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Isabel dos Guimarães Sá

Chivalry in Medieval Portugal

Miguel Aguiar¹

Abstract

This article seeks to understand the different stages in the spread and development of chivalric ideals as a feature that marked the identity of the main socio-political groups in medieval Portugal. For this purpose, a diachronic approach is adopted, while, at the same time, a comparison is made with other European areas, especially the Iberian Christian kingdoms. The sources used for the writing of this study ranged from chronicles to genealogical literature, legislative compilations, chivalric treatises and diplomatic documents.

Keywords

Knight; knighthood; chivalry; aristocracy; nobility

Resumo

Este artigo tem como objetivo compreender as etapas de difusão e construção do ideal cavaleiresco enquanto marca identitária dos principais grupos sociopolíticos no Portugal Medieval. Para isso segue-se uma perspetiva diacrónica, mantendo igualmente uma visão comparativa com outros espaços políticos, nomeadamente os reinos cristãos peninsulares. Articular-se-á um conjunto diferenciado de fontes, englobando textos legislativos, tratadísticos, genealógicos e cronísticos.

Palavras-chave

Cavaleiro; cavaleiros; cavalaria; aristocracia; nobreza

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In a letter addressed to his brother, King Duarte (r. 1433-1438), at the beginning of the 1430s, Prince João stated that the grandees of the kingdom could not be considered to be good men if they had not attained the honor of chivalry, which could be gained by performing an unquestionable feat of arms, under dangerous and even rash conditions (*Livro dos Conselhos de el-rei D. Duarte*: p. 47). The prince's way of thinking provides clear evidence of how, in the fifteenth century, the chivalric spirit was considered a fundamental benchmark, not only for the monarchy and the nobility, but also for some of the urban elites that wished to rise up within the social hierarchy by undertaking armed deeds and thus adopting a lifestyle that was associated with the aristocracy. This was, nevertheless, the reality that one faced in the late Middle Ages.

The relatively belated manifestation in Portugal of these chivalric values has already been underlined by both José Mattoso and Oliveira Marques (Mattoso, 1985: p. 116; 1993: pp. 152-154; 1995: pp. 117-125. Oliveira Marques, s/d: pp. 26-28).² However, Portuguese historiography has never taken a particularly exhaustive look at the main stages in the spread of chivalric ideals, so that all that one really has are just a few works that have centered their attention on the last centuries of the medieval period.³ Consequently, no attempts have been made to explain the time lag that occurred in the manifestation of these phenomena in Portugal: either in relation to the territories lying beyond the Pyrenees or in comparison with the country's Peninsular neighbors.

The purpose of this paper is therefore to explain this gap, seeking to understand how this ideology came to be established in the western strip of the Iberian Peninsula. In order to do this, an attempt will also be made to understand what, at some times, restricted the development of this ideology, and what, at other times, helped to guarantee its consolidation. The study is divided into two parts. In the first section, which covers the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, the aim is to observe the role played by knights in the shaping of Portuguese society and the way in which the *Peninsular knighthood*, frequently centered upon towns and cities, came to adopt some of the typical features of *classical chivalry*, which had especially developed on the other side of the Pyrenees. In the second section, our analysis will focus on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, seeking to discover how the chivalric spirit became established as a distinguishing mark of the identity

² Some foreign historiography has also shown an awareness of this situation (Flori, 1986: p. 35; Barber, 1995: p. 2).

³ I am referring here to the studies by André Bertoli, Carlos Guilherme Riley, and Tiago Viúla de Faria, which are mentioned in the bibliography at the end of this paper.

of the kingdom's socio-political elites, and under what particular circumstances this happened.

I. Twelfth to thirteenth centuries: the rise of the knighthood

In Portugal, it was only towards the end of the twelfth century, and above all in the following century, that the term *miles* began to take on a double meaning, being used simultaneously to designate a warrior who fought on horseback and an individual who belonged to the nobility (Mattoso, 1985b: pp. 171-178; 1995: pp. 117-125; 1997: pp. 149-150). Until then, the predominant acceptance of the first meaning had given the impression that the knight's importance was due, most of all, to his military role, which was particularly crucial in a "society organized for war" (Lourie, 1966; Powers, 1987). The various municipal charters that were issued, especially in the townships bordering upon the Muslim territories and the kingdom of Leon, clearly highlighted the role that equestrian warriors played in the governance of communities, where they were considered to be equivalent in importance to the *infanções*.⁴ The attribution of a superior status was due to their possession of weapons and a horse to ride upon (Reis, 2002; Powers, 1987). Furthermore, the technique of fighting wars by making greater or lesser raids on horseback was already a widespread practice, and was, in fact, commonly performed even by noble troops (Barroca, 2003: pp. 148-150; García Fitz, 2005: pp. 59-170; Martins, 2014: pp. 338-360).

It can therefore be inferred that, in the society existing at the time of the Reconquest, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the functional dimension of chivalry was highly important. The apparent social fluidity in the border region, paving the way for the upward progression of those who devoted themselves to launching attacks in enemy territory, shows that the war had become a mechanism for personal enrichment and social promotion. In fact, both this martial role and the actual fighting on horseback were not the exclusive preserve of the nobility (Barroca, 2003: pp. 87-92). The territory of the kingdom of Portugal was mainly constructed through the alliance between the monarchy and the local urban militias and military orders, with the aristocracy having played a fairly minor role (Sottomayor-Pizarro, 2009: pp. 143-155).

By this time the aristocratic conception of the term *miles* had already begun to take root in other European regions (Barber, 1995: pp. 3-45; Duby, 1988: pp. 34-53 and 83-116; Flori, 1986: pp. 119-141 and pp. 223-248; Saul, 2012: pp. 7-20). In other words, one can see

⁴ *Infanção* was the name of an aristocratic category (nobles of the second rank) that was in regular use in Portugal until the fourteenth century.

that the chronological gap between Portugal and other European regions, in terms of the theoretical understanding of the knights' role, began at a very early stage, even though the role that such knights had played in the Hispania of that time had been highly significant. What may perhaps be considered different, however, is the way in which an apparently similar phenomenon was perceived. The greater social fluidity made possible by the Reconquest may have prevented such a rapid crystallization of the knight's noble status, since not all of them hailed from the environment of a socially superior family. It is even logical to admit that this dynamic of social ascension through war continued to prevail in the border regions until the conquest of the Algarve was finally concluded, in 1249. The charters that were granted to townships would seem to confirm this, since they continued to give privileges to men who possessed their own horses and weapons, while also maintaining a permanent incentive for the warlike facet of these communities.

The relevance of the *cavaleiros vilãos* may have played a decisive role in shaping the global ideology of chivalry. Since such knights owed their whole status to the fact that they fought upon horseback, it would be natural for them to use this image to prove their superior condition. It is not surprising therefore that the nobles should resort to other symbols and arguments to establish their own identity, even if they fought in a similar way and had a similarly bellicose mentality. In this way, it can be understood why it took such a long time for chivalry to become established as a superior honor and ideal, materialized in the form of a culture that was endowed with its own concepts, practices and mythology.

Even though there exist some data for an earlier period that might lead us to believe the opposite, one should stress that these episodes need to be interpreted with some caution. I am referring here to the formal investitures of the emperor Alfonso VII (r. 1126-1157) and Afonso Henriques (r. 1128-1185), the sons of two Burgundian nobles—Raymond and Henry—married to the daughters of Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile (r. 1072-1109). In these cases, the blessing of their arms on the altar seems to have served the eminently practical purpose of promoting them to a specific political status (Palacios Martín, 1988: pp. 156-165; Mattoso, 2011: pp. 54-56).

Yet the thirteenth century was a period of great transformation in Portuguese society, permitting the slow rise of an ennobled vision of the knight. First of all, as the Reconquest neared completion, there was a progressive reduction in the importance attached to the functional dimension of 'free' chivalry, such as that which was found in the border regions, while at the same time hierarchies were established and the perhaps more open and dynamic spirit of earlier times began to fade. In many townships, the former

knights began to be designated as *homens-bons*. However, and in particular in those municipalities that had for many decades found themselves at some remove from the southernmost *limes*, it is quite likely that the knights had become incorporated into the nobility, either through marriage (Mattoso, 1985: p. 133) or through their own definitive imposition within the local community (Ventura, 1985: pp. 31-71; Viana, 2012: pp. 61-81). Some twelfth-century charters were already beginning to draw a distinction between those who enjoyed this status *per naturam* and those who had been raised to knighthood in a new generation.

The thirteenth century should be considered as the period when knights definitively entered the ranks of the nobility.⁵ For the first half of the century, this interpretation is confirmed, above all, by the diplomatic sources. Having begun to make their first appearance in the twelfth century, yet only truly ‘exploding’ in the thirteenth century, the songs of the troubadours also bear witness to the ennoblement of knights, who were now considered to be members of the aristocracy with full entitlements (Miranda, 2004; Oliveira, 1994).

It is quite likely that this process began to accelerate around 1248, the first year in the reign of Afonso III (r. 1248-1279). When returning to Portugal after his long exile in France, where he had been made Count of Bolougne and also where he had been an assiduous member of the court of Louis IX (St. Louis), the new king and his peers played an important role in bringing Arthurian literature to Portugal (Castro, 1983: pp. 81-89; Miranda, 1996: pp. 93-99; 1998: pp. 1562-1564). Towards the middle of the thirteenth century, such conditions underpinned the triumph of the *classical* conception of chivalry: this was the thinking that had turned the knight into one of the essential symbols of feudal society, the bearer of a characteristic ideology and a warrior inspired by a particular mythology, although this was not originally a specificity of the Peninsular territory.

Whatever the case, the reality is that this literary genre fitted the newly formed socio-political structure like a glove. In the fourteenth century, Nuno Álvares Pereira was a fan of the stories of Galahad and the Round Table (*Estoria de Dom Nuno Alvres Pereira*: Ch. III, p. 8), which it seems were greatly appreciated by the Hospitaller friars. In the fifteenth century, King Duarte had the books of Tristan, Merlin and Galahad in his library (*Livro dos conselhos de el-rei D. Duarte*: p. 207).

⁵ In a similar chronology to that of the other Peninsular Christian kingdoms (Grassotti, 1969: vol. II, pp. 49-69), Alfonso IX of Leon (r. 1188-1230) promulgated a law in which the sons of villeins were forbidden from being made knights. The *Fuero de Navarra* also imposed the same restrictions (quoted by Martínez Ruiz, 1944: p. 208).

But the most useful view of this hierarchy can perhaps be obtained through the extensive and extremely rich Portuguese genealogical literature.⁶ Here, the knight is effectively portrayed as a *fidalgo*, as is proved by expressions such as “cavaleiros fidalgos” (*Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*: vol. I, 36F9), “boo” or “mui boo cavaleiro” (*Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*: vol. II, 43B3 and 43B5, pp. 10-11). However, such mentions relate to families who, despite the fact that they gravitated around the royal court, only in fact held an intermediate position in the hierarchy.⁷ At a lower level were to be found yet other lineages, such as the Urrôs, who were referred to as “cavaleiros de uu escudo e de ua lança” (knights with a shield and a lance) (*Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*: vol. II, 44T4, p. 28). Although they were considered nobles, it is understood that the expression essentially referred to those to be found at the base of the aristocratic pyramid. In some cases, these were lineages that enjoyed a merely regional expression; on other occasions, they belonged to the world of the court and were ready to rise up in the hierarchy through the granting of royal favors. Also living from the service of arms, one can also find “cavaleiros vassalos de rico-homem”⁸ (knights and vassals of a *rico-homem*).

The main families portrayed in this literary genre dispense with the need for chivalric panegyrics. The legitimization of the place that they occupied was based on other arguments, mainly ones that were genealogical in nature. Nonetheless, certain concepts need to be clarified. In fact, some of the principles that would later embody the chivalric ethic were already being followed, since these were expressions that were peculiar to a feudal and vassalic society. This was the case with the importance given to honor in the thinking of the nobility, being something that was obtained through feats of a warlike nature.⁹ The prologue of the *Livro Velho de Linhagens*, composed between 1270 and 1280, announced that the book’s intention was to tell the story of the lineages that, through the force of arms, had built the kingdom of Portugal (*Livro Velho de Linhagens*: prologue). In parallel to this, both the genealogical literature and the troubadour songs demonstrated a profound concern with loyalty, the exercise of power, violence and courtly love, revealing the contradictions and changes to be found in the society of those times. What can be understood is that, although these principles already formed an integral part of the

⁶ Produced fundamentally between entre 1270 and 1340, although there were also some reworkings made of this literature until the end of this century (Mattoso, 2011: pp. 267-280).

⁷ Such as the Portocarreiros or the Cunhas (Sottomayor-Pizarro, 1997: vol. II, pp. 909-912 and 941-944).

⁸ *Rico-homem* was an expression that referred to the highest level of the Portuguese aristocracy until the first half of the fourteenth century.

⁹ To use the concept of Richard W. Kaeuper, this was the “worship of Demi-god Prowess” (Kaeuper, 1999: pp. 129-160).

mentality of the Portuguese nobility, and, in particular, of certain segments of the group, they had not yet been synthesized into the globalizing ideology of chivalry that had appeared in the meantime on the other side of the Pyrenees (Keen, 2005: pp. 42-43), and which would only later triumph in Portugal.

In any case, it is possible to observe a series of changes in the second half of the thirteenth century. On the one hand, the figure of the knight had been ennobled and had conquered its place among the membership of the aristocratic class. On the other hand, a process had begun for the *elitization* of chivalry. Without losing sight of the existence of the military segment that occupied the bottom rungs and the intermediate positions of the nobility, the representation of knighthood and its mentality began to be attractive for even the most powerful sectors. At the turn of the thirteenth to the fourteenth century, the long reign of King Dinis (r. 1279-1325) proved to be an essential stage in the centralization of royal power. Among other things, the king sought to adopt all the cultural symbolism that characterized the aristocracy. Just like his grandfather Alfonso X of Leon and Castile (r. 1252-1284), Dinis was an active troubadour, and until then this cultural expression had been, above all, the voice of the nobility. But still symbolically, the king used a new image for his seal of authority, causing himself to be represented as an equestrian figure.

At this level, Dinis followed the political line of his Castilian grandfather, the “inventor of chivalry,” to use the expression of Jesús Rodríguez-Velasco (Rodríguez-Velasco, 2006: pp. XI-XXX).¹⁰ Naturally, it was not a question of highlighting a social group, but rather of crystallizing its legal existence and ennobling it as a class. Until then, as Rodríguez-Velasco said, “no quiere decir que los ricos hombres y los otros hombres honrados no sean caballeros, solamente que no es la caballería lo que los caracteriza” (I do not mean that rich men and the other honored men are not knights, only that it is not chivalry that characterizes them) (Rodríguez-Velasco, 1993: p. 60).¹¹ Title XXI of the *Segunda Partida* described in great deal the role that knights played in society and the need for them to be nobles. Furthermore, it also justified the place that they occupied in the political hierarchy, determining what was to be expected from them in terms of their behavior, and how the ceremony of their investiture should take place (*Segunda Partida*: título XXI, pp. 178-192). Almost two centuries later, this title was transcribed almost

¹⁰ On the reception and construction of the chivalric ideology in Leon and Castile, see also Palacios Martín, 1997/1998: pp. 79-100.

¹¹ In the article that is quoted here, the author emphasizes the importance of Alfonso X's reign as a time when a view of chivalry was synthesized that included, on the one hand, the multiple senses that the word had taken on in Iberian tradition, and, on the other hand, an honorary and political dimension that, above all, resulted in trans-Pyrenean influences.

completely into Portuguese law: in this case as the *Ordenações Afonsinas* (*Ordenações Afonsinas*: livro I, título LXIII, pp. 360-386).¹²

Even though the legislation that had been developed in the reign of the king known by the nickname of “The Wise” only came to have any concrete application in the time of Alfonso XI (r. 1312-1350), with the promulgation of the *Ordenamentos de Alcalá* in 1348 (Rodríguez-Velasco, 2006: p. XXX). Furthermore, other texts written in Hispania more or less within this same chronology had exalted the importance and honor of the warrior on horseback. Ramón Llull wrote that, through their honorable deeds, they had become lords and administrators of lands, the arms of the law and defense, while at the same time underlining the need for everyone to be knights: from the emperor to the king, and even all the way down to the simple knight with a shield (*Livro da Ordem de Cavalaria*: pp. 18-26). Don Juan Manuel referred to knighthood as the most honorable estate among laymen (*Libro del Caballero et del Escudero*: p. 44).

In the early fourteenth century, the field was already more favorable for the emergence of chivalry as a global ideological paradigm that was the hallmark of the king, the aristocracy and certain municipal elites wishing to break through the theoretically tri-functional hierarchy of society.¹³ The days of the original and early form of Iberian knighthood, free and even popular in nature, were numbered.

II. Fourteenth-fifteenth centuries: the triumph of the *honor of chivalry*

The late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries turned out to be an essential period in the theoretical construction of chivalry, conceiving of it as an *honor*. In fact, it was no longer a condition that applied only to the local warrior of a township or a nobleman of small or medium rank. It was now an important element that identified *fidalgos* and those skilled in the handling of weapons, while also representing a status that had its own code of values, shared by all those who had been dubbed as knights, whatever their socio-political origins.

A new conception was now being disseminated, which was clearly expressed in the episodes and sources that now bear witness to them. This is how one should understand the importance that King Pedro I (r. 1357-1367) attached to the dubbing of João Afonso Telo and his entry into knighthood when he was made Count of Barcelos. The ceremony

¹² A compilation of Portuguese laws, published between 1446 and 1448.

¹³ The tri-functional model is described clearly in all the texts of a legislative nature and all the treatises mentioned so far.

began with a nocturnal vigil by the new count at the monastery of São Domingos, in Lisbon, culminating in huge festivities the next day (*Crónica de D. Pedro*, Ch. XIV, pp. 60-61). The difference, however, was that João Afonso Telo was not a mere aristocrat: on the contrary, he was one of the most prominent *fidalgos* in fourteenth-century Portugal (Gomes, 1995: pp. 64-72).

The significant increase in the number of reported dubbing ceremonies, the use of a specific terminology and the descriptions of epic feats were also part of the chronicles written in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The writings of Fernão Lopes, Gomes Eanes de Zurara and Rui de Pina all shed a new light on chivalry, describing martial feats in incisive detail, rejoicing in the victory and boldness of the warriors and praising those who behaved with sufficient merit to earn the right to enter this higher order. At the same time, a new lexicon appeared in the Portuguese sources. For the first time, one can witness the appearance of such expressions as “estado cavaleiroso” (chivalric estate), “ordem de cavalaria” (chivalric order) (*Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*: cap. VIII, XIX and LXXXV, pp. 24, 61 and 230), and “honra de cavalaria” (chivalric honor) (*Livro dos Conselhos de el-rei D. Duarte*: p. 47). Furthermore, such important figures as kings now began to be included under the umbrella of chivalry, as when Fernão Lopes referred to João I (r. 1385-1433) fighting at the Battle of Aljubarrota like a valiant warrior, behaving like “a simple knight wishing to gain fame” (*Crónica de D. João I*: vol. II, Ch. XLI, p. 107).

Throughout this process, exogenous cultural influences continued to be important: not only those who arrived from the French regions, but also those that, in the late Middle Ages, were brought over by the English. These came, first of all, through the military alliance between Portugal and England, in the Peninsular conflicts in which the latter were involved (Russell, 2000), and which brought to Iberian battlefields men such as the Black Prince (Barber, 2003: pp. 192-206) and Edmund of Langley. It is important to remember that they were both the sons of Edward III, a king who was greatly influenced by the ideals of chivalry, the founder of the Order of the Garter and the victor of the Battle of Crécy (Saul, 2012: pp. 93-113). Secondly, influences of family nature must be taken into consideration, namely the marriage of King João I to Philippa of Lancaster, the daughter of John of Gaunt and the granddaughter of the same Edward III. In fact, everything would seem to suggest that Philippa played a decisive role in the education of the so-called *Illustrious Generation* (Santos Silva, 2014: pp. 168-177), since she was imbued with a superior

cultural background, and, according to the sources, was highly sensitive to the chivalric culture.¹⁴

Completed in 1450 by Gomes Eanes de Zurara, the *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta* had as its guiding thread the dubbing of the princes, stating that these had placed pressure on their father to organize a large-scale military expedition, seeing in the glory of victory the ideal moment for being knighted (*Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*: Ch. IX, p. 29). Furthermore, it was under the orders of these men and their successors that the fifteenth-century Portuguese chroniclers wrote their works. This shows that, in the late Middle Ages, the royal court was the main center for the dissemination of this whole culture, the fruit of a fusion between chivalry and royalty that, to a certain extent, emptied chivalry of its original singularity as the expression of the men from the townships and of the ‘rebellious’ nobility that resisted the monarch’s authoritarian power. In the same way, the aristocracy was seduced into sharing its values with the kings, which was also a strategy for the political consolidation of the new ruling dynasty that had established its position after its victory at the Battle of Aljubarrota, in 1385. Chivalry began to be the common language of the privileged class, being materialized in the form of a code of values that was obeyed by all those who were dubbed: from the king right down to the most insignificant knight.

The summary written by King Duarte containing the points that were to be included in the sermon to be delivered at the funeral of Nuno Álvares Pereira, the constable of the realm, (*Livro dos Conselhos de el-rei D. Duarte*: pp. 225-229) included references to his warrior virtues, as well as his manifestations of loyalty and piety, stressing the example that Nuno Álvares had been for knights: by truly and loyally loving his lord the king, to whom he had always been loyal and obedient, and by living in harmony and understanding with everyone. Despite everything, it cannot be ignored – and perhaps it should even be highlighted – the fact that this is an idealized vision, belonging to a ceremony that was conceived as an instrument of royal propaganda. On several occasions, Nuno Álvares Pereira entered into open disagreement with the king and acted without the latter’s knowledge. The best example is to be found in the antecedents of the Battle of Aljubarrota, when the sources tell us that the constable abandoned the royal troops in order to engage by himself in battle with Juan I, king of Castille (r. 1379-1390) (*Crónica de D. João I*: vol. II, Ch. XXX, pp. 69-72).

Whatever the case, the important thing here is to analyze the broader details of the theoretical construction of the role of the knights, who by this time were fully integrated

¹⁴ This was the generation of the children of João I: King Duarte, the Infantes Pedro, Henrique (Henry the Navigator), João, Fernando and Isabel, who was married to Filipe *the Good*, Duke of Burgundy.

into a much more clearly defined hierarchy of powers. Hence, the importance that was attached by King Duarte to the constable's feats is always to be considered in keeping with his service to the king, never mentioning the extent to which his desire for honor and glory might run counter to the king's orders and even be at odds with the ultimate good of the kingdom. In the same way, the summary held by King Duarte consciously ignores the individualism that runs throughout the whole of the constable's biography, where Nuno Álvares is presented as a man who was always keen to perform resounding feats of arms, even if this meant disobeying his superiors (*Crónica de D. Fernando*, Ch. CXI-CXIII, pp. 433-439, Ch. CXXXVII-CXXXVIII, pp. 481-484; *Estoria de Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira*: Ch. X, pp. 19-21; Ch. XII, pp. 25-33).

This portrait did not clash with the *fortaleza* (fortitude) that was expected of knights. The prologue of the section that is dedicated to knights in the *Ordenações Afonsinas* begins by stressing the "effort, honor and power" that characterized them and placed them in the position of *defenders*, responsible for protecting and expanding the kingdom (*Ordenações Afonsinas*: Livro I, título LXIII, pp. 360-361). This is why Prince João said that the men of his estate could not be honored unless they achieved chivalry, and unless this was obtained after a clear demonstration of prowess. At this time, examples were evoked that had been told in the Arthurian romances, whose adventures had inspired a wide audience.

It was the profound inculcation of this mentality that inspired the warlike feats that took place in North Africa, beginning with the adventure of Ceuta (1415), so greatly desired by the Infantes. Some years later, in around the 1430s, it was the Infante D. Fernando who demanded to be given a similar opportunity to gain his spurs (*Crónica de D. Duarte*: Ch. X, pp. 512-514). It was not sufficient to organize great festivities in order to be dubbed: it was necessary to go into the battlefield, undertake a perilous deed and run the risk of losing one's life.¹⁵ Unfortunately for the Infante, his wishes were brought to an end in the ill-fated expedition to Tangier in 1437, which resulted in his being taken prisoner in Fez, where he died in 1443.

When he gave his opinion on the war in North Africa, Prince João placed it on a set of scales whose two weights were *wisdom* (*siso*) and *chivalry*. Wisdom told him that the war should not be fought, while, in the meantime, he lined up the arguments that sustained that position. Next, the Infante listed the reasons for the display of chivalry. His opinion led him to establish a clear dichotomy: wisdom and chivalry were, in the eyes of Prince João, two quite separate and incompatible things. The first of these told him that one

¹⁵ Such as the situations that João I attempted to organize in order to make it possible for his three eldest sons to become knights (Zurara, *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*: Ch. VII, pp. 24-26).

shouldn't sacrifice what is certain in favor of the uncertain; the second, on the contrary, called for the taking of risks, even if they were truly rash (*Livro dos Conselhos de el-rei D. Duarte*: pp. 43-49).

The late Middle Ages in Portugal have bequeathed us enough testimonies to prove that this ideology was deeply felt and that it was taken literally by those who were familiar with it. Quoted as typical examples are the almost suicidal episodes involving the young constable Nuno Álvares Pereira, but also the somewhat risky wishes of Afonso V (r. 1438-1481), who is portrayed to us as a king "with a desire to do battle" (*Crónica do Conde D. Duarte de Meneses*: Ch. CLIV, p. 352). The most striking episode was the mounted attack that the monarch sought to launch in the Benacofu hills, in 1464. Ambushed by the enemy, the king and his knights retreated hurriedly, but not before D. Duarte de Meneses, the captain of Alcácer-Seguir, had sacrificed his life in order to protect the monarch (*Crónica do Conde D. Duarte de Meneses*: Ch. CLIV, pp. 354-355). As can be seen, such wishes did not always end well. While it is true that Afonso V escaped, although his salvation cost the life of one of the most illustrious Portuguese warriors in North Africa, others were not so lucky. This was the case with Prince Fernando, condemned to a long period of captivity until his death, but also with another famous Portuguese knight: Álvaro Vaz de Almada. After a life of adventures, spent serving Prince Pedro on his journeys across Eastern Europe (Martins, 2013: pp. 322-323), Álvaro Vaz de Almada, the Count of Avranches and one of the Portuguese knights of the Order of the Garter, was to meet an epic end. Following the end of Prince Pedro's regency, which had lasted until such time as Afonso V reached his majority and was old enough to reign, and the conflicts which duly arose from this, Álvaro demonstrated unbreakable loyalty to his lord and master. Both had sworn that, were one of them to die, the other would not outlive him, as did in fact come to happen in the ill-fated Battle of Alfarrobeira. After receiving the news of the Infante's death, the Count of Avranches threw himself into the midst of the enemy and fought until his death, after which he was beheaded and lay for several days unburied on the battlefield (*Crónica de D. Afonso V*: Ch. CXXII, pp. 747-748; Faria, 2006: pp. 61-86).

During the fifteenth century, the permanent warfront in North Africa became the setting for keeping alive the chivalric spirit. Kings and grandees passed through there, hoping to perform a great feat, as well as aristocrats of a lesser standing or even many members of the common people, inspired by their search for the honor of chivalry, an ennoblement, or just some material gains. The various chronicles of Zurara are full of such examples. Countless incursions into enemy territory are recounted, at the end of which new

knights were frequently made. These raids involved a mixture of “*honra e proveito*” (honor and self-interest) (Sousa, 1997: p. 368). Meneses’ chronicles relate the deeds of the captains of the North African strongholds, organizing heroic resistance to endless sieges and leading raids into enemy territory, killing and pillaging. These were model knights, rising in rank through the exemplary service that they rendered to the king’s cause.

However, just as or even more important than what effectively happened in Africa was the recording of these feats in written form. For, otherwise, one would not understand the care that the late medieval chroniclers took in narrating all of these episodes in such detail. The details of the battles and the heroic feats, crowned with the making of a new knight, certainly delighted those who read these accounts and the many people who listened to these stories being told at court: whether at the king’s palace or at the palace of a great lord (Monteiro, 1997: pp. 210-214).

Conclusion

In Portugal, the term *miles* only began to gain definitive acceptance as a category of the nobility from the thirteenth century onwards. By attaching great importance to the functional dimension of knighthood, the society of the period of the Christian Reconquest ensured that the aristocracy was not the only class to enjoy the privilege of fighting wars on horseback. In the final analysis, this sharing of functions may have removed the need for adopting an image that might eventually unite nobles and villeins.

The rise of chivalry as a form of *honor*, endowed with its own ideology and symbols, took place gradually from the thirteenth century onwards, accompanied, among other things, by the reception of Arthurian literature, and contributing to the elitization of the figure of the knight, which had now become attractive even to royalty itself. These processes were consolidated throughout the fourteenth century. Contributing to this state of affairs were, on the one hand, the structural changes taking place in Portuguese society, and, on the other hand, exogenous influences, transmitted through the presence on Iberian battlefields of the most illustrious bearers of chivalric values (such as the sons of Edward III), as well as the marriage of João I to Philippa of Lancaster. In the fifteenth century, this spirit was simultaneously a cultural manifestation of the royal court, the ideological expression of a segment of the aristocratic group—knights as a “class”—and a distinctive mark of values that united royalty, aristocracy and some municipal elites, especially those from the townships in the center and south of the kingdom. Throughout this century, the

war in North Africa was a scenario that permanently fuelled the adventurous inspirations that defined the knight's way of life.

As both a way of life and a literary construction, chivalric ideals remained in vigorous health until the sixteenth century. They accompanied the Portuguese diaspora in the construction of the State of India and the adventures in Morocco, which ended in what was, both for the king and for the Portuguese elites, the ill-fated episode of Alcácer-Quibir. However, for the time being, the history of this long survival will have to wait for other *chevauchées* operations.

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The Muslim Minority in the Portuguese Kingdom (1170-1496): Identity and Writing¹

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Abstract

The historical perspective of the Portuguese Muslim minority (just like that of the Jewish one) was subjected to a mediated discourse, based mainly upon the documentation that was produced or controlled by the Christian powers. Even so, it is possible to trace the identity marks of this minority in the written records, mainly in the production of Islamic Law or in other documents that recorded services rendered to the Portuguese king in Islamic territories. A bipartite identity is expressed in Portuguese, in the adscription of Muslims to the King and the Realm, in their assumption of the legal status of *mouros forros* (free Moors), and in Arabic, as *garīb*, in their relationship with the Islamic *umma*.

Keywords

Muslim minority, Portugal, Islamic law, *garīb*, Arabic language

Resumo

A perspectiva histórica da minoria muçulmana Portuguesa (assim como da judaica) foi submetida a um discurso mediado, porque baseado principalmente na documentação elaborada ou controlada pelo poder cristão. Apesar disso, é possível traçar as marcas identitárias dessa minoria nos registros escritos, principalmente na produção de Lei Islâmica ou em documentos que registam serviços prestados ao rei Português em territórios islâmicos. A identidade bipartida é expressa em Português, na adscrição dos muçulmanos ao Rei e ao Reino, através da sua assunção do estatuto jurídico de *mouros forros*, e em Árabe, como *garīb*, na sua relação com a *umma* Islâmica.

Palavras-chave

Minoria muçulmana, Portugal, Lei Islâmica, *garīb*, Árabe

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The Christian conquest of the Iberian Peninsula inevitably meant the incorporation of Muslim communities into the new kingdoms that were being formed. Throughout Hispania, the twelfth century witnessed the spread of legal milestones that progressively transformed the status of the captive *Moors* and war slaves and incorporated them into free communities, organized by free and taxable individuals. These *Mudéjares* thus became legitimized through charters granted by different lords, whose power was based on taxation clauses derived from Islamic law. As if it had been placed on the other side of a mirror, Christian and Latin Hispania symmetrically reproduced the reality of Arab and Muslim Al-Andalus by incorporating ethnic and religious minorities. However, while the latter reality derived from Islam's own jurisprudence (the *dimma*), in the former case, such protection took the form of an application of analogical reasoning, based on previously experienced circumstances and the pragmatism of the political praxis itself (Burns, 1984: 59).

The Portuguese kingdom was no exception. The two dates referred to in the title of this text establish the limits for the existence of these Muslim groups. These dates, just like any others in History, are used as a merely indicative frame of reference, pertaining, in this concrete case, to two legislative acts made by different kings. The first of these, dated March 1170, was the charter that created the *free Moors* of Lisbon, Almada, Palmela and Alcácer, issued by Portugal's first king, Afonso Henriques; the second was the edict promulgated by Manuel I, in December 1496, ordering the forced conversion or, as another option, the expulsion of all Jews and Muslims from the kingdom. There was therefore a cycle, initiated by the charter and ending with the edict.

Ultimately, however, these acts did not embrace the full reality that they were intended to cover. In the first case, the charter represented the beginning of the legitimization of the Muslim communities, but it did not exclude the prior existence of free Muslims, in parallel with other *mauri*, a status that was synonymous with that of slaves/war captives. In the second case, expulsion did not in fact apply to all Muslims, given that the king himself allowed for certain exceptions (Soyer, 2007: 243-253; Barros, 2007: 595-611).

An essential question needs to be asked in this analytical context: what was the role played by the Muslims themselves in the historical narrative of the Muslim minority in the Portuguese kingdom? In fact, the collection of documents relating to this situation was overwhelmingly (if not totally) produced by the victors—that is to say by the different Christian powers that first settled in the territory and then later consolidated and expanded it. Thus the written word represented the material expression of these powers. However, this does not mean that the Jewish and Muslim communities did not, in turn, produce their

own written expression of their situation, necessarily in dialogue with the others. But the preservation of documents, beyond the vicissitudes of fate, implies a strong ideological component in the very construction of what will later become an archive. For medieval documentation, the consequences of the edict of 1496 were disastrous, making the writings produced by Muslims and Jews if not ideologically conspicuous, at least completely redundant. Apart from a few extremely rare exceptions, the direct voices of these minorities have not reached down to us. A silence made deafening by the emptiness of their own archives.

This historical narrative is thus constructed according to a mediated discourse. Mediated, because it is based upon documentation produced by the Christian majority and originating, in the Portuguese realm, mostly from the royal chancery, but also from religious institutions (in particular, property contracts) and, to a lesser extent, from municipalities. Thus the Christian ruling powers are the subjects of a discourse in which Muslims appear only as their object. But this does not imply political inertia or institutional and/or individual passivity, or even these communities' implicit acquiescence in the practices of the different powers. The royal documentation, in many cases, records several complaints made by the communities or by a few of their members, and ratifies their claims. Nevertheless, the discourse itself is always *Christian*, in an inevitable selection from the *Other's* mediated voice. This text will attempt to filter out from those writings the records that translate the very own and unique voice of the Muslims from the Portuguese kingdom.

1. The 1170 charter

The 1170 charter, granted by the first Portuguese king and his son, the future Sancho I, is the founding document affording recognition to Portugal's Muslim communities. A new legal category emerged from the charter, that of the *mouros forros* (free Moors), in contrast to the great majority of Muslims who were not yet liberated in the twelfth century and were thus globally referred to just by the word *Moors*. The synonymy between this term and the status of slavery blatantly reflected a society that was at war, in which the territory remained under dispute with the Muslim powers. An apparent paradox: the underlying ideology called for a *Christian Conquest*; thus the legitimacy of the Portuguese monarch himself was based upon his status as a warrior lord, fighting precisely against the *infidel*. Yet, even so, the 1170 charter recovered the Muslims' political participation in the

Christian kingdom and legitimized an administrative framework that incorporated those very same *infidels*. All of this resulted in a complex range of registers, in which the political praxis created a new dimension and went far beyond the parameters imposed by the abstract ideological discourse of the Christian conquest.

The text of the charter itself is extremely significant. Written in Latin, it followed the standard diplomatic language of other charters written at that time. After a religious invocation (“In dei nomine”), it begins by identifying those who were issuing the charter (“Ego Rex Alfonsus portugalis una cum filio meo Rege Sancio”). Next comes a description of the written act (“facio cartam fidelitatis et firmitudinis”), and finally the addressees are identified (“vobis mauris qui estis forri in Ulixbuna et in Almadana et in Palmela et in Alcazar”). There is nothing in this format that reflects anything other than the representation of the king’s power, in a hierarchical and unilateral posture of bestowing royal grace and favor. What should be noticed, however, is the term *mouro* [Moor]. This referent is used in isolation as a synonym for slave/captive. Defining a new legal situation required a certain terminological precision, resulting in the notion of “Moors who are free” (“mouros que são forros”), which later evolved into the more synthetic term of *mouros forros* (free Moors).

The term *Moor* ended up assimilating the term *Muslim* in all of its variables, according to both an external perception and a classificatory process established by the agents and the language of power. This was a homogenizing process that completely purged whole categories of the expression of identity that had been used in earlier times (such as Berbers, Arabs, *muladí*), but, at the same time, it led to the integration of these *Muslims* into the new kingdom that was being formed. The term *mouro* became a referent that would progressively be internalized by the very subjects to whom it was applied.³

The contents of the charter can be divided into two parts. The first part afforded the Muslims the monarch’s protection and established the legal principle of autonomy. This prevented Christians and Jews from having any power over the community and established the position of *alcaide*, the person who would be responsible for the respective jurisdiction. The second part, appropriately starting with the words “et hoc facio ut” (meaning “and this I do, so that”) established the fiscal charges and the services that would be provided in return for these: the charge of one *morabitino* for adults, the *aljitra*, the *azaque* and the tithe levied upon labor, and finally, the cultivation of the king’s vineyards and the

³ This “nationalization” of the Muslims was a process that was followed in all the Iberian Kingdoms, taking the same form in Castile (*moro*), although the term *Sarasin* was preferred in Aragón.

sale of his figs and olive oil, at the prices practiced by Christians, a third of which was to be put aside for the king (Barros, 2005).

It was precisely in these clauses that the voice of the Muslims could be heard in its most direct form. Indeed, the preceding excerpt had already translated a few words of Arabic origin that, like so many others, have since entered the Portuguese language. This was the case with the terms *forro* (from the Arabic *ḥurr* “free”) or *alcaide* (*al-qā'id* “chief, commander”), the latter having a military connotation that lasted throughout Portugal’s medieval context. But *alcaide* now acquired a specific meaning for the Muslim communities. As the text specifies, this magistrate was, in fact, closer to an *al-qāḍī*, “a judge”, which, in Portuguese, became the word “*alcaide*”. In fact, until the end of the fifteenth century, the Muslim *alcaide* was the supreme authority for Muslim communities, in the double sense that had now become attached to the word: an external one, making the *alcaide* the Muslim representative in dealings with the other Christian powers; and an internal one, acting as the judge for the community.

These words thus naturally formed part of the process of the very creation of the Portuguese language, which, like other Iberian languages, incorporated several terms borrowed from Arabic. The names that were given to taxes belong, however, to another category, and were used specifically in reference to the Muslim minority. The *alḥitra* and the *açoque* clearly demonstrate this fact. Both correspond to the term *al-ḡakāt*, the only tribute payment established in the Koran (and one of the five pillars of Islam), taking the form of a legal almsgiving that was levied upon all sorts of assets, chattels and real estate. The *alḥitra* (*ḡakāt al-ḥitra* or *ḡakāt al-ḥitr* – “almsgiving at the end of a fast” because it was to be paid at the end of the month of Ramadan) was levied *per capita* on every person, regardless of their sex and age (Abboud-Hagggar, 1997a: 170-171). This division of the *al-ḡakāt* between property and individuals did perhaps correspond to an Almoravid division of this legal obligation.

Thus, the very framework of taxes and tributes in these communities derived from a Muslim discourse, continuing the Islamic Law that had been created by their own legislators. Another clause also corroborates this reading, since it introduces another concept taken from Islamic jurisprudence, although it does not adopt its specific term. The *per capita* tax of one *morabitino* (another term borrowed from Arabic) that was to be paid by those about to start their economic life (“*ex quo tempore victui necessaria ganare potueritis*”) refers to both the idea of age and to the male gender. In fact, in a later charter already written in Portuguese, the one granted to the community of Moura in 1296, this idea is clearly stated,

since we can read that this tax was due to be paid by all *Moors* aged 15 or more (Marreiros (ed.), 2012: 481-482). The tribute thus corresponded to the *jizya*, a tax that was levied upon non-Muslim male adults integrated into the *dār al-Islām* (Islamic territory), as a symbol of their submission, and converted them into *ahl al-dimma* (people under protection). The mirror thus reflects an inverted reality, this time the levying of an Islamic tax upon another minority, in a different historical context.

In any case, the use of Islamic taxation in a Christian context introduced a Muslim discourse, produced by Muslim agents, that would be repeated over the following centuries. It was also a discourse that was reproduced at the royal chancery, because it was in the immediate interest of the Crown to appropriate this minority's discretionary income. Yet it was a discourse that also established a bond, legitimized in writing and involving not only the judicial acknowledgment of these communities by the monarch, but also an implicit ratification of the Portuguese king, as their legitimate sovereign, by the Muslims. It was a bond that therefore operated in two ways.

2. Islamic Law, Muslim Identity

The 1170 charter established a new communicative context for the relationship between the monarch and his *free Moors* (*mouros forros*). Furthermore, it was constructed in such a way that it served as the archetype that, at a much later date, would be applied to other Muslim communities, such as the one under the jurisdiction of Lisbon, since the Almohad offensive of 1190-91 had limited its applicability to that city after the recovery of Almada, Palmela and Alcácer as Islamic territory.

From the point of view of taxation, this influence of Islamic law served as a structuring factor throughout the life of the Muslim minority in the Portuguese kingdom. From the outset, the jurisprudence of Lisbon's lawmakers left its mark on a constant stream of laws implemented according to the needs and interests of the ruling monarch. Indeed, the texts of several charters state that, in all cases, Lisbon's jurisprudence should be followed, in what amounted to a privileged relationship between the Portuguese monarch and his *Moors* from the Lisbon *comuna*. This serves to explain how, through a mediated discourse, Islamic law was to leave its mark on medieval Portuguese life, as can be seen by the preservation of these documents, a situation that is justified only by the fact that these were royal charters, and therefore written in Portuguese.

The first documented application of Lisbon's jurisprudence across the whole kingdom only appeared in 1315 (much later than the granting of the first charter). It dealt with doubts that had arisen about which tax to apply to cattle belonging to Muslims from Moura. These questions were answered by the *juiç dos direitos régios* (judge of royal rights) of the Lisbon *comuna*, Abel Focem (Abū-l-Ḥusayn), who determined the payment of the *quarentena* (one fortieth) on goats, cows and sheep, and the tithe of one tenth on the offspring of horses, donkeys and mules.⁴

The tithe and *quarentena* would be included in the concept of the *al-ḡakāt*, which appeared in a later document. It was defined as *aziqui*, the equivalent to the Portuguese *tithe*, which consisted in paying the monarch “out of ten, one, and out of forty, one”, “as [Muslims] gave to the Moorish king when the land belonged to the Moors” (Herculano (ed.), 1856: 98). In this text, we find the same clauses established for Moura, but adding one more group of animals, camels, to the list of horses, donkeys and mules. Camels were, indeed, a category of animals on which the *al-ḡakāt* was levied, even though there are no references to such animals ever having existed in the kingdom of Portugal. The abstract discourse of the law takes precedence over the pragmatism of everyday life.

Furthermore, this document⁵ constitutes one of the most significant testimonies to a Muslim discourse, even though, like so many others, it could be overridden by royal orders. Written during the reign of João I (1385-1433), it formed part of the broad administrative reforms implemented by this sovereign, who was confronted with what amounted to a general crisis, further exacerbated by the armed confrontation taking place with the Castilians. The systematization and recovery of an Islamic fiscal policy was indeed one of this monarch's priorities, resulting in a detailed text that compiled all the different aspects of the taxes imposed on the kingdom's Muslims. This task, resulting from an exhaustive survey of the charters and other royal documents, was entrusted to Jufez, a notary from the Lisbon *comuna*, who was “fully versed in the law of the Moors”. He was also the only person to sign the document in both Portuguese and Arabic. Thus, he signed his name in Portuguese, “Jufiz”, and provided his fuller identification in Arabic characters: Yūsuf b. Ibrahīm b. Yūsuf al-Lahmī (Herculano (ed.), 1856: 100).

A number of aspects to be found in this document should, however, be stressed. First, the definition of the *al-ḡakāt*, which we have already looked at, and of the *al-fītra*, which was defined as a tax payable by all Muslim men and women on the first day of

⁴ Torre do Tombo (T.T.), Chancelaria de D. Dinis, Book 3, fl. 90.

⁵ There are two versions of this document: the original signed by the Muslim notary – published in (Herculano (ed.), 1856: 98-100) and a later copy - T.T., Gaveta 10, maço 12, doc. 17, fls. 9 v. – 11 v.

January, consisting of “six *dinheiros* of old money”. Second, the maintenance of the *jizya*, which was explicit, although it was not named, as was also the case in the texts of other charters. Thus, as soon as they started their working life, all Muslim males had to contribute with the so-called *libra de cabeça* (one pound per head), also due to be paid on the first day of January.

The concepts of Islamic law were thus subverted, to some extent, in a fiscal policy that had been adapted to the context of a Christian kingdom (namely the date of payment of the *al-fitra*, supposedly due on the final month of Ramadan). However, the principles pertaining to Islamic law and most of its terminology were retained. And, in this sense, we can see a formal corroboration of the link of legitimacy that united the monarch to *his* Moors, in a (not entirely precise) perception of an uninterrupted transfer of the Muslim power to the Portuguese monarch (“as [Muslims] gave to the Moorish king when the land belonged to the Moors”).

Its main interpreters were the jurists of Lisbon, who were strictly dependent upon a royal bureaucracy, in which they participated. The above-mentioned text mentions the *comuna* of Lisbon three times, silencing all others, even though it is addressed to “all Moors, male and female”. Of significant importance here is a clause referring to the charter of Lisbon and other *comunas* “to which such a charter was given.” This clause refers to the election of their respective *alcaldes*, although this was, however, dependent on royal ratification (expressed for the first time in the charter of Moura, in 1296). The following clause, which related only to Lisbon, mentioned the old custom still adhered to in this community of having a Muslim judge, to whom all processes relating to royal property were referred, the so-called *juiç dos direitos régios* (judge of royal rights). Indeed, it was this judge who, in 1315, provided the ruling about the taxes to be levied on cattle owned by the Muslims of Moura, as mentioned above.

The document pointed to a pre-determined objective: the standardization of Muslim taxation based upon the Lisbon jurisdiction and the writings of its jurists, extendable to the other communities of the kingdom. In a clear program of royal centralization, it sought to eliminate the differences that had become consolidated between the different Muslim communities of the kingdom, and, above all, to maximize the revenue from taxation.

Another diploma from the same reign also formed part of this standardization program. It dealt with the Islamic law of succession (*‘ilm al-farā’id*), through which the monarch also became a beneficiary. This measure had a dual perspective. On the one hand,

it was issued within the context of manorial rights, while on the other hand, it dealt with the legitimization of the Portuguese monarch as an heir to the Muslim rulers, and therefore as a natural depositary of this heritage.

There are two diplomas that were related to this issue. The oldest one (which, as we mentioned earlier, dates back to the reign of João I)⁶ began by referring to the fact that it was an answer to a question raised by Álvaro Peres, a royal official, about how the monarch should inherit in the event of the widowhood of either a female or a male *ego*. This answer, drawn up by four personalities from the Lisbon *comuna* (Master Bucar, Brafome Capelão [Chaplain], probably the community's *imām*, Mafomede of Avis, and Faras), was therefore subordinated to the reiterated expression “the king inherits” (“el-rei herda”) or to its negative version (“the king does not inherit”—“el-rei não herda”), according to the different clauses stated.⁷ Fifteen articles refer directly to the law of succession, establishing under what circumstances someone may make a will and thereby bequeath a third of their assets (all Muslims over ten years old could do so), while three articles refer to marriage.

This diploma would, however, be subjected to changes during the reign of Afonso V (1438-1481). Having found the earlier declaration to be “imperfect, and very obscure,” the monarch delegated to the *alcaide* of the Lisbon *comuna* the task of assembling “all educated Moors who are knowledgeable of their laws” to correct and add whatever was necessary. The final result would be published in the General Ordinances of the Kingdom (*Ordenações Gerais do Reino*), under the significant title of “About how the King should inherit from the free Moors living in his Kingdoms and Domains” (Albuquerque (ed.), 1984: ll. 222-242). The recognition of Islamic law was therefore materialized as a constituent part of the legislative body, even if this was performed from a perspective that, by subverting the purpose of that inheritance law, assimilated it into the broader concept of the king's rights.

The difference between the diplomas was to be found, not so much in the alterations to their substance, but in the greater development given, in the latter case, to the already stated clauses or to the introduction of others, which had previously been omitted. It was indeed the meticulous style of the second diploma that created such a distance between the two documents, suggesting that the remodeling of João I's survey was due to

⁶ There are two copies of this document: T.T., Inquirições de D. Afonso III, Book 4, fls. 14 v. – 15 v.; IDEM, Gaveta 10, maço 12, doc. 17, fls. 9 v. – 13 .

⁷ For example, “with a male son, the king does not inherit a single thing through the laws of the Moors”, but “with a brother or sister of the mother, the king inherits when the deceased does not have any other heirs”.

its broad character. This very amplitude created doubts regarding which criteria to use in concrete cases. The discourse was thus amplified, suggesting a greater knowledge of formal Islamic law, (*fiqh*) *malikite*. Thus, for example, the text of the *Ordenações* stated the prescription of a marriage of a male *ego* to four women, omitted in the earlier diploma, which had only contemplated a monogamous structure (always singularizing *the wife*), according to the everyday customs of these communities.

In this way, the discourse of the Muslim minority was incorporated into the very legislation of the Kingdom, which was thus marked by Islamic lawmaking. Even though it was an indirect discourse, because it derived from the monarch's immediate interests, it reflected the role played by Muslim lawmakers from Lisbon and revealed significant traces of their cultural identity.

Certain important aspects of this legal production should be stressed. First, the absence, in the above-mentioned general laws of Portugal, of any similar legal status for the Jewish minority, even though this was considerably more significant in both demographic and social terms. Second, the differences that we can see in comparison with other Muslim minorities from the Iberian Peninsula. There are indeed a few manuscripts of Islamic law to be found in other vernacular languages, such as the *Llibre de la Çuna e Xara*, in Catalan (Barceló, 1989), and the so-called *Leyes de Moros* which, like the *Breviário Sunni*, belonged to Castilian culture (Gayangos, 1853). In the first case, the document is a compilation of Islamic law (*ṣarīʿa*) and normative statements dealing with the relationship between the minority and the majority (namely charters and royal privileges granted to Catalan communities). The *Leyes de Moros*, on the other hand, represents a translation (albeit partial, fragmented and abbreviated), of the judicial treatise *Kitāb Al-Tafrīṭ*, by Ibn Al-Ğallāb (d. 988), widely known among the *mudéjares* and, later, among Iberian *mouriscos* (Haggag, 1997b: 163-201). The *Breviario Sunni*, structured, like the latter document, according to the *furūʿ*⁸ system, is by Isā ibn Ğābir (or, in the vernacular, Iça Jedih, Gebir or Gidelli), the *muftí* and *alfaquí* of Segovia's *aljama*, who completed it in 1462. However, in the latter two cases, we are dealing with the same abstract universe of the translation of Sunnite orthodoxy, without the intention to use it in the context of these communities' everyday life. Just like the first, a compilation that included both Christian and Islamic rules, it was part of a more pragmatic context. But, even so, it did not constitute a judicial code for these communities. In the Portuguese case, on the contrary, it was the very context of the effective applicability

⁸ *Furūʿ* ("ramifications"), meaning the practical applications of the law (as opposed to its theoretical basis (*uṣūl*)) is divided into two groups: *al-ʿibādāt* (questions related to religious worship) and *al-muʿamalāt* ("acts or juridical facts").

of this Islamic law that stood out in the text, inasmuch as it had been elaborated as an initiative of the Crown.

Finally, emphasis should be placed on the development of Muslim law (*fiqh*) during the second half of the fifteenth century, possibly brought about by closer contacts with the North African population, due to the Portuguese expansion in the Maghreb (starting with the conquest of Ceuta, in 1415).⁹ A knowledge of Arabic was of paramount importance for this achievement. A manuscript of the *History of the Judges of Cordoba* (*Kitāb al-qudā bi-Qurtuba*), by Muḥammad Al-Ḥusanī (d. 961), which belonged to the famous Ibn Baṭṭūta and is now kept at Oxford's Bodleian Library, refers directly to this. Indeed, following the note that mentions Ibn Baṭṭūta as the original owner of this manuscript, there is an indication of its subsequent owner: 'Umār b. Ahmad b. Yusuf al-Maqdisī, of Portugal ("bi arḍi Burtuqāl"), and later his son Ibrāhīm b. 'Umār b. Ahmad, *al-faqīh*, nicknamed Sugraq ("šahīr bi Sugraq"), in the year 875 of the Hegira calendar (1470) (Al-Ḥusanī 1972: 239; Aljoxani 1985: 32). The reference to the fact that the latter was a jurist (*al-faqīh*) testifies to the importance that was given to the education of these legal specialists in a transnational and Arabic-speaking context, similar to what may be noted in the other Muslim communities of the Iberian Christian kingdoms.¹⁰

3. The Arabic language and its authors: the *gurarabū*

The expression of the identity of these Islamic communities can also be seen in their use of Arabic not only as a liturgical language, but also as a language of communication among the members of the *umma*, in its broadest sense. Bilingualism was one of the characteristics of the *Mudéjar* elites (as can be seen from the previous analysis), yet the question remains as to whether this was an individual feature or whether it can be considered a necessary social tool.¹¹ The recording in Arabic of the minutes of an Islamic brotherhood in Toledo, the *Ġāmi' al-waḍī'a*, dating from 1401 to 1414, proved the social function of the Arabic language within the community itself.¹² For Portugal, however, there

⁹ The circulation of members of the Maghreb's elite (as captives but also as free individuals) can mostly be noted in Lisbon (Barros, 2007: 173-180).

¹⁰ The same conclusion directs our attention, once again, to the situation in Spain (Haggag, 2008: 99-104).

¹¹ In relation to bilingualism as an individual feature and not as a social tool, for other temporal and spatial contexts in the Iberian Peninsula, see Areces (2003); Chavarría Vargas (2004).

¹² Echevarria and Mayor (2010).

are few medieval texts written in Arabic, whatever material is considered (perhaps because this subject has not yet been thoroughly investigated).

The essence of the identity of the Muslim minority is nevertheless fully etched in stone. The gravestones that have survived in Portugal, written in Arabic, reveal a full sense of the sacred, using the Arabic-Islamic onomastic structure, as well as the dating of the Hegira calendar (Borges, 1998). Thus, death represents the return to a finally purified cosmos, the parameters of which cannot be replicated in the universe of the living. In contrast, the archival documentation enshrines the dialectics of the living experience, necessarily subordinated to the Portuguese language. However, the uniformity of the Portuguese is sometimes colored by the addition of Arabic addenda to the text written on parchment and/or paper. This can be seen in the signatures in Arabic, of which the oldest specimen detected until now seems to be the one of Yūsuf b. Ibrahīm b. Yūsuf al-Lahmī, referred to earlier. As a Lisbon notary, he signed the diploma in both Portuguese and Arabic, limiting himself, in the first case, to the identification of his own first name (“Jufiz”). In the second, he wrote a more complete personal identification, adding to his first name, that of *nasab*, in reference to his father and his paternal grandfather, and a tribal *nisba*, which links him to the Yemenite tribe of Lahm (Herculano (ed.), 1856: 100).

This is the only complete signature known so far.¹³ Some others can be found in different categories of documents, although these are greatly abbreviated and date from the fifteenth century.¹⁴ One set of signatures that refers, once again, to Lisbon, should nevertheless be emphasized. These were produced after 29 May 1473, the date of a marriage contract made between Muslims from that city, on the back of which the signatures were inscribed. This document is autographed by Mafamede (Muḥammad) Láparo, the *imām* (“chaplain”) of the Lisbon *comuna*. Written in Portuguese, it states the resolution of a disagreement about the contractual clauses of the above-mentioned marriage, previously agreed upon by contract. Some particularities about the Arabic signatures in this document are particularly notable. First, they do not follow the exact same model as the previous examples, but are instead rubrics, that is to say brief signatures with the inscription of only a few letters from each of the respective names. Second, Mafamede Láparo validated the document through his signature, in which we can identify only the initial *mīm*. Deciphering those rubrics therefore poses additional problems, exacerbated by the fact that the document is in a dreadful condition, allowing for only a

¹³ For other uncompleted rubrics, see Barros (2011).

¹⁴ See Barros (2011).

partial reading, which makes it difficult to identify the rubrics with the people who participated in this act (Barros, 2011).

Dating from a much later period, another document seems to be related with this individual, who was one of the few Muslims allowed to stay in Portugal, as such, after the edict of 1496. He continued to live with his wife, Zoaira, in the Lisbon *Mouraria*, the ancient Muslim quarter of the city, and he is reported to have died in February 1515.¹⁵ In June 1514, the king, Manuel I, granted the “chaplain of the Moors” some clothing, which the latter received, signing the receipt in Arabic, as Muḥammad al-Ru‘aynī.¹⁶ In an undated letter addressed to the secretary of state, though undoubtedly after the publication of the edict, the sender also identifies himself as “the previous chaplain of the Moors” (“o capelão que foi dos mouros”) and signs himself as the “Moor chaplain”. This identification still survives in the document of 1515, in which Mafamede Láparo is also referred to as the “chaplain”. Mafamede Láparo and Muḥammad al-Ru‘aynī do in fact seem to be the same person, the last “chaplain” of the Lisbon Muslims.

In a previous text, I suggested the hypothesis of an identification between the Láparo family from Lisbon and the Ru‘aynī family (Barros, 2012: 55). The dual adscription to Portuguese society and to the *umma* results in a dual onomastic identity, with a Romance last name and an Arab one, which would be used in different circumstances. In the document written after May 29 1473, he identifies himself as Mafamede Láparo, chaplain, due to the official nature of the text, and this formula is the one used for all the Christian documentation; in 1514, he signs himself in Arabic as Muḥammad al-Ru‘aynī, in a personal act in which he emphasizes his Muslim identity, which is highly significant as, by then, the Muslim community was officially extinct. Perhaps this was to be seen as an act of resistance and a personal statement, marking a final return to an identity that he could not fully express before the edict as part of a community, but which he could now admit to as a single individual.

Muḥammad al-Ru‘aynī, or, better, Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Ru‘aynī is to be found in another context and at another level of the written records, involving not only the use of Arabic, but also the preservation of the respective documentation in the National Archives. The Portuguese expansion into Morocco naturally led to renewed contacts and to the celebration of pacts with the North African population. The repeated use of interpreters and translators from the Muslim minority was one of the expedients resorted to by the

¹⁵ ANTT, Hospital de S. José, Livro 1118, fls. 21-23.

¹⁶ ANTT, Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, mc. 15, n.º 75

Portuguese monarchy. Translation was thus yet another of the services rendered to the Crown by the Muslims throughout the 1400s, resulting in a production that has been preserved precisely because it took place under the auspices of the monarchic power.

The name of one of these translators can be read in two missives, from 1486 and 1504, sent respectively by João II (1481-1495) and Manuel I (1495-1521) to the inhabitants of Azemmour. At the beginning of the first letter, the Muslim writer identifies himself by his name and his status as an interpreter and servant (*servidor*) of the king. Towards the end, he introduces a more personal phrase: “And this text has been written by the servant of our lord, at his orders, your sincere brother *garīb* Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Ru‘aynī, *ḥaṭīb* from your brothers *gurabā* [sic] (may God forgive him and better his situation), who salutes you” (Cénival, 1934: 14—Arabic version—and 23—French version). Undoubtedly this translator/interpreter belonged to the elite of the community, whom he served as a *ḥaṭīb* (preacher). Furthermore, his link to the *dār al-Islām* is revealed in the parameters through which he identifies his own community, characterized by the use of the term *garīb* pl. *gurabā*’ (“foreign”). The term seems to be used in an Islamic context as an auto- and hetero-recognition of the Muslim minorities living under Christian rule, as is confirmed by other sources.¹⁷

In the second letter, written after the Edict of Expulsion, he adds an additional fact: the location from which he writes: the city of Lisbon. This may lead us to presuppose that he was an inhabitant and *ḥaṭīb* of the *comuna* of this urban centre. However, the letter already belongs to a period after the Edict of Expulsion, and this aspect is directly reflected in the writing. Thus, in accordance with the obligation upon both minorities to convert, this *servant* of the Portuguese king no longer states his Arabic-Islamic name, but only his *nisba* (Ru‘aynī).¹⁸ The link with his “brethren” of Azemmour now relies upon this onomastic referent, still Arab, but excluding the first name. But the sharing of the same religion, even if experienced in secret, seems to come through in his use of the expression “slave of God” (*‘abd Allāh*), commonly used in an Arabic-Islamic context, sometimes even

¹⁷ A later document, from 1504, the famous *fatwā* of the muftī of Oran, refers to exactly the same term in its definition of Muslims forced into conversion by royal decrees. A copy in Arabic has survived, as well as a translation into *aljamia* (the Spanish language written in Arabic characters). Although it does not clearly state to whom it was destined, it is addressed to the “algariboš”, in the Aljamiadic version (this translation, according to the manuscript in the Méjanes Library of Aix-en-Provence, was kindly pointed out to me by Jean-Pierre Molénat), and to the *gurabā*’, in the Arab version (Harvey, 2005: 60). In this sense, the term implies a semantic transformation from the twelfth century – see Fierro (2000).

¹⁸ “Written and translated by your devoted and sincere servant, the humble slave of God, Ru‘aynī, who salutes you from the capital of Lisbon (*Uṣbūna*), April 22 of the year 1504 (*fi 22 min Abril ‘āmi 1504*)” – Cénival (ed.) (1934: 98 – Arabic version – and 99 – French version).

as a first name. Furthermore, there is no longer any mention of the term *garīb*, which implies the official end of the Muslim minority who, together with the Jewish minority, were incorporated (from the viewpoint of the Christian power) into the new social reality of the New Christians (*cristãos-novos*). It is a discourse, therefore, which in both cases, even though it remains subordinate to the royal interests, does not fail to express the identity, not only of its producer, but also the living experiences of the group to which he belonged.

In fact, it is quite possible to identify this Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Ruʿaynī with the same Muḥammad al-Ruʿaynī or Mafamede Láparo who was the last “chaplain” of the Lisbon Moors. Not only do the first and last names coincide, but he also identifies himself as a religious leader within the community (though as a *ḥaṭīb* and not an *imām*) and he states that he writes from Lisbon. Furthermore the chronological parameters of these two letters, 1486 and 1504, coincide with what we know about his life, namely that he was one of the few Muslims who remained in the kingdom after the 1496 Edict.

The *nisba* Ruʿaynī is connected with a tribe from Southern Arabia, the *Dū Ruʿayn* (Guichard, 1976: 338-364). As in other cases of the Peninsular *Mudéjares*, it refers to a symbolic capital, as a means of drawing a distinction and establishing a hierarchy within the group, in a self-professed claim to belong to an elite (*al-ḥāṣṣa*) validated by the recognition of the community. In this context, the designation seems to be turned into a family surname,¹⁹ which may be the case with the Ruʿaynī. In fact, a letter from a previous period introduces what apparently seems to be another member of this family structure. This letter, dated April 1454 (rabiʿ II 658), is transcribed in a manuscript, currently housed at the National Library of France,²⁰ probably the work of a clerk of the Mamluk chancery who was active until the beginning of the rule of Sultan Qāytbāy (872/1468-901/1496) (Bauden, 2007: 5-6). The letter is addressed to Sultan Īnāl (857/1453-865/1461), and the authors are identified as his “slaves” *ḡurabāʾ* (*ʿabīdukuḡ ḡurabāʾ*), who were Muslims and lived in the city of Lisbon and its surroundings. They were then forced by the king of Portugal, Afonso V, to write to the sultan in response to the protests of the Jerusalem Christians, begging him to allow the Christians to rebuild their churches. For this purpose, they sent two envoys who were well instructed in the Koran, and of noble descent, the *faqīh*/s Abū al-ʿAbbās b.

¹⁹ See the transformation, for the tribal *nisba* of al-Qaysī, into a familiar surname in Toledo (Molenat, 2003: 206) and for the al-Kinanī, from Loulé (Portugal), which seems to reflect the same reality (Barros, 2007: 276)

²⁰ Bibliothèque National de France (BNF), Arab manuscripts 4440, fls. 58 v.– 60. I wish to thank Frédéric Bauden for sending me a copy of this document, as well as the bibliography related to it. The document was partially transcribed and translated by Colin (1935-1940: 201-203).

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ru‘aynī and Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Wandāḡī.²¹

The outcome of this action is unknown—no documentation identified so far has preserved its results. Nevertheless, once again, the same verbal parameters are used to identify these members of the Muslim minority as *ḡurabā’*, and to stress the existence of a *ḥāṣṣa* within these communities. In Lisbon, the Ru‘aynī family seems, in fact, to have played an important role in the community, at least in the fifteenth century.

* * *

As a whole, the discourses of Muslims from the Portuguese kingdom emerge, albeit rather timidly, through written material mainly mediated by the Christian powers and selected by them, in the construction of what came to constitute the basis of the National Archive. This is a trajectory that is particularly marked by Islamic law and by the Muslim jurists from Lisbon, but also by a bipartite identity that is expressed in Portuguese as much as in Arabic. Semantically, this dual adscription is stated by these communities as *mouro forro* (“free Moor”) in an internal affiliation expressed in Portuguese, and as *ḡarīb*, through their connection to the Islamic *umma*, and through another register of communication, that of the Arabic language.

²¹ Colin interprets this as al-Wandāḡī and questions whether it should be read as al-Randāḡī, “a more common Hispanic ethnic” (Colin 1935-1940).

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Discourse, Pragmatism and Identity: Portugal and the Partition Treaties of the Hispanic Monarchy

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Abstract

This article focuses on the relations between Portugal and Spain after the War of Restoration. The analysis concentrates on two coinciding processes: the construction and projection of the Braganza Dynasty's Hispanic identity and the succession crisis that followed the death of Carlos II of Spain, ultimately reflecting on the identity practices at the court of Pedro II as mechanisms for opposing the exclusion of Portugal from the Spanish Partition Treaties. This project challenges the historiographical tendency to speak of a complete disassociation between Portugal and Spain, by demonstrating Portugal's ability to formulate political projects for the whole of the Iberian Peninsula as alternatives to those developed by the Habsburgs.

Keywords

Pedro II of Portugal, Carlos II of Spain, Partition Treaties, Spanish Succession, Identities

Resumo

Torna-se difícil estabelecer uma vinculação entre a política externa portuguesa de finais do século XVII e os tratados de partição da Monarquia Hispânica assinados durante essa época. Este artigo demonstra o interesse de Lisboa pela crise hispânica desde finais da década de 1660 e tem o objectivo de apresentar os Bragança na sua relação com Espanha como sujeitos activos no futuro da Península Ibérica. Para o conseguir, tratou-se de desmontar o tópico clássico da desigualdade nas relações hispano-portuguesas de essa época através de uma análise diacrónica da cultura política y da diplomacia portuguesas.

Palavras-chave

Pedro II de Bragança, Carlos II de Espanha, Tratados de Partição, Sucessão espanhola, Identidades

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Introduction

Portugal and the treaties for the partition of the Hispanic Monarchy are two topics that are not apparently related. As far as the partition agreements signed in 1668, 1698 and 1700 are concerned, the Braganza dynasty had very little influence—or no influence at all—on the plans of the contracting parties. Excluded from the signing of these treaties on all three occasions, Lisbon nevertheless kept a close eye on the issue of the Spanish succession and its territorial implications during the late seventeenth century. This article traces Pedro II's Hispanic pretensions precisely at the time of his assertion of independence and the political disassociation from Madrid, when Portugal was simultaneously showing particular interest in the Habsburgs' internal crisis. Such an interest might seem paradoxical, shocking even, in view of the strengthening of Portuguese independence; however, opposed to the frequently static conception of the relations between Spain and Portugal, we suggest a new perspective on the one-time vassals of the Habsburgs in which the Messianism that supported the House of Braganza emerges as an element legitimizing the measures that shaped the entire Hispanic world and as grounds for its claims in the partition of the Hispanic Monarchy's territories. This is where we find the ideological reasons that, refined by pragmatism, led Pedro II to demand part of Carlos II's inheritance in the 1690s as compensation for his agreeing not to exercise the rights that nature and geography had bestowed upon him to become the ruler of the entire Iberian Peninsula.

Ideological and spiritual foundations of Pedro II's Hispanic Pretensions

The secret signing, in Vienna, of what came to be known as the First Partition Treaty of the Catholic Monarchy was not the only Hispanic partition agreement settled in 1668. The negotiations held in February of that same year between Madrid and Lisbon, acknowledging the separation of Portugal from the Habsburgs' domains, suggest another division, namely the one that, resulting from the outcome of the war, gave the House of Braganza—this time in the light of international law—what it already owned *de facto*: the western strip of the Iberian Peninsula, except for Galicia; the Azores, Madeira and Cape Verde archipelagos; Brazil, the land of sugar that would soon become the land of gold; and the African coasts of Guinea and Angola, in addition to an extensive series of enclaves that

from Mazagan, in the Maghreb, stretched around the Cape of Good Hope to Goa and Macau, or to the no less remote Lifau.

In short, the *conquests* and the *kingdom*. The latter was the same dominion that some time earlier had managed to hold on to its glorified political status against the recurrent fear of becoming a simple *province* during the years in which it belonged to the Hispanic Monarchy (Bouza, 1987; Cardim, 2014). This ability had afforded unity to a network that spoke in absolute terms about Portugal, the kingdom of the Algarve—legally integrated into the former—and the overseas territories, shaping a kingdom that was now held by a dynasty other than that of the Habsburgs.

Despite the fact that the kingdom had shrunk, due to the high price paid for some of its alliances, all of it had become the legacy left by João IV to his children, and no attempts had been made in the Vienna negotiations to take possession of such a vast inheritance (Mignet, 1835: 441-449). After all, Paris had been one of the first powers to recognize Portuguese independence after the 1640 revolution, and the empire, despite being akin to the Spanish one, presented no practical reasons for including the Portuguese territories in a bilateral partition if, as appeared to be the case, this agreement had excluded from its articles the question of blood relations and the common cause that united it to the other Habsburg branch.

Questioning the Portuguese possessions would have been extemporaneous because the Spanish acceptance of the House of Braganza's royal status was looming on the horizon. Article II of the Franco-Imperial agreement of 1668 recommended that Leopold I should put pressure on Spain and Portugal to achieve peace from "king to king." So, ultimately, the partition treaty revealed both Vienna's and Paris's defense of the Portuguese positions and their international presence—which was much stronger than the peace subscribed by Madrid and Lisbon. It implicitly mentioned, without the knowledge of either the Portuguese or, paradoxically, the contracting parties themselves, a tripartite division of the Hispanic Monarchy in which the Portuguese, excluded from Louis' and Leopold's partition, were the only party that did not depend on Carlos II's life. The only division that was viable at the time but that, nevertheless, was far from being taken for granted in Lisbon.

Portugal felt the threat of the reversibility of an independence that had been endorsed by a treaty in which not even the kings Afonso VI and Carlos II had managed to support themselves. Underpinned by regencies—that of the Prince Regent Pedro, who had removed his brother from the Portuguese Crown, and that of Mariana of Austria, while her

son remained underage—it was these very anchorages that were complicating the peace. In 1666, Duke Medina de las Torres, faced with the prospect of a formal cession on the part of Portugal, had already spoken about the claims that would be made when Carlos II reached adulthood, given his lack of approval by the *Cortes* (Cánovas del Castillo, 1889: 570), and, in 1670, the Marquis of Gouveia, the Portuguese ambassador in Madrid, also identified Carlos' passage to manhood as the end of tranquility.²

There were concerns about a reaction from across the border that might destroy everything that had been built up (Faria, 2007: 69-70), and that is where we find the key for understanding certain aspects of the late seventeenth-century Portuguese foreign policy, such as neutrality (Macedo, s.d.: 215). This implied the presence of some sort of distinctive element, despite the fact that it was not always fully understood: for many people, Prince Pedro's apparent detachment from foreign affairs gave a negative image of the sovereign, who was often too apprehensive. However, we should note that the gains obtained through this strategy, in which the protection of Brazil played a central role, seem to be more significant than the inconveniences arising from the prince's reputation (Martín Marcos, 2012: 151-170).

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the balance is positive for the Regent, his behavior seems contradictory when we analyze his administration: the idea of *preservation* implied in his attitude made it impossible for the government of Lisbon to take any active role against Madrid. We could say that this historiographical perception limited the scope of his actions to the defense of his territory and status, simply ensuring that a specific family group would stay in power. We could even say that it also afforded no room for the Braganzas to grow as a dynasty in Europe or to establish relationships with a *Spain* in which the underlying Peninsular identity had seemed to be opposed to the Germanic dynasticism of the Habsburgs since the mid-seventeenth century (Fernández Albaladejo, 2007: 287-321).

While a Portuguese restoration of the entire peninsula had been in the minds of the Braganzas during the War of Restoration, the dynastic crisis at the heart of the Hispanic Monarchy, together with the resilient reign of Carlos II (Storrs, 2006), was also a suitable context for raising the issue of a common future in Portugal. So, it is not a question of mapping the transformation from patient to doctor, but of integrating forgotten elements into the discourse. In the 1670s, the marital strategies for Princess Isabel, the heiress to the throne of Lisbon at the time, testified to a concern that reached far beyond the Portuguese

² Biblioteca da Ajuda [BDA], 49-X-6, ff. 39r-41v. Marquis of Gouveia to Prince Regent Pedro. Madrid, 18/VI/1670.

territories and collaterally affected the Spanish succession. At a time when the plan for the princess to marry the Duke of Savoy seemed close to fruition, Maria Francisca—the queen and the wife of the Prince Regent Pedro—did not hesitate in writing that “St. Isidore’s prophecy would come true,” and that the Duke, who was also her nephew, would become the “King of Portugal, and also of all the Spains.”³

Through a pseudo-Isidorian prediction, which, in turn, evoked the propheticism that had developed about the marriage of the Catholic Kings (Carriazo Rubio, 2003: 5-34), the sovereign, who descended from a secondary branch of the House of Savoy, was alluding to a long-running Portuguese messianic tradition to strengthen her family strategy. Written by António Vieira in *Discurso em que se prova a vinda do Senhor Rei D. Sebastião*, the prophecy in question said that, “in the last days,” the “great Spain” would be ruled by a pious king and “by a woman whose name would start with a Y and end with an L;” this king would come from “the Eastern regions” and would lead his administration during “his youth.” For the queen, the woman mentioned in the prophecy was, of course, Princess Isabel herself, and the “Eastern regions” were the domains of the Duchy of Savoy, from where the young Victor Amadeus would be called to become king (Vieira, 1998: 128).

Despite the fact that Victor Amadeus II did not marry the princess, nothing prevented Vieira from returning to the Sebastianic message in 1688. On the occasion of the birth of Prince João, the new heir to the Portuguese throne (who, however, died when he was just three weeks old), the Jesuit priest delivered the *Sermão de ação de graças pelo nascimento do príncipe D. João* at Salvador cathedral, undertaking a task of prophetic readjustment. The heir, whose death was unknown in Brazil, was now the one mentioned in the prediction made by Vieira, who was talking about the boy’s mother, Maria Sophia of Neuburg, King Pedro II’s second wife (after the death of Maria Francisca), whose third name was Isabel, and also about the cult of St. Francis Xavier, a missionary in the East, who would have enabled the coming of the prince. An event such as a birth was dominated by the dynastic element, but there was also room for the integration of Portugal into Spain and for the defense of its pre-eminence. Vieira argued that the reference to a “larger Spain” in the prophecy was related to the Portuguese part, which had once been “the largest” and, together with Tarraconensis and Hispalensis, was one of the “three Spains” into which “Spain was divided.” Besides, he insisted that the fact that Spain was sometimes mentioned in the singular and at other times in the plural showed a difference that “despite not being wanted as probable, might actually not be impossible” (Vieira, 1690: 257-263).

³ Archivio di Stato di Torino [ASTo], MPRI, *Lettere diverse, Portogallo*, 82, s.f. Maria Francisca of Savoy-Nemours to Marie Jeanne Baptiste of Savoy-Nemours. Lisbon, 28/VI/1678.

It is difficult to know if Vieira was talking about a definitive separation between the Peninsular kingdoms, softening the universalism proposed precisely in this sermon, the only one that dealt explicitly with the Project of the Fifth Empire (Cardim and Sabatini, 2011: 20). But, in any case, nothing contradicted the fact that, in Portugal, there was still an idea of Spain that was far removed from the rule of the Habsburgs, who were seen as harmful to the Peninsula as a whole, as a result of their own particular vulnerabilities. An example of this is the fact that, when Carlos II's wife died in 1689 and rumors began to circulate in Lisbon that suggested a possible marriage between him and Pedro II's daughter, the voices raised against this means of reintegrating the Hispanic Monarchy were joined by those who found it inconvenient to hand over the crown to a weakened power.

For the anonymous author of *Papel sobre o casamento da senhora Infanta Donna Isabel*, this attempt, in addition to its endangering "the Freedom of the Homeland," was inappropriate due to the pretender's status. According to him, the Hispanic Monarchy was "so seriously bedridden" that its own vassals confessed they had lost "all hopes of recovery."⁴ So, the king's weakness was a reason to reject the plan, but it was also an opportunity for the anti-Castilian propaganda to promote itself. According to this pamphlet, Portugal's separation had been based, either on an "effective or preservative" violence, or on the abusive behavior of a weakened Castile in order to avoid a close understanding with the Braganzas.

In Madrid, the ambassador José de Faria provided additional information on the project's impact. In his correspondence, he explained that those who argued that the *Papel's* author was Portuguese had been assured by the nuncio that he was probably "neither a good Portuguese, nor a good Castilian." Despite understanding that this mutual distrust was hindering any progress, Faria reported that Innocent XI's representative was firmly committed to finding a way to restore bygone times. The ambassador confirmed that the nuncio had said he believed that the Count of Oropesa was the right person to help him.⁵

The Count of Oropesa was, undoubtedly, someone who could help to shape that aspiration. Mendo de Fóios Pereira, Faria's predecessor, said that he had found in him "that true spirit and affection that His Highness [...] could expect from a faithful and loving vassal" (Cruz, 1962: 128). Related to the Braganzas, and influential in Spain, the count was now considered, in a report drawn up by the chargé d'affaires of the French embassy, to be the architect of a Luso-Hispanic dynastic policy at Carlos II's court. In that

⁴ BDA, 51-VII-46, pp. 481-491. *Papel sobre o casamento da senhora Infanta Donna Isabel filha del Rey de Portugal Dom Pedro 2º com El Rey de Castilla Carlos II.*

⁵ BDA, 51-VIII-29, ff 279-281. José de Faria to Mendo de Fóios Pereira. Madrid, 7/IV/1689.

document, he was also highlighted as the “heir presumptive to the Crown of Portugal,” something that might have been related—it was argued—with his supposed ambition to gain the throne of Lisbon or, at least, a province of some importance in exchange for his services, if either the Braganzas or the Habsburgs—it didn’t matter—managed to “reunite the two kingdoms under one of their heads” (De Bernardo Ares, 2007: 27-28).

The declaration of intent ascribed to Oropesa is problematical. It is not easy to accept in terms of his territorial aspirations, if we take into account the loyalty to the king expressed by the Spanish high nobility. Instead, we could consider it as one of the many writings intended to discredit the Spanish policy prepared by those who surrounded Louis XIV (Ribot, 2013: 93). But, despite all this, in view of the problems with the succession and the internal dynamics of the Hispanic Monarchy, it gave the Portuguese dynasty a strength that not even they seemed able to measure and that, nevertheless, was valued in Europe.

Surely, the sense of belonging to the pan-Hispanic cultural koiné (Schaub, 2001: 19) that we have already mentioned provided this undertaking with a superior and binding importance. While the Castilians had believed that their king could never be the king of the entire country if Portugal was not part of it, the Portuguese had continued to use the word “Castile” to refer to the whole of the Monarchy, as if “Spain” were, in fact, reserved for a superior entity. Therefore, under the scope of the ever worsening problem of the king’s succession at the end of the century, the Braganzas’ background could not be ignored.

Shaping an identity discourse within and outside Portugal

Apparently, the passage of time and the strength of the great European powers blurred the presumptions of a Portuguese Hispania, but they did not in any way diminish the Iberian backdrop. Geography did not seem to be deceitful: unchanging, it involved Portugal in the problem of the Spanish succession. In November 1697, the Dutch Grand Pensionary found it logical that the Portuguese had “a greater need to be careful in the event of such an accident,” since they “were closer to Castile”. Talking to Francisco de Sousa Pacheco, Pedro II’s ambassador in The Hague, Heinsius said that his wish would be for the Portuguese to be present in negotiations on the future of the Spains. However, despite warnings from Lisbon, the deal was actually “completely beyond the scope” of the instructions given to Sousa Pacheco, who recorded how he was being pressured by the

Dutch to reveal his position and how they feared a secret agreement in which France might have promised Portugal a Spanish border province.⁶

This was not the case; or rather, it was not yet the case, but we could say that the Batavian lucubrations were turning into accurate predictions. Admittedly, the possibility that King Pedro II might have pretensions to enter into the “Spanish succession,” an issue revisited by the Grand Pensionary,⁷ was not farfetched. There was a document that had been circulating across Europe for months, highlighting Pedro’s advantages and the reasons for his occupying the Hispanic throne, and thus justifying that possibility. The French embassy in Portugal made reference to a secret document written in Lisbon whose publication had been commissioned by an agent of the Portuguese government in Holland in 1696 (Ribot, 2013: 107). And, in fact, its only known printed version is an edition published in Amsterdam in 1697, a year later than the date mentioned by the embassy, entitled *Reposta de hum Gentilhomem hespanhol, retirado de la Corte; A um do Conselho de Estado de Madrid, sobre a sucessam de Hespanha traduzida de Francez na Lingua Portuguesa por Antonio Homem Peres Ferreyra* (1697). This was the pseudonym of José de Freire de Monterroio Mascarenhas, the future editor of the *Gazeta de Lisboa* and a man with links to the Lisbon press (Da Silva, 1858: 155); it seems obvious that someone like him could be behind the operation denounced by the French, despite a few minor details that reveal chronological discrepancies.

However, ultimately, it is irrelevant whether the *Reposta* was written in Lisbon or if, on the contrary, it is taken literally that it was the work of a “Spanish gentleman who had retired from the court” of Madrid. Published in Amsterdam, a well-established *locus* of Iberian printing (Den Boer, 2008: 87-110), the interesting thing about this document is that it agreed with the old Hispanic idea encouraged by the Braganzas. In it, the strongest argument in favor of Pedro II comes, once again, from the idea of an Iberian community. If Pedro were to succeed Carlos II, it would be due to the fact that “as a Portuguese, he was Spanish.”

The weight of the arguments lay in their naturalness, which was intended to justify the rights of the Portuguese pretender, a circumstance that did not, however, result in an open petition, first of all, because it did not have the express support of the Portuguese government. Although Diogo de Mendonça Corte-Real, the Portuguese representative in Madrid, was seen by some as the architect of the document itself, there is no evidence that

⁶ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo [ANTT], MNE, liv. 802, ff. 12r-12v. *Carta escripta em sifra em 26 de novembre de 1697*. The Hague.

⁷ ANTT, MNE, liv. 802, 25v-26v. *Carta escripta em sifra em 4 de Fevereiro de 1668*. The Hague.

this was the case and, on the contrary, there were some who considered that accusing the ambassador of being behind the discourse was a way of belittling his work (Vasconcelos, s.d.: 14). And, secondly, because, as it might have seemed to some people, the possibility that Oropesa and his followers—those who allegedly supported his cause in Madrid—were behind the manifesto was a matter in which Lisbon did not wish to become involved. Although there is only a handful of letters known to have been sent by Corte-Real from the court, we get the feeling that Pedro II was choosing to be prudent. His arguments had been laid on the table and maybe they could be useful, as they said in The Hague, if taken into account in a partition or in a larger undertaking.

Far removed from there, in a Scotland that was engaged, at that time, in the colonial “Darien Venture” (Armitage, 1995: 107-109), Andrew Fletcher indirectly reflected on the advantages of a unified Spain, showing that this possibility could be pragmatic and not the result of partisan inventions. In 1698, in his *Discorso delle cose di Spagna*—published anonymously in Italian—the author suggested that Pedro II was the most suitable person to occupy the throne of Madrid, not so much because of his personal strengths, but because of everything that surrounded him. The Atlantic façade of the Iberian Peninsula provided the Hispanic Monarchy with a homogeneity that it lacked at the time while, according to Fletcher, the “disjoined states” were not very useful ([Fletcher], 1737: 200-201).

His approach was influenced by a common vision for the whole of Hispania that would endure in Scotland until well into the eighteenth century, as proved by some of David Hume’s writings (Hume, 1817: 220). This was something that, conversely, would never work for the United Provinces, for which Fletcher had recommended a cession, while, in turn, Pedro II of Portugal should unite his domains with those of Spain, becoming the king of all those territories. According to Fletcher, this was the best option for bringing an end to the embarrassment in which the Hispanic Monarchy found itself, perhaps echoing some old advice—to abandon all interests in Northern Europe: “If they want to move away, then let them go,” someone had said with regard to the Netherlands in the Castilian courts of 1592 (Fernández Álvarez, 1986: 12). Flanders was confirmed by the Neapolitan Francesco d’Andrea as being “a putrid limb” that should be “cut off from the Monarchy’s body so it would not infect it” (Mastellone, 1969: 188).

While Portugal was not without reason, France was trying to discover the ultimate pretensions of Pedro II, whom Louis XIV had come to consider—in view of a hypothetical union of the Spanish and Portuguese overseas territories—as a good

counterbalance to the English and the Dutch (Valladares, 2001: 94). José da Cunha Brochado, the secretary of the Portuguese embassy in Versailles at the time, made some private comments on the feelings triggered by the Portuguese in Paris: “Everyone imagines that our Lord, the King, wishes the Castilian throne and succession due to a right known to the French as *bienséance*.” As if it were a matter of etiquette, as Brochado seemed to suggest, even if he was pulling away from the desire to see a Portuguese man on the throne of Madrid. “In that case, Castile will have a more fortunate fate and Portugal an unhappier one, just as happened to the Scottish [when] the Stuarts attained the throne of England.”⁸

Scotland came across as the paradigm of what Portugal did not want. It was not simply the old issue of the kingdom whose king was in a distant court, but also the possibility of becoming a province without constitutions, as the Scottish feared would happen after King James VI took over the English crown (Levack, 1987: 32). That was a reckless path to follow according to Brochado, who was creating a unique testimony within Pedro II’s diplomatic network. His discourse prioritized land over dynasty, leaving aside the traditional principles of the princely society (Bély, 1999), and perhaps that was one of the reasons why his messages tended towards discretion. “In the theatres of human nature there are no new comedies [...] and all the plots are old,” wrote Brochado when he tried to appease Pedro II in view of the rumors that placed Spain in the French orbit.⁹

However, Brochado, who had no clear guidelines about the course of events, received little attention from Lisbon. There, the scenario of a Hispanic Monarchy ruled by the House of Bourbon had been a concern for some time. It was believed that a union between the crowns of France and Spain would not prevent the latter from turning its attentions towards Portugal. And while Brochado had privately considered that the Portuguese would not be the only ones affected by that union and that, if this were the case, Europe would turn against Louis XIV,¹⁰ the danger seemed obvious.

This had been explained two years earlier by the Marquis of Alegrete in the *Conselho de Estado* (Szarka, 1976: 177), and perhaps this perception concealed an acceptable arrangement of a will from Carlos II in favor of the Prince of Bavaria in 1698. For Pierre Rouillé, Louis XIV’s ambassador in Portugal, the motives of the Braganzas went beyond this. According to him, the dynasty accepted the prince as the heir in exchange for his marriage to one of Pedro II’s daughters to ensure that then Madrid could suggest that the Portuguese king might resume “his first plans for the Spanish succession” (Ribot, 2013:

⁸ Academia das Ciências de Lisboa [ACL], SA, 72, ff. 6v-7v. José da Cunha Brochado. Paris, 4/V/1698.

⁹ ACL, SA, 72, f. 53r. José da Cunha Brochado to King Pedro II. Paris, 21/IX/1698.

¹⁰ BDA, 49-X-38, ff. 33-37. José da Cunha Brochado. Paris, 20/IV/1698.

115). Joseph Ferdinand might not be the perfect candidate, but he was an option that guaranteed stability on a continental level and, if this were true, there would be benefits to be derived from it. It was, indeed, a more than worthy choice for Lisbon, despite the fact that the Portuguese diplomacy would only find out in the autumn that there was a treaty endorsing this choice through a partition of the Spanish territories, which was the product of a new age (Onnekink, 2008: 169-171).

Signed in The Hague by France and England, and with the Empire excluded from its signing, the treaty acknowledged the equidistant Prince of Bavaria as Carlos II's heir. In exchange, there were compensations for Vienna, which would receive the Duchy of Milan, and for Paris, which would be given the rest of the Spanish territories in Italy and Guipúzcoa. This was the reality when the Count of Jersey, who represented William III at Versailles and found himself circumstantially in The Hague, assured Pedro II's ambassador in the United Provinces that "there is no reason to talk, because there are no deals with France." "What matters," he underlined, "is that all Powers are attuned, especially Portugal which is closer to Spain."¹¹ Although, at the time, Pacheco seemed to suspect that an agreement was close to being reached, there was nothing that allowed him to go beyond that assumption. It was the Count of Portland, and not the Count of Jersey, who had secretly been negotiating on behalf of England in that scenario, and Pacheco was too late.

However, his difficulty in finding out what was being devised in The Hague was to be overcome by fate. Despite the fact that, in November, Spain already knew that a partition had been designed (Legrelle, 1889: 578), the following months and the dramatic news of the death of Joseph Ferdinand—which was immediately known in Lisbon—invalidated the deal. According to Paul Methuen,¹² the king and all his ministers, who had only recently welcomed the election of the prince because such a move favored the common good, feared complications. Methuen, responsible for the English embassy in Portugal, also contended that, since the news had broken, the French were increasing their efforts to win Pedro II's favor in the fight for succession.

In the meantime, Brochado mentioned, in Paris, that the juriconsults were beginning to say that Maria Teresa's renunciation of the throne of Spain "could not take place."¹³ In truth, it was nothing new. The waiver of the rights to succession by Felipe IV's daughter, due to her marriage to Louis XIV in 1660, had never been a problem for the

¹¹ ANTT, MNE, liv. 802, ff. 81r-84v. Francisco de Sousa Pacheco to Mendo de Fóios Pereira. Lisbon, 24/XI/1698.

¹² The National Archives, London [TNA], SP, 89/17, ff. 343-344. Paul Methuen to James Vernon. Lisbon, 1/IV/1699.

¹³ BDA, 49-X-38, ff. 117r-117v. José da Cunha Brochado. Paris, 8/III/1699.

Bourbons' aspirations (Álvarez López, 2007: 182). They had always been there. Now, sheltering in the shadows and without the Bavarian candidate, these aspirations could perhaps be openly vented, and the same was happening with the reasons that Pedro II had been brandishing for a long time.

America or Europe? An extra-Hispanic dispute for understanding how Portugal regarded the Spanish succession

In the summer of 1699, Pacheco did not fail. He knew that the letters that were regularly sent from London to the United Provinces mentioned conversations about the Spanish succession involving the French ambassador. The English, he said, supported Archduke Charles, Emperor Leopold's second son, as Carlos II's successor.¹⁴ The discovery of this situation was not irrelevant. It allowed Lisbon to make arrangements to demand a space in the negotiations, to claim what it had not been possible to claim previously due to a lack of knowledge, partly relieving the problem that this lack of official information entailed for Portugal (Francis, 1966: 88).

Being aware of the negotiations allowed room for appeals, even with Oropesa out of the game since the spring due to a popular riot with political overtones that had erupted in Madrid. If the French were accepting England and the United Provinces "in this great awarding of kingdoms, [...] it is only fair that Portugal is not disinherited, because while we are not necessary heirs, we can at least be legitimate ones," argued Brochado in Paris.¹⁵ With this demand, the envoy aimed not so much to exhibit Pedro II's rights, but rather to claim the right to play a role in the territorial partition.

Expanding the Peninsular borders was an old dream. "In Spain," according to a treaty that circulated in Lisbon in the summer of 1699, the Portuguese already had "a part outside the old Lusitania, located between the rivers Douro and Guadiana," which had not been disputed by anyone until then. However, the reasons presented in this *Discorso Geografico, nel quale si prova che il Forte di Cumau fabricato vicino al Capo del Nort della Guiana, con le Terre circonvicine, appartiene a Portogallo*,¹⁶ echoed by the nuncio Conti, had less to do with Iberia and more to do with Brazil.

¹⁴ ANTT, MNE, liv. 802, ff. 121r-121v. Francisco de Sousa Pacheco to Mendo de Fóios Pereira. The Hague 11/VII/1699.

¹⁵ ANTT, MDL, 570, s. f. José da Cunha Brochado to Mendo de Fóios Pereira. Paris, 4/X/1699.

¹⁶ ASV, *Segr. Stato, Portogallo*, 56, ff. 401-403. Copy translated into Italian, probably from the Portuguese version, and sent to Rome together with an avviso dated 22/IX/1699.

As in the Iberian case, the Portuguese overseas territories stretched beyond the physical barriers, explained the *Discurso Geografico*. They extended past the limit imposed by the Amazon River and stretched to the north of its mouth. Despite their low economic value, those lands were extremely important from a strategic point of view, since they made it possible to control access to the interior of the continent, resulting in the sporadic altercations between the French based in Cayenne and the Portuguese in this remote area that had become a matter of State (Szarka, 1976: 123-170). It is known that the French translation of Cristóbal de Acuña's *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran rio de las Amazonas* (1641), published in 1682, had attracted Louis XIV's interest in that territory (Varnhagem, s.d: 771; Linchet, 1995).

The intellectual production that surrounded this controversy between the French embassy in Lisbon and the Portuguese government in the final years of the seventeenth century confirms this interest. This controversy shows that while, for the Portuguese, their spatial dominance was justified by the original discovery and possession of those territories, for the French, the right over a given territory was only guaranteed by "a continuous and real possession."¹⁷ So, there are clear reasons for saying that the principles laid down by Serafim de Freitas in *De Justo Impero Lusitanorum* (1625) in view of Hugo Grotius' ideas were still valid for Portuguese legal experts (Alexandrowicz, 1959; Vieira, 2003).

But what really matters is that the dispute between France and Portugal, despite being extra-Hispanic, was not unconnected to the issue of the succession of Carlos II, neither would its resolution be. A treaty signed on 4 March 1700, ordered the Portuguese to destroy their forts located to the north of the Amazon and forbade the French from going close to the river banks. Together with the demolitions, the treaty approved the exclusive navigation of the river by the Portuguese, meaning that Lisbon had scored a major success (Castro and Biker, 1856: 83-88). Its chronological coincidence with the issue of the succession invites us to consider that the French were somewhat complacent, but, most of all, that the Portuguese were efficient in coordinating the rhythms of the discussions on the Amazon with the debate on the Spanish succession.

It was not in vain that the agreement was sealed only a few weeks before France, England and the United Provinces signed a new treaty for the partition of the Hispanic Monarchy. This time, as Brochado had foreseen, it was decided that the inheritance was to be handed over, though, once again, not entirely, to the Archduke Charles: Guipúzcoa,

¹⁷ The papers collected by Conti, including the *Discurso Geografico*, are its corpus (ASV, *Segr. Stato, Portogallo*, 56 y 57). In Portugal, some of these documents are kept at the private archive of the Casa de Cadaval (Rau and Da Silva, 1956: 448, 458-473).

Naples, Sicily, the Tuscan presidii and Finale would expand Louis XIV's assets, which would also include the Duchy of Lorraine, compensating its owner with the State of Milan. In Pedro II's Lisbon, the existence of this partition was immediately made public, contrary to what had happened before. It was, in fact, the French ambassador himself who gave the news, showing a new desire for good communication with Pedro II, which coincided with the solution of the Amazonian dispute and whose backdrop was the fear that Portugal might strengthen its ties with the Empire.

Count Waldstein's imminent journey to Lisbon to establish what would be Leopold I's first embassy in the city points us in that direction. Although Waldstein's intention was to present the Emperor's condolences to Pedro II for the death of Queen Maria Sofia (Francis, 1966: 93), it was believed that the mission concealed a more far-reaching maneuver: Luís da Cunha, the Portuguese ambassador in London, had warned that "the Emperor is always seeking to create new alliances, and by sending an ambassador to Portugal now he will surely ask for the King's alliance [...] suggesting a marriage to His Highness."¹⁸ So, when Rouillé explained the details of the partition to Pedro II, one of the reasons why the government could consider an immediate rejection of the agreement was, according to the nuncio, its wish to know in advance what could be obtained from Vienna. Conti added that the other reasons had to do with the image that Portugal had built of itself and of its territorial pretensions: "This Crown [...] may now persuade itself internally that it has been given little consideration" because, "according to the division that had been defined, these peoples were expecting an inland expansion, at least across the whole of Extremadura, or perhaps even along the shores to the Strait of Gibraltar."¹⁹

In any case, it was Pedro II himself who informed Waldstein of the treaty, obtaining a half-hearted response in which the count simply confirmed that his sovereign would never recognize the partition (Francis, 1966: 93). So, there was no counter-offer, but we may consider that the mere presence of Waldstein in the city was beneficial to Pedro II. As much as he was an advocate of Spanish territorial unity (Frey and Frey, 1995: 485-486), while he was in Portugal, the king's movements to delay his support to Louis XIV could be protected in a way that was dangerous to the Bourbon interests, and it was quite probably the court's good timing that underpinned the conditions demanded by Pedro II for accepting the partition. Recorded as compensations in the plan presented by the Duke of Cadaval to Rouillé on 9 June 1700, these demands were designed, ultimately, to place

¹⁸ ANTT, MNE, liv. 776, ff. 12v-14v. Luís da Cunha. London, 15/II/1700.

¹⁹ ASV, *Segr. Stato, Portogallo*, 57, ff. 320-323. Nuncio Conti to Fabrizio Spada. Lisbon, 3/VI/1700.

Portugal in a central position. Pedro II wanted his voice to be as important as those of the original signatories, if the Emperor was to refuse the inheritance and a new prince had to be elected to replace the Archduke. In the event of a war against Spain, as a result of the agreement, he also expected to receive Badajoz and Alcántara as compensations (Peres, 1931: 18-21).

Far from the Hispanic pretensions that were ascribed to him, his demands remained moderate. They were meant to form a security ring and were not very satisfying to those who had requested that Portugal should be included in the partition. The acceptance of the partition without any significant benefits can only be understood in connection with the negotiation of the Amazon or, perhaps, as the confirmation that Pedro II did not believe that the Empire, as Waldstein had assured him, was going to accept the partitions. This might be evidenced by the fact that, in London, Luís da Cunha was providing William III with details that were not explicitly included in the project negotiated with France. Following instructions, the Portuguese ambassador would present his sovereign's known desire to play a role in the election of Carlos II's successor if the emperor were to reject the treaty, while identifying Pedro II's sons as the most suitable candidates to occupy the throne of Madrid. Thus, in his view, not only would the Hispanic Monarchy be able to keep other territories, but it could also achieve the longed-for reunion of the Peninsular kingdoms that defended the "national laws." Furthermore, the peace with England and the "tranquility of Europe" would be ensured by the Braganzas, just as they had managed to achieve in Portugal until then.²⁰

What emerged from this discourse was an effort to publicize the benefits of a union under the banner of the House of Braganza. This is exactly why we can also consider that this possibility was more than simply being pondered in Lisbon. Ultimately, the outlined scenario of an understanding with London reflected a solid conviction that the crowning of one of Pedro II's sons was not completely implausible. It could have been closer than one might imagine and, perhaps, the English endorsement depended only on small details. For example, Cunha believed that the impulse of a few powerful men who could provide their support to Portugal from England in exchange for bribes would not contravene his sovereign's interests.²¹

In an England riddled with corruption (Hatton, 1968; Hopkins, 1981: 108) these were circumstances to be valued, although not on this occasion. The ambassador's

²⁰ ANTT, MNE, liv. 776, ff. 55r-57v. Luís da Cunha to King Pedro II. London, 13/VII/1700.

²¹ *Ibid.*

subsequent silence would show that this was a dead end, closed off by decisions that had been made in other spheres, and against which these practices were of no use. William III was not willing to include Portugal in the group of signatories to the treaty. Doing so might lead other possible signatories to demand compensations whose cost would be too high, so Lisbon had to be excluded.

Portugal's moderately vigorous reaction to this refusal was appeased by Rouillé and Cadaval's parallel negotiation. While Pedro II felt hurt in view of the possibility of being left out of the election of an alternative candidate, nothing prevented Rouillé from allowing the king to have a say in the matter. Ultimately, the ambassador's belief was that nothing would change. Portugal was not able to oppose the agreement signed between Louis XIV, England and the United Provinces by itself. But, furthermore, to gain Pedro II's trust, France would secretly guarantee that, in exchange for military contributions from Portugal in the event of a war, Badajoz and Alcántara would become part of that kingdom (Szarka, 1976: 194-195).

Thus, accepting the partition gave Pedro II less visibility than he would have wished for. While receiving benefits in America, in Europe he was pushed into the background and only the course of events would eventually change this situation. Carlos II died on 1 November 1700, and the fact that he appointed the Duke of Anjou as his only heir in his will opened up a whole new horizon. After it became known that the king of France had accepted the throne of Spain for his grandson, nothing that had been agreed until then was valid any longer. At least, there was the need to preserve a good understanding with Paris so that, from then on, it could be possible to renegotiate the relationship while watching the steps of the other signatories and Vienna's reaction. "No minister of the interested princes would dare explain himself without knowing the Emperor's and His British Majesty's intentions," said Luís da Cunha.²²

After the treaties

The territorial demands that had characterized the discourse of the House of Braganza in view of the partitions continued after the death of Carlos II. In mid-1701, after a long discussion in the court (Cluny, 2002: 71-72), the fact that the sovereignty of Lisbon over Colonia del Sacramento was accepted as a counterpart for the Portuguese acknowledgement of Felipe V of Spain was the proof of a triumph forged through

²² ANTT, MNE, liv. 776, ff. 77v-79v. Luís da Cunha to King Pedro II. London, 22/XI/1700.

insistence. The recurrent interest in this enclave, which had been a centre of controversy from the very moment of its foundation, and the resolution of the issue in favor of Pedro II showed the far-reaching nature of the global problem that the Spanish dynastic crisis had become. As had happened with the Amazon River, it was because of this crisis that Portugal had begun to define its sphere of influence in the American territories, and this was done through consensus and negotiations with the Bourbons, in a dialogue that, on the other hand, silenced the demands being made in the Iberian Peninsula.

Probably, the Portuguese pragmatism found these demands inappropriate at the time, since Louis XIV had ignored the partition, and therefore the discussions with Pedro II on the matter, although it would not be long before they reemerged due to the erosion of the alliance with the Spanish and the French. They appeared in 1702 when John Methuen was carrying out his negotiations, which eventually led Pedro II to lean towards the Archduke Charles in the dynastic dispute. So, the extension of the kingdom's borders, a recurrent topic in the Portuguese imagination, presented itself as one more incentive in the war that was about to start and had its epicenter in Lisbon; however, it was this factor—centrality—that came to play a greater role in the political discourse during those years. Pedro II, as Charles of Austria's protector, was able to present himself to the Iberian peoples as the liberator of the Spains, embodying an image filled with connotations of the primacy, across the entire Peninsula, of the dynasty that ruled Portugal, which, furthermore, was a natural reaction of the country towards foreigners (*Justificación*, 1704). It is true that the dispute eventually denied the self-assigned preponderance of the House of Braganza and condemned Lisbon to a kind of ostracism, but it also led to the Treaty of Utrecht. There, without new territories to add to his crown, King João V was at least able to boast the fact that he was on equal terms with his Spanish counterpart. The presence of the Portuguese diplomatic representatives at the negotiating tables gave the kingdom visibility and enshrined an aspiration that had been nurtured by Lisbon since 1668, curiously enough under the shadow of the partitions. It was not at all relevant if that new twist meant nothing, or if the Hispanic Monarchy was dismembered without any further compensations for Portugal. If, for years, Lisbon had pursued the goal of being present in the partitions, then in Utrecht, in its own way, it achieved it.

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The unquiet religious backdrop to European East Indies trade: Christian polemical literature and the first Portuguese translation of the Bible, 1642-1694

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Abstract

The first systematic translation of the Bible into Portuguese was prepared over the second half of the seventeenth century in the Dutch East Indies by the Portuguese Calvinist João Ferreira A. d'Almeida. Existent historiography tracing the context of its production has been limited either to biographical analyses or typographical surveys of its several editions. Primary sources that correspond to the obstinate Catholic versus Calvinist confrontation underlying its elaboration have been overlooked. We thus assume that only from a deeper analysis of polemical works written within this doctrinal clash is it possible to better understand the historical significance of that unique biblical translation.

Keywords

Bible translation; religious conflict; Dutch East Indies; seventeenth century.

Resumo

A primeira tradução sistemática da Bíblia em Português foi preparada ao longo da segunda metade do século XVII nas Índias Orientais Holandesas pelo calvinista João Ferreira A. d'Almeida. A historiografia a seu respeito tem sido limitada, quer a análises biográficas ou levantamentos tipográficos de suas várias edições. As fontes primárias que correspondem à confrontação obstinada entre católicos e calvinistas que se encontra subjacente à sua elaboração ter sido negligenciada. Será, assim de supor que, apenas a partir de uma análise mais profunda das obras polêmicas escritas dentro desse embate doutrinário é possível entender melhor o significado histórico dessa excepcional tradução bíblica.

Palavras-chave

Tradução da Bíblia; conflito religioso; Índias Orientais Holandesas; século XVII.

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While East India Company doctrine sought in the famous words of Thomas Roe to pursue a “quiet trade” in the East Indies, the religious history of the European settlements there proved quite the contrary. The constant internecine back-biting between the different religious orders and fundamental differences of opinion regarding the concessions the Christian dogma should make to native beliefs and customs fueled both the Malabar Rites and the Chinese Rites controversies, which saw the Pope forced to send out diplomatic legates who were in turn kidnapped, and held to ransom, while the differences in dogma continued to rumble on for the best part of two hundred years and only jeopardized the overall missionary enterprise by failing to present Christianity as a unifying creed. Given this background, the fundamental political opposition between the north European Protestant powers and the southern European Catholic nations was not even the overriding differend, although here too the language adopted by both sides was a highly charged one of Dutch labeling Portuguese “crusaders” (*kruisvaarders*) or “papists” (*papen*), and the Portuguese reciprocating by referring to the Dutch as “heretics,” “pirates, and rebels,” “enemies of the faith,” or men “without faith, without a king, who do not hold their word.”

The Portuguese expelled “heretics” from their territories on charges of “spying” even if fulfilling useful commercial roles and assimilated into local brotherhoods, as the cases of the Augsburger Ferdinand Cron and the Flemish Coutre brothers demonstrate, and (alongside their Spanish co-religionists) attempted to seize Dutch shipping when the situation presented itself (the *Cleen Zeelandt* incident in 1624, for example). They also machinated to assassinate Dutch officials in third countries in the East Indies like Cambodia (the murder of Pieter van Regesmortes and his retinue in Cambodia, 1643; the murder of Isaac Moerdijck, *opperhoofd* of the Dutch factory at Ayutthaya, 1646). The Dutch reciprocally expelled Portuguese population in the wake of their wave of conquests inaugurated from the beginning of the seventeenth century, seized Portuguese shipping as prizes as the *Nossa Senhora da Quietação* and *De Walvisch* incidents reveal in 1641 and 1658 respectively, although at times coming to some sort of grudging agreement if only to retain some population in the settlements who would continue to perform daily tasks necessary for the settlement’s existence, like agriculture and retail commerce (Schouten 1641). While the provocative arguments of Leo Blussé contend that Batavia was essentially a “Chinese colonial town” (Blussé 1981), letters like that of Fr. Manuel Soares S.J. in 1661 (Jacobs 1989) inform us that as much as two-thirds of the population remained “hidden” Roman Catholics to whom Mass was forbidden, and who had to be ministered to secretly by

passing clergy, who themselves had to be careful not to be caught *in flagrante delicto* and suffer denunciation from Dutch pastors, or *domines*, and consequently fines, imprisonment and immediate deportation.³ In neighbouring Malacca, Friar Navarrete O.P. had to administer confessions every morning and evening for twelve consecutive days in 1670, such were the numbers and zeal forced to practise their religion surreptitiously in the woods outside their city (Navarrete 1962, vol. II, 279).

While Jacobs insists that treatment of the Roman Catholic population depended very much on the will of the particular Governor General in Batavia, the hostile and suspicious governance of men like Jan Pieterszoon Coen (1619-23, 1627-9) counterbalanced perhaps by more sympathetic leadership on the part of Johan Maetsuyker (1653-78) or Johannes Camphuys (1684-91), one cannot but observe how the relationship gradually shifted over the course of the second half of the seventeenth century to a less antagonistic one, primarily as it became obvious that there was a third rising power, the English, which by the end of the century was threatening to eclipse both Dutch and Portuguese. The costs of a hawkish policy and the never-ending military campaigns ensuing in the *Westerkwartier* also frightened the Heeren XVII, saw war-mongers like Rijklof van Goens Senior and Junior removed from power, and a general shift away from what the historian George Winius has described as a merchant-warrior company ethos (Winius 2005). Studies of Dutch-Portuguese relations in “neutral” colonial contexts, such as the settlement in Ayutthaya (Carvalho 2009), would confirm the evolution of this general *détente* in Dutch-Portuguese relations, although denominational differences again became a flashpoint in South Asia during the Carnatic Wars of the mid-eighteenth century (Halikowski Smith forthcoming: §3).

But there were other reasons too for this change. As Henk Niemeijer has written in his acclaimed biography of Dutch Batavia, ‘segregatie werkte niet’, segregation was a policy that was increasingly proven not to work, and even the promotion of the Dutch language, a *sine qua non* of holding civil office, could not disguise the fact that as a language of interaction (*omgangstaal*) it was a threadbare reality: “bastard Portuguese and Malay enjoyed preference” (*genoten de voorkeur*). (Niemeijer 2005). But the ruling Batavian City Council does not seem to have contemplated the example of Danish Tranquebar, which took the exceptional step in 1646 of allowing a Catholic church to be constructed, though the lot of the Catholics even here was no bed of roses: François Martin, the governor of

³ Wijnhoven 1974 has published a ‘List of Roman Catholic priests in Batavia at the time of the V.O.C.’ 12% of the Batavian population, amounting to 2300 people, were members of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1674, Niemeijer 1996: 212-19.

Pondicherry reported after a personal visit how they felt the taxes they were asked to pay by the governor there were too high (Diller 1999; Martin 1931-4: v. I, 566). In Batavia, church services (*kerkdiensten*) were laid on in the Malay language as from 1633; then in 1673, a wooden church for the mixed-race population of Batavia was built; in 1695, a second one, a *buitenkerk* (lit. ‘outside church’) was built for Portuguese and *mardijker* residents of the city of Batavia, outside the central area as in Tranquebar, and deliberately low-standing and drab in appearance, so as not to upstage the principal Calvinist centres of worship (Schutte 2002, 212-19). A Dutch sexton, Johannes Hasenbosch (1672-1723), who had switched from the Roman Catholic religion to the Dutch Calvinist Church shortly after the death of his daughter in 1694, was appointed to supervise its running. The incumbent governor Johannes Camphuys generously donated all kinds of sacral instruments of mass, and it became extremely popular amongst native burghers like Thomas Anthonits, who donated a large silver baptismal font twenty-five years later (Haan 1898). The strict injunction that only the Reformed Church, as established at the National Synod of Dordt (1618-19), was to be permitted in Dutch overseas possessions was not, however, rescinded.⁴

As Dutch hostility with regards to the world their fellow imperialist Portuguese had spawned softened, a different problem now emerged to confront the Portuguese colonial authorities, an old bugbear akin to the renegadism, which had afflicted the empire in the sixteenth century, where Portuguese who were offered higher salaries and better living standards amongst the principalities of southern and south-east Asia than they were by their own countrymen deserted to the enemy in exchange for their military know-how, particularly in the management of firearms (Lima Cruz 1986; Couto 1998). In the seventeenth century, the Portuguese presence in the East had taken on a religious justification, and victories there were now won in terms of the numbers of souls harvested. The renegadism here, then, was a religious defection to Protestantism, which became sufficiently widespread for a specific term—*overloopers*—to come into being. The case of João Ferreira A. d’Almeida was amongst the highest profile of these, as rather than doing so quietly, like many traders hoping to benefit from this move such as Francisco de Acha, who carried freight for British interlopers from Madras, Almeida turned to the print medium to produce a steady stream of religious invective which other Portuguese religious

⁴ This decree, located in van der Chijs 1885-90, I: 474-5, was binding on ‘Heathens and Moors’ too and anyone who openly worshipped differently was threatened with confiscation of property, chain gang, exile or death ‘according to circumstances’. The ecclesiastical structure of the new Dutch Reformed Church is summarised well in Schalkwijk 2004.

publicists sought hard to refute (Halikowski Smith 2010: 124). We are in very different waters from those scholars who see Lusophone Protestantisms emerging only in the nineteenth century, a result of “d’allers et de retours à travers l’Atlantique,” and with a “pôle essential” in Madeira (Guichard 1998). From the second half of the eighteenth century assimilation saw increasing numbers of Portuguese in major British colonial cities like Calcutta turn to Protestant worship, chiefly the Baptist movement, but a hundred years earlier this remained a much more controversial, and threatening challenge to one of the very foundations of Portuguese identity, outward Catholic religiosity.⁵

In this context, this article seeks to provide a fleeting survey of the polemical backdrop related to the efforts to produce the first “complete” Bible in the Portuguese language, an already long-standing achievement in Protestant nations like Holland and Germany, where vernacular bibles were produced in 1526 and 1522 respectively, but one whose legitimacy the Council of Trent (1545-63) had questioned. Trent, although it called for a better definition of Catholic orthodoxy, in response to the teachings of the Protestant Reformation, did not go so far as encouraging any new or colloquial translations of biblical Scripture (Prosperi 2008; Hsia 2005). It had insisted that the true doctrine of Christ was contained not only in the written holy texts (*in libris scriptis*), but also in tradition (*et sine scripto traditionibus*), and that printers should be curbed via a licensing system administered by the governing ecclesiastical authorities. There was of course the formidable machinery created for the enforcement of Catholic orthodoxy, the Inquisition, which via the printed Indexes first published in Toledo in 1551 forbade possession of Spanish bibles. At the same time, the idea that only vernacular languages should be used in Catholic nations was condemned, as it was thought that bible readings in the vulgates were one of the principal reasons for the proliferation of Lutheran “heresies,” and Trent advocated the continued use of Latin and the official Latin translation of the scriptures (Second Decree), although shying away from an outright insistence on the exclusive use of Latin in the church (Prosperi, 2008, 56; O’Malley, 2013).⁶

It is a striking fact that the first systematic and literal translation of the Bible into the Portuguese language was made during the seventeenth century in the Dutch domains of the East Indies. The intent was to provide access to Holy Scriptures written in the

⁵ Examples include Willoughby da Costa (1785/6-1841) and Michael Derozio (1742-1809) (Stefan Halikowski Smith forthcoming). Protestantism within Portugal (and Brazil) was only a late nineteenth-century phenomenon (Santos 2000).

⁶ The Index of 1559 and 1564 had gone much further than this in prohibiting the reading of the Bible in the vulgate, see Delumeau 1971, 44. For the relevant decrees of Trent, see “Decretum de editione, et usu sacrorum librorum,” in *O sacrosanto, e ecumenico Concilio de Trento em latim e portuguez*, t. I, Lisboa: na Off. De Francisco Luiz Ameno, 1781, 61.

Portuguese vulgate rather than in Latin. The idea was conceived within this context by the Portuguese João Ferreira A. d'Almeida (c. 1628-1691), a minister preacher of the Dutch Reformed Church of the East Indies. It was striking that the idea had come from the colonial sphere, rather than from within Portugal, where some fragmentary translations circulated hitherto, of the Acts and Catholic Epistles printed in 1505, of the Liturgical Gospels and Epistles printed around 1510, and even some fuller “romanced” versions. Biblical translations had nonetheless been effected into most of the other European vernaculars—initially of the Protestant break-away nations as we have seen, but then into French (1530), into Spanish (albeit published at Protestant Basel in 1569), and even into minor languages like Slovene by 1584 (Greenslade 1995: 3, 125-28). Portugal was nonetheless extremely laggard in producing what the Portuguese *érudit* António Ribeiro dos Santos called the “first complete translation” of the Bible in his pioneering work on the subject two hundred years ago (Santos 1806; Ferreira, 1906; Martins 1979; Moreira 1957).

João Ferreira Annes d'Almeida was born around 1628 in Torre de Tavares (Mangualde), a village in the Beira Interior, and lived as an orphan in Lisbon during his childhood. No one knows the reason why he emigrated to the East Indies around 1641 and 1642, at the age of fourteen. Some say that he was a soldier caught up in the fight between the Dutch and Portuguese for Malacca, which, after several seasonal blockades, eventually fell to the Dutch on 14 January 1641 in as yet unclear circumstances (Halikowski Smith 2009: 225-9). At least two sources suggest he became a Roman Catholic priest in Goa (*Der Königl. Dänischen Missionarien* 1729: Teil 2, 1719: Continuation 13, 12; Prévost 1746-61, vol. XII, 39, n.), and even a Jesuit, although these are almost certainly confusions with the Jesuit António Ferreira S.J. (1606-12 April 1670), as Guy Tachard relates after his own personal enquiries (Tachard 1686, 346). At any rate, he converted to the Reformed Christian church while travelling from Batavia to Malacca in 1642, after having read an “anonymous” pamphlet, the *Diferença d'a Cristandade*, written in Spanish, which disparaged the fundamentals of Tridentine catholic orthodoxy. He remained in Malacca until 1651 like Jean Guidon de Chambelle, another foreign Protestant, perhaps part of a group which the historian Van der Cruysse considers ‘mercenaires de la V.O.C.’, living through the turbulence surrounding the mass expulsion of Portuguese under Heer Vlamingh and destruction of their churches following the failed conspiracy of June 1646 (Chambelle 1645, 134). Here, Almeida started to make efforts to translate the New Testament into the Portuguese language, firstly from Spanish versions of the biblical text (those of Cipriano de

Valera and Casiodoro de Reina, and afterwards, based on the Latin translation by the French Calvinist Theodore de Bèze (1519-1605).

He resided for the next five years in Batavia, the capital of the Netherlands Indies, and worked with the Portuguese-speaking Dutch Reformed Church as a *krankbezoecker*, visiting the sick (Huet 1909; Lopes 1979). At one point, Ferreira de Almeida affirms having consulted the Dutch state-approved text (*Statenvertaling*) and having revised his translation with its basis in the Greek *Textus Receptus*. He tried to pass exams in Batavia to become a preacher in 1654, but failed, apparently because there were no Dutch examining authorities available. Almeida succeeded, however, in 1656 on his second attempt, though he had to preach in French and Portuguese not Dutch. Schutte explains how the number of posts for preachers in the VOC was expanding more rapidly than for other occupations, although remaining modest overall (28 posts or *staandplaatsen* in 1647, 43 three decades later) (Schutte 2002, 93). Almeida was sent to Galle in Ceylon in that year, where it was important to convert the “swarming” Roman Catholic population of the coastal area in order to defuse the potential for a fifth column left behind by the Portuguese amongst the new Dutch overlords (Rijkloff van Goens in Pieris 1929: 280; Van Goor 1996). Almeida then spent a year amongst the Parava fishing community in southern India, which in 1658 also passed under Dutch control. Making converts was hard work here, Protestantism here having to challenge a successful long-standing Catholic mission that went right back to the ministry of Saint Francis Xavier. Despite dispatching some of the most famous preachers of the day like Philippus Baldaeus and Henricus Bongaerts to work actively on the ground, and despite Almeida’s zeal, for which he became known as the “perpetual predikant,” the Dutch found at best a limited audience. In August 1662, for example, the governor of Ceylon complained that Calvinist ministers only “preach for the Dutch chief, his few subordinates and the chairs, benches and walls of the church” (VOC 1239, OPB 1663, fl. 1654 r. Gouver. Van der Meijden van Clijton aan Batavia, 16 June 1662). Early measures adopted during a period of open hostility, like the banning of the popular Our Lady of Snows festival, had to be replaced by a policy of economic and religious liberalization from around 1664, when it became obvious that violence and coercion would get them nowhere, and when edicts of toleration were signed across Europe in the spirit of the Peace of Westphalia (Wink 2000, 2001, 2002). By this time Almeida was already recalled to Batavia,

having proved himself, where he remained as a Minister (*predikant*) appointed by the Batavian Church Council until his death, probably in 1691.⁷

In 1681, he saw the first printed fruit born from his work as translator of the Scriptures: the first complete version of the New Testament in Portuguese was published in Amsterdam.⁸ In the following year, he was awarded a prize for his “zeal (*ijver*) in translating” from the Dutch authorities, and received 200 ducats (Bruijn 1893: 132-4). In the year he died, he already had translated almost all the entire Old Testament, up to the final verses of Ezekiel. He also did not translate the so called deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament, because they are not accepted by Protestants as divinely inspired. However, the translation of the other canonical books from the Old Testament was finished in 1694 by another minister of the Reformed Church, Jacobus op den Akker. This Dutch priest, who studied at Utrecht, and was twenty-one years younger than Almeida, came to Batavia in 1688 from Ceylon a little before Almeida’s death, where he spent the rest of his life in ministry and translation work, including a book of psalms to be read at evening meal times (*avondmaalpsalmen*) (Bruijn 1893: 9-10). However, it was not before 1753 that complete translation of the Old Testament was published for the first time, in two tomes, by the printing house of Batavia. Even before this first complete publication, Lutheran missionaries from the Danish Mission of Tranquebar in India had already published a good portion of the same translated work of Almeida.⁹

⁷ Anthropological work likes to assert the development of a curious phenomenon whereby Paravas had become an entrenched Christian caste in Hindu society, see here Kaufmann 1981, though her coverage of the Dutch take-over is poor.

⁸ Other editions came out in Batavia in 1693, at Amsterdam in 1712 (apparently at the cost of the English missions in eastern India), at Tranquebar (1760 e 1765) and in Batavia (1773).

⁹ Editions of the Old Testament were produced at Batavia (Volume 1 in 1748 & Volume 2 in 1753) and at Tranquebar (Historical Books in 1738, Psalms in 1740, Dogmatic Books in 1744, The Major Prophets in 1751 and the Pentateuch in 1757). The missionaries at Tranquebar also published the Pentateuch in 1719 and the Lesser Prophets in 1732, although these translations were not Almeida’s, but produced by the Danish missionaries. Actually, they were written down from books kept in the church at Negapatnam, or brought by a “Dutch merchant of Pulicat,” probably produced in Batavia, see *Der Königl. Dänischen Missionarien*, Teil 1-9. (Continuation 1-108). Teil 2, 1729 (Berichtszeit: 1712-1726) Continuation 13, 1719 (Berichtszeit: 1712-1718) pp. 112-13. Danish missionaries like Johann Ernest Gründler (1677-1720) started to revise the versions discovered alongside de Valera’s Spanish version, but gave up amidst overwork. There is a list of 21 Portuguese works kept at Tranquebar in 1715 but does not unfortunately distinguish between works sent from Batavia and works produced *in situ* (Ziebenbalg 1715).



First edition of the New Testament in Portuguese (Amsterdam, 1681)

Besides the translation of the Bible, João Ferreira de Almeida also produced several other works, most of them of an anti-Catholic polemic nature. In 1650, he translated the Spanish pamphlet *Diferença d'a Cristandade* into Portuguese, through which he himself had come to know the doctrinal foundations of the Protestant Reformation (Matos 2002). In this same year, he translated the *Heidelberg Catechism* and the *Liturgy* of the Reformed Church, and in the same decade, he revised the Portuguese translation of the *Aesop's Fables*, printed in 1672. Also in this year, he published a set of polemic writings, comprising two long epistles and twenty propositions against the Catholic Church, the latter being directed “to all the ecclesiastics and landlords of the kingdom of Portugal” (Almeida 1672). The following year, he published a Dutch translation of the treatise *Diferença d'a Christandade*, along with a Portuguese appendix and “necessary considerations regarding the purported vehemence of the Appendix” (Almeida 1673).

In all his writings, João Ferreira tried to refute the central dogmas of Tridentine Catholicism, frequently quoting the *Roman Catechism* itself, produced by the order of the Trent Council and first published in Italy in 1566, as well as other derivative catechetic texts, mainly the *Christian Doctrine* written by Jesuit Marcos Jorge, the *Ample Declaration of the*

Christian Doctrine written by Italian Jesuit Roberto Bellarmino and the *Catechism of Christian Doctrine and Spiritual Practices* by Dominican friar Bartolomeu dos Mártires, all of them enjoying a great circulation in Portugal and in its colonies. In this manner, he strove for the propagation of the Reformed doctrine in Portuguese, either through the divulgation of the Scriptures in the vernacular, or through the publication of his apologetica for the Reformation.

In the face of such strong attacks against the doctrinal orthodoxy of the Roman Church, Almeida became a wanted man. Baldaeus tells us that his effigy was brought to Goa where it was burned publicly by the Inquisitional bench (Baldaeus 2000, 648). At least three Catholic priests, missionaries in the East Indies from different orders, rebelled against the polemics and heterodox doctrines of the Portuguese Calvinist. Firstly, around 1670, the Augustinian friar Hieronimo de Siqueira wrote in Bengal the *Carta Apologética em Defesa da Religião Católica Romana*. In this text, several attacks were made on the heretic “predicant of the Calvinist sect”, denouncing not only the errors in his doctrine but also of his character (Siqueira 1670). However, this text remained in manuscript form.

At the same time, theological disputes took place involving Almeida and another Catholic clergyman: Jean-Baptiste Maldonado S.J., a “Belgian” missionary for the Company of Jesus who passed through Batavia in 1667 en route to an anticipated career in the China mission. The Governor General Johan Maetsuycker, a sympathizer who hailed from a Catholic family from Brussels and was denounced by later biographers like Valentijn as a “hidden Jesuit,” was forced to expel him and his colleagues from the city. Some years later, an extensive work was published in the form of a dialogue entitled *Dialogo Rustico e Pastoril, entre o Cura de hua ladea e hum Pastor de ovelhas*. Authorship tends to be attributed to Maldonado, who was also responsible for a more straightforward hagiographical text, the *Illustre Certamen R.P. Joannis de Britto*, which recounted the martyrdom of this second “Francis Xavier” and was written in Macao in 1695 as an exercise in the affirmation of Maldonado’s faith at a time his own career was being rocked by constant wranglings over the authority of his mission in Siam.

Finally, albeit somewhat later, Italian Giovan Battista Morelli, a Franciscan missionary, wrote the work *Luzeiro Evangelico* in São Tomé de Meliapur in 1708 in order to contradict the Portuguese apologetica for the Reformed Church, particularly one written by João Ferreira, which circulated in the East Indies. In his text, also written in Portuguese, the language of everyday interaction across the Indies till the nineteenth century, Morelli

cited the Calvinist translator and some of his works, vehemently refuting them all (Luzeiro 1710).

In the face of this, the production of the first biblical translation into the Portuguese language, in its historical uniqueness, will not be understood in a satisfactory way without a rigorous analysis of these several controversial writings, which are still barely been explored by scholars. It is essential that we analyze in depth the Catholic-Calvinist conflicts underlying its production, with special emphasis on the particularities related to the unique historical setting in which they were produced. The bibliography on the elaboration of the first Bible in the Portuguese language favours, in general, the individual trajectory of its main translator, emphasizing the difficulties he faced in carrying out this work. The few studies on this subject can be sorted into two main strands. Firstly, we find the confessional literature that extols Almeida for his pioneering work in the translation and propagation of the biblical text into Portuguese (Ferreira 1906; Moreira 1928; Esperança 1993; Barata 2003/4). Besides these, there are also those authors who try to provide a systematic list of the numerous editions of the biblical translation of João Ferreira de Almeida, published over the past four centuries. In these cases, we generally find also a detailed collection of sources related to the production of Almeida's Bible, but lacking a critical or deep historical analysis (Santos 1806; *Dicionário bibliográfico português*, 1859, III, 368-372; Rivara 1866; Alves 2007).

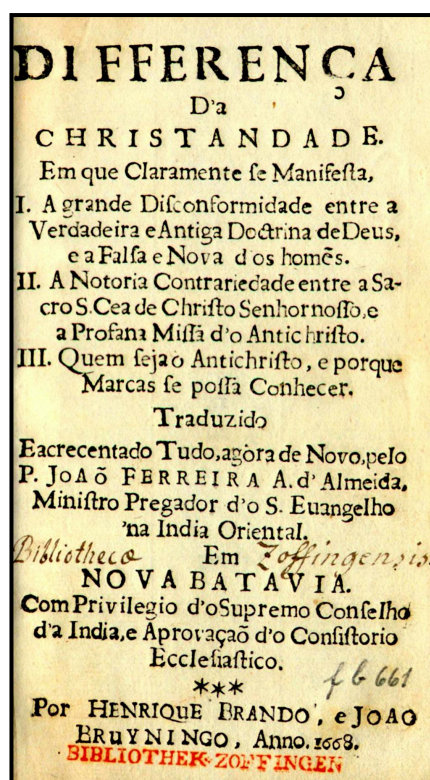
Outside the Lusophone world, only the Dutch scholar Jan Ludwig Swellengrebel dedicated himself to the subject. Although a great scholar, he did not provide a deep analysis of the primary sources at our disposal but concentrated on providing a detailed narrative biography of the Calvinist translator Ferreira de Almeida, with the primary purpose of disclosing the mysteries of his life (Swellengrebel & Hallock 2000).

As this bibliography is essentially biographic and/or typographic, its exponents did not pay enough attention to primary sources concerning the religious confrontation affecting the translation process. Thus, this specific literature regarding the translation of the Sacred Scriptures into Portuguese lacks any deeper historical analysis. With this in mind, we present below three important documentary findings that may enrich historical understanding.

In the first place, it is necessary to elucidate the misunderstandings surrounding the Spanish pamphlet *Diferença d'a Christandade*, which brought Almeida in 1642 to the Reformed Faith. The purpose of the translation of this booklet into Portuguese in 1650 was that of facilitating, according to João Ferreira de Almeida, the 'conversion and

salvation of those who do not know any other language than Portuguese’, given there was as yet no translation of the Sacred Scriptures for them (Swellengrebel 2000: 10). Thus, the efforts of Almeida for the propagation of the Reformed Christian doctrine in the Portuguese language—efforts that comprise all his translation work on the Holy Scriptures—were focused not only on the Kingdom of Portugal itself, but also on the Portuguese-speaking people who lived in the East Indies at that time, the large numbers of often uprooted, miscegenated and downtrodden Roman Catholic believers.

This polemical treatise was printed numerous times in Portuguese in the East Indies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (1668, 1684, 1728 and 1773). Experts, however, are divided about its real authorship: António Ribeiro dos Santos, David Lopes and Jan. L. Swellengrebel, and more recently Manuel Cadafaz de Matos and Herculano Alves, could not identify whether or not there was an original version of the text in Spanish. João Ferreira de Almeida, in the prologue and in the dedication of the work, both signed in 1668, claims to have found an anonymous Spanish version of it in 1642 and from this he made his Portuguese translation. As no one could identify the original Spanish version, some argued that Almeida himself was the one who wrote the treatise and who chose to keep it anonymous for some reason, as suggested by Ribeiro dos Santos and recently endorsed by Herculano Alves. According to the second author, there is a real “myth” surrounding the existence of the original text in Spanish (Alves 2007: 165-6).



Diferença d'a Christandade (Batavia, 1668)

However, it is clear today that the real author of this polemical booklet is Cipriano de Valera (1532-1602), mainly known for his revision of the Spanish translation of the Bible made by Casiodoro de Reina (1520-1594). In fact, the *Diferença d'a Christandade* is nothing but a set of three annexes in the book of Cipriano de Valera entitled *Dos tratados*, about the Pope and the mass (Valera 1588). This work was originally published in 1588, and its second edition came out in 1599 in England. It is important to observe that this set of annexes can be found, in its totality, only in its second edition (Fernandes 2013).

It is very likely that this set of annexes of the work *Dos tratados* by Cipriano de Valera circulated independently in the East Indies, with no reference to the author, and this may be the reason why Almeida did not know who had written it. In confirmation of that, there is an independent version of the annexes, with no information about the author, published in France in 1601, with the text not only in Spanish, but also in French (Trois Tables 1601). Nevertheless, there was probably a version of the annex only in Spanish, otherwise, João Ferreira de Almeida would have mentioned that the work was in French and in Spanish.

Besides, it is possible to see that the format of the work is very similar to the *Breve tratado de la doctrina antigua de Dios, y de la nueva de los hombres*, probably written by the Spanish

Protestant Juan Pérez de Pineda, first published in 1560. This is the Spanish version of another work in Latin by German Urbanus Rhegius, entitled *Novae doctrinae ad veterem collatioe*, published in 1526. Therefore, the *Diferença d'a Christandade*, translated by João Ferreira de Almeida in Malacca, is part of a whole tradition of anti-Catholic polemical writings, published in Portuguese in the East Indies within the context of the struggle between Portuguese and the Dutch for the trade and maritime supremacy of that region.

Moreover, without any doubt, the most remarkable polemical writing related to these theological conflicts is the one entitled *Dialogo Rustico e Pastoril*. This is an extensive fictitious dialogue between a priest and a shepherd, about the most important dogmas of post-Tridentine Catholicism. As mentioned before, the consensus hitherto has been that the Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Maldonado is its author. The subtitle of the work seems to suggest, in fact, this authorship, wherein it is presented that the book contains “*as razões do mui reverendo e douto padre João Bantisto Maldonado, religioso professo da Companhia de Jesus e missionário apostólico, contra as de João Ferreira A d'Almeida, ministro ou predicante calvinista.*” Nevertheless, there still remains some uncertainty among specialists about this attribution.

Herculano Alves, for example, although considering Jean-Baptiste Maldonado the author of *Dialogo Rustico e Pastoril*, wonders why no catalogue of Jesuit works refers to this substantial piece of written work (Alves 2007: 142, fn 249). Manuel Cadafaz de Matos also considers Maldonado its author, but admits not having analyzed the text and not having found any reference to its authorship in any Jesuit bibliographic catalogues (Matos 2002: LXII, fn. 38). David Lopes, in the same way, claims that Maldonado is the author of this religious dialogue, but notes that Maldonado's biographer, Bosmans, never mentioned this work (Lopes 1979: 126; Bosmans 1910). Burnay sees Maldonado as the author, but his travel companion on the outward Indies voyage that stopped off at Batavia, Friar Manuel de Santa Teresa O.P., as the textual translator into Portuguese (Burnay 1953).

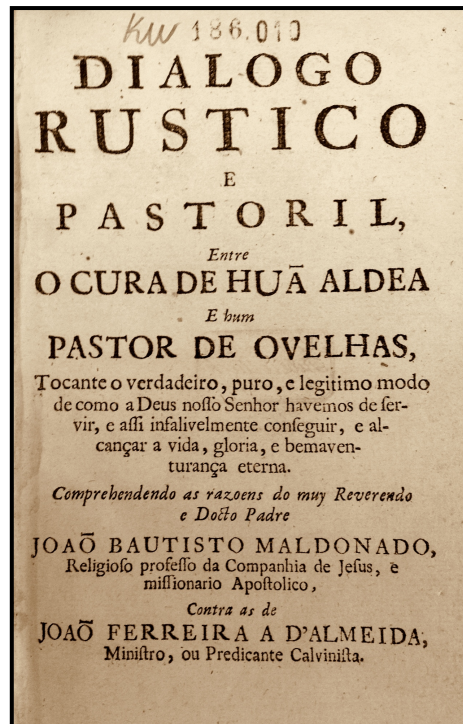
However, there is undisputed evidence to confirm that João Ferreira de Almeida is its real author. Contrary to what might be expected from its subtitle, post-Tridentine Catholic orthodoxy is vehemently attacked in each one of its sixty chapters. It is curious to note that its front page and contents page were purposely structured in such a way so that those unwary readers might at first believe it was an apology to Roman Catholicism. For example, the chapter titles are entitled: “Of the authority of the Holy Scriptures and the Traditions of the Church,” “Of the authority of the Church regarding the Holy Scriptures,” “Of the infallibility of the Pope and other prelates of the Church,” etc. It seems that this “misleading” feature of the writing is responsible for the everlasting doubts about its

authorship. Besides, in the subtitle of the work, the author uses the expression “mui reverendo e douto padre” in reference to the Belgian Jesuit Maldonado, which can only be ironic.

Let us provide an example of Almeida’s subversion here. At a certain point in the dialogue, the priest presents the argument that what renders Catholic doctrine incontestable are the miracles which occur in front of the many believers. The author then compares Catholicism with the gentile religions, referring to holy men and yogis of India, but affirms that are all false. Catholic miracles (*prodígios*) are thus little more than lies, as with gentile religions, for “they too concoct and invent by Satan’s ruse, with malice and scams (*embustes*) on the part of the yogis and holy men.” Mass too is akin to a pagan ceremony, “a horrendous, evil and abominable idolatry: since they worship as God what is not God.” He accuses the Roman Church of “saying and offering masses for the living and the dead, for men and even animals, in order to find lost things and for such things (..) all rustled up (*farfalhadas*), shameful even to name” (*Diálogo Rústico* 1684: 164-5). The author concludes:

In truth the mass is a real, true and refined negation of the unique, true and real expiatory and propitiatory sacrifice which is the death and passion of Jesus Christ (..) As if Christ, Our Lord, died not only for humankind but died as if to satisfy brute animals, and serves to (..) satisfy our bodily and temporal needs, in this life, as if to help sort these out! (Ibid: 164-65)

Not all scholars have so easily attributed this text to Maldonado. Already in the seventeenth century, German lexicographer Christian Gottlieb Jöcher (1694-1758) claimed that João Ferreira de Almeida “translated the New Testament into the Portuguese language [and] also wrote the [...] *Dialogo Rustico e Pastoril entre o cura de uma aldeia e um pastor de ovelhas*” (Jöcher in Alves 2007, 27). Also, in the minutes of the Batavian presbytery, there is a note for 1684 concerning the publication of a “booklet in Portuguese with the title of *Dialogo Rustico*, printed in the homeland under the authority of Reverend João Ferreira, who kept himself some copies” (Mooij, in Alves 2007, 601). There are other hints which confirm that authorship, as follows.

Title page of the *Dialogo Rustico e Pastoril*

First of all, the New Testament quotations in the text are very similar to those published by the Portuguese Calvinist in 1681. Also, the typographical format (type of font, headers, page layout, division of chapters) is near to the version of the New Testament printed in Amsterdam, thus confirming the data in the minutes of the Batavian presbytery stating that the booklet had been “printed in the homeland.” Moreover, the dialogue was written and published in the Portuguese language (even the name of Jean-Baptiste Maldonado has been lusitanized in the subtitle, while Almeida’s name is written exactly as in his other works). Similarly, the *Dialogo Rustico* seems to be addressed—just like the other writings of Ferreira de Almeida—to Portuguese-speaking Roman Catholics residing in the East Indies, and not to the native people (“gentiles”) of the region, as was the case with another famous dialogue *An Argument and Dispute upon the Law between a Roman Catholic and a Brahman* written by the Apostle of East Bengal, Dom António da Rozario, in the late 1660s. Finally, and most importantly, the Catholic Tridentine orthodoxy is vehemently opposed throughout the dialogue in language identical to that used in the other polemical works of João Ferreira de Almeida.

In addition, the Protestant controversial content of *Dialogo Rustico e Pastoril*, full of attacks against the Roman Catholic Church, provoked the response of an Italian Catholic friar active in the East Indies. This was the work *Luzzeiro Evangelico*, written in Saint Thomas

of Mylapore, by the Franciscan Giovan Battista Morelli, a missionary of the Congregation of *Propaganda Fide* (Halikowski Smith 2011). Although written in the East Indies in 1708, it was dedicated to a Portuguese military officer at Manila in 1709, but only published in Mexico City in 1710 at the Convento Grande de San Francisco.¹⁰ Even though it was written almost two decades after the death of João Ferreira, in 1691, this is the most important Catholic writing produced in opposition to the polemical texts of Almeida.

The book was dedicated on the first page “to the beloved Catholic brothers of Sion [Siam] and Cambodja, Batavia and Malaca, Bengal and Coast of Coromandel, Ceylon and Coast of Malabar, and all the other Christians in the East Indies,” and was written to fortify the faith of these Roman Catholic Eurasian communities at a time it was being called into question by pastors like Almeida, who pushed for the Portuguese-speaking masses to renounce their Roman Church. It is a generalised defence of Tridentine Roman Catholicism reaffirming the “Catholicity” of the Church of Rome, papal infallibility, the existence of purgatory etc. Morelli also tried hard here to defend the cult of saints and images from Protestant attacks, arguing that they were merely vehicles for the contemplation of a greater entity, God (Malvido 1987; Norris 2000). He also went on the attack, pointing out that church’s lack of internal unity other than in the face of attacks on Roman Catholicism. He writes:

And, there is so much discord amongst them that there is only one point on which they are united and together, namely in persecuting, vexing and contradicting Roman Catholics, the destruction of their churches and blocking the practice of their religion. This is something they do not practice against the Moors and Gentiles, and their mesquitas and pagodas, publicly allowing them to worship Mohammed (*Mafoma*) and their devilish idols, and not Jesus Christ and his saints in their Catholic churches, as can be seen from experience in Batavia, Malacca and Ceylon amongst other places. (Luzeiro 1710: 22)

In this way, tolerance for pagan religions appears as proof of the diabolical nature of the Reformed Christian churches. Indeed, they are not concerned with the conversion

¹⁰ This latter was the first and at one point most important of the religious complexes of New Spain, although suffering the greatest setbacks both in terms of lack of recruits, a political shift towards the non-monastic orders, and strain between its eclectic Spanish, *castizo* and *mestizo* constituents during the first decades of the 1700s.

of the gentiles but “only seek, as ministers of darkness (*trevas*), to overturn what is standing, not to raise the fallen; to pervert Christians and not to convert the gentiles” (Luzeiro 1710:27-9). Morelli concludes by drawing attention to the absence, or failure of the missionizing conducted by the Reformed Church amongst Asian populations:

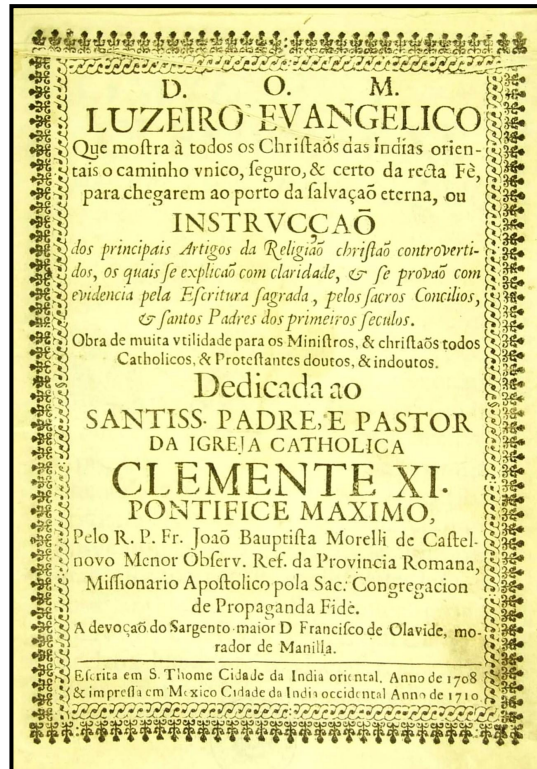
No gentile kingdom up till now has converted to Lutheranism or Calvinism [...] Their goal and zeal is not to convert the gentiles but to pervert the Christians. We have a woeful example of this before our very eyes. In Batavia, which gentiles or Mohammedans have converted to Calvinism over the course of so many years? They only know how to pervert those miserable and ignorant Roman Catholics they find there. In Malacca, Ceylon and other places what else are they doing? (Luzeiro 1710: 131-32)

Morelli’s book has been little understood or, better said, misunderstood by Latin American scholars keen to establish the first Portuguese language book printed in Hispano-American and who consequently make misguided speculation as to the author’s identity. Hallewell thinks it issued from “a (church) father in Spanish Mexico” (Hallewell 2005: 84), with Barboza Mello quick to claim it as “the second Brazilian book ever” (Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro 1979: 314/5, 42).

Besides the *Dialogo Rustico*, the Franciscan quotes in his *Luzeiro Evangelico* other works by the Portuguese Calvinist, including the second edition of his translation of the New Testament (without knowing its authorship), published in Batavia in 1693, and a “book against the mass written by unfaithful João Ferreira,” which almost certainly is the *Diferença d’a Christandade*. Still, Morelli was not aware of the fact that Almeida was the author of *Dialogo Rustico e Pastoril*. In any event, it is important to mention the way the Catholic author refers to that work, which confirms its “misleading” nature, as pointed out earlier. In his own words:

There is a book written in Portuguese, that circulates in the East Indies, under the title Dialogo Rustico e Pastoril, whose author (hiding his name out of shame) presents the conversation of a village priest with a shepherd. [...] The naive and unlearned, mainly those of weak faith, who follow the easy way, may be easily influenced by it. And, for this purpose, the author gave the book, maliciously, a title in the form of a Roman Catholic book, in

order to delude the Christians of the Indies as they read and intake the venom it contains; and, this is done in such a way that I myself was fooled, until I read it and came to perceive the evil and could slaughter this wolf in lamb's clothing. (Luzeiro 1710, 485-86)



Front page of *Luzeiro Evangelico* (1710)

It has been argued here that the religious polemical writings related to the context of the production of the first version of the Christian Scripture in Portuguese—and hitherto the most widely published book over time in the Portuguese language – make clear that this work of translation, undertaken by João Ferreira de Almeida in the Dutch East Indies during the seventeenth century, was not only a literary effort to propagate knowledge of and access to the Bible in a vulgate, but was also part of his polemical attacks on the Catholicism of Lusophone world in that period. In this way, a historical understanding of this biblical translation must go far beyond its biographical and typographical content. The central question must not be ignored, which is the religious conflict related to its context of production. In conclusion, our main goal was to provide fresh new information about that polemical literature written in Portuguese in the East Indies, in order to suggest its value in understanding not only the historical significance of

the making of the first Portuguese Bible, but also the religious tension that envolved the Luso-Dutch maritime conflict during most of the seventeenth century.

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Money Borrowing, Gold Smuggling and Diamond Mining: An Englishman in Pombaline Circles

Tijl Vanneste¹

Abstract

This article sets out to investigate the nature and consequences of the personal relationship between the English parliamentarian, contrabandist, and diamond trader John Bristow and the Portuguese envoy in London and Secretary of State Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo. A micro-historical enquiry of this relationship can clarify a number of key elements in the eighteenth-century Pombaline reforms. It shows that these policies were influenced by personal connections and pragmatic considerations, perhaps as much as they were by the prevailing mercantilist ideas and macro-economic circumstances.

Keywords

Economic History, Contraband Trade, Diamonds, Anglo-Portuguese Relations, Pombal

Resumo

Este artigo propõe-se investigar a natureza e as consequências da relação pessoal entre o parlamentar Inglês, contrabandista, e comerciante de diamantes John Bristow e o enviado Português em Londres e Secretário de Estado, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo. Um inquérito de micro-histórica baseado nessa relação pode esclarecer uma série de elementos-chave das reformas pombalinas do século XVIII. Mostra que essas políticas foram influenciados por conexões pessoais e considerações pragmáticas, talvez tanto quanto os seus protagonistas estavam pelas idéias mercantilistas dominantes e pelas circunstâncias macro-económicas.

Palavras-chave

História Económica, Contrabando, Diamantes, Relações Anglo-Portuguesas, Pombal

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The Anglo-Portuguese Relationship

Any history of Portugal's economy during the eighteenth century is partly a history of its relationship with England. Historians have written at length about the nature of this relationship (Noya Pinto, 1979; Fisher, 1971; Sideri, 1970; Macedo, 1963). Essentially, the Spanish threat forced Portugal to obtain a long-term military and political ally, while the English were perfectly able to use Luso-Brazilian markets to export their manufactured goods to. The imports of Brazilian gold and diamonds further served to widen the trade imbalance in the long run (Maxwell, 1968: 612; Macedo, 1963: 46-47). Whether the Anglo-Portuguese relationship established in the treaties of 1642, 1654, 1661 and 1703 (the Methuen Treaty) was beneficial (Fisher, 1963: 220) or detrimental (Sideri, 1970: 51-54) to Portugal's economy is a question that remains unresolved (see also the essays in Cardoso *et al.*, 2003), and contemporary voices already expressed their doubts about the nature of the economic relationship with England. The privileges that the English were granted, for instance, in their trade with Brazil, which had already been arranged on a monopolistic basis since the foundation of the *Companhia Geral do Comércio do Brasil* in 1649, were subject to scrutiny, and the country's dependence on England was discussed by contemporary economic thinkers and government officials.

Eighteenth-century economic reforms came to be strongly identified with the rise to power of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, the future Marquis of Pombal. Portuguese historians still ponder the relationship between Pombal's actions and the wider historical context of the time (Hespanha, 2007; Monteiro, 2006; Subtil, 2007), but there is no doubt that Pombal's economic policies, while not entirely new, proved to be an important turning point in Portuguese economic history (Cardoso, 2005; Maxwell, 1995; Macedo, 1951). As José Subtil pointed out in his monograph on Pombal, Lisbon's 1755 earthquake was also a political earthquake (Subtil, 2007) and momentum was created to adopt economic policies that would lead to a stronger, and more nationalized, Portuguese economy (Pereira, 2009: 488-496). This enabled Pombal to maneuver himself closer to the king, at the center of political power (Monteiro, 2006: 81). From such a position, the new prime minister, who already had experience of foreign policy after diplomatic stints in London and Vienna and his appointment as minister of foreign affairs in the early 1750s, was able to implement an economic and political strategy intended to strengthen Portugal's national economy, particularly in its relations with England.

Because of this, Pombal's policy has often been labeled as "mercantilist", but it went further than that (Macedo, 1966). Mercantilist techniques, such as the foundation of monopoly companies, were applied in order to create a class of Portuguese merchants who could compete with foreign traders (Maxwell, 1995: 67). This did not mean, however, that Pombal sought to destroy the privileged relationship with the English; he merely wished it to be more equivocal (Maxwell, 1995: 66). He also wanted to curtail English contraband trade in Lisbon, as the outflow of gold to England was immense, which was considered to be detrimental to the Portuguese economy (Sousa, 2006). In order to fully apprehend Pombal's economic policy, it is crucial to understand its relationship with the previously established historical context of Portuguese dependence on English imports, traders, and shippers. Portuguese historians have rightly pointed out that it was not just Pombal himself who mattered, but that one also has to take into account the wider context (Cardoso, 2013; d'Azevedo, 1922). José Subtil argued that the agents of change after 1755 not only included Pombal, but also a network of "political accomplices" (Subtil, 2007).

One could, of course, expand this notion to include economic accomplices, and this article will be concerned with one such accomplice, remarkably enough an Englishman, whose relationship with Pombal dated from the time of the latter's stay in London as a Portuguese envoy. John Bristow was involved in trade with Portugal at that time, and would later move to Lisbon, where he became a well-known member of the English trade factory. This organization was founded in 1711 by 59 firms, which were mainly active in textiles, grain and the wine business, as well as general shipping and finance. Their business extended to the Portuguese colonies, Newfoundland, the Mediterranean and the home territory (Fisher, 1981: 23-44). The English factory in Lisbon was a legal entity, with the English Consul-General serving as its presiding officer. Disputes between English and Portuguese merchants were settled by a special judge. The trade factory had its own chapel and burial ground (Lodge, 1933: 225).² Membership of the factory was crucial for English traders who were active in Lisbon, and was not free of charge. An annual tax had to be paid, the amount of which depended on the total volume of trade imports made by a particular merchant (Walford, 1940: 33-36).

Many of these merchants acted on their own behalf, but they also worked as agents for firms in London. It was the Lisbon-based firm of Bristow, Warde & C^o that acted as an agent for the initially London-based trader John Bristow (Sutherland, 1984a: 372). Bristow was born in 1701, became a Member of Parliament in 1734, and acted as a director and

² The English cemetery, established in 1717, is located in Rua São Jorge in the southwest area of Lisbon.

governor of the South Sea Company between 1730 and 1761.³ Bristow was a man of a certain financial standing, as shown by his subscription of £150,000 in an English government loan in 1744 (Shaw, 1998: 89; Dickson, 1993: 289), but he lost his fortune in the aftermath of the 1755 Lisbon earthquake. In 1749, he was one of the partners in a company that also included Samson Gideon, a wealthy Jewish-turned-Christian financier, and Francis Salvador, a highly successful Anglo-Jewish diamond trader, and who was commissioned to deliver three million ounces of silver to the East India Company, to be used in the purchase of Indian diamonds.⁴ From the 1750s onwards, he resided in the Portuguese capital, and he died there in 1768, leaving a lot of financial debts behind.⁵ Before his fall, it is important to consider his rise within an Anglo-Portuguese context, a rise that had begun at a time when Pombal was active in politics, but not yet the powerful figure he was to become after 1755.

Brazilian Contraband from Lisbon to London

Gold was a central issue in the Anglo-Portuguese relationship. In the late seventeenth century, the discovery of gold deposits in the interior heartland of Brazil led to a true gold rush (Higgins, 1999: 17-42; Antonil 1967: 119-123). While this served to revitalize a Portuguese economy that was already in a state of crisis (Boxer, 1969: 456) and to balance the trade deficit (Godinho, 2005: 326), it also “provided England with a new and essential source of bullion” (Sideri, 1970: 49). In a good year, such as 1725, 20,000 kilograms of Brazilian gold reached Portugal (Godinho, 1953: 83), and Charles Boxer has suggested that between half and three quarters of that amount had found its way to England (Boxer, 1962: 157). The exact volume of Brazilian gold that made it to Portugal and England during the eighteenth century is not known, partly because of the difficulty in estimating contraband, and research continues to be undertaken to determine both the quantitative and qualitative ramifications of gold movements (Costa, Rocha and Sousa, 2010; Sousa 2000). Historians have long agreed on the imbalance that Brazilian gold helped to create or deepen in the Anglo-Portuguese relationship. It provided a boost to the English economy, by contributing to the monetization of England, or even, in the long

³ See <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/bristow-john-1701-68> (consulted on 16/09/2015).

⁴ Entry on 21/03/1749, *Court Minute Book 63 E.I.C.*, British Library/India Office Records (BL/IOR), B/70, ff. 631-633. For Gideon, see Sutherland (1984b). Francis Salvador and his relationship with Bristow and the Portuguese government are discussed below.

⁵ Shaw (1998: 89). He figures as a character in a novel set in the earthquake-stricken Lisbon of 1755 (Müller, 2010).

run, to its Industrial Revolution, as pointed out by Adam Smith. Brazilian gold also proved to be an impediment to Portuguese economic development. John Richards, for instance, pointed out that the Brazilian gold rush contributed to the migration of 400,000 Portuguese to Brazil, one fifth of the total population of 1700, which was detrimental to Portuguese industry (Richards, 2003: 405). The growing dependence on English imports also prevented the development of a proper Portuguese industry (Sideri, 1970: 40-83), and no nation liked to see its bullion leave, whether it was gold or silver. In England, for instance, it was forbidden to export domestic bullion.⁶

English merchants became heavily involved in smuggling gold and bullion out of Portugal. Magalhães Godinho wrote that “the vessels of the King of England generally arrived in Lisbon at the same time as the fleets from Brazil, of course completely by chance. [...] During the night, a good part of the undeclared gold was unloaded onto the English vessels” (Godinho, 2005: 330). This practice led Malachy Postlethwayt to remark that the discontent of the Portuguese government with regard to clandestine bullion exports should not be exclusively blamed upon England. In his opinion, other countries benefited as much from Brazilian gold, because the English were transporters, taking the gold to different nations (Postlethwayt, 1774; Pedreira, 2003 and 1994). The Portuguese were well aware of the central role played by English ships in gold smuggling, which led to various clashes on the waterfront between Portuguese soldiers and English seafarers. King João V was even able to witness these quarrels from his palace window. English diplomats complained of Royal Navy captains accepting contraband gold and diamonds on board their vessels. Furthermore, the frequent announcements in English newspapers of the arrivals of Brazilian gold did not go unnoticed, and such indiscretion irritated both sides (Boxer, 1969: 464-469).

Bullion was not the only commodity that found its way into England illegally. Diamonds had been discovered in Brazil in the early eighteenth century. Their extraction was initially free, and older European trade networks distributing Asian diamonds quickly came to incorporate Brazilian stones (Vanneste, 2011: 50-57; Yogevev, 1978, Chapter 7). Diamonds were regularly smuggled in order to avoid the payment of duties. Diplomatic correspondence between English representatives in Lisbon and London shows that English merchants were heavily involved in the diamond contraband trade.⁷ English

⁶ The ban on the export of domestic specie is also noticeable in the shipments of silver made by diamond merchants to India. All the silver was foreign. *Court Minute Books 60-68 E.I.C.* (1742-1760), BL/IOR, B/67-B/75. For the profitability of bullion trade with Portugal, see Sutherland (1984a).

⁷ For a description of a number of cases and the role played therein by the special envoy Lord Tyrawly, see Francis (1985: 55-62).

merchants active in the Indian diamond trade shipped out jewellery, silver, coral, and polished diamonds, in order to obtain rough diamonds in return (Yogev, 1978). Considering the problematic nature of the remittances of Brazilian gold to London, uncut diamonds proved to be a good alternative, particularly considering their small size and the fact that the trade with Europe was not regulated until the 1750s.⁸ This fact was acknowledged by the English consul in Lisbon in 1732, when he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, saying that “as there is no Law in being against the importing of diamonds, & as they are more easily Concealed than Gold, I believe a great many have escaped the Kings Hands, & indeed less severity has been used for the discovery of them ... the Penalty of running Gold is very great, no less than Confiscation, with Banishment or the Gallies.”⁹

One of the merchants who found himself caught up in diamond contraband was John Bristow. In 1735, he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, saying that precious stones had been seized on board a ship moored in the Lisbon harbor, and that a lawsuit was pending. Bristow urged the Duke to instruct Lord Tyrawly, the special English envoy to the Portuguese capital, to provide assistance.¹⁰ Seventeen years later, in early 1752, the Portuguese customs suspected that Bristow was trying to export bullion on board an English ship, the *Lyme*. On January 29, a customs officer came to Bristow’s house to inform him of the pending search of the ship for bullion. On the ship, it came to a confrontation with sailors, and guns were drawn.¹¹

English merchants, including John Bristow, complained that the law against bullion exports was old and obsolete and that its enforcement would greatly harm English trade.¹² They also expressed their grievances over the aggressive attack on Bristow’s house, in full sight of many people, based on what they claimed was false information. Lord Tyrawly was called upon to resolve the friction that had arisen, but he soon wrote to England that the merchants’ complaints were not substantial enough and that Bristow’s claims had no foundation.¹³ Furthermore, the merchant committee led by Bristow lost its support among

⁸ However, the mining had been organized as a monopoly since 1739 (Vanneste, 2011: 51).

⁹ Charles Compton to the Duke of Newcastle, 12/01/1732, Lisbon, National Archives, State Papers (NA/SP) 89/37, ff. 141-145, on f. 142r.

¹⁰ Duke of Newcastle to Lord Tyrawly, Whitehall, 28/10/1735, NA/SP 89/36, ff. 190-192.

¹¹ *A narrative of the reasons, which constrained the undersigned Bristow’s, Warde & Company to the Committee of the Factory (no minister or consul from His Majesty being then resident here) for their assistance and support in so critical a situation*, Lisbon, 22/06/1752, BL, Add. 23634 (Tyrawly Papers; Correspondence of Lord Tyrawly when ambassador in Portugal, 1752-1757), ff. 86-87.

¹² Committee of the English factory to Lord Tyrawly, Lisbon, 22/06/1752, BL, Add. 23634, ff. 104-105.

¹³ Lord Tyrawly to Lord Holderness, Lisbon, 25/06/1752, BL, Add. 23634, ff. 106-111.

the other members of the English Factory, who labeled them as “silly Ignorant wrongheaded men.”¹⁴ Bristow’s actions were seen as “intrigues.”¹⁵

Encounters in London: Money & Politics

For John Bristow, however, it did not matter much that he had fallen out of favor with his colleagues. By the time it happened, he could rely on a powerful ally, the Marquis of Pombal. Named Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and War in July, 1750, Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo quickly set about reforming Portugal’s economic and imperial policy. His desire was to “fortify the nation’s bargaining power within the Atlantic commercial system” (Maxwell, 1995: 67), and to that purpose he used “mercantilist techniques” to create a national bourgeoisie of Portuguese merchants who would eventually have the financial and commercial power to challenge foreign traders (Madureira, 1997b; França, 1983; Carreira 1983).

Pombal’s plans to improve Portugal’s economy through the strengthening of a national commercial class did not, however, exclude the participation of foreign merchants and financiers, as long as they served under the Portuguese political order. He was sufficiently pragmatic in his approach not to alienate the English interest in Portugal, and a Portuguese official wrote to Bristow about the smuggling case, saying that the English merchants did not need to fear bad consequences, as he was assured that the Secretary of State was well aware of the commercial interests at stake.¹⁶ Three months later, the merchants involved wrote to Lord Tyrawly that Pombal had personally intervened, asserting that the consequences would be dangerous if Portuguese authorities tried to stop the bullion exports to England.¹⁷

Pombal’s pragmatic attitude is not so difficult to explain in the light of early modern Anglo-Portuguese relations, but in most historiographic contributions on Pombal’s economic reform, his development of a direct relationship with actual English merchants as a tool in his policy has remained virtually ignored. In order to comprehend Pombal’s efforts to create a strong Portuguese mercantile class in order to assert Portugal’s place in the greater economic system to its own advantage, it is important to understand what steps

¹⁴ Johan Mayne, Isaac Mollortie, Tom Chace, Phillip Jackson, S.I., S.d., BL, Add. 23634, f. 159.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Antonio Luiz de Oliveira to John Bristow, Lisbon, 18/03/1752, BL, Add. 23634, f. 38.

¹⁷ A narrative, Lisbon, 22/06/1752, BL, Add. 23634, ff. 86-87.

he took, and which people he decided to rely upon. John Bristow was one of these people, and, considering his background in smuggling, an unlikely but perhaps suitable candidate.

Pombal and Bristow had known each other from the time when they both lived in London, the former as a diplomatic envoy, and the latter as a merchant actively involved in trade with Portugal. When Pombal arrived in the English capital in 1738, the residence of the Portuguese ambassador was in a poor condition. In 1740, he requested permission to move to a more expensive residence, which also had a chapel. The purchase of that house and the necessary repairs would cost 9,000 *cruzados*. In November, 1740, the decision was made to rent the house, located in Audrey Street. The person who paid the deposit to the landlord was Francis Salvador.¹⁸ Salvador was one of the most successful diamond merchants of his day, with a large stake in the trade with India.¹⁹ He came from a Sephardic Jewish family that had left Portugal for Amsterdam and London in the seventeenth century, but he had maintained a connection with the Portuguese government. When the discovery of Brazilian diamonds led to a fall in prices on the European markets, Francis Salvador was asked for advice by Portuguese officials. His suggestion to close down the Brazilian mines entirely was taken up by the Crown between 1735 and 1739. In retrospect, Pombal thought this advice came from Salvador's interests in the Anglo-Indian diamond trade, and he remarked in a later manuscript dealing with a history of the diamond trade that it "brought the famous Hebrew great joy." A few lines later, he labeled Salvador's suggestions as "sinister counsel."²⁰

At the time, however, Portuguese officials seemed content with Salvador's services, and even sought to use them a second time. In 1738, the Portuguese had to deal with the Maratha invasion of the island of Salsete, off the coast of Bombay. It was the year in which Pombal had taken office in London, and through the intermediation of Salvador, he started talking to the directors of the East India Company, at Salvador's house.²¹ The failure of a plan to send English ships to assist the Portuguese settlement on Salsete led Pombal to consider the idea that Portugal should take care of itself, and that a *Companhia Geral do Oriente* should be founded. To that end, Francis Salvador was instructed to purchase ships

¹⁸ Antonio Guedes Pereira and Marco Antonio de Azevedo Coutinho to Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Lisbon, 20/02/1742, BL, Add. 20800 (*Cartas diplomaticas de Lisboa para Londres; 1738-1745*), ff. 342-43.

¹⁹ For more on the Salvador family, see Woolf (1962-1967) and Vanneste (2011: 124-139 and 150-162).

²⁰ "cauzou ao dito Famoso Hebreo huma grande alegria" and "os seus sinistros conselhos," *Dedução Compendiosa dos Contractos de Mineração dos diamantes; dos outros contractos da Extração delles; dos cofres de Lisboa para os Payzes Estrangeiros; dos perigos em que todos laboravam e das Providencias, comque a elles occorreo o senhor Rey Dom Joseph para os conservar*, S.d., Biblioteca Nacional Lisbon, Coleção Pombalina (BNL/CP), Códice 695, ff. 306-80, on f. 311r.

²¹ Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, London, 02/12/1738. BL, Add. 20798 (*Cartas diplomaticas de Londres para Lisboa 1738-1739. Cartaz de officio ao Secretario do Estado e scriptaes por Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello desde a cidade de Londres no anno de 1738*), ff. 26-28. See also the letters from 21/11/1738 and 15/12/1738.

on behalf of the Portuguese government.²² In February, 1740, news began to circulate that Francis Salvador had bought the warship Cumberland, which was to sail to Macau.²³

Things turned sour when Salvador reclaimed the loans that he had made for obtaining and repairing the Portuguese envoy's residence. Two repayments were made to him in 1745, and although work on the chapel ended in 1746, Portuguese officials did not make any more efforts to repay Salvador.²⁴ Instead, they complained about the pressure put upon them by the Jewish diamond trader.²⁵ In November, Francis Salvador wrote directly to Pombal to resolve the issue in a friendly manner.²⁶ A month later, nothing had changed: "Francis Salvador persecutes me strongly about delivering the new chapel [for use], for which he has the keys, but I answer him that I will not do so without the orders of Your Excellency."²⁷ It seems that the lack of haste on the Portuguese side had to do with a shortage of financial means, which had made them turn to Salvador in the first place. In order to obtain the necessary sum, the merchant John Bristow was consulted. After some talks, Bristow was prepared to lend money to the Portuguese government, and, in February, 1747, Francis Salvador was finally reimbursed the sum of £2,417.²⁸

The Diamond Monopoly: Families of Trade, Foreigners of Influence

It seems that Pombal had not forgotten Bristow's financial help when he came to the latter's rescue five years later. More than just simply pressuring Portuguese customs into letting the Bristow affair go, Pombal decided to incorporate John Bristow into one of his plans to reshape the Luso-Brazilian commercial system. When the Brazilian diamond mines re-opened in 1739, the business of extraction became a monopoly (Ferreira, 2009). Between 1749 and 1752, it was in the hands of Brazilian-born Felisberto Caldeira Brant. In 1751, however, Caldeira Brant fell from grace as it became known that he was heavily involved in smuggling and corruption. At the same time, Pombal was negotiating at the

²² "Com Francisco Salvador continuey as conversações depois de o conhecer intereçado na Companhia," Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, London, 20/01/1739, BL, Add. 20798, ff. 85-87.

²³ Antonio Guedes Pereira and Marco Antonio de Azevedo Coutinho to Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Lisbon, 19/02/1740, BL, Add. 20801 (*Cartas para Londres 1738-1742*), ff. 5-7.

²⁴ Francisco Caetano to Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, London, 30/12/1745, BL, Add. 20797 (*Cartas de Londres 1745-1747*), ff. 83-85.

²⁵ Francisco Caetano to Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, London, 12/08/1746, BL, Add. 20797, ff. 178-179. See also the letters of 16/08/1746 on ff. 180-181, 23/08/1746 on ff. 192-193 and 16/09/1746 on f. 197.

²⁶ Francis Salvador to Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, London, 04/11/1746, BL, Add. 20797, f. 218.

²⁷ "Francisco Salvador me persegue fortemente para que tome entregue da Capella Nova, de que elle tem as chaves, porem eu lhe respondo que o não faço sem ordem de V.E.," Francisco Caetano to Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, London, 09/12/1746, BL, Add. 20797, ff. 229-30.

²⁸ Francis Salvador to Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, London, 16/02/1747, BL, Add. 20797, ff. 257-58.

Lisbon court with the previous contract-holder, Portuguese-born João Fernandes de Oliveira. The latter was awarded the new contract, but Brant's clandestine activities had led to a failure of credit links that stretched all the way to Lisbon. Pombal decided to change the manner in which Brazilian diamonds were traded in Europe, a practice that had hitherto been free. In a manuscript concerned with the history of the Brazilian diamond trade, he wrote that he gave himself eight days away from the royal court to come up with a plan, a period "in which I could be locked in my office, without being interrupted."²⁹

Pombal wanted to turn Brazilian diamond trade in Europe into a separate commercial monopoly, and one of his motivations was to construct a Christian trade network in opposition to the Jewish merchants who dominated the diamond trade.³⁰ In his mind, the company that would receive this privilege had to be Dutch or English, in view of their expertise, credit, and capital. The name John Bristow came to the fore. He had already proposed to offer the Portuguese government the 700,000 *cruzados* they needed to reimburse the protested bills of exchange that had been used by Felisberto Caldeira Brant to obtain credit. In February 1753, almost one year after his involvement in the smuggling of bullion to England, the king agreed to Bristow's proposal and granted him the monopoly to sell Brazilian diamonds for a period of six years.³¹ The contract was signed on the tenth of August 1753, and its contents were to remain secret.³² Bristow wasn't the sole party in the enterprise, as he had established a partnership with the Dutch merchant Herman Joseph Braamcamp, a former representative for Prussia at the Portuguese court, who had tried in vain to obtain the mining monopoly a few years earlier.³³ Four days later, news was already spreading in Lisbon. A Huguenot firm wrote to its correspondent in Antwerp, stating that "the House of Bristows Warde & C^o it is said is contracting some say for the Brazeel diamonds that are actually in the King's coffers in the mint of the old contract and others say that tis for those that are to come of the new."³⁴

It seems that Pombal's pragmatism in relation to the English had catapulted a smuggler at odds with his fellow merchants into a very powerful position. But Bristow's luck would not last for long. News reached Pombal that Bristow's company had associated

²⁹ *Dedução*, f. 324r.

³⁰ *Dedução*, f. 326v.

³¹ *Dedução*, f. 330v.

³² Alvará de 11/08/1753, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa, Collecção de Leis, Maço 4, N^o144.

³³ *Dedução*, ff. 324r-326v. See also Brandão 2002: 144

³⁴ Berthon & Garnault to James Dormer, Lisbon, 14/08/1753, Felixarchief Antwerp, IB1652. They confirmed Bristow's involvement in the contract as well as the participation of Herman Braamcamp's brother Gerard in Amsterdam on 09/10/1753.

itself with the Jewish trader Francis Salvador.³⁵ Pombal disliked the Jews, and held a personal grudge against Salvador. To make matters worse, the earthquake that struck Lisbon in 1755 led directly to the bankruptcy of Bristow, Warde & C^o, and Bristow could no longer fulfill his contractual obligations, leading to a termination of the contract in 1756. Portuguese officials were instructed to look for merchants in London who could take over the contract, which would remain in foreign hands until the end of the century.

Together with a sustained Anglo-Dutch presence in the diamond trade, Pombal also incorporated Portuguese merchants into the administration of the diamond contracts, a strategy that was very much in line with his attempts to create a national commercial bourgeoisie to occupy key positions in Portuguese industries and trade monopolies. José Francisco da Cruz and José Rodrigues Bandeira were appointed as diamond administrators in Lisbon,³⁶ positions that their families continued to hold until the end of the eighteenth century (Rodrigues, 1982: 19). Pedro Quintela became the monopoly holder in 1790, purchasing 158,168 carats of diamonds between 1791 and 1800 (Rabello, 1997: 177). Members of these three families represented 29 per cent of the financial value of investments in Brazilian diamonds to be paid back in 1770.³⁷ These families were part of the *grupo dos tabaqueiros*, people involved in the tobacco contract, including also the Ferreira, Fernandes Bandeira, Machado, Braamcamp and other families (Pedreira, 1996: 361; Costa, 1992; França, 1983). They were also involved in the *junta do comércio*, the Pernambuco and Grão Pará & Maranhão trading companies, and several Lisbon factories (Madureira, 1997a; Maxwell, 1995: 74-75; Nunes Dias, 1968: 37; Macedo, 1951: 141-143).³⁸

Brazilian diamonds were an important commercial connection between this Portuguese commercial oligarchy and a number of foreign traders, but these groups also became linked socially, through marriage. Anselmo José da Cruz, the brother of the diamond administrator José Francisco, had a daughter who married Geraldo Wenceslão Braamcamp, the son of Herman Braamcamp, who had been involved in the first diamond trade monopoly together with John Bristow, and was a director in the Pernambuco Company (Maxwell, 1995: 74). Geraldo later became the first Baron of Sobral (Affonso and Valdez, 1988: 350). Daniel Gildemeester, the holder of the diamond monopoly between 1761 and 1783 had a son who married Maria Teresa Machado. Earlier, Daniel had

³⁵ Dedução, f. 337v

³⁶ Dedução, f. 346r.

³⁷ *Letras sobre o contrato dos diamantes que há para pagar, e dias dos seus vencimentos* (1770). BNL/PB, Códice 691, f. 18.

³⁸ On Anselmo José da Cruz and his two brothers, see Lisboa (2009).

opposed the marriage of one of his sons in a conversation with a Quintela (Bombelles, 1979: 129-130).

This confirms that foreign merchants could rise to important commercial positions within the Portuguese economy, but not without becoming linked to a cosmopolitan Portuguese bourgeoisie. A simple dichotomy in which Pombal tried to push Portuguese merchants into influential commercial positions at the expense of foreign traders cannot be maintained as an explanation. While Pombal's policies need to be inscribed in a wider historical context in which Portugal's commercial dependency on England was questioned, it is also important to acknowledge Pombal's pragmatism and his readiness to include contacts from his English days in the circles of his political and economic accomplices.

Conclusion

Historians studying the development of the Portuguese economy in the eighteenth century have rightly stressed the importance of the historical context of Anglo-Portuguese relations and the cataclysm of 1755, which led to a Portuguese diplomat becoming the most prominent figure in the higher echelons of government. While there is no doubting the importance of analyzing these events within a wider international economic context, a micro-historical approach that looks at relationships between people rather than at relationships between economic and political structures can be equally revealing.

The Marquis of Pombal's efforts to build a Portuguese merchant class ready to compete with foreign traders in terms of finance, commercial power and industrial development were a logical consequence of re-thinking the century-old relationship between England and Portugal within a "mercantilist" framework. It should, however, be remembered that Pombal was pragmatic enough to understand that the expansion of the Portuguese economy on these terms could never take place without preserving the Anglo-Portuguese relationship, and without benefitting from the personal experience and capital of a number of well-to-do foreign merchants. It remains remarkable, however, that his decision to rely upon English commercial expertise brought Pombal to John Bristow, a known contrabandist. This cannot be satisfactorily explained within the traditional narrative of Anglo-Portuguese relations. Looking at personal relationships hints at an interdependency of foreign and Portuguese merchants that was economic, political and socio-cultural. Much of this came to fruition because of Pombal's English past, and the connections he had maintained from that period.

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**Poettering, Jorun, *Handel, Nation und Religion—
Kaufleute zwischen Hamburg und Portugal im 17. Jahrhundert*,
Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 405 pp. 2013. ISBN 978-
3-525-31022-9**

Torsten dos Santos Arnold¹

The history of German-Portuguese economic, political and social relations dates back centuries. Since the late Middle Ages, merchants of the Hanseatic League quite regularly set sail towards the Iberian Peninsula and Portugal in particular. Commerce was essentially serving basic needs: bulk commodities such as cereals and timber came from the Hanseatic side; salt cork, fruits, olives and wine from Portugal. With the sphere of Portuguese influence and trade expanding as far as Brazil, Africa and Asia, spices and the colonial products coffee, cocoa, sugar, tobacco and cotton were added to the assortment of goods bought in Lisbon.

In her book *Handel, Nation und Religion—Kaufleute zwischen Hamburg und Portugal im 17. Jahrhundert* (Trade, Nation and Religion—Merchants between Hamburg and Portugal during the 17th Century), Jorun Poettering describes and analyzes some of the facets of the German-Portuguese relations by drawing attention to the characteristics and evolution of the commercial exchanges of European and Colonial merchandise between Hamburg and Portugal during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The book, written in German, is based on the author's dissertation (Universität Hamburg, Germany, 2012) and won the award of the Society of Migration Research *Gesellschaft für Historische Migrationsforschung*. Structured into three major chapters "Political/ Legal Framework Conditions," "Travelling, Life and Commerce" and "Solidarity and Identity," Poettering first familiarizes the reader with the historical development and geo-economic aspects that characterized the Hamburg-Portugal trade during this particular time period. As part of the union of the two Iberian crowns, Lisbon was the capital of the Portuguese Empire and as such one of the major places of transit of colonial (African, Asian and south-American) merchandise. In contrast, Hamburg was the major gateway and trade place of transshipment from and towards the central European hinterland regions, including the

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Baltic Sea. By comparing both places, the author shows different attitudes towards foreigners. The Portuguese legislation encouraged and privileged foreign merchants to settle in Lisbon and to trade with Portugal, while the 1604 Hamburg legislation *Schragen* restricted the assortment of goods handled by immigrants (pp. 44-61).

The second chapter focuses on merchants, merchant networks and merchandise. Poettering puts the findings and conclusions made by Hermann Kellenbenz into question. While Kellenbenz had based his conclusions on the examination of the *Werkzoll* records, a general charge on merchandise from ships that had to be paid on arrival and departure, Poettering also examines the admiralty customs duty records, which provide a highly detailed set of data including port of origin, merchandise, merchants and merchant organizations, name of ship and skipper. In considering the 1604 Hamburg legislations and examining and comparing data from the 1632 and 1647 customs records, she provides the first study that clearly demonstrates the complexity of Hamburg-Portugal trade. Kellenbenz claimed that Portuguese Jews dominated Hamburg-Portugal trade, and that they specialized in spices and sugar on one hand, and that Hamburg merchants had a focus rather of on European produce such as cereals, wine and wax (Poettering, 203, 204, 206-217; Kellenbenz, 1954, 1958).

It is to Poettering's work that the reader is able to see the development of Hamburg's external trade during the first half of the seventeenth century, with each group of traders handling broad ranges of merchandize, and without any monopolies on certain products. Even if some regulations excluded foreign merchants from intermediation between supplier and foreign markets, this did not push the Portuguese to a sectorial constriction, e.g. into the sugar sector, which was not touched by the regulations. Poettering shows that the *Schragen*, nonetheless, privileged merchants holding the status of Hamburg burghers, most prominently in the trade with cereals. Thus Portuguese traders were not allowed to purchase grain directly from the producers but had to buy it from those Hamburg middlemen.

In her final chapter, the author draws special attention to the question of denominations and commerce by comparing the merchant groups and networks by their geographical, social and religious origins. Being excluded from Hamburg's communities such as the *Fabregesellschaften* and *Commerzdeputation* (to become the chamber of commerce), Portuguese New Christians at first joined the Catholic community of foreign merchants in the nearby Danish city of Altona but overtly joined Altona's Portuguese-Jewish community during the following decades (pp. 288-313). Poettering argues that the situation of the

Dutch merchants who traded in Hamburg was quite different from the Portuguese nation. Due to their linguistic separation into Flemish and French speakers and their religious divide into Lutheran, Calvinist and other Protestant groups, Dutch merchants did not possess the same unity as a homorganic community (pp. 314-324). In contrast to the Dutch and Portuguese merchants who operated in Hamburg, the Hamburgers operating in Lisbon rather were organized in several brotherhoods such as the famous St. Bartholomew brotherhood, and their interests were represented by the Hamburg and Hanseatic consulate. Albeit not being persecuted by the inquisition, many Hamburg merchants converted to Catholicism and thus gained access to the Portuguese economic and political elite (pp. 324-339).

Summarizing the present book, the reader is offered a new perspective on merchants and merchant networks during a period of religious conflicts and wars. Jorun Poettering not only analyzed and cross-examined German or Portuguese archival material, the author clearly contributed to the understanding of the socio-economic relations between Northern and Southern Europe by different perspectives based on an international research. Still, the author could have hinted more explicitly to the methodological problem of comparing a city-state on one hand with the capital of a kingdom and of an empire on the other. Also, the effects of Portugal's restoration of its independence from Spain (1640) on Hamburg-Portugal trade could have been considered more detailed.

These constructive criticisms shall not diminish the achievements of Jorun Poettering's book. The study would deserve a translation into English, and even more so as the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hamburg-Portugal trade has not been investigated more systematically since the 1950s.

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“*Homem de grossa fazenda*” (ca. 1450 –1530): *Un mercante
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Toscana 73. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, xxvi p, 272 pp. 2014.
ISBN: 9788822263001**

Angelo Cattaneo¹

From the early fifteenth century onwards, Lisbon played host to an important community of Tuscan merchants and bankers, some of whom invested in the overseas fleets and trade, providing capital for most of the early voyages of the *Carreira da Índia*. Others even personally embarked on Portuguese ships, often never returning to Europe. Bartolomeo Marchionni, Girolamo Sernigi, Giovanni da Empoli, Francesco Corbinelli, and Piero Strozzi were among the most important merchants who took part, either directly or indirectly, in the Portuguese expansion. This fact is already recorded in the historiography: Federigo Melis, Jacques Heers, Virginia Rau, Carmen Radulet, Marco Spallanzani, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, among others, have investigated this subject over the past fifty years. Guidi Bruscoli’s new in-depth study of the Florentine merchant, financier and banker Bartolomeo Marchionni (ca. 1450–1530) has renewed interest in the role of Italian (and, in particular, Florentine) agents, networks and mercantile practices in the early establishment of Portugal’s trading empire. His book sheds fresh light on one of the most outstanding foreign agents who was active in Lisbon for more than fifty years, between 1468 and 1530, through the reigns of Afonso V, João II, Manuel I, and João III, and was involved in almost every kind of commercial and financial activity linked to the expansion, ranging from acquiring a dominant position in the Madeiran sugar trade to financing slave trade in and from Africa, and organizing expeditions to India, eventually including the opening of a *feitoria* (factory) in Cananor (present-day Kannur, in the state of Kerala, India). He was even granted the possibility of naturalization by Manuel I, quite probably in return for the financial services that he had rendered to the Portuguese king through the concession of generous loans.

Though well-grounded in previous Portuguese and international historiography, Guidi Bruscoli’s book is also supported by impressive and fruitful original documentary research undertaken in several European cities, including Lisbon, Almada, Évora,

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Simancas, Florence, Pisa, Venice, and Mantua. This work led to the discovery of several previously unknown documents, nineteen of which are fully transcribed and made available to readers in the book's appendix.

The work is divided into two main parts, with a total of five chapters. The first part focuses on Marchionni's life, seen from two main perspectives. The first, 'La vita', deals with Marchionni's biography, from his birth and apprenticeship in Florence to his arrival in Lisbon in 1470 under the protection of the Cambini family, his marriage and his subsequent significant business success, closely linked to both the Portuguese mercantile and political élites and the Crown, and finally his death in 1530. The second part focuses instead on his widespread network of collaborators and partners, in Portugal and in Europe, encompassing the vast and interlinked commercial networks of Florentine, Genoese and Portuguese merchant families and companies active in both the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea basin, from Madeira and the Azores, to Spain, France, Flanders, England, and of course Italy.

The second part, through its three highly detailed chapters, explores all the business activities in which Marchionni, his collaborators and partners became involved under his leadership, through their financial participation in voyages and trade along the Atlantic coasts of Africa, the Atlantic islands, Brazil, and the huge oceanic spaces of the *Carreira da Índia*, linking them to the European markets and commercial networks in the Mediterranean Sea and in Northern Europe.

More specifically, chapter three studies merchandise imported and exported to and from Lisbon, focusing on gold, cloth and pepper (*malagueta*) from Africa, sugar from Madeira and *pau brasil* from Brasil. Chapter four analyses the trade in African slaves, from Africa to Portugal, Valencia, Seville, and also Florence, detailing its costs and profits, as well as the role played by merchants such as Marchionni in connecting several traders in the two continents. Finally, the last chapter concentrates on Marchionni's financial involvement in several voyages of the *Carreira da Índia*, including those led by Pedro Álvares Cabral (1500), João da Nova (1501), Vasco da Gama (1502), Afonso de Albuquerque (1503), Lopo Soares de Albergaria (1504), Francisco de Almeida (1505), Tristão da Cunha (1506), Fernão Coutinho (1509), Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos (1510), Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (1518), and Jorge de Brito (1520).

Guidi Bruscoli clearly shows the crucial and specific role played by Marchionni and other foreign traders, bankers and financiers active in Lisbon in importing and re-exporting capital and commodities (including slaves) all over Europe: Marchionni was able to attract

and move wealth from many European cities and direct it towards Lisbon and the expanding routes of Portuguese navigations where investments looked profitable, interconnecting different continents and different areas of Europe. Then he was able to use the same networks to resell spices, slaves, and all sorts of merchandise acquired thorough the voyages and the first attempts at colonization. In doing so, Guidi Bruscoli neatly underlines the collaboration between Florentine and local Portuguese capital, with funding that came from both mercantile élites and people of lower means. Through his links with Florentine merchant bankers, Marchionni was able to collect both large and small investments, though which he managed not only to share the expenses of equipping the Portuguese ships of the *Carreira da Índia*, but even to make loans to the Portuguese Crown.

Concepts such as “network” and “trade” are repeatedly (ab)used in the historiography of the Portuguese and European expansion, most of the time without providing any detailed content to qualify them. The strength of Guidi Bruscoli’s book lies precisely in its ability to define and deconstruct Marchionni’s networks, giving names and surnames to their members, and revealing their goals and strategies, as well as showing and analyzing the complexities of the merchant’s trading activities in great detail, while, at the same time, explaining to his readers how and why cloth, gold, and slaves from Africa, sugar from Madeira, and tapestries from Flanders, among many other goods, gradually became part of a single market that spanned four continents.

Jensen, Kurt Villads, *A Cruzada nas Fronteiras do Mundo. Portugal e a Dinamarca desde cerca do ano mil até cerca de 1250*. (Portuguese translation by Fernando Coelho Kvistgaard), Lisbon: Chiado Editora, 2014, 736 pp. ISBN: 978-989-51-1554-9.

João Gouveia Monteiro¹

The book *A Cruzada nas Fronteiras do Mundo. Portugal e a Dinamarca desde cerca do ano mil até cerca de 1250* by the Danish Scholar Kurt Villads Jensen, recently published by Chiado Editora, is the Portuguese version of a doctoral thesis presented at the Southern University of Denmark (Odense) in 2011, under the title “Korstog ved verdens yderste rand. Danmark og Portugal ca. 1000 til ca. 1250” (Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2011).

The book deals with the history of Denmark and Portugal in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries from a comparative perspective. It seeks to show what the people of Denmark and Portugal felt and thought at the time of the Crusades in relation to both themselves and the “infidels”—that is, how they regarded those who were different from them.

This is an original and (very) large-scale project. The concept of the Crusade in the Iberian Peninsula is not entirely consensual, and Danish history has, to date, been virtually ignored by Portuguese historians (and vice versa). To achieve his ultimate goal, the author was obliged to learn our language, work very hard in Portuguese libraries and archives, and become integrated within the scientific community (especially at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Coimbra). As the book is full of references to very specific events, it is mostly a work dealing with the history of mentalities or, as the author puts it, a testimony to European medieval culture built upon the case study of two countries that are far apart but that nevertheless have many similarities.

To produce this volume, Kurt Jensen (who now teaches at the University of Stockholm) used a wide variety of sources: narratives about kings and battles, Danish and Portuguese archival documents, jester and troubadour poetry, and analyses of monuments (castles in particular), weapons (offensive and defensive), and ships used in military expeditions, etc. Thus, his book is panoramic in its scope, with the consequent risks and benefits that are always associated with a choice of this nature, namely having to deal with

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the terrible challenge of synthesis while simultaneously providing an “overall picture” (the expression is the author’s own) of the Crusades on the outskirts of Europe.

Reading this book, one feels the pleasure that Villads Jensen took in its conception and production, especially because it allowed him to plunge into Portuguese medieval history and practice one of his favorite exercises: the study of the work of ancient historians. Among these, we must highlight Saxo the Grammarian (*circa* 1150-1220), a learned Dane, who was secretary to the Archbishop of Lund, one of the most important counselors of King Valdemar I.

This was, then, a long and meticulous investigation that took nearly 25 years, in part because, at the outset, there were almost no studies on the movement of the Crusades in Denmark (and very few for the Portuguese case). The least we can say is that it has been worth waiting all this time to be rewarded now with the publication of a work that will no doubt shake the traditional way of doing medieval history.

What is the main purpose of this book? According to the author, the goal is to be able to reach a new understanding of European medieval history by studying the incredible diversity of the Crusades and their influence, particularly as regards contacts made and relationships forged. To achieve this goal, the work is organized into ten chapters (eleven if we count the Conclusion), which together amount to more than 700 pages, including an extensive survey of the bibliography and sources, over 1600 footnotes, many maps, genealogical diagrams, pictures, tables of Portuguese and Danish kings (indispensable!) and a very useful index that will facilitate consultation of this work by Portuguese professionals. In fact, with all this material, the reader has everything needed to navigate safely through Danish and Portuguese history during the long and lively age of the Crusades.

The great difficulty of this work results obviously from the fact that it is a study of comparative history, undertaken at the highest level: historiography, structural history and factual history. Hence, the first chapter of the work serves mainly to pose the fundamental question. The chosen pretext is amusing: a letter (in French, because France was still the “sun of Europe” at this time) sent, in 1892, by Luciano Cordeiro (the then secretary of the Portuguese Geographical Society) to his Danish friend Christian Brunn (the head of the Royal Library of Copenhagen) requesting information about the Portuguese Princesses Berengaria (who, in 1214, married the famous Danish king Valdemar the Victorious) and Leonor (who married a son of Valdemar).

We may ask: did this marriage take place because of Berengaria’s fascinating beauty (attested by an excavation made in Ringsted in 1855, which allowed anatomy professor

Ibsen to give a description of the Princess's skeleton and skull)? Or was it due to Portugal and Denmark's century-long connection to the movement of the Crusades, which would have created a "common denominator" between these two peripheral nations of Western Europe and made these marriages natural?

This question serves as a pretext for a comparison of European medieval societies, especially for the periods in which the sources are less succulent ("quod non in actis, non in rebus" the Romans said!). In the past, such comparisons tended to highlight the differences, but today historians prefer to look for similarities; for this purpose, the Crusades are ideal, for of course they were pan-European and partook of the universality proper to Christianity.

But what was the reason for choosing Portugal to be Denmark's partner in this historiographical marriage? According to Kurt Villads Jensen, there were five main reasons: i) the two kingdoms were of a similar size; ii) they were both dependent on the sea and on naval warfare; iii) they both had a religious border in the Middle Ages (Portugal with Muslims, and Denmark with the paganism of the Wends); iv) in both cases the crusading movement led to territorial expansion; v) they had strong monarchies in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, precisely because of their involvement in the Crusades. Thus, Kurt Villads Jensen, a distinguished professor of medieval history, has also become a Portuguese medievalist in his own right, greatly enriching his own and our culture in multiple ways...

The second chapter of this book is presented in the form of another crucial and very pointed question: "Were there really Crusades on the periphery?" This is largely used to situate the historiographical debate about the origin of Crusaders. As the author explains, between one and two hundred thousand people from all over Europe (including distant Iceland) responded positively to the appeal made by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont at the end of 1095. However, the chroniclers who recorded the major military operations in the Holy Land were mostly French, which meant that the adventure was often perceived as an odyssey of the "Franks."

In the 1120s, a Benedictine chronicler of Anglo-Norman origin, William of Malmesbury, tried to explain the majority French participation through a theory about the effects of the weather. In the south, he claimed, the weather was hot and the warriors were small and tired quickly (though they were ingenious enough to poison the tips of their arrows). In the north, on the other hand, the weather was cold and the warriors, who were large and courageous, were also rather crude and unsophisticated. Only in the center (i.e. in France) was the climate temperate enough to provide a good balance between power and

intelligence... Thus, this Vegetian background theory (I mean from Vegetius, a Latin author of the fifth century AD, who wrote the famous *Epitoma rei militaris*) clearly contributed to the paradigm of the “barbarization of the peripheries,” which prevailed for a long time, creating the myth of the non-participation of many other peoples of Western Europe in the controversial adventure of the Crusades in Syria-Palestine.

In 1864, Denmark lost its provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, which caused alarm in the community and generated fear that Denmark might disappear as an independent nation. Consequently, Danish historians turned inward, highlighting the originality of Danish history and emphasizing its independent development (see the emblematic case of Erik Arup, author of a famous *History of Denmark*, in 1925). At that stage, there was very little interest in what had happened outside Denmark and a great investment was made in the study of agrarian and economic history and very little in the history of the nobility and war (the famous Danish expeditions to the Baltic were considered pillaging campaigns or the expression of episodic minor struggles for power). This scenario continued until the last 10 to 20 years, when a new approach to the Crusades began to become consolidated, provoking a reaction against economistic and nationalistic historiography and paving the way for a renewed interest in the history of mentalities, beliefs and ideologies.

In Portugal—again according to Kurt Villads Jensen—Romantic historiography (especially that of Alexandre Herculano) also affected our understanding of the Crusade movement. Portugal was seen as a small nation constantly threatened by powerful neighbors (Oliveira Martins even developed the thesis of a so-called “Lusitanian race”). Thus, Portugal was understood to have a special mission in history, a different and original mission, with particular institutions (see the debate over the existence or not of feudalism in Portugal). Given its unique relationship of coexistence with Muslims, the war against the Moors was seen as a sequel of the Reconquest and not as part of the global movement of the Crusades, causing the Portuguese Crusades to be set apart in relation to the others (indeed, in 1930, the influential German historian Carl Erdmann defended the thesis that the Portuguese wars were secular wars and not real Crusades). All this contributed to an isolationist and non-inclusive approach to Portuguese military campaigns involving Crusaders (Lisbon, Silves, Alcácer do Sal), a tendency that continued until the last 20 years, just as it did in Denmark.

The book *A Cruzada nas Fronteiras do Mundo* as a whole is obviously part of this movement of historiographical renewal regarding the study of the Crusades and the

participation of peripheral countries in this process, which has begun to gain momentum in the last two decades.

It is not possible here to present a detailed summary of each of the chapters of the work. However, the remaining chapters can be subdivided into two main themes: one concerning the *events* of the Crusades in Portugal and Denmark, and the other the *structures* associated with the military campaigns of the Crusaders in those territories.

The third, sixth and ninth chapters are included in the first group. The third concerns the situation before the First Crusade in the Holy Land (1096-1099), addressing the missionary wars, Al-Andalus, the Portucalense County, the influence of the Order of Cluny, the relations between Portugal and northern Europe, some movements to the East, and also marriage relations between Portugal and Denmark. As for the sixth chapter, this deals with the campaigns of Afonso Henriques and Valdemar and chooses two “magical years” as a point of observation in three different dimensions: 1147 (in Damascus, Lisbon and Dobin), and 1168-1169 (with the camcorder set up in Badajoz, Jerusalem and Rügen). Finally, the ninth chapter is about the light and shade of the Crusade movement, describing the action of Knud VI of Pomerania (now Germany-Poland, between the rivers Oder and Vistula), the Danish expansion with King Valdemar II, and the Crusades of Sancho I, including the conquest of Silves in 1189 (shortly after the tremendous Christian defeat by Saladin at the Battle of Hattin and the subsequent fall of Jerusalem and a large part of the Latin territory in the Middle East). In this chapter, particular attention is given to the roaring years of 1212-1219, with the evocation of the events of Navas de Tolosa, Damietta (Fifth Crusade), Alcácer do Sal and Tallinn.

Included in the group of texts that are geared more towards the analysis of *structures* are chapters four, seven, and eight. The fourth deals with the concepts of center and periphery, and the notion of a border, estimating the actual, operational and symbolic distance between Portugal and Denmark. The seventh chapter is concerned with language and ideology, landscape, the nobility and the noble war, and emphasizes the contribution of the Cistercian Order. As for the eighth chapter, clearly the longest of all the work, it analyzes the institutions of the Crusades in both countries: their financing; slaves and free men; redemptions and redemptive saints; the militarization of society; military equipment; castles; vessels; horses; knightly orders; preachers; troubadours; and more.

Inserted between these two thematic groups is the fifth chapter, dedicated to both events and structures. Here, we can find answers to the question of how, shortly after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders (in 1099), the idea of the Crusade was applied in

the Baltic and in the Iberian Peninsula. This story mostly evokes the figures of Svend of Denmark and King Afonso Henriques of Portugal, the journeys of great characters (such as Erick or Henrique) towards the epics of the Crusades, and the emblematic scenarios existing in Magdeburg in 1108, and in Coimbra, barely two years later. Finally, the tenth chapter (the last before the Conclusion) is a fitting ending for this new understanding of national history, the history of the crusading movement and of European history itself.

I would not say that everything is perfect in this book, partly because a work of synthesis always leaves something to be desired in terms of analytical depth, and partly because a translation (even one that has been produced so painstakingly and been systematically corrected) inevitably has limitations and shortcomings compared to the original version. In any case, this is an exceptionally original work and well-founded, and its architecture is tremendously challenging and stimulating, both for specialists of Portuguese and European medieval history and for the general reader who is interested in history. Its comparative approach gives a very important signal about the more integrated and relational way that the history of the Middle Ages is now being studied throughout the world, which in turn emphasizes the need for a much more extensive and long-term internationalization of our universities and researchers!

Herzog, Tamar, *Frontiers of Possession. Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas*. Cambridge / London: Harvard University Press, 2015, 384 pp. ISBN 978-0-674-73538-5.

Camila Loureiro Dias¹

In this study about territorial frontiers, Tamar Herzog's most important aim is to deconstruct traditional borders, especially historiographical ones. Looking at the history of Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas, her conclusion is that rather than being imposed by kings upon the local inhabitants the borders between Spain and Portugal were gradually constructed over many centuries by a multiplicity of groups and individuals who fought for their own interests. The parties involved, the territories that were coveted, and the claims that were made upon them, all changed over the centuries, and the frontiers were constructed at the same time as the properties and the communities themselves. If they took on the appearance of a dispute between the Spanish and the Portuguese, such a situation was, in fact, true in the nineteenth century. However, historians have tended to fossilize this image, projecting it over the centuries and expressing it in terms of present-day political entities, as if these actually preexisted.

Herzog reaches this conclusion by asking how theoretical divisions, such as those laid down in bulls and treaties, could be effectively implemented, how individuals understood, constructed, and defended their rights, and how conceptions regarding the use and the property of the land changed the nature of territorial debates in the long run. In order to expound her conclusions, she presents her arguments in two parts: the first deals with the territorial conflicts in America and the second with conflicts in Iberia. By “artificially” reversing existing narratives and beginning with America, she seeks to show how the one is reflected in the other and to underline her efforts to think about the Old World and the New World as just one single space. So far, we have established two broken boundaries: between the national states and between the narratives about the Old World and the New World; but she goes further and, in painting the picture of the New World with what she describes as a “wide brushstroke” (p. 12), she assembles her material

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thematically, according to actors and arguments rather than places or chronologies: the result is a single space-time description of the American territorial conflicts.

In a sense, this result is quite an interesting one, given that she identifies in all the American conflicts three conditions that were allowed for by European traditions and which granted contemporaries certain entitlements regarding possession. Bulls or treaties might have framed the debate, but only actions could lead to the acquisition of rights. Sharing a common legal tradition, both Spanish and Portuguese agreed that actions had to be performed with the intention to appropriate; possession had to be taken with no opposition (silence could be interpreted as consent); and these actions had to be carried out by vassals or people authorized to take possession of territories for the king. In the Americas, the question as to who was a vassal of which country involved not only Europeans but also the indigenous populations so that the precepts that regulated the relationship with natives and the mechanisms to transform them into vassals of the royal power were both equally important. At first, the process required a pact with the natives through their conversion to Christianity, highlighting the importance of the missionaries' role in converting native land into European territory and their consequent involvement in territorial conflicts. By the mid-to-late eighteenth century, the clergy had given way to other actors, consisting mostly of military and administrative personnel, and the conversion of the natives was followed by a treaty that stressed the importance of indigenous political allegiance and acculturation. In both cases, not only the territory, but also the indigenous people, could be possessed and become the property of one power or the other. Challenging the assumption that these treaties signed with the indigenous populations were the result of negotiations, Herzog argues that they were instead a European legal and political construct.

The natives' right to land was central to sixteenth and seventeenth-century debates regarding the rights of Europeans in the New World. However, according to Herzog, while at this time there was a general agreement among jurists that, unlike private property, the political space was immutable and unchanging, these same jurists gradually began to question these assumptions, using notions about private property to create doctrines about public borders and jurisdictions. Such developments signaled the coming of a new age, in which land would be the property, not of those who had it "first", but instead of those who used it "better" (p. 124). From the seventeenth century onwards, rather than respecting the indigenous population's past entitlements, Europeans, both jurists and actors in the field, concluded that those territories that were not used in accordance with

their understanding of improvement were consequently open to their penetration. As a result, the indigenous adherence to one country or another may have guaranteed the Spanish or the Portuguese the right to possession of the land, but it did not imply that the natives themselves had effective possession or rights in detriment to European domination. This means that despite incorporating the natives' right to land in their conflicts with one another, both the Spanish and the Portuguese denied these implications when dealing with the natives themselves.

The second part of the book is dedicated to the conflicts in Iberia. Here, the author pays more attention to contexts, returning to the chronology and examining in detail a number of specific confrontations. She shows that these conflicts were much more complex than we normally imagine and that they developed over a long time, from the tenth century onwards, some of them ending only in the early twentieth century. Over time, the actors constantly changed, as did their identity and their behavior, as well as the objects that they coveted and the claims that they made. Sometimes conflicts placed municipalities belonging to the same royal power in opposition with one another, even spreading to others from different kingdoms. Opponents did not always decide matters by establishing separate territories, and there were, in fact, some situations where the agreement that was reached was the common use of the land. On other occasions, the dispute was related to the receipt of taxes, and involved religious rather than civil institutions. In several of these cases, rather than becoming a state issue, frontiers were constructed by private interests. Therefore, the construction of the border between Spain and Portugal should not be related as the narrative of a state growing in prominence against local wishes, nor as an alliance between a state and local communities that led to the nationalization of the frontier. Depending on the loyalty of individuals, something that could not be gained simply by calling upon their nativeness (the subject of a previous book of hers, *Defining Nations*, 2003), border construction did not involve nationalist ideologies, but rather commercial and political choices.

Looking at both the Old World and the New World together, Herzog stresses a number of aspects that seem to be similar, but there are also others that reveal substantial differences. Just as was the case in the New World, most European conflicts focused on the question of "possession," but, contrary to America, in Europe there was no presumption that all incursions into other territories represented acts of possession. On both sides of the ocean, violence and peace were alternative mechanisms that complemented one another, and while military conquests clearly played a role in the

acquisition of territory, most territorial changes occurred in peacetime. In America, conflicts tended to be shorter, and the memories they invoked were much closer in time than in Iberia. Contrary to what might be imagined, in Iberia, monarchs were not involved in these conflicts, and their officials, when involved, acted not as interested parties, but instead as judges. At a glance, the analysis of the Iberian border conflicts over the long term demonstrates that it was only the locals who fought, struggled, and insisted on maintaining divisions, not the kings. However, one difference that Herzog identifies in the conclusion, but does not explore in any detail, is that, in America, kings tended to be more involved in the disputes.

In any case, what seems to be most important to her argument, and allows us to consider the two sides of the ocean as being one single space, is the coming together of public and private law in the definition of land rights, which changed attitudes towards property and the jurisdiction over territories. This combination of public and private interests in the conflicts that she studied led Herzog to conclude, while writing this book, that, after all, her real subject of analysis was not frontiers or borders, but the territories themselves. Rather than simply involving national interests, these conflicts were multifaceted, being centered upon the agency of a multiplicity of individuals and interests. If, on the one hand, she focuses on agency, on the other hand (and this represents the breach of an important methodological frontier) she attaches great importance to the way in which the law and the development of legal thought mattered in all these dynamics, arguing that the gap between “practice” and “law” was less important than we usually imagine and that the actors in the field were aware of the legal traditions and acted in accordance with these.

In the introduction, she states that, when taken together, the American and Iberian parties should shed light not only on the histories of Spain and Portugal and their overseas domains, and not only on the historiography about the formation of borders, but also on the way in which we write history. Indeed, this book about frontiers proposes breaking down the boundaries between national, colonial and metropolitan, as well as North and South imperial narratives, calling for an integrated history of modern spaces. In this study, such integration is concerned, first and foremost, with the changing attitudes towards questions of property and jurisdiction in a process that entailed a new vision of the territory and led to the development of territorial conflicts in all the spaces mentioned.

But these assumptions also have important implications for present-day territorial conflicts, thus explaining why we write history. If, according to her, the main task of

historians today is to explain not how we got to where we are now, but what we missed in the process of getting here, this book reveals how a legal way of thinking based on a universal natural law has given way to another doctrine that emphasizes the importance of human agency, civilization and improvement in dissolving the borders between public and private entitlements. In a sense, this means changing to a historical juridical order that, paradoxically, prevents the use of history as an argument in legal conflicts because history is constantly changing and there is no static order of things.

This might, in fact, be the key issue relating to the differences between the New World and the Old World, which are centered upon the land taken from the New World by Europe. Although, since the Second World War, Francisco de Vitoria's ideas about native land rights have become a point of reference in so-called international law, the fact remains that the contradiction between indigenous populations' historical rights and their economic development is nowadays rarely resolved under the law. Herzog argues that historical rights are an oxymoron and that, while they might play an important political role, they cannot be considered to be part of history. But, by presenting historical reality as more complicated than it appears, which alternative way of thinking can historians illuminate without taking a strong political stance on these conflicts? These assumptions do, in fact, presuppose that we consider the New World and the Old World as a single space under European law. But how should indigenous populations living in multiethnic states proceed today, without arguing in favor of their original rights to the land, as Vitoria stated? Such a position cannot be sustained by private use, but only by a communal use of the land, and it relates to a period prior to the arrival of European law.

**Abreu-Ferreira, Darlene, *Women, Crime and Forgiveness in Early Modern Portugal*, Farnham, Ashgate, 250 pp, 2015.
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Isabel dos Guimarães Sá¹

Darlene Abreu-Ferreira adopts a gender perspective (writing from the point of view of women) in order to analyze conflicts in the everyday life of individuals in Early Modern Portugal. She draws upon a wide range of sources, ranging from several different areas in mainland Portugal to the Azores and Madeira. It can be said that most Portuguese territories are covered by her study: Faro, Évora, Porto, Guimarães, Viana do Castelo, Bragança, Ponta Delgada, Angra do Heroísmo, and Funchal. These historical sources include documents issued by the Crown, such as royal pardons and legitimizations, council minutes, the occasional parish register, and judicial records. Notarial records, which Portuguese historiography has underexplored so far (albeit with some exceptions), figure prominently among the documentation. Every historian knows that the survival of many such sources, especially the judicial ones, has led to their being widely dispersed at the local level. One of the most important sources, the *autos de querela*—written records where plaintiffs would explain their grievances, which the judicial authorities would then have to assess—were found only for Ponta Delgada in the Azores, a circumstance that gives a clear idea of their rarity.

The result of such research is a book that explores many episodes in which women are given center stage. A plethora of grievances are narrated. To mention just a few among many others, we can find unmarried women suing the purported fathers of their children, in order to oblige them to pay for the latter's upbringing; wives complaining about the damage that their husbands' extramarital affairs caused to the family economy; women being raped and impregnated by married men; mothers protecting the property of their orphaned children against other relatives or neighbors, etc.

The book has many merits, one of which is the fact that it avoids the general tendency to study only the elites and uses an approach that deals with a wide range of social groups, ranging from servants to craftsmen or *fidalgos*. It covers Portugal as a whole and not only a small region, paying special attention to the sixteenth century, which is

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generally underrepresented in the social history of Portugal's early modern period; and treating historical characters as real people and not abstractions. But perhaps the most important of all the book's merits is its focus on women, as gender is conspicuously absent from Portuguese historiography. It is not a work about women's history, because gender is explored within a relational framework, which seeks to place women within the family, and to tackle their ability to compromise and negotiate in situations where their wellbeing or survival is at stake. The main thesis of the book is that women's access to property, mainly landed assets, is crucial to the understanding of their autonomy and their power to decide on matters that affect them and their families. Rather than being passive subjects, women often take the lead in finding a solution to their problems.

However, the fact that many examples are taken from a wide range of different areas means that sometimes the local contexts are lost. Specificities such as local population dynamics and demographic issues (such as illegitimacy rates), or political and social configurations that might contribute to the outbreak of conflicts, are absent from the analysis. Another criticism that could be made is that the reader sometimes has trouble in trying to sort out the many characters and episodes that are written about, and single stories get lost in a multitude of plots. Very often, also, the sources do not tell us exactly what happened and why, or what was the outcome of a particular conflict; and in many notarial settlements resulting in the granting of pardon, we sense that the real agreements that took place are absent from the source, mainly in relation to the monetary compensations that were paid. In spite of these overly easy criticisms that can be made of the book, Abreu-Ferreira always tries to do what historians do best: hypothesize about the possible motivations of people, and then reconstitute, albeit tentatively, what happened, and what was at stake in those conflicts. The result is a very important book that may change the way historians perceive daily life, family, and gender roles in Early Modern Portugal. No small thing.