mathematical terms the logon is a sinusoidal module variably constrained by space-time coordinates – essentially a space-time-constrained-hologram». BRADLEY, 2011, «Resolving the enigma of nonlocal intuition: a quantum-holographic approach», cit. p. 202.

tion success or failure is determined by the simultaneous action of the conscious individual and his self-consciousness; by that control centre, that “headquarters” that, not coincidentally Gazzaniga defines the: «unsung hero»⁵⁹ because it preserves and orders the items. Those fragments of which are useful for establishing the bodily response, and so the reaction of the self-conscious for every eventuality. Not only that, the author refers to this autonomy that allows to have «acceso únicamente al producto de estos módulos cerebrales, pero no al proceso mismo»⁶⁰, a modularity that guarantees parallel operation. At first these autonomous modules would be the protagonists of an action/reaction, a behavior that only in second place is detected by what the author calls: «módulo “intérprete”»⁶¹. The most important contribution of the neurologist concerns the understanding of the awareness importance. Cultural processes act on a biological basis, the individual who is aware of these automatism generates reactions that could regulate its social environment so that it can avoid situations that are capable of triggering unwanted mechanisms⁶². This is exactly what happened to João Fernandes Vieira, who was able to draw on self-awareness within the careful analysis of the surrounding context, through the conscious and selfconscious reworking in order to shape at will the identity, colliding or better calibrating it as consciously as possible to dominate the socio-cultural Narrative Personality.

These summaries are fundamental not so much to reinvigorate the philosophical, abstract and mythological side of consciousness, as to allow us to identify parameters and apply the epistemological results, as well as to support the final thesis of based on the analysis and the correct assessment of João Fernandes Vieira’s consciousness and identity.

The narrative method will ensure the correct interpretation of the interactions of multiethnic individuals in multiethnic societies.

In this regard it is relevant to emphasize the socio-cultural importance, perhaps the most appropriate reference to the issues that will develop in the following chapters:

«Evidentemente, la cultura tiene unas leyes autónomas y un funcionamiento independiente, pero nunca se puede desligar de las condiciones biológicas y de los sistemas cerebrales conseguidos en el proceso evolutivo. Todos los elementos de la complejidad cultural hunden sus raíces en la trama oculta de la organización biológica

⁵⁹ Referring to the aforementioned parietal lobe. GAZZANIGA, 1998, *The Mind's Past*, cit. p. 110.

⁶⁰ GAZZANIGA, 1993, *El cerebro social*, cit. p. 16.

⁶¹ GAZZANIGA, 1993, *El cerebro social*, cit. p. 18.

⁶² GAZZANIGA, 1993, *El cerebro social*, cit. pp. 19-20.

[...]. La propia organización de la vida es productora de conocimiento, de autonomía, de identidad y de conciencia»⁶³.

This quotation makes it possible to orient both the sense of identity and consciousness (while respecting the mnemonic interface).

To achieve the objective, the socio-cultural narrative ratio inaugurated through the above epistemological analysis will be applied. This methodology will bring together a narrative that will be superimposed on the experience and in general on Vieira's trajectory of life. This lends itself impeccably as a glaring example of the final hypothesis that wants awareness to manifest itself in quantum dimension within which the individual can act not merely in perspective but also in future projection, in respect but regardless of social limits. When the term awareness means a status of conscious, self-conscious and active perception, a personalized identity function, both of its own position and of the potential narrative depth to which the individual aims and to which he aspires in his future:

«since, by virtue of the overlap among logons, each logon contains spectrally enfolded information about the future, then each quantum hologram also contains quantum-level information about the future organization of the macro-scale object with which it is associated»⁶⁴.

Finally, will be possible to pass through a hypothetical scale of values that consider the times of protagonist evolution, his experiences, highlighting the forms of dependence of the aristocratic contexts within which he's inserted.

This will require an in-depth analysis of identity and consciousness applied to the context, because if on one hand it is already complicated to properly define the two elements, it turns out to be an immense enterprise circumscribing them when they interact within the social relations⁶⁵.

In this chapter were chosen to acquire heterogeneous knowledge to offer the possibility of a broad vision of the elements; a synthesis forming an epistemological empirical model. The multidisciplinary inclusive approach will serve above all as a support base for both the understanding and the elaboration of the theses and

⁶³ This cultural perspective is taken up later by the author who adds: «El cerebro se ha ido modificando con los cambios culturales, porque la adquisición de la cultura le exige adaptaciones a los sistemas cerebrales. La propia mecánica de la evolución ha conseguido que el cerebro de la especie humana se convierta en la maquinaria apropiada para dominar el desarrollo de la técnica, para convertirse en la base de los hábitos y de las creencias, para procesar y controlar cada uno de los patrones culturales y cada uno de los actos mentales» GÁVILAN, 2012, *Cerebro, mente y conciencia: mecanismos cerebrales de la identidad personal*, cit. p. 40.

⁶⁴ BRADLEY, 2011, «Resolving the enigma of nonlocal intuition: a quantum-holographic approach», cit. p. 205.

⁶⁵ Social relations that directly, indirectly, and sometimes even inversely, provide identity.

hypotheses that will be developed soon when the analysis takes a more properly historical, social and cultural direction.

This study will include considerations on the sense of belonging and that of social discrimination generate from forms of dependence within the economic/labour context, and which may influence if not precisely determine the legal sphere⁶⁶.

Identity and consciousness, in the interaction with the forms of dependence and anthropological analysis of the Atlantic Slave Trade, play a fundamental role for the conscious genesis of the ego projection in ambivalent action within the introspective space, which is then reflected in the world around and vice versa inside the context that influences the narrative perspective.

They were the same kind of reflections that led the aforementioned Quinton in 1962 to instigate the term «soul-phases»⁶⁷. Thanks to his intuition it is possible to define an approach that sublimates understanding through the “phases of belonging”. Quinton selects certain stages within the Socio-cultural Narrative Personality. In this process, the individual goes through several stages with as much “sameness” and “selfhood”. Reordering the operation by dividing in three specific contexts useful to highlight the trajectory of Vieira’s participation in the Atlantic space, will be possible to draw on the properties of self-consciousness of reworking data in memory and build, in doing so, the stages of this belonging. In this sense, the elaborate will become “the self-consciousness” that manages (or rather “interprets” according to Gazzaniga) the information given by the historical, ethnological, archaeological and anthropological memory of João Fernandes Vieira.

II – João Fernandes Vieira

«Poucas figuras da história brasileira terão dado tantas oportunidades à dúvida e à controvérsia quanto a de João Fernandes Vieira. Muitos episódios de sua vida, desde o seu nascimento até a sua morte, estão carregados de incerteza e obscuridades»⁶⁸.

⁶⁶ As for consciousness, we will try to identify the main characteristics in its different types: primary, visual, mnemonic. Speaking of identity, the major contribution will refer to the professional factor as an indicator of identity combined with the concepts of “sameness” and “selfhood” above mentioned.

⁶⁷ «A soul-phase is a set of contemporaneous mental states belonging to the same momentary consciousness. Two soul-phases are directly continuous if they are temporally juxtaposed, if the character revealed by the constituents of each is closely similar, and if the later contains recollections of some elements of the earlier. Two soul-phases are indirectly continuous and connected by a continuous character and memory pat». QUINTON, 1962, «The soul», cit. p. 398.

⁶⁸ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 17.

Antônio Gonsalves de Mello inaugurates in this way his biographical work on the historical figure to whom this paper is dedicated. A quote that immediately direct the reader into a narrative full of doubts which will be discussed through the tools highlighted in the previous chapter.

Despite these uncertainties, João Fernandes Vieira's biography is well documented. Among them all, *João Fernandes Vieira: Mestre-de-Campo do Terço de Infantaria de Pernambuco*, of the aforementioned Gonsalves de Mello, represents the primary source for the information extrapolation.

With the tools collected during the first part, it will be possible to evaluate the senses and unease of belonging of an axiomatically Atlantic Portuguese individual.

It is right in the heart of the ocean, on the island of Madeira, where he was supposedly born in 1613. Although most sources agree with the same date, Vieira throw the certainty off by stating that he embarked emigrating at the age of 10 years and a few months, unlike what Diogo Lopes de Santiago in *Historia da Guerra de Pernambuco* and Fr. Rafael de Jesus in *O Castrioto Lusitano* (which however Vieira commissioned) say, both agreeing with the aforementioned date of birth and with the departing referring to 1624, so with 11 years old⁶⁹.

The exact place of birth is also a source of incertitude, as well as it is uncertain whether he was born in Faial or Funchal, a difference of 33km that doesn't involve great importance as instead assumes the voluntary omission of its ancestry. Vieira never declared the name of his parents, a fact of remarkable importance considering that, for the access to high secular and ecclesiastical positions, the aristocratic society typologies (both Madeirense and Pernambucana) required illustrious ancestors. If this is added to the mention Vieira makes of his parents in-laws in the same testamentary act in which, in his regard, he simply states «que sou filho da Ilha da Madeira, e não tenho herdeiros forçados alguns, por meus paes e avós serem já mortos»⁷⁰, it is possible to notice there is a meticulous attention to mediatic information details. Vieira accurately managed what let it be known, this is one of the most important element for the final assessment of identity and consciousness.

For the strong ambition that distinguished him, he could never reveal the noble but poor paternal origins, this explains what can be found in the sources: «homem de

⁶⁹ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 18.

⁷⁰ «Testamento de João Fernandes Vieira», 1872, cit. pp. 19-20. The fact that we are in the presence of the will, and therefore the epilogue from the documentary point of view of the Madeirense's life, is indicative of a detailed attention to this omission that does not stop even when, reaching the apex of his career, he could afford a "lowering of guard".

baixíssima sorte»⁷¹ or «homem baixo por nascimento»⁷². The hypothesized aristocratic family remained totally unknown at least until 1873 when Lima Felner published a series of documents in which Francisco de Ornelas Muniz was supposed to be the father. Felner outlined a genealogy of the family trees within which Vieira appears second son with the real name of his father: Francisco de Ornelas, which he later changed after moving to Brazil.

Gonsalves de Mello in the aforementioned work supports the thesis of Felner relying on a figurative detail that appears on the cover of the work commissioned by Vieira himself where it is possible to see graphic references to Ornelas and Muniz⁷³.

A number of causes move away from Felner's hypothesis: the two hundred years elapsed from Vieira's life experience and the first assertions about his family lineage, a theoretically not necessary change of name, indeed, counterproductive to the recognition of "purity", the obliteration of any reference to his family origins⁷⁴, as well as the accusations of an anonymous contemporary: «esse Senhor a esta terra e Capitania de Pernambuco da Ilha da Madeira donde he natural e filho de uma mulata rameira a quem chamão a Bemfeitinha e de hum homem que lhe dão por pay, que foi ali degradedado em titulo de ladrão»⁷⁵. But, if that was indeed the case, if, as the ornamental details on the shield graphic lead us to think, João Fernandes Vieira was truly that Francisco de Ornelas son of the homonymous Muniz, then the accusations of the anonymous chaplain, here mentioned, would help to justify the total omission that Vieira made regarding his ancestry. This possibly indicates personal emotional issues that have led to family dysfunctions which may have brought him to leave the island at the age of 10/11 years old. As already said, the temporal calibration is inaccurate, according with other references on this first part of life. Vieira himself does not help the research by offering two different dates of birth: 1602 and 1610. As if it were not enough, even the revived hypothesis of the Madeirense lineage

⁷¹ Denominated by the Ultramarine Adviser Jorge de Castilho. Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino de 17 de Fevereiro de 1647, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Pernambuco, papéis avulsos, caixa 3-A e código 14, fls. 13v.-14.

⁷² Defined by Rui de Moura, Councillor of State. Arquivo da Casa de Cadaval, «Memórias», código 1081, fls. 155-156, consulta do Conselho de Estado de 7 de Fevereiro de 1656.

⁷³ The author outlines the family tree belonging to both families, especially as regards the Ornelas which descended from a captain of Machico, «fidalgo da casa do infante D. Henrique». MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 21.

⁷⁴ Among the many, we do not find the *provança* concerning the "purity" of his blood. MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 23.

⁷⁵ LAMEGO, 1913, «Papéis Inéditos sobre João Fernandes Vieira», pp. 33-50.

doesn't help to filter out the various information, indeed it anticipates the 17th century by dating the birth of Francisco de Ornelas in 1596⁷⁶.

The target of this paragraph is an analysis of his life experience by point out the events that allowed a social rise technically out of his ethnic connotations. Dwell on solving puzzles is not the aim (almost an impossible operation to do); differently, the aspects and stages that have marked an exceptional social climb will be highlighted, in order to be understood, an exception that came out of the tracks both of custom and law.

Likewise, the circumstances of his arrival on the American continent are not clear. Was he alone or accompanied? Did he have Brazilian family links? It is surprising that in his second job as an employee at the service of Affonso Rodrigues Serrão and his wife Isabel Ferreira, Vieira came to inherit the entire land and mobile assets of the spouses⁷⁷. Among those inherited, the butcher shop, in general the sale of meat, was the most profitable activity or at least the one that put him in contact with local bourgeois and military environment.

He joined the army as a volunteer during the defense of San Giorgio's fort in Recife. The Dutch attempted a first attack on the 20th of February, 1630, which was repulsed by the Portuguese who were unable to do nothing when, a week later, they saw the Flemings return to attack with a heavy artillery bombardment to which the defenders had to surrender.

It is important to note that the participation of João Fernandes Vieira in this war event is primarily given by his biographical source: *Historia da guerra de Pernambuco e feitos memoraveis do Mestre de Campo João Fernandes Vieira*, in which the author Diogo Lopes de Santiago extols the exploits stating that after three consecutive days and nights watch shifts, Vieira «mandou a um moço que tinha a sua companhia que salvasse a bandeira da infantaria do capitão Afonso de Albuquerque [...] e a prata da ginetá»⁷⁸. It is emblematic, from a media point of view, to specify that the non-biographical sources do not mention Vieira; on the contrary, they claim that the Portuguese left without flags⁷⁹.

Historical fact or autobiographical emphasis? What emerges from the research is a meticulousness in media care of details related to the also narrative reconstruc-

⁷⁶ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], pp. 26-28.

⁷⁷ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], pp. 29-30.

⁷⁸ SANTIAGO, 1943, *Historia da guerra de Pernambuco* [...], cit. p. 42.

⁷⁹ Dutch sources in particular proclaim the taking of two flags.

tion of his origins and a commissioned chronicles that wants to enhance deeds and anecdotes.

Despite the capitulation, Vieira did not abandon the Portuguese defenders and took care of their procurement. The food supplied came from his company, which indicates a decent availability of primary goods, «situação económica mediana» as defined by the aforementioned Gonsalves de Mello, a general income such as to allow Vieira to maintain «dois criados»⁸⁰.

During the Dutch rule of the territory, Vieira became a collaborator, much closer to the political adviser Jacob Stachouwer. The sources do not reveal any details of how this relationship was established other than the anonymous chaplain accusations, which suggests an opportunism of the Madeirense aimed at informing the Dutch about goods and riches the Lusitanian inhabitants (mostly imprisoned) owned.

Gonsalves de Mello questions the causes that convinced Vieira not to run away from Recife: «perspicaz como era, haveria de ter percebido as possibilidades de fortuna em negócios ou a serviço dos invasores»⁸¹; then again «Demonstrou desde os 10 anos e poucos meses de idade, qualidades nada comuns de resolução, iniciativa e vontade de vencer, das quais veio a dar mostra em muitas ocasiões posteriores»⁸². Whatever the reasons that led him to remain under Dutch rule, he was certainly not the only one to collaborate with the new Flemish government⁸³.

His spirit of initiative, charisma, cunning at the service of his own ambition, mixed with opportunism, led him to a rapid rise through the aforementioned economic relations with Stachouwer, of which he first acted as a consultant, later on as an employee, from 1637 as manager of the new agricultural activity undertaken by the Dutch aristocrat who, in the same summer, decided to resign as political adviser and prefer to focus on sugar cane production within which Vieira became precisely «feitor dos seus engenhos e mais tarde como seu procurador»⁸⁴.

When in 1638 Stachouwer went back to motherland, he promotes Vieira to *procurador* which puts him in charge of all three properties that the Dutch bought during his Pernambucan stay. Real estate of a value that at the time fluctuated between 27 and 30 thousand florins each, indicates trust, confidence, responsibility

⁸⁰ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 38.

⁸¹ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 42.

⁸² MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 29.

⁸³ From Dutch sources it is clear that other men, of considerable standing, were favourably disposed to collaborate, while others remained hostile also for possible Portuguese repercussions. MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 42.

⁸⁴ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 47.

and above all potentially new social opportunities. In short, the power Vieira reached increased exponentially, precisely because he was able to improve the property in a rapid and dizzying climb not only within the personal relations with Stachouwer, but also inside the interactions with other government officials.

«avait été quelques années domestique de l'un des politiques, prit connaissance des affaires, s'acquiesça de la cession, tenait à ferme les droits de la Compagnie sur le sucre qui se faisait dans les Engins, faisait couper le bois de Brésil, avait toujours quelque proposition à faire pour le profit de la Compagnie»⁸⁵.

At the same time as the Madeirense was intertwined with the high offices of the Dutch government, many of his Portuguese compatriots (including his future father-in-law) were imprisoned and had to defend themselves against charges of maintaining correspondence and giving asylum to the enemies of the new government. Not just any people but almost all owners of saccharine companies, including Pedro da Cunha de Andrade, the leading exponent of local land property, died in prison⁸⁶.

A year after the judicial inquiry, in 1639 Vieira was twice proposed (although both unsuccessfully) to the office of mayor, first in Olinda, then in Recife when the Pernambucan capital was moved.

According to several sources, the election campaigns generated a rivalry with Gaspar Dias Ferreira, consultant, or better, «advogado administrativo, a quem se recorria para resolver qualquer assunto difícil junto ao conde e ao Conselho»⁸⁷. Ferreira used literary skills to nurture friendship with the Count of Nassau and consequently also increase his wealth. Not by chance the latter was in charge of appointing mayors, which indeed guaranteed Ferreira the institutional office. In contrast, Vieira used a merchant strategy, entrepreneurial, that revolved on the revenues of sugar crops and on slaves sale. This approach gave the Madeirense a long-term success; the large sums of money that Vieira came to manage, either on behalf of his Dutch employer or on his own account, earned him a readiness of 184,500 florins on purchase of contracts «dos dízimos dos açúcares das capitánias de Pernambuco e de Itamaracá e das pensões dos engenhos da primeira»⁸⁸.

Land ownership linked to the management of primary importance goods in the Brazilian economy, such as sugar and slaves, connected Vieira to the network of local

⁸⁵ MOREAU, 1651, *Histoire des Derniers Troubles du Brésil* [...], cit. p. 48. The inclusion in Dutch aristocratic network even earned him the concession to confiscate the servitude of those inhabitants who fled to other territories.

⁸⁶ Others were beheaded and others exiled. For further information please refer to the list that Gonsalves de Mello drawn up. MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], pp. 50-51.

⁸⁷ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 52.

⁸⁸ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 53.

power. So it was that in 1640 he came to represent the Portuguese inhabitants in the assembly called by the aforementioned Count of Nassau; between 27th of August and 4th of September, the leading members of the Pernambucan land aristocracy were gathered. This is proof of what was said about the sudden rise to power of the Madeirense, which went hand in hand with increasing his personal property (if not delegated by Stachouwer) through other purchases of the same nature as those mentioned above⁸⁹.

Buying and selling real estate and what were, prototypes or not, certainly industrial companies, involved the management of large sums of money, sometimes borrowed from the Dutch West India Company, which in 1641 appointed Count of Nassau as contact person for debt collection in Pernambuco. A strategic move which was aimed at recovering the interest that the company owned against debtors. The designation of the Count coincided with a tragic year for the production of sugar cane caused by a series of factors: a particularly harsh winter, the proliferation of a plague that consumed the plant from inside, as well as the explosion of a particular epidemic that only in Paraíba killed 1100 slaves⁹⁰.

Remarkable facts because, according to the allegations of the anonymous chaplain, they would fall within the causes that led to the insurrection of Portuguese settlers in a state conquered and ruled by the Dutch; the insurrection of Pernambuco of which Vieira was among the main protagonists.

Respecting the chronological order of events that characterized the rise to the top of Pernambucan society, it is good to dwell on the events that involved the Madeirense in the tax collection process used by the Dutch West India Company. Vieira was an insolvent debtor; in order to fix his position, he proposed:

«que a Companhia pagasse aos seus credores 39.000 florins que lhes devia e lhe fornecesse 60 escravos dos que desembarcassem nos navios a chegar, 20 de cada um, a serem por ele escolhidos, para trabalhos nos engenhos, com o serviço dos quais seria possível apressar o pagamento da dívida. Entretanto, no caso de não ser aceita, prontificava-se a entregar à Companhia em pagamento, dois dos seus engenhos, moentes e correntes, com 40 negros e 40 bois cada um e outros bens que pudesse dispensar»⁹¹.

⁸⁹ «contraía dívidas enormes: tomou à sua conta os engenhos comprados a crédito por Stachouwer e por este em sociedade com Nicolaes de Ridder, que eram os Engenhos do Meio, Sant'Anna e Ilhetas, comprometendo-se a pagar por eles o total de 119.000 florins; adquiriu a Jacques Hack [...] o Engenho Nossa Senhora do Rosário, depois São João [...]. Os compromissos não se limitavam à compra dos engenhos; faziase indispensável adquirir escravos, cobres, restaurá-los». MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. pp. 54-55.

⁹⁰ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 55.

⁹¹ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 59.

The project presented to the Count and the High Council (made responsible by the Company too) was ratified on 30th of June, 1642, with a three-year instalment plan from 1643 to 1645 that provided for the guarantee of all the mobile and real estate property of the Madeirense. The guarantors of this new contract were Francisco Berenguer de Andrada and Bernardim de Carvalho⁹².

Nevertheless, in 1661, following the peace treaty (better understood as a truce with hindsight) signed between Holland and Portugal, the Dutch West India Company wrote the list of its debtors, in which Vieira occupied the second place for the amount of 321,756 florins due⁹³.

The success, but above all the fortune accumulated by Vieira had indeed been possible thanks to the intellect and opportunism of the Madeirense. As well as it's important to consider that without the loans, the concessions and moreover the trust bestowed upon him it would not have been possible to accumulate all that abovementioned wealth which allows to renounce his name also through banquets (financed at his expense), so common and famous either among the Portuguese sources, just like in the Dutch ones⁹⁴.

High-sounding fact considering the context of the time in which ostentations and social blazon was given by the family bloodline, constituted an intrinsic value added to the person. Even more the Pernambucan one, consisting on descendants of Albuquerque's, Cavalcanti's, Carvalho's, Berenguer de Andrada's and other lineages.

In the process of social ascent, Vieira found himself competing with other equally ambitious characters, like the aforementioned Gaspar Dias Ferreira, with whom he shared the same aspirations which were promoted with different strategies and approaches. While Vieira sought to forge clientelist relations with both the Dutch government and the Lusophone land elite, Ferreira based his hegemony on his relationship with the Count of Nassau, so as to follow him to Holland when the latter left Recife.

Indicative is the interpretation of Gonsalves de Mello: «Cremos que foi principalmente a sua fé religiosa que impediu que Vieira se transformasse de colaborador em colaboracionista dos flamengos»⁹⁵. Various sources ascertain the

⁹² MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 61. Figures to whom we will return to speak later in the context of the insurrection war. In particular, Francisco de Berenguer has already been introduced as Vieira's future father-in-law.

⁹³ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 62.

⁹⁴ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 63.

⁹⁵ «firmeza de fé que faltava em Gaspar Dias, ao usurpar bens dos Beneditinos e naturalizar-se holandês». MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 65.

propensity for faith of Vieira who took care and worried about adorning churches as much as assisting clerics, soldiers, poor and orphans.

Ethical or strategic, this philanthropy certainly earned him the consolidation of social ties binding them through forms of dependence. With the Berenguer de Andrada's, the madeirense came to be axiomatically linked to the Lusophone group, involving him in the insurrection process.

From Dutch sources too, there are manifestations of this participation; in 1642, in fact, the High Council of Recife discovered and inquired a letter sent to King John IV of Portugal in which senders congratulated for the restoration of the throne and in substance lent themselves to renewal the representation and delegation of services that they used to perform under John IV's predecessors. The letter delivered by the son of Francisco Berenguer de Andrada was signed by the latter in conjunction with Bernardim Carvalho, Antônio Cavalcanti and João Fernandes Vieira.

The letter was discovered because of a tip from Arent Jansz van Norden (Dutchman employee under both Vieira and his father-in-law), who personally accompanied the journey of delivery. In the Dutch unavoidable stopover of the trip with destination Lisbon, Van Norden was the necessary interpreter. He was certain of the purpose of betrayal and the uprising of the conspirators according to the confidence of Antônio Berenguer Andrada (brother-in-law of Vieira), who, as already mentioned, acted as a messenger.

Despite dropping the charges, the Dutch High Council promulgated the confiscation of all weapons held by the Luso-Brazilian owners, «dos capitães-de-campo e seus auxiliares e que se não permitisse aos mulatos, índios, negros e mamelucos possuírem armas, quer em casa, quer em caminho»⁹⁶.

Among the listed qualities and characteristics, João Fernandes Vieira lacked a belonging that he could not compensate with his own resources. He was missing a certified lineage and a noble affirmation. If the first was always hidden, concerning the career, Vieira had now reached an economic-political position such as to allow the juridical seal of nobility. To do so, it was sufficient to arrange a marriage with a descendant of one of the aforementioned houses. In line with his strategic talents, a year after announcing his inclination for marriage in 1643, João Fernandes Vieira married D. Maria César of 13 or 14 years, daughter of Francisco Berenguer de Andrada, «de boa estirpe»⁹⁷.

⁹⁶ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 70.

⁹⁷ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 64.

The age of his bride proves once again the social aims also confirmed by Vieira's will which does not mention his parents, while not failing to mention the names of both his in-laws⁹⁸.

«Ligando-se aos Berenguer de Andrada e aos Albuquerque, João Fernandes Vieira ajuntava ao seu prestígio econômico não só o brilho nobiliárquico, como o apoio do grupo da «nobreza rural» aliado daquelas famílias, com o qual poderia fazer face a outra facção, a dos seus inimigos»⁹⁹.

A process of acquisition of juridical-nobiliary prerogatives developed hand in hand with the organization of the conspiracy. From 1643 onwards, on Berenguer-Vieira axis, through the mentioned marriage, the foundation of the entire Pernambucan insurrection was built¹⁰⁰.

It would be the influence of Berenguer and the other lusophone landowners that made Vieira slip into the conspiracy as early as 1641¹⁰¹.

The social reasons that pushed the Pernambucan population to the uprising were the following. The Lusophones had not yet become accustomed to the new Flemish domination that was guaranteed just until the great influence that the Count of Nassau exercised. From a political point of view, the restoration of the Portuguese King John IV in 1640 has already been mentioned. Juridically, the disputes and abuses between the two groups were increasing right since the return to Holland of the aforementioned Count of Nassau. Economically, large sums of money were owed by the Lusophone inhabitants (and not only) to the Dutch West India Company. Finally, a religious reason existed: despite being both Christian, Dutch radical Calvinism and Portuguese Catholicism gave further causes of divisions and tensions between the parties¹⁰².

«Embora senhor de cinco engenhos, Vieira possivelmente não dispunha de capitais suficientes para [...] pôr-se a salvo na Bahia com a família e com fazenda bastante para viver honradamente. Os bens móveis de que poderia dispor não seriam suficientes para uma transferência da sua condição de senhor de terra e fábricas, e para conservá-la era-lhe imprescindível permanecer em Pernambuco»¹⁰³.

⁹⁸ In *O Valeroso Lucideno*, Frei Manuel Calado do Salvador elaborates a broad description of the Berenguer dynasty, also from Madeira Island since they descend from an ancient ancestor "fidalgo" of King John III. SALVADOR, 1648, *O Valeroso Lucideno, e triumpho da liberdade*, vol. I, p. 334.

⁹⁹ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 65.

¹⁰⁰ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 71.

¹⁰¹ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 115.

¹⁰² Although exploited, the religious reason represented the most intensely used motive, not by chance Vieira and Cavalcanti inaugurate a document aimed at organizing and lifting the community of Capibaribe with: «em nome da liberdade Divina», before finishing: «a Deus Todo-Poderoso e a Virgem de Nazaré». MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 130-131.

¹⁰³ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 115.

João Fernandes Vieira, in particular, had additional reasons to gather forces against the Flemish government, mainly linked to economic and social factors relating to sugar plantations and which are directly or indirectly exposed in the *O Valeroso Lucideno*, where, after having first specified the religious intolerance of the Dutch, there are more references to the abuses that the Portuguese population endured¹⁰⁴.

Considering the capital due to the West India Company, it is easy to guess the main reason, not only for participation, if not commanding and planning, at least for the leading role played in the revolt¹⁰⁵. The fervour generated from the restoration of Portuguese sovereignty spreads all over the corners of the Lusophone world and involved all individuals of Portuguese descent/belonging. The crown itself helped to animate the already hot spirits in an attempt to recover part of the territory lost in the years of Iberian unification. Frei Estevão de Jesus first, replaced later by Frei Inácio de São Bento and André Vidal de Negreiros, acted as real secret agents on behalf of the King, one fomenting discontent and the others organizing the revolt by connecting the major Portuguese landowners of Pernambuco, all assisted by the governor of Bahia, Antônio Teles da Silva.

The fact that there were many factors and characters at play in this crucial phase of the Pernambucan history, highlights the polarizing qualities of Vieira to focus the attention of the Portuguese group, making himself one of the main references of the revolt: «João Fernandes Vieira era o líder reconhecido do movimento, pelo seu prestígio econômico, pela sua participação constante na vida social e religiosa da comunidade portuguesa, pela sua inteligência»¹⁰⁶.

Calibrating the above quotation, it is important to point out that despite being one of the main referents, to think Vieira as the total commander of the operations would seem a little exaggerate; it is the same Gonsalves de Mello who specifies having been a “duumvirate” in college with Antônio Cavalcanti, leader of the «nativista e nobiliárquica» faction, more conservative and prudent.

With Cavalcanti, the Madeirense found disagreement in the organization of the plan that expected the fictional setting up of a double marriage between the sons of Berenguer de Andrade and Cavalcanti, that aimed to the imprisonment of the major Dutch government institutions just during the ceremony. Too reckless according to the conservative line¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁴ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], pp. 91-92.

¹⁰⁵ It is good to be considered the position that Vieira possessed as second greater debtor of the West India Company.

¹⁰⁶ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 127.

¹⁰⁷ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], pp. 127-128.

Moreover, we must consider that within this type of society, more than ever oligarchic, the position of a landowner was reflected on a micro community composed of its own employees and subjected, inevitably forced to follow the will of what it was more than an employer but a master of all intents and purposes.

The forms of dependence generated by the slave society were adversely affecting employees, whether they were free wage earners or slaves; at different levels and repercussions, all were required to follow and execute orders that sometimes exceeded the labour skills, as in this case when they arrived at «assegurar a participação na luta dos seus dependentes»¹⁰⁸.

It is assumed that Vieira proximity to the Dutch government, built in a decade of proxies, business affairs, banquets and various collaborations, also helps him to become one of the main men of a revolt in which contacts and trust that Vieira enjoyed could determine the fate at stake.

Trust that faded away after yet another anonymous complaint sent to the High Council, in which Vieira was reported as commander of the conspirators¹⁰⁹.

It might also be possible that it was the aforementioned Cavalcanti the secret instigator of this anonymous complaint, of which authors confessed to be Sebastião de Carvalho and Fernão do Vale, who delegated to Dr. Abraão de Mercado the delivery to the Dutch Governing Council. The hypothesis of Cavalcanti's involvement arises from the Lusophone origins of the protagonists who by virtue of their cultural affiliation would have had contrary interests to that perpetuated, if they had not been precisely driven by Cavalcanti due to organizational and logistics divergences, especially considering the fact that «Sebastião de Carvalho tinha um passado de luta contra os holandeses, que fizeram preso para Holanda, em 1639, como um adversário perigoso»¹¹⁰.

So it was that Vieira found himself to be one of the wanted (perhaps the most) by the Dutch authorities, who first issued an order of appearance, from which Vieira released himself with various excuses, then of capture attempted in vain by lieutenant Jochem Denninger who could not find him in his house. All this happened about less than a month from the beginning of the aforementioned supposed plan of revolt, on 12th of June, 1645¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁸ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 129.

¹⁰⁹ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 132.

¹¹⁰ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 133. For further information on the confessions of Carvalho and Oliveira, MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], pp. 132-133.

¹¹¹ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 136.

From the moment they saw themselves persecuted, the plans fell through, and after regrouping in a sugar factory, about fifty armed people came out led by the primordial nucleus of the Pernambucan insurrection: «Antônio Cavalcanti, Manuel Cavalcanti, João Pessoa Bezerra, Antônio Borges Uchoa, Francisco Berenguer de Andrada com seu filho Cristóvão Berenguer»¹¹², with attached slaves and employees.

Within few weeks, thanks also to a media campaign that promised freedom to slaves and cancellation of debts contracted with Dutch and Jews, the insurgents came to count in their ranks a thousand men. On the other hand, the Dutch High Council notified the act according to which wives and children of the rioters were no longer in guarantee of safety¹¹³. Thus, once the clashes began, a series of kidnappings followed the fights; on both sides, wives of high-ranking officers and commanders were taken as prisoners. In particular, Dutch Captain Johan Blaer, following the kidnapping of his own, organized the hostage of the wives of Francisco Berenguer de Andrada, his brother-in-law Antônio Bezerra and of Vieira's compatriot, Amaro Lopes de Madeira, respectively: Antônia Bezerra, Isabel de Goes and Luísa de Oliveira. A noteworthy fact because the Portuguese reaction that ensued led to the prompt departure of the concerned husbands, short distance followed by the bulk of the forces, joined in the meantime by the ground reinforcements captained by Antônio Filipe Camarão and Henrique Dias, and seafarers troops under the orders of the aforementioned André Vidal de Negreiros. Taken aback by a careless relay of sentries, the Dutch forces were met, surrounded and taken prisoner by the Portuguese:

«o Governador João Fernandes Vieira [...] tomou nas ancas do seu cavalo a D. Antônia Bezerra mulher de seu sogro [...] e Francisco Berenguer nas ancas do seu a sua cunhada D. Isabel de Goes [...] e Amaro Lopes de Madeira a sua mulher Luísa de Oliveira e nos recolhemos todos para a Várzea a descansar do importuno trabalho e tomar refeição no engenho do Governador»¹¹⁴.

A total of 243 Dutch soldiers, including Captain Blaer himself, the commander of the Indian contingent Johan Listry and Lieutenant-Colonel Hendrick van Haus were taken prisoner. The latter was already in retreat because of a heavy defeat given to him by Antônio Dias Cardoso near a mountain, *das Tabocas*, chosen by Cardoso as the perfect place to compensate not only for the inferiority of the armaments

¹¹² «Cosmo de Castro Paços, Antônio Carneiro Falcato, Antônio Bezerra, Miguel Bezerra Monteiro, Luís da Costa Sepúlveda, Francisco de Faria, Álvaro Teixeira de Mesquita»; without neglecting João Fernandes Vieira, who from sources (even of the time) emerges more and more as the leader of the group. MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 141.

¹¹³ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], pp. 143-148.

¹¹⁴ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 152.

compared with those supplied to the Dutch army, but to cope with the inexperience of the Lusophone forces on the field¹¹⁵.

Not actively participating in the battle (for security reasons according to sources), Vieira promised «de construir duas igrejas, uma a Nossa Senhora de Nazaré e outra a Nossa Senhora do Desterro»¹¹⁶. The fact that was forbidden to Vieira the participation to the battle indicates, on the one hand, the importance, for the success of the cause, of preserving the safety of the Madeirense, on the other, the significant military skills of Cardoso, decisive on more than one occasion.

Not even Cavalcanti was on the scene of the great success obtained by the aforementioned Cardoso because he was engaged in an incursion elsewhere where he died in early September 1645. With the death of his ally-rival, Vieira found himself the sole director of a war «da qual tinha sido sempre a principal figura»¹¹⁷. An even more prominent position for the Madeirense who was *Mestre de campo* since the meeting with Vidal de Negreiros, *Capitão-mor* after Cavalcanti's death who was the original holder of the office, and *Governador desta Guerra da Liberdade Divina*, title that Vieira has shared with the same Cavalcanti since the planning of the insurrection¹¹⁸.

Once again the media component, orchestrated for one's own person political propaganda, was the key to success, in addition to other characteristics like a marked intelligence at the service of an ambition that had no limits, and examples of charisma that fed a free will able to interpret the King's orders at will. So it was that Vieira, followed by most of the Pernambucan insurgents, refused to surrender to the enemy, as ordered by the court of Lisbon: «neguei com razões mui curiaes a obediencia a humas ordens de El-Rey meu senhor [...] com que fiz suspender o que todos procuravão executar e não passou muito tempo que me não chegassem outras em contrario»¹¹⁹.

The uncertainty about what to do with the Pernambucan situation was due to the struggle to remain independent from the Iberian unification under Castille which perpetuated a military pressure throughout the adjacent border. The danger

¹¹⁵ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 150.

¹¹⁶ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 151.

¹¹⁷ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 153.

¹¹⁸ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 154.

¹¹⁹ Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Secção de Reservados, Fundo Geral, caixa 27, doc. 76. For further information consult MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], that shows the answer of 15th of May at p. 234.

of confronting the Dutch in another war context caused alarm and, consequently, doubt to the Portuguese crown.

For reasons of space and thematic content, it will not be possible to propose a chronicle of the events but, the highlighting of salient phases that interested Vieira's participation to the Lusophone process of insurrection in Pernambuco, will continue. Between 1645 and 1646 there was a crucial moment, following the defeats suffered, when the Dutch hid in the most important towns improving the fortifications, waiting for reinforcements from the motherland, preparing as best as they could for the attacks of their opponents. Attacks that did not come, for the Portuguese lingered for a long time, due also to the King's procrastination.

The blame fell on Vieira, already considered responsible for the failure of the initial plan and the stagnant and uncertain phase. It is not by chance that at this very moment, when the Madeirense suffered a popularity falls, the anonymous chaplain was denouncing Vieira: on the 5th of April, 1646.

From the above accusations Vieira demonstrates a capacity for media conceptualization in taking care of his public figure through propaganda. In 1648 he published a work he had commissioned to Frei Manuel Calado do Salvador, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, already started in September 1645. Meanwhile, he took care in keeping the King informed, sometimes justifying himself from the accusations made against him by that noble faction that had gone reinvigorating with the arrival from Bahia of eminent personalities of the time that certainly did not agree with Vieira's "impure profile" having such wide margins of exercise of power¹²⁰. The smear campaign against the Madeirense revolved around the critical points of the nobiliary/institutional legitimacy:

«filho de uma mulata rameira apelidada de Benfeitinha e de um degredado, por roubo, que «lhe dão por pay»; em Pernambuco, servira a princípio a um João Peres Correia, cristão-novo e depois a um marchante, Afonso Rodrigues Serrão, e com a chegada dos holandeses permanecera nesta ocupação [...] rendido o qual conseguira fazer-se aceito por Stachouwer e pelos holandeses»¹²¹.

Accusations that are based precisely on a previously mentioned family belonging stained by a double "impurity" ethnically and ethically not consistent with the parameters of that time. In fact, it is almost unacceptable for the *limpieza de sangre* his multiethnicity, as well as the occupation carried out by both parents: she

¹²⁰ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], pp. 239-241.

¹²¹ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 243.

dedicated to prostitution, he degraded for theft. Deficiencies of “quality” and “purity of blood” which have already been described and which will be re-proposed in the concluding paragraph. Clarified the aspect related to the impure family lineage, the qualitative criteria refer to the ways, customs, occupations and above all to the lifestyle of the Madeirense. In the service of merchants and butchers, Vieira did not reach the parameters of the nobility that as a principle did not include these occupations because they were not considered at the height of that social class.

The accusations on Vieira made extensive reference to power abuses aimed at the expropriation of slaves, cronyism and nepotism in institutional appointments, documentation and licenses easily bestowed on familiars or members of his circle of acquaintances. The indictment also referred to Vieira’s debt to the Dutch, which led him opportunistically to support the cause of the Lusophone inhabitants of Pernambuco, to underline his socio-political chameleonism, and again, following the victory of the «Monte das Tabocas»:

«maltratou a muitos da sua própria facção, chamando-os de traidores e desprezando a nobreza da terra e ainda induzindo e obrigando a todos que fizessem declarações a seu favor, escrevendo para Portugal e para Bahia no sentido de ser nomeado governador da Capitania, a ele que tantos roubos, mortes e violências praticava contra o povo, mandando assassinar, desonrando as famílias e abusando do seu prestígio para enriquecer [...] ele dizia nas cartas ao rei que fazia a guerra à sua custa, quando na verdade «ela he feita com o sangue dos pobres». Os cargos e ofícios entregava-os a protegidos seus e aproveitava-se dos despojos dos engenhos abandonados pelos flamengos e judeus, de modo que ele e outros chefes militares estavam ricos e o povo espoliado. Crimes de mortes tinha cometido por cobiça ou libidinagem mas, por temor, ninguém ousava escrever o que se passava em Pernambuco»¹²².

Under the scrutiny of the Ultramarine Council, the prosecution of Vieira divided the members. There were those like Jorge de Albuquerque who demanded a punishment that served as a warning and an example. Jorge de Castilho followed the homonym, granting at least the benefit of the doubt to the accused, while Jorge de Albuquerque was certain of the crimes committed by the accused on the basis of other documents received. Others, like Salvador Correia, tended to minimize and circumscribe the accusations which were coming from a sender who belonged to the Pernambucan countryside, place where Vieira governed generating unavoidably dissatisfaction due to the fact that it would have been impossible to satisfy everyone, pointing out that the funds donated by the Madeirense were in themselves an excuse

¹²² MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 244.

for some authoritarian choice aimed at its economic compensation of the military campaign costs¹²³.

These causes led Vieira to a countermove propaganda, sending (in what Gonsalves de Mello describes as a secret mission) to the press of the first part of the commissioned pseudo-biographical work.

In any case, the King had already chosen for the acquittal of the accused, adopting the defensive line of the aforementioned Salvador Correia, who considered the importance of the functions carried out by Vieira in the war for the liberation of Pernambuco, putting them before the misdeeds alleged¹²⁴.

With the support of the King, the Madeirense continued his intense request for aid on all fronts, from the Ultramarine Council to the Portuguese Court, due also to the news of the imminent arrival of Dutch reinforcements including the presence of his former employer Stachouwer. Also to the latter, Vieira addressed an epistle of warning on the purposes of Pernambucan inhabitants who had no intention of surrendering to the old rulers and who were indeed eager to make scorched earth, and to give their lives rather than submit to the Flemish, adding that because of the fires in the sugar cane plantations, there would be no source of income possible¹²⁵.

Meanwhile, following the arrival of Dutch reinforcements in Recife in June 1646, the situation became even more tense and general governor Antônio Teles da Silva reduced the military contingent used to support the insurgents. This did nothing but animate the discontent towards Vieira so much that he even came to face an attempt on his life. In July of the same year, three men shot to kill him; one of the guns imploded but the other two bullets ended up passing his chest, wounding but not mortally¹²⁶.

The attempt to Vieira's life went to add havoc to the already hovering state of insecurity; the troops threatened mutiny (those few that had not been returned to Bahia); and, as if that were not enough, the Dutch were informed of the distrust surrounding the Madeirense.

At this juncture Vieira made a renewed appeal to the King of France, through the help of a French friar, Cyril de Mayenne, preparing the eventuality in which the Lusophone reinforcements wouldn't arrive in time or ignore the appeal in general¹²⁷.

¹²³ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 245.

¹²⁴ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 246.

¹²⁵ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 248.

¹²⁶ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], pp. 254-255.

¹²⁷ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], pp. 261-263.

For all the above reasons, the general governor did not delay in restoring in his former office of «mestre-de-campo-general do Estado do Brasil»¹²⁸ Francisco Barreto, as soon as the latter managed to escape from prison. The disappointment and reticence of the *mestres de campo* Vidal de Negreiros and Fernandes Vieira whipped it out; on 16th of April Barreto received the high commands, on 9th of July there is news of their blame in a document addressed to the Ultramarine Council in which it was expressed their certified superior war experience inside the Brazilian contexts¹²⁹.

Despite the downgrading, Vidal and Vieira continued to serve with aptitude and disposition, Vieira in particular did not miss the opportunity to show his perspicacity, advising and applying (in conjunction with his lieutenant and true military genius Cardoso) a war strategy that has proved as successful several times during that conflict: the “*guerrilla*”¹³⁰.

When, on 18th of April, 1648, more than 4500 Dutch soldiers went out searching for an open battle field into the Pernambucan campaigns, Vieira, supported by Cardoso, insisted on organizing the resistance in a logistical position that could guarantee a frontline of little space, in such a way to make up for the problem of the numerical inferiority that vice versa could have represented an unfavourable turn to the Lusitanian, who instead came out once again winners near «Boqueirão, dos Outeiros dos Guararapes»¹³¹. Followed on April 22nd by the expulsion of the Dutch from Olinda¹³².

So it was that even when on the 17th of February, 1649, the Dutch forces decided again to engage the Lusophone enemy, they were ready and achieved, a little less than a year later, in the same Guararapes, another victory that earned Vieira

¹²⁸ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 273.

¹²⁹ «Ganharam 130 léguas de campanha, que é desde o Ceará-mirim, que fica abaixo do Rio Grande, até o Rio São Francisco, que o inimigo ocupava. Ganharam 9 fortalezas, afora muitos redutos e casas fortes, e nelas ganharam setenta e tantas peças de artilharia em que entraram muitas de bronze de 24 libras e a este respeito os mais calibres, havendo morto e aprisionado dezoito mil e tantos homens do inimigo». MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 275.

¹³⁰ «Ihe faltava a experiência militar de André Vidal de Negreiros e do sargento-mor António Dias Cardoso, veteranos de tantas pendências em que se foram apurando os estilos da “guerra brasílica”, para que dele partisse a melhor sugestão. Vieira possivelmente não fez senão repetir o parecer do seu subordinado hierárquico, mas superior a ele em conhecimentos militares, que era Cardoso». MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 288.

¹³¹ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 279.

¹³² It should be noted that the forces and reinforcements that arrived from Holland, although they were made up of experienced and well-equipped soldiers, did not feel directly involved in the clash to which the Portuguese were axiomatically linked at an emotional level. For this reason the value of the Lusitanian fighters, also reported by Flemish sources, outclassed Dutch soldiers who on the contrary were motivated by money. MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], pp. 276-278.

acolades and praises from Barreto and the King himself who, informed by several sources (including Vieira and Barreto) of the good news, notified:

«João Fernandes Vieira etc. Do bom sucesso que minhas armas (por merce do Ceo) tiverão no mez de Fevereiro do anno passado, segunda ves contra os Olandezes que infestão essa Capitania (de que o Mestre de Campo General me deu conta particular) sey a parte que vos coube, pelo valor com que proçedestes nellas, e zello de meu serviço com que obraes o que vos tocca, e porque estou com satisfação, de tudo volo quis dizer por esta e segurar-vos que haveis de achar sempre em my boa vontade de vos remunerar os serviços que me fazeis e estais continuando. Lisboa a 18 de Feveiro de 650. Rey»¹³³.

The only relief for the Flemings came from the sea; the corsair war against the Portuguese ships had yielded 108 ships in 1647 and 141 more in 1648¹³⁴. To face the constant threat, Vieira, once again proposing on what to do, suggested the suspension of saccharin export. Under the scrutiny of the Ultramarine Council and King John IV himself, it was preferred to rent the help of English and French intermediaries, with their ships, to prevent attacks on portugueses cargo¹³⁵.

So much fame and prestige reached by Vieira placed him in a position of embarrassment when an English ship carrying clothes and money for the military arrived. It was said that Barreto was not inclined to distribute these goods, so some of the troops mutinied claiming to answer directly to the only governor who they recognized: João Fernandes Vieira¹³⁶.

The care and zeal with which he treated his subordinates enriched his fame in the same form by which he consolidated his power by having him rest on a stable military clientele. It was probably the consensus that he enjoyed among the soldiers, presumably reinforced by his identity trajectory, to guarantee him respect in the form of fear over the other men of power¹³⁷.

The suggestion that exercised, the charisma of Vieira, went to involve not only his subordinates; even King John IV was always inclined to justify and protect, both in words and deeds, the actions of the Madeirense.

Gonsalves de Mello outlines a trend towards international politics. There are documents in which Vieira appear to be acting as a foreign affairs adviser, writing

¹³³ Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa, códice 275, fl. 163; the consultation of the Overseas Council referred to is from the 9th of July, 1649.

¹³⁴ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 281.

¹³⁵ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], pp. 283-284.

¹³⁶ Gonsalves de Mello notes the hypothesis of an involvement of Vieira himself in the promulgation of the news of the arrival of supplies from the homeland, as well as the accusations of greed against his superior Barreto. MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], pp. 290-291.

¹³⁷ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 304.

directly to the King the reasons why it would be appropriate to remove the Dutch group from the Brazilian territories, based on what he eavesdropped during the collaborationist period. What he heard foreshadowed a Flemish expansionism aim at conquering all of Brazil¹³⁸. But it was above all the loans given to the King of Portugal that projected Vieira under the protective wing of the Lusitanian crown that in fact honored him «com correspondência firmada de sua mão. O homem vaidoso que ele era, começa a querce fazer-se notado pelos seus préstimos e merecer do seu rei o reconhecimento e estimação de que gozavam os que se distinguiam no seu serviço»¹³⁹.

The advice given to the King, sometimes went so far as to consider certain rewards for his own person, so that in 1649 Vieira found himself suggesting to be invested with the title of count:

«que se lhe concedesse o marquesado da Serra de Copaoiva (que ele prometia conquistar ao gentio à sua custa, levantando ali uma vila), os títulos de conde e de conselheiro de guerra de Sua Majestade, o senhorio da capitania do Rio Grande ou de Cunhaú (obrigando-se a descobrir as minas que ali existissem), duas comendas das Ordens Militares, sendo uma da renda de dois mil cruzados e outra de mil cruzados, três hábitos de três Ordens para pessoas de sua obrigação, dois ofícios de justiça ou fazenda para homens da sua casa, dez léguas de terra a começar da última sesmaria da parte de Santo Antão (Vitória) para o interior, comprometendo-se a conquistá-las aos índios e povoá-la, o posto de almirante do estado do Brasil, com jurisdição e proveitos iguais ao do Reino e, finalmente, um dos governos do Ultramar, a saber, o de Pernambuco vitaliciamente, ou o Maranhão por nove anos, ou de Angola por seis»¹⁴⁰.

The Ultramarine Council provided for the assignment of the required hectares, as well as the administration of the district of Maranhão for six years, with the obligation, proposed by the same Madeirense, of discovering the gold mines located there¹⁴¹.

For his part, the King, on the eve of the battles of Guararapes, had already taken care to appoint him «fidalgo da sua casa, do hábito da Ordem de Cristo e de uma comenda da mesma Ordem, de 300\$ de renda anual e de o conservar no posto de mestre-de-campo, enquanto não lhe dava outro lugar maior»¹⁴², to which

¹³⁸ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], pp. 294-297.

¹³⁹ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 294.

¹⁴⁰ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 309. Vieira justified his promotional expectations by listing all the services rendered to the Portuguese crown, keeping the army at his own expense, as well as ensuring pious deeds to the church that included restoration of churches. More generally becoming a champion of Brazilian Catholicism against the Dutch Protestantism of Calvinistic disposition.

¹⁴¹ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 310.

¹⁴² MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 306.

must be added the title of «Freire Comendador, ao lhe ser passada, em 15 de Julho de 1653, a Carta da Comenda de Santa Eugênia de Ala, do bispado de Miranda»¹⁴³. Perhaps for this reason Vieira tried to obtain further titles in the aftermath of the enormous success reported in the aforementioned battles. The high regard he enjoyed with King John IV is also testified by the order of attack that the King himself sent to him on the occasion of the Recife blockade used by the Portuguese navy.

Coinciding with the outbreak of the war between England and Holland in May 1652, the Lusitanian crown finally decided in a resolution of the Pernambucan situation by organizing a plan of maritime attack to which an overland one had to follow¹⁴⁴. The letter ordering the infantry besiege of Recife began by putting the name of Vieira before that of his superior Francisco Barreto, «reconhecendo o prestígio pessoal de João Fernandes Vieira, entre soldados e moradores»¹⁴⁵.

Vieira was entrusted with the honour of the first assault on the city fortifications of Recife on the 15th of January, 1654; according to sources, he animated the ranks of his vanguard as a true charismatic leader. In the same way, after having conquered the first defences and obtained the surrender of the Dutch on the 26th of January, it was always the company of the Madeirense to march at the head of the line through the streets of the conquered Recife.

Great commander and great propagandist, for public policies but especially personal, Vieira continued undaunted to care for both aspects of his social rise through public and military administration, demanding

«que se substituísse o governo do Maranhão que se lhe concedera, pelo de Angola; insistia pelo posto de almirante do estado do Brasil e, agora com designativo, pelo título de conde do Ceará, a ser instituído no Rio Grande do Norte, com jurisdição civil e criminal sobre as terras e povoações de feudo, concluindo por pedir que enquanto não entrasse na posse do governo ultramarino se lhe desse o posto de mestre-de-campo-general»¹⁴⁶.

He never achieved the acquisition of a county title, nor did he rise to be governor of the Brazilian state, yet the promotions he received made him one of the leading administrative and institutional figures of the Portuguese colonies of the Atlantic Ocean. After having obtained two commendations, in addition of the permission to embark 400 cases of exempt sugar, he was entrusted with the office

¹⁴³ «cujos rendimentos eram avaliados em 300\$ anuais». MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 315.

¹⁴⁴ After years of uncertainty, doubt, orders and counterorders, the Portuguese institutions found themselves undecided between complying with Dutch demands or favouring their colonists in the process of insurrection.

¹⁴⁵ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 298.

¹⁴⁶ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 311.

of mayor of Pinhel on 15th of June, 1654; a village located 22km from the Spanish border that had been a place of clashes with the Castilians so much so that it had a castle with double tower and a wall preserved mostly in good condition. In addition, he was granted hectares of property in Vitória de Santo Antão, as well as three sugar factories and a house in Recife, donated by Barreto, that has served as a synagogue. The most redundant reward was the award of the three-year post of governor of the Angola kingdom on 8th of July, 1654, with an effective political-administrative exercise that occurred between 1658 and 1661. He previously served in the office of governor in the jurisdiction of Paraíba from 1655 to 1657, which he preferred in general to that of the African region¹⁴⁷.

Despite the achievement of high levels administrative responsibility, Vieira had to persevere in confronting situations of tension. For reasons of space and competencies, the events that interested him in the four years government of the Angolan colony (that Gonsalves de Mello outlines in detail) will be omitted, however, it is good to underline once again the extent reached by Vieira from a political-administrative point of view. It has already been highlighted the confidential bond established by the Madeirense himself with King John IV; when his son Affonso VI came to succeed him, the situation did not change and indeed the new King, in continuity with his father, kept this tendency to ensure a kind of immunity to Vieira for the service given to the crown, the deeds and investments offered.

So it was that when in 1665, upon his return to Brazil, following the African experience, Vieira found himself having to defend against accusations of power abuses aimed at the seizure of his personal property, the King dropped the charge because: «observou pequena falha do processo e considerou-o nulo, determinando que outra devassa se fizesse»¹⁴⁸. Not to mention the successor of Afonso VI, his brother Peter II, who referred to Vieira as «o herói de nossa idade»¹⁴⁹.

For this reason, «a sua ambição de mando era insaciavel»¹⁵⁰, and it aimed at the general government of all Brazil¹⁵¹.

¹⁴⁷ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], pp. 316-318.

¹⁴⁸ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 354.

¹⁴⁹ JESUS, 1679, *O Castrioto Lusitano*, lib. I, cit. p. 701. To be taken taken with a grain of salt considering that the work remains a commission on behalf of Vieira himself.

¹⁵⁰ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 374.

¹⁵¹ Vieira never reached a government/exercise of power of the entire Brazilian colony; the last institutional office entrusted to him was that of *superintendente das fortificações* in the 26th of August 1671. MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], p. 421.

João Fernandes Vieira reached the peak of a career that, according to the jurisdiction (of law or in costumes), should not even have started. The ethnic and cultural origins were not consistent with the parameters required at the time, yet with truly extraordinarily discerning talents, with stubbornness, courage and luck, Vieira succeeded in establishing itself in an aristocratic society that left tiny and labile margins of insertion that the Madeirense was able to exploit. We could continue the historical narrative of the character, except that (as already mentioned) this chapter does not want to be yet another biography, but here we want to highlight the salient moments that determined its social rise. By stressing the most important details of his trajectory it can be possible to understand the ways and forms of dependence on which Vieira leveraged to further his career.

«Pelo seu prestígio pessoal e de senhor de tantas propriedades, de «Senhor Governador», de «Senhor Superintendente», de «primeiro aclamador e restaurador destas Capitânicas» (de que usava quase como um título [...]), pela sua riqueza, pelos seus serviços e iniciativas, pela sua ostentação pessoal, pela sua participação na vida social e política de Pernambuco e das capitânicas vizinhas, João Fernandes Vieira tinha-se feito a figura de maior influência do Nordeste, o líder reconhecido da chamada nobreza rural. Tendo centenas de pessoas livres a seu serviço – «descobridores» no Rio Grande do Norte [...], vivia como um potentado, numa pequena corte»¹⁵².

The epilogue will apply the epistemological parameters set out in the first chapter to the above events and finally define and interpret, in the limit of the possible, identity, consciousness and the belonging of the multiethnic João Fernandes Vieira.

III – Personal Epistemological Application

In the course of this chapter we will apply, as the title itself indicates, the notions described in the introduction. The results of the epistemological investigation on identity and conscience will be useful in João Fernandes Vieira's life experience.

The ratio of proportion theorized in the first chapter is proposed again in a model in which memory, that stores all the data and information related to the experiences, offers consciousness the possibility of creating a story that fades, overlaps in a heterogeneous way or fits perfectly; that struggles or coexists in harmony with a personal identity that, on the other side of the self, comes to be directly proportionate to the narrative generated by the social context. Simplifying, the consciousness that has become mnemonic is proportionate to a pretty much

¹⁵² MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 382.

juridical identity (see organigram a)); proportion that does not aim to quantify arithmetically or algebraically, but rather reflect on the dialectic results. The goal is to propose an epistemological methodology that could be useful for tools applicable to other contexts. Despite the high coefficient of difficulty that the analysis of identity and consciousness entails, the insertion of the narrative element allows a semantic link and consequently a simplification of understanding. Moreover, it gives to the theory an elastic patina found in the reality of social interactions, far from the parameters of jurisdiction. For this reason, it has been chosen to represent the social narrative through the “forms of dependence”, in order to offer an additional opportunity to understand the dynamic ties that regulated the Atlantic societies.

Also applicable to a collective level, within the personal dimension, the connection between mnemonic consciousness and juridical identity consists in the ultimate stage within which the narrative personality would materialize.

Mnemonic consciousness results from a capacity to manage spatial cognition through the functions of primary and visual consciousness, able to install a cognitive map of the environment such as to bring an “extended self” both to functionally filter the information of one’s own past, and to project a futuristic intuition drawing on the quantum characteristics of the heart intelligence.

On the other side of the ego, identity, relating to the social narrative, cannot but become juridical. Kenneth J. Gergen, and not only, explains how social relationships (more properly forms of dependence) undermine personal identity¹⁵³; thus, the profession is crystallized as an identity marker.

This synchronization between mnemonic consciousness and juridical identity would determine the individual’s grades of belonging and proprioceptions (see organigram b)).

If synchronized in a consistent way: on the same perceptive transmission, the belonging will be sensible and the conjunction between the factors will reach its own level of “sameness”; vice versa, if the connection between identity and consciousness occurs at different frequencies and is therefore inconsistent, generating contractions and frictions in the individual proprioception, the emotional result will lead to an unease of belonging, properly called “selfhood”.

¹⁵³ Gergen approaches the speech with a strong tone that can immediately be noticed from the chosen terminology. He refers to a «supresión contemporánea del yo individual», blaming «las tecnologías de la saturación social» to influence or, better yet, «invadir la vida cotidiana». A real «colonización del ser propio» which has the consequence of reflecting our social environment, that is to say, making it fit with our identity. GERGEN, 2006, *El yo saturado: dilemas de identidad en el mundo contemporáneo*, cit. p. 80.

There is one last degree of perception that João Fernandes Vieira partially knew because it concerns an annihilation of juridical identity, a stage in which the rights of the person are compromised; stage within which the individual finds himself to be an “outsider”. A striking example of this state of affairs is given by the condition of the slave, proven by a total incongruity between a mnemonic consciousness that literally cannot be recognized inside the juridical identity to which consequently it is not bound except for the preservation of a fleeting and mere sense of survival¹⁵⁴.

Macaronese contexts anticipate contemporary developments and issues; the multiethnicity and pluriculturalism in which they are born, grown and are structured, are fertile ground for the propagation of crises inside the personal self.

The consciousness of the “quality” of his profile should have led Vieira to notice a not adequate condition for the social ascent requirements. Quality which was one of the focal points of the debate at the time because secular and ecclesiastical offices access passed through what has gone down in history as the *limpieza de sangre*:

«As Constituições Sinodais do Arcebispado de Lisboa, aprovadas em 1640, e que vigoraram no Brasil até a promulgação das Constituições Primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia, colocavam como impedimento para promoção às ordens sacras ter «parte de nação hebreia, ou de outra infecta, ou de negro ou de mulato»¹⁵⁵.

It is worth to point out that this is nothing more than a ratification of a custom in vogue for more than a century. The Mediterranean religious wars have raised the attention on ethnic characteristics rather than a matters of faith. If before the sub-Saharan component had not constituted a factor for conscientious objection, with the structuring of the Atlantic colonies and with the development of the Atlantic Slave Trade, the secular and ecclesiastical institutions felt obliged to formally legally define the parameters of offices access. Medieval European aristocracy used a criterion based on “manners”, linked to use and habits of the individuals, to which it is obviously implied a bloodline of noble lineage. This custom where it previously constituted a cultural “qualitative” exclusivity, later on, in the early modern era, switch to be institutionalized as a racial discrimination of the *homens bons/homens honrados*¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵⁴ This last emotional proprioception was born as a hypothesis of the studies on the forms of dependence that were generated during the Atlantic Slave Trade. Precisely because it comes from forms of dependence, we invite to consider this stage with a narrative approach that allows the right reading of relational dynamics.

¹⁵⁵ OLIVEIRA, 2015, «A administração do Sacramento da Ordem aos negros na América Portuguesa: entre práticas, normas políticas e episcopais (1702-1745)», cit. p. 424.

¹⁵⁶ VERÍSSIMO, 2000, *Relações de Poder na Sociedade Madeirense do Século XVII*, cit. pp. 148, 165.

All this suggests a media strategy of Vieira in hiding his not so illustrious origins, in order to achieve the posts he went to occupy: «Os biógrafos seus contemporâneos são do mesmo modo silenciosos a tal respeito – o que tudo parece evidenciar uma imposição do interessado ou um assunto omitido de propósito»¹⁵⁷.

This, essentially, is the context in analysis, which looms the formal beginning of a double discrimination that was only of a gentlemanly nature and proved to reach as many levels as possible.

After having exhaustively presented the origin and evolution of the history and the meanings of these terms, all that remains is to superimpose the results so as to crystallize, as far as possible, the facets that have characterized the Madeirense's life.

The prelude allows to unite the basis of epistemological research overlapping the historical facts that have characterized the narrative of João Fernandes Vieira. In this way, the scientific instruments highlighted in the first chapter can be applied to the trajectory set out in the second part of the article. Conveying everything it is possible to start from the methodology borrowed from Anthony Quinton: by establishing three (atemporal) moments, three soul phases from which it's possible to evaluate the senses or uneases of belonging related to the following contexts: genealogical, collaborationist, insurrectionist.

From a genealogical point of view, almost nothing is known for sure, except suppositions or pretensions such that they do not certify anything other than the birth in Madeira and the arrival in Pernambuco between the age of 10 and 13 years old: «determinou a pôr em efeito deixar sua pátria, sendo de tão pouca idade como era a de 11 anos»¹⁵⁸.

As has already been noted during the previous chapter, Vieira commissioned a biography to Frei Manuel Calado do Salvador, who states that the Madeirense was born in 1613 and that «era de 11 anos [...] quando resolveu-se em passar às partes do Brasil [...] e se embarcou no ano de 1624»¹⁵⁹. In a letter sent by Vieira himself:

«ao provedor e Irmãos da Santa Casa da Misericórdia da «dittoza Cidade do Funchal e Ilha da Madeyra» diz que era ela sua «pátria», de onde se ausentou com «10 annos e alguns mezes» de idade; entretanto chamando «ditosa» à cidade, recordando dela o «sitio da Santa Caza» e acrescentando que «na minha tenrra ydade, conhecy o aperto della» (o que denota conhecimento pessoal do lugar), parece confirmar que tivesse nascido no Funchal»¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵⁷ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 19.

¹⁵⁸ SANTIAGO, 1943, *Historia da guerra de Pernambuco* [...], cit. p. 222.

¹⁵⁹ JESUS, 1679, *O Castrioto Lusitano*, lib. I, §§ 8-9.

¹⁶⁰ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. pp. 18-19.

This quotation, besides offering a discordant data with the previous references, is useful to introduce the analysis of another aspect, even more significant for the evaluation of the sense/unease of belonging: the family context of belonging. As mentioned in the previous chapter, if Lima Ferner's assumptions about the Ornelas-Muniz lineage were true, it would not be explainable why the Madeirense did not draw on the possibility of flaunting, even though labile and decayed, a noble membership fundamental for his career.

Vieira himself claims to have known personally the ecclesiastical institute to which he refers, that would confirm he grew in the city of Funchal and consequently an almost certain birth in the same urban centre.

On the basis of the above assumptions, it remains to emphasise the possibility that the Madeirense does not come from the Ornelas-Muniz; drawing once again on an already mentioned sources so important to be repeated:

«esse Senhor a esta terra e Capitania de Pernambuco da Ilha da Madeira donde he natural e filho de uma mulata rameira a quem chamão a Bemfeitinha e de hum homem que lhe dão por pay, que foi ali degredado em titolo de ladrão»¹⁶¹.

We must filter the reliability of the quotation because it came from an opposed faction to Vieira, who on his part never bothered to deny. From the meticulous descriptions he made of his belongings, as well as of his sonship¹⁶², it is easy to see how this omission was a real strategy that can be defined as political in the purposes for which it was used. Thanks to this same vacuum he was able to access the highest institutional offices of regional representation as *Mestre-de-Campo* and governor, as well as to access to the "Ordem de Cristo", otherwise impossible considering that

«os que a ela fossem recebidos deviam ser nobres, fidalgos, cavaleiros ou escudeiros, limpos, sem mácula alguma em seus nascimentos, nem outros impedimentos e defeitos, proibindo-se a entrada de quem descendesse de mouro o judeu, ou fosse filho ou neto de mecânico, e sobre os pais e avós do candidato deveria ser feita uma série de perguntas a testemunhas idôneas, tudo conforme aquelas «definições e estatutos»¹⁶³.

Considering his narrative propensity to spread news, the omission and the total absence of genealogical references is inexplicable.

¹⁶¹ LAMEGO, A., 1913, «Papéis Inéditos sobre João Fernandes Vieira», pp. 33-50. Whereas «degredado em titolo de ladrão» would seem to establish the true paternal ancestry of the Madeirense.

¹⁶² All "illegitimate" as proof of a contradictory tendency to strategically quote what was convenient and, on the contrary, to omit the inconvenient: «cuidou da sua glória com desvelada minúcia, detendo-se em pormenores, enumerando os cruzados despendidos na campanha, os engenhos que possuía, os filhos que tivera». «Gente das Ilhas na Guerra da Restauração», 1942, cit. p. 435.

¹⁶³ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 314.

«Declaro que sou filho da ilha da Madeira e não tenho herdeiros forçados alguns, por os meus pais e avós serem já mortos; de mais, caso que fossem vivos, não eram meus herdeiros, porque não trouxe de sua casa fazenda alguma, e vim para esta Capitania de Pernambuco de idade de 11 anos, e toda a fazenda que possuo adquiri com minha agência e indústria e com as mãos, que ficam sendo bens castrenses, que não são obrigados a herdeiros»¹⁶⁴.

Vieira offers in few lines the possibility of a threefold analysis. By declaring to have no descent, by totally generalizing the death of his own ancestry, it pops out a sort of unease of belonging; in fact, in the stipulation of the will he could have still cite his parents. By then, close to death, there would have been no legal problems or related to a career that had almost ended. Furthermore, it needs to be considered the probability of some surviving descendant who might have been cited. The certainly voluntary omission of his ancestry reveals a trauma, almost a repudiation of his familiar origins and a particular attention to what could be called today a media policy.

Within this soul phase, we note a “low” starting point, but just enough to serve as a launching pad for the ascending trajectory that has marked his career. A professional path that begins precisely under the employ of Affonso Rodrigues Serrão and consort Isabel Ferreira, «como assalariado e depois trabalhou como auxiliar de um marchante»¹⁶⁵. The fact that from the spouses he came to inherit all their property, leads Gonsalves de Mello to hypothesize that they were relatives and does not exclude that the trip from Madeira had the intention of putting himself at their service. Hypothesis which remains impossible to be proved, considering that they could have adopted him even without the links of an actual kinship. It is also a fact that Vieira did not hide, in fact he highlighted this work experience, enhancing his own manual work, «num tempo em que exercitar ofício mecânicos representava inferioridade»¹⁶⁶.

It was clear even before the collaboration with the Flemings that he had a talent for business; even better, that he could find himself in a position to meet the urgent needs of others. A striking example of this is the siege of the fort of São Jorge, which saw Vieira remain in voluntary service as a food supply officer for four years; he did not abandon the defenders even in the most dramatic phases within which, on the contrary, he distinguished himself for considerable deeds such as the custody of a Portuguese flag or the sentry service for three days and three nights in a row.

¹⁶⁴ «Testamento de João Fernandes Vieira», 1872, cit. pp. 19-20.

¹⁶⁵ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 30.

¹⁶⁶ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 30.

These are noteworthy facts because they demonstrate the ability to pose himself as a solution to overcome problems mostly of an economic nature, and then meticulously documenting and registering everything. Precisely, the above mentioned chronicles were commissioned by him almost at the same time as: «Os artigos da rendição acima transcritos determinavam que os luso-brasileiros saíram do Forte de São Jorge “*sin bandera*”»¹⁶⁷. It is good to dwell on this last point because if Marc Bloch hypothesizes the theory of false memories based on his comrades war experience during the First World War, Vieira instead seems to use it as a tool in a voluntary and strategic purpose¹⁶⁸.

Thanks to the Dutch trading partners, first of all Stachouwer, Vieira was able to undertake economic activities that led him to a decent financial situation; the management as procurator of others assets allowed him to carve out a space of manoeuvre for himself.

During the second chapter the collaborationist period in which Vieira, through the partnership with Stachouwer, established himself among the leading Lusophone referents of the Dutch government was well described. Between banquets and business agreements, the Madeirense managed to carve out a hegemonic role in the Pernambucan economic chessboard that allowed to insert himself in the Flemish relational clientele network. The position reached also made possible to stand out in the opposing faction; just because of this new profile of consultant for the Dutch, Vieira was finally noticed by the Lusophones, moreover he managed to create his own economic structure, exploiting at the best the entrepreneurial activity that took care at the same time of Stachouwer's transactions but also (and then above all) of his own interests: «Conquistada a confiança de Stachouwer, procurou Vieira captar a dos altos conselheiros holandeses, para o que começou a oferecer-lhes os seus serviços, ao mesmo tempo que procurava multiplicar os seus negócios»¹⁶⁹.

Vieira made the most of the Dutch need for local contacts by knowing the business dynamics and mediating economic transactions. Precisely because of this advice and familiarity with Pernambucan trades, the Madeirense came to participate as a candidate in the designation to be mayor of Olinda, proof of a well-established trust.

¹⁶⁷ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 37.

¹⁶⁸ The conditional remains mandatory because there is no certainty that this lack of feedback in other sources is attributable to a reason of veracity and reliability of Vieira's statements, or if it was a mere oversight, or even a consideration of an irrelevant detail for the Portuguese administrative bodies.

¹⁶⁹ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 49.

Vieira moved so many skills and capitals, as to alarm the West Indian Company that to draw up a list of credits due in which the Madeirense appeared at second place. It has already been seen how Vieira moved to remedy the situation and which solutions were offered to the aforementioned company. Vieira owed his fame, prestige and wealth to them and in general to the Dutch compages, in the representation of its institutions and high offices: «de ordinário se apresentavam os senhores Governadores, sendo acompanhados antes por João Fernandes Vieira, Antônio Cavalcanti, Jorge Homem Pinto»¹⁷⁰. Vieira himself would seem to confirm: «no decurso de oito a nove anos [para] remir minha vexação e por segurar a vida [deu] a todos os Governadores e seus Ministros [holandeses; em presentes, propinas] e em grandiosos banquetes [que] ordinariamente lhes oferecia pelos trazer conteúdos [mais de cem mil cruzados]»¹⁷¹.

Emblematic is the fact that two of the three cited Portuguese, Vieira and Cavalcanti, will be main protagonists of the insurrection process, coming to proclaim themselves: «Capitão-mor e Governador desta Guerra da Liberdade Divina»¹⁷². In fact, Vieira came to occupy a leading role in the Lusophone insurrection. Precisely because of the heavy debt incurred and the series of other reasons listed in the previous chapter: the position taken against what hitherto represented clientele and therefore exclusive trading partners, highlight the opportunism of the Madeirense who was ready to take advantage of social, religious and cultural tensions that arose from the coexistence between the Portuguese and the Dutch.

The second place of the insolvents list stipulated by the aforementioned company is talkative in the analysis of a purely political, economic and entrepreneurial profile like Vieira's. Connected (only in the second measure) by religious, social and patriotic reasons, that's why he took care to put his signature in the letter that sanctions the Lusophone renewal of availability to the restored King of Portugal John IV. It is by no coincidence that the next step of what would seem to be a chess strategy was the more than ever political marriage that sanctioned a decisive alliance for the Pernambucan dynamics between Vieira and D. Maria César, daughter of Berenguer de Andrada, a prominent man among the local elite¹⁷³.

¹⁷⁰ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 63.

¹⁷¹ «Testamento de João Fernandes Vieira», 1872, cit. p. 30.

¹⁷² MELO, 1856-1858, *Biographias de Alguns Poetas e Homens Illustres da Provincia de Pernambuco*, vol. II, cit. p. 165.

¹⁷³ There seems to be no doubt about the political nature of the marriage considering the difference in age with a spouse who arrives at the wedding between 13 and 14 years.

It could be possible to go further with research suppositions considering a redundant marriage not only for local geopolitics but also, on a purely personal level, for the ennobling legitimacy process purposes, more generally for Vieira's civil and military career. This last point would enhance the engagement in the Lusophone insurrection campaign because it would represent the only hope of social affirmation, otherwise improbable in the Flemish aristocracy, considering the Lusophone origins, faith discrepancies and a past as an opponent. If the already mentioned and contemporary ethnic-discriminatory laws are added to the racist institutionalization of the administrative requirements, it is assumed that the choice made was well thought out and inevitably in favour of the insurrectional process¹⁷⁴. It remains astounding the commitment, tenacity, sagacity and stubbornness (pushed to the point of disobedience to a direct royal order) with which Vieira wanted to lead the rebellion, that is, as an almost absolute protagonist. We have already had the opportunity to describe the details, if not of the war, of the attitude of the Madeirense who once again (as it had been for the defence of the fort of São Jorge) took care to find himself in the position of an economic and/or moral creditor, who could exert direct pressure on the Portuguese Court. The key to this that continues to loom as a media-political tactic were the letters, the reports and in general the epistolary relations maintained directly with King John IV.

The process that involved him in the restoration of Portuguese rule in Pernambuco was not simple. A war with a high coefficient of difficulty that have been widely described, in which the great landowners invested literally all: energies, resources and men, and as in the case of Cavalcanti, also life.

In all of these three soul phases, there is one element that keeps returning: the media narrative.

It is impossible to know Vieira's level of education (if he ever received it), although the intense correspondence, as well as the extensive autobiographical documentation commissioned, suggest a certain familiarity and at least a basic literacy. The importance and attention that Vieira placed in correspondence for informational purposes, the attention to media details, lead to think that there was more than just a basic education. Without the historical certainty given by the sources, this remains a mere hypothesis:

«João Fernandes Vieira. Eu El Rei vos envio muito saudar. Entraste com tão bom zelo na empresa de libertar esse Estado da sugeição e captiveiro dos Hollandezes [...]. Estai muito certo que nem o vosso nome, nem os dos vossos filhos, se Deos for servido vo-los-

¹⁷⁴ Despite the fact that the above laws were promulgated by the Archbishopric of Lisbon.

-dar (como desejo), me hão de sahir mercê muito conforme aos merecimentos de vosso serviço. Por ora vos mandei fazer a merce que permite a estreiteza do tempo, e espero acrescentar-vo-la nas occasiões que se offercerem. Escripta em Alcantara a 29 de Abril de 1654. Rei»¹⁷⁵.

With the application of “sameness” and “selfhood” precepts, this paper enters now in more articulated dynamics. First, it’s relevant to start by setting the differential detail given by the context; depending on where, the hypothetical results could be different.

For example, respecting the chronological order, starting from the genealogical soul phase, in which Madeira determines the original environment, it seems clear the perceptive generation of “selfhood” that is concretized in the refusal of any parental reference, even when (according to Ferner’s suppositions) he could have drawn on a noble lineage, which would have been more functional in order to legitimize a social ascent that wanted to bypass the limits of the jurisdiction in force.

The total omission of his parental ties, therefore, leaves no room for other interpretations that do not assume humble origins and an unease of belonging, a selfhood consisting of a contraction, an emotional friction, born from the attrition between a mnemonic consciousness in contrast with and an acquired juridical identity that cannot afford not illustrious ancestors, by virtue of customs and traditions institutionalized in Vieira’s lifetime¹⁷⁶. If the theory of kinship with the Ornelas-Muniz and the consequent change of name were to be true, then this would be an additional element at his service to legitimize the process of noble ascent. For an expert in media-information management, therefore, it would not be explainable why not take advantage of the opportunity. And in fact, it is not explained the zeal used to hide, if not erase (considering an almost total void), all his family ties and still make direct mention of both his parents in-laws: «Declaro que sou casado com D. Maria Cezar, filha legítima de Francisco Berenguer de Andrada, e da primeira sua mulher D. Joana de Albuquerque»¹⁷⁷. Another important detail needs to be considered: Vieira proudly claim to have forged himself with the only help of the “dirty work of his hands” this carelessness goes in antithesis with his political strategy: «toda a fazenda que

¹⁷⁵ MELO, s.d., *Biographias*, Biblioteca de Ajuda, vol. II, n.º 82, fl. 2v., 52-X-6, cit. p. 13.

¹⁷⁶ Reference is made to the above-mentioned synodal constitutions, fundamental for a cultural reading of the context under analysis. It was a discriminating institutionalization which previously relied informally on discrimination to cultural uses, customs and traits but not precisely ethnic ones.

¹⁷⁷ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 19.

posso adquirir com minha agência e indústria e com as mãos, que ficam sendo bens castrenses»¹⁷⁸.

Thanks to this inconsistency it is possible to verify some of the article hypotheses. Already established a maniacal attention to his personal data; Vieira, lets go to a strong emotional response that affirms his practical work skills. He seems to admit that despite having worked manually and hard, he still managed to enter inside, not only the Pernambucan aristocracy but especially the Portuguese one. Vieira seems to consciously flaunt the fact that he has overstepped the legal limits of noble use and customs, yet he will never allow the truth about his parents to be known. He's almost mocking the system, but once again aware of the limits which will never allow him to reveal the identity of his parents.

A single element of belonging can result from the donation given in the testamentary deed in favour of the *Misericórdia da Ilha da Madeira*. However, two factors must be contextualized: it was a common custom of the elite at that time to donate in charity to ecclesiastical. In the same way it has to be considered the Madeirense origins regarding the family of the spouse: the Berenguer de Andrada¹⁷⁹.

For what it concerns the Brazilian context, in the purpose of evaluating Vieira's emotional response, many variables that turn around the other two soul phases selected, namely the collaborationist and the insurrectionist, need to be considered. Starting from a general framework relating to a purely geographical parameter, or rather socio-geographical, guidelines have been identified that lead to see how the Pernambucan reality has been the favourite of Vieira that, in fact, in the apex of his career (the Angolan governorate) requested the transfer/return to the Brazilian *capitania*: «que se substituísse o governo do Maranhão que se lhe concedera, pelo de Angola; insistia pelo posto de almirante do estado do Brasil»¹⁸⁰; he was prepared to renounce the possibility of exercising hegemonic rule in a delicate not only of the Atlantic chessboard but also within the African continent itself, as was Angola. Considering also the needs of the Angolan situation/issue,

«Portugal encontrava-se em uma situação bastante complicada, pois precisa dos missionários para recuperar as alianças no interior, nesse caso os capuchinhos tiveram um grande destaque, principalmente na conversão da rainha Nzinga, e na do Jaga Cassange, a onde os lusos recuperaram um grande mercado de escravos no sertão.

¹⁷⁸ We have already had the opportunity to directly quote the protagonist, but the abovementioned sentence is, too important ton not repropose it. «Testamento de João Fernandes Vieira», 1872, cit. pp. 19-20.

¹⁷⁹ SALVADOR, 1648, *O Valeroso Lucideno, e triumpho da liberdade*, vol. I, p. 334.

¹⁸⁰ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira [...]*, cit. p. 311.

Apesar da conveniência, a Coroa teve várias restrições a entrada dos capuchinhos nas suas possessões na África Central, a prioridade eram dos missionários portugueses, as quais a Coroa teria que agir com muita cautela, pois a cultura política lusa favorecia os Jesuítas pelo fato deles terem dado apoio aos lusos na restauração de 1640»¹⁸¹.

On the basis of this, it is possible to deduce a clear sense of belonging to the Pernambucan context that arouses what is defined as “sameness”. The difficult part comes with the analysis of two phases, the aforementioned collaborationist and insurrectionist, lying in this same environment that, generally said to be of belonging, developing in both controversial dynamical moments, sometimes offering a coherent and positive sense of perception, then leaning towards the opposite psycho-emotional perception (or better proprioception) in the subsequent experience.

The collaborationist soul phase is a trajectory that saw Vieira inserting himself in the clientelist interactions of the new Flemish government. Although he had settled in the Pernambucan region for years (since the time of the previous Portuguese domination), the Dutch arrival and conquest of the territory pushed Vieira beyond the margins of social belonging. All the Lusophone inhabitants found themselves, in the aftermath of the Flemish settlement, to be “foreign bodies” to the new cultural customs, especially of religious nature.

More than strangers, foreigners in a land that gave birth to many of them, an anthropological aspect that helps psychological considerations. It is necessary to dwell on the concept of “foreigner”; Claude Meillassoux explains this notion by inserting it into an elementary social context: “domestic society”, making the outsider match the «not relative». The first to highlight this essential trait was Paul Bohannan in 1963¹⁸², also picked up by Émile Benveniste in 1969:

«Il senso primitivo [...] non è, come si sarebbe tentati di pensare, “liberato da qualunque cosa”; è quello dell'appartenenza a un ceppo etnico designato attraverso una metafora di crescita vegetale. Questa appartenenza conferisce un privilegio che lo straniero e lo schiavo non conoscono mai»¹⁸³.

This aspect would lead to the hypothesis of a Vieira in the only possible emotional condition: the outsider. In fact, this would appear to be the case, given the ambiguous service held at the Dutch Government: delegations and advice of

¹⁸¹ SOUZA, 2015, «João Fernandes Vieira e sua Relação com as Ordens Religiosas em Angola, 1658 a 1661», cit. p. 2.

¹⁸² MEILLASSOUX, 1992, *Antropologia della schiavitù*, pp. 39-41.

¹⁸³ BENVENISTE, 1976, *Il vocabolario delle istituzioni indoeuropee* in MEILLASSOUX, 1992, *Antropologia della schiavitù*, cit. p. 29; a concept that concerns not so much consanguinity, but congeneration. The author refers to the Maninkas who can be identified in this way: «Ka wolo nyoronka, ka mo nyoronka»: thus to born together, to mature together.

an exclusively economic nature; the importance that Vieira came to acquire went through the possibilities offered by the commerce world and the experience which he could boast in this field. Only after a consolidated financial status could he have been considered in the nomination for an institutional post such as mayor.

For what concerns the insurrectionalist phase, well documented in the previous chapter, the investigation of the primary cause of participation is not essential in the detection of the senses and/or unease of belonging; but, if it were (among many) to highlight the main reason that convinced Vieira to intervene, it would be suggest to consider the ambitious, and sometimes opportunistic, nature that distinguished him. This soul phase, the insurrectionist phase, saw Vieira polarizing the social attention, just as it allowed him to crystallize his narrative personality through the consideration of his identity, and above all the conscious and self-conscious rework of his neurobiological systems.

What is supposed to be the attainment is the “awareness” that allowed the extension of a self. Precisely this projection led him to recommend the most appropriate rewards and assignments, as occurred in 1649 when Vieira found himself suggesting, to the restorer King John IV, to be invested with the title of count.

The social context determines legal identity; so, despite the career and the leading roles achieved, Vieira remained for many a «homem de baixíssima sorte»¹⁸⁴.

«Avançando na compreensão entre ausência de padrão de concessão e a aplicação da casuística, parece-me fecunda a argumentação de José Pedro Paiva que propõe que a análise das relações entre os poderes secular e temporal possa ser captada levando em consideração as várias conjunturas que foram sendo criadas e atentando-se para o nível dos comportamentos dos indivíduos e/ou grupos que desempenharam funções na Igreja, no Estado ou em outras instâncias de poder. Nesses contextos, ocorreriam diversas decisões, negociações e conflitos, sendo ora favorecidos uns e prejudicados outros, mas permitindo sobretudo visualizar interesses individuais, familiares, de linhagens e de clientelas que foram construindo estratégias de ação e disputando em conjunturas variadas, para além de uma visão institucional enrijecida»¹⁸⁵.

And it was precisely this field of action that Vieira preferred, within which he managed to make a difference out of the ordinary. The proprioceptions of the selfhood have pushed to extend himself beyond the legal-legislative limits. It was

¹⁸⁴ Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino de 17 de Fevereiro de 1647, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Pernambuco, papéis avulsos, caixa 3-A e código 14, fls. 13v.-14, especially in relation to his origins: «homem baixo por nascimento». Arquivo da Casa de Cadaval, «Memórias», código 1081, fls. 155-156, consulta do Conselho de Estado de 7 de Fevereiro de 1656.

¹⁸⁵ OLIVEIRA, 2015, «A administração do Sacramento da Ordem aos negros na América Portuguesa: entre práticas, normas políticas e episcopais (1702-1745)», cit. p. 432.

an impeccable management of the forms of economic dependence in which a hegemonic and reference role was built from scratch, mixed with a meticulous care for a media information that is more than ever narrative, that made him an essential person both for the Dutch (in the collaborationist soul phase), and for the Portuguese (in the insurrectional pro-Lusophone soul phase); in general a polarizer and catalyser in Pernambucan social dynamics.

Not surprisingly Vieira distorted discriminatory prerogatives in use; not even the above-mentioned synodal constitutions stopped his career despite the multiple ethnic references that his contemporaries (rivals, political opponents, etc.) made.

The aura of mystery that João Fernandes Vieira not only contributed to, but even created, is entirely related to an ethnic issue. There are several contemporary sources that define his multiethnicity, that we hypothesize as evident to the visual consciousness or that, in any case, he could not hide, considering that the Dutch also refer to it:

«Alguns deles o conheceram pessoalmente: tal é o caso de Gaspar Dias Ferreira e do Rabino sefardim Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, que residiu no Recife de 1642 a 1654. O primeiro, em carta escrita em latim e dirigida ao conde João Maurício de Nassau, datada de Amsterdão, de 2 Outubro de 1645, diz-lhe que já devia estar informado da insurreção pernambucana pois era de crer tivesse recebido «a notícia [...] do crime e traição do mulato Vieira («notitiam [...] de scelere et perfidia illius mulati Vieira»), concluído com a frase do Evangelho: «no potest arbor mala, bonus fructus facere.» O segundo, em um poema composto em 1646 [...] escreveu acerca de Vieira: «É conhecido como um homem cruel e sua mãe é uma negra e do seu pai não se sabe o paradeiro.»»¹⁸⁶.

French sources certify this in the same way. On two different occasions, Pierre Moreau states: «Iohan Fernandes Vieira Molate», and «Iolian Fernandes Vieira, Molate de naissance, esclave affranchy [...] sont pere estant Portugais»¹⁸⁷. And still:

«O autor anônimo do *Diário ou Breve Discurso* chama-o de «mulato e bastardo» (ou, traduzindo literalmente, «de meio sangue negro, e bastardo»). O folheto intitulado *Extract ende Cope van verscheyde Brieven en Schriften, belangende de Rebellie der Paepsche Portugesen* chama-o de «mulaet», seguido pelo *De Brasilsche Breed-Byl* (O Machado do Brasil): «Ian Fernandes Vieira een mulato was», etc. Mais explícito é o folheto raro intitulado *Le Bon Voisin; c'est a dire le Portvgais* (1646): «Iean Fernandes Vieira premier & principal chef, le segnor Governador, est natif de l'isle de Madere. Fils d'un portugaes & d'un Negrinne, bastard par consequent & mulate», etc.»¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸⁶ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 24-25.

¹⁸⁷ MOREAU, 1651, *Histoire des Derniers Troubles du Bresil* [...], cit. pp. 44,48.

¹⁸⁸ A further example is given in the footnotes by Mello, in addition to this extensive list of examples: «um mulato, João Fernandes Vieira». MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. pp. 25-26.

This aspect, which springs from the maternal genealogy, represents the fulcrum of his impurity, harlot or not; the mother of Vieira, whether she was a slave or free, black (or hybrid), she gave him those exotic features that marked his aesthetic appearance.

In general, despite an overall sameness to the Brazilian context, in both of the selected soul phases, collaborationist and insurrectionalist, Vieira had to face an uneases of belonging. Despite the achievement of high institutional and military positions, the broad framework of that society, inside which Vieira's life and trajectory placed his narrative, is constituted by a strong selfhood. Following this interpretation, it is possible to justify the extraordinary media and political effort he made along his lifetime.

From an identity point of view, Vieira shaped his profile at will, editing, sometimes erasing or at least omitting, characteristics and origins that establish his own identity. This was certainly caused by a self-awareness that recognized himself as being incongruous with the parameters and requirements for public office access; in fact, Vieira lacked, considering that time mental frameworks, personal and familiar qualities.

It seems clear that João Fernandes Vieira was therefore born in selfhood (unease of belonging), that led him to emigrate, recreating a totally different "personality narrative". From there on, his trajectory adopts gradations and shades of the same-ness module recreating a belonging that will bind him axiomatically to the Brazilian context (more than the Macaronese one), coexisting with a selfhood proprioception generated by the forms of society discrimination. Despite a more unique than rare success, the nuances of selfhood did not abandon him and remained a constant composition of a context lived as a foreigner, better outsider, during the collaborationist phase; this selfhood was constituted by forms of ethnic discrimination that continued to pursue him also and especially in those contexts (such as the Brazilian) in which, despite everything, a sense of belonging was ascertained too.

Once again, the possibility of being in the middle of a labyrinth is renewed; this sensation is useful to stimulate the reader, pushed to identify with the subject in analysis: João Fernandes Vieira, fighting between identity and consciousness. This malaise analysed by Michael Billig, from a psychological point of view, was discussed in the first chapter and lays at the base of the typical condition of each individual: an "internal conflict".

Can, therefore, sameness and selfhood coexist within the same life experience? It would seem so, and it is probable that this same coexistence causes the internal conflict.

Returning once again to the genealogical vacuum deliberately left by Vieira, although Felner hypothesizes a noble lineage, in this article, the Ornelas-Muniz genealogy will not find any support unless accompanied by scepticism. This approach that certainly creates more questions than answers could be more constructive than the obsessive search for reconstructions based on speculations. In fact, it is considered more functional a question left open rather than a statement, thesis or hypothesis, given for certain but that certainly does not manifest as an axiom. Also because not infrequently, vice versa quite common in the Atlantic space since the 16th century, documented requests of donations and concessions. Several Multiethnic progeny asked the King to be able to inherit the patrimony and/or the paternal profession of a deceased (usually of noble origins) white father by whom they had been designated¹⁸⁹.

«João era filho natural do também Padre Inácio de Barcelos e de Felicia Tourinha, todos nascidos na cidade do Rio de Janeiro, e neto pela parte paterna de Luiz de Barcelos Machado e Caterina Machada, tinha como avós maternos Ventura de Paiva e Isabel da Rocha uma mulher “preta”. Todas as testemunhas inquiridas nas habilitações de gênero afirmaram conhecer João, dos 7 depoimentos 6 afirmaram que o habilitando nascera já sendo o pai clérigo, o mesmo número de depoentes atestou que sua mãe era uma mulata. Seis testemunhas também repetiram que seus avós paternos eram inteiros cristãos velhos da “melhor nobreza desta cidade”»¹⁹⁰.

It makes little sense that Vieira did not draw on this possibility or claim a noble ancestry even though fallen. Emblematic fact considering that, on equal terms of requirements and conditions, or rather prohibitions – «proibindo-se a entrada de quem descendesse de mouro o judeu, ou fosse filho ou neto de mecânico»¹⁹¹ – he did not miss an opportunity to point out that all that he achieved, he did it

¹⁸⁹ An operation that was more or less legitimate in relation to the legislation in force. For this reason, the Royal Court act ambiguously and not always allow the legacy of the heritage. Please refer to OLIVEIRA, 2015, «A administração do Sacramento da Ordem aos negros na América Portuguesa: entre práticas, normas políticas e episcopais (1702-1745)». From this source came out from multiple results arising from different experiences that have involved several protagonists. In *A administração do Sacramento da Ordem aos negros na América Portuguesa* the aforementioned Machado de Olivera offers numerous multiethnic experiences in which they claimed not only to inherit the heritage from a father but also more or less legitimate access requests to public offices.

¹⁹⁰ OLIVEIRA, 2015, «A administração do Sacramento da Ordem aos negros na América Portuguesa: entre práticas, normas políticas e episcopais (1702-1745)», cit, p. 418.

¹⁹¹ MELLO, 2000, *João Fernandes Vieira* [...], cit. p. 314.

with the sweat and hard work of his hands; so it is not explainable how he was so reminiscent on his family ties.

It is only through self-awareness that João Fernandes Vieira managed to bypass a personal identity that the social narrative defined and limited within the ethnic, social and religious forms of discrimination (although the latter did not concern the case of Madeirense). On the basis of this hypothesis, it is clear that awareness was an essential element for personal emancipation passing through the individual and collective mnemonic consciousness.

Not surprisingly, analysing the subject, the philosopher John Locke already intuited this new dimension. Through the use and detection of two elements that lend themselves to the achievement of a deeper level, precisely with experience and reflection, Locke was able to discover the double bond able to unite identity and consciousness. By observing one's own experience in an almost detached way, the individual is able to obtain self-awareness.

João Fernandes Vieira's life experience offers the opportunity to consider how narrative-memory and social-narrative not always are well proportionated. Precisely, when not coherent, they create inconsistencies that are reflected in the interaction between mnemonic consciousness, on the one hand, and in juridical identity, on the other side of the ego.

In this regard, it is possible to explain Vieira's trajectory in Physics terms; to facilitate the understanding of his path, Schrödinger's theories can be borrowed, which explains well a phenomenon, that of particles diffusion so that as their number increase, the result will be increasingly coherent, while analysing an individual experience; the line drawn by the single particle is dictated by randomness and inconsistency.

«Se con della nebbia [...] riempite la parte inferiore di un recipiente di vetro chiuso, vi accorgete che il limite superiore della nebbia gradualmente si abbassa con una velocità ben definita [...]. Ma se voi fissate la vostra attenzione, con l'ausilio di un microscopio, su di una particolare gocciolina, trovate che essa non cade regolarmente con velocità costante, ma esegue dei movimenti molto irregolari, i cosiddetti moti browniani, i quali corrispondono a un regolare abbassarsi soltanto in media»¹⁹².

Here the physical phenomenon is also reflected in the human dimension of social interactions that disregard the laws that must order the juridical society. Inside the personal analysis, the narrative can develop a peculiar trajectory that goes

¹⁹² SCHRÖDINGER, 1995, *Che cos'è la vita? L'aspetto fisico della vita delle cellule*, cit. pp. 31-32.

beyond the imposed canons and therefore becomes incoherent with the ordinary, especially with the legal order.

The multidisciplinary of this article serves as an aid to the understanding of the multiethnic trajectory and multicultural experience of Vieira. Neurophysiology, in particular, presents, if not clarifies, aspects and details that elude historical analysis. The emotional responses that result as real facts in the available documents, the events and the positions taken, acquire a functional logic if inserted in the competent contexts. For this reason, it was considered useful to break down through a methodology that could separate and isolate what Quinton defines as soul-phases, that have highlighted different and overlapping emotional responses of belonging, discomfort and marginalization. All guided by an extended self, at the service of an awareness, according to neurological studies, which is axiomatically suitable to extend to future projections inside a quantum dimension. Not for nothing, «the heart activity patterns in the pre-stimulus period predicted the randomly generated outcome by as much as 12 to 14 seconds»¹⁹³ as we can see, self-consciousness possesses the ability of quantum action in the future.

The difference between a conscious individual and another individual aware lies in the prediction, at times visionary, of the narrative impact both personal and collective that one (aware) considers to be able to shape, while the other (conscious) does not perceive entirely possible through the personal action. Two modules, also of the soul, that reveal a first step, the conscious one, in which the actor could be said to be stoic in the limiting sense of the term, that is to say, determines his movements within the legal boundaries; in awareness, on the other hand, it would be possible to acquire a control of the surroundings and of one's own abilities to overcome forms of dependence/discrimination as it has been seen evident for Vieira's case.

Following the same principle, we propose again the notions of Michael Gazzaniga that defines «unsung hero»¹⁹⁴ as that self-conscious control centre, able to store and sort information and fragments useful for establishing self-conscious reaction for any eventuality. Not only that, the author refers to this autonomy that allows to have «acceso únicamente al producto de estos módulos cerebrales, pero no al proceso mismo»¹⁹⁵, a modularity that guarantees a parallel operation. A function that only later is detected by what the author calls «módulo "intérprete"»¹⁹⁶.

¹⁹³ BRADLEY, 2011, «Resolving the enigma of nonlocal intuition: a quantum-holographic approach», cit. p. 200.

¹⁹⁴ Referring to the aforementioned parietal lobe. GAZZANIGA, 1998, *The Mind's Past*, cit. p. 110.

¹⁹⁵ GAZZANIGA, 1993, *El cerebro social*, cit. p. 16.

¹⁹⁶ GAZZANIGA, 1993, *El cerebro social*, cit. p. 18.

This the most useful contribution of the neurologist concerns the understanding of the function of this “awareness”. As a result, individuals (in our case Vieira), regulate the management of the social environment in a dual aware and self-conscious action so that they can project her/himself in the short and long term of her/his context¹⁹⁷.

The ultimate goal of this work consists precisely in highlighting awareness as a further stage emerging from conscious and self-conscious union that, through identity analysis, arrives at the emancipation of the individual. This stated axiom trivially helps the understanding of a sort of legerdemain, more or less subversive, certainly aimed at overcoming systems and parameters, limits and requirements; regularizing, in an exclusive and discriminatory way, the access to offices. Considering the highly hierarchical social typology, not only aristocratic but above all patrician, the ascending trajectory of João Fernandes Vieira is outstanding, tracing an emancipation path exploiting a media-narrative strategy. In the overall of these multiple elements already arose ahead as biological protagonists of conceiving the concepts related to self and what surrounds, Vieira developed a strategy of management but above all of disclosure of personal and collective information. An exploitation of news that manifests not only with the biographical commissions, but also with accurate epistolary relations maintained with institutional leaders, in particular with the King of Portugal, John IV.

In conclusion, consciousness can be defined as a sensorial function of collection and partial reworking of data. The more developed it is, the less space will allow to the subconscious to act in an almost passive self-conscious way; on the contrary, a discreet management of information will lead to the intelligent development of a properly active consciousness. And it is here that awareness, which draws on both components (conscious and self-conscious) will materialize, for more profound, effective and incisive results. This is how awareness becomes a module for actively building our personality: within a system constantly influenced by information from external experiences that leads one to «coadyuvar pero no determinar por completo el fenómeno de referencia social que supone la identidad»¹⁹⁸.

This voluntary construction of identity allows to model an “active personal narrative”, at the contrary a “passive personal narrative” will follows contextual guidelines without using consciously all the neurological functions of our organism, which also represents the starting point stage of human condition. The episte-

¹⁹⁷ GAZZANIGA, 1993, *El cerebro social*, cit. pp. 19-20.

¹⁹⁸ J ARGÜELLES SAN MILLÁN, GASTÉLUM VARGAS, GONZÁLEZ GRANDÓN, 2016, «Autoconciencia e Identidad: dos fenómenos independientes», cit. p. 222.

mological application of identity and consciousness gives a broad sense, because multidisciplinary, to the features and unique properties of the multiethnic trajectory of João Fernandes Vieira.

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