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Relations between Portugal and Castile in the Late Middle Ages – 13th-16th centuries

Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela
Autonoma University of Madrid
vicente.alvarezp@uam.es

Abstract

A study of the intense diplomatic relations maintained between the Portuguese and Leonese, afterwards Castilian-Leonese, monarchies throughout the Middle Ages. They were dotted with a series of agreements relating to the internal problems of each kingdom, the mutual relations and the general political situation in the Iberian Peninsula. These relations, except for specific moments of brief warfare, which were sometimes very serious, were friendly and familiar. This didn't exclude the occurrence of frictions resulting from contrary interests. On both sides of the frontier very similar problems were faced: dynastic confrontations or rebellions of the nobility in which both monarchies usually collaborated closely. Castilian expansion and the resulting imbalance of power in its favour, was the cause of the gravest tensions.

Key words

Diplomatic Relations, Castile, International Treaties

Relations between the Portuguese monarchy and the monarchies of Leon or Castile (the Kingdom of Castile was the historical continuation of the Kingdom of Leon) after the unification of the latter two kingdoms show a profundity, intensity and continuity not to be found among any of the other peninsular kingdoms during the Middle Ages, even though these were also very close. The bond between the two went far beyond merely diplomatic relations. The matrimonial unions between the two were so strong and frequent that it is possible to claim that both kingdoms were ruled by a single dynasty during the entire Middle Ages.[1]

Despite this, any attempt by one or the other to unify both kingdoms was destined to failure, and more often than not, to harsh confrontation leading to prolonged resentment and suspicions which were difficult to overcome.[2] The very close relations are, in my opinion, the result of a common historical, cultural, and mental identity, but also of an awareness of the differences between their respective personalities. I make this claim without wishing to give credit to nationalist viewpoints which I consider to be out of place and inadequate for historical analysis.

[1] This claim may seem to be exaggerated. However, I think it is fully endorsed by the frequent matrimonial alliances between the two ruling families. Five of the nine kings of the first Portuguese dynasty had Castilian wives: Alfonso II, Sancho II, Alfonso III, Alfonso IV, and Pedro I (and to some degree the same could be said of Fernando I). Leonor, wife of Duarte, was also Castilian, even if she was considered to be "Aragonese", and so were the three successive wives of Manuel I. A very similar panorama is seen in the marriages of the kings of Leon and Castile. Fernando I, Alfonso IX, Fernando IV, Alfonso XI, Juan I, Juan II and Enrique IV all married Portuguese princesses, a tradition which carried through to the 16th century.

[2] I am referring to, on the Portuguese side, to Fernando I's claim to the Castilian throne, which didn't have further consequences and to a similar claim by Alfonso V, which lead to his involvement in the Castilian Civil War. On the Castilian side, we have Juan I, whose claim to the Portuguese throne lead to violent confrontation, a civil war in Portugal, and to the disaster of Aljubarrota.

Birth of Portugal and Guarantees of Growth

The difference between Castilians and Portuguese, however subtle we may think, included a diversity of interests among the ruling aristocracy (Mattoso, 1968, 1968-1969 and 1978). The confrontation which took places between, on the one hand, nobles and ecclesiastics from Braga, and on the other the Trabas and the Gelmírez, and which led to the birth of Portugal, would probably not have taken place if there hadn't been certain differences. These differences, then, set in train the process by which Portugal evolved from a territory of the Astur-Leonese Kingdom, to a county and finally, a kingdom (Marques da Silva, 1983).

The birth of Portugal as a kingdom didn't provoke a confrontation with its 'womb,' the Kingdom of Leon. The new political reality fitted perfectly with the Leonese idea of Empire. *Impera* in ancient Hispania was compatible with the existence of other kingdoms. In practice these kingdoms were of equal dignity and, as well as this, they constituted the most adequate response to the Islamic threat, each one taking charge of the defence of a part of the frontier as well as contributing to the Reconquest (Alvarez Palenzuela, 1999 and 2000). Portugal wasn't born in confrontation with Léon. Rather, it was born in the 'womb' of Léon as a solution to the political-military problems that had arisen.

Because of this, the birth of Portugal didn't cause any tensions between Léon and Portugal. Recognition of the new kingdom occurred naturally, after simple negotiations. This, however, didn't prevent the usual tensions between neighboring kingdoms from occurring later on. On the other hand, I consider that the ecclesiastical structure in the new kingdom was the result of confrontation between the metropolitan see of Braga and the metropolitan sees of Compostela and Toledo. The problem of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was the reason for the long delay in pontifical recognition of Portugal as a kingdom. Such recognition had posed no problems for the Leonese monarchy (Amaral, 2000).

Early agreements were aimed exclusively at guaranteeing the existence of Portugal as a kingdom e.g. The Pact of Tuy in June 1137, whose possible effects for Portugal were curtailed by the Almoravid attack on Leiría; the Treaty of Zamora in 1143 (Recuero, 1979 and 2000) where, in completely normal circumstances, Afonso Henriques was made king.

It was also necessary to firmly establish the frontiers of the kingdom, whose very existence called into question, if only theoretically, the divisions of territory agreed between Fernando II of León and Sancho III of Castile in the Treaty of Sahagún on May 23, 1158 (Gonzalez, J, 1960, I, 670; II, 79-82). This was the aim of the talks between Fernando II and Alfonso I in La Cabrera in November of the same year and in Santa María de Palo in December 1159. The Treaty of Lérez in April 1165 was signed by both kings on the basis of complete equality and it arranged the marriage of Princess Urraca of Portugal with the King of León. This was the first of many matrimonial alliances.

Agreements were also reached which attempted to guarantee both existing and future borders, and respective zones for reconquest. The Reconquest was the main concern of both kingdoms when they weren't disputing each other's right to existence. Portuguese advances in Alentejo and in the present day Spanish Extremadura posed a threat not only to areas which the Leonese King considered pertaining to his area of expansion, but, when united to the Castilian advance in the south-west, could leave the Kingdom of León without an Islamic frontier.

This grave danger for Léon provides a thorough explanation for the alliance between Fernando II and the Almohads which led to disaster for Alfonso I in Badajoz in 1169. This military action was not aimed against Portugal. It was carried out in defense of vital Leonese interests. Thus, it was perfectly reasonable that two years later when the Almohads attacked Santarém, concerning which the King of León had no plans, the King should send help to his father-in-law and his brother-in-law. This action led to the rupture of Leonese friendship with the Caliphate and harsh reprisals which demolished the Leonese advance to the south of the Tagus River. And it was also a reasonable thing for Fernando II to do battle with his brother-in-law, Prince Sancho, in Argañan in 1180, when the latter invaded the Leonese area of influence. In 1184, Fernando II would save Santarém once again when it was at the end of its tether.

Any kingdom which threatened the unstable equilibrium between the peninsular kingdoms became an enemy of all the others. The rise of Castile in the 1180s and '90s gave rise to alliances of the remaining kingdoms against it. The following events had an anti-Castilian aim: the marriage of Alfonso IX of León to Teresa, daughter of Sancho I in 1191 and the Treaty of Huesca (González, 1960, I, p.711) signed by the kings of Portugal, León, Navarre, and Aragon. Given the Islamic threat at the time, this treaty may be considered to have been an act of madness. The result was the defeat of Alarcos, a disaster for Castile, but also, if the policies of the Treaty of Huesca were to be continued, disaster for all. These alliances proved that the essential aim was to prevent a threatening rise of any of the kingdoms.

A coordinated defense against the common enemy was essential but so also was the need to guarantee the equilibrium between the Peninsular kingdoms and, above all, their future growth and expansion. This explains the frequent border treaties which were signed in this period, treaties which alternated with apparently contradictory hostile acts.

The twin objectives, territorial boundaries and a definition of the areas of reconquest were the main items on the agenda at the Truce of Coimbra in November, 1212 (González, 1944, II, p. 383-384, 1960, III, p. 576, and 1984, p.529). The kings of Portugal, Alfonso II, of León, Fernando II, and of Castile, Alfonso VIII, who were present at the talks, as well as reaching agreements between themselves, also decided on a common plan against the Muslims which included a satisfactory distribution of the territories to be conquered (Álvarez Palenzuela, 1998, p.1045). The recent victory at the Navas of Tolosa and the collapse of the Almohads led everyone to hope for a rapid conquest of Islamic territories. It was reasonable to plan for this new situation and forget the insignificant problems of the past.

The Formation and Definition of the Kingdom

For years, internal events in the Christian kingdoms postponed the advance. In the case of Portugal, this period saw the beginning of the tensions between the monarchy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This conflict brought into discussion the very definition of the kingdom and at one point there was a threat that Alfonso IX of León would become involved. The talks between Alfonso IX and Alfonso II in Boronal in June, 1219, and those between Sancho II and Fernando III in Sabugal in 1224 (Veloso, 1980) gave rise to the necessary guarantees.

From 1225 onwards the Christian kingdoms, as if they had all been awaiting the same signal, renewed their advance into Islamic territory. León reaped the highest rewards – Cáceres, Montánchez, Mérida and Badajoz but Castile and Portugal also benefited, Portugal conquering Elvas. Then something happened which greatly upset the delicate equilibrium reached at Coimbra: León and Castile became united under the same king, Fernando III. It was an event in which Portuguese intervention - led by Princess Teresa, first wife of Alfonso IX, and also by his second wife, Berenguela – was decisive. Inevitably, there were also hidden factors involved, and it was in order to clear up these that Fernando III and Sancho II met in April, 1231. Existing agreements were ratified thus giving the go-ahead for the continued advance into Islamic territory.

The Portuguese advance was delayed by internal problems which led to the removal of Sancho II and his replacement by his brother Alfonso. A long-standing Portuguese problem: the excessive temporal power of its episcopal hierarchy was the pretext for the development of a sensitive political strategy with international ramifications, which led to the substitution of a Ghibelline prince by a Guelph prince.

The best way to allow everyone to forget this controversial substitution and show the adequacy of the solution was by renewing and completing the Reconquest. On the Portuguese side this led to the successful conquest of the Algarve without great military effort (Crónica, 1856; Mattoso, II, 133-134). However, there was a diplomatic obstacle involved as Castile claimed rights over the Algarve (Mattoso, 1986; Marques, 1994). Perhaps this claim originated in the demand for protection by the Taifa of Niebla from Castile due its condition of vassalage. More probably, it resulted from the putting into effect by Alfonso X of the territorial divisions agreed by Fernando II and Sancho II in the Treaty of Sahagún in 1158 (González Jiménez, 2000, 5).

The complex negotiations over the Algarve reached a preliminary solution at Badajoz in November 1252. Two important starting points were agreed on: the decision to fix the Guadiana as the border and the recognition of the sovereignty of Alfonso X over the disputed territory. (González Jiménez, 2000, 6-11). In May 1253 in Chaves an agreement was reached which recognized Castilian rights over the Algarve, though the territory was ceded as a fief to Alfonso III (García Fernández, 2000, 908) or as the dowry of Beatriz, the illegitimate daughter of the new Castilian King, Alfonso X. Beatriz had already been referred to as Queen of Portugal in documents in May of the same year (Ventura, L. 2000, 47). Afterwards the territory would pass to the first-born child of this marriage on reaching seven years of age.

This was a strange agreement, based on the marriage of a king who was already married. Papal condemnation soon followed and the king was excommunicated. On the other hand, the very active Portuguese upper echelons of society didn't protest at all. The nobility broke off relations with the king when he renewed attempts to strengthen monarchical authority, attempts which had earlier cost his brother the crown. The above marriage caused concern among the Portuguese nobility as it didn't satisfactorily resolve the problem of the Algarve. Here the Castilian king still held certain rights in the territory.

It is likely that the relinquishment by Alfonso X of his rights in the Algarve was a result of the revolt of the Mudejars in Andalusia and Murcia in the spring of 1264. Portuguese support was forthcoming for the Castilian king and, perhaps relating to this, an agreement was reached on June 5 of that year when a friendly division of the disputed territories was agreed on (González Jiménez; 1991, doc. 285). The fact is that in September of that year Alfonso X relinquished his rights in the Algarve, except for the right to claim an auxiliary force of fifty soldiers armed with lances (González Jiménez, 1991, doc. 290). From this time on, Alfonso III held complete sovereignty.

This agreement was essential to the relations between both kingdoms. In February 1267 the two kings met in Badajoz to sign a new pact (González Jiménez, 1991, doc. 382; Mendonca, 2000). This pact brought an end to all obligations to provide military aid and the Guadiana frontier was mapped out (de Ayala, 1994). The agreement was also vital in that, free from external problems, and despite delays, Alfonso XIII and above all, Dinis were able to hold a long discussion with the ecclesiastical authorities. This confrontation ended favorably for the monarchy after tough negotiations which ended in 1289.

The rise in monarchical power not only confronted the monarchs with the ecclesiastical authorities, but also with the nobility. The rise of the power of the nobility was a problem in all of the kingdoms. As well as this, it occurred at the same time, which led the kings to collaborate. There was a recognized need to limit this growing power as well as to control the growing French influence in the Peninsula. This French influence provided theoretical support for the nobility, i.e. it was a Guelph scheme opposed to the Ghibelline scheme of strengthening of the monarchy, which had been proposed by the young Iberian kings.

Pedro III of Aragon began a great Mediterranean political project in 1282. This project was necessarily in confrontation with the Anjou and therefore, with France. Sancho IV of Castile (Nieto, 1994), king in the midst of a complex war of succession, also had to adopt a hostile attitude to France. France protected the princes of la Cerda who disputed Sancho's right to the throne. Yet Sancho also need the friendship of France in order to obtain Papal dispensation for his marriage to María de Molina. The plans of Dinis fitted in with this scheme of things. Dinis wished to strengthen the monarchy, which brought him into confrontation with the nobility, including his mother Beatríz, who returned to Castile, and, above all with his brother Alfonso, who cloaked his position in dangerous judicial arguments.

This explains the marriage of Dinis and Isabel, the saintly queen, daughter of Pedro III, as well as the talks which the kings of Portugal and Castile held in Sabugal in July, 1287. The purpose of the talks was to coordinate the action to be taken against their respective rebels: Prince Alfonso and Álvar Núñez de Lara, Arronches being their impregnable base of operations. At these talks the double marriages of their respective children were planned: the Portuguese heir, Alfonso, with Beatriz; the Castilian heir, Fernando, with Constanza. These plans, after many ups and downs, would be carried out.

Portuguese-Castilian friendship remained firm during the following years, even when Castile and Aragon reached open confrontation between 1289 and 1291 because of the insistence of the King of Aragón, Alfonso III, in improving his borders. In September, 1291 Sancho IV and Dinis again held talks in Ciudad Rodrigo to discuss real problems: a common defense against Islam and the affirmation of monarchical power. Again the proposed marriage of the Castilian heir with Constanza was discussed.

Some months later new talks were held in Ciudad Rodrigo, in April, 1292. Sancho IV asked his Portuguese counterpart for economic help for the offensive he was about to initiate. Despite the affectionate refusal of the Portuguese king, friendship between the kings was not affected.

However, comprehension was not easy as the situation was complex. In the summer of 1293 Sancho IV seemed to reach an understanding with France and the previous marriage plans were cancelled. Again the Guadiana frontier (Serpa, Moura, Mourão) became an object of concern. There were incidents from Ribacoa to the Algarve coast and to the Tagus estuary.

The end of the Reconquest (only Granada remaining) favored a united kingdom of León and Castile. This fact had fatally broken the delicate political equilibrium forged towards the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries. Navarre being isolated and a mere appendix of France for several decades, Portugal and Aragon (whose future expansion could only be overseas) took advantage of any Castilian weakness in order to correct this situation.

This provides an explanation for the following: after the death of Sancho IV of Castile, when his brother Juan, the theoretical leader of the claims of the nobility, disputed the throne, at least that of León, with his nephew Fernando IV (González Mínguez, 1976 and 1995), he could count on Portuguese support after talks with Dinis held in Guarda, probably in July, 1295 (Baquero, 2000, 643).

Momentarily, the problem was resolved by the talks held between the Castilian Prince Enrique and Dinis in Guarda in September of the same year. The Prince offered to hand over Serpa, Moura, and Mourão as well as Aroche and Aracena (García Fernández, 2000, 932). More concessions were agreed on at the talks between Queen María de Molina (Gaibrois, 1935; Hoyos, 1972-739) and Dinis in Ciudad Rodrigo in October at which the effective cession to Portugal of the disputed 'elbow of the Guadiana' (*recodo del Guadiana)* and the above mentioned towns was agreed on.

But, immediately, Jaime II of Aragon (Martínez Ferrando, 1980) started the ancient project of changing the peninsular equilibrium. He now hoped to break up Castile-León's political edifice, splitting it into two kingdoms with territorial compensations for Aragon and Portugal. This scheme was agreed at Bordalba in January, 1296. The problems of territorial boundaries and the deadlines for handing over territories which Dinis considered to be delaying tactics, justified the militaristic attitude of the Portuguese king and his support for Aragon.

In defense of this project, in September 1296, a Portuguese army led by Dinis himself advanced along the Duero and reached the neighborhood of Valladolid. Nevertheless, when nothing seemed to prevent an entry into the city where the queen lived (regent for her son) the Portuguese king ordered a withdrawal during which the lands around Ribacoa were conquered – this, surely was the true aim of his Castilian adventure- and negotiations were commenced. Apart from the firm support of the Cortes for Queen María, which Dinis soon became aware of, it was a contradiction to promote the strengthening of monarchical authority in Portugal while supporting the power of the nobility in Castile.

The clarification of the boundaries and the return to a more balanced territorial situation were important. However, the political risk was not proportional for those involved. Because of this and because he had something to offer in exchange, Dinis was the first to open negotiations with the prostrate Castilian monarchy, encouraged to do so by the beneficial influence of Queen Isabel. As well as this, Castilian offers were very interesting: a letter from Fernando IV, towards the end of August, 1297, proposed the recognition of the seven fortified towns of the Ribacoa area as belonging to Portugal (Baquero, 2000, 646).

This situation led to the Treaty of Alcañices of the 12 September 1297 (González Jiménez, 2000, 21-24). This treaty, agreed on between Castile and Portugal from an evident position of Portuguese strength, principally contained provisions for a Castilian surrender of territory. Besides

the Ribacoa territory (in fact, occupied by Portuguese troops on previous occasions, Ventura, 2000, 38-41), this included the lands which had been given to Castile at the Treaty of Badajoz in 1267. Castile held on to Aroche and Aracena by surrendering territory in the Badajoz area (Lovenza, Campo Mayor, Ouguela), as well as San Felices de los Gallegos. Dinis also symbolically relinquished territories over which he supposedly had authority: Valencia de Alcántara, Ferreira and Esparragal. In exchange for this territorial sacrifice, Castile received something very valuable: the Portuguese king would not intervene in political or military operations threatening for Castile.

Portuguese historians have been right in saying that the Treaty of Alcañices provided a definitive map of the border between the two kingdoms (Amaral-Garcia, 2000). It was also the definitive acceptance of the territorial boundaries which had been drawn up during the previous century and a half.

Collaboration on Common Problems

The Treaty of Alcañices didn't end Dinis's intervention in Castilian politics. He was immediately asked by some members of the Cortes, meeting in Valladolid in May 1298, for help against Prince John and his supporters. His behavior, however, showed him to be more inclined to follow the plans for the break-up of the Crown of Castile rather than a sincere attempt to provide aid. This would seem reasonable after the treaty which had been signed and the matrimonial alliances which had been agreed on.

After talks in Toro with Prince Enrique, whose attitude in the crisis was even more dubious, the Portuguese king proposed to Queen María de Molina the surrender of Galicia to Prince Juan, as a way of pacifying the situation. His proposal was rejected and at the request of the Castilian government he returned to his kingdom. However, he remained in places close to the border keeping a sharp eye on what was happening.

In the following months a strengthening of the government of the regent Queen was evident. It was very active and received the vital support of the Cortes. Despite this, many initiatives were frustrated or their success diminished by the strong interests of the nobility who supported her. The nobility had no interest in the destruction of her opponents. The intervention of Dinis inevitably led to a weakening of monarchical positions.

Perhaps it was this reality as well as the consolidation of the Castilian government which moved Dinis to favor the successful outcome of the recent pacts. By his initiative in January, 1300 a new meeting was arranged with the Castilian queen and her son to take place in Ciudad Rodrigo in March of the same year. The official reason cited was the division of the expenditure needed to obtain the bulls of dispensation necessary to be able to proceed with the arranged marriages. We can accept that for Dinis it was better to reach an understanding with the kingdom of his future son-in-law, whose position on his throne appeared to be strengthening, than to support schemes for breaking up Castile: schemes which were losing support everywhere. We should also take into account Queen Isabel's efforts to bring peace (Lopes, 1967) as well as the growing concern caused by the increasing rebelliousness of Prince Alfonso.

The arrival of the bulls legitimizing the children of Sancho IV and María and the dispensations for the celebrations of the marriages in October 1301 must have removed any doubts from the Portuguese king. Fernando IV and Constanza were betrothed in January 1302. Seven months later Dinis sent a messenger to Castile to fix the date for the consummation of the marriage, as both parties had reached the necessary age (Baquero, 2000, 647).

These events should be seen in the general context of peninsular and Mediterranean peace, despite some military threats. The Peace of Caltabellota was signed in August, 1302 and Jaime II began to set his sights on prospects in Sardinia which were far more attractive than the old dispute over the hereditary rights of La Cerdas. Thanks to the initiative of Aragon, talks were held between Aragon, Castile and Portugal, with the presence of representatives of Alfonse de la Cerda, in Badajoz in April 1303.

The solution proved difficult to come by, and the attempts led to proposals of the most disparate solutions, which always returned to the old scheme for territorial break-up that Jaime II

didn't seem willing to carry out. However, his duplicity caused Dinis increasing unrest and led him to protest against what he considered to be double-dealing. This was what led to the solution by arbitration, when Dinis intervened as the principal actor in peninsular politics.

During the months of March and April, 1304, the final details were fixed in Calatayud and Tarazona for a great meeting to be held, presided over by the King of Portugal, and where the differences between Castile and Aragon would be resolved and the long dispute over the Castilian succession would be brought to an end. Dinis in the month of May in Coimbra accepted the proposed meeting and began preparations for the outward display which characterized his journey across Castilian territory to Torrellas, a place on the Castilian-Aragonese border, between Ágreda and Tarazona.

Dinis acted in Torrellas as the doyen of Iberian sovereigns. It might seem that this was the hour of glory of his reign. However, we shouldn't allow ourselves to be dazzled by the pomp of the meeting and the festivities. Jaime II was the real victor of this meeting, the one who obtained territorial benefits. The presence of the Portuguese monarch added luster and solemnity to the occasion but it didn't change anything which had already been agreed on.

The Torrellas Pact only resolved some of the problems presented, in particular, the Castilian succession. It didn't bring an end to Aragonese maneuvers to force a new peninsular equilibrium which would overrule all preceding territorial pacts, including that of Almizra in 1244 and, certainly, the latest one in Torrellas. Nor did it mean that Castile was in agreement with the border mapped out in Alcañices. At the beginning of 1312, Fernando IV again raised the issue of his territorial claims to the Recodo del Guadiana, Ribacoa, Aroche and Aracena and he appeared to be willing to accept the arbitration of Aragon. The Portuguese side responded with a group of arguments based on the conquest and on the pacts signed by both monarchies in the previous half century.

This situation was largely responsible for a dangerous rise in the power of the nobility. This problem was evident in Castile, above all after 1312, when the early death of Fernando IV, besides bringing an end to the latest Castilian demands, saw the beginning of a new and prolonged regency. Even in Portugal alarming signs became evident: It was more or less during this period that the first confrontations between Dinis and the heir apparent occurred, which would lead soon after to civil war.

A situation of great anarchy reigned in Castile during the following years, the kingdom being divided by the actions of the regency. In general terms, power was disputed by two groups, one representing the power of the nobility, which included the most important Castilian nobles and the relict of Fernando IV, Constanza, and the other, defending royal authority, led again by Queen María de Molina, with the support of her son, Prince Pedro. The successive deaths of the most important personages involved didn't make the formation of a single government in Castile any easier. Rather, they led to a prolonged confrontation which only began to be resolved from 1325 onwards with the declaration that the new Castilian king, Alfonso XI had attained his majority.

Portugal, with a very different setting, lived through similar problems, the result of a rise in the power of the nobility, which has already been referred to. Tensions started with the dispute among the heirs of Juan Alfonso de Alburquerque, one of whom was Alfonso Sánchez, bastard son of Dinis. The presence of this important personage in circles close to royal power (he had been appointed chief steward and was the visible head of a noble faction) and also that of another bastard son, Pedro, Count of Barcelos, gave real concern to the heir that he was in danger of losing his crown. In any event, the heir considered it evident that the power of these personages nullified the continuing task of strengthening royal power, and severely compromised the future.

In 1319 the Portuguese prince turned to Castile and asked the Castilian queen, María de Molina, who was his mother-in-law for help. He also asked his father to hand him over the administration of justice. The Queen of Castile even asked Dinis to hand over power to his son. A strange situation where the heir, while claiming to act in defense of monarchical power, rebelled against it, supported by a considerable number of nobles; and the king, who with his support for his bastard sons had placed monarchical power in danger, now defended it with the support of his son Alfonso Sánchez, the visible head of the nobility.

Thus began the civil war. The war was the occasion for successive harsh manifestos by Dinis against his son – in June of 1320 and in May and December of 1321- and military actions which led

to a real division of the kingdom between Dinis and the heir, Alfonso. Queen Isabel, working patiently and with great difficulty, achieved some periods of respite in the conflict between the two. She was unable to avoid the division of the kingdom under two governments, a situation which occurred before the unexpected death of Dinis in January, 1325.

From that year onwards, a new generation came to power. There was also the beginning of a new way of understanding relations between Castile and Portugal. It was deemed necessary to abandon old territorial disputes and lay the foundation for a more genuine cooperation in resolving problems which were common to both.

Both Alfonso IV in Portugal and Alfonso XI in Castile began their reigns resolved on strengthening the power of the monarchy, using extremely harsh methods if necessary. In the case of Alfonso IV this policy was made manifest in his actions against his stepbrother, Alfonso Sánchez, which included the conviction and execution of Juan Alfonso de Alburquerque, father-in-law and principal support of the latter. In parallel fashion, Alfonso XI showed his firmness when, having failed in his attempts to muster the collaboration of Don Juan el Tuerto, head of the Castilian nobility, lured him to a meeting in Toro (November, 1326) and had him executed.

It was at this time in Toro that talks were held with Portuguese ambassadors where, for the first time, a climate of mutual collaboration for the subjection of their respective nobilities and the renewal of the war against Islam in Granada was achieved. Negotiations were also begun for the marriage of Alfonso XI and María, daughter of the Portuguese king.

During the following months there was an intense exchange of messengers. On the Portuguese side the proposal was brought to completion by arrangements for a double matrimony: besides that of Alfonso XI and María, there was that of the Portuguese heir, Pedro and Blanca, daughter of the Castilian Prince Pedro. It was a kind of replay of the Alcañices system (Diaz Martín, 2000, 1240). Despite the fact that Alfonso and María were very closely related, being double first cousins, the proposed marriage was accepted in Coimbra in December, 1327 and solemnized a few months later in Alfayates.

The marriage of the Castilian king was a very serious step, which can only be understood in connection with the other matrimonial alliance, which meant the surrender of an important and strategic part of the bride's territorial inheritance to the Castilian monarchy. In fact, the matrimonial alliance meant the breaking of the previous agreement of Alfonso XI with Constanza, daughter of Don Juan Manuel. This led to the rebellion of that powerful noble, the protests of the King of Aragon, Jaime II, grandfather of the bride, and new agitation among the nobility in Castile, linked to similar tensions in Portugal.

For the present, taking advantage of the change of king in Aragon - Alfonso IV succeeded Jaime II, who died in November, 1327- Alfonso XI suggested to the new king of Aragon that they collaborate in the Reconquest, and offered him Almería if he re-conquered it. In October, 1328 a pact of friendship was signed by Aragon, Portugal and Castile which reproduced the situation of 1304 (Baquero, 2000, 651-652). A few months later, in January 1329, agreement was reached on the marriage of the King of Aragon, a widow, to Leonor, a sister of the King of Castile. The above agreements were ratified in the exalted atmosphere of a crusade when, in February 1329, Alfonso XI accompanied his sister to Saragossa for her wedding.

However, stability in the relations between Castile and Portugal didn't last long. In 1329 the King of Castile met Leonor de Guzmán, who was to become his lover and be treated like a queen, in flagrant disregard for Queen María. Thus may be understood why the successive intrigues contrived by Don Juan Manuel were to eventually find support in Portugal, at least from 1335 onwards, even involving a matrimonial alliance. The proposed marriage involved the daughter of the Castilian noble to Pedro, the Portuguese heir, and the breaking off of this Prince's previous matrimonial alliance, to be justified by the illness of the bride.

The support of Aragon was also sought against Castile. Aragonese support, weak during the reign of Alfonso IV, became strong from January 1336 with the accession of his son Pedro IV. The fierce personal resentment of the new king towards Castile, and towards his Castilian stepmother, induced him to join the coalition. Doubtless, this new attitude led Alfonso IV of Portugal to lay siege to Badajoz, a strategic maneuver aimed at taking the pressure off rebellious elements in the interior of Castile.

Alfonso XI didn't divert troops to the Portuguese border: the intervention of troops from the bishopric of Jaén and the Council of Seville was enough to defeat the Portuguese at Villanueva de Barcarrota and force Alfonso IV to raise his siege of Jaén. The Castilian reply, after the rebels were defeated, was very harsh: on the three fronts at Galicia, Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, Castilian troops inflicted serious damage to Portuguese territory. The Castilian fleet defeated a Portuguese fleet and brought destruction near Oporto.

This situation lasted almost three years until November 1338. Neither the efforts of the Portuguese queen, Beatriz, basing her appeal on closeness of kinship, nor those of a papal legate who tried to get the collaboration of both kingdoms in the war against Islam, nor those of France which sought Castilian help against England, could bring hostilities to a halt before this date.

Tensions would only ease when an offensive in Africa became imminent. Control of the Straits was endangered, the Straits being a route of vital importance for Portugal, Aragon, and Castile, and also for their Genoese friends, especially now as war with France seriously endangered the overland routes. Despite this, Portuguese aid was only forthcoming after Castile accepted a stringent set of conditions – among them the separation of Alfonso and Leonor- in July 1340, when the Benimerins had already landed and the Castilian fleet had suffered a serious defeat.

Alfonso IV intervened in the war against Islam, which was surrounded with the solemn atmosphere of a crusade, only after his own daughter and son-in-law came to Portugal and begged him to. The result was the resounding victory of El Salado (30th October, 1340), a definitive defeat of the Benimerins and the starting point for the, as yet poorly defined, Castilian and Portuguese projects in Africa. Even though the offensive continued to the conquest of Algeciras (1344), the huge cost of the war meant that a respite was necessary.

The successful campaign allowed the peninsular monarchs to strengthen monarchical power, a task which they carried out simultaneously. In Portugal, Alfonso IV repressed rebellions of the nobility and reformed the judicial system and the organization of municipal government. In Aragon, Pedro IV issued the *Ordenamiento de la Casa, Cancillería y Capilla Reales* (a decree concerning the royal household, the Chancery and the royal chapels) and revoked the *Privilegio General de la Unión* (General Privilege of the Nobility). In Castile, Alfonso XI issued the *Ordenamiento de Alcalá* (the Alcalá decree).

The Black Plague, the resulting economic and social problems and finally, the death of Alfonso XI in 1350 created a new situation. Military operations were halted and the atmosphere of crusade weakened. For Queen María, not only had the moment for revenge arrived, which her father had tried to prevent, but more importantly, that of guaranteeing the succession of her son to the throne, seriously threatened by the numerous offspring of Leonor de Guzmán and the significant support she enjoyed in the kingdom. As was to be expected, the new Castilian king, Pedro I had the support from the beginning of his Portuguese grandfather. Contacts between the two courts at this time were, doubtless, far more frequent and friendly than is testified by the scanty documentation that remains.

In the meantime, the domestic affairs of the Portuguese royal family began to have political dimensions, including the relationship to the situation in Castile. The affair of the Portuguese heir, Pedro with Inés de Castro, especially from 1345 on, after the death of his wife Constanza, brought back the old danger of the closeness to power of the bastard offspring of the royalty. Inés's brothers urged the Portuguese prince to ally himself with Juan Alfonso de Alburquerque; he and Queen María shared power in Castile. Queen María was regent for her son. Juan Alfonso was a kinsman of Inés but he was also a son of Alfonso Sánchez, stepbrother of Alfonso IV. Sánchez had caused many problems for Alfonso IV at the beginning of his reign.

Again we have a recurrence of the confrontation between the monarchy and the nobility. This led to a set of bloody moves by Pedro I in Castile, and in Portugal, almost at the same time, where Alfonso IV ordered the execution of Inés de Castro. This measure was designed above all else to avoid a more than possible substitution of his grandson Fernando as heir by one of the sons of Inés de Castro. For the Portuguese king this would have meant a kind of return of Alfonso Sánchez. War broke out in both kingdoms. In Portugal power was practically handed over to the heir and in Castile the king instituted harsh repression.

The parallelism between the two Pedros – the Portuguese one succeeded his father in May 1357 – is complete. Both strove to govern in their respective kingdoms in a personal manner, and neither was very concerned about the violence of many of their decisions. From March, 1358, date of the Treaty of Évora, they were allies: Portuguese ships formed part of the Castilian fleet which that summer harassed the coast of Aragon, the second act in the war between Aragon and Castile. Friendship was again based on matrimonial alliances: a future marriage was arranged between the Portuguese heir, Fernando and Beatriz, daughter of the King of Castile and María de Padilla. Portuguese support for Castile in its operations against Aragon occurred on further occasions. At least during the summer of 1363, there were Portuguese troops in the army that fought on the territories of Aragon and Valencia.

However, in 1366 the Portuguese king refused to become seriously involved in the Castilian Civil War, which was beginning to take a worrying course for the legitimate monarch. In summer, Pedro I traveled to Portugal to request that his Portuguese namesake intervene seriously in the conflict. He made an attractive offer: the fulfillment of the matrimonial alliance which had been decided at Évora and immediate recognition of the Portuguese heir as successor to the throne of Castile. Apart from calculations as to the difficulties of a successful intervention, the Portuguese refusal was probably due to the fact that the proposal involved a union, at least a personal one, between the kingdoms.

The Portuguese king died in January 1367 and from this time, his successor, while maintaining a strict neutrality regarding the Castilian question, strove for closer ties with Aragon. Nevertheless, the death of Pedro I of Castile in March 1369 and the resistance of his supporters would change this situation.

Dynastic Changes

The death of Pedro I didn't bring an end to the problems of Enrique II. The partisans of Pedro, basing their argument on the rights of Manuel via his mother, Constanza, argued that Fernando I of Portugal was a possible candidate for the Castilian throne. A coalition between Portugal and Aragon, including the collaboration of Navarre and Granada, was thought to be possible.

Fernando I prepared to make his claim effective. A Portuguese fleet attacked in the mouth of the Guadalquivir at the same time as Portuguese troops took possession of Ciudad Rodrigo. Fernando I arrived in La Coruña, the main centre of Petrismo. All this led Enrique II to retaliate. He recovered territory in Galicia and made a profound advance into Portugal as far as Braga and Guimarães. The following year the Castilian fleet broke the blockade which had been enforced by the Portuguese fleet. This didn't mark the end of Petrismo, which continued to hold out in many parts of Castile, but it did show where real power lay. Nevertheless, a coalition of peninsular kingdoms, including Granada, rose against the Trastámara, aimed as usual at limiting Castilian hegemony in the peninsula.

The taking of Zamora by the Trastamaristas, in February 1371, moved the Portuguese king to seek a treaty with Enrique II. Negotiations for this treaty had been going on for months under the supervision of papal legates. On the basis of the proposed marriage of the Portuguese king to a daughter of the King of Castile, Leonor, the Treaty of Alcoutim was signed on 31 March 1371. The treaty contained important territorial cessions from Castile to Portugal along almost the entire frontier: Allariz, Monterrey, Ciudad Rodrigo and Valencia de Alcántara, as the dowry of the Castilian princess. The surrender of territory didn't take place, as the marriage of Fernando to Leonor Téllez brought an end to the plans for the marriage arranged at the treaty as well as an end to the need for the territorial compensation which had been agreed on.

From the summer of 1371 on, the Lancastrian design (which was a new version of Petrismo) began to operate. The scheme sought to give the throne of Castile to John of Lancaster who was at the time married to Constanza, daughter of Pedro I and heiress to his titles. This scheme, in furtherance of which England sought the support of Portugal (Russell, 1955) should, perhaps, be considered as providing an explanation for the marriage of Fernando I, a marriage which has usually

been considered to be the result of a mere whim. The fact is that when the King of Portugal formed an alliance with the Duke of Lancaster in July, 1372, it was probably, from a military viewpoint the worst moment possible, as a Castilian fleet had just inflicted a severe defeat on an English fleet near La Rochelle: Castile's naval hegemony had begun.

The Castilian reply was to advance deep into Portugal. Castile had significant support in Portugal and the expeditionary army reached Lisbon where a Castilian fleet lay anchored. Pontifical mediation led to a new peace treaty between both monarchies in Santarém, 19 March 1373. The treaty provided for the marriage of Beatriz, sister of Fernando I, to Sancho, brother of the Castilian monarch. Other matrimonial alliances followed between the children of both kings (Alfonso and Fadrique, bastard sons of Enrique II to Isabel and Beatriz, daughters of Fernando I, Beatriz being a legitimate daughter). These alliances were aimed to strengthen the ties of friendship between both kingdoms.

Peace between the monarchies lasted for some years. At this time there were talks of arranging a marriage between Beatriz and the heir of the new King of Castile, Juan I (Suárez Fernández, 1977) – a utopian project, in reality a strategic maneuver to divert attention – and of having a common position on the question of the Schism, with recognition of the Pope in Avignon. All this coincides with Castilian efforts to achieve neutrality in the Anglo-French conflict. However, the rupture caused by the Schism of the West in the Church and in Christendom (Alvarez Palenzuela, 1982) had serious consequences for Portuguese-Castilian relations. The delicate equilibrium between the two was complicated by the survival of Petrismo and the Lancastrian design to attain the throne of Castile.

Through the mediation of an important Petrista, Juan Fernández de Andeiro, secret negotiations were carried out leading to an Anglo-Portuguese alliance. This alliance made provisions for the marriage of Beatriz to Edmond of Langley, a nephew of the Duke of Lancaster and the sending of an English expeditionary force to Portugal. All of this was agreed in July 1380 by virtue of the agreement signed in Estremoz.

The discovery of these proposals provoked a strong reaction on the part of Castile, which was the prologue to further confrontation with Portugal. It abandoned its transitory neutrality and renewed its alliance with France (April, 1381). It further recognized Clement VII as the legitimate Pope (May, 1381) and it began a new era in its relations with Navarre via the heir to the throne, the future Carlos III.

At the beginning of summer of 1381, Castile began its attacks on the Portuguese frontier, as well as naval attacks which included another blockade of Lisbon. Fernando I made a grave undertaking to recognize Urban VI as the legitimate Pope. Thus the English expedition to Portugal acquired the character of a crusade in favour of Rome. Nevertheless, for English interests which were centerd mainly in Flanders, Portugal was on this occasion, of secondary importance. The English troops who arrived in Portugal were scarce in number and poorly equipped. They behaved like an occupying army, dealing harshly with the people, thereby increasing their disquiet which stemmed from the behaviour of Queen Leonor and the omnipresent power of Juan Fernández de Andeiro.

It wasn't very surprising therefore, when instead of fighting each other, the two armies negotiated near Elvas. Under the supervision of the pontifical legate, Pedro de Luna, later Pope Benedict XIII (Suárez Fernández, 2002), an agreement was reached in August 1382. This agreement involved a renewal of the Treaty of Santarém as well as providing for a new marriage for Beatriz, to Prince Fernando, the second of the sons of Juan I of Castile. This formula was both more dignified and realistic than that which had been agreed on in previous negotiations. Naturally, Portugal joined those powers that were obedient to Clement VII.

Unquestionably, the Treaty of Elvas left Leonor Téllez and her Petristan supporters in a compromising position, as the illness of Fernando I worsened and made it necessary for them to take steps to secure their future after the king's death. Barely a few weeks after the signing of the above agreement, the Queen of Castile died, thus offering new possibilities to the ruling group in Portugal.

Effectively, in November of that year, Leonor Téllez proposed that the matrimonial clause in the Treaty of Elvas be modified in the sense that the future husband of Beatriz should be the King of Castile himself (now a widower). Negotiations lead to the cautious Treaty of Salvaterra de Magos in April 1383. This treaty established guarantees preventing a future fusion of the two kingdoms and

also satisfied the wishes of the Portuguese rulers, by providing for military backup to keep them in power during the imminent period of the heir's minority, in quite hostile surroundings. (Suárez Fernández, 1982, 469-475; Arnaut, 1960, 348-355).

For Juan I this risky maneuver had an important compensation: Portugal joined Castile and France in a Clementist group, which was hostile to England. Soon, Navarre and Aragon would join this group when the current heirs took power. The wedding took place in Badajoz in May 1383.

Less than six months after the agreement, Fernando I died. As had been planned, a government headed by Queen Leonor came to power. It had to face strong internal resistance which soon became open rebellion (Coelho, 1984). In Lisbon and Porto, a popular movement (Serrão, 1985; Tavares, 1978) grew whose aim was to prevent Castilian hegemony. Such a hegemony was a grave threat to the Portuguese crafts and to trade, which would have been completely unable to withstand Castilian competition.

The Portuguese situation convinced the Castilian monarch, who apart from enjoying significant support in Portugal received an express request from Queen Leonor to enter Portugal. He did so, establishing himself in Guarda, and demanding that he be handed over complete control of the government, thereby exceeding the powers that had been yielded to him at the signing of the capitulations. At the beginning of 1384, the atmosphere was that of war. From March on, a Castilian force laid siege to Lisbon, which with great severity was continued throughout the summer months. Casualties on both sides were high.

This was the great military campaign which consolidated the figure of João de Avís. Based on his success and on the brilliant judicial arguments of João das Regras in the Cortes of Coimbra in April, 1385 (Tavares, 1983; Bernardino, 1984; Sousa, 1985; Caetano, 1985), the political fortune of Del Master (who became King Juan I) was built. The great victory at Aljubarrota ratified the political decision taken some months before. In international affairs, the new king brought a renewal of the alliance with England and a return of Portugal to the fold of the Roman Pope.

For the Castilian monarchy, the defeat at Aljubarrota, besides bringing on an important internal crisis, from which, nevertheless, it emerged in a stronger position, meant having to confront another English invasion, with Portuguese support, decided on at the Treaty of Windsor in May, 1386. This was a serious threat to the very existence of the Trastámara dynasty and to the territorial integrity of the kingdom. If it had succeeded it would have involved the handing over to Portugal of a substantial group of territories in Salamanca and Extremadura. Again the English expeditionary force had the characteristics of a crusade in defense of the Roman Pontiff.

Anglo-Portuguese collaboration was reaffirmed and became even closer some months after the arrival of the expeditionary force with the matrimonial alliance of Juan I and Philippa of Lancaster, one of the great events guiding the history of Portugal. Despite its apparent strength, it soon became obvious that the English force had no possibilities of success in the Castilian interior. More time was given to negotiations than to combat. Despite the serious obstacles, at the end of July 1388, the Castilian monarch reached an agreement, costly in economic terms. This agreement provided for the marriage of the heir to the throne of Castile with Catherine, daughter of the English aspirant, bringing an end to Lancastrian ambitions in Castile.

The agreement was signed in a general atmosphere of peace. In January, 1389, Castile and Portugal signed six month treaties. In June of the same year, France, England, Scotland and Castile signed three-year treaties, leading to a long ceasefire – it was hoped that it would be definitive- in the Anglo-French War. In November, in Monção, Castile and Portugal also signed three-year treaties, which could be extended, in order to resolve their remaining differences. Portugal joined the general system of Leulingham; the desire for a definitive peace seemed to predominate everywhere.

The Construction of Peace

Despite this, the road to peace between the two monarchies was a long one and was often broken by periods of military conflict, some of which were of significance. The harsh reality of Aljubarrota, with its sequel of human and material losses and desires for revenge would interfere with the peace process, prolonging it for years. The signed treaties were badly observed because of this,

and also because of the internal political tensions in Castile after the death of Juan I. The latter circumstance encouraged the more belligerent positions and made diplomatic contacts, already complicated by the internal situation, more difficult.

With the aim of extending the valid treaties, talks were begun in Sabugal and continued in Lisbon. These talks lead to the signing of an agreement in May 1393 which increased the validity of the treaties to 15 years. Thus they could be considered as a providing an excellent foundation for peace (Suárez Fernández, 1960). The contents of the agreement revealed mutual resentment and mistrust, but also a willingness to improve economic relations. It provided for freedom of trade, and the return of property which had been seized, thus establishing the starting point for a return to normal relations.

Some parts of the agreement, especially those pertaining to the return of prisoners, were poorly observed by the Castilians. This eventually lead to new episodes of war especially from 1396 to 1399, and included such radical events as the taking of Badajoz (May, 1396), the burning of Viseu (June, 1397) and the proclamation of Prince Dinis as King or Portugal (May, 1398). The movement of members of the nobility from one kingdom to another was an essential aspect of these confrontations and made peace even more difficult to attain.

After overcoming grave difficulties, new treaties, to last 10 years, and to begin from the following March, were signed in August 1402 (Suárez Fernández, 1960, doc. 32). The tone of these treaties reveals a greater trust between the kingdoms and the desire for an effective peace. This led to special efforts being made to remove the obstacles to peace, to resolve the differences which might arise in the future and, especially, in fixing a precise schedule for the commencement of the appropriate diplomatic contacts.

Despite this express willingness, the proposed contacts were continually postponed. The death of Enrique III and the subsequent problems in Castile brought even further delays. Doubtless, it was the perspective of his access to the throne of Aragon which induced the Castilian Prince Fernando, regent for his nephew, to seek an agreement with Portugal. This agreement was formally signed in October 1411 (*Monumenta Henricina*, II, doc. 5). It was, in the full meaning of the expression, a peace treaty, which included France and also Aragon, in the event of the Castilian prince being crowned King of Aragon. Because of this, it strove to definitively cancel the past, with the relinquishment of all political demands or claims for injuries, and tried to establish a wide economic basis for future collaboration.

The treaty had to be ratified by Juan II on reaching the age of 14. Despite the desire for peace, the tensions occurring in Castile from 1418 on, with the irruption of the Princes of Aragon in Castilian politics, again raised difficulties for the ratification of the treaty. In 1420 voices were heard in Castile, which refused to accept an automatic ratification of the treaty, and considered a previous show of strength to be essential to force the Portuguese into accepting more stringent conditions.

In spite of the political changeover in Castile – the fall of Prince Don Enrique- difficult negotiations were needed between October 1421 and September 1423 to reach an agreement, not on the previously signed peace treaty, but only on a new ten-year treaty. The terms of this latter treaty had to be completed at later meetings, as negotiations became very complex due to the intervention of Alfonso V of Aragón in Castilian politics. It wasn't until 1427 that agreement was reached on the additional terms, a stark revelation of the importance of acts of piracy, which both Castilians and Portuguese used against each other.

The control of power by Don Álvaro de Luna, from the middle of 1429 onwards, and surely also the death of Queen Beatriz (daughter of Fernando I of Portugal, and widow of Juan I of Castile), by removing the last obstacle to peace, at last established the adequate conditions for the signing of a true peace treaty. The said treaty was signed in Medina del Campo in October 1431 (*Monumenta*, IV, doc. 9), and ratified in Almeirim in the following January (Suárez, 1960, doc. 49). It marked the end of a long period of confrontations, and the establishment of an economic and political basis for future understanding.

For quite a number of years, based on these last agreements, relations between the two kingdoms were essentially friendly. There were some scares in relation to maritime expansion, such as the Canary Island question which became an international affair at the Council of Basel (Álvarez, Palenzuela, 1992).

An apparently innocent request by Portugal to the Council gave rise to Castilian suspicions. Portugal requested that a plenary indulgence be granted, *in articulo mortis*, to the inhabitants of Ceuta and to those of other territories that might be conquered by Portugal. Such vagueness when referring to future conquests was the reason for the protest presented by the Castilian delegation. This led to further protests by both delegations; everything made more complicated by the difficult situation at the Council, due to its confrontation with the Pope.

The unmentioned question which was of grave concern to both delegations was that of the Canary Islands. Portugal had been showing an interest in them, at least since 1418. In 1423 Castilian diplomats protested against proposed Portuguese journeys to the islands.

Concern increased in July 1436 when a Portuguese delegation asked Pope Eugene IV to grant Portugal the right to conquer the Canary Islands. The successive replies of the Pope, while being favorable to Portuguese demands, were extremely careful neither to threaten Castilian interests nor the peaceful situation existing between the two kingdoms. The issue motivated the drawing up of a well-documented report in August 1437 by Alfonso García de Santa María, an important specialist in relations with Portugal.

The discussion on this issue, carried on in a parallel manner in the Curia and at the Council, didn't lead to a clearly favourable verdict for either party. However, it did lead to heated debates in both places, especially in the commissions of the Council. No definitive conclusion was reached. Nevertheless, the Council's message to Duarte was practically a request to relinquish all hopes of a favorable verdict, as it was considered that such demands infringed on previous Castilian claims. In any event, both the Castilian and Portuguese presence at the Council was coming to an end. In reality, both delegations had remained longer than was intended, precisely to insure that no decision damaging to their interests was taken in the event of either delegation prematurely abandoning the Conciliar sessions.

Another issue affecting the peace process, without essentially changing anything which had been agreed on, was the presence of the Princes of Aragon in Castilian politics. Portuguese intervention led to the liberation of Prince Don Pedro in December 1432, but Portugal was very careful not to threaten the recently attained peace treaty. After the death of Duarte, Queen Leonor's abandonment of Portugal and her participation in the renewed struggle of her brothers against Juan II led to another period of tense relations. Naturally, Prince Dom Pedro, Duke of Coimbra, motivated by common interests and political objectives, formed a strong alliance with Don Álavo Luna and the King of Castile. The death of Queen Leonor, and the defeat of the Princes in Olmedo (1445), brought an end for the present, to the threats to peace.

The Consolidation of Peace

The defeat of the princes led to a greater rapprochement between Portugal and Castile. This was especially true of their respective rulers, the Duke of Coimbra and Don Álvaro, who consolidated their personal authority. The external manifestation of this rapprochement was the marriage of the Castilian monarch to Isabel, daughter of the Portuguese Prince Juan, and therefore a granddaughter of the first king of the Avís dynasty. This marriage would prove, however, to be an important obstacle to the political plans of the High Constable of Castile.

The fall from grace of the Duke of Coimbra, despite the fact that his daughter Isabel was the wife of Alfonso V, and his subsequent defeat and death in Alfarrobeira, in May, 1449 (Baquero Moreno, 1973) were events with great repercussions in Castilian politics. In a certain sense, they were a precedent of what would happen in Castile to Don Álvaro. Nevertheless, neither the death of the Duke of Coimbra, nor the subsequent execution of the Castilian High Constable in June 1453 would bring any change in the foreign policy of the two kingdoms: relations continued to be perfectly friendly.

Negotiations for the second marriage of the Prince of Asturias to Juana, daughter of Duarte and Leonor, were begun by Don Álvaro and continued without any change during his imprisonment. Despite the many difficulties involved they were completed fairly quickly, even

though the wedding wasn't celebrated until May 1455, by which time Enrique had been made king. It provided the link for the collaboration between Enrique IV and Alfonso V against the Aragonese.

For Enrique IV, Portugal seemed to provide firm support and even a place of refuge. On the eve of his dismissal in Avila, while he was negotiating the marriage of his stepsister to Alfonso V, he seemed willing to take refuge in Portugal. From Portugal he received promises of military aid when he considered taking violent action against the rebellion of the nobles and the proclamation of Alfonso's rights to the throne. Afterwards, Guisando's plans for a marriage between Isabel, now heiress to the throne of Castile (del Val, 1975) and the Portuguese monarch, were seriously considered again. The Portuguese monarch was staunch in his refusal to countenance such an alliance.

The proximity of Portugal to Castilian affairs became an inconvenience at the outbreak of the Castilian Civil War in March 1475. Alfonso V decided to intervene in Castile in defense of the eventual rights of his niece, Juana, the Excellent Lady, who was by then engaged to be married. This action seemed to bring Portuguese-Castilian relations back to the worst times of 1383-1385, with a repetition of many of the events of those years, but now in the opposite direction: a Portuguese invasion of Castile, despite many voices of protest in Portugal itself, the proclamation of the new Queen of Castile, the search for international alliances, in this case with France. The battle of Toro (March, 1476) demonstrated the non-viability of the Portuguese undertaking as well as reaffirming Isabel on the Castilian throne (Suárez Fernández, 2000). However, it wasn't until February 1479 that another Portuguese defeat brought a decisive end to the war.

Complex negotiations between Beatriz de Braganca and her niece, Queen Isabel during March 1479 led to the signing of a complex peace agreement, the Treaty of Alcáçovas, on 4 September 1479 (Suárez Fernández, 1989; Torre-Suárez, 1958). It didn't just mean the end of the war, by resolving the issues which had brought it on: it meant a full restoration of relations between both kingdoms to the point they had reached in the Treaty of Medina del Campo-Almeirim.

For this reason the first of the four pacts of the Treaty of Alcáçovas, which restored peace between the two parties, was conceived as a renewal of the ancient peace treaties of Almeirim. The clauses of these treaties were fully transcribed and a new one was added, aimed at resolving problems which had cropped up in the meantime. These more recent issues mainly concerned Portuguese shipping on the African coast, and the islands of the so-called 'Atlantic-Mediterranean.' Portugal's exclusive rights in these zones were acknowledged, as well as Castile's ownership of the Canary Islands.

The other pacts of the Treaty of Alcáçovas were devoted to solving the problem of the destiny of Juana: the renunciation of her claims to the title of Queen of Castile and her marriage to the Prince of Asturias, with careful clarification concerning the interim *tercerías* management of the Moura. Future relations were to be firmly founded on family ties – a marriage was proposed between Isabel and Alfonso, with a large dowry, in reality, an indemnity. And a solution to all the problems resulting from the recent war: pardon for rebels and exiles, the release of prisoners and the return of property, etc.

In the full meaning of the term, Alcáçovas marked the end of a journey where the peace treaty, attained with such difficulty at Almeirim, was strengthened. In the following years, relations between the two kingdoms, despite passing through difficult times, would be based not only on friendship, but, even more so, on familiarity. The good understanding had its origins not only in the treaty clauses, but also in the proximity of kinship, consolidated by successive and frequent marriages.

The Treaty of Tordesillas (Tratado, 1995), a union of two agreements signed in June, 1494, provided a climax to Castilian-Portuguese relations during the Middle Ages. The text of the Treaty showed a clear continuity with the entire process I have analysed here; it ratified in their entirety the provisions agreed at Alcácova, which both sides considered to provide a full guarantee for friendly relations. Nevertheless, this last treaty was different from the previous one which was almost completely technical. The Treaty of Tordesillas sought to reply to the new situation which had arisen after Columbus' first trip.

In fact, the Alcáçovas agreements had resolved the situation created by navigation along the coast of Africa by a partition which followed latitudinal parallels. Now, the existence of lands to the west meant that a division along the lines of the meridians was needed, whatever the limits

established were, and some clear definitions regarding Africa. The rest was simply a ratification of that point in relations which had culminated in Almerim and afterwards, in Alcáçovas.

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The First Global War: The Dutch versus Iberia in Asia, Africa and the New World, 1590-1609

Pieter C. Emmer
Leiden University
P.C.Emmer@LET.leideuniv.n1

Abstract

Are the beginnings of the Dutch expansion outside Europe to be viewed as war or commerce? In assessing the damage done by the Dutch to the various Iberian trade circuits in Asia and the Atlantic during the period between 1585 and 1609, this contribution shows that the Dutch actions against Spain and Portugal had virtually no effect. The Dutch - as well as the other Northwest European powers - could not seriously harm the Iberian expansion system. After 1620 this situation changed, but it remains remarkable that between 1500 and 1800 two expansion systems continued to co-exist in Asia, Africa and the New World.

Keywords

Dutch expansion, Global Warfare, Sefardi Jews, Dutch East India Company, Dutch West India Company

a) The Iberian Expansion System

It seems remarkable that the world outside Europe should have played such an important role in the Dutch struggle for independence against Spain. Before the beginning of the Dutch rebellion, the non-European world was peripheral to the economic interests of the insurgents. However, after the fall of Antwerp in 1585, the Northern Netherlands started a global war with the Iberian powers in Asia, on the coast of West Africa, in parts of South and North America and in the Caribbean. This global war was waged in part with the objective of harming the enemy and in part to increase the benefits derived from trade, which in turn would help to finance the war effort. On the Iberian Peninsula, the profits derived from intercontinental trade and overseas colonization contributed significantly to the financing of the Spanish armies and navies used against the Dutch insurgents. By rapidly expanding to the East and West, the Dutch were hoping to transfer some of those benefits from Spain to themselves.

In order to understand the beginning of the Dutch exploits outside Europe, it is important to survey the structure of the first or Iberian expansion system in order to pinpoint those areas that were most prone to penetration and attacks by the Dutch. The Iberian maritime empire consisted of seven separate circuits. First of all, the Atlantic islands and the west coast of Africa should be mentioned as the first circuit of the Iberian expansion system. The first explorers from Europe in this part of the world were the Portuguese. They traded with the Senegambia region, as well as with the Gold Coast. In these two areas, the Portuguese had hardly any footholds; they only established regular contacts with the Africans along the coast and did not attempt to conquer or occupy any part of it. In addition to these two trading regions, the Portuguese made contact with the Congo and Angola. In both areas the Portuguese extended their influence beyond trade. In the kingdom of the Congo the Portuguese missionaries converted part of the population to Christianity. In Angola the Portuguese established some

small settler communities of about one thousand Europeans in total. Luanda became the center of the Portuguese in Africa.

The second circuit was directed towards the New World, where Spain was the dominant power. This country had established colonies in the Caribbean, Mexico, the Isthmus, and along the Pacific coast. The Spanish presence in this enormous empire was very marginal. It has been estimated that about a quarter of a million Spanish moved to the New World during the sixteenth century. The number of Amerindians in Spanish America has been estimated at around 9 million. The number of Africans remained limited, with an estimated total of 40,000 in around 1600. The principle economic activity in Spanish America was agriculture aimed at local consumption. The main export activity was silver mining, which was responsible for three quarters of the world's production of this precious metal. The massive export flow of silver enabled the colonists in Spanish America to pay for the importation of both luxury products from Europe and expensive slave laborers from Africa (Rahn Phillips 1990: 76).

The third circuit was set up by the Portuguese in the New World. Their colony, Brazil, occupied the coastal area from Recife in the North to Rio de Janeiro in the South. This long coastal strip attracted around 200,000 Portuguese settlers during the period between 1500 and 1600, as well as about 50,000 slaves. The number of Amerindians is unknown, but it seems unlikely that there were more than about 20,000 to 30,000. The principle economic activity in Portuguese America was the production of sugar cane and Brazil wood for export, in addition to subsistence agriculture (Andrade Arruda: 375; Eltis 2000: 9).

In Asia the Portuguese and Spanish presence was extremely limited. Yet both countries were able to organize two separate flows of trade. The fourth circuit was developed by the Portuguese and included the Portuguese trade in Asia. The fifth circuit comprised the trade between Portugal and Asia. The Portuguese presence in Asia averaged around 60,000 men. Most of these Portuguese were in Asia on a temporary basis, as there were no Portuguese colonization schemes. No more than seven ships left each year from Lisbon to the East and the yearly return fleet consisted of about 4 ships. It seems that the Portuguese in Asia made most of their profits in the inter-Asian trade, as well as in privateering, an activity by which they captured Arab, Indian and Chinese vessels (Subrahmanyan and Thomaz: 306-331). The sixth circuit centered on the Philippines, in which Manila became the center of exchange for the silver of Spanish America against products from China and Japan, such as silk and lacquered objects (McAlister 1984: 316,317,371).

The seventh circuit within the Iberian expansion system was the slave trade from West Africa. During the 16th century, the Portuguese brought around 250,000 slaves to Europe, the Atlantic Islands, Spanish America and Brazil. The changing figures and destinations are clearly visible: between 1500 and 1525 the yearly volume of the slave trade averaged 600 slaves and the main destinations were Europe, the Atlantic islands and São Tomé. During the last quarter of the 16th century, the volume of the Portuguese slave trade had risen to 3,800 slaves per year and the main destinations had become Spanish America and Brazil (Curtin 1969: 116,119).

The principal breakthrough for the Dutch toward exploring and exploiting economic opportunities outside Europe came in 1585, when Antwerp fell into Spanish hands. This caused an exodus of merchants who had the necessary knowledge, capital and contacts to trade with other continents. In the North, these refugees from Antwerp were most cordially welcomed, as they could help in the "patriotic struggle" against the "Spanish tyrant" and worldwide "popish superstition." At the same time, however, these merchants from Antwerp, many of them crypto-Jews and *cristãos novos* (New Christians) continued to conduct business within the Iberian trading system (Enthoven 1996: 111; Israel 1989: 29,30; van den Boogaart: 75).

Which Iberian trading circuits were first attacked or penetrated? In Asia, the Dutch attacked the Portuguese trading empire and, after some years, they managed to construct their own trading empire, which seems to have marginalized and even replaced the Portuguese seaborne empire there. In the Atlantic, the Dutch attacked the Portuguese in West Africa and penetrated the trade between

Europe and Brazil in a peaceful manner. The Spanish empire overseas was more difficult to tackle. First of all, it was better defended than that of the Portuguese. Second, the trade to and from Spanish America was organized in convoys, or *flotas*. These were much more difficult to attack than the Portuguese ships which sailed to both West Africa and Brazil all year round, as the trade in slaves and sugar could not be temporized in the same way as the transport of precious metals from Spanish America.

b) The Dutch Revolt and the Beginning of a Dutch Seaborne Empire

As pointed out in the first section of this contribution, the Dutch had little experience in trade outside Europe at the time when Antwerp was taken by the Spanish in 1585. By 1609, however, the Dutch were well on the way to establishing a worldwide trading network with six separate trading circuits. First, the Dutch were growing rapidly as traders and privateers in Asia. Second, the Dutch had developed a regular exchange trade in goods on the coast of Africa, while they were also carrying increasing amounts of sugar from Brazil to the ports of both Holland and Zeeland, directly or indirectly. This constituted a third circuit. Fourth, the Dutch had established some small settlement colonies on the "Wild Coast," i.e. in the coastal parts of the Guianas. Fifth, the exclusion of the Dutch from the saltpans of Portugal had forced the Dutch to look for salt on the Venezuelan coast, as the salt from Brittany was not suited for preserving herring. The sixth and final circuit consisted of the Dutch trade with North America, but this trade did not really develop until the second decade of the seventeenth century (de Vries and van der Woude 1995: 450-469).

Before turning to a description of these six circuits, the question should be answered as to why the Dutch were able to become a mercantile world power, albeit only for about half a century, i.e. between 1585 and 1650. During that period, the whole country seems to have turned into one gigantic shipyard. Merchants abounded, sending ships everywhere in order to buy and sell. Industries abounded, even though at the time this activity referred to small-scale manufacturing rather than large-scale factories as we have come to know them since the Industrial Revolution. Why were the Dutch able to become the center of the world? Surely the U.K., with more space and twice the population, or indeed France, with six times the population of Holland, both had a much greater chance of becoming world powers than did that small swampy area on the shores of the North Sea.

There are several factors which can explain the rise of the Netherlands and I will mention the three most important ones: i) the Dutch internal political structure; ii) the Dutch position in international politics at the time; and iii) the superior skills of the Dutch in shipbuilding, manufacturing and management.

Let me stress that these advantages did help the Dutch to become the world's most important traders, but that none of them were able to keep the Dutch on top of the world forever. After the mid-seventeenth century, both France and England overtook the Netherlands, as they simply had more people, more money and a much larger internal market than the Dutch Republic. It is strange, in fact, that the Dutch were able to become the leading commercial nation in the world at all. England and France should have taken the lead in the fight against the Iberians for mastery of the oceans. In England, however, there was civil war, as well as regional conflicts when parts of Scotland and Ireland were incorporated into a United Kingdom. Similarly, in France religious and regional problems absorbed much of the energy of the central government in Paris. This was when the Dutch saw their chance. They declared themselves to be no longer subservient to the King of Spain and in so doing became the champions of local government. Actually, a central Dutch state did not exist. The constituent components, the seven independent Dutch states, were the real powers. Among these states Holland was the most influential, and within the state of Holland the cities decided what had to be done. Now the cities in Holland were all heavily involved in the commercial expansion and the city

governments were mainly elected by and composed of merchants (Enthoven: 95).

In addition to the nation's political structure and the organizational talents of the Dutch should be stressed. The shipping firms were able to offer an assortment of goods (cloth, spices, grain, timber, to name but a few products) at unbeatable prices. Unlike Spain and Portugal, and long before the Dutch started trading globally, they had worked hard to become the transit market of Europe, where goods from southern Europe were exchanged against goods from the Baltic. And last but not least, the Dutch managed to create an environment in which innovations could be not only invented, but also applied. The decentralized political structure of the Dutch Republic made it very difficult to restrict religious and other freedoms, and this was exactly the environment in which innovators - many arriving from abroad - were able to read and write what they wanted and where new designs could be tried out for such diverse items as ships, fire extinguishers, limited companies, insurance, drainage pumps (making it possible to reclaim land), cartography and optical instruments (Davids et al. 1988).

A decentralized government made up of merchants, cheap goods and services, and an innovative environment were the three most important reasons why the Netherlands were able to take the lead in world trade. However, it should again be stressed that none of these factors provided the Dutch with a structural advantage over their competitors. Political decentralization might work wonders for the development of private commerce, but not for the development of an empire. In the long run, only a strong central government backed by an efficient tax system would be able to protect an overseas empire by providing sufficient military and naval power. Between 1600 and 1650, the Dutch merchants were interested in one-time investments in conquest. However, they were not willing to keep paying the large overhead costs necessary to secure their overseas colonies. A well-assorted market with low prices and cheap freightage was not a great advantage when it was the number of naval guns and the size of armies that decided the fate of overseas colonization (de Vries and der Woude: 140-144).

The "Jews" and the First Expansion System

An Iberian venture into the exploration of the world might have followed naturally from the *reconquista* (reconquest) of the peninsula. Because Spain and Portugal were not among the premier trading nations in Europe, this development did not take place. The Italian city states, not Spain and Portugal, were the dominant shippers of inter-European trade. After 1492, the city states continued their commercial ventures behind Spanish and Portuguese fronts. In fact, the Spanish and Portuguese nobility seemed only to be interested in the power and politics of the expansion movement, not in its commercial opportunities (Scammell 1981: 180-183).

In the course of the fifteenth century, the Genoese lost their commercial dominance as the bulk of European trade shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. Yet Spain itself was unable to fill the gap. Surely, many port cities stimulated the rise of a group of Spanish merchants and entrepreneurs, but both their number and their abilities always fell short of what was required. Throughout the history of Spain, non-Spanish merchants dominated the most dynamic sections of its trade, commerce, and finance, both inside and outside Europe. The actual development of commercial and financial connections with Spanish America is a case in point. On paper, the Spanish merchants had everything under control. Once or twice a year a convoy of ships (the *flotas*) would sail to the New World, carrying products ordered by the colonists, while on the return voyage the Spanish ships would carry precious metals and some other high-value products. Every effort was made to exclude competition. Unfortunately for the Spanish merchants, the export sector of their New World economy was far more dynamic than the *flota* system allowed for.

The production of the silver mines, for example, could be increased only when more labor became available. Since the Spanish were unable to import more mobile labor from the metropolis by instituting a system of indentured labor, the only alternative was the importation of African slaves. The Spanish commercial community, however, never succeeded in developing a slave trade of its own. As a result, the

central agency in charge of commercial links between Spain and Spanish America (the *Casa de Contratación* in Seville) had to arrange for foreigners to provide their colonies with slaves. Such contracts were based on the demand for slaves that had been recorded in previous years and could not be continually adjusted when more slaves were suddenly needed. As a result, large numbers of slaves were smuggled in by non–Spanish slave suppliers (Rawley 1981: 51-77). Similarly, major quantities of Spanish American exports "leaked" away to non–Spanish destinations in exchange for the very imports that Spanish manufacturers could not provide. It seems that neither the Spanish government nor the Spanish mercantile elite invested the profits from its American colonies in ways that would boost the productive capacities of the metropolis. Most of the gold and silver from America was consumed in an attempt to prevent the decline of Spain's military position in Europe, most notably in Italy and Flanders (Elliott 1970: 283-291).

Portugal, on the other hand, seems to have reacted much more adequately to the commercial challenges of its overseas expansion, at least until 1600. Why was that? The monarchy and nobility in Portugal were no less unsympathetic to trade and commerce than their equivalents in Spain. However, unlike Spain, Portugal had not expelled its Jews as early as 1492, and during the sixteenth century the Portuguese Jews (now converted to Christianity, at least nominally) together with merchants from Italy were the driving force behind the foundation of a worldwide Portuguese trading network. Of course, we should bear in mind that this trading network was rather limited in both scope and volume. The Portuguese had only a few strongholds in Asia and Africa, and much of their "trade" consisted of looting the ships of Arab, Chinese, and Indian traders. Moreover, the beginning of the Portuguese exploitation of Brazil was very modest and did not require much investment in labor and equipment until the beginnings of sugar cultivation after the mid-sixteenth century (Schammell 1981: 240).

Yet there was a Portuguese trade empire in the making, and the Jews and New Christians played an important if not dominant role in this. Some historians even claim that all merchants in Portugal were of Jewish origin since the contemporary sources used *homens de negócio* (businessmen) synonymously with *Cristãos Novos* and *conversos* (converts). Others estimate that about one third of all merchants in Portugal were of Jewish descent. Even the king of Spain at the time seemed to have equated Portuguese merchants and financiers with New Christians, since he hesitated to ask them for help in financing his wars (Ebben 1996: 110,111).

The dominant New Christian and crypto–Jewish presence in Portuguese commerce came to an abrupt end towards the end of the sixteenth century when Portugal began to persecute its baptized Jews and recent converts from Judaism. The Inquisition had been active in Portugal since 1547, but its actions became more severe once the King of Spain, Philip II, ascended to the Portuguese throne. The results of this religious cleansing were disastrous: "The main change between the mid-sixteenth century and the mid-eighteenth century was that the Portuguese merchants had disappeared as a commercial force." (Shaw 1989: 416) The Portuguese New Christians took up residence first in the colonies such as Angola and Brazil and, when living there became difficult or impossible, in the port cities of Italy, France, the Low Countries, England, and in some Hanseatic cities. The dispersion of New Christian families to Madeira, São Tomé, Angola, Brazil and the trading cities of Northwest Europe turned out to be a commercial blessing in disguise. The diaspora of the New Christians coincided with the development of the second Atlantic system of trade and settlement, and the New Christians (in some cases returning to Judaism) were the first to exploit the new economic opportunities by transferring to the second system an important percentage of the trade in goods and slaves between Portugal and West Africa and Angola, the production, transport, and sale of cash crops from Brazil, and the slave trade between Africa and the New World (Ebben 1996: 111-113).

Why did Portugal deliberately shoot itself in the foot by virtually expelling its commercial class? The answer is that Portugal during the *ancien régime* was a very religious country and that the king and the nobility could do little to stop the policies of the Catholic church. The church in Portugal controlled about a third of all economic activities. In Lisbon alone there were 5,000 to 6,000 mendicant friars. Within the Catholic church, the Inquisition had a large degree of autonomy. Its victims had to surrender all their assets, which the Inquisition used to find more victims. Many Portuguese merchants disappeared into this vortex without a trace, because the Inquisition knew that there were many crypto-Jews among the New Christian mercantile groups and that they usually possessed considerable wealth. The Inquisition tended to stifle all trade, not only that of vulnerable merchants. Credit extended to Portuguese merchants could not be retrieved if the debtor had been put in prison by the Inquisition. Hence, non–Portuguese merchants became reluctant to do business with their Portuguese counterparts (Shaw 1989: 423).

Of course there is much debate about the causes of Portugal's decline. Not all of the causes were directly related to the persecution of the New Christians. It has been pointed out that the profits Portugal derived from non–European trade were bound to decline as soon as the Dutch, French and British ended the Iberian monopoly. It has also been suggested that the Portuguese traders would have lost ground even had the New Christians remained, because these merchants had only family networks to rely on, which were not capable of organizing their activities in effective organizational structures such as the overseas trading companies of Northwest Europe (Emmer 1996: xvi-xxii).

Despite these explanations, there can be no doubt that the root cause of Portugal's economic decline was the emigration of its merchant class – not necessarily Jewish -, the intimidation of those merchants who remained, and the absence of an established class of manufacturers. Many of these same causes also apply to Spain. Both countries were monolithically Catholic and, after the departure of the Jews and their descendants, did not even have the advantage of a "Huguenot challenge," as did France. No wonder that later, during the seventeenth century, some Portuguese pamphleteers pleaded for the return of the expelled *Cristãos Novos*, but it was too late. "Portugal, awash in gold, knew itself to be poor because it had to pay out that same gold to England and other industrial nations in order to feed and clothe its own inhabitants with foreign products, traded by foreign merchants and conveyed in foreign ships." (Shaw 1989: 416)

c) The Beginnings of the Dutch Expansion in Asia

The stimuli for the Dutch expansion in Asia were twofold. First of all, the embargoes of Philip II and III against Dutch ships entering Spanish and Portuguese harbors, as well as the Dutch blockade of the Flemish coast, should be mentioned. Another explanation points to the growing economic interests, as well as to the technical capabilities, of the Dutch in sailing to Asia. The demand for Asian products was growing and the Portuguese were unable to increase the supply of Asian goods. This growing discrepancy between supply and demand would have induced some Dutch investors and merchants to send ships to Asia even if there had been no embargoes and they had been allowed to continue buying Asian products in Iberian ports (Israel 1989: 41; Gaastra 1982: 13-16).

Second, towards the end of the sixteenth century the Dutch suddenly obtained the expertise to send expeditions to the other side of the globe. Merchants from Antwerp with personal experience in both the Portuguese and Spanish Asia trades had left this city after the Spanish takeover in 1585. In addition, several Dutch seamen had sailed to Asia on Portuguese ships and had themselves experienced how business was conducted there. Also, the design and the construction of the ships, as well as navigation techniques, had progressed in the northern Netherlands, increasing the geographical range of the Dutch merchant marine (Enthoven: 248). This explains why the Dutch suddenly seemed able to send ship after ship to Asia. Between 1597 and 1602, 65 Dutch ships sailed to Asia, an average of 13 ships per year. In 1602, several regional East India companies in Holland and Zeeland were dissolved in order to make way for the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC), the famous United East India Company,

which was to become the largest trading and shipping firm in the world before 1800 (Gaastra 1982: 15,16).

The commercial success of the VOC has obliterated the fact that, between its foundation in 1602 and the truce with Spain in 1609, the Company was much more an instrument of war than one of commerce. In fact, the subsidies it received from the federal government of the Netherlands were not nearly enough to cover its military expenses and, after the first twenty years of operation, the debt accumulated by the VOC nearly equaled the capital outlay of the company. Yet during the period 1602-1620 the average return on the capital invested was about 6 percent per year. This equaled the average interest rate on savings at the time. The yearly turnover during the first seven years of the Company's existence came to about 1 million guilders, half of this coming from trade and the other half deriving from privateering. Between 1597 and 1609, the Dutch captured about 30 Spanish and Portuguese ships in Asia, an average of 2 to 3 ships a year. It seems likely that most of the captured ships were Portuguese, as the Dutch did not attack the Spanish Philippines until 1609. It also stands to reason that most of the Portuguese ships taken in Asia had been employed in trade within Asia. The average yearly departures on the route from Asia to Portugal came to between 5 and 10 ships (Enthoven: 250-255; Duncan 1986: 16,17).

d) The Dutch on the Coast of West Africa, 1590-1609

When did the Dutch first sail to Africa? There is some evidence to show that a captain from Medemblik, Barent Erickz, was the first Dutchman to do so. He was captured by the Portuguese and imprisoned on the islands of Príncipe and São Tomé. There he learned about trading practices on the African coast and, after his release, the Medemblik captain returned to West Africa in 1593, buying pepper, ivory and gold (Enthoven: 264). It seems remarkable how quickly the Dutch were able to establish themselves on the African coast, particularly in the Senegambia area, Cape Verde and the Gold Coast. Most of the Dutch merchants sending ships to Africa had had no previous experience in trade with Africa. The exceptions were the Antwerp merchants in Amsterdam, who had established trading networks along the coast, relying on the support of family members.

To date no comprehensive survey exists of all the Dutch voyages to Africa between 1593 and 1609. All we know is that around 1600 a yearly average of about 20 ships sailed to Africa. Some merchants in Amsterdam founded a company for conducting trade with Africa in 1600 and somewhat later another company was set up for trade with Africa by some merchants in Zeeland. Trade with Africa remained hazardous as the Portuguese continued to take Dutch ships even after 1609, when the Dutch and Philip III, king of Spain and Portugal signed a truce. The Dutch federal government was slow to offer protection to its Africa traders. No Portuguese strongholds were captured and it was not until 1612 that the Dutch government constructed a fort on the African coast in order to serve as a foothold for Dutch traders (Unger 1956: 135-137).

What do we know about the nature and volume of the Dutch trade with West Africa? Again, no systematic study exists, but the available evidence shows that Dutch textiles were exchanged for hides, gum, ivory, beeswax and pepper. The most important African export at the time was undoubtedly gold. The profit rate in the gold trade had been calculated at 77 percent. The total volume per year has been estimated at 1 million guilders (den Boogaart: 80-88,101,102). As a final observation, it should be pointed out the Dutch did not trade in slaves until after truce with Spain ended in 1621. It seems likely, however, that the Dutch traders on the African coast might have bought slaves in order to sell them at some other section of the coast. Also, Dutch ships were used by the Portuguese to bring slaves from Africa to Portugal and to transport slaves from Africa to Brazil and - under special *asiento* - to Spanish America (Phillips, Jr. 1985: 188).

e) The Dutch in Brazil, 1587-1609

There is no doubt that Brazil offered the best commercial opportunities to the Dutch outside Europe. The shortage in tonnage on the route between the Iberian ports and Brazil was such that, in 1585, Philip II allowed Dutch vessels to sail in charter to Brazil for some Spanish merchants. Around 1590, 14 Dutch ships sailed to Brazil, and it must also have been around that year that the first direct voyages took place between the Netherlands and Brazil, returning with Brazil wood and sugar. Of course these direct voyages of Dutch ships were risky, and for that reason the Dutch captains had their vessels re-flagged at neutral ports such as Emden and Hamburg (den Boogaart: 76). The neutrality of these German ports had also been attractive to the Protestant and Jewish merchants of Antwerp who had left this city after it had been taken by the Spanish. However, during the course of the next ten years, a number of these refugee merchants moved to Amsterdam, as business opportunities seemed better there. The main expertise of these ex-Portuguese merchants was in the sugar trade, and they held on to this trade for some time to come.

It should be remembered that the anti-Jewish policies of the Portuguese Inquisition had led to an exodus of Jews, crypto-Jews and *cristãos novos* and that many had gone to the Atlantic islands and Brazil and had specialized in the production of, and trade in, sugar. One of the founding members of the Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam, Jacob Lopes da Costa, obtained his wealth during his period of residence in Brazil as a tax farmer and as the owner of a sugar mill. Another member of the Sephardi community, Duarte Saraiva (1572-1650), was a member of a well-to-do Pernambuco family. He married in Amsterdam in 1598, returned to Brazil in 1612, and went once more to Amsterdam during the Dutch occupation of Recife (1630-1654). Some members of the Sephardi community had resided previously in Hamburg, Portugal and Venice (Stols 1997: 119-147; den Boogaart: 76-78).

Why did the Sephardi community seem to have an advantage in the sugar trade? The explanation for their dominant position in this trade can be found in the archives of some notaries public in Amsterdam. These archives show how the Sephardi family network operated, as demonstrated by a charter contract in which an Amsterdam Sephardi merchant was the charterer of a ship. According to this contract, the chartered ship was to leave the port of Danzig with grain and sail to the southern coast of Spain or to the north coast of Morocco, where the grain was to be unloaded. From there, the ship would proceed to Tenerife or Cadiz and take in wine, which was to be transported to Bahia in Brazil. From Brazil, the ship would then sail to Lisbon laden with sugar. In most of the ports mentioned, a family member of the Amsterdam merchant would be residing, or at least a common representative shared by several Sephardi families. In the sugar trade, family networks were indispensable and this explains why the *Sephardim* were able to remain the dominant importers of sugar in Amsterdam (Vlessing 1995: 225,231-233).

The *Sephardim* remained pivotal in the Brazilian sugar trade via Lisbon because the beginning of direct shipments between Brazil and the Netherlands were aborted by the Dutch reprisals against the embargo of 1598. In 1599, the Dutch started a series of expeditions aimed at disturbing the Portuguese trade circuits in the Atlantic. The Canary Islands were attacked, São Tomé conquered, and then lost again. In 1604, another Dutch fleet was sent with the aim of disrupting Iberian trade in the Atlantic. As a counter measure, Philip II of Spain expelled all Dutch residents from Brazil, but it is to be doubted whether this ban was very effective. Only the Sephardi networks in the sugar trade were able to cope with all these disruptions (Mauro 1984: 459; Israel 1990: 251,252).

The *Sephardim* got Holland hooked on sugar. During the first decade of the seventeenth century the number of sugar refineries grew rapidly. The Portuguese Jews were very much aware of the fact that their economic clout was disproportionate to their numbers. In fact, they threatened to leave Holland if the authorities did not hand over their consignments of sugar captured aboard Spanish, Portuguese or Dutch ships, assuming these ships had been trading illegally with the Iberian enemy.

When the federal government of the Netherlands proposed the grant of a trade monopoly in the Atlantic to the newly founded West India Company (WIC) in 1621, the *Sephardim* of Amsterdam made a passionate plea to be allowed their own particular trade *niche*. "The document beginning with a quotation from the 1600 *sauvegarde* allowing the Portuguese to trade with Brazil by way of Portugal. The Jews write that they had conducted trade with Brazil for about forty years, mainly through the Portuguese harbours of Viana and Oporto, as well as Lisbon. *During these 12 years of peace shipping and commerce increased so considerably that more than 10, 12 and even 15 ships were built in this country each year. Those ships brought here by way of Portugal 40, 50 thousands of cases of sugar each year, as well as Brazil wood, ginger, cotton, hides and other goods...We were so successful that during that 12-year period we drove all the Portuguese caravels that used to carry the sugar from these waters. This was caused by the capacity of our ships so that we could attract half, even two-thirds of this trade to ourselves*." "Building the ships stimulated employment in shipbuilding and shipping through the import of trunks for masts, which were not available in the Netherlands. The Brazil trade also stimulated the export of Dutch merchandise. But most important was the sugar trade itself. It caused the number of sugar refineries in Amsterdam to increase from three to twenty-five in twenty-five years. Some of the refineries processed 1500 cases of sugar each year and the refined product was exported to other countries. At the end of this document they emphasized that the Brazil trade was their main overseas commercial activity, not commerce with the East Indies or other areas." (Vlessing 1995: 231,232)

What was the value of the direct and indirect trade between the Netherlands and Brazil during the first decade of the seventeenth century? Van den Boogaart calculated a yearly average of between 3 and 6 million guilders for the period from 1600 to 1624. It stands to reason to assume that during the first decade of the trade the yearly value was around the lower limit of 3 million guilders (den Boogaart: 127).

f) The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the 'Wild Coast', 1595-1609

How were the Dutch to attack Spain in the New World? The answer was not easy, as the Spanish silver mines were situated inland, far from the sea, and the transport of the precious metals to Spain was well organized and superbly defended against attacks. So, the only way to attack Spain in the New World was to participate in privateering in the hope of capturing unprotected Spanish ships employed in the inter-Caribbean trade. In addition, the Dutch hoped to pick up some trade by exchanging their products for the hides and tobacco of the Spanish colonists in the poorly defended Greater Antilles. In addition, the Dutch were interested in setting up trade with the Amerindians along the Amazon, Orinoco, Suriname and Essequibo rivers by exchanging knives, steel objects and other utensils for tobacco, pearls and dyewood. Around 1600, some expeditions from Vlissingen (Flushing) managed to establish two small colonies of settlers and traders in the Amazon estuary. In 1605, some Amsterdam merchants organized a company that traded to Guyana and Essequibo. Among the founding members there were no *Sephardim*. Obviously, this was a new trade, mainly centered on tobacco. Van den Boogaart estimated the volume at about 100,000 pounds of tobacco per year and the yearly value of the trade with the Caribbean at half a million guilders (den Boogaart: 139).

In addition to the trade with the Wild Coast and with some of the Spanish Caribbean islands, special mention should be made of the Dutch salt trade with Punta Araya on the Venezuelan coast between 1600 and 1605. In total, 611 ships came to the saltpans there in order to fetch salt. Previously the Dutch had bought salt in Setúbal in Portugal, but this supply was blocked by the embargo of 1598. The Spanish reacted vehemently: they built a fortress at Punta Araya, sent a fleet to drive away the small Dutch salt carriers and depopulated part of Cuba in order to prevent their own colonists from trading with the enemy (Goslinga 1972: 116-140).

g) The Global War between Iberia and the Dutch, 1585-1609

Did the Dutch expansion outside Europe help to weaken the Iberian enemy? Before looking at the available evidence, it seems useful to first identify the economic and geographical areas where damage could be done. Was it indeed possible to inflict damage on the trade circuits and colonization schemes of Portugal and Spain by sending a few ships and some naval expeditions into such vast areas as the Indian and Atlantic oceans? As far as the Spanish activities outside Europe were concerned, these were, generally speaking, well insulated from foreign interventions. In Asia, the Philippines and Manila were indeed once attacked by the Dutch in the period under review, but this attack could in no way seriously disturb the Spanish trade between the Far East and Spanish America.

The Pacific section of the Iberian expansion system was out of reach for the Dutch. The destruction of the Spanish trade would have required a massive and continuous investment in naval power and the Dutch could see that such an investment would not be offset by possible commercial gains ensuing from the destruction of the Spanish Pacific. Similarly, to the Dutch it seemed far too expensive to undertake continuous attempts at destroying the Spanish settlements in mainland America. Of course, certain coastal cities could be attacked, but the investment in such violence was usually higher than the value of the booty. Thus, the truly valuable assets of mainland Spanish America were fairly effectively sealed off from outside attacks.

The only weak spot of the Spanish Empire was situated in the Caribbean. However, during the period under review, the Spanish presence in the Caribbean was declining and there were no great Spanish interests at stake. Only the Greater Antilles were inhabited, and in the rest of the region the Amerindians continued to dominate. This explains why the Dutch, as well as the British and French, were able to establish themselves as traders in the region without any great difficulty. Yet over time the Spanish were able to fend off the Dutch salt carriers and to limit the trade in hides and tobacco between the Dutch and the Spanish colonists on Cuba. In short, the Spanish empire overseas had so many man-made, as well as natural, defenses that the Dutch could only upset the Spanish system by continuously investing considerable amounts of money in violence. This expenditure could hardly be compensated by profits from conquests or privateering, or attempts to replace the Spanish as traders and producers.

For the Portuguese empire, the situation seems to have been different. During the sixteenth century, the Portuguese had established a trading empire in Asia, as well as a profitable trade between Asia and Lisbon. Yet recent research has shown that the Portuguese had overstretched their capacities, as the supply of Asian goods for sale to Europe was sometimes larger than the Portuguese could handle, and that the remainder was brought to Europe via the traditional overland route dominated by Arabs and Italians. As a corollary, the European demand for Asian products, particularly for spices, was growing so rapidly that additional supplies could hardly have diminished the Portuguese trade with Asia (Rahn Phillips 1990: 52-54).

In addition to Asia, Brazil also presented Portugal with a challenge to which it could not respond fully. The slave-worked plantations constituted the most dynamic growth sector of the Atlantic economy at the time. The dramatic increase in the demand for slaves, capital goods, transportation, and refining capacity could not be met by the Portuguese alone. Merchants, investors, colonists and slave traders from the Low Countries - mainly from Flanders - were able to penetrate the trade and production of the Portuguese Atlantic area. After the fall of Antwerp in 1585, merchants and investors with expertise and investments in Brazilian trade and production moved to Zeeland and Holland (Stols: 124-133; Israel 1990: 419-421). This peaceful Dutch penetration of the Brazilian trade turned out to be very advantageous, as was shown above. This leads to the conclusion that a takeover by force would have done more harm to the Dutch than good.

h) Much Ado about Nothing? The Effects of the Dutch Expansion on Spain and Portugal

The assumption that the Dutch expansion in Asia and the Atlantic impeded the war effort of the Iberian enemy is not supported by the available quantitative evidence. In order to prove this point, we will first look at the Portuguese trade with Asia and then at the Portuguese and Spanish trades in the Atlantic. T. Bentley Duncan has provided us with a survey of the shipping movements between Portugal and Asia for the period between 1497 and 1700. In the period under review, i.e. from 1597 to 1609, there was neither a decline in the number of ships leaving Lisbon, nor in the tonnage of ships. Duncan's table mentions 43 ships and 49,200 tons for the period between 1591 and 1600, and 71 ships and 77,190 tons for the period between 1601 and 1610. Arrivals in Lisbon from Asia also increased, from 22 ships and 25,000 tons during the period between 1591 and 1600 to 28 ships and 35,500 tons during the period between 1601 and 1609.

However, these figures do not tell the full story, as the numbers of ships lost in both directions increased dramatically during the two decades under review. Almost one fourth of all ships originating either in Lisbon or in Asia were lost. This would indicate that Dutch privateering in Asia did not reduce Portugal's trade with Asia, but that it impeded Portugal's growth in that trade. Duncan's research, however, shows otherwise. Three quarters of the losses during the first decade in which Dutch penetration took place in Asia were due to shipwrecks without any enemy violence. The author is able to construct only an indirect link between the increase in the incidence of shipwrecks and the Dutch actions. The Dutch presence in Asia was "forcing Portuguese ships to sail at dangerous times, denying them access to Saint Helena and Terceira, closing Goa and sometimes Lisbon by blockades, driving them out of Cochin, and raising protection costs to unacceptable levels". The Dutch challenge, however ineffective and small, seems to have had the opposite effect of what has usually been attributed to it. "The decade 1601-1610 was the busiest in the history of the *carreira*, with 71 departures involving an estimated 77,190 tons of shipping, which was 39% more tonnage than had left Portugal in the most busy decade (1581-1590) up to that time" (Duncan 1986: 16,17). As far as inter-Asian trade is concerned, a similar conclusion can be drawn. James C. Boyajian mentions that "...the *carreira*'s continuing prosperity indicated that at least with respect to coastal trade in India the Dutch and English inroads during the first two decades of the seventeenth century were of no consequence." (Boyajian 1993: 153)

Much more important than the trade both within and with Asia, however, was the production of sugar in Brazil and the ensuing trade between Portugal and Brazil. Were the Dutch able to damage the most rapidly growing sector of the Iberian activities overseas? Stuart Schwartz has attempted to estimate the production of sugar in Brazil, and his figures indicate that Brazilian sugar exports increased from 180,000 arrobas in the 1560s to about 700,000 arrobas in about 1610 (Schwartz 1985: 168). As we have seen previously, increasing amounts of sugar found their way to Amsterdam. The growing interest of the Dutch in the Brazilian sugar trade and sugar production indicates, yet again, that it was very difficult to take away the profits of this trade from the Portuguese. The growth of sugar exports was such that the Portuguese investors, colonists and shipping firms were unable to cope with the increase in shipping. This explains why there was ample room for foreign investments and ships. The sugar brought to the Low Countries would otherwise not have been produced and shipped at all. In fact, there was plenty of irony in the growing Dutch involvement in the trade to and from Brazil, as Dutch attempts to harm this trade would first of all harm the Dutch commercial interests. This is what happened after the end of the Twelve Years' Truce, and the results were indeed disastrous for the Dutch, although much less so for the Portuguese (van den Boogart et al.: 126,127). Last but not least, the trade to and from Spanish America should be mentioned. There is evidence to show that the Iberian war effort against the Dutch was in part financed by the revenues from the New World, which in turn were largely dependent upon the mining of precious metals. Had the Dutch been able to interrupt the flow of precious metals to Spain, they would have damaged the financial capacities of their enemy more

than by any other activity inside or outside Europe (Elliott 1970: 291-293).

Obviously, the Spanish were aware of the importance of the regular flow of precious metals to Spain, and as a consequence invested heavily in the organization and protection of the *flotas*. This means that changes in the amount of revenue flowing into the royal coffers from Spanish America were not due to foreign attacks, but to internal factors such as the discovery of new gold and silver deposits and the depletion of existing mines, as well as to the changes in the level of fraud, while some suggestions even point to the decline in population in the Americas. The Dutch actions in and around Spanish America had nothing to do with the changes in the supply of precious metals. All the Dutch could have hoped for was to achieve a decline in the exportation of "side products" from Spanish America such as hides, tobacco, cacao, sugar, indigo and cochineal. Carla Rahn Philips has provided us with surveys of the exportation of hides and cochineal for the period under review. The exported volumes of these two commodities varied widely, but there is no indication that the beginning of Dutch trade and privateering in the Atlantic waters had any significant effect on exports to Spain. The decline in the exportation of sugar from Spanish America had set in after 1585 before the Dutch arrived in the Caribbean (Rahn Phillips 1990: table 2.5 (pp. 80, 81), 2.4 (pp. 70, 74), 2.2 (pp. 58-64)).

In short, it seems possible to conclude that Dutch privateering and trade both in Asia and the Atlantic between 1585 and 1609 did not seriously affect Iberian trade and production outside Europe seriously. These Dutch activities did not replace part of the Iberian overseas activities, but they were the beginnings of a rapidly rising second expansion system, which was to co-exist with the Iberian system.

i) Conclusion

In what light should the beginning of the Dutch expansion outside Europe be viewed? Should it be viewed as warfare or trade? In assessing the damage done by the Dutch to the various trade circuits within the Iberian system in the period between 1585 and 1609, this paper has shown that the Dutch actions against Spain and Portugal had virtually no effect. Exports from Spanish and Portuguese America, Africa and Asia continued to grow or at least remained stable. This indicates that the Dutch - as well as the other Northwest European powers - could not seriously harm the Iberian expansion system and were only able to take away possible extra growth. This situation changed somewhat after the end of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1621, but it remains remarkable that between 1500 and 1800 two expansion systems continued to co-exist in Asia, Africa and the New World.

So if the Dutch expansion had a negligible military impact, what of the commercial effects? Was it advantageous to participate in commerce, privateering and settlement in the non-European world? Unfortunately, there is no exact calculation of the contribution of trade to the Dutch GNP around 1600. However, some information is available about the size of the Dutch fleet and the number of sailors employed therein. In 1636 there were around 1,750 Dutch ships in European waters. This would mean that the Dutch ships operating outside Europe (with a yearly maximum of about 100) represented only a marginal additional shipping activity even when we take into account the fact that the ships operating in non-European waters were usually larger than the ships employed in European coastal waters. A similar conclusion can be drawn from the information regarding the number of sailors employed in the Dutch navy and merchant marine. In 1610, Dutch ships were manned by 33,000 men and boys, 6 percent of all Dutch men over the age of 15, and 15 percent of all men in the state of Holland. Of these 33,000 only about 4,000 sailed on ships with non-European destinations. In fact, there were more sailors employed on Dutch ships sailing to the Iberian Peninsula and to Mediterranean destinations than to Asia, Africa and the New World combined (de Vries and der Woude 1995: 469-475).

This leads us to the conclusion that in both military and commercial terms the first phase of the Dutch expansion seems to have been a mistake. This begs the question as to why the Dutch participated

in overseas expansion at all. In answering this question, various Dutch operations outside Europe cannot be considered as regular trade. The salt trade to the Venezuelan coast should be excluded. This trade only continued for as long as it remained impossible to obtain salt in Portugal. The sugar trade to and from Brazil should also be excluded, as most of this trade in the Dutch Republic remained in the hands of the immigrant *Sephardim*. In addition, it should be stressed that most of the Dutch ships in Asian waters and many Dutch ships in the Atlantic were privateers and did not participate in regular trade.

These points suggest that, during the early phase of Dutch expansion, the Dutch merchant community only seems to have invested small amounts of risk capital in non-European ventures, and that most of their capital was tied up in trade and production within Europe. In fact, the yearly turnover of all non-European trade can be estimated at only around 3 million guilders, if one excludes the salt and sugar trades. The archetypal profit-seeking Dutch merchant was, in fact, located inside and not outside Europe.

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17th and 18th century Portuguese Nobilities in the European Context: A historiographical overview

Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro
University of Lisbon
nuno.monteiro@ics.ul.pt

Abstract

As a result of a genuine explosion in historiographical studies on the subject over the last two decades, the various European nobilities can now be considered to have been studied in some depth. A general tendency to be noted in the above-mentioned works relates to the idea highlighted by various researchers seeking to attenuate the early modernisation of noble values, who have taken the French case, in particular, as their benchmark. It should be stressed immediately that none of the descriptions just quoted can be applied to the kingdom of Portugal, to which almost no reference is made in these texts. On the one hand, the noble groups were constantly increasing in number, which seems to have run contrary to the general trend in eighteenth-century Europe. On the other hand, the high nobility of the Portuguese court did not grow, instead remaining extremely stable and crystallising from the mid-seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century, contrary to what was happening in the neighbouring monarchies. Finally, the central core of family values, expressed in the discipline of the aristocratic house, an essential secular aspect of the "ethos" of the *fidalgo* (nobleman), was maintained until the end of the eighteenth century. The extremely closed society of the court of the new Portuguese dynasty of the Braganças only promoted a very limited spread of a cosmopolitan culture within its circles.

Keywords

Nobility, Aristocracy, Elites, Enlightenment, Family, House, Bragança, Seventeenth Century, Eighteenth Century, Fidalgo, Nobleman

1. Some Directions in Recent European Historiography

As a result of a genuine explosion in historiographical studies on the subject over the last two decades, the various European nobilities, both in the modern period and in the contemporary period, can now be considered to have been studied in some depth (see, for the modern period, the syntheses and collections of Meyer 1973, Labatut 1978, Bush 1988, Scott 1995 and Dewald 1996). In view of this increased knowledge, it is now much easier, from a comparative point of view, to establish some of the most prominent specific boundaries of the Portuguese categories of nobility in the modern era. Although, naturally enough, this is not true of all of them.

In the various syntheses on European nobilities to which several Anglo-Saxon historians have dedicated themselves, there frequently appear certain theses that have come to enjoy fairly widespread validity. As far as the central question of the group's size and structure are concerned, it is useful to stress the idea that "over the early modern period nobles became less numerous and on average richer", and that "almost everywhere nobles became dramatically scarcer after 1600 (...) in the eighteenth century, at least, contemporaries had no doubt that numbers were declining" (Dewald 1996: XVI and 25), whilst, at the same time, there was a progressive growth in the upper nobiliary categories.

It should also be stressed immediately that none of the descriptions just quoted can be applied to the kingdom of Portugal, which is in fact almost completely devoid of any reference in these texts.

Generally speaking, it can be said that the long-term evolution of Portugal's nobiliary stratification, between the early sixteenth century and the triumph of the liberal revolution in 1832-34, was marked by two simultaneous processes, admittedly pulling in opposite directions: there was a widening of the base of the group (accompanied by a progressive restriction of their general privileges), whilst a court aristocracy was set up, this latter group being restricted and clearly separated from the other nobiliary categories and becoming progressively more crystallised. In other words, these tendencies were directly opposed to the trends that, according to the already mentioned authors, could be noted in most European political units.

Another general tendency to be noted in the above-mentioned works relates to the idea highlighted by various researchers seeking to attenuate the early modernisation of nobiliary values, who have taken the French case, in particular, as their benchmark. This is most true of those authors who, contrary to the popular images of tradition and hereditariness, have detected, even before the Enlightenment, the establishment of an ethical code of "individual merit" linked to the idea of royal service (cf. Dewald 1993, Smith 1996). This change was to be linked to the central cultural role played by the courts, for, "during the seventeenth century, European culture took on an aristocratic and courtly tone it had not previously had", "the development of courts made the display of culture valuable", so that "across Europe, nobles adapted with striking success to psychological and cultural change during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (…) their success was clearest in the realm of high culture" (Dewald 1996: 199, 187 and 186). This change naturally had a decisive impact on the patterns of family behaviour. Recently, one of the most prominent French specialists in this area, largely inspired by the already mentioned Anglo-Saxon historians, did not hesitate, in the case of the French nobility of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to put forward the thesis of "nobiliary individualism", the idea that "the nobility preferred individual achievement to the cult of one's ancestors" (Burguière 2001: 328). Furthermore, it can be stated that, although it was formulated from the study of other problems, the theory of the "unified elite of the Enlightenment" (cf. Richet 1969 and Chaussinand-Nogaret, 1976), defended by various French historians some decades ago, pointed in the same direction.

Now, as was just noted in relation to the previously stated proposition, none of the ideas sustained here would seem to fit unreservedly to the Portuguese case. At first glance, even if we just consider the high court nobility, it does at least seem questionable whether the adoption of the values and cultural practices of the European cosmopolitan high culture was so widespread as to change the group's patterns of behaviour. Most emphatically, it seems impossible to defend the idea that until the late eighteenth century more value was given to individual merit than to the cult of ancestry and the nobility of a particular family. For this very reason, family behaviour was still marked by an immense rigidity until the mid-eighteenth century. And, even then, although it is certain that something was beginning to change, it should be stressed that the changes were restricted almost solely to the decline in the number of entries to the secular and regular clergy.

2. Size and Hierarchies of Portuguese Nobilities

The first of the above-mentioned developments, or, in other words, the broadening of the threshold of the nobility, with an ever greater number of individuals achieving this social rank and a consequent devaluation of the respective status, was the result not only of legal and institutional considerations, but also of diversified forms of social logic. The upper social category in fifteenth-century Portugal was the *fidalguia* (nobility), corresponding perhaps to 1% of the population (cf. Marques, 1963-1969). It is clear that those who belonged to the *Braço da Nobreza* (representatives of the nobility in parliament) in the *Cortes* (parliament) were summoned by royal charter (and not elected) and that only those with titles were called to attend, i.e. landlords with jurisdiction over their estates, governor-generals and dignitaries with a letter of council and not the group of noblemen as a whole. Furthermore, it does not seem that the denomination "of the nobility" was commonly used to designate the above-mentioned *Braço* before the sixteenth century. However, the legacy of the fifteenth century continued to be this *fidalguia*, identified with all their descendants recognised in the books of mediaeval lineages, although this rank was already clearly differentiated internally. Over the course of the modern period, the *fidalgo* identity was to be inexorably destroyed in favour of a plurality of classificatory

features, giving rise to a greater and more complex stratification.

The first factor affecting the evolution of the nobility consisted of the manner in which the concept of *civil or political nobility* was adopted in legal literature and in the everyday practice of institutions (in contrast to natural nobility) (cf. Monteiro 1987, 15-51), arising, it would seem, from the singular and somewhat belated manner in which Portuguese jurists integrated the category of "nobility" from European common law (cf. Hespanha 1993: 27-42). António Rodrigues, D. Manuel's King of Arms, refers expressly to this category of the civil or political nobility, explaining that this status could be acquired in "two ways, either by giving someone an office of such a kind that it brings dignity with it or by words that state how the prince considers the person to be reputable" (Rodrigues 1931:43). Already in the first half of the seventeenth century, one of the greatest Portuguese jurists of his time stated that "*fidalgos* is the word, and more general title, by which we refer to the nobility", but he then added that "there are, however, other people of greater, equal and lesser status, who enjoy greater and equal privileges (...) [paying heed] only to the dignity, position or occupation in which they are involved" (Ribeiro 1730: 122, 141-142). The adoption of this concept could not avoid coming up against certain restrictions, but gradually it was to become established in the practice of many institutions in a process that reached its peak at the end of the eighteenth century, not only contributing to the distinction between the nobility and the *fidalguia* (a more restricted concept), but also leading to the effective "banalisation" of the frontiers of the Portuguese nobility, which became the most blurred in Europe.

This broadening of the threshold of the nobility, established by the legislation of the monarchy, was also effectively adopted by the social actors. From the end of the sixteenth century, the *homens-bons* (`good men') who governed the municipalities, for example, became entitled as "the local nobility" (Coelho and Magalhães 1986: 43), although they did, however, elect others to act as their representatives in the *Braço do Povo* in parliament. As part of a process of group mobility, the wholesale traders were expressly ennobled by the legislation introduced by the Marquês de Pombal (1770). At the end of the Old Regime, nobility was recognised as a tacit condition that was acquired by "living nobly" or "through the law of nobility" by performing ennobling functions (such as belonging to the group of high-ranking army officers or orderly officers, the magistracy, or simply to a municipal council, etc.) or, in a negative sense, by not performing mechanical tasks.

The previously described category was effectively to be found expressed in many different institutional practices in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One of these was to gain access to the habits of a knight of the military orders of Avis, Christ or St. James (cf. Olival 1988, Olival 2001, Pedreira 1992 and Pedreira 1996), the profusion of whose members were frequently referred to with some irony over the centuries. The Order of Malta, on the contrary, escaped such a situation, for in this order what was required was to be a member of the "*fidalguia de linhagem e armas*" (*fidalguia* of lineage and arms) and not just of the simple nobility (cf. Versos 1997).

It should be added that the "broadening of the nobility" was further favoured by other circumstances. One of these was the way in which access to the royal charters granting coats of arms was processed (Cf. Franco 1989). There was also the fact that, under Portuguese law, simple nobility and *fidalguia* were transmitted by both the male and female side of the family, as well as there being no control over the use of surnames, both of which situations were predisposed to an expansion of the nobility. Even the registers that afforded access to the different categories of *fidalgos* in the royal household showed a considerable openness in the final phase of the Old Regime, and the point was reached whereby the status was attributed to anyone who contributed to public loans.

Overall, the dimensions mentioned earlier in a very summary form conferred a clear singularity on the Portuguese hierarchy of nobles, which may now be briefly described in the final phase of the Old Regime. At the base was a vast and imprecise category of "simple nobility" and the knights who wore habits, which included all those who had licentiateships and bachelor's degrees, high-ranking army officers, militias and orderlies, wholesale traders, judges and councillors from an indeterminate number of towns and cities, and a large section of the restricted group of public servants. In short, all those who "lived nobly". They enjoyed a fluid status, only invoked for certain effects and perhaps covering between 6% and 8% of male adults, and for which reason considered themselves to be socially disqualified, leading to a huge demand for other distinctions, namely for the habits of the knights of the military orders (for which proof of nobility was required, but not of *fidalguia*). Above this was an

intermediate category of several thousand *fidalgos*, comprising a majority of "*fidalgos* with coats of arms" and "*fidalgos* with lineage" (whose ancestors had received the royal charter granting the coat of arms that was displayed on the front of their houses), with a very unequal geographical distribution, as well as several hundred *fidalgos* from the royal household and high-court judges. Finally, there was the "prime nobility of the realm", almost all of whom were resident at the court, consisting of roughly a hundred and fifty lords, commanders and holders of positions at the palace, at the apex of which category were to be found the fifty or so houses of the grandees (titles of count, marquis and duke) of the realm.

In fact, the other aspect of the equation in which the Portuguese case seems to contradict the European tendency is in the shrinking and later redefinition of the top of the nobiliary pyramid. Several factors contributed quite closely to this outcome, but the decisive event was the definitive establishment of the court of the new Bragança dynasty in Lisbon after 1640. At the end of the seventeenth century, in general, when one speaks of the *fidalguia* as a group, one first of all refers to the high court nobility, which to a large extent was already confused with the group of titled persons (just as in the Spanish monarchy; cf. Dominguez Ortiz 1973: 73, Dominguez Ortiz 1976: 349, Atienza 1987: 1-70). The fundamental moment in the definitive formation of the titled elite in the modern age was to be found in the last decades of the dual monarchy (1580-1640), when Portugal was ruled by Spanish Habsburg kings, during which period roughly forty titled houses were created. The total number of houses reached at that time, increasing from roughly twenty to more than fifty, remained practically stable until the last decade of the eighteenth century, even though roughly 40% of the Portuguese noble houses disappeared with the Restoration of Portuguese independence. In fact, these were quickly replaced, and the frequency of the annual granting of titles reached at that time was only (and greatly) exceeded during the regency of D. João (1792-1816) and his subsequent reign as king. The remarkable stability achieved over a period of roughly a hundred and thirty years after the end of the War of Restoration (1668) finds no parallel in any other period in Portuguese history, and rarely has it been equalled by other European aristocracies. For more than a century, very few noble houses were created or suppressed. The following table therefore suggests to us a very clear chronology: in the somewhat agitated decades of the reign of Filipe IV and the War of Restoration, the extended group of grandees was formed (for until 1790 almost all the titles conferred the status of grandee), followed by a long period of stability. It should also be added that the central core of this group remained extremely stable. At the peak of its crystallisation, in 1750, of the 50 titled houses existing in Portugal, 34 had been ennobled more than 100 years before and 7 dated from as far back as the fifteenth century.

TABLE No. 1
Titular houses existing in Portugal (1385-1832)

Time periods	Houses created	Annual average	Houses suppressed or united	Annual average	Total number (at the end of the period)
Before 1390	1				1
1391-1430	4	0,1	0	0,0	5
1431-1460	5	0,2	1	0,0	9
1461-1490	10	0,3	5	0,2	14
1491-1520	5	0,2	3	0,1	16
1521-1550	6	0,2	2	0,1	20
1551-1580	2	0,1	3	0,1	19
1581-1610	13	0,4	2	0,1	30
1611-1640	28	0,9	2	0,1	56
1641-1670	18	0,6	24	0,8	50
1671-1700	8	0,3	7	0,2	51
1701-1730	5	0,2	5	0,2	51
1731-1760	7	0,2	10	0,3	48
1761-1790	8	0,3	2	0,1	54
1791-1820	63	2,1	14	0,5	103
1821-1832	38	3,2	14	1,2	127

In part, these indicators stand in contrast with those known for the other monarchies closest to Portugal. In Spain, titles rose from 144 in 1621 to 528 in 1700 and then to 654 in 1787, passing the one thousand mark in 1800; the growth in the number of grandees was even greater, rising from only 41 in 1627 to 119 in 1787. The English peers, in their turn, rose from 55 in 1603 to 173 in 1700, reaching a figure of 267 in 1800. In Naples, titles rose from 165 in 1599 to 446 in 1672 and 649 in 1750. Generally speaking, the major growth took place mainly in the seventeenth century, just as it did in Portugal; yet, in none of the cases mentioned does one note the crystallisation, closing of ranks and stability that was noted amongst the Portuguese titled nobility between 1668 and 1790 (based on Dewald 1996: 27, Dominguez Ortiz 1973: 73, Dominguez Ortiz 1976: 349, Atienza 1987: 1-70; Cannon 1984: 15).

This process corresponded to a concentration of the royal graces and favours and important offices in the hands of the high court nobility. In fact, the best indicator that can express the evolution duly noted is provided to us by the commanderies. In the early seventeenth century, the commanders of the military orders amounted to a quite numerous social category, numbering more than four hundred individuals and houses, even though the few commanders with titles to nobility (counts, marquises and dukes) already accounted for a sizeable part of the aggregate income of the commanderies that were administrated by them. A century and a half later (1755), the number of commanders was reduced to well below a half of this number, and 50 titled houses accounted for roughly two-thirds of the overall income. Up to the final triumph of the liberal revolution (1832-34), the number of commanders only increased slightly, but the commanders entitled to nobility then represented more than half of the total number and now received more than four-fifths of the income (cf. Monteiro 1998). The distribution of the income of the commanderies therefore provides us with an impressive picture of the evolution of the top of the nobiliary pyramid: from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards, the size of the group declined in quite spectacular fashion, with the longstanding titled houses (almost all of them in the hands of grandees) absorbing most of this income.

This unusual result derives from a combination of two types of factors. On the one hand, the Crown made a significant contribution towards the stabilisation of the titled elite, not only restricting the new concessions of titles, but also accepting the rules of succession that were being imposed. The consolidation of the Bragança dynasty therefore largely serves to explain the stabilisation of the group and the almost complete absence of any new admissions to the nobility for more than a century. But this is not in itself a sufficient explanation for everything. In particular, it does not explain the small number of houses that were either suppressed or united until the start of the new boom in the awarding of titles in the 1790s. In fact, within the limits set by the monarchy, the reproduction of the titled elite depended on strategies that were actively developed by the houses composing this elite. More precisely, it depended on the strict discipline of the behaviour followed within the house, which will be discussed in the following section.

3. Models of Family Behaviour and Value Systems

The recent evolution in social sciences, in general, and social history, in particular, has resulted in a growing distrust about the reified use of traditional categories of historical analysis and rigid models of behaviour. Even for those who distance themselves from the post-modern defence of the "dissolution of the social bounds", the alternatives almost always involve paying renewed heed to the language of documents and even giving special attention to individuals, their experiences and the ways in which they form their social identities. In this way, we can understand the peculiar difficulties that arise when attempting, somewhat against the trends that have become re-established in European historiography, to accentuate the rigidity of a model and the amazing regularity with which the actors involved therein reproduced the clearly asymmetrical social roles that were their destiny by birth, as in the case under analysis.

A very general observation must be made about what has been stated above. Unlike unilineal notions of change and evolution, the case studied here does not show any passage from group solidarities to the individualisation of behaviour and destiny. On the contrary, in the fifteenth and

sixteenth centuries, the individualisation of behaviour in the upper categories of Portuguese society was much more accentuated than in the two subsequent centuries. On the one hand, the destinies of individuals were far less conditioned by the status attributed to them at birth. And, on the other hand, the constraints of kinship groups proved to be much less rigid. The strengthening of the discipline of the aristocratic house, with the prior imposition of the status that was to be enjoyed by each member of the family, both preceded and closely accompanied the crystallisation of the courtly aristocracy as a closed and almost inaccessible social category from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. Only at the end of the eighteenth century was this rigidity of "family" behaviour to be disturbed in any way, anticipating, albeit briefly, the first signs of a more open access to the top of the nobiliary hierarchy. In short, the case studied here does not seem to fit the picture initially painted by recent European historiography.

Despite everything, there was a common heritage, not between all the Portuguese nobiliary groups, but among those who regarded themselves indisputably as *fidalgos*. This heritage was one expressed as a set of shared values in which the notion of what constituted an aristocratic house and specific ways of ensuring its transmission played an essential role. After reaching a certain level of nobility, the custom was to adopt what can be called the reproductive model of entailment, or, in other words, from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, the institution of an aristocratic house and the birth of a first-born son represented the goal of the processes of upward social mobility. It was not just a way of amortising and passing on an estate, but also a model of family organisation, characterised by the rigidity and vitality of the underlying values and a complementarity between civil service and ecclesiastical careers.

Although the vast amount of available information is very fragmentary and systematic monographic studies are almost completely lacking, it is possible to suggest some general features of what can be termed the reproductive model of entailment, taking as a paradigm or ideal type the behavioural patterns at the top of the nobiliary pyramid, or, in other words, of the Portuguese grandees of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who in this period clearly distanced themselves from the remainder of the *fidalguia*, including the most important provincial nobility. I shall concern myself with them first of all, so that, afterwards, I can attempt to identify at what levels of the social space this model tended to be adopted. This is necessitated by the fact that the acceptance of this model and its underlying values did not take place from one day to the next (it did not even coincide chronologically with the beginning of the spread of the institution of entailment), nor did it affect all the social elites in the same way. Finally, I shall highlight how, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the model began to be called into question, on this occasion with a not inconsiderable intervention on the part of the monarchy.

The genealogy of the Portuguese institution of entailment has been the subject of an extremely vast legal literature. Briefly, we can say that it directly reproduced the model of succession adopted by the monarchy and had been closely inspired by the Spanish, or more precisely, the Castilian law of entailment. In fact, the Portuguese law of entailment was the one that most closely resembled the Castilian law. Although linked to a remote feudal inheritance, paradigmatically illustrated by the famous words of St. Bernard, the Castilian system of primogeniture displayed to some extent a certain resistance to the general trend. It represented a reaffirmation of its principles in a doctrinaire climate in which the reception of Roman Law, the European *jus commune*, tended to favour the sharing of an estate between heirs. In most European countries, from the sixteenth century onwards, the trend was towards a weakening of the doctrine of entailments and primogeniture (cf. Clavero 1989a), which either continued in a somewhat mitigated form or else gave rise to less restrictive solutions (such as the notion of strict settlement in England), at least at the level of the law (cf. Cooper 1976). On the contrary, supported by a wealth of treatises written on the subject, the law of entailment in the Iberian Peninsula was perpetuated as the extreme legal form of nobiliary primogeniture, recognised as such in the legal literature of the period. Bartolomé Clavero wrote on this subject that "the Castilian primogeniture was to be (...) the European model of a nobiliary anthropology" (Clavero 1989b: 588). The law of entailment thus represented a mechanism of exclusion for privileged groups in a context where the rule of sharing between brothers, arising from Roman Law, tended to impose itself as a general norm. As a belated legal construction, going against the various European trends and a characteristically Iberian concept, the *morgadio* system was based on the principles of perpetuity,

indivisibility and primogeniture. Masculinity and the right of representation can be considered very general characteristics, but the fact of the matter is that the specific form of succession was defined by the institutor. In the Portuguese case, until the legislation introduced by the Marquês de Pombal in 1769-70, which imposed the Castilian model of regular *morgados* (the first-born son being the heir to an entailed estate) as the sole model, there was in fact a wide diversity of rules of succession. However, it is important to underline that entailments based on primogeniture and masculinity were always the most common form of succession.

If we move from the legal history to the social history of the institution, the chronology becomes very diversified. Although the first Portuguese *morgados* had been instituted by the Portuguese *fidalgo* population as early as the Low Middle Ages (cf. Rosa 1995), the fact is that it was not until the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century that most of the entailments of the various branches of Portuguese noble lineages were founded. Very general aspects of this spread of the model of entailment are: the central notion of the house (1); the extremely strict family discipline that was imposed on all legitimate and illegitimate filiation and which tended to be exercised by the "pater familias"(2); the complementarity between this model and the availability of ecclesiastical careers that were indispensable for its application (3); and, finally, its adoption not only as a model of inheritance, but also as a vocabulary that codified the "natural" status of each member within the house (4). The extraordinary banality that this vocabulary has acquired in everyday language is an aspect that should also be stressed.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Portuguese crown encouraged the spread of this model in different forms amongst the main aristocracy of the kingdom in various ways: first of all, allowing for the foundation of *morgados* almost without restriction; next, allowing for the annexation of the crown's assets by *morgados* and bringing succession in these forms of nobility closer to the rules applied under the monarchy in all cases (1641); finally (and this is a decisive aspect), because what mattered most of all, both in the appointment of people to major offices and in the remuneration of great services, was the house and not the individual, and this conception of things still prevailed in the second half of the eighteenth century: "let the honours and graces bestowed in the satisfaction of great services performed in the battle field be continued in those houses into which they enter in order to preserve the memory of those who deserve them and to stimulate imitation".

The great aristocratic houses underwent major changes throughout the seventeenth century: from being highly territorialised institutions, from the point of view of power, property and clienteles, they changed into houses belonging to the court nobility with property scattered all over the country, but with an increasingly limited administrative and jurisdictional presence. This great change accompanied the implantation of the new Bragança dynasty in 1640. There was also a significant change in the nobiliary hierarchy. A "high court nobility" was established, consisting of titled nobles and other holders of positions at the royal palace. The end of the war and the consolidation of the dynasty (1668) led to an extreme stability in the composition of the nobility. This fundamental change was to be reflected in the behaviour of the aristocratic elite. The titles and other distinctions awarded by the dynasty of Bragança were few in number and signalled unquestionable social prominence. In fact, these titles seem to have been capable of providing a sufficiently strong identity to the lords of the houses that held them, so that they would be in a position to accept the possibility of their disappearing or being taken over by other titled houses. The code of entailment, which had long since been incorporated, was to take on new and more restrictive forms in this new context. Or, in other words, these changes did not affect the internal discipline of the aristocratic houses.

The fundamental unit for the study of aristocratic behaviour in the period under analysis is therefore the house, understood as being a coherent set of symbolic and material assets whose extended reproduction was the responsibility of all those born therein or dependent thereon. In the historical period to which we are referring, the house represented a fundamental value for (almost) all social elites. The family, in the sense of a noble lineage of remote origin, embodied in the surname (and/or male line), was only one element in the identity of each house. As has been said, although the nobiliary house generally had a territorial reference in its origin, bestowed by the *morgado*, seigniory, or even commanderies, and although attempts were made to perpetuate this territorial reference in the titles, the fact remains that this element only existed as a remote allusion and its possession could even disappear without the title being changed.

One of the most decisive implications of the already mentioned notion of a house was the destiny given to the children. The dominant concepts were still perfectly clear. The "status" that was chosen for the heirs, daughters and second sons was seen as a function of the house into which they had been born. Those that were destined for marriage, beginning with the heirs presumptive, obeyed the logic of the policy of the house's alliances, based on various criteria. The others, in their turn, were expected, when unmarried, to seek to ennoble the house that had given them their existence.

The fate of unmarried daughters had long been the life of a convent. As the agitated navigations to the East began to have increasingly uncertain results, an ecclesiastical career also began to be seen as the normal destiny for second-born sons, who were channelled into this activity in childhood and then attended the two royal colleges in Coimbra (São Pedro and São Paulo), where, since the mid-seventeenth century, most of the portionists had been the second-born sons of grandees and all of them had been descendants of the prime nobility of the realm.

The clergy, particularly when they had risen to high positions and performed important services for the monarchy (bishops and cardinals), were expected to bestow upon the houses of their brothers or nephews, if not all their «free assets», at least those services (after all, their most valuable capital), so that they could increase their royal endowments in the form of pensions and benefices; and this was, in fact, how the majority behaved. Many houses were elevated by this means and thus enjoyed greater income and distinctions. Furthermore, the houses did not only capitalise on the services of their second-born sons and the respective remuneration. They also sought to capture, by all means at their disposal, the prestige that went with these positions.

The aristocratic houses also owed their daughters and second-born sons alimony or, alternatively, either the dowry that was necessary for them to be able to marry or the endowment required for them to enter into a religious institution. One of the distinguishing marks of the period under analysis was in fact the stabilisation of the amount of aristocratic dowries, which resulted in a fall in the respective amount to much lower values.

A detailed analysis of the practices of succession adopted by the aristocratic elite of the dynasty of Bragança between 1600 and 1830 shows that the total number of titled houses reached in 1640 remained practically unchanged until the last decade of the eighteenth century, although there was a significant period of renewal between 1640 and 1668, with slightly less than half of them disappearing after the Restoration and being replaced by others. The remarkable stability achieved in the roughly one hundred and thirty years after the end of the War of Restoration (1668) was rarely matched by other European aristocracies. It should be stressed that between 1670 and 1832 no titled house disappeared, or was kept away from the life of the court, as a result of the economic decline of the holders of the respective titles. Nor was any house suppressed as a result of having only a direct legitimate female heir. Whenever there was direct succession, male or female, the titles were always renewed. Furthermore, between 1600 and 1830, an average of 70% of the houses enjoyed direct male succession, although this number showed a certain tendency to fall. The results are undoubtedly uncommonly high, going against what is normally believed to be the trend. There were many houses that, over more than two hundred years, always managed to enjoy male succession. However, even when this didn't happen, the capacity for survival was quite remarkable: more than half of the houses studied managed to last as they were for more than two hundred years. And it should be pointed out that, in several cases, they were suppressed for political reasons (high treason) and not because of a lack of biological heirs.

Such an unusual stability resulted from a combination of two types of factors: the options taken by the crown in regard to this matter, namely by facilitating succession to the crown's titles and estates (exemptions from the "mental law"); and the strategies pursued by the aristocratic houses in an attempt to ensure their perpetuation and enlargement. We shall concern ourselves with these questions now.

First of all, one should consider the demographic factors. Practically all male and female heirs (on average, always more than 92%) entered into marriage. Only with very rare exceptions, those who failed to marry did not do so because they died while still very young. Although there was a tendency for the figure to increase, the percentage of titled nobles without surviving heirs ranged between a minimum of 13% and a maximum of 26.1%. Furthermore, the percentage of those who had male heirs was always higher than 61%, and in the more distant period (1600-1650) this figure amounted to more than 80%. The titled nobles with surviving descendants had on average between 4.2 and 5 children to

find places for, although the trend was for their number to decrease slowly. This remarkable result basically arose from three immediate factors: an extremely young average age for women to first get married (rising from a minimum age of 17.5 in the seventeenth century to a maximum of 21.7 at the beginning of the nineteenth century); the complete absence of any contraceptive practices; and the absence of maternal breast-feeding, a task that was almost always entrusted to wet nurses.

However, whenever there was no succession, other factors in the aristocratic model of reproduction may have affected the desired continuity of the houses. This was most immediately the fate of the non-inheriting sons and daughters. Until the dramatic decline in the number of entries into ecclesiastical orders in Portugal, just as in other European Catholic countries in the second half of the eighteenth century, somewhere between a third and more than half of the aristocratic daughters remained unmarried. And, until 1760, more than two-thirds, and at certain periods more than four-fifths of the non-inheriting sons did not marry.

It should also be added that inbreeding was a fundamental part of the group's reproductive model. Until the end of the eighteenth century, in more than 95% of cases, both the heirs and the daughters married within the high court nobility, most of whom had titled estates. This option was fundamental for preserving the group's social identity, thus helping to guarantee the monopoly of the main offices of the monarchy and the respective remuneration in the form of royal endowments. Furthermore, it was this logic that led to the preference for sending the second-born sons and some of the daughters into religious orders rather than marrying them "beneath their station", quite possibly without a dowry and without any major expenses. But the above-mentioned social homogamy had a potentially negative effect: it increased the risks of some houses being taken over by others.

To offset these risks, aristocratic houses adopted a set of perfectly standardised and widely divulged behavioural patterns. First of all, when the lord of the house had no descendants or no prospects of having any in the future, attempts were made to rapidly marry off his immediate successor. Sometimes, this was only known when they were already advanced in age. It was quite frequent to hear stories of clergymen who renounced their vows in order to marry in the sometimes desperate attempt to produce descendants for the house of their brothers. Secondly, in those cases where the succession fell upon women, almost without exception they would marry a second son. This was preferably an uncle, in order to maintain the male line with the surname of the house. Even when there was no uncle available and marriage had to be sought after in another lineage and house, the rule was to maintain the surname, although there were several exceptions. In any case, to almost all intensive purposes and effects, the husbands of female heirs were adopted by the houses that "received" them. In particular, their economic status (alimony, etc.) was absolutely identical to that of most married women in the aristocracy. Finally, whenever there was presumed to be a potential risk of a union between houses, it was established in the marriage and dowry settlements how the separation would be effected in the following generation. These clauses were almost never respected but, in any case, they reveal the aim of preserving the individual identity of each house.

The discussion of the above-mentioned point, namely the idea of the fundamental importance of the reproductive model of entailment as standard behaviour for the group of social elites, most perfectly illustrated by the study of the grandees, is inexorably faced with the limitations of the data that have so far been discovered and studied. We know much more about the grandees/high court nobility than we do about provincial nobilities, and we know much more about the eighteenth century than we do about previous periods. The considerations made in the following paragraphs are therefore based on scattered and fragmentary information. The question that needs to be asked is clear: what was the chronology and, above all, what were the contexts in which this model tended to be adopted?

As far as the chronology is concerned, it has already been clearly stated that it was above all during the sixteenth century that the model of entailment became widespread amongst the main lineages of the realm. The same thing seems to have happened with the main provincial elites. The case of Oporto is certainly paradigmatic. Most of the families that made up the municipal elite of Oporto, until then given over to mercantile practices, only gained access to the nobility and *fidalguia* during the sixteenth century: "we are left with the impression of a radical evolution of these families (...) during the sixteenth century. Having begun the century involved in the commerce of the city of Oporto, without any great concern for the creation of "houses", which allowed second sons to become involved in business on an equal footing with first-born sons (...). As the century advanced, *morgados*, which were

set up at the expense of the prospects of the second sons, became widespread. All that was left for these sons was India or religion, and, for the daughters, all told, just religion" (Brito 1997: 302).

The second question is that of knowing what were the social trajectories within the framework of which the reproductive model of entailment tended to be adopted. In fact, particularly in the processes of upward social mobility, there were always alternative models. One of them was the investment made in the daughters. This is the direction suggested by the known indicators for the lower levels of the *fidalguia* in the sixteenth century (cf. Boone 1986), as well as in other social categories, at least in the first generation after having achieved a higher social status. A recent study on the client networks of the house of Bragança between 1560 and 1640 clearly suggests that upwardly mobile family groups preferred to invest in their daughters (cf. Cunha 2000: 498-546), providing them with dowries for their marriage, unlike the upper categories of the servants of the royal house (*fidalgos*), who adopted the model that we have been discussing. A similar model to the former one was also adopted by the elites of São Paulo in colonial Brazil in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (cf. Metcalf 1995), in what was an area of heavy migration. As it happens, in the studies of the upper echelons of the Portuguese rural world of the eighteenth and even the nineteenth centuries, not only were great differences detected between the areas and groups that followed a model of equal sharing of inheritances and others where the inheritance was organised on the basis of preserving the house, but also in some of these latter cases (in certain areas of the Minho) it was in fact the daughters who received most privileges (cf. the synthesis by Durães 1995).

It should be added that we know little about the reproductive models of magistrates and bureaucrats and that, in the second half of the eighteenth century, only the top of the pyramid of Lisbon merchants (a large number of whom, as it happens, originated from neighbouring areas in the Minho) adopted strategies of systematic entailment of property (cf. Pedreira 1995: 269-293). Although the restrictions imposed by the Marquês de Pombal may have had some influence, the fact remains that towards the end of the Old Regime the overwhelming majority of Lisbon traders did not set up entails, but only the small group of the richest. Was this a symptom of the gradual erosion of the model?

In fact, the importance of the limitations imposed on the foundation of *morgados*, or entailed estates, by the legislation of the Marquês de Pombal (1769-70) must not be overlooked. In short, it began to be required that their founders should be "*fidalgos*, or persons of distinguished nobility", that the estate to be entailed should reach certain levels of income, varying from some provinces to others, and finally that the central court (*Mesa do Desembargo do Paço* – the Supreme Royal Court) should be consulted upon the matter. Furthermore, besides the fact that the institution was generally condemned and was only preserved because it was considered a condition for the survival of the nobility within a monarchy, small entails were also being suppressed (cf. Serrão 1987: 111).

Although there is no lack of systematic studies upon the matter, it seems undeniable that the legislation introduced by the Marquês de Pombal did away with many *morgados* with low levels of income and placed serious restrictions on their foundation by groups that did not reach reasonably high levels of wealth and nobiliary status. The spread of entailed estates in the provinces, still very frequent in the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, began to be subject to serious restrictions. However, from the North (Minho) to the extreme South (Algarve) of Portugal, even passing occasionally through colonial Brazil (cf. Silva 1990), the most successful provincial elites did not cease to make use of the institution. Generally, this option was materialised at the end of one or two generations, with the voluntary contributions of brothers or uncles frequently being a decisive factor, particularly when they had risen to the level of a good ecclesiastical benefice. And the crisis in the number of people entering the clergy, which could be perfectly easily identified in Lisbon from the 1760s onwards, as we have already said, seems to have been slower to spread to the provinces, although it was still a little known reality.

In any case, the reproductive model of entailment should not be confused with the foundation of *morgados*. This model, the true stereotype of the elites of the Portuguese Old Regime, always implied high rates of celibacy and ecclesiastical careers amongst second-born sons and meant that ever greater value was attached to the idea of the house, although it did not require the foundation of entailed estates. As far as the forms of inheritance were concerned, emphyteusis produced analogous effects. In fact, many houses of *fidalgos*, such as those of the well-to-do farmers of the North of Portugal, were based on emphyteutic estates and not just on entailed estates (cf. Macedo 1996: 102-130). The codes

and the systems of reference which we have been discussing were able to operate in different institutional contexts and with some autonomy in relation to the legal framework of inheritance. For all purposes and effects, it was the standard pattern of aristocratic behaviour and represented as such at the time.

In the provinces, therefore, it is quite likely that individual destinies did not follow that incredible regularity and predictability that we saw in the case of the high court nobility. However, it can still be said that until the beginning of the nineteenth century the reproductive model of entailment was perpetuated as the standard model for the group of social elites as a whole. This was not only because it fitted in with the perpetuation of estates which was indispensable for the preservation of income levels that were compatible with the satisfactory sustaining of elites, but also for the greater symbolic value that was attributed to the imitation of aristocratic behavioural patterns.

4. The Paradigm of "Nobility Modernisation" and its Limits

For the prime nobility of the realm, the first signs of the crisis in the model of traditional behaviour were to be found in the dwindling number of entries into the clergy, on the part of both men and women, which began to be noted from the 1850s onwards (cf. Monteiro 1998: 165-196). This change, which was not related to any early spread of contraception (not in fact practised) and had dramatic effects on the social composition of the episcopacy (cf. Olival and Monteiro 2003: 1233-1238), would not be matched by an increase in the marriages of younger non-inheriting sons and daughters until at least a generation later. Or, in other words, it did not immediately result in an individualisation of behaviour. Various studies have made it possible to widen the crisis in the number of entries into the clergy to include other groups (cf. Araújo 1997: 122 and ff., Sousa and Gomes 1998, 101-125).

In any case, there is no doubt that there was a crisis amongst the elites in terms of the social importance attached to the pursuit of ecclesiastical careers in the second half of the eighteenth century. The explanations for this are not obvious. Most immediately, this is because although there are some studies that highlight the spread amongst the Portuguese aristocratic elites of certain aspects of eighteenth-century European culture (in the fields of literature, science and the arts (cf., amongst others, Delaforce 2002, Araújo 2003)), the limits that were imposed upon these aspects seem indisputable. Contemporary witnesses from the mid-eighteenth century testify to the surprise felt, on encountering "our barbaric customs", by those arriving from outside, such as the young third Count of Assumar, who had recently returned from France. And his comments were not restricted to noting the parsimony and insipidness of life at the Portuguese court, a subject that is very frequently referred to in eighteenth-century sources. In fact, his comments were explicitly extended to include the "family" behaviour of the Portuguese aristocracy. He stated that he was "their supreme friend and to all my brothers I wish the greatest possible happiness and I find the general custom of giving so much preference to first-born sons in the inheritance of the estates of the Houses unfair, particularly in Portugal where the greatest portion is that of substitution," and, later, addressing his father on the subject of maternal inheritance, he insisted that "I have never been of the opinion that the eldest son, besides being always the most privileged one, should have beyond this everything that was possessed by his parents and that the others who were no less your children should remain forever dependent and be obliged to work themselves to death just to be able to live" (Monteiro 2000b).

As another essential aspect, attention should also be drawn to the characteristics of the educational patterns afforded to the high court nobility of the dynasty of Bragança. The education of the first-born sons of the houses did not undergo any drastic evolution during this period, despite the creation by the Marquês de Pombal of the College of Nobles in 1759, which the majority did not attend. The essential pattern was continued: an education administered at home, followed by entry into the military institution at an early age, in most cases. This happened at a time when, in the main monarchies of Enlightened Europe, the majority of the heirs of the respective prime nobilities were increasingly subject to the socialisation of colleges, military schools or academies. And, in the particular case of England, they predominantly began to attend university, a practice that was reserved in Portugal only for second-born sons, who, because in principle they were destined for ecclesiastical careers, were

generally sent to royal colleges and the University of Coimbra (cf. Monteiro 1998: 519-522).

What is known about aristocratic libraries clearly suggests that access to, and the spread of, the culture of the Enlightenment was more the exception than the rule. In short, there are no really evident signs of any cultural "modernisation" in the aristocratic circles of the court. The parallel, for example, with the much discussed French case only tends to highlight the differences. And yet, however, one of the indicators of change already begins to be quite clearly noted in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Without wishing to exhaust the possible explanations for such a complex phenomenon, it seems fundamental to insist on the possibly unforeseen effects of the interventions of the monarchy, especially in the period of the government of the Marquês de Pombal (1750-1777). Amongst other measures that were put forward at that time, stress should be laid on the recognition of the crisis in the monastic life and the restrictions placed by Pombal on people entering the ecclesiastical career, the defence of marriage to be found in some legislation of this period and the legislation on *morgados* which made their institution much more difficult and dependent on the permission of the central court. Finally, there is no denying that, despite the limits on its spread pointed out earlier, the "culture of the Enlightenment" certainly contributed to the first and almost only indicator of change in the patterns of behaviour of *fidalgos*, or, in other words, the fall in the number of entries into ecclesiastical life. This does not mean that we are saying that there was a secularisation of the dominant values in the aristocracy (something that it would be difficult to demonstrate), rather we are suggesting that there was an indirect effect of the "culture of the Enlightenment", brought about by the impact of the changes introduced by the Marquês de Pombal, which took away some of the appeal of ecclesiastical careers amongst the more enlightened elites of the time.

Furthermore, we are well aware that the phenomenon that we have just mentioned also occurred in other European Catholic countries, such as Italy and France (cf. Litchfield 1969, Zanetti 1972, Forster 1971, Cooper 1976) (we know less about Spain), although the concept of de-Christianisation used in France seems somewhat inadequate for dealing with this phenomenon. In conclusion, it can be said that until the end of the eighteenth century the only indicator of change in respect of one essential aspect of the social identity of the *fidalgo* groups, or, in other words, the discipline of the house, was related to the crisis in the number of entries into ecclesiastical life, which began amongst the high court nobility, but gradually spread to the provinces. In 1786, the richest and most well related *fidalgo* in Funchal had no problems in asserting that he did not "intend to coerce any of his daughters into accepting the status of a nun", although this was a normal destiny in his and previous generations for daughters born into the house of which he was the administrator.

In conclusion, it can be said that the Portuguese case, which we have dealt with here only in respect of some of its multiple components, does not seem entirely to corroborate the images recently provided of the evolution of noble houses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the one hand, the nobiliary groups were constantly increasing in number, which seems to have run contrary to the general trend in eighteenth-century Europe. On the other hand, the high nobility of the Portuguese court did not grow, instead remaining extremely stable and crystallising from the mid-seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century, contrary to what was happening in the neighbouring monarchies. Finally the central core of family values, expressed in the discipline of the aristocratic house, an essential secular aspect of the *fidalgo* "ethos", was maintained until the end of the eighteenth century. This last aspect cannot be dissociated from the spread of culture or the forms used for the construction of nobiliary identities in Portugal in the period of the dynasty of Bragança, which began with the rebellion of 1640. Contrary to the well-known models based on Norbert Elias and the French case, but which has been questioned by the historiography (cf. especially Duindam 1995, Adamson 1999), the extremely closed society of the court of the new Portuguese dynasty only promoted the spread of a cosmopolitan culture within its circles in a very limited fashion. Even in this select and restricted universe, it was the traditional standards of family behaviour, linked to the institution of entailed estates, which continued to prevail. And this is the meaning that must be given to the words of various critical observers coming from the outside, who said of the Portuguese society of the early eighteenth century that "in our land, there was no magnificence, no court and no great Lords", which arose "from the short upbringing given to children, who were reared in poverty and narrow-mindedness, more through ignorance and erroneous economy than through necessity" (Brochado 1909:

5).

Finally, the case studied here raises a problem that is recurrently mentioned in studies of comparative history. To what extent is it legitimate to use as a term of comparison the political and cultural centres of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europe (namely France and England)? Or can it be that some of the aspects that have been suggested by the authors mentioned initially to be widespread throughout the old continent are more of an exception than a rule?

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The Political History of Nineteenth Century Portugal[1]

Paulo Jorge Fernandes
Autónoma University of Lisbon
paulojorge@mail.telepac.pt
Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses
National University of Ireland
Filipe.deMeneses@may.ie
Manuel Baiôa
CIDEHUS-University of Évora
manuelbaioa@hotmail.com

Abstract

The political history of nineteenth-century Portugal was, for a long time, a neglected subject. Under Salazar's New State it was passed over in favour of earlier periods from which that nationalist regime sought to draw inspiration; subsequent historians preferred to concentrate on social and economic developments to the detriment of the difficult evolution of Portuguese liberalism. This picture is changing, thanks to an awakening of interest in both contemporary topics and political history (although there is no consensus when it comes to defining political history). The aim of this article is to summarise these recent developments in Portuguese historiography for the benefit of an English-language audience.

Keywords

Nineteenth Century, History, Bibliography, Constitutionalism, Historiography, Liberalism, Political History, Portugal

Politics has finally begun to carve out a privileged space at the heart of Portuguese historiography. This 'invasion' is a recent phenomenon and can be explained by the gradual acceptance, over the course of two decades, of political history as a genuine specialisation in Portuguese academic circles. This process of scientific and pedagogical renewal has seen a clear focus also on the nineteenth century. Young researchers concentrate their efforts in this field, and publishers are more interested in this kind of works than before.

In Portugal, the interest in the 19th century is a reaction against decades of ignorance. Until April 1974, ideological reasons dictated the absence of contemporary history from the secondary school classroom, and even from the university curriculum. The 19th century was viewed as the triumph, from 1834 onwards, of the suspect 'liberal State' which grew, in the first quarter of the twentieth century (1910-1926), into the despised Republic. It was against this regime that Salazar's New State, corporative and nationalist, affirmed itself. History degrees usually did not extend beyond a coverage of the 17th century thus focusing on the 'glorious' period of Portuguese maritime discoveries and imperial expansion.

Nevertheless, in the last decades of the New State's existence, from the 1950s onwards, some attempt was made to carry out a process of historiographical renewal, one which might include, for the first time, contemporary history. This process occurred, however, outside the context of Portuguese universities, and was clearly influenced by a Marxist current limited by its own ideological prejudices.

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The historiographical paradigms of this school rarely concerned themselves with politics. Historians such as António José Saraiva, Armando de Castro, Barradas de Carvalho, Borges de Macedo, Joel Serrão, Oliveira Marques, Piteira Santos, Silva Dias, Virgínia Rau and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, among others, were more interested in understanding socio-economic mechanisms and cultural cycles than in assessing the importance of deeds and dates or measuring the influence of leading personalities. The generation that followed, and which began lecturing in the wake of the 25 April 1974 revolution, guided itself by the principles of the *Annales* School, again paying more attention to economic and social history than to its political counterpart. However, as the years passed, historical curiosity regarding the 19th century grew, whetting the appetite of the academic community.

In a now outdated work of synthesis which attempted to list the principal figures in Portuguese historiography, A. H. de Oliveira Marques complained – with good reason – that Portuguese authors avoided conceptual reflections on theoretical and methodological questions. What was true in the mid 1970s, however, is no longer the case. Innovation has arrived in the form of political history, whose practitioners are keen to affirm the theoretical validity of their topic. The first echo of the international debate regarding the character and the strength of the 'New Political History' demonstrated that the Portuguese academic community was aware of foreign developments and determined not to be excluded (Teixeira, 1988). Nevertheless, and to the horror of those who dreamed of a return to the simple description of events woven together into a plot capable of conferring a global sense to the historical narrative, the proposed alternatives were so permeable to quantitative methods, and to social and anthropological concerns – that is, to a subject-less politics – that they threatened to prolong the agony of the narrative. Lines of division soon became apparent. The partisans of history as a literary form (Ramos, 1991) and those who emphasise its relativist nature (Hespanha, 1991) have all had the chance to propound their preferences and to sharpen their arguments, going as far as to propose the return to older forms of history (history as a dramatic construct) as the only way of freeing it from the academic ghetto to which it was confined by the *Annales* school, by Structuralism, and, most recently, by the 'New History' and its offshoots (Bonifácio, 1993a). Nothing approaching a consensus has been arrived as a result of this debate, which, nevertheless, has resulted in a certain strengthening of those who invest heavily in political history (Bonifácio, 1999), but who still remain a clear minority in university circles.

Linguistic barriers have imposed severe limits to foreign academics' knowledge of the historiographical developments in Portugal. Even today there is no figure comparable to Raymond Carr, or others, who not only write about Spain, but are engaged in a constant dialogue with Spanish historians. The aim of this article is therefore to acquaint an English-language reader with the developments in Portugal's political evolution over the course of the 19th century, simultaneously highlighting the latest works of political history and attempting to establish some conclusion about the historiographical advances of the past fifteen years. The text is divided in three moments. Starting from the general works and reviews about the period, we try to highlight the most important works that deal with the period between the Peninsular Wars (1807-1811) and the fall of the constitutional monarchy (1910). In the last moment, we have a small reference about thematic studies covering the 19th century History.

General Works and Reviews

We begin this introduction to Portuguese historiography with an analysis of the large general works published over the past few years and of available reference works. The standard by which other general works on Portuguese history are measured was set by Damião Peres' monumental *História de Portugal*, published from 1928 to 1937, to which was added a Supplement written by the same author sometime later, in 1954, and which was concluded by Franco Nogueira in 1981. The first eight volumes, published in order to commemorate the eighth centenary of the 'Foundation of the Nationality', were heavily stamped by a prevailing nationalist climate, despite having received the collaboration of reputed specialists from diverse areas. Peres opted for a dynastic division of the subject matter, which was distributed across well-defined areas and pays special attention to political history. Less space was reserved for cultural, colonial, and socio-economic concerns. In the seventh volume

(1816-1918), contemporary events were approached from a political and descriptive perspective. Peres' *História de Portugal* is still seen as an essential work, presenting a rich source of information for all those starting out in this field, although it is often criticised for its lack of bibliographical elements and systematic notation. Nevertheless, it was the first such work aimed at a wide audience.

A significant contribution to the renovation of Portuguese historiography was made by A. H. de Oliveira Marques. His *History of Portugal* (1972), in two volumes, represented a considerable editorial success, and was often reprinted and translated. Part of its appeal lay in the dedication of half the work to the period following the liberal revolution. This work, which aspires to make a descriptive, rather than interpretative synthesis, is essentially an economic and social study. Political history is relegated to a secondary role. In open opposition to it stands the *História de Portugal* of Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, written in fourteen volumes (published from 1977 to 2001), which embodies the virtues and faults of a work of such enormous size prepared by a single author. Positivist in nature and often uncomfortably close to the nationalist historiographical ideals elaborated by the "New State", this work has devoted four volumes to the 19th century period (1807-1910) and is also marked by an abundance of bibliographical references, as well as by the elevation of political history to a level of equality with socio-economic and cultural history.

The ninth volume of *Nova História de Portugal*, directed by Joel Serrão and A.H. de Oliveira Marques, has emerged as a basic university textbook for the study of this period (the foundation of Liberalism), and its usefulness residing not in the originality of subject matter and interpretation but rather in the way that it synthesises available information. Nevertheless, it must be noted that this book is heavily marked by the *Annales* school. The appearance of some more recent works must also be mentioned. A well-known medievalist, José Mattoso, coordinated the publication of an eight-volume *História de Portugal* (1993-1995) which has become the latest obligatory work of reference, enjoying the greatest prestige at the moment and benefiting, in terms of sales, from a simultaneous publication by two different publishing houses. Each volume was entrusted to specialists in the field; we will consider the final four, dedicated to the last two hundred years. The fifth volume, which covers the period 1807-1890, was directed by Luis Reis Torgal and João Lourenço Roque, of the University of Coimbra, and includes contributions from over two hundred collaborators, which is reflected in a lack of homogeneity when it comes to the text and which is necessarily detrimental to the study of political evolution in the period. The sixth volume (1890-1926), written by Rui Ramos, is deliberately driven by the narrative, and is markedly revisionist at the expense of more traditional interpretations. This *History of Portugal* has the added value of a brief chronology of Portuguese history and of useful reference indexes included in the last volume; despite its recent publication date it has already been re-edited a number of times.

The extensive *História de Portugal dos tempos pre-históricos aos nossos dias* (1993), directed by João Medina, of the University of Lisbon, deserves also to be mentioned. This collective work is marked by a great diversity in the subject matter covered, wherein, nevertheless, politics receive a privileged treatment. The 19th century takes up three of the fifteen published volumes. Some other general works should be included in this survey. *Portugal Contemporâneo* (1989-1990), directed by António Reis and made up, in its first edition, of six volumes, is an abundantly illustrated work which, despite being aimed at a wide public, nevertheless contains excellent summarised accounts written by specialists in their area and constitutes a good point of departure for further research. Again, the 19th century deserves special attention on the first volume of the second edition.

A remarkable competition was suddenly embarked upon in the field of colonial history by the simultaneous publication of the still incomplete *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa* (1992-2001), coordinated by Joel Serrão and A.H. de Oliveira Marques, and the *História da Expansão Portuguesa* (1998-1999), directed by Francisco Bethencourt and K. N. Chandhuri.

This typology of general works is completed by an examination of a number of historical dictionaries. The oldest and most famous of all, which received the collaboration of the widest circle of researchers and which was most ambitious in the number of entries, was directed by Joel Serrão. This *Dicionário de História de Portugal* (1963-1971), published in six volumes, combines politics with a study of the economy, society, and the cultural and mental aspects of Portugal since its foundation until the Republic. Moreover, the often-neglected *Dicionário Enciclopédico da História de Portugal* (1985) makes for a useful complement to the larger work produced by Joel Serrão. More specific, but not less useful, therefore, are the *Dicionário da Maçonaria Portuguesa* (1986), published in two volumes, and the

História da Maçonaria Portuguesa (1990-1997) in three volumes, both written by A. H. de Oliveira Marques; they contain convenient information about a substantial portion of the Portuguese political class of the 19th century. For the English-language reader an obvious starting point is Douglas Wheeler's *Historical dictionary of Portugal* (1993). A significant new initiative has come to light in the shape of the different volumes of the "*Dicionário Biográfico Parlamentar*". This is an ambitious project entrusted to Zília Osório de Castro (for the period 1821-1823 and 1826-1828) – already published in 2001 – and to Maria Filomena Mónica (1834-1910), and is intended to make available the biography and political careers of all members of parliament from the first liberal assembly in 1821 until 1910.

As part of this list of general works a number of up-to-date general histories of Portugal published in English should be mentioned. Generally speaking, English-language historians of Portugal skip over the greater part of the 19th century – the period that follows the successful conclusion of the Peninsular war. Interest shown in the battles of Bussaco and Torres Vedras, and the performance of Portuguese troops under Wellington and Beresford, is rarely, if ever, matched by interest in the consequences of a conflict which devastated large swathes of Portugal. An interesting example of this lack of interest is to be found in a quick sketch of Portuguese history attempted by Kenneth Maxwell (1995) in his recent *The making of Portuguese democracy*, in which a tremendous leap is made from the 18th Century statesman, the Marquis of Pombal, to Salazar, with no reference to anything or anyone in between. Turbulent political developments, with constant changes of government and even of Constitution, are difficult to decipher and summarise. Nevertheless, David Birmingham's *Concise History of Portugal* (1993) remains a useful starting point. A more recent account of Portuguese history is James Anderson's *The History of Portugal* (2000).

Despite this increasing interest about 19th century Portugal, the editorial landscape is bleaker when it comes to specialised reviews. There is not a single review dedicated exclusively to political history, which reveals the weakness of this specialisation in the Portuguese university *milieu*, since practically all third-level institutions where History is taught as a subject have their own publications. There is, however, some solace to be found in other publications. The review *Análise Social*, which began to be published in the 1960s in the *Instituto de Ciências Sociais*, and presently directed by a sociologist, António Barreto, does cast a regular eye over contemporary political history; a good recent example is issue 157, published in 2001. Issue 150 (1999), is especially useful, including as it does a complete index covering all back issues. The review *Ler História*, linked to the *Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa* (ISCTE), has been directed since its first issue (1983) by Miriam Halpern Pereira. It too publishes frequent articles relating to political concerns. Some other useful reviews, not directly linked to any institutions, are *Penélope: Revista de História e Ciências Sociais*[2], *Política Internacional*[3], and the monthly magazine *História*, directed by Fernando Rosas and aimed at a general audience. Its main focus lies in the period covering the First Republic and, above all, the New State, and in fact this review has in many ways become the unofficial spokesman for the new historiography of these periods. Nevertheless, 19th century political events are also included in the main concerns of this publication. In English one might add a number of reviews dedicated to lusophone affairs, including *Portuguese Studies* (based in Great Britain) and *Portuguese Studies Review* (based in the United States); in both of these, however, history jostles for space with other disciplines.

The 19th Century: from the Napoleonic wars to the fall of the Constitutional Monarchy (1807-1910)

Despite the rather bleak landscape so far presented, it is now possible to find some general interpretations of the 'century' that begins in 1807 with the first of three French invasions and which comes to an end on 5 October 1910 with the fall of the monarchy. According to these interpretations – which are far from being consensual – 'the history of nineteenth-century Portugal consists of a long,

[2] Currently directed by Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, this review has published a number of articles on political history. Number 25 (2002) should be highlighted, for a complete index of all articles published since 1988.
[3] Published since 1990 and directed by João Ferreira de Sousa, this review is mostly concerned with international relations, but occasionally includes historiographical texts and original documents.

complicated, and frequently violent transition from the monarchy to the Republic, carried out against the forces which struggled to preserve the half-way house between the two' (Bonifacio, 2002). That is to say, it was a time of conflict between radicalism and liberalism that resulted in the growing and inevitable republicanisation of the regime, in which 'from the founding of constitutional monarchism in 1834, the Revolution became the most powerful agent in Portuguese history' (Ibid). There were a number of stages until 1910, which we will quickly set out, detailing the authors who have dedicated themselves to their political history.

As can be imagined, Portugal was not immune to the impact of the French Revolution. In the context of Napoleonic expansionism at the beginning of the century, Portugal's international ambiguity, marked by an attempt to seek a compromise between the traditional British alliance and the continental system imposed by the new masters of Europe, dragged the country into the French orbit as a result of three military campaigns (1807-8, 1809, and 1810-1) which not only devastated a substantial part of the territory (Matos, 1999; Rodrigues, 1999), but also forced the exile of the court to Rio de Janeiro, which it reached under escort from the British navy. This Brazilian city was suddenly transformed into the capital of a trans-oceanic empire. The Braganza dynasty's tropical exile did not prevent Portugal from becoming a battlefield for the war between France and Great Britain (Vicente, 2000). The invading French armies were driven out thanks to British support, which came at the cost of British tutelage until 1820 and which was facilitated by the royal family's fear of returning to Europe. Portugal became, simultaneously, a colony of Brazil and a British protectorate, and was divided into a pro-French party and a pro-British party; the origins of these factions lie, obviously, in the pre-1807 period (Alexandre, 1993). On 24 August 1820 some Portuguese military leaders, in conjunction with a middle class group which bore the stamp of the freemasons, carried out a liberal and nationalist *pronunciamento* in the city of Oporto with the objectives of freeing the country from the oppressive presence of British officials, forcing King João VI to return from Brazil, and carrying out elections for a Constituent Assembly, charged with drawing up a modern Constitution in accordance with the liberal ideas of the age. This was the dawn of *Vintismo* (1820-3) (Brandão, 1990; Proença, 1990; Vargues, 1997).

A number of civilian figures soon rose to the fore (Mogarro, 1990; Castro, 1990) – men like José da Silva Carvalho, Manuel Borges Carneiro and, above all, Manuel Fernandes Tomás, the 'patriarch of the Revolution' – who, in tandem with officers such as Bernardo de Sepúlveda and Sebastião Cabreira, did not allow for the radicalisation of the situation, imposing instead the model provided by the Cadiz Constitution (1812). The Portuguese experience of liberalism did not thus suffer from a wave of Jacobinism similar to that of France thirty years earlier. The greatest achievement of the Constituent Congress, elected by universal male suffrage at the end of 1820 (Pereira, 1992) was the Constitution of 1822, an advanced document for its time, which forced the King to accept a secondary role within the new political regime. The text upheld the principles of national sovereignty, of representation of the Nation, and of the separation of powers, but was from the very start threatened by the tension between the two principles at its core, democracy and monarchy (Miranda, 2001). The evolution of the Portuguese liberal model would thus be hamstrung by reactionary elements loyal to the old absolutist order, who congregated in turn around Queen Carlota Joaquina (Sara Pereira, 1999) and Prince Miguel. These carried out the coup of May/June 1823, known in Portugal as the *Vilafrancada*, with the support of some sections of the army, in order to force the monarch to bring to a halt the workings of the liberal *Cortes* and to abolish the Constitution. The workings of the parliament had opened various wounds in Portuguese society (Castro, 1996), the most traumatic of which was the parting of ways with Brazil, made inevitable by the return of the King to Lisbon (Proença, 1999).

After the death of João VI in 1826, the Emperor of Brazil – and Portuguese Crown Prince – Pedro IV, attempted to calm the political waters, drafting in Rio de Janeiro a Constitutional Charter, more conservative in tone than the Constitution of 1822. This text introduced the 'moderating' power of the monarch, a royal veto, a chamber for hereditary peers and indirect elections (Miranda 2001). Pedro IV (known as Pedro I of Brazil), forced to choose between kingdoms, opted for Brazilian, abdicating the Portuguese throne in favour of his daughter, still a minor, the future Maria II (Macaulay, 1986). The regency created to oversee the kingdom was not strong enough to ensure the political stability of Portugal, threatened by the supporters of prince Miguel, exiled in Vienna. These defenders or royal absolutism took advantage of the situation to create a climate of terror and persecution, which

culminated with the Prince's return to Lisbon in 1828, where he was quickly proclaimed King in 1828. This *Miguelista* experience would last until 1834 (Lousada, 1987), when, after two years of civil war, the liberal party triumphed. The war was resolved by the convention of Évora-Monte and the permanent exile of the usurper. After this episode the *Miguelist* threat was contained but not extinguished (Mónica, 1997; Brissos, 1997) and, despite the clear victory of the liberal forces, political stability did not ensue.

The fragmentation of the liberal 'family', driven by ideological differences dating back to the years of exile (1828-1832/34) contributed to the creation of a regime which, if militarily victorious, did not have sufficient authority to impose law and order. The Charter of 1826 was imposed, a fifteen-year old Queen was installed on the throne, and the government was entrusted to the Duke of Palmela and the friends of Pedro IV who had, in the meantime, died (Valente, 1993). On 9 September 1836 the politicised population of Lisbon and the National Guard carried out a revolution in the capital designed to drive the 'Charterists' from power and force Maria II to restore the Constitution of 1822. This new movement, known as *Setembrismo*, suffered from the impact of constant popular demands, which paralysed its activity in government. Its principal achievement, the Constitution of 1838, fell halfway between the two previous texts, but was short-lived. *Order* was restored in the beginning of 1842, with royal approval, by António Bernardo da Costa Cabral, a one-time radical who had fallen for the delights of French doctrinaire politics. A new phase was entered into, during which no recognition was given to the constituent power of the Nation and in which no pacts were made either with the moderate Left, headed by Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães and Passos Manuel – the leading lights of *Setembrismo* – or the radical Left, entrenched in the political clubs of the capital. The most visible effect of this movement was the restoration of the Charter of 1826 and the holding of elections, which provided Costa Cabral with a disciplined majority, which in turn allowed him to rule with such firmness as to be accused of tyranny (Bonifácio, 1986). In 1844, the *pronunciamento* of Torres Novas/Almeida, which had intended to return *Setembrismo* to power, was easily crushed by the government, but two years later, in 1846, the executive was finally forced to resign as a result of a popular revolt, known as the *Maria da Fonte*, and of the lack of military support within the regime (Capela, 1997).

Incapable of containing the popular revolt, Cabral's government was dismissed by Maria II, who on the night of 5-6 October called on the Duke of Saldanha to take charge of the country without informing the chief of government, Terceira, a move later interpreted as a palace coup. Three days later a Junta was formed in Oporto, which declared its hostility to the new government in Lisbon. The civil war that ensued, known as the war of 'Patuleia'[4], concluded in June 1847 thanks to the British diplomatic intervention, which brought to an end the military deadlock which had developed (Bonifácio, 1993b). Costa Cabral returned to power in 1849, replacing Saldanha, but the defeat of the 'springtime of the nationalities' the year before had rendered redundant the return of the doctrinaires to power (Ribeiro, 1990). The Duke pondered revenge for a time, and, once assured that there would be no Spanish reaction to his move, carried out another *pronunciamento* in 1851. The unity of the army being more complete than it had been since 1834, Saldanha became the dominant personality of the time, able to impose his political and social views. The period known as the 'Regeneration' began, and a whole new generation entered Parliament and reached positions of power. A wave of enthusiasm for national reconciliation swept the whole country and all political factions, since the constitutional reform of 1852 allowed for changes long demanded by the Left, including direct elections. The Regenerationist cabinet (1851-6) went as far as naming some of the leaders of *Setembrismo* to positions of power within the State apparatus. Cabral went into exile in Spain for a second time in five years and the country embarked on a programme of material development directed by Minister Fontes Pereira de Melo, the most significant political figure of the period. In 1856, King Pedro V, displeased with the governing style of Fontes and his growing unpopularity, charged the Marquis of Loulé with the formation of a new cabinet in order to breathe new life into governmental action. The years that followed, until 1868, were, however, marked by continuous political disorder and successive changes of government. 'Históricos' and Regenerationists – or, in other terms, the centre-left and centre-right –

[4] *Patuleia* is a deturpation of *pata-ao-léu*, or barefoot, in reference to the popular support enjoyed by the Oporto Junta.

whether alternating in power or in a coalition,[5] did not really differ in their preference for material progress and extensive public works at the expense of the State's finances. Roads and railroads were built throughout the country. The historiography of this period has generally opted for an exaltation of the climate of concord that reigned, presenting the Regeneration as a time when all alliances were possible (Sardica, 2001), although there is a contrasting view – that of a 'false Regenerationist peace' (Bonifácio, 2002a).

The end of this coalition against radicalism, in 1868, helped to consolidate the idea of 'the people' as a political force, notably when it came to the more militant urban population of Lisbon. Insurmountable financial difficulties; permanent turmoil on the streets of the capital and in the Parliament; and a succession of governments which proved incapable of carrying out the agreed programme of developing Portugal and bringing democracy to the regime; all of these factors pushed Saldanha into once again, and for the last time in his long career, demonstrating his strength. With the help of the army the old officer imposed a supra-party dictatorship in 1870 which, however, failed in its basic bid: an attempt to carry out the political reforms deemed necessary in order to allow radical ideas to enter the political mainstream at a moment when the republican threat was becoming increasingly evident (Catroga, 2000).

A reorganisation of the political parties took place in the years that followed. In 1870 there had appeared the Reformist party, resulting from the desire of part of the 'Históricos' to become an unfettered left-wing force. In 1876, the Progressive party was created, which, led by Anselmo José Brancaamp, was the result of a fusion between the 'Históricos' and the more radical Reformists on the latter's terms, worked out through the Granja Pact[6]. This was the same year in which a Republican party was founded. Despite these changes, the 1870s were a decade of social and political peace, largely as a result of a long-lasting Fontes Pereira de Melo government (1871-1877), by now the clear leader of the Regenerationist party. But cooperation between Progressives and Republicans at the end of the decade made necessary the inclusion of Brancaamp's party in the running of the country in order to isolate republicanism. The electoral reform of 1884, negotiated by Fontes, allowed the defeated party to preserve a significant number of deputies in Parliament. The aim was clear: to separate the Progressives from their electoral base and to create a peaceful rotation, allowing the two parties to succeed each other in power peacefully. A second constitutional reform, in 1885, sealed the new consensus: hereditary peers became a thing of the past, the upper house being packed instead with government appointees. The regime was closing ranks around itself and the result was not long in coming.

Brancaamp died in September 1885 and Fontes died in January 1886. Less than five years would elapse before the great tumult caused by the British ultimatum of January 1890 (Teixeira, 1990) provoked by a colonial dispute over the territory separating Angola from Mozambique, which Portuguese troops had begun to occupy. Portuguese society reacted badly to the government's acceptance of British terms, and a wave of patriotism was the outcome, largely orchestrated by the Republican party, which capitalised on this issue. The ultimatum provoked a crisis of authority in the State, which was simultaneously discredited by its diplomatic and military weakness, a failed Republican rising in Oporto in January of 1891, a financial crisis, and the end of the previous decade's understanding between the dynastic parties. The peaceful rotation of, and the balance of power between, the parties, came to an end. 'New life' in politics was needed. The very existence of the liberal regime hung in the balance (Ramos 2001b).

The dynastic parties stood accused of being the main bulwarks against the renovation of national politics, identified as essential in order to safeguard the country's future. New leaders emerged, and new parties, but still the attempt to save the monarchy failed. José Luciano de Castro (Progressive) shared power with Hintze Ribeiro (Regenerationist) in a second peaceful rotation, but both watched, powerless, as the crisis of the liberal monarchy worsened. In 1901, João Franco, one of the leading political figures of the time, abandoned the Regenerationists to form his own party, which he titled

[5] The so-called 'fusion' government of 1865-8 was made up of an alliance between the Regenerationists and a faction of the 'Históricos' which was not opposed to such a collaboration (*unha branca*). Within the latter party there existed, however, another faction which was radically opposed to such an understanding (*unha preta*), defending the alternative of a completely autonomous Left.

[6] Thus named after the sea-side town where the pact was signed.

Liberal-Regenerationist (Sardica, 1994). In 1903, Jacinto Cândido, imitating Franco, attempted to rally conservative Catholicism around a Nationalist party, while the Progressive party was also affected by this fragmentation with José Maria Alpoim's Progressive Dissidence of 1905. Even the Republican party was composed of different factions which disagreed on how to reach a position of power – although they would not have long to wait.

The political and social dissatisfaction of these years (Mónica, 1987), marked by an intellectual climate of decadence, a commercial deficit, the threat of financial bankruptcy, and constant governmental and parliamentary instability, was aggravated in February 1908 with the twin murder of King Carlos and the crown prince in Lisbon, carried out by members of the *Carbonária*, a revolutionary secret society. The new monarch, Manuel II, a 18-year old boy with no political experience, attempted to return some stability to the country, but the decomposition of the regime was actually hastened as successive scandals escaped the government's control. On 5 October 1910 few were found to defend the monarchy.

Thematic Studies covering the 19th century History

Studies of an exclusively political nature for this period continue to be few and far between, despite the growing interest in contemporary history. The first that must be mentioned is the pioneering work of Fernando Piteira Santos on the 1820 elections (Santos, 1962). The author's interpretation of the event, although pointedly Marxist, represented a key moment in Portuguese historiography, although few were willing to take up his mantle. Two decades would elapse before a new study, dedicated to the elections of the *Setembrista* period (Sacuntala de Miranda, 1982) contributed, in more complete fashion, to the comprehension of Portuguese electoral politics of the liberal period. More recently, Pedro Tavares de Almeida (Almeida, 1991, 1998 & 2001) took up the baton once again with his work on elections and *Caciquismo*, publishing a useful compilation of all relevant legislation from 1820 to 1926. It is also easier to study the electoral phenomenon for the last years of the century (Vidigal, 1998).

Another field of by-now permanent activity is the study of the nineteenth century's political elites. Essential to this are Pedro Tavares de Almeida's doctoral theses on the role of the national political elites in the construction of the liberal State (Almeida, 1995) and the recently published correspondence of many of the period's key players (Moreira, 1998; Mónica, 2000; Almeida, 2001). The analysis of the behaviour of local elites has also been the subject of numerous studies; among these can be found the cases of Lisbon (Paulo Jorge Fernandes, 1999) and Montemor-o-Novo (Paulo Silva Fernandes, 1999). Less research has been carried out into the appearance and development of political factions. There is no single study of the phenomenon for the first half of the century. For the later period, it is worth noting the publication, in 2001, of a study by José Miguel Sardica dedicated to the formation of the party system in the first phase of the Regeneration period (2001).

A number of studies have investigated ideological developments over the course of the nineteenth century (Torgal, 1989, Campos Matos, 1998). João Medina also made some headway into the development of socialism in Portugal (Medina, 1984). In the case of republicanism, the History 'school' at the University of Coimbra has made a number of incursions into the field (Homem, 1990, Catroga, 2000); but for liberalism, despite its obvious importance, there is only an older study examining its more moderate elements (Canaveira, 1988). Another area which has not yet been exhausted is military history. Some authors have returned to it time and time again, notably António Pedro Vicente and Fernando Pereira Marques. The first published recently a compilation of articles dedicated essentially to the Napoleonic campaigns and their consequences for Portugal. Pereira Marques has emerged as a specialist in the organisation of the army (1999). For an analysis of military interference in politics one should turn to the work of Vasco Pulido Valente, remarkable for its narrative style and the abundant use made of documentary evidence (1997).

The relationship between government and the parliament, and the very workings of the parliament, are still to be understood, despite a first approach (Pinto dos Santos, 1986) which includes a useful list of the different governments in place since 1834. Another area still in its infancy is constitutional history; a first attempt was made by Jorge Miranda, a specialist in the matter, who recently compiled Brazilian and Portuguese constitutional texts (2001). Administrative evolution and

reforms (Manique, 1989) and the political importance of the territory (Silveira, 1997b) have already been considered, there being an abundance of works dedicated to the history of municipalities and local power bases (Oliveira, 1996; VA, 1998).

The biographical genre is, after a first step (Pinheiro, 1996), undergoing a period of expansion. In 2001 a number of especially important biographies were published, including those of the writer Eça de Queirós and the politicians João Franco and Vieira de Castro (Mónica, 2001; Ramos, 2001a; Valente, 2001). Even *Análise Social* surrendered to the charms of the biography, dedicating a special issue to it (160). Pedro IV (or I, in Brazil) was the subject of an English-language biography translated into Portuguese in Brazil (Macaulay, 1986). A general study of Church-State relations during the period of the constitutional monarchy can be found in another work published by the Coimbra 'school' (Neto, 1998) although a more detailed study of the normalisation of relations between Lisbon and Rome is also at hand (Doria, 2001).

This brief survey of historical writing on nineteenth-century Portugal will conclude with two traditionally popular areas – colonial history and international relations. The construction of an African empire (Clarence-Smith, 1990 & Alexandre, 2000) after the loss of Brazil led to increased value being attached to Mozambique and Angola in the context of Portugal's overseas empire (Telo, 1991b & 1994). This is demonstrated by the number of studies dedicated to these particular colonies (Henriques, 1997; Pelissier, 2000 & 2001). The Portuguese presence in Asia has been somewhat neglected (Guimarães, 1996), as has been the abolition of slavery (João Pedro Marques, 1999). Meanwhile, the first investigations into Portuguese diplomatic history (Macedo, 1987) have been overtaken by the analysis of Portugal's insertion into the post-Vienna European order (Manique, 1988; Bonifácio, 1991) and the relationship between foreign policy and public opinion (Costa, 1988).

> This survey has shown that, until some years ago, there was only a grudging acceptance of political history in Portuguese universities. The situation is currently being altered, with this field gaining both academic credit and visibility in the media, despite the relatively small number of those engaged in it. Not even the conceptual struggle between the upholders of the narrative and the followers of the 'New Political History' has hindered the growth of this field of specialisation: the debate has helped to strengthen political history, thanks to the introduction of different analytical and methodological approaches which act as an engine of development.

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From Closed to Open Doors: Portuguese Emigration under the Corporatist Regime

Maria Ioannis B. Baganha
University of Coimbra
mbaganha@sonata.fe.uc.pt

Abstract

This paper analyses the Portuguese emigration policy under the corporatist regime. It departs from the assumption that sending countries are no more than by bystanders in the migratory process. The paper goes a step further, claiming that in the Portuguese case, not only did the *Estado Novo* (New State) control the migratory flows that were occurring, but that it used emigration to its own advantage. I tried next to present evidence to show that by the analysis of the individual characteristics of the migrants and of their skills, their exodus couldn't have harmed the country's economic growth during the sixties, since the percentage of scientific and technical manpower was, when compared to other European countries, far too scarce to frame an industrial labour force higher than the existing one. The paper concludes that during this period, the most likely hypothesis is that the Portuguese migratory flow was composed of migrants that were redundant to the domestic economy.

Keywords:

Emigration, Portugal, Estado Novo, New State, Corporatist, Salazar, Migration Policy, Labour, Economy, Economic Growth

Introduction

The political sanctioning of immigration may foster open-door policies in order to maximise the country's labour supply, it may induce the adoption of quota systems in order to help preserve cultural and political integrity, or it may even promote the incorporation of special skills and intellectual capital. In turn, the political sanctioning of emigration may lead to the selection, promotion, or restriction of emigrants' departures, which can and usually does distort the composition of the migratory flow, directly affecting the level of remittances that emigration produces and thus its impact on the sending country's economy. The adoption of one of these main types of policy by a receiving or a sending state has varied historically in accordance with the state's own perception of domestic collective interests. The fact that sending and receiving states are integral parts of the migratory process has long been recognised (e.g. Zolberg 1983). However, the fact that this distinctive feature of international migration has to be built into the conceptual frameworks constructed to explain these processes has proved less consensual. In particular, it should be admitted that the role played by the sending state is more often than not overlooked (e.g. Böhning 1984).

The Portuguese case is no exception to this rule. In fact, the main available explanations for Portuguese emigration after the Second World War stress either the duality of Portuguese society and the imbalances of the country's economic structure[1] or the wage differential between Portugal and the receiving countries as the main factors driving a growing number of migrants out of the country.[2] I do not deny the importance of either of these factors: in fact the consideration of domestic conditions is

[1] Sedas Nunes, 1964; Almeida and Barreto, 1976; Serräo, 1977; Godinho, 1978.

[2] Ferreira, 1976; Pereira and Barosa, 1989; Pereira, 1989.

extremely relevant for explaining why migratory pressure was endemic in Portugal, while higher rewards for labour abroad are essential for understanding why, at a given moment, migratory pressure turned into emigration. What I am trying to say is that both approaches are lacking in several respects as explanations for the Portuguese migratory process.

Just consider, for instance, the timing of the Portuguese emigration to France, the largest recipient of Portuguese emigration after World War II. The analysis of foreign arrivals in France, which was a major receiving country during this period and the preferred destination for Portuguese emigrants, from 1950 to 1974 clearly exemplifies this point. Not until 1961 did Portuguese arrivals exceed a total of 10,000 migrants, representing 10.5% of all foreign arrivals in France (which that year numbered 160,000 persons). Previously, immigration to France was mainly composed of Italians and Spaniards.[3]

From 1962 onwards, Portugal had a constantly increasing share of the influx of foreign labour into France. This contribution reached its peak in 1970 and 1971. Total arrivals numbered 255,000 in 1970, and 218,000 in 1971, with the Portuguese representing 53% and 51% respectively of the total foreign inflow.[4] The Portuguese were not simply replacing the Italians and the Spaniards numerically, they were also taking up the job vacancies made available or unfilled by them, namely in public works, construction, domestic and personal services and in agriculture.[5] An obvious question raised by the schedule of Portuguese emigration to France raises is, why didn't the Portuguese compete with the Italians and the Spaniards from the very beginning? And the answer has to be that if for no other reason than the exclusion of other possibilities, neither the necessary channels of information and support nor political sanctioning were sufficiently open for such competition to occur.

In this paper, I intend to discuss one of these frequently disregarded factors, namely the impact that the *Estado Novo* (New State), the corporatist regime that formally began in April 1933 and ended abruptly in April 1974,[6] had on Portuguese emigration.[7] I am particularly interested in showing that the distorted composition of the Portuguese migratory flow and the high level of remittances it generated were the direct result of state interference in emigration. More generally speaking, I wish to demonstrate, by considering the Portuguese case, how a non-democratic regime, which in its fundamental law submitted the individual's right to freedom of movement to its own definition of collective interest (whether this was the composition of the domestic labour market or the state colonial aims in Africa), changed from an anti-emigration policy to a quota system policy and ended up subscribing to an open-door policy, in response to its own changes in economic policy. Moreover, in the process, the regime used to its own advantage the openness that characterised the Western European labour market from the Second World War to the oil-crisis of 1973 -1974.

Portuguese Emigration Policy

As in many other respects, Portuguese emigration policy during the Estado Novo represents a break with the past. In fact, while until 1933 the liberal rights of freedom of movement were formally respected, after that date they became legally subject to the economic and imperial interests of the state. Article 31 of the 1933 Constitution reads as follows: "The state has the right and the obligation of coordinating and regulating the economic and social life of the Nation with the aim of populating the

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[3] Between 1950 and 1959, Italians represented more than half of the total foreign inflow. In 1960, Spaniards equalled the number of Italians entering France, with each nationality contributing 30,000 migrants to a total of 72,600 arrivals. The Spaniards replaced the Italians as the main suppliers of foreign labour to France from 1961 to 1965. From 1966 to 1972, Portugal replaced Spain as France's main supplier of immigrant labour.

[4] Office National d' Immigration for the given years, in Antunes, 1973, 73 and 109.

[5] See Seruya, in Stahl et al., 1982, Kritz et al., 1983, Böhning, 1984, and Branco, 1986.

[6] It is not possible to dissociate the formal beginning of the Corporative Regime from the preceding Military Dictatorship that began on May 28, 1926, particularly after António Salazar re-entered the government in 1928 as the Secretary of State for Finance, because the legal framework that supported and gave coherence to the doctrinaire foundations of the Estado Novo began to be enacted during this period.

[7] For a different interpretation of the impact of the Estado Novo on emigration see, Leeds, 1984.

national territories, protecting emigrants and disciplining emigration." Under the scope of these objectives, the Estado Novo sought to combine three main aspects: the country's labour needs, its interests in Africa and the extra financial capabilities that came from remittances, promoted by the supervised export of labour within the international market. The consideration of these aspects varied over time and had a direct bearing on the changes in the emigration policy pursued by the government.

The legal framework for controlling and disciplining emigration began to be constructed quite early on, in fact well before 1933. But, with one exception that will be referred to later on, most of the legislation enacted before 1933 was intended to control and protect the emigrant and not to restrict departures. The same cannot, however, be said of the Law adopted in 1944 (Decree-Law No. 33:918 of September 5) which forbade the issue of an ordinary passport to any industrial worker or rural labourer. Operating in conjunction with the Law of 1929 (Decree-Law No. 16:782 of April 27), which forbade anybody aged over 14 and under 45 unable to prove that they had successfully completed their primary school education from migrating, this law barred most of the population from emigration, given the Portuguese society's endemic illiteracy of the society, and laid the foundations for the adoption of discretionary decisions by the emigration services.

Such legal provisions would in fact have had little effect if a coordinating system had not been brought into existence. In 1947, after a temporary total ban on emigration, a special government agency, simultaneously dependent on the Foreign and Home Ministries, was created to regulate and supervise emigration (Decree-Law No. 36:558 of October 28). This service was called *Junta da Emigração* (Emigration Committee), and it had the specific strategic goal of implementing a quota system that would define the maximum number of departures by region and occupation after taking into account regional labour needs and the structure of the active population.

If we consider that annual average departures did not exceed 11,000 a year during the 1930s and fell to 9,000 a year during the 1940s, such interest in controlling emigration is at first quite astounding, particularly since emigration was no longer a viable option due to the course of international events. It did, however, obey the rationale of the corporatist regime of submitting individual rights to the collective interest, and later on met the need for using the safety valve mechanism to reduce the existing demographic surplus, frequently recognised in official statements during the 1950s (e.g. *Diário do Governo* 1958:550-887).

In keeping with this same logic, several bilateral treaties were signed during the 1960s, namely with the Netherlands, France and the Federal Republic of Germany. These treaties, openly entered into in order to ensure a greater control of emigration, as well as to maximise the economic returns brought by emigration to these countries, must, however, be considered alongside the internal legislation adopted during this period (e.g. Decree-Law No. 44:422 of June 29, 1962). This legislation further cemented the links between state control of emigration, and information about domestic labour needs and government economic targets. To the text of the law, the government seems to have added some subtle provisions, namely giving directions to the Emigration Services to allow a maximum of only 30,000 departures a year and to ban legal departures of certain specific occupations, even when such measures were in conflict with the text of the bilateral treaties signed (Cassola Ribeiro 1987:75).

The compound effect of the bilateral treaties and the domestic measures taken during the 1960s was to ensure a migratory flow that the state did not consider to be harmful to the country's labour supply, but instead beneficial to the country's economic growth. A different idea seems to have been held by the traditional industrial and rural elites of the time, both of them claiming, as in the past, that legal and, above all, illegal emigration was producing significant labour shortages and causing wages to skyrocket.

The government responded to these complaints with apparently paradoxical measures. In 1965, illegal emigration ceased to be a crime punishable by law and the need for a proof of literacy was suppressed. These measures are puzzling, particularly since they came at a time when the war in Africa was at its fiercest and the complaints from the traditional economic elites were becoming louder and louder.

The government's reasoning was based on two different assumptions: first, there was in fact an excess labour supply that could be profitably exported without endangering the country's labour needs; second, since the 1950s, government economic policy had been gradually abandoning its initial strategy of promoting, by state intervention, the highly labour-intensive traditional industries of northern Portugal and the interests of rural landowners in favour of supporting the creation of a leading modern

industrial sector in the Lisbon area. This industrial sector would absorb most of the existing labour supply of skilled workers, highly-skilled workers and professionals, the types of labour for which emigration had never held any particular attraction.

Accordingly, on the eve of the 1974 Revolution, the Corporatist State was about to promulgate the most liberal law of this period, which the legislator justified through the benefits that emigration provided, namely gains in productivity and a rationalisation of the methods of production, concluding with the following statement: "emigration, acting as a positive factor for modernisation and the rationalisation of labour, has made a powerful contribution to the progress and development of the country." In view of such an understanding,[8] it is no surprise that the government opted for a liberal emigration policy. Such liberalisation came, however, at a time when the receiving countries were moving in the opposite direction. In other words, the Estado Novo was about to open its doors when other countries were closing theirs.

Emigration and Economic Policies

As we have just seen, Portuguese emigration policy during the Estado Novo may be divided into three main periods. The first period runs from 1933 to 1946. During this period, emigration was controlled and disciplined, not because the departures taking place were seen as dangerous to the country's labour supply, nor because the Portuguese were responding *en masse* to an international demand that did not in fact exist, but because such legal measures were an undeniable obligation of the government, an integral part of the doctrinaire nationalist and authoritarian principles of the regime: the subordination of individual rights to the collective interest, the promotion of the country's self-sufficiency, and the defence of a certain isolation from the exterior.[9] In order to implement these principles, social conflict and competition had to be suppressed or at least closely regulated.

The economy was legally framed under the scope of these new principles. After 1931, the industrial sector became regulated and disciplined, particularly in regard to three aspects: output growth, the creation and localisation of new or existing industries, and the transfer of the site of productive units.[10] Protective tariffs were adopted to protect domestic industry from external competition, whilst the national economy was defended from financial internationalisation by the law covering the 'Nationalisation of Capital' adopted in 1943. In Salazar's own words, this law was enacted because: "all economic factors belonging to or acting within the Portuguese Nation must be integrated into the domestic economy, and must, above all, serve the domestic economy. They must follow its directives and obey its dictates" (Salazar, *Discursos*, in Marques 1988:38).

The agricultural sector was subjected to a similar intervention. In this sector, the main government measure was known as the 'Wheat Campaign', which was particularly active between 1929 and 1938. It primarily took the form of direct subsidies, low credit, and major irrigation projects. Finally, with the 1935 law of 'Economic Reconstitution', the Estado Novo launched several major public works projects for the period. These projects were carried out between 1937 and 1950 and

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[8] A little earlier, Murteira and Branquinho's analysis of the country's economic performance had led them to a similar conclusion: 'The relatively slow growth in employment (naturally together with the rapid increase in productivity) leads us to believe that the [positive] evolution of industrial productivity may somehow have been a consequence of emigration,...
Both wages and productivity are well below European levels, but while the second has risen faster than its European counterparts, the first has moved in the opposite direction. One can therefore conclude that, as far as labour costs are concerned, the evolution has favoured the Portuguese employers.' A. Murteira and Branquinho, 1969:581

[9] For a detailed analysis of the ideological bases of the regime, see Braga da Cruz, 1984:773-794 and, for an analysis of its economic policy, see Marques, 1988.

[10] Law No. 19 354 of January of 1931 (*Lei do Condicionamento Industrial* – the Law of Industrial Conditioning). Law No. 1956 of May 1937 changed the character of the measures adopted in 1931 from temporary to permanent.

affected several infrastructures, namely communications, harbours, energy, the water supply, the road network and the merchant navy.[11]

The results of all this direct state intervention and control over the economy were that, at least for a while, the country's grain production increased significantly, public works greatly improved the country's infrastructures, generating a significant amount of state-sponsored employment. But, as Marques (1988) stressed, the first and most important result of the Estado Novo's intervention on the economy was that competition was replaced by state intervention. As may be expected, Salazar judged these results quite differently: "...although the largest projects are not yet contributing to the general well-being, the progress achieved during these last few years is in fact remarkable... And no single sign of progress is more revealing than to have guaranteed work and food for the population, which now grows, does not emigrate and enjoys ever greater standards of living" (Salazar, *Discursos*, 1961: XXII-XXIII).

The second period corresponds roughly to the 1950s. During this period, the Estado Novo progressively changed its previous economic discourse to a discourse favouring the country's industrialisation on a path leading to progress and modernisation. When the First Development Plan was launched in 1953, it was Salazar who stated:

> It is known that industry has higher returns than agriculture and that only through industrialisation can the standards of living of the population be decidedly improved. Only with industrialisation is it possible to attain high demographic densities without serious danger. Without a given level of industrialisation, we will have no internal market for some rural productions, nor can we restrict an excessive level of emigration, which, in some cases, is already occurring under conditions we deem to be unsatisfactory. ... Industrialisation has to be carried out and encouraged, for the above-mentioned reasons.... (*Discursos*, 1959:103, 104)

Aware that the existing population surplus in the countryside could not be significantly channelled to Africa, and convinced that the country's progress had to be achieved through industrialisation, the government tolerated the formation and development of a new migratory movement to Europe, allowing the spread of channels of information and support, within the parameters legally defined in the previous period.

The third period covers the remaining years of the regime, i.e. until 1974. It was a period of change marked by the internationalisation of the economy[12] and a substantial rate of economic growth. The rationale for the changes taking place can be found in the words of the Secretary of State for the Economy, Correia de Oliveira, who, in 1966, attributed the country's backwardness in relation to the other European economies to the longlasting protection of domestic industry against competition, innovation and modern technology, as well as to the sacrifice of the agricultural sector to the development of industry (Marques 1988:93). On this last point, he wrote: "We based our industrial development on low wages, and these on low food prices, which were in turn based on fixed and frozen prices for agricultural products. Having been maintained for so long, these prices have discouraged investment in the agricultural sector" (quoted in Marques 1988: 93).

During this period, the interests of the traditional economic elites (northern textile and consumer good industries and rural landowners) lost ground to the leading economic, financial and industrial groups, based in the Lisbon area and much less dependent than the traditional elites on the rural and unskilled population. Faced with a war in Africa that absorbed 50% of public revenue, and aware that emigration could effectively absorb a large part of the rural exodus essential to the country's modernisation, the Estado Novo embarked upon a gradual process of liberalising emigration. Notice, for example, that while the *Plano Intercalar de Fomento* (Interim Growth Plan) (1964) provided for the creation of 20,000 thousand new jobs between 1965 and 1967 (Rocha 1982:1048), the emigration services were by that time receiving instructions to allow 30,000 annual departures, which seems to

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[11] For a detailed appraisal of the economic policy of this period, see Marques, 1988.

[12] In 1959, a much less protective tariff was adopted and in 1961 Portugal joined EFTA.

indicate that the state considered that most of the rural exodus was to be absorbed abroad and not domestically.

The analysis of the main laws enacted during the corporatist regime and the discourse of the several economic actors affected by emigration raise a central question: was the state making a correct assessment of the domestic situation when it based the liberalisation of emigration on the assumption that emigration would not be harmful to the country's labour needs and, in fact, judged emigration to be beneficial because it helped foster the country's modernisation by easing its transformation from an economic structure heavily marked by the size of the agricultural sector to a more balanced one? To answer this question, I will briefly consider the socio-demographic characteristics of migrants, some indicators on the evolution of the economic and demographic impact of emigration, and finally the evolution of the labour market.

Some Main Characteristics of Portuguese Emigration

Between 1933 and 1974, approximately 1.98 million Portuguese left the country; 32% of the departures took place clandestinely. Close to three-quarters of this exodus occurred between 1961 and 1974 (see Table 1 and Graph 1). Until 1960, more than 80% of migrants headed for the Americas, with Brazil accounting for most of the flow: 80% until 1949 and 68% during the 1950s (5). After 1960, the main destination of the Portuguese migratory flow was Western Europe (75% of the total), and more specifically France and Germany (Baganha 1990, 1994 and 1998) (6). Table 1 and Fig. 1 can be summarised very briefly as follows: Portuguese emigration grew constantly and substantially from 1950, when departures numbered 22,000, to 1970, when departures numbered 183,000. It declined from 1971 onwards, when departures numbered 158,000. The peak years of Portuguese emigration after the Second World War occurred between 1965 and 1974, when the average annual number of departures was 122,000 thousand migrants. A crude but representative image of Portuguese emigration can thus be expressed by three lines: an ascending line from 1950 to 1964 (with the following numerical limits: 22,000 and 76,000); a horizontal line from 1965 to 1974 (at 122,000) and a descending line from 1975 to 1979 (falling from 52,000 to 29,000).

The social and demographic characteristics of emigrants are not very clearly known after 1960, when the official register covered less than half of the departures actually taking place. Prior to 1960, the typical emigrant was a single male, aged 15 to 35, and predominantly of rural origin. From 1960 to the early 1970s, when the process of family reunification became predominant, and based on the registers of the receiving countries, what we know is that the flow was predominantly composed of males of an active age with few or no skills; departures were regarded both individually as well as socially as a temporary situation, as a stage in a life cycle. And finally, when compared with other migratory flows, Portuguese emigration showed a considerable financial return in the form of remittances (Sopemi 1991,1992). In short, Portuguese emigration was essentially an international movement of labour, mostly composed of migrants with few or no skills. Due to the volume it attained and the financial return it yielded, such emigration had an enormous economic and demographic impact on Portuguese society.

Demographic and Economic Impact of Emigration

The analysis of the natural and effective demographic growth occurring between 1931 and 1980 shows that over half of the country's natural growth was absorbed by emigration,[13] which means that the impact of emigration on the country's demographic growth was considerably greater, given that a part of the potential growth never took place, since a considerable proportion of the population of

[13] Between 1931 and 1970, the country's natural growth (births minus deaths) was 3,839.9 million and the effective growth (i.e. the difference between the population present in the country at the beginning and at the end of the period) was 1,742.8 million (computed from the Boletim Anual, SEECP, 1980).

childbearing age had left the country permanently (Nazareth 1976). It thus seems reasonable to accept that emigration acted as an efficient demographic safety valve during this period.

That the returns yielded by emigration in the form of remittances were of considerable influence on the country's economy is also undeniable. Two indicators are often mentioned to demonstrate the impact of emigration on the Portuguese economy; the ratio of remittances to exports and the ratio of remittances to Gross Domestic Product. Both corroborate what has just been said. Table 3 summarises the evolution of remittances when compared to exports in the period from 1950 to 1979. According to the data, remittances bore a ratio of about 13% to exports during the 1950s, 25% in the 1960s, and 56% in the 1970s. Table 3 summarises the evolution of remittances in relation to GDP from 1950 to 1979. The figures show that remittances were of ever growing importance in relation to GDP - 2% in the 1950s, 4% in the 1960s, and 8% in the 1970s.

In short, during this period emigration was the single most valuable export, since no other goods or services had such a share of Portuguese exports (15). It makes no difference whether we consider remittances to be a major safety net for the country's imports or an addition to the country's own productive capacities; the conclusion is the same. The impact of emigration on the Portuguese economy was drastic and increased throughout the period. This point is of some importance, since, as has been successfully argued, "*to benefit fully from remittances, the sending country must be able to depend on the flow being consistent and reliable, not subject to fluctuations or secular decline*" (Heisler 1985:472). As has been seen, the evolution of Portuguese emigrants' remittances fits this pattern.

In the last part of this work, I shall try to assess the impact of emigration on the Portuguese labour market throughout the 1960s, the period when, as we have just seen, most of the departures took place. The question that I will to try and answer is the following: was emigration harmful to Portuguese economic growth? Or to put it slightly differently, had those departures never taken place, could this situation have contributed to economic growth?

Emigration and Economy

The answer to the above question may be approached from different perspectives. My approach is based on economic development studies.[14] One of the links that these studies have highlighted is the interdependence existing between the structure of human resources, per capita income and the rate of development of any given economy. The strong correlation found between the percentage of professional and technical workers in the active population and the level of employment in the industrial sector is also of great interest for the present analysis.[15]

An analysis of the first relationship, between the structure of human resources, per capita income and the growth rate of an economy, was carried out for the early 1960s by Mário Murteira (1969). From this analysis, one first result is of particular interest: countries with an average per capita income of US$600 had on average a higher share of scientific and technical personnel than did Portugal, whilst the percentage of skilled and unskilled workers was on average lower than that observed in Portugal.[16] At that time, Portugal belonged to the group of countries that had a per capita income of less than US$600, and therefore Murteira's results suggest that given the country's per capita income and the percentage of scientific and technical personnel in the country's active population, job opportunities for skilled and unskilled workers could not have been very different from those existing in the 1960s, since the percentage of the active population engaged in these types of occupations was already higher than expected.

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[14] E.g. Murteira, et al., 1969; Carvalho, 1967.

[15] An analysis of the interdependence between industrial employment and scientific and technical manpower was carried out by Gnanasekaran (1965), who found a series of links that made it possible to express the interdependence between the structure of human resources and economic development.

[16] It can be inferred from the results presented by Murteira (1969: 24, 29) that countries with a per capita income of US $600 had on average 4.6% of scientific, technical, and artistic active individuals, and 23.13% of skilled and unskilled active individuals. In Portugal, in 1960, such percentages were 2.8% and 27.9% respectively.

If we accept that the level of scientific and technical personnel in the active population restricts the level of industrial employment in an economy, then the impact of emigration on the country's economic growth can be negative if it is proved that a significant proportion of the scientific and technical population leaves during this period. The existing evidence suggests otherwise. Not only do we know that the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese who left did not belong to this group, but we know from the study on wages made by Xavier Pintado that there was no economic reason for this group to decide to emigrate, since they enjoyed identical purchasing power and standards of living to their European counterparts.[17]

Although an unknown number of Portuguese scientific and technical workers did in fact leave the country during this period, as a sign of opposition to the regime or to avoid conscription, their number was not large enough to have an impact on the structure of the active population. At least this is what can be inferred from the occupational structure of Portuguese emigrants entering France in 1970, where that group represented 0%. Of the 88,634 entries registered by the National Immigration Office, only 31 persons belonged to this group (Ferreira 1976:165). It is true that this was not the only destination of this group of migrants, but if their number were larger, they would have been mostly noticeable in France. The figures available on return migrants also confirm this point. 92% of the returning population had no more than a primary school education, only 1% had attended college, and 85% had not attended any training in the host country (Silva et al. 1984:77 and 82). Furthermore, we should note that these figures include the children of returning migrants and thus are biased towards formal education.[18]

In short, the government seems to have correctly assessed the composition of the outflow when, in the 1973 Bill on Emigration Policy (Proceedings of the Chamber of Corporations, No. 142, 23 February 1973), it stated: "emigration of technical personnel is insignificant, as is that of highly skilled workers." If it is not possible to attribute any responsibility for non-economic emigration to the country's economic growth, it is even less possible to do so in the case of the economic emigration of poorly skilled or unskilled active or non-active workers, since, given the distorted structure of the active population at that time, their actually remaining in the country would have been redundant. In fact, all evidence suggests that their productive contribution could not be utilized, in view of the shortage of scientific and technical personnel.[19]

Conclusion

In this work, through the description made of Portuguese emigration policy under the corporatist regime, I have tried to point out that sending countries are more than mere bystanders in the migratory process. I have, in fact, gone a step further in claiming that, in the Portuguese case, not only did the Estado Novo control the migratory flows that were occurring, but it also used emigration to its own advantage. I have tried to present evidence to show that, from an analysis of the individual characteristics of migrants and their skills, it would seem that their exodus was not harmful to the country's economic growth during the 1960s, since, when compared to other European countries, the percentage of scientific and technical personnel was far too small to cope with an industrial labour force larger than the existing one.

During my work, I became aware that my findings could contribute to the longstanding debate on the benefits of emigration to the Portuguese economy. In its simplest form, this debate is grounded in the basic idea that Portugal exchanges one productive factor, labour, for another productive factor, capital, in the form of remittances. What is thus evaluated is whether the substitution of labour by

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[17] Xavier Pintado stated as follows: 'in terms of purchasing power and standards of living, top-level management has higher salaries in Portugal than in other industrialised countries.' Pintado, 1967:73. See also, Carvalho, 1967.

[18] Poinard, 1963, Amaro, 1985, and Martins, 1986.

[19] In fact, in view of the structure existing in 1960 and 1970, the expected proportion of scientific and technical personnel would have been roughly twice that of Portugal.

capital has been beneficial or detrimental to the domestic economy.[20] The implicit assumption in this reasoning is that emigration is an export of productive labour. My findings suggest that, during this period, the most likely hypothesis is that the Portuguese migratory flow was composed of migrants presenting zero marginal productivity for the domestic economy.

[20] In the Portuguese case, more often than not, the positive effects, namely the share of the remittances channelled to productive investment and the benefits deriving from some new skills acquired by the returning migrants, were judged insufficient to compensate for the loss of manpower. Firstly, because, when compared to the share of remittances used for private consumption, the impact of emigration on domestic capital formation was considered to be small; secondly, because even this small effect was considered to be offset by the inflationary tendencies produced by the higher purchasing power of a growing segment of the population receiving extra income from abroad; and, thirdly, because at the level that emigration reached after 1960 it endangered the country's labour supply.

Table I - Portuguese Emigration 1900-1988

YEAR	TOTAL LEGAL	TOTAL WITH ILLEGAL.	PRESENT POPULATION AT CENSUS
1930	23.196	24.820	6.825.883
1931	6.033		
1932	5.909		
1933	8.905		
1934	7.472		
1935	9.140		
1936	12.484		
1937	14.667		
1938	13.609		
1939	17.807		
1940	13.226		7.722.152
1941	6.260		
1942	2.214		
1943	893		
1944	2.242		
1945	5.938		
1946	8.275		
1947	12.838		
1948	12.343		
1949	17.296		
1950	21.892	21.892	8.441.312
1951	33.664	34.015	
1952	47.018	47.407	
1953	39.686	39.962	
1954	41.011	41.190	
1955	29.796	30.147	
1956	27.017	28.096	
1957	35.356	36.894	
1958	34.030	35.600	
1959	33.458	34.754	
1960	32.318	35.159	8.851.289
1961	33.526	38.572	
1962	33.539	43.002	
1963	37.829	55.218	
1964	43.320	75.576	
1965	62.752	91.488	
1966	91.607	111.995	
1967	78.515	94.712	
1968	68.981	96.227	
1969	70.165	155.672	
1970	66.360	183.205	8.568.703
1971	50.400	158.473	
1972	54.084	115.545	
1973	79.517	129.732	
1974	43.397	80.859	
1975	24.811	52.486	
1976	17.493	39.192	
1977	17.226	33.676	
1978	18.659	28.858	
1979	20.574	28.726	
1980	18.071	25.173	
1981	16.513	26.607	9.852.841

Table IIPortuguese Emigration by Destination 1950-1980

YEAR	BRAZIL	USA	CANADA	TOTAL AMERICA	FRANCE	GERMANY	OTHER EUROPE	TOTAL EUROPE	TOTAL
1950	14143	938		21491	319	1	81	401	21892
1951	28104	676		33341	418	2	254	674	34015
1952	41518	582		46544	650	4	209	863	47407
1953	32159	1455		39026	690		246	936	39962
1954	29943	1918		40234	747	4	205	956	41190
1955	18486	1328		28690	1336		121	1457	30147
1956	16814	1503	1612	26072	1851	6	167	2024	28096
1957	19931	1628	4158	32150	4640	5	99	4744	36894
1958	19829	1596	1619	29207	6264	2	127	6393	35600
1959	16400	4569	3961	29780	4838	6	130	4974	34754
1960	12451	5679	4895	28513	6434	54	158	6646	35159
1961	16073	3370	2635	27499	10492	277	304	11073	38572
1962	13555	2425	2739	24376	16798	1393	435	18626	43002
1963	11281	2922	3424	22420	29843	2118	837	32798	55218
1964	4929	1601	4770	17232	51668	4771	1905	58344	75576
1965	3051	1852	5197	17557	60267	12197	1467	73931	91488
1966	2607	13357	6795	33266	63611	11250	3868	78729	111995
1967	3271	11516	6615	28584	59597	4070	2461	66128	94712
1968	3512	10841	6833	27014	58741	8435	2037	69213	96227
1969	2537	13111	6502	27383	110614	15406	2269	128289	115672
1970	1669	9726	6529	22659	135667	22915	1964	160546	183205
1971	1200	8839	6983	21962	110820	24273	1418	136511	158473
1972	1158	7574	6845	20122	68692	24946	1785	95423	115545
1973	890	8160	7403	22091	63942	38444	5255	107641	129732
1974	729	9540	11650	25822	37727	13352	3958	55037	80859
1975	1553	8957	5857	19304	23436	8177	1569	33182	52486
1976	837	7499	3585	14762	17919	5913	598	24430	39192
1977	557	6748	2280	14826	13265	4835	750	18850	33676
1978	323	8171	1871	16307	7406	4509	636	12551	28858
1979	215	8181	2805	17532	5987	4400	807	11194	28726
1980	230	4999	2334	15281	5200	4000	692	9892	25173

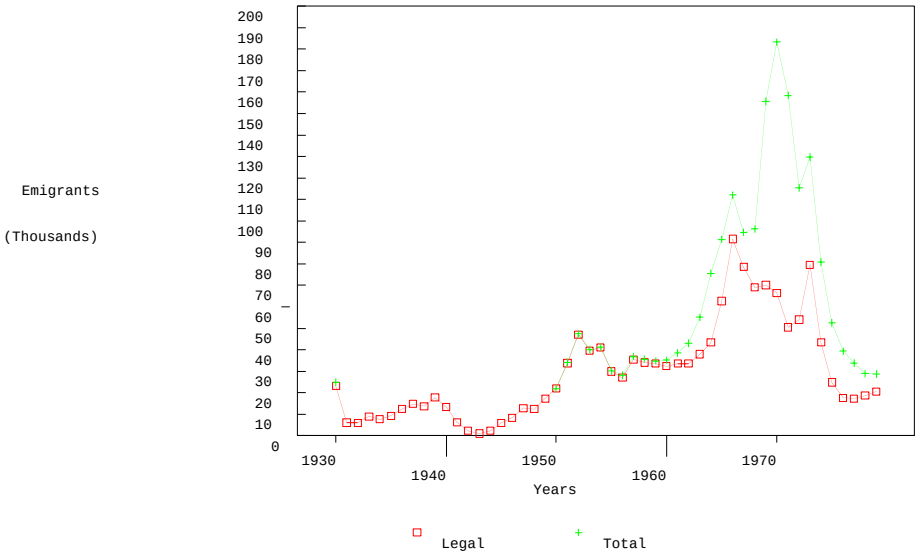
Source: Except for France and Germany: Boletim Anual, SECP, 1980-81. For France-- 1950 to 1979 -- "Statistiques de l'immigration" ONI (in Antunes, 1973: 14 and Stahl et al., 1982:61);
For Germany-- Statistiches Bundesant" VIII - B, 182 (in Stahl et al., 1982:63)
For 1980-- Sopemi, 1980, 1986.
Note: The special legalisation of 1963 to 1968 was deducted.

Table III - G.D.P., Exports and Remittances, 1950 - 1989
(In Thousands of Contos)

YEAR	G.D.P.	EXPORTS	REMITTANCE
1950	42255	5334	886
1951	45798	7559	983
1952	46878	6811	382
1953	49062	6283	580
1954	50650	7297	585
1955	53597	8165	758
1956	57769	8621	1037
1957	60750	8289	1542
1958	64466	8299	1552
1959	68760	8351	1913
1960	71259	9408	1868
1961	76683	9373	1489
1962	81595	10632	1704
1963	88510	12024	2371
1964	95816	14831	2679
1965	106872	16573	3378
1966	117009	17812	4818
1967	130765	20166	6267
1968	142251	21917	7902
1969	155988	24526	11812
1970	175179	27299	14086
1971	198585	30248	18848
1972	231244	35255	22079
1973	281487	45410	26452
1974	338414	58014	26772
1975	376239	49328	20975
1976	464677	55089	27623
1977	625835	77685	44972
1978	787260	106451	74120
1979	991264	176051	120175
1980	1256051	231623	146589

SOURCE: G.D.P. 1950 to1959: Nunes et al. 1989: 292-295; After1960: INE.
Exports 1950 to 1980: Nunes et al. 1989: 315-318
Remittances 1950 to 1973 :Chaney, 1986:92;From 1973 to 1980: INE

Graph 1 - Portuguese Emigration 1930 - 1979



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Internationalization of Portuguese Historiography: An Opportunity Stemming from a Challenge

Luís Adão da Fonseca
University of Porto
lfonseca@letras.up.pt

One of the most important objectives of this journal is the greater popularization of contemporary Portuguese historiography, as well as the related goal of a deeper understanding on the part of the international academic community of research being done in Portuguese history in all its varied fields and many methodological traditions. In this sense, the increase in internationally-oriented work on the part of Portuguese historical researchers – which expands the audience for this research – presents itself as the logical corollary to this journal's aforementioned objective. For this reason it should be understood that this subject appears straightaway in the first issue of the journal, included in the section devoted to topics for discussion. This has from the start looked to be one of the most dynamic aspects of this publication.

The journal's aforementioned objective of popularizing contemporary Portuguese historiography raises various questions: What does the desire to internationalize a historiographical tradition mean in practice? And, more specifically, what exactly does the adjective "Portuguese" refer to when applied to this same historiography?

Let us for now leave aside the first of these questions and begin by considering the second. In reality, the word "Portuguese" is by no means necessarily limited to a purely national context. Though the national context is certainly important, the term points towards much broader horizons, corresponding to the different geographical areas with which Portuguese history has been related in the past. This journal thus serves a great variety of interests and concerns and is accordingly open to a similarly diverse range of writers and contributors. As such, it should not be seen as simply an "international" opening for one specific group of historians, but above all as a welcome forum for research and intellectual discussion. The term "internationalization" should thus be regarded as a means to an end rather than an end in itself.

Then again, it is important to bear in mind that when we talk about the internationalization of "Portuguese" history, we may often describe realities that do not always coincide. What kind of internationalization are we dealing with here - internationalization of a research theme, or internationalization of those people who tackle it in their work? In fact, looking at the biographies of those from the previous generation of historians who were internationally-oriented, we may well ask if these possibilities can be separated. Moreover, considering the current demands on universities and contemporary research, should they not be of secondary concern?

That is, should the aim of an academic study be to open up the topic of research to an international audience if, at the same time, this may cut it off from the concrete experience of those who wish to play a central part in this same initiative? Indeed, seeing as there is ultimately no such thing as historiography without the names and faces that lend it personality, is effective internationalization at all possible if it is not based on a strong sense of continuity, which, beyond individual researchers, promotes research groups and teams?

In this sense the purpose of internationalization can be seen as a means of taking stock of that which, with varying levels of success, has already been done. However, it is vital to develop a clear idea of what our prospective intentions are and how to promote and pursue them. Ultimately, we will have to follow this route, even though it is evident that it implies questions that are not always easy to resolve. Let us look at some of these implications.

What exactly is the historiographical 'world' that the journal is intended to promote? We thus return to the question of just what is meant by "Portuguese" in terms of Portuguese historiography.

What kind of structural 'network' needs to be set up for such a 'world' to operate effectively? This is not easy to answer because of the need to provide the appropriate support mechanism (or mechanisms) to whoever assumes the responsibility of promoting the 'network' in question.

Since it is not possible to cover all the 'bases' in every single 'game', what is the best means of encouraging the internationalization that is sought for? The question is problematic since scholars of "Portuguese" history - in its widest sense and encompassing Europe, America, Africa, and Asia - live in places that differ considerably in social and cultural terms.

Finally, it is important to observe that even in this broadened field of investigation, 'globalization' – likewise historiographical - involves strategies that are both affirmative and sustainable, and which, in order to be effective, demand that priorities be determined. And yet who is to define them, and how?

In short, these are some of the many questions raised by a simple theme – the internationalization of Portuguese historiography. The editors of the *E-Journal of Portuguese History* are the first to realize that it is not easy to find solutions that are to everyone's satisfaction. But this should not deter us from pursuing this theme. Essentially, this is a path that we must stick to, even if at first it may be hard to catch sight of the finish line.

The advantages of having research teams have already been referred to, but what is the best group profile, small homogeneous groups or larger teams with more of an inter-disciplinary character? And what about the cultural make-up of these groups - should they primarily be composed of members of a single nationality? And, incidentally, to what extent will it be necessary to form cross-cultural teams made up of different Portuguese-speaking historians? Would it be sensible to privilege a few who, in certain fields, may serve as pivotal points in the 'network'?

The need to forge personal contacts between Portuguese historians and colleagues of different nationalities has also been mentioned. However, it is very easy for this issue to break the consensus and lead to all manner of problems and uncertainties. Here are a few examples.

What is the most appropriate kind of international presence? To some extent, this is a question of what is the most effective means of achieving this presence (publications? books and/or journals? congresses and scientific conferences? research teams?), but above all it is a question of what is the preferred language (Portuguese? English? flexibility in choosing how to reach the intended cultural areas?). That is to say, in this supposedly intentional effort, are certain cultural areas to be given priority status, or will all be treated alike?

There is one final question that refers primarily to Portuguese historians. Namely, is the aim of internationalization independent from the areas of their research? That is, does it matter or not if practising historians of so-called "Portuguese history", in its widest sense, also participate in other, non-Portuguese fields of research?

Indeed, are there any specific areas of study that favor this approach? Is it desirable in this cross-border initiative to list the positives and negatives? For example, as far as Europe is concerned, what are the advantages and drawbacks of broadening the scale of the Iberian Peninsula and of meridional (or Mediterranean) Europe by extending historians' horizons so as to be able to contemplate progressively wider contexts? And the same can be said about America, or at least South America, as well as Africa and Asia, where it is possible to draw up similar lists. In this context, will such specialized geographical terms still be applicable to "Portuguese history"?

I wish to conclude by returning to a question raised earlier. Because history clearly demonstrates the importance of sociological conditions that have across the ages affected each generation of historians in approaching the issue of internationalization, an international orientation on the part of historians, especially of the generation who are now embarking on their journey, appears increasingly to be an essential requisite of the desired internationalization of historiography. In fact, in a relatively small space like Portugal, it is a truly vital demand because it is only through such global cross-fertilization of historians that a credible basis for the opening up of the frontiers of historiography can be achieved.

Therefore, in accordance with the aforementioned concerns, the editors of the journal have decided to subject this controversial issue to the careful scrutiny of three historians, whose personal and

professional experiences may be different, but who all have an unswerving interest in the question at hand. Each of them has responded differently, highlighting opinions that do not always coincide, yet are all undeniably interesting. Following these contributions, we have decided to keep the discussion open beyond this issue of the journal. We hope that it may provide a stimulus and starting point for others, who may or may not share the same views as those expressed here. In future issues, we will thus print these points of view in the belief that thereby everyone will benefit.

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The Internationalization of Portuguese Historiography

Jean-Frédéric Schaub
EHESS, Paris
schaub@ehess.fr

I am unable to reflect upon the question of the internationalization of research into the history of Portugal and the output of Portuguese researchers without mentioning the experience I had when I decided to dedicate my research energies to the question of Portuguese history. The first intellectual and institutional contacts from which I benefited were those made with the team led by Antonio Hespanha at the Lisbon Institute of Social Sciences, and including Nuno Monteiro, Mafalda Soares da Cunha, Pedro Cardim, and Ângela Barreto Xavier. I immediately became associated with the work of certain intellectual circles that were highly regarded internationally. I encountered historians who enjoyed a long experience of academic exchanges. Additionally, some of them were accustomed to publishing in Europe and in the United States. The interdisciplinarity that had proved beneficial to an organization such as the Institute of Social Sciences, or ICS, was evidently connected to this familiarity with international exchanges. My first steps in undertaking an academic exchange at Lisbon's New University were made easier by the warm welcome I was given by the historians Diogo Ramada Curto, Francisco Bethencourt, and Rita Costa Gomes. In my experience, the capacity of Portuguese historians for engaging in international dialogue has always been regarded less as a problem and more as a simple fact of life.

Rather than being handicapped by the internationalization of Portuguese historical studies, Portuguese researchers are inclined to think along the lines of their country's historical expansion. The various research activities made possible by the long cycle of the commemorations of the Portuguese discoveries only served, on the whole, to further whet the already existing appetite for wide-ranging comparative approaches to research. Although these research areas seem to be diverse and exciting, these is a definite risk that Portuguese historians will feel themselves restricted to the sphere of Portuguese imperial activity, as we are aware from the Spanish case. Here the expansion of Spanish historiography has remained within the restricted domain of imperial Spain. In the last few years research has been carried out on Spanish Italy, Flanders, Portugal at the time of the Habsburg Empire, and of course, on colonial America. We are entitled to hope that at a subsequent stage of their investigations Spanish researchers will be allowed to work on spaces that have never been Hispanic. We can rejoice at the attention now being devoted to Brazilian and Indian historiography by a number of Portuguese historians, as well as the effort to expand that research activities to comprehend China. We should also take note of the dynamism of African studies undertaken in Portugal in recent years. Notwithstanding these accomplishments, it is still legitimate to hope that the research undertaken by Portuguese historians will begin to be directed to other domains not comprehended by the experience of Portuguese expansion.

The presence of Portuguese historians in European historiography is a response to this type of expectation. Most notably, works have been undertaken on various forms of activities within Europe (merchant trade, the spread of books, shared spirituality). It is above all indispensable that in the area of cultural history the Portuguese experience be recorded in the context of its immediate environment – the Iberian Peninsula – as well as in Catholic southern Europe and the wider Christian West. Nothing could be more detrimental than to view historical investigation of Portuguese imperial expansion and the European dimension of the Portuguese experience as mutually exclusive. In particular it seems to reserve the European dimension for specialists working on the Roman Empire and the Middle Ages, the transoceanic dimension for modernists and the national dimension for researchers in contemporary history. The best teams of historical researchers in Portugal already have the tools they need to avoid limiting themselves by way of artificial academic boundaries: international contacts, mastery of new research tools provided by information technology, and a remarkable knowledge of the most dynamic historiographies.

It seems essential to take advantage of the proposals and requests formulated by European institutions in order to consolidate the internationalization of Portuguese historical studies. There is no contradiction between Europeanization and internationalization. The two strategies go hand in hand. As far as future priorities for investigation by Portuguese historians, these coincide closely with the European Commission's priority areas for international cooperation: Brazil, India, China, and southern Africa. As such, it is easy to understand that it is pointless to think of historiographical expansion as a dilemma of choosing between Europe and the high seas.

If I could make just one recommendation, as a French researcher involved in Portuguese studies, it would be that Portuguese teams should encourage their younger researchers to write their doctoral theses on non-Portuguese themes. The quality of the support enjoyed by Portuguese Ph.D. students from the best centers in their country should make it possible for them to find equivalent support among the teams receiving them abroad. When these advanced students become our colleagues they will become the best vehicles for academic cooperation and intellectual exchange between national historiographical traditions. The only way to achieve a satisfying symmetry in the modes of exchange between academic circles depends in this case on encouraging Portuguese historians to direct their theses to non-Portuguese subjects, and also on the willingness of Portuguese universities and research organizations to provide professional openings for those who have been prepared to take the risk of educating themselves in this manner.

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Is There a Trend Towards Internationalization in Portuguese Historiography?[1]

Diogo Ramada Curto
European University Institute, Florence
diogo.curto@iue.it

The internationalization of Portuguese historiography has been a militant topic for historians of my generation. Rather than describing the ways of exercising this militancy – well perceived by Jean-Fréderic Schaub in his contribution to this issue – one should start by asking: why has it historically been such an important issue? My first answer would be to relate it to the existence of a generation gap between the historians who are now in their forties, and an older generation in their eighties and nineties, represented by Vitorino Magalhães Godinho and the now deceased Charles Boxer. When we completed our degrees at the beginning of the 1980s, we started to lecture and develop our graduate research almost immediately. The opportunity to start an early career gave our generation the experience and a level of self-assurance which were in correspondence with the demographic explosion of the university system after the Portuguese Revolution of 1974. But at the same time we were all still reproducing habits and ideas of social status and individual authority traditionally ascribed to the Portuguese university professor. Godinho provided supervision to a small group of people. His age reinforced the sense of distance between us, adding to the respect that we all accorded his intelligence and charismatic personality. Simultaneaously, however, this distance gave us an opportunity to challenge him, as we referred to authors and arguments that he could not control, sometimes in a very provocative way. I worked with him myself, and benefited from his extensive international experience and encyclopedic knowledge. However, this experience of close collaboration between our group and Godinho cannot be generalized.

The general situation is characterized by the existence of the so-called missing link between my generation and that of Godinho. Historians now in their fifties and sixties, like António Manuel Hespanha, Joaquim Romero Magalhães and Luís Filipe Thomaz, who were finishing their doctoral dissertations as we were starting to publish articles and books, could neither interact with our group with the same distance as existed between us and Godinho, nor provide us supervision. Thomaz, the most cosmopolitan and well-traveled of the three is today recognized as the mentor to the largest Portuguese group working on the history of the Portuguese expansion. He developed an empirical project under the influence of the French historian Jean Aubin, who was ideologically oriented towards the right. Hespanha, shifting from Marxism to fashionable postmodernism within the field of the history of law, has never been able to demonstrate much interest in historical analysis, nor been able to overcome the perspective of a normative understanding and hermeneutics of his juridical sources. Romero Magalhães, the most sophisticated historian of his generation, dedicated to the guidelines passed down by Godinho, was always perhaps too isolated to fill the gap. This is of course a partial and incomplete picture. In order to provide a full understanding of the situation experienced by my generation, we should note the various attempts made towards the creation of institutions. Instead of presenting general remarks on the institutionalization of historical research, I would prefer to illustrate three or four concrete examples of this process.

The Instituto de Ciências Sociais (Institute of Social Sciences, or ICS), for instance, was created by the sociologist Adérito Sedas Nunes in the sixties as a direct result of an effort towards internationalization. The original aim of the Institute was to bring together historians, sociologists, anthropologists, and political scientists who had studied (or had been sent to study) abroad. Once

[1] In reflecting on Portuguese historiography of the early modern period, I wish to remember the historian Sérgio Soares, the best historian of my generation, who died recently.

back in Portugal they were to work together in the pursuit of social research. The ICS journal, *Análise Social* (Social Analysis), demonstrates the tenacity of this noble dream. Despite Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro's exemplary books and articles, the history of the early modern period does not seem to be a priority for the ICS, as one can infer from reading Schaub's contribution. My second example, the Instituto de História e Teoria de Ideias (Institute of the History and Theory of Ideas) at the Universidade de Coimbra, represents one of the most consistent products of the same process of institutionalization of historical research. Founded by José Sebastião da Silva Dias and organized by one of his most dynamic disciples, Luís Reis Torgal, it has brought together a very productive group of Portuguese historians. However, the research conducted by its members does not necessarily reflect a great investment in what can be called historiographical internationalization. The founder of this institute was eager primarily to provide congenial working conditions for his disciples. Other historians from the same university continued to reproduce the logic of the small research institute while developing individual projects (this is especially true of António de Oliveira and Ferrand de Almeida). My third example concerns the field of Portuguese expansion. Here a set of small new and existing institutes and a graduate program at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, benefiting from various public funds made expressly available by the government, were used to develop theses and fields of research defined by Luís de Albuquerque and by L.F. Thomaz. The intellectual homogeneity of the agendas launched by the latter historian, in conjunction with a selection of topics and debates developed by the aforementioned French historian Jean Aubin, created an effect of amplification. However, I believe that it would be valid to ask if Aubin's disciples, whose ideas have been generalized and diffused in English by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, participate in any genuine process of internationalization of Portuguese historiography. More discreet but perhaps more efficient has been the work of the group assembled by José Adriano Freitas de Carvalho at the Universidade do Porto. There, the fields of book history, the history of spirituality, and the importance attributed to Iberian cultural history from the fifteenth century to the Enlightenment have been treated with particular originality.

The historians of my generation have been located more or less at the margins of all of these specific institutionalizing processes, which unfortunately are more superficial than they would seem at first glance. More defining have been the interests defended by academic patronage networks, or *clientelas*, as can be seen in the field of the history of Portuguese expansion.[2] Therefore, facing the so-called generation gap and struggling with the lack of institutional conditions to develop sophisticated research programs, historians of my generation struggled to establish international reputations. This militant project was determined by an ambition to widen the boundaries of historical knowledge as well as by the specific institutional environment within which we found ourselves. However, it is necessary to recognize that for us internationalization was something that was possible, considering that most of us had been able to achieve stable careers by the eighties. In any case, this is a situation that will be impossible to replicate if one takes into account the closing of Portuguese universities to younger researchers and the feeling nowadays that only the few able to go along with the pressures of the *clientela* system or the wills of the patrons will one day research and lecture.

What concrete forms of internationalization have been followed within what has been presented simultaneously as a strategic and a militant project? In his contribution, Schaub underlines the real importance of a global way of framing historical analyses in relation to a specific object of study, in this case the Portuguese empire. But he also stresses the lack of studies conducted by Portuguese historians of non-Portuguese subjects, and fashions this into a project for future development. These are extremely pertinent points. However, I still think that a global way of thinking historically does not distinguish the work of the dominant school of Portuguese historians working on Portuguese expansion. Due to a criterion of labor division apparently justifiably only from an anthropological perspective, some members of this group feel obliged to concentrate on limited geographic areas and topics during short and sometimes very artificial periods. Indeed, I believe that internationalization is not necessarily dependent on the object of study selected, be it

[2] This is what I argued more extensively in a recent debate. See *Anais de História de Além-Mar,* vol. 2 (2001), pp. 484-489.

Portuguese or not, but on the approach to the subject, and the idea that one should also demonstrate a comparative frame of mind in one's work.

To talk of an approach involves taking an inventory of the different forms of internationalizations the historians of my generation have used consistently. Such a list includes participation in international research groups and enrollment in Ph.D. programs abroad, the presence of historians in departments, centers and programs of Portuguese History (as in Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, King's College in London or the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales and the Cultural Center of the Gulbenkian Foundation in Paris), systematic invitations of leading historians and social scientists to lecture in Portugal (a special welcome has always been extended to foreign scholars working on Portuguese matters and sources, who in general benefit from the help of Portuguese foundations), and the undertaking of efforts to translate the works of leading historians and social scientists, under the assumption that works of translation favor a comparative approach.

Taking stock of all of these items of a militant agenda, I cannot but express my satisfaction in reading Jean-Frédéric Schaub's contribution: the efforts of people of my generation deserve some recognition abroad. Nevertheless, I fell obligated to express some skepticism concerning the future outcome of this process of internationalization. Indeed, I have considerable doubts about what could after all be seen as a romanticized and celebratory view of my own generation. First, I am only too aware that the conditions of precarious job stability and isolation in which we started our careers are impossible to reproduce or even to imagine in this day and age. It is difficult too to overlook the fact that the historians who preceded our generation working in a completely different environment. They too can talk about the gap that preceded them, the lack of conditions for research inside academia, the isolation and the difficulty in finding publishers abroad, etc. Second, the international experience of historians of my generation is perhaps more the result of an accumulation of individuals efforts not easily absorbed at the level of Portuguese institutions. Institutions, like the universities in which we are taught, tend to be conservative and oriented towards the reproduction of old habits. Therefore, an agenda of internationalization only becomes useful when it serves the reproductive interests of each institution. By the same token, a series of individual experiences will remain perhaps at the level of individual careers, without producing real change at the institutional level. The strongest evidence of this problem can be found in the lack of revision of the curricula of all Portuguese departments of history, which are deeply involved in establishing hierarchies, in discussing promotions, and in advancing petty individual interests, patrons and clients, but are totally unable to plan for the future in intellectual terms. Finally, it may be more important in the long run to address the new changes in historical and comparative studies, which tend to challenge the nation as a unit of analysis. What in French is called "le jeux des échèlles" and in English the micro-macro link is undermining old certainties about the nation-state as the only scale by which to select objects of study. In this sense, it can be difficult to establish programs that proceed by the consideration of one, two, or three nations together. In any case, the work of constantly reinventing new forms of historical analysis cannot proceed by amnesia, by forgetting the results acquired by older generations of historians who worked almost exclusively within the ideological boundaries of the nation-state, nor by absorbing, generally without critical distance, what are supposed to be more fashionable and universal theoretical models.

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The Activities of the CNCDP: A preliminary assessment

António de Oliveira
University of Coimbra
0312925901@netcabo.pt

1. The Discoveries Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries (*Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses* - CNCDP) was created at the end of 1986 (Decree-Law No. 391, 22 November 1986). After initially operating with an apparent lack of any really clear definition (Programme, 1988), it underwent a number of "profound changes in its structure and working methods" in September 1988 (Plan, 9; Cruz, 2001, 20). Vasco Graça Moura was then appointed Commissioner-General and, in April of the following year, he was also appointed coordinator of the Executive Committee, remaining in both positions until the end of 1995. António Manuel Hespanha, who succeeded him, was appointed Commissioner-General on 28 November of that same year, later being replaced by Joaquim Romero Magalhães, who was appointed in February 1999 and remained in this position until the Discoveries Commission was abolished at the end of 2002.

The Discovries Commission was composed of a president, a commissioner-general and a group of voting members representing the country in as many different ways as possible. In fact, the Discoveries Commission, whose first president was Commander E. H. Serra Brandão, and thereafter the Prime Minister, had the following composition: one representative of each of the members of government responsible for the areas of National Defence, Finance, Planning and Territorial Administration, Foreign Affairs, Education, the Sea, Youth and Culture; one representative of each of the Regional Governments of the Azores and Madeira; as well as one representative of the Governor of Macau. Also represented on the Commission were the National Association of Portuguese Municipalities, the Portuguese Episcopal Conference, the Commissariat for the 1998 Lisbon International Exposition (EXPO 98), the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Council of the Vice-Chancellors of Portuguese Universities, the Coordinating Council of the Higher Polytechnic Institutes, all the official academies (Sciences, History, Navy, Fine Arts, the Geographical Society and the Portuguese Military History Commission) and the Portuguese Commissar for the 1992 Seville Universal Exposition (Graça Moura). The possibility also remained open for the introduction of other institutions or personalities that were considered useful, some of whom did in fact become members of the Executive Committee. At the time of the last Commissioner-General, its members numbered 34 individuals (Moura, 1994, 206; Hespanha, 1999, 164; Magalhães, 2002, 126).

At the head of the organisational structure was an Executive Committee, dependent on the president of the Discoveries Commission, which was coordinated by the Commissioner-General. This committee was assisted by a Scientific Council, created in 1988, "which was responsible for issuing opinions on matters of a historical and scientific nature" (Moura, 1994, 209; Programme, 25 and others; Cruz, 2001, 20). The presidents of this council were Luís de Albuquerque (Order 36/88, of 2 December), Luís Adão da Fonseca, Joaquim Romero Magalhães and Luís A. de Oliveira Ramos. An Interdepartmental Council coordinated the various actions undertaken by the different government departments (Plan, 9) and a group of enthusiastic and committed men and women comprised the operational structure, providing an excellent example of productive team work (Programme, 68; Hespanha, 1999, 27). Responsibility for organising the commemorations of the 500th anniversary of the Portuguese Discoveries at primary and secondary schools was entrusted to an autonomous, devoted and dynamic body, the Working Group of the Ministry of Education for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries, a title that replaced what had started out as a commission and unfortunately bore an equivocal formal similarity with the Discoveries Commission. The activities of this Working Group were integrated into the programme drawn up by the CNCDP (Cruz, 2001, 21).

2. The responsibilities of the Discoveries Commission, as expressed in its founding charter, were obvious: "preparation, organisation and coordination, at the domestic and international level, of the celebrations of the historic events" with which the commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries were related. The above-mentioned Decree-Law also gave the Discoveries Commission, through its executive committee, responsibility for "the design, preparation, realisation and management of the Portuguese Discoveries Pavilion at the 1998 Lisbon International Exposition." Because of the way in which it was conducted, this particular duty would later give rise to much criticism, including, as it did, the political question of commemorating transcendent facts from national history (Hespanha, 1999, 93 ff.).

The Discoveries Commission was given complete freedom to draw up it own commemorative programme, further taking into account carefully considered proposals from outside, whilst also listening, for example, to the scientific councils of universities. After the Commission's restructuring, the basic guidelines of its programme were announced at the end of 1988 and then developed shortly afterwards into a medium-term plan of action, covering the period from 1990 to 1995, the activities for 1989 having already been outlined in the previous programme, drawn up after the Commission's launch in 1987/88. At the same time, the Executive Committee was given the task of presenting to the Discoveries Commission the annual programme to be followed both in Portugal and abroad, so that the commissioner-generals' summarised reports represent extremely valuable documents for analysing and understanding the commemorative activities. It is, in fact, these documents, together with some others, that have been used as the basis for this assessment of the performance of the CNCDP with regard to its production of historical research and publications.

3. The Discoveries Commission and its chief executive, on the one hand, and certain sectors of civil society, on the other hand, were not always in agreement, however, about the meaning of the concept of a "Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries" at the end of the twentieth century. For this very reason, the commissioner-generals who headed the commission in 1998 and 2000, and the first of these in particular, favoured a break with the past and not merely a continuation of previous activities. They then had to defend their positions in a context of much controversy, as is indicated by the above-mentioned reports, which speak of "commemorations and history" or, "by way of reflection," the defence of continuities.

In any case, there was a programme to be fulfilled, dating from at least 1988 and itself representing an attempt to reconcile different currents of opinion, although it nonetheless followed a clearly defined path.

The programme sought to involve the whole of civil society and to spread abroad the affirmation of the Portuguese contribution to the opening up of the modern world, an expression that had been formally adapting itself over the centuries to the realities of different cultural systems, including those governed by the Portuguese language. In contrast, however, with the stated intentions of the initial Commission of the Ministry of Education, at least with regard to its guidelines for activities to be undertaken in 1987, which included such ideas as a homage to those who took part in the discoveries and a revival of national pride, together with a celebration of the coming together of civilisations and the union of the Portuguese citizens scattered around the world as they took part in the celebrations (Cruz, 2001, 15), the CNCDP in 1988 placed "the meaning of the commemorations" amongst the main programmatic guidelines for research and publication, activities that were considered to be the first and second of its concerns, immediately followed by cultural promotion (Programme, 1988, 3; Cruz, A Escola, 231). Amongst the activities planned by the Discoveries Commission, and of particular importance in this present context, the most notable were in fact those relating to research and the creation of culture, to be provided in its best possible expressions for the future or, at least, as a memory of the celebrations.

Throughout the commemorations, there was one firm underlying principle, which was repeatedly stated by the CNCDP as being fundamental: the commemorations, "rather than being initiatives of an ephemeral or transitory nature, shall help to highlight the importance of these enduring points of historical reference [...] in Portugal and in the world" (Programme, 1988, 41; Cruz, 2001, 24). The passage that has just been transcribed is interwoven into the aim of "urban improvement and

enhancement of the cultural heritage." The marks of the commemorations should therefore remain in the form of buildings and architecture. But this idea confronts the so-called "ephemeral architecture," and which despite its transience, can have a strong and long-lasting emotional impact on succeeding generations. Nothing more than this was intended by the so-called "living history" programme, which recreated historical events and settings around the country or even outside it, such as the choreographic production that 7000 young people performed at the Seville Universal Exposition (1992), a performance that showed what is most enduring in the realisation of the most ephemeral.

The Portuguese Discoveries Pavilion, conceived by the government for EXPO 98, "should express the historical values that represent Portugal's decisive contribution to the history of humanity" (Moura, 1994, 206). But whilst, in fact, "the prime aim of the Commemorations was to highlight the Portuguese contribution to the history of the world [...]," "marked by the capacity for innovative knowledge and techniques, by determination and by audacity" (Hespanha, 1999, 140), there was no better means for achieving this than by investing in research, the opportunity for creating a new historical vision and engaging in profound and free discussion of the questions raised by the Portuguese Discoveries. Such issues were to be studied in the context of a road leading towards integration in the European Union and globalisation, a process that had first been attempted using different means and with different ends 500 years earlier and had engaged the efforts of various peoples, most notably the Portuguese.

For this purpose, a variety of sectoral programmes was drawn up leading to the realisation of this objective, which included support for institutional or individual research, for the creation of research centres to provide support for the Commission's current activities or the development of historiographical knowledge, for the establishment of national and networks overseas that might constitute diversified research and teaching areas, and, naturally, suitable means for their expression in writing, sound recordings or audiovisual forms.

4. For roughly fifteen years (1987-2002), an autonomous organisation engaged in research and cultural promotion centred around the celebration of the main historical events linked to five or six centuries of discoveries (starting in 1415) flourished in Portugal. This organisation enjoyed autonomy in its coordination with the many different government departments, as necessarily had to be the case, but it also enjoyed its own independence. It remained open, however, to the diversity of others and to the idea of rethinking Portugal in the contemporary world, based on both the country's earlier achievements and its present realities, some of them traumatic because of the way in which the fifteenth-century navigations had since sunk beyond the horizon of memory.

This rethinking of national identity was to include the pursuit of a first dream, which was partly realised, namely the creation of a university-level centre, where research could be carried out, regular courses given and international summer courses held, where "Portuguese problems, in their broadest sense, would occupy a privileged position" (Plan, 22). The summer university was given the name of the Convent Conferences, later renamed the Arrábida Conferences, and ascribed general teaching themes. As in other conferences of more than a century ago, the intention was to "generate new knowledge, rethinking and critical analysis of the problems of mankind (especially Portuguese) in the past and present," now based on seminars about "Portuguese expansion and presence in the world" (Moura, 1994, 55). Within the context of the overall programming devised for the commemorations, this was one of the "special programmes" begun in 1992 with the "Reinvention of Europe" course, but undoubtedly greatly cherished and already included in the 1988 Programme. Directly managed by the Commission from the commissariat of António Manuel Hespanha onwards, and with the later support of the Fundação Oriente, the General Studies programme provided promontories from where the sea could also be heard talking about itself, over successive years, through an annual group of roughly twenty courses, opened and closed by a supporting lecture, normally given by foreign specialists. The last posters of the event, now catalogued under the title of "academic and research programmes," portrayed these courses quite prosaically, but perhaps with greater international appeal, as the Summer University, formerly planned also to have the name of the Atlantic University, the first protocol to this effect being signed on 5 May 1990 with the Fundação Oriente, on whom the future headquarters was to depend (Projects, 10).

The General Studies course, open both to different themes and different people, was included in a vast national and international programme of research and teaching dedicated to the issues arising from the commemorations of the Discoveries. Research that urgently needed to be redone was carried out, with this activity being included "amongst the most important objectives of the CNCDP." The aim was, in fact, "to give decisive support to the development of historical and multidisciplinary research into the Portuguese Discoveries and, consequently, to contribute, at the level of publishing, to the enrichment of the bibliography on the Portuguese Discoveries" (Plan, 1988, 22).

In the midst of all these efforts, and as far as internal historiography was concerned, it can be said that there was nobody who was working in the area of the Discoveries or its time that did not feel its effects, if they wished to do so, judging by the number of activities that were supported, encouraged or created, beginning with the universities and institutions of Higher Education. To this end, 1990 had marked the creation of "an autonomous programme specially designed to support activities related to research, the history of the discoveries and relations with the universities" (Projects, 5). The aim was, at one and the same time, to prepare new researchers, investigate sources and publish them, and organise research programmes.

In this sense, and in relation to Portugal itself, the CNCDP provided various different forms of support (scholarships for preparing dissertations, bibliographical and logistical support) for the running of Master's Degrees courses in the area of the Portuguese Discoveries at the Arts Faculties of Porto and Lisbon Universities, at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the New University of Lisbon, and at the Department of History, Philosophy and Social Sciences of the University of the Azores.

The Art History Institute of the Arts Faculty of Coimbra University was, in turn, provided with the necessary resources to introduce into its Bachelor degree courses a curricular and optional subject in the History of Colonial Art and the Art of the Discoveries, as well as summer courses, a week of Luso-Brazilian studies, seminars in its summer courses for foreigners and various exhibitions (Projects, 10).

In partnership with the National Archive of the Torre do Tombo, the Damião de Góis Study Centre was set up, where archives were catalogued and sources and studies published. Some indexes of the royal chancelleries were scanned onto computer disks, and, for all those who have already been able to use this service, this turned out to be a most useful surprise, because many scholars had grown used to working with microfilm readers. Support was also given to the Gil Eanes Study Centre, in Lagos, in conjunction with the respective Municipal Commission of the Discoveries, which has already published the papers presented at the various conferences that it held (Cruz, 2001, 167). All of the 305 municipalities existing at that time were, in fact, invited to take part and create municipal commissions, as a way of involving the whole of society. This was an area to which the Working Group devoted special attention, being linked, as it was, to the country's schools and giving secondary school teachers the opportunity to bring their knowledge up to date, whilst also developing new knowledge. At the same time, children and young people were afforded the chance to take part in the commemorations, which they did in a variety of forms, particularly at the level of local history or as apprentice journalists through competitions set up for this purpose.

In addition to the university bodies or associations related to the production of knowledge that were directly supported at an institutional level, there was also a proliferation of individual or group research projects, both in Portugal and abroad, many of them undertaken by researchers belonging to teaching and research institutions. In fact, in 1991 alone, 60 programmes were registered (some of these being collective efforts) by Portuguese and foreign researchers working in various areas (Projects, 9 ff.; Moura, 1994, 48-52), and this did not include the Damião de Góis Centre, particularly beloved by the Commission, which alone ran 26 programmes in 1996-1998 (Hespanha, 1999, 47-48). Taking the projects as a whole, it can be seen that there were more or less the same number of projects designed for the treatment of sources (publication, research work instruments such as bibliographies, re-editions and translations) as there were studies of a different nature. Because these are not very common amongst historians, I draw attention to the so-called "Science Programmes," which were designed to investigate "the genetic influence of the different peoples discovered in the Portuguese population" and the "study of the chemical composition of Portuguese coins determining the origin of the metals used." But, together with the projects, 27 conferences and congresses were also planned, clearly demonstrating the commitment of the academic community to the study of the commemorations and the renewal of research. The idea of "An Association of Historians in the Portuguese Language" was put forward, with

the aim of "developing historiographical studies of interest to all Portuguese-speaking countries" (Plan, 14). A vast historiographical community, spreading far beyond Portugal itself, would in this way sustain a common effort on behalf of the Discoveries and certainly in support of the history of those countries that have subsequently assimilated the language spoken by the navigators of five hundred years ago.

In its idea of a historiographical renewal regarding the Discoveries, the CNCDP began quite appropriately to consider the creation within the planned university centre of a "Department of Atlantic, African and Oriental Studies." The commemorations of the fifth centenary of Vasco da Gama's arrival in India made this centre necessary, or at least the study of the respective languages, as an indispensable condition for elaborating other visions of the Orient and the Discoveries, the need for which was clearly felt by the Commissioner-General António Manuel Hespanha, who strived to resuscitate interest in the studies made in this area in Portugal towards the end of the nineteenth century. He also appeared in 1999 as the curator of an exhibition on orientalism in Portugal, organised to mark the end of the commemorations of 1497-1499 (Magalhães, 2002, 68; Rodrigues, 1999). As he painfully noted at the time, "we lack the necessary instruments for the teaching of Oriental and African languages, we lack collections of local sources, we lack series of classic journals on non-European studies, we lack the institutionalisation of stable and efficient systems of relationship between Portuguese research centres and similar institutions in Africa and Asia" (Hespanha, 1999, 137). The *Culturas do Índico* (Cultures of the Indian Ocean) exhibition, held with great conviction, was a demonstration of both faith and knowledge (Perez, 1998; *Oceanos*, 1998). But the *Outras Margens* programme ('Other Margins', which was also the title of a collection published by the CNCDP), involving the listening to others through all possible means of communication, required a confident sense of reciprocity and a pedagogical attitude that had not been developed by the responsible bodies, whose efforts were geared more towards the spaces resulting from their own navigations or conquests: the implantation of Portuguese scholarly missions abroad. As is known but not generally practised, it is only after studying others that we find ourselves in a position to understand one another.

What has been and is still being searched for, and with just reason, is the knowledge of ourselves amongst others and as we are seen by others, perhaps in the presumption of certain continuities in the melting pot of humanity. In this sense, by seeking to make known what the world owes to the contribution of the Portuguese, the CNCDP also played a remarkable role, right from the outset, by setting up permanent university chairs or by providing support for their creation. These measures were also extended to the creation of specific programs of temporary study at universities abroad.

Amongst the first university chairs that the CNCDP supported and sponsored was the Vasco da Gama Chair at the European University Institute (Florence), which began its activities on a regular basis in Autumn 1991. Portugal joined the Institute in 1989 and, in June 1990, the CNCDP had proposed to the Institute the creation of the "Vasco da Gama" chair, "dedicated to the study of the discoveries in a European dimension." The chair was endowed with a permanent professor, chosen by competitive application, two Portuguese visiting professors, a Portuguese research assistant (also recruited by competitive application) and two three-year scholarships for people studying for doctorates in the area of the History of the Expansion, besides the organisation of a computerised bibliography that was updated on a permanent basis. The permanent professor appointed at that time was Kirti N. Chaudhuri, from the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University (Moura, 1999, 31-32), who later, with another Portuguese professor, Francisco Bethencourt, was to coordinate the writing of a "History of the Portuguese Expansion" in five volumes, the publication of which was begun in January 1998, thus giving visibility to a research project supported by the CNCDP (Moura, 1994, p. 32). The chair has continued to be filled by internationally known professors.

At the same time (May 1991) the Jaime Cortesão Chair was created at the Institute of Advanced Studies of the University of São Paulo in Brazil, which represented "a privileged space for teaching and research into the cultural and historical relations between Portugal and Brazil, in general, and the Portuguese Expansion and Discoveries, in particular" (Moura, 1994, 32). Its activity was begun in March 1992, on the occasion of the *America 92* congress and the São Paulo Biennial Book Fair, when nine Portuguese historians were present in Brazil. In that same year, courses were begun that successively called for the presence of Portuguese university lecturers.

Another chair, created after a major financial investment by the CNCDP, was that set up at

Brown University (Providence, Rhode Island) with the title of *Vasco da Gama Chair on Early Modern Portuguese History*. This is a permanently endowed chair (1997), which was set up by a consortium of Portuguese institutions: CNCDP, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Luso-American Development Foundation, Fundação Oriente and the Portuguese Oriental Institute (Macau). The Portuguese institutions contributed 1,500,000 USD to a fund of 2,000,000 USD, with the CNCDP spending 600,000 USD. The collaboration had already begun in 1993, with the creation of the *Vasco da Gama Lectureship*, a teaching and lecturing project, financed by a group of American Universities. From 1993 onwards, the initiative was supported jointly by the CNCDP and the Instituto Camões, and some Portuguese professors were later to work there (Moura, 1994, 37). In this same year, support was given, at the University of Pondicherry, to a master's degree course with the aim of studying the Portuguese presence on the Malabar coast and India's eastern coast.

In 1999/2001, support continued to be given to Portuguese studies, and in particular to studies related to the Discoveries, at international academic institutions. In addition to those already mentioned, support was given to a further nine institutions: the John Hopkins University (Baltimore, Maryland, with a teaching and research project); Yale University (New Haven, Connecticut, where there was a Teaching and Research Programme in the History of the Discoveries and Portuguese Expansion in the World); the Jawaharlal Nehru University, the University of Brasilia, the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo Mondlane University, the University of Rennes, the Higher Institute of Sciences and Technology (Mozambique), the Higher Institute of Education (Cape Verde) and the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris (Romero, 2002, 84).

In the years 1992/1993, a Portuguese History Fellowship, financed by the CNCDP and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, was in operation at the University of New Hampshire (Durham, New Hampshire), as well as activities undertaken under the scope of the "International Conference Group on Portugal," of which both projects were subsequently continued (Moura, 1994, 37; Hespanha, 1999, 43). The CNCDP's activities also extended to other American universities, where they stimulated both teaching and research (University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth), and to the Camões Center, created in 1990 at the School of International and Public Affairs of Columbia University (New York), where a programme was introduced for the teaching of the History of the Discoveries and Portuguese Expansion in the World and, as early as 1990, the conference "Portugal and the Making of the Modern World" was held. This school published, at least at that time, "the Camões Center Quarterly, in which planned initiatives are regularly publicised" (Moura, 1994, 36: Projects, 12). The CNCDP also gave its support to George Washington University, so that it could organise conferences about the "Spain and Portugal of the Navigators" or, simply, "The Iberian Peninsula. Europe and New Horizons."

Further, at the Jawaharlal Nehru University (New Delhi), the Diogo do Couto Chair in Indo-Portuguese Studies was given support (as was the Portuguese Studies Department at the University of Goa, Pangim).

An agreement had already been signed with the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris) in 1991, through the Portuguese Studies Centre. This agreement sought to provide support for the organisation of courses, seminars and conferences related to the theme of the Discoveries. In 1991/1992, various conferences were held, together with a seminar on "La rupture Luso-Castillane de 1640. L´évènement et ses effets". These activities continued into the following years, resulting in exchanges between researchers in 1996-1998 (Projects 1991, 12; Hespanha, 1999, 43). The "Maison des Pays Ibériques," at the University of Bordeaux III, was another of the institutions supported in France, where a permanent seminar was held with a research team, after lecturing activities there had begun with brief seminars (Projects 1991, 12).

The sponsorship provided by the CNCDP spread to many other foreign institutions, in addition to those already mentioned. At Linacre College in Oxford, for example, a multidisciplinary centre was set up in 1991, dedicated to the study of the Portuguese Discoveries (Moura, 1994, 34; Projects 1991, 12), with support being given to the "D. João II Chair. Centre for the Study of the Portuguese Discoveries." This action later resulted in the holding of a conference, the proceedings of which were published in 1992 (Moura, 1994, 34; Projects, 12-13). Through the auspices of the Portuguese Language Centre of Instituto Camões, there still exist today at Oxford University (2003) research projects and projects for the dissemination of Portuguese History, as well as exchange and cooperation

programmes with English historians.

Whilst the increase in the activities taking place in the field of university relations spread mainly to Europe and America, support for postgraduate and doctoral studies spread mainly to Africa. In fact, the Bartolomeu Dias programme granted long-term scholarships to citizens from five Portuguese-speaking African countries and from East Timor wishing to undertake postgraduate studies at Portuguese institutions. In 1996-1998, there were 35 such scholarships, (Hespanha, 1999, 49) and, in 1999-2001, 34 (Magalhães, 2002, 83). In addition to these scholarships, there were roughly another 150 scholarships, awarded to Portuguese and foreign citizens for various purposes of a scholarly nature either on a short-term basis or for research, throughout the course of the three commissariats (Moura, 1994, 53; Hespanha, 1999, 48-49; Magalhães, 2002, 83).

5. Support and incentives for research, as expressed through the granting of scholarships (many of them awarded to people wishing to undertake or complete dissertations for doctorates and master's degrees) or the provision of bibliographies and their computerisation at various national and foreign institutions, reached their high point in the creation of a research award in the area of the Discoveries. The prize had the name of the Dom João de Castro award and was intended to reward the best first-time publication in this area, both nationally and internationally. The prize, worth 1,500 contos (7,500 euros), was first awarded in 1989, with the jury consisting of the Scientific Council. In 1993, ten authors were awarded the prize (Moura, 1994, 54), which continued to be awarded whenever works of recognised value in this area were published, naturally not those written by authors connected to the CNCDP (Hespanha 1999, 49, for prizes from 1995-1996).

Another incentive for research involved the creation of facilities for academic conferences at which research in progress could be publicly presented. Further attempts were also made to disseminate this research through lectures or specific publications. Congresses, conferences and lectures were organised either directly by the CNCDP or, in many cases, only through collaboration or gifts of financial support.

We have not followed the same criterion in the syntheses of the three reports tracked, nor are they exhaustive in their description of the Commission's real activity, as there is a slight time lag between the presentation of the reports and the taking of office on the part of the Commissars (there is no mention, for example, of activities in 1995 and 2002 or of those prior to 1988). Even in the incomplete list, however, 163 activities of this kind can be found, with more than half (85) belonging to the period from 1988 to 1993, (a much longer commissariat, lasting roughly twice as long as the others), although these figures do not include the lectures, which are spread throughout the other reports under a different heading. The activities described in the 1988-1999 report were undertaken in 52 different places, 41 of these being located in Europe, Asia and America. (Other activities were undertaken at that time in Africa, which had its own Special Programme: Moura, 1994, 150 ff.; Plan, 13-14; Hespanha, 1999, 34; Magalhães, 2002, 107).

The highest number of activities in Portugal took place in Lisbon, followed by Coimbra and Porto, whilst the highest number of activities outside Portugal, during this cycle of commemorations, took place in Paris.

In the subsequent commissariats, attention was devoted to congresses and academic conferences either organised or co-organised by the Commission itself, which represent a third of the total number of the events, in contrast with the first period. In this aspect, as in others, the last two commissariats pursued different policies.

Amongst the events of this type, attention should be drawn to those connected with the commemorations of Bartolomeu Dias (1988), with the five volumes of the proceedings of the conference held in Porto running to more than 3,000 pages; the conference on early modern Japan (1993); the 6th centenary of the birth of Prince Henry the Navigator (1994) and the Treaty of Tordesilhas (1994), in the period when Vasco Graça Moura was Commissioner-General, with the city of Porto and its institutions playing an important role at two of these commemorations (Bartolomeu Dias and Prince Henry the Navigator), accompanied at the latter commemoration by another eight towns and cities in mainland Portugal and the island of Madeira (Moura, 1994, 182 ff. and 190 ff.; V Centenário; Infante 94). António Manuel Hespanha led the commemorations centred on the exploits of Vasco da Gama (1998), for which, amongst other activities, two large conferences were held, one of

them in Lisbon ("Vasco da Gama. Men, voyages and culture"), as well as exhibitions, including one in Paris, organised by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, with support also being given, in 1997, to the international conference held to mark the third centenary of the death of Padre António Vieira; Joaquim Romero Magalhães was responsible for the multiple and diversified commemorations relating to Pedro Álvares Cabral (2000), which included discipline-specific congresses organised by the Commission in Geography, Law, Economics, Sociology and Anthropology, Language, Literature and Arts, Politics and International Relations, Environment and Development and History, followed by the commemorations connected with Newfoundland (Terra Nova, also sometimes referred to as the Terra do Bacalhau), in addition to others that were also supported (Hespanha, 1999, 29 ff., 35-36; Magalhães, 2002, 91 ff. and 107).

6. The new results of the research endeavours, as well as fundamental texts for the history of the Portuguese Discoveries, were either published or re-edited. The quantity and quality of the works that were then reproduced, ranging from the proceedings of congresses, colloquiums and conferences to journal articles, doctoral dissertations and other types of research, all helped to enhance the image of the commemorations, as this was an aspect to which the CNCDP always devoted great attention.

First of all, mention should be made of the importance the Commission devoted to having its own journal, in which it was possible to publish the research that it sponsored. To this end, the journal entitled *Mare Liberum* was created, an International Journal of the History of the Seas. Its publication began in 1990, and the first 13 issues are available on CD-ROM, in the Ophir collection. Twenty-two issues were published up to December 2001, some of them monographic.

In addition to this journal intended for the publication of more specialised studies, the CNCDP launched another review, entitled *Oceanos*, intended for a larger audience. This magazine became an emblem of the organisation itself, in view of the luxurious form of its presentation and the nature of its contents, which were generally monographic, in harmony with the timing of the events that were being commemorated. By the end of 2001, 48 issues had been published.

In a very different style, and in an attempt to reach a younger audience, the Commission also published, through its Working Group (Cruz, 2001, 259), the magazine *Na Crista da Onda* (On the Crest of the Wave), with 37 issues published up to February 2001, to which should be added other similar publications produced by the same Working Group of the Ministry of Education.

Considering only those publications mentioned in the three summarised reports, new or even old research considered worthy of being republished resulted in a total of 472 titles, to which should be added at least the 74 titles of sources and studies published by the Working Group, drawn from a total of 164 publications it sponsored (Cruz, 2002, 234 ff.).

The CNCDP's initial publishing policy was simply to give support to books and reading, especially through the respective Institute responsible for the promotion of this activity, except in certain circumstances (Plan, 23-24), although it ended up publishing its own research directly, namely when António Manuel Hespanha was the Commissioner-General. At that time, in this particular aspect and in regard to its incentives, the CNCDP had the image of a fruitful mother of knowledge, whose children were not all born in the time of Hespanha's commissariat. This situation did, in fact, lead his successor, perhaps for this very reason, to speak, for the first time in the history of the CNCDP, of "financial constraints," caused by prior commitments, even though the period after 2001 was already a period that had not initially been planned for. In any case, these direct publications, and here I am referring only to titles and not to volumes, made throughout the three commissariats, represent 39% of all the publications financed either in whole or in part by the Commission, including exhibition catalogues, with the last commissariat responsible for 48% of direct publications. Yet, if we consider the titles published during the time of the last Commissioner-General (not including the issues of each journal), direct publications amounted to 74% of the total. Of the support given by this commissariat to publications, 38% of the total relates to foreign publications.

These publications only refer to those printed on paper. To these should be added, at least, the contents of *Ophir*, the "virtual library of the Portuguese Discoveries," in which useful research instruments were republished, such as the "Dicionario Biblographico Portuguez," by Inocêncio Francisco da Silva and Brito Aranha (23 volumes), the "Bibliotheca Lusitana," by Diogo Barbosa Machado, "Corografia Portugueza" by Padre António Carvalho da Costa, as well as all the works of Gil

Vicente, the "Décadas da Ásia" by João de Barros and the complete works of Padre António Vieira. By the end of 2001, 15 CD-ROMs had been published, the first of which contained the 53 volumes of the journal *Studia* and issue No. 3 of the "Boletim da Filmoteca Portuguesa."

7. Some of the research work produced was intended to support and prepare the exhibitions held at that time, many of which included original and sometimes unique works, with the Commission actually acquiring some new material.

The Commission's exhibition activity can be considered from many different aspects, one of which is certainly the scholarly viewpoint, and which can claim the catalogues produced, many of them being accompanied by specialist studies. All together, more than a hundred exhibitions were held, not including those that were repeated. "Large exhibitions" represented 42% of the total of all those that are mentioned in the reports. Between 1996 and 1998, there were 53 itinerant exhibitions travelling around Portugal and abroad, and there were 31 such exhibitions in 1999-2001. Between 1988 and 1993, the CNCDP held exhibitions in 34 different foreign cities, not including "A cartografia portuguesa e a construção da imagem do mundo" (Portuguese cartography and the making of the world picture), an exhibition that was taken all over the world (Moura, 1994, 17-18).

The holding of exhibitions of the quality organised by the CNCDP organised, with themes that accompanied the events that were being commemorated or ideas associated with them, was already a way of producing culture, one of the ways of commemorating the 500th anniversary of the Portuguese Discoveries. This was carried out with the same enthusiasm that had been channelled into historical research, given that works of art were created and events were not just restricted to the representation or repetition of already known shows and performances. This amounted to a cultural enrichment of the country (Moura, 1999, 100 ff.; Hespanha, 1999, 67 ff. and 147; Magalhães, 2001, 95 ff.) achieved through theatre, opera, music, dance, painting, cinema, television, architecture, restoration (as described in Moura, 1994, 114) or the production of recorded music; street entertainment, the Portuguese presence at International Book Fairs in Europe and Brazil (the Portuguese participation at the Frankfurt Book Fair was afforded 100,000 contos (500,000 Euros) of financial support in 1996), as well as the support given to national fairs; participation in the exhibitions of Seville 92, Genoa (1992) (Moura, 1994, 162) or Expo 98 in Lisbon (Hespanha, 1999, 36-37). At the same time, one must remember the acquisition and restoration of the pieces of art and paintings needed for the exhibitions, the support given to some museums for these purposes, the historical restoration of certain sites in mainland Portugal and the former overseas provinces, still linked even today to the heroic exploits of the Discoveries, as in Mozambique (on the Island of Mozambique, beginning in 1996: Capela de Nossa Senhora do Baluarte, Palácio de São Paulo, Igreja da Misericórdia; restoration of the collection of Portuguese painting at the Maputo National Museum; rebuilding the fortress of Maputo); Angola (a survey of Angola's heritage of colonial buildings and their state of conservation); Guinea-Bissau (support for the recovery of the city of Bolama); Cape Verde (monuments in São Nicolau, a replica of the Torre de Belém in Mindelo, restoration of the old town) (Moura, 1994, 151 ff.; Hespanha, 1999, 84; Magalhães, 2002, 107).

During the commissariat of António Manuel Hespanha alone, roughly five million contos (twenty-five million euros) were spent in three years on "cultural activities with a lasting impact" (including publishers), which reflects the vitality of this sector considered indispensable for the country's cultural progress (Hespanha, 1999, 17).

The CNCDP, which began its activity with a fund of 50,000 contos (250,000 euros), awarded by the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, ended up managing in 1998, for example, a budget of almost three million contos (2,920,000 contos – 14,565,000 euros) and, the previous year, a little over two million contos (2,130,000 contos – 10,625,000 euros), and more than 2,700,000 contos (13,470,000 euros) in 1999-2000 (Magalhães, 2002, 117).

It should, however, be borne in mind that only roughly 30% of this money was spent on running the Commission, freeing 70% for activities, and that roughly 30% of income was produced by the activity of the Commission itself, through the issue of commemorative coins and other products.

This productivity and accumulated knowledge led the Commissioner-Generals to defend a specific vision of the Commission's legacy for the period when the Commemorations would come to an end (Hespanha, 1999, 147 ff.). Routine would certainly lead to a loss of the enthusiasm felt by an

autonomous body such as the Commission, and which is a necessary ingredient of productivity. But perhaps one essential idea would remain from the commemorations, promoted by the historians, namely the new forms of studying the whole question of the Portuguese Discoveries and, in short, the redefinition of Portugal. With the idea not being able to be taken any further forward, it seems that the legacy should be transferred as a whole to an academic institution, even because the Commission, which began by setting up a centre of documentation and research, ended up acquiring sizeable and valuable reserves, which made it possible to take even greater care of the production of some of the best critical editions of historical texts that have appeared amongst us in recent years (Moura, 1994, 63 and 143-144)

8. Some criticism was made of certain guidelines adopted by the CNCDP, more in relation to their execution than perhaps their definition. This was directed at what should also have been understood as a celebration of the discoveries made some five hundred years ago, at a crucial turning point in the history of Portugal. It might perhaps not have been possible for this evocation of the past, conducted through one of its more particular forms, historical knowledge, to have been any greater in terms of its re-elaboration, in view of the limited resources that it proved possible to make available. For a period of 15-16 years, the country and many study centres abroad were swept by a prodigious wave of cultural production, which coincided in Portugal with the increase in the numbers of researchers working in the area of History. Now that the cycle of the commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries has come to a close, it is quite likely that the rate of publication will decrease, and not just because of the current economic situation. Those researchers that were caught up in the dynamics of the commemorations of the five hundredth anniversary of the Portuguese Discoveries know how much support they owe to the Commission - support that had synergies with other institutions, which was certainly also a way for these to become associated with the commemorations.

The works directly published or simply sponsored by the CNCDP were reviewed by specialists or, at least, subject to decisions that implied this activity. Such attitudes are, of course, an indication of quality, which, however, only the public can judge. It will therefore be necessary to set up teams of researchers who express their opinions not only about the work that was directly produced, but also about the work that the Commission supported in various ways. One fact, however, remains immediately clear: it will no longer be possible to study the history of Portugal for the period covered by the commemorations without being necessarily obliged to consult many of the works published, amongst which are some that have become decisive for the current knowledge of certain issues linked to the Discoveries made by the Portuguese. There are no definitive works in History, but there are pillars of knowledge that last through many generations. Some of them were thought up and written about under the auspices of the CNCDP, which, most importantly, did its very best to ensure that others could talk historiographically of the Portuguese wherever they were to be found five hundred years ago, building bridges of understanding across the banks of a river of misunderstanding. The image that is best suited to expressing diversity would suggest that it bears a look of difference.

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Masters Courses and Dissertations in Medieval History at Portuguese Universities

The offering of Masters Degree courses in Medieval Portuguese History began in the 1980s, when a considerable number of graduate programmes in various fields were created by several Portuguese universities. The list of dissertations presented below provides an overall view of the results of the addition of courses devoted to medieval history. Such courses were added at the following universities, from the years indicated below onward:

Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1981,
Faculty of Letters, Universidade do Porto, 1984,
Faculty of Letters, Universidade de Lisboa, 1992,
Universidade do Minho, 1993,
Faculty of Letters, Universidade de Coimbra, 1996,
Universidade de Évora, 1998.

Dissertations in medieval history have also been produced in the context of graduation programmes in other fields, such as palaeography and literary studies. With a few changes to their internal organisation, the institutions listed above continue to offer courses in medieval history at the graduate level. In the case of the University of Porto, the programme also comprehends Renaissance history.

The dissertations cover a wide variety of themes, and deal with several sub-disciplinary approaches, focusing on areas such as social, economic, urban and rural, military, religious, political, and cultural history. This collection of dissertations on the whole represents a well-balanced, accumulated body of knowledge that has indisputably contributed to the development and enhancement of the historiographical field of Medieval Portuguese History.

By listing these dissertations it is our purpose to better acquaint the reader with works that in many cases have not been published. The list is organised in alphabetical order by the author's name, indicating both the year and university of origin. When applicable, publication reference is also included.

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List of Dissertations in Medieval Portuguese History

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