

Vol. 10 · n.º 1 · Summer 2012

e-journal
of PORTUGUESE
HISTORY

Table of Contents

Volume 10, number 1, Summer 2012

[ARTICLES]

- On the Kings of Portugal,** 1
Or How an Image of a Far-away Region Came to be Established in Holland
Dick E.H. de Boer
- Inquisitorial Punishments in Lisbon and Évora** 19
R. Warren Anderson
- The Diversification of Portugal's Commercial Relations in the late 18th Century:** 37
Between Discourse and Praxis
Miguel Dantas da Cruz

[SURVEYS & DEBATES]

- Slander, Ideological Differences, or Academic Debate?** 62
The “Verão Quente” of 2012 and the State of Portuguese Historiography
Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses

[BOOK REVIEWS]

- Alves, Jorge Santos (ed.). *Fernão Mendes Pinto and the ‘Peregrinação’*.** 78
(4 vols; studies, restored Portuguese text, notes and indexes).
Lisbon: Fundação Oriente – INCM, 2010
ISBN: 978-972-785-096-9
István Rákóczi
- Mazumdar, Shaswati. *Insurgent Sepoys*.** 83
Europe Views the Revolt of 1857.
New Delhi: Routledge, 2011
ISBN: 978-0-415-59799-9
Filipa Lowndes Vicente

On the kings of Portugal, or how an image of a far-away region came to be established in Holland

Dick E. H. de Boer¹

Abstract

At the end of the fourteenth century efforts were made to establish better, mainly commercial, relations between the county of Holland and Portugal. At that moment Portugal was certainly no terra incognita for the inhabitants of Holland, as is shown by the fact that a village in Holland already earlier derived its name and coat of arms from Portugal. Yet a clear and positive image, that could serve political goals, was lacking. Such an image was provided by a Middle-netherlandish poem, written shortly before 1390, in which the reestablishing of royal virtues in Portugal was praised.

Keywords

Commerce, image, ideology, diplomacy

Resumo

No final do século XIV, foram desenvolvidos esforços no sentido de melhorar as relações entre Portugal e a Holanda, nomeadamente comerciais. Nessa altura, Portugal certamente não era um território desconhecido para os habitantes da Holanda, como se comprova pelo facto de uma vila holandesa usar o nome e as armas inspiradas nos de Portugal. No entanto, uma imagem clara, que poderia servir propósitos políticos, não chega a existir. Ela aparece num poema holandês, escrito á volta de 1390, no qual se enaltece o restabelecimento das virtudes reais em Portugal.

Palavras-chave

Comércio, imagem, ideologia, diplomacia

¹ University of Groningen. *E-mail:* d.e.h.de.boer@rug.nl

Introduction

When relations between regions and realms are established, the image of the “other” always plays an important role. Especially when new partnerships create bonds between far-away countries, an existing, positive image almost may be called a prerequisite for success. And when ties develop, and relations become more frequent, personal and concrete, success can contribute to the image, at the same time when the image itself may further enhance the success. Finally, of course, the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and lasting success only is built on formal confirmations of mutual appreciation, on privileges and contracts granted, on exchange of people, goods and immaterial values. The role of the image then changes from invented, or at least created “imagination” to representation, in a sense objectivized, but still “coloured,” no longer through creative ignorance but rather personal experience.

Portugal and Holland

The relations between Portugal and the county of Holland in the late medieval period offer an interesting case, when we look at the first phase of the establishing of an image in the North of a possible southern partner. These relations are a hardly explored field of historical research. This may be explained by the fact that until the end of the sixteenth century commercial relations between the Netherlands and their “outer world,” were mainly concentrated in Flanders and Brabant. First Bruges and later Antwerp were the main market-centers where merchants from the Mediterranean world, the Baltic Sea, the German hinterland and the Atlantic shores met. Around the year 1300 in Bruges, Siberia virtually bordered the Sahara.² Goods from regions south of the Atlas Mountains were brought by merchants from the Mediterranean, as were furs and amber coming from Russia and shipped across the Baltic. The northern Netherlands in those days mainly played their part in the relations with the Hanseatic League and England. The booming economy of Holland was oriented towards the west, and the commercial interests of the Eastern provinces of the Low Countries were directed to the northeast. It was only halfway through the sixteenth century that Amsterdam began its takeover manoeuvre,

² Boer 2000: 55-71.

which gained force when during the Dutch revolt against the Spanish Habsburgs the harbor of Antwerp was closed in 1585.³

Yet, already towards the end of the fourteenth century initiatives were taken to attract Portuguese merchants to Holland as part of a general policy to make the economy of Holland profit more from the Hanseatic commercial network. In general the administration of Albert of Wittelsbach, as count of Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut, and duke of Lower-Bavaria (1358-1404), tended to enhance relations with the Iberian Peninsula. In his youth Albert acquired knighthood when fighting in Spain (1362).⁴ He went there expecting to fight Abū-Saʿīd of Granada, with an army gathered by Pedro el Cruel of Castile, in alliance with the kings of Portugal and Navarre, the count of Foix and many nobles from Gascony, but instead he rose to fame during the siege of Calatayud, fighting Pedro el Ceremonioso of Aragon. Since then especially musicians from the south frequented his court in the Hague.⁵ When in 1385 in a double marriage his son William “of Ostrevant” and daughter Margaret were joined in wedlock with Margaret and John of Burgundy—soon to be known as John the Fearless—the main representative from the south was Gaston Febus, count of Foix.⁶ Portuguese guests so far have not been identified. There existed, without doubt an image of Spain, in part based upon the personal experiences of the prince, whereas an image of Portugal was lacking.

Therefore, it is interesting that towards the end of the fourteenth century, a free-lance poet and entertainer at court in the Hague wrote a poem, titled *Vanden coninc van Poertegael* (About the king of Portugal).⁷ So far this poem has been denied any relation to a historical, political reality.⁸ It is however my hypothesis, that it was intentionally written to produce a first image of Portugal that could be functional in preparing the minds of an audience in Holland for establishing new ties with an Iberian political and commercial ally. In this contribution, I want to sketch first how gradual steps towards relations with Portugal were taken, and then to analyze the poem (of the essential parts of which I produced a metrical and rhyming English translation) to find out how it may have functioned.

³ Boer 2000A: 243-254; Haemers, Stabel 2006: 20-38; Blondé, Gelderblom, Stabel, 2007: 154-174.

⁴ Van Anrooij 1990: 5; Bishko 1975: 430- 436.

⁵ Janse 1986: 139, 146.

⁶ Boer 1998: 276-292.

⁷ Bisschop; Verwijs 1981:16-18. See also: www.dbnl.org/tekst/hild002wbis01_01/hild002wbis01_01_0008.php. Accessed 10/30/2012.

⁸ Zie voor deze interpretatie Meder 1991:130.

Commercial and political relations

In his research on the Portuguese merchants in the Euro-Atlantic space in the Middle Ages, Flávio Miranda, who as doctoral student from Oporto spent one year at my University of Groningen, without doubt will confirm this image of the late, and fragmentary involvement of the Northern Netherlands in Portuguese trade. I expect that his work most of all will deepen our insight in the connections between Portuguese sailors and merchants and England, next to important new knowledge about their relations with the Burgundian sphere. Although Holland and Zeeland from 1433 onwards belonged to that sphere, for the reasons indicated above, the emphasis continued to lay on Flanders and Brabant.

Until now these relations are best known through the publication of the documents on the diplomatic and economic relations between Portugal and the Burgundian power bloc since the acquisition of Flanders by Philip the Bold in 1384.⁹ In this analysis, Jacques Paviot especially treated the way in which the Burgundian rulers made use of Portuguese naval assistance on several occasions. This was followed by a list of 473 documents, written between 1384 and 1482. The oldest document in that list mentioning the county of Holland dates from the year 1425 and does not even have a direct connection to actual relations.¹⁰

Yet, people from Holland and Zeeland do turn up earlier: in October 1409 a councilor of Burgundy was sent out to “*beaufreire de Haynau*,” count William “of Ostrevant” of Holland-Zeeland-Hainaut (1404-1417), to discuss a compensation for the robbing of merchants from Portugal and some from Flanders by “*Hollandoiȝ et Zellandoiȝ*.”¹¹ A year later hostile acts between subjects of the count of Holland and Zeeland and Portuguese merchants led to diplomatic action, when “*aucuns Zellandoiȝ et robeurs de mer*” had robbed both Portuguese merchants, “*Osterlins*” (members of the German Hanse in Bruges) and Flemings. In February 1411 a special meeting in Antwerp was organized.¹²

It must have been these or similar hostilities that caused deliberations of the Estates of Holland at the end of the year 1412. On the day of St. Lucie, 13 December 1412, representatives from the town of Leiden went to the Hague to participate in a special

⁹ Paviot 1995.

¹⁰ *Id.*, 198, nr. 78; it is about a voyage of the duke of Burgundy to Holland.

¹¹ *Id.*, 162, nr. 23.

¹² *Id.*, 165, nr. 28B.

meeting of the towns of Holland, to talk about “*den scade die ghesiet was twischen ons heren onderzaten ende den Vlaminghen, den Scotten ende den Poortegalosen*” [the damage that had been done between the subjects of our lord (i.e. the count of Holland) and the Flemish, Scots and Portuguese].¹³ They obviously gathered to discuss the outcome of a meeting of deputies of the duke of Burgundy, as count of Flanders, and three councilors from Holland and Zeeland—Filips van Borsele, mr. Floris van den Abeele and Jan Heerman, that had taken place in the Flemish town of Biervliet in the early days of December.¹⁴ In Biervliet it was agreed to continue the negotiations ultimately on 23 April 1413, in Antwerp,¹⁵ but when already earlier, from 1 to 6 April 1413 in Middelburg the mutual damage afflicted by subjects of the lords of Holland-Zeeland and Flanders were discussed, the representatives from the North refused to “*over nemen de clachten van den Scotten ende van den Poortegaloyzen van scaden die hemlieden Hollanders ende Zeelanders ghedaen hadden up den Vlaemschen stroom*” (take into account the complaints by the Scots and the Portuguese about the damage that Hollanders and Zeelanders had done them in the Flemish waters).¹⁶ The deliberations then were postponed to take place again in Sluis on June, to drag on afterwards for several more years.¹⁷ Less important for this contribution than the outcome of the conflict, is the fact that obviously Scottish and Portuguese merchants, as participants in the rich, active and wide-stretching commercial network of Flanders, got involved in the political controversies that reflected both the alliances in the Hundred Years War and the tensions between John the Fearless of Burgundy, and William of Ostrevant, count of Holland and Zeeland, as rivals and brothers-in-law at the same time.

Around 1410 it was clear that the Portuguese definitely had chosen for Bruges as their bridgehead in the Low Countries. That very year the Portuguese nation in Bruges got permission from the Dominicans to use the Holy-Cross-chapel for their services, and in 1411 the Flemish community reached a similar agreement with the Portuguese Dominicans to use their Holy-Cross-chapel in Lisbon.¹⁸ This confirmed the failure to establish better relations between the Portuguese and the joined counties of Holland and Zeeland.

Some 25 years earlier this outcome was not clear at all. In spite of the Flemish dominance—or even because of it—Albert of Wittelsbach made several efforts to get a

¹³ Smit; Prevenier (eds.) 1987: 465, nr. 794.

¹⁴ Zoete (ed.) 1982: nr. 452.

¹⁵ *Id.*, nr. 458d.

¹⁶ Smit; Prevenier (eds.) 1987: 466, nr. 796.

¹⁷ *Id.*, 473, nr. 811; Zoete (ed.) 1982: nrs. 530, 532, 550.

¹⁸ Paviot 1995: 57 and 59.

better share of the commercial movements in the Low Countries, in which already the skippers from Holland and Zeeland took part actively, but mainly as transporters.¹⁹ He did so by facilitating merchants from different regions to come to the north, and allowing them favorable toll-privileges. As a step in this policy the count instructed in October 1388 his toll-gatherers that he had granted to merchants of certain nations, especially “*Lombarden, Genevoysen, Lucoeysen, Katelongerren, Blasentynre* (still un-identified, possibly people from Valencia), *Spaengaerden, Florentijnre ende Poertegaloyzen*” the same rights that he had already given in 1363 to merchants of the German Hanseatic league.²⁰ This privilege however would only last until 1 May 1389. Albert’s initiative clearly was connected with efforts at that moment to have the Hanseatic Kontor in Bruges be transferred to Dordrecht. The Hanseatic League regularly came into conflict with their Flemish hosts, and many Hanseatic merchants evaded Burges and Flanders during the urban revolts during the early 1380s, when the new Burgundian count turned against those who maintained relations with the rebellious towns. In 1385 deliberations started to move the Hanse-kontor from Bruges to Dordrecht in Holland, and in May 1388 such a decision effectively was taken at the Hanse-diet in order to force the count through a boycott to give in to the Hanseatic demands.²¹ In these circumstances the count of Holland played commercial bluff-poker and hoped to convince the Hanse and its partners to establish themselves permanently in his county. The Hansards indeed came to Dordrecht in 1389, but left already in 1392.

This episode indeed offered interesting possibilities for a Portuguese-Hollandish approach. At the start of his reign over Flanders, in 1384, Philip of Burgundy had granted commercial privileges to the Portuguese in Flanders.²² A treaty between Portugal and England, signed in Windsor, 9 May 1386, temporarily endangered the position of the Portuguese merchants. Many of them therefore chose to seek refuge in the capital of Zeeland, Middelburg.²³ The renewal of the liberties of the merchants “*desdiz royaumes de Portegale et de la Garbe*” obviously did not convince all of them, as the duke explicitly states that “*aucuns sont desja descenduz en Zellande*.”²⁴ The situation was even more complicated

¹⁹ Boer 1992: 51-61, and Boer 1996: 126-152.

²⁰ Niermeyer (ed.) 1968: Volume 2, 336, Nr. 620.

²¹ Seifert 1997: 115, also: Van Herwaarden 1996: 180.

²² Paviot 1995: 133 document 1.

²³ *Id.*, 57.

²⁴ *Id.*, 136-138, documents 5 and 6.

when the infant Dinis—who was on his way to England as negotiator—was taken prisoner by fishermen from Biervliet when he too wanted to go to Middelburg.²⁵

To try to solve the problems and to formalize the commercial relations with Flanders, France and Brittany, while respecting the treaty of Windsor, King João I of Portugal decided to appoint in June 1388 Fernão Gonçalves as his ambassador. When in Flanders, Fernão did not address the duke of Burgundy, but negotiated directly with the Flemish towns in March 1389, which led to a renewed commercial treaty.²⁶ Moreover in 1390 Dinis was set free, although the agreed ransom never was paid.

Obviously the attractiveness of the Flemish connection was larger than the offer that the count of Holland could make. The commercial and diplomatic “flirt” of Albert of Wittelsbach in 1389 remained without a lasting result. Nevertheless, the years between 1386 and 1392 clearly are the only years in which at court in The Hague a positive image of Portugal and its rulers could be instrumental in creating the ideological background for the political initiatives.

Other traces of a Portuguese “connection”

This being a fact, it is amazing to find that to the southwest of Rotterdam, in a district that belonged to a side-line of the old comital dynasty, the lords of Putten, a small village already at an earlier moment bore the name of *Poortugael*. The earliest mentioning of the name *Poortugael* stems from the year 1368, when Zweder of Abcoude, lord of Gaesbeke, gave permission to two project-developers to organize the drainage of lands, outward the villages of Poortegaal and Roden, in order to embank and polder it.²⁷

²⁵ *Id.*, 22 ff.

²⁶ *Id.*, 145-146, document 9.

²⁷ Unger 1907: 274, nr. 922.

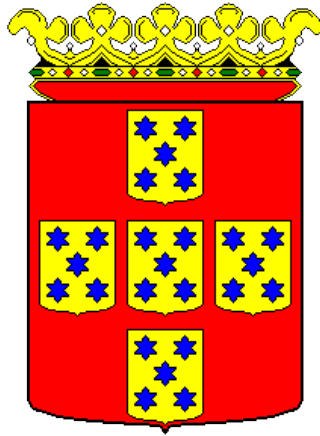
Fig. 1. Coat of arms of Poortugaal²⁸

Fig. 2. Coat of arms of Portugal

There is no other etymology of that place-name than that it derives from, or reflects, the name of Portugal—be it the region of Oporto—be it the kingdom of Portugal as a whole. And indeed the coat of arms of *Poortugaal* as seigniorial entity copies the one of the kingdom of Portugal.

Its church must go back to the church of the castle of the Lords of Putten, founded around 1180, of which the foundations have been traced through archeological research. The oldest part of the present church is its tower, that dates from the second part of the fourteenth century. But when and why was this seigniorial property given its name, and in how far does it reflect an understanding of that far away region of Portugal that under its Burgundian dynasty was developing into a nation?

When trying to explain the origin of name and coat of arms of the village of Poortugaal, a similarity comes to mind with the noble family of Polanen, also in Holland, which inhabited a castle with the same name—Polanen (= Poland)—some 30 kilometers north-west of Poortugaal. In the case of Polanen that name appears for the first time in

²⁸ www.ngw.nl/heraldrywiki/index.php?title=Poortugaal. Accessed 10/30/2012.

1305, and most probably is connected with the participation of members of a noble family in the Northern Crusades in Poland and Prussia, starting in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The first wave of military expeditions, later labeled as “Prusades,” was organized from 1272 until 1283 to submit East Prussia. From the participating nobles only the name of the German margrave Dieter von Meissen is known. From 1304 onwards the expansion of the Teutonic order in the Baltic regions was again supported by such actions.²⁹

If a similar line of thought is followed, it is possible that members of the dynasty of the lords of Putten took part in the quite disastrous crusade of 1147. The only success of which was that a combined force of 13,000 Flemish, Frisian, Norman, English, Scottish, and German crusaders in 1147 conquered Lisbon, that still was kept by the Moors. Sailing from England to the Holy Land, the crusaders assisted the smaller (7,000) Portuguese army to capture Lisbon and drive out the Muslim forces. Tradition says that a Frisian nobleman, who died at the conquest of Lisbon, was buried in the monastery of San Vicente outside Lisbon, with the name of Henricus. Sometimes he is confused with another legendary Frisian crusader, a nobleman Popte or Poptetus Ulvinga.³⁰ In the Frisian sources this Popte acquired almost saintly qualities. Anyway, it may well have been the case that participation of that crusade also brought nobles from Holland—that in these days still hardly was to be distinguished from Frisia—fame (possibly even knighthood), and that involvement in the siege of Lisbon was reflected in choosing a name for this seigniorial property.

Next to this an old tavern in the town of Utrecht bears the name *D'coninck van Poortegael*, shown on a plaque in the façade, with the date 1619. This tavern, built before 1582 on twelfth century foundations, allegedly owes its name to the fact that in 1619 the king of Portugal should have financed a new façade. This is for several reasons highly improbable. That king was Philip II of Spain, who was at war with the young Dutch republic. At the end of the nine-year truce in the Dutch revolt, him financing a facade in a rebellious town remains highly improbable. May be the name simply is older and was transferred from the old to the new house, or was given by its seventeenth-century owner as a political statement.³¹

²⁹ Paravicini 1989: 21.

³⁰ Mol 2002: 89–110, esp 90; Poortinga 1965.

³¹ Van Campen 1979: 87–112. In the sixteenth century another house in Utrecht also had the name “The King of Portugal”, in which case without doubt a visit of don Emanuel, prince of Portugal, who stayed in Utrecht in 1595. This prince is the natural son of Antonio I, *Prior of Crato* (1568–1638), who married the Countess

The poem “Vanden coninc van Poertegael”

Against this background I want to present my central issue of this contribution: the poem *Vanden coninc van Poertegael* (About the king of Portugal) that was written and performed by the favourite free-lance poet at the court of the Counts of Holland, Willem van Hillegersberch (himself born in a small village outside Rotterdam around 1350). Willem was a true master of the new genre of the relatively short, moralistic-didactic poetry of the second half of the fourteenth century. In many aspects an equal to Chaucer, yet practically unknown internationally, as he wrote in Middle-Netherlandish.³²

The poem *Vanden Coninc van Poertegael* most likely belongs to the early period of Willem’s activities, who started to perform at court in 1383, and continued to do so until ca. 1408. It is therefore most acceptable to date the poem in the early 1390s, so in the same period, when efforts were made to establish relations between Holland and Portugal. So far literary historians in the Netherlands had difficulties to interpret and explain the subject matter of this poem. Twenty years ago Theo Meder published what seemed the last word on Willem van Hildegarsberch in his voluminous 708 pages study of the poem and his work.³³ About this poem he stated: “It seems *less probable* that Vanden coninc van Poertegael contains a historical nucleus of truth. Hildegarsberch tells in this poem that the kings of Portugal died young, through the intervention of God who, at the instigation of the collective prayers of the people, punished them for their unjust rule. When a young Portuguese king was addressed by a Spanish colleague (SIC) about this in a didactic way, the first mentioned bettered his life, and finally died at a high age. The story lacks specific elements and mainly seems to serve an exemplary goal: the national identity of the kings in fact is of no real importance.”³⁴ Elsewhere in his book Meder stresses that Hildegarsberch’s message is that an early death is Gods punishment for an unjust rule.³⁵

The 124 lines long “entry” of the poem evokes the tension between good and bad, and in the last lines of the poem the poet warns his listeners—obviously an audience of

Emilia of Nassau. It may be useful to indicate any reference. As an example, it may be quoted: Sousa 1947: 232-233.

³² Van Oostrom 1992: 37-77, on Willem van Hildegarsberch. See also the summarizing article by Van Oostrom 1994: 30-46, esp. 37.

³³ Meder 1991.

³⁴ *Id.*, 130 (my translation).

³⁵ *Id.*, 393 and 501.

princes—that they should keep this in mind, and to remember that he (the poet) is not the one to pass judgment, but that God will measure every one according to his measure.

But what about a historical nucleus? What about Portugal just being an indistinguishable far-away-land, some kind of “Elsewheristan” which is exchangeable for any other mysterious, far away country? I doubt it strongly. Meder underestimates here the knowledge and awareness of his audience, who exactly around 1390 must have been well aware of what Portugal was and along what historical lines its history under the Burgundian dynasty had developed. Let us therefore look at what the poem exactly tells us.

125 Ick heb ghehoert in ware tale,
 Dat coninghen van Portingale
 In horen jonghen daghen storven,
 Entie nae hem stat verworven,
 Die voeren mede den selven voy.
 130 Dus claechden sy dicke mit vernoy,
 Die dit spel voer oghen saghen,
 Dat si in horen jonghen daghen
 Mosten lijff ende goet verliesen,
 Ende haestelijck dat sterven kiezen.
 135 Dit was een harde bitter lot.
 Ander coninghen spaerde God,
 Die leefden langhe ende worden oudt.
 Also als mijn materi hout,
 Soe quam daer een vanden jonghen,
 140 Die hadde gheerne den doot ontdronghen
 Off vorste ghenomen by naturen,
 Ghelyken sine naegheburen.
 Des nam hi raedt mit sinen lieden,
 Die hem naestelyken rieden,
 145 Dat hi voer te Spanghen waert:
 Daer woende een coninc out vermaert
 Ende hadde in eren langh gheleeft:
*"Alsulken raedt als hi ons gheeft,
 Dien suldi doen, al wats gheschiet."*
 150 Die coninc en merrede langher niet,
 Hy en toech aldaer sonder vertreck
 Om te claghen sijn ghebreck,
 Ende rade te soecken tsinen vromen.
 Ende als die reyse was volcomen,
 155 Ende sy nakeden sconincx hove,
 Hy hadse ontfanghen mit groten love,
 Den jonghen coninc entie sijn.
 Dierbaer spise ende edelen wijn
 Sachmen daer ter tafel draghen;
 160 Scoen berechten ende edel vrighen
 Die hoerdmē daer in reynre tucht;
 Mar hi die hadde groten ducht

I have heard as a true tale
 that former kings of Portogale
 died very young, and not alone:
 those who succeeded on the throne
 followed the same and mortal course.
 So all complained, with much remorse,
 who witnessed these dramatic plays,
 that all of them in their young days
 were losing life and property,
 and moribund too hastily.
 This fate was really much too sore.
 God favoured other kings. And more:
 they aged and became very old.
 But then, as by my sources I am told,
 one of a younger generation
 wanted to change this situation,
 avoid the cold of deadly labours,
 just like so many of his neighbours.
 Among his vassals he sought advice;
 they told him honestly and wise
 to travel to the Spanish throne:
 there ruled an king, of much renown
 who lived in honour in his lands:
*"Every advice he recommends,
 You have to follow, come what may."*
 The king accepted no delay
 and travelled thither without faint
 to express his sad complaint,
 and find there what could serve him best.
 When they finished their long quest,
 and approached the royal residence,
 they were received with praise immense,
 the youthful king and baronets.
 Costly dishes and noble clarets
 one could see served there to the guests;
 fair judgments and noble requests
 were issued there in a pure queue;
 but he thought of that frightening view

Voer den doet ende voer sulc scheiden,
 Die maecte node langhe beyden,
 165 Ende leyde vast den coninc an,
 Om dat hi was soe ouden man,
 Starc, ghesont, van goeden zeden,
 Off hy mit enigherhande reden
 Hem leren mochte enighen raet;
 170 Want hoer coninclijske staet
 Wilde God niet langher sparen
 Dan binnen horen XXX jaren:
 Dan mosten sijt rumen onvoersien.
"Dit mach by reden al gheschien,"
 175 Dat sprack die coninc totten heren,
"Als u ghenoecht van hier te keren,
Ende ghy coemt binnen uwen palen,
So laet ghetrouwe boden halen
Ende doet besoecken ende bevrighen,
 180 *Off die luden hem yet beclaghē*
Van uwen ouders hier te voren,
Dat sy tonrecht sijn beschoren,
Off hoir goedekijn offghebroken,
Dat an u ouders is ghewroken
 185 *Off an u te wreken staet;*
Ende ymmer neemt alsulken raedt,
Dat ghijt weder doet verclaren,
Ende pijnt in uwen jonghen jaren
Wel te doen ende Gode tontsien:
 190 *Ju sel te beter heil gheschien.*
Al schijn ic oudt, ten is gheen wonder:
Mijn luden bidden elck bysonder,
Vroech ende spade, ist man off wijff,
Altoes om mijn langhe lijff;
 195 *Ende God die heeft haer bede ghehoert*
Van tyde tot tyde dus vaste voert,
Dat ic oudt worde ende grijs;
Mar doch ick bin der saken wijs:
Men mach der doot hier niet ontwenken,
 200 *Mar die hoer sterven overdencken*
Die vresen Goods gherechticheit."
 Ende als die coninc hadde gheseit
 Alsulke woird int openbaer,
 Doe dochte die jonghe: *"Tis al waer,*
 205 *Tmoet aldair by comen toe,*
Dat mijn ouders storven vroe,
Ende ic die reyse moet bestaen.
Si hebben veel onrechts ghedaen:
Die wrake comt van onsen sonden."
 210 Doe namen si oerloff daer ten stonden,
 Ende neghen den coninc totter eerden,
 Ende toghen thuus mit snelre vaerden.
 Teerst dat sy te lande quamen,

of death, and of such a deceasing,
 and found a long delay displeasing,
 insisting therefore upon his host,
 since of all kings, he grew old most,
 yet strong and healthy, of good moral
 that he would reasonably tell
 him any counsel, sound and good;
 since God, our lord, no longer would
 spare their high and royal state
 than within their third decade:
 then they had to leave unforeseen.
"This all may happen for a reason",
 the king spoke to his noble guests.
"If it pleases you to return west,
and you arrive within your borders,
call faithful messengers and give orders
to stroll the lands and ask around
if for whatever cause or ground
people are holding plaint or grudge
for wrongs your parents did, as such,
or when their belongings were torn down
and they took vengeance on the crown
or want to do it now to you;
and always take this advice too:
try to reinforce the truth
and endeavour in your youth
to be God-fearing and do well:
Receive better fate, you shall.
No miracle explains my old appearance:
all people pray to my assistance,
early and late, husband and wife,
that I may longer stay alive;
and God, he answered to their praying
till day and age, as goes the saying,
when I turned wrinkled, old and grey;
but in control I always stay:
to flee our death is beyond powers
so contemplate the end of ours
and fear the justice of our Lord."
 And when the king had marked this word
 and gave advice all publicly,
 the young king thought: *"Much right is he,*
the reason why ancestors died
and I had many miles to ride,
is without doubt fully related
to the crimes they perpetrated:
this is the vengeance for our sins."
 Therefore they took their leave at once,
 saluted the king in genuflection,
 and hurried home in rapid action.
 When entering their territory

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Doe dede hi soecken alte samen
 215 Hantvesten ende brieven goet,
 Daer haer luden recht in stoet,
 Dat harde qualijck was ghehouden.
 Dat heeft die coninc sint vergouden,
 Ende dede den luden goet bescheit;
 220 Ende God doer sine ontfarmicheit
 Ende om der gueder lude bede,
 Soe wart hi out ende hadde vrede,
 Ende starff daer nae een salich sterven.
 Die heren, die hoer volck verderven,
 225 Die moghen hier in proeven dit,
 Wat ghebet datmen hem bidt.
 Machmen trecht van hande wisen,
 Entie ziele daer mede spisen,
 Dat kent hi wel die al sal weten.
 230 Ick en wilre niet nae meten,
 Mar ghi, die meters sijt op eerden,
 Draghet u maten in sulker waerden,
 Dat ghi den meter dort verbeiden,
 Die alle mate sal bescheiden.</p> | <p>he made collect immediately
 deeds and charters of the crown
 in which the rights were written down
 that frequently were violated.
 The king, since, had them compensated,
 returned them in their right and place;
 thus granted God in all his grace
 at peoples prayers a long life
 as monarch without war and strife,
 who finally obtained salvation.
 Those wicked lords who ruin their nation
 should by this story be aware,
 what will be prayed in many a prayer.
 Is it allowed to refuse justice
 feed the soul with what earthly dust is?
 He only knows, who knows it all.
 I cannot measure tax or toll,
 but ye, our rulers here below
 respect the measure such and so
 that you dare to wait the measurer
 who acts as heaven's treasurer.</p> |
|--|---|

So essentially the poem tells us that there were Portuguese kings who lived to a respectable age. They were, however, succeeded by kings that died already in their thirties. A younger member of the dynasty went to an old and wise king in Spain for advice, who told him to rule with more justice, and to restore the people in their rights. He did so and they started to live longer again, blessed by the prayers of their people.

Explanation

If Meder had looked better at the history of the connections between Holland and Portugal, he would have realized that his poet was not writing in a vacuum or from ignorance, but against a background of scarce yet interesting ties, that required the building of a Portuguese image between the years 1385 and 1392, as we have demonstrated above. And had he looked better at the history of Portugal and Spain, he would have been struck by the high level of historical probability and evidence that can be linked to the poem. Let me briefly summarize the facts:³⁶

³⁶ Not having a Portuguese library at hand I used for this survey mainly general works like Marques 1972, Vones 1993. On the first kings of Portugal, the most recent biographies are those that are included in the collection *Kings of Portugal* (Matos, Costa 2007).

The first two kings of the Burgundian dynasty, Alfonso and Sancho died at an age of 75 and 58 years respectively. Both lifespans were within the normal life expectancies of the period. Their successors however: Alfonso II (1185-1223) and Sancho II (1209-1248) were 38 and 39 years young, when they deceased. Alfonso is known for establishing peace with Castile and setting up the first centralized Portuguese administration and issuing the first Portuguese laws. In establishing his administrative powers, Alfonso made the mistake to weaken the power of the clergy and ended up to be excommunicated by pope Honorius III, before dying in 1223.

His son and successor Sancho seems to have been a better military commander, but a weaker administrator, who managed to get in conflict with both the nobility and the growing merchant elite. He was deposed by the pope, and died in exile in 1248, after his brother Alfonso III had replaced him one year before.

Here an analytical problem occurs: this Alfonso III (1210-1279) was the first monarch to reach a high age again: he died 69 years old. However: he seems at the start of his reign no “candidate” for being “*the young new king who seeks the advice of the Spanish ruler*,” as presented in the lines 140 ff. of the poem. When climbing the throne, he already was 37 years old, and being the count consort of Boulogne, his connections were mainly French. What speaks in favor of him being the main character of the poem, is the fact that Alfonso III actively sought to restore good relations with the merchants and land owners, organized the Portuguese Cortes, issued laws their restrained noble misuseage. Moreover, marrying Beatrice of Castile in second wedlock, which gave birth to his son and successor Dinis in 1261, he established good relations between Portugal and Castile. Yet Alfonso came in conflict with the church again.

An even better reason to doubt that the main character of the poem was Alfonso III, is the identity of his Spanish antagonist. When Alfonso III acquired the crown in 1248, Ferdinand III (5 August 1199–30 May 1252) was at the age of 49 king of Castile, where he had started to rule 30 years before. Not very old, and although known for his perseverance in the Reconquista, his favoring of the university of Salamanca, and his support for the *convivencia*—the peaceful coexistence of the three religions—he was not particularly famous for his wisdom.

Ferdinand’s son, however, who succeeded on the throne in 1252 was Alfonso X “el Sabio.” Born in 1221, he was almost 31 years old, when called to rule over Castile and Leon. After a severe conflict triggered by the conquest of the Algarve held by the

Portuguese (1249), and claimed by Castile, the peace was signed in 1267, having the King of Portugal married to the illegitimate daughter of Alfonso “el Sabio,” Beatrice, in 1258.

During the 32 years of his reign, Alfonso X, king of Castile, gained fame through his legislative and cultural efforts. He counts as the founder of the Mesta, gave orders to create a sound judicial system and a unified code of laws, the *Fuero Real* and the *Siete Partidas* essentially being his work. He instigated the use of Castilian as a language of culture and administration, and he became renown as a writer himself, writing the famous *cantigas* and being the author of treatises on astronomy.

In internal politics things did not go that smoothly, however. Alfonso “el Sabio” regularly came in conflict with the nobility, and had to face a revolt against his rule by a noble coalition, led by his second son Sancho in 1282. Therefor his last two years, until his death on 4 April 1284 saw his authority crumbling, and his health weakening.

Yet when in 1279 Alfonso III of Portugal died, and left the throne to Dinis, Alfonso “el Sabio” really could count as the old and wise king of Spain: 58 years of age and famous for his wisdom.³⁷

It seems therefore an interesting thought that along the lines of epic concentration the image of Alfonso III and the one of Dinis have melted together. When succeeding his father in 1279, Dinis was at the age of 18. His “grandfather” Alfonso “el Sabio” was 40 years older than him, and at the zenith of his power. Let us therefore look at the policy of Dinis as if inspired by a Castilian advice. There are, in fact, in the biography of these two kings, enough common aspects that can lead us to think. Indeed, it should be noted the following: within a few years after his accession, Dinis managed to come to an agreement and reconciliation with the papacy, and started to devote his attention to an internal reformation of the Portuguese administration, and certainly in the early years of his reign relations with Castile remained good. A short war about Moura and Serpa did not lead to a lasting controversy.

Like his grandfather, relations with the nobility were not always the best. Also developed the extension of the legislation and further centralization. His emphasis laid on the protection of the middle and lower classes from abuse and extortion, which exactly was the advice the king in my poem received from the wise Spanish king. Dinis established a policy of remaining a “visible ruler,” travelling through his lands, offering assistance and justice. As king, he travelled around the country, correcting unjust situations and resolving problems. Just like Alfonso “el Sabio” did in Castile, Dinis promoted the development of

³⁷ Salvador Martínez 2010.

Portuguese as language of administration and culture. Not only he contributed through his measures to the development of towns and commerce. Next to this he also gained renown as troubadour through his songs and *cantigas*.³⁸

Although later in his reign Dinis too was faced with internal strife, one can safely say that, through his deeds and acts as a young Portuguese king, he fits best the image as offered in the Dutch poem. Epic concentration may have melted Alfonso III and Dinis together, but I hope to have demonstrated convincingly that the historical mirror that Willem van Hildegarsberch held his audience around 1390 reflected a true and real Portuguese past, in which two kings in succession, that had troubled reigns, died at a young ages, and in which only when law and justice became a central issue of government, their successors were blessed again with a long life.

Conclusion

At the court in The Hague, that had strong international contacts, and a sound historical awareness, around the year 1390 the moralistic-didactic lesson of the poem *Vanden Coninc van Poertegael* must have been well understood, exactly because of its strong relation with a historical reality with which the noble community was roughly familiar. At the end of the fourteenth century Willem van Hildegarsberch could appeal to an image of Portugal, an Iberian region, far away in physical distance, but recognizable in its historical identity, a country of strangers, but certainly no strange country. The poem on *De Coninc van Poertegael* at the same time made use of that image and contributed to its popularity, at a moment when commercial and political initiatives needed such an image.

³⁸ Saraiva 2006, Ferreira 2005.

Bibliography

- Bishko, C. J. (1975). The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest 1095-1492. In H. W. Hazard, *A History of the Crusades. III. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*. Madison/London: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Bisschop, W.; Verwijs, E. (eds.) (1981) [1870]. *Gedichten van Willem van Hildegarsberch*. Utrecht: H&S Publishers; www.dbnl.org/tekst/hild002wbis01_01/hild002wbis01_01_0008.php. Accessed 10/30/2012.
- Blondé, B.; Gelderblom, O.; Stabel, P. (2007). Foreign merchant communities in Bruges, Antwerp and Amsterdam. C. 1350-1650. In Calabi, D.; Christensen, S. T. (ed.), *Cultural exchange in early modern Europe: volume 2: Cities and cultural exchnage in Europe, 1400-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boer, Dick E. H. de (1992). 'Waarmede sal men den cogge laden'. Enkele aspecten van de laat-middeleeuwse handel in de Nederlanden tot ca. 1470. In Carmiggelt, A. (red.), *Rotterdam Papers VII. A contribution to medieval archeology*. Rotterdam: Bureau Oudheidkundig Onderzoek van Gemeentewerken Rotterdam.
- Boer, Dick E. H. de (1996). 'Florerend vanuit de delta. De handelsbetrekkingen van Holland en Zeeland in de tweede helft van de dertiende eeuw. In Boer, D. E. H. de; Cordfunke, E. H. P. and Sarfatij, H. (eds.). *Wi Florens... De Hollandse graaf Floris V in de samenleving van de 13e eeuw*. Utrecht: Matrijs.
- Boer, Dick E. H. de, (1998). De Zonnegod van de Pyreneeën: Gaston Fébus (1331-1391), *Groniek. Historisch Tijdschrift*. nr. 140 *Muziek in de Middeleeuwen*.
- Boer, Dick E. H. de (2000). Brügge-London-Ostseeraum. In N. Jörn e.a. (ed.), *Hansekaufleute in Brügge. Teil 4: Beiträge der Internationalen Tagung in Brügge April 1996*. Frankfurt am Main: Kieler Werkstücke Reihe D: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des späten Mittelalters. Band 13.
- Boer, Dick E. H. de (2000A). Looking at the top of the Ant-hill. Some observations. In Stabel, P.; Blondé, B.; Greve, A. (eds.), *International Trade in the Low Countries (14th-16th Centuries). Merchants, Organisation, Infrastructure*. Leuven/Apeldoorn.
- Ferreira, Manuel Pedro (2005). *Cantus Coronatus: 7 Cantigas d'El Rei Dom Dinis*. Kassel: Reichenberger.
- Haemers, J.; Stabel, P. (2006). From Bruges to Antwerp: international commercial firms and governments credit in the late 15th and early 16th century. In Sanz Ayán, C.; García García, B. J. (eds.), *Banca, crédito y capital: la monarquía hispánica y los antiguos Países Bajos (1505-1700)*. Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes.
- Janse, A. (1986). Muziekleven aan het hof van Albrecht van Beieren (1358-1404) in Den Haag, *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 36.
- Marques, António Henrique R. de Oliveira (1972). *History of Portugal: From Lusitania to Empire*. New York and London: Columbia University Press.
- Matos, Artur Teodoro de Matos; Costa, João Paulo Oliveira (2007). Biographies of the Kings of Portugal. *eJournal of Portuguese History*, vol. 5, n. 2, Winter 2007 [www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue10/pdf/amatosjcosta.pdf. Accessed 10/30/2012.].
- Meder, Theo (1991). *Sprookspreker in Holland. Leven en werk van Willem van Hildegarsberch (ca. 1400)*. Amsterdam: Prometheus.
- Mol, J. A. (2002). Frisian fighters and the Crusade. *Crusades. The Journal of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, 1.
- Niermeyer, J. F. (ed.) (1968). *Bronnen voor de economische geschiedenis van het Beneden-Maasgebied. Eerste deel: 1104-1399*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

- Paravicini, W. (1989). *Die Preussenfahrten des europäischen Adels. Teil 1*. Beihefte der Francia, 17/1. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag.
- Paviot, J. (1995). *Portugal et Bourgogne au XV^e siècle (1384-1482). Recueil de documents; extraits des Archives Bourguignonnes*. Lisbonne/Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian; Commission Nationale pour les Commémorations des Découvertes Portugaises.
- Poortinga, Y. (1965). *De palmridder fan Lissabon*. Leeuwarden: Miedema.
- Salvador Martínez, H. (2010). *Alfonso X, the learned: a biography*. Studies in the history of Christian traditions, vol. 146, Leiden, Brill.
- Saraiva, Antonio José (2006). *Initiation into Portuguese Literature*. Berkeley - Santa Barbara: Center for Portuguese Studies.
- Seifert, D. (1997). *Kompagnons und Konkurrenten. Holland und die Hanse im späten Mittelalter. Quellen und Darstellungen zur Hansischen Geschichte*. Neue Folge, Band XLIII. Köln.
- Smit, J. G.; Prevenier, W. (eds.) (1987). *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis der dagvaarten van de Staten en steden van Holland voor 1544*. RGP Grote Serie 202. Den Haag.
- Sousa, A. C. de (1947). *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 3. Coimbra: Atlântida Editora.
- Unger, J. H. W. (1907). *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van Rotterdam, IV. Regestenlijst voor Rotterdam en Schieland tot in 1415 [1425]*. Rotterdam: Van Waesberge.
- Van Anrooij, W. (1990). *Spiegel van Ridderschap. Heraut Gelre en zijn Ereredes*. Nederlandse literatuur en cultuur in de middeleeuwen, 1 Amsterdam.
- Van Campen, J. C. W. (1979). Het huis "D'Coninck van Poortugael". *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht*.
- Van Herwaarden, J. (1996). *Geschiedenis van Dordrecht tot 1572*. Hilversum: Verloren.
- Van Oostrom, F. P. (1992). *Court and culture. Dutch literature 1350-1450*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford (translation of: *Het woord van eer. Literatuur aan het Hollandse hof omstreeks 1400*).
- Van Oostrom, F. P. (1994). Middle-Dutch literature at court (with special reference to the court of Holland-Bavaria). In Kooper, E. *Medieval Dutch Literature in its European Context*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 21. Cambridge.
- Vones, Ludwig (1993). *Geschichte der Iberischen Halbinsel (711-1480)*. Reiche, Kronen, Regionen. Sigmaringen.
- Zoete, A. (ed.) (1982). *Handelingen van de leden en van de Staten van Vlaanderen. Excerpten uit de rekeningen van de Vlaamse steden en kasselrijen en van de vorstelijke ambtenaren, 1405-1419*. Brussels: Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis.

Inquisitorial Punishments in Lisbon and Évora¹

R. Warren Anderson²

Abstract

Punishments of more than 8,000 people sentenced by the Portuguese Inquisition from 1636 to 1778 are analyzed. Incarceration was by far the most common punishment, accounting for more than two thirds of all sentences. Around six percent of those sentenced were executed. Exile and the galleys were common punishments that met the State's needs, as well as those of the inquisitors. Religious figures received systematically different punishments for the same "defects" of sodomy and apostasy. New Christian punishments differed from those given to Old Christians; New Christians were more likely to die and be imprisoned, whereas Old Christians were exiled, whipped and sent to the galleys more frequently.

Keywords

Inquisition, Portugal, New Christian, *auto-de-fé*

Resumo

São analisadas as punições recebidas por mais de 8.000 pessoas condenadas pela Inquisição Portuguesa entre 1636 e 1778. O encarceramento era, de longe, a punição mais comum, representando mais de dois terços de todas as sentenças. Cerca de seis por cento dos condenados foram executados. O exílio e as galés eram castigos comuns que asseguravam as necessidades do Estado, bem como as dos inquisidores. Figuras religiosas receberam punições sistematicamente diferentes para os mesmos "defeitos" de sodomia e apostasia. As punições aos cristãos-novos eram diferentes das que os cristãos-velhos recebiam; os cristãos-novos eram geralmente condenados à morte ou presos, enquanto os cristãos-velhos eram mais frequentemente exilados, açoitados e enviados para as galés.

Palavras-chave

Inquisição, Portugal, Cristão-Novo, auto-de-fé

¹ This is a modified version of a chapter from my dissertation. I would like to thank John Nye, Noel Johnson and Hilton Root for earlier comments.

² University of Michigan-Dearborn. E-mail: randersc@umd.umich.edu

1. Introduction

Various punishments were given to offenders by the Inquisition. Punishments were not necessarily used to correct the deviant person, but rather meted out “for the public good in order that others may become terrified and weaned away from the evils they would commit” (Eymerich 1578: 563).³ Inquisitors kept detailed records of those that they punished, and I summarize here the sentences of more than 8,000 people in the Lisbon and Évora Tribunals, mostly from the years 1636 to 1778. Inquisitors did not punish uniformly; there were systematic differences in sentencing based on age, gender, occupation and heritage (New Christian or Old). While death is the punishment most commonly associated with the Inquisition, only roughly six percent of those in my data set were killed. Incarceration, exile, banishment, the galleys, confiscation and whipping were all commonly used to deter deviant behaviors. Punishments were used strategically to meet the Crown’s needs, in addition to those of the inquisitors.

Numerical approaches to the Inquisition have previously been used in order to study various aspects. Torres (1994) provides the number and occupation of *familiares* across time. Many writers provide some data on the total number of people sentenced or killed (e.g. Bethencourt 2009: 334-338). Here, I provide a greater breakdown of the characteristics of those punished.

Despite the vast literature about the Inquisition, relatively little has been written on the characteristics of those sentenced to different punishments. Usually the punishments are mentioned and described, especially in the case of death, but a systematic analysis of the characteristics of those punished is lacking. Most similar to my own work are the studies produced by Michèle Janin-Thivos Tailland (2001) and António Borges Coelho (1987). Janin-Thivos Tailland (2001) provides data on the individual characteristics of those accused in Évora by gender, marital status, fraction (New Christian), religious employment, birthplace, defect, etc. (pp. 126, 129, 124, 146, 205, 245). She also looks at different punishments, such as the numbers of those sent to the galleys or to Brazil or Angola, and the defect for which they were punished (pp. 364, 369). Coelho (1987) provides data on those who were *relaxados* (burnt at the stake) and imprisoned (pp. 151-162), including a detailed description of those killed in Évora (pp. 165-180). He also provides descriptions of the defects punished in Évora (pp. 188-194) and the offenders’ places of birth/residence (pp. 295-311). This is similar to my analysis; although my approach also contains the

³ My thanks to Jana Mathews for her help with the Latin translations.

Lisbon Tribunal and provides a greater breakdown of the characteristics of those punished for different sentences. Furthermore, I include comparisons of different kinds of people sentenced for the same defect.

2. Punishments

My data comes from the *Lists of the Portuguese Inquisition* (Oakley 2008, vols. 1&2). Inquisitorial manuscripts of those sentenced in public and private *autos-da-fé* were kept at the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York. It is not known how the manuscripts arrived there, but the Jewish Historical Society of England has published the records of the Lisbon and Évora Tribunals. The lists from the Coimbra Tribunal are not published and hence not included in the analysis below. While this excludes the largest tribunal in terms of both the area that it covered in Portugal, and the number of sentences that it applied, Lisbon and Évora include more than 17,200 people, with almost 8,500 having recorded punishments after 1635. The Lisbon Tribunal has the lists from 1540 to 1778; while the Évora Tribunal has lists from 1542 to 1763.

While deaths were documented for all years, other individual punishments were not recorded with frequency until after 1635. Hence my dating (for non-*relaxado* victims) goes from 1636 to 1778. There were five main punishments recorded: death, jail, exile, banishment and the galleys. Whipping was frequent as well, but was usually combined with an additional punishment. Confiscation was frequent, but not commonly reported. Table 1 shows the total number of recorded sentences, with the sum of the parts being greater than the total as there were sometimes multiple punishments administered to the same individual. Other punishments were present, such as being suspended from religious orders or wearing the *sanbenito*, but the five punishments mentioned earlier were the most frequently reported.

Table 1: Punishments recorded from 1636 to 1778 at the Lisbon and Évora Tribunals

Death	484	6%
Jail	5,753	68%
Exile	1,072	13%
Banishment	221	3%
Whipping	593	7%
Galleys	552	7%
Total	8,464	

Confiscation

Even though “the majority of prisoners had their property confiscated” (Oakley 2008, vol. 1: xiii), confiscation was rarely recorded in the lists, possibly due to its great frequency. The Évora auto of June 1653 did not result a long record, with it simply being stated that 128 people were sentenced, 64 men and 64 women. Afterwards, there is an extensive note with the list of those people who had their goods confiscated, broken down by their wealth, including the rich (50), the poor (29), and poor women (29). More than a century later, in 1757, an Old Christian (or so he said) was exiled to Africa for attempting to protect New Christians from having their goods confiscated.

Sanbenito

Another common punishment was the *sanbenito*. This was a penitential garment with a red St. Andrew’s cross or with images of devils, dragons, flames, etc. A large cap was used as well. The *sanbenito* was to be worn for many years, or indefinitely in the case of the *hábito perpetuo*, although typically there was a limit to the limitless sentence (Carrasco García 2006: 314; see also Braamcamp Freire 1899: 87). However, like confiscation, the *sanbenito* was not recorded with great frequency in the lists.

Whipping

Whipping usually coincided with additional punishments. Besides the standard flogging, it could become more extreme. After the auto of June 1645 in Lisbon, inquisitors noted that “Between this and the two previous Autos, there were six hundred, including those burned, whipped, degraded and those accused of the nefarious sin [sodomy]”. The note mentioned that some of the convicted sodomites were banished, but before they left they were found “in the crime” that was “too unworthy to write”. As an additional punishment, they were whipped with canes, with their arms attached to a stick and a wet string placed in their mouth.

Table 2 shows the ages of those whipped and the total number of people sentenced in the given age range. Only four percent of those whipped were aged under twenty, whereas almost eight percent of those sentenced were that young. Older people seemed to enjoy a reprieve from whipping as well; six percent of the whipped were over 60, whereas nine percent of those sentenced were above that age.

Table 2: Whipping and Ages

Age	Whipped	Percentage whipped	Total Sentenced	Percentage sentenced
10-19	20	4%	594	8%
20s	128	24%	2,143	29%
30s	167	31%	1,903	26%
40s	119	22%	1,343	18%
50s	65	12%	831	11%
60+	35	6%	642	9%

Jail

By far the most commonly recorded punishment was incarceration, with more than two thirds of those with a recorded punishment being sent to jail. Jail sentences would last for a few months and rarely for more than three years in the case of a repentant prisoner. Life sentences typically lasted a decade. With excessive overcrowding, a prison sentence at times became more like house arrest and prisoners were allowed to leave during the day and return at night (Kamen 1997: 201).

Exile

Exile was another common punishment. As a method of repopulation, King Dinis instituted *coutos* or asylum cities in 1308. Frequently they were border towns sparsely populated after the *reconquista* or wars with Spain. They were havens for those found guilty of non-fraudulent and treasonous crimes, excluding adulterous women. This continued for centuries, with internal exile being suspended from 1691 to 1703, due to the large numbers of murderers who fled to Spain. Exile ceilings were imposed on towns to prevent a large influx of criminals, and towns could lose their status as an asylum city if the population was deemed satisfactory by the Crown (Coates 2002: 50-2).

Those exiled by the Inquisition would be sent to other towns in Portugal, Brazil and Africa. Many were sent to the Algarve and particularly to Castro Marim, a border town. It received exile status in 1524 and internal exile became synonymous with the town. Dom Manuel I decreed that anyone banished could have his sentence halved if he went to Castro Marim instead (Coates 2002: 53-56).

Starting in 1493, those exiled to São Tomé were allowed to return to Portugal for up to four months before having to return to exile. After twenty years, this measure was revoked and in 1560 any exiles found living off the island would have their sentence doubled (Coates 2002: 53). The majority of European settlers in São Tomé were exiles—possibly as many as 95 percent (Coates 2002: xviii). In the decree issued by Dom Manuel I, referred to above, anyone exiled within Portugal could opt to go to North Africa instead and have the sentence halved (Coates 2002: 55-6). In 1519, the Crown ordered the courts not to exile offenders to a specific location, but simply to Africa. Bribery was a common practice practiced by those wishing to avoid going there, with certificates of completion being issued prematurely. Laws were passed to combat this in the early seventeenth century (Coates 2002: 58).

Table 3 shows the locations of inquisitorial exiles: Castro Marim, Algarve (not explicitly Castro Marim), non-Algarve cities in Portugal, Africa and Brazil. Of the 1,107 exiles (including those pre-1636), nine were exiled for life—all to Africa—and 25 had data missing about the length of their exile.

Table 3: Exile by Location, Gender, Age

	All exiled	Africa	Algarve	Brazil	Castro Marim	Portugal
Total	1,114	282	36	284	260	252
Men	572	138	13	111	165	145
Percentage	51%	49%	36%	39%	63%	58%
Whipped	213	77	2	69	31	34
Percentage	19%	27%	6%	24%	12%	13%
Women-single	271	73	21	55	26	26
Percentage	50%	51%	91%	32%	27%	24%
Women-widows	96	29	2	20	18	26
Percentage of single or widowed women	68%	71%	100%	43%	46%	49%
Exile Mean	4.3	5.6	4.1	4.8	3.4	3.4
Exile Median	4	5	4	5	3	3
Age Mean	40.7	40.5	35.7	41.4	39.1	42.1
Age Median	39	40	33	40	36	40
Age Mode	30	40	33	30	30	50

Exiles in Africa were the longest on average, possibly differing from earlier policy that those exiled could go to Africa for half the length of a domestic exile. Alternatively those going to Africa would have had a longer sentence if exiled to a different location. Either way, exiles in Africa and Brazil were both longer compared to other places, which is consistent with the notion of exile being used as a means of populating colonies. The average sentence of an exile within Portugal's borders was 3.4 years compared to 5.2 years in the colonies, or roughly 50 percent longer. Ages did not vary much, except for the fact that the small sample size for the Algarve was lower than the others. The mean age of single women was 32.6, with a median of 30; for widows, it was 54.4 and 53.5 respectively. Whipping was much more common for those going to the colonies, meaning a more severe punishment than just the length of the sentence. While fifty percent of women sentenced were single, the colonies had a higher percentage of single women (excluding the small sample of the Algarve) than those staying in Portugal, which again is consistent with the notion of the colonies being populated with exiles. Men, roughly half of the sample, were disproportionately represented in Castro Marim and Portugal. Brazil saw significantly more women than men exiled there. It was seen as a prime colonizing area and needed the women (Coates 2002: 85).

After arriving at their exiled destination, the convicted reported to a commissioner of the Holy Office who would send a return letter confirming their arrival (Pieroni 2000:

249-50). There were high death rates in Africa and, with expensive home voyages, many of those exiled overseas did not return to Portugal (Walker 2005: 303), thereby resulting in a *de facto* lengthening of colonial sentencing.

Banishment

Banishment was less common than exile. More men were sentenced (in percentage terms), with the average sentence being about half that of exile and administered to men slightly older in age. Traveling overland across Portugal was not only dangerous, but the roads were in a terrible state. Wolves were such a threat to travelers that, in 1655, the Crown allowed those convicted in civil cases to pay their fines by killing them (Coates 2002: 11). Banishment removed the convicted from their families, friends and jobs. With travel being harsh and expensive, this drained the finances of the banished and caused isolation (Walker 2005: 332). For the inquisitors, banishment and exile “functioned as what was believed to be a necessary religious and social defense against heterodox infection, while, at the same time, serving as a mystical procedure for the purification of sins” (Pieroni 2000: 250).

Table 4: Banishment

Total	205
Men	141
Percentage Male	69%
Banish Length – Mean	2.6
Banish Length – Median	2
Banishment for Life	4
Age – Mean	41.6
Age – Median	40
Age – Mode	40

Galleys

Galley workers in Portugal did not work by rowing on ships, but rather performed slave labor. John Coustos told his story of being arrested by inquisitors, including his time spent in the galleys (Coustos and Gavin 1821; see also Dellon 1812 for a second account of galley life). Listed as João Custon by inquisitors, he was sentenced in 1744 by the Lisbon Tribunal for being a protestant heretic and practicing freemasonry; both of which he

refused to deny. He was arrested, imprisoned, interrogated, sworn to secrecy and told not to reveal the secrets of the Holy Office,⁴ interrogated many times more, tortured, told if he died while being tortured it would be considered suicide, tortured many times more (nine in total) to the point where he could not lift his hand to his mouth, went to the auto and was sentenced to the galleys for four years.

Secular judges sent convicts to the galleys, as did inquisitors. These convicts included Turks, Moors, fugitive slaves, and bad servants sent by their masters for punishment. Some carried timber to dockyard carpenters, others carried water and provisions to outbound ships, others took water to prisoners in Lisbon, while others took water to the king's gardens. They were maltreated unless they bribed the overseers. Prisoners had an eight-foot-long chain fastened to their feet. Heads and beards were shaved once a month. Work ran from early morning until eleven o'clock when there was a break for something to eat, and then work continued until late at night. The sick received good treatment, but those who stepped out of line were whipped severely, and some were disabled for life as a result.

Coustos carried water to the prisons, but was too weak at first from the time he had spent being tortured and imprisoned. He carried on out of fear, before falling sick. Irish friars were sent to him and told him he would be released if he became a Catholic, but Coustos refused. He could not continue his labors and was excused by "amply rewarding the overseers" (Coustos and Gavin 1821: 50). He was followed by spies and sent back to the tribunal, where he stated that he intended to return to London. He was supposed to report to the inquisitor before embarking, but did not, leading to spies being sent to find him (Coustos and Gavin 1821: 52-3). They did not find him and he arrived in England.

The 587 people sentenced to the galleys were all men with a mean age of 37.6, a median age of 36, and a mode age of 40; slightly younger than those who were exiled (a mean male age of 40.7, median of 39, mode of 30). Secular trials and the Holy Office coordinated the exile sentencing mentioned above to suit the needs of the Crown (Coates 2002: 27-8), thereby accomplishing the goals of the State and the Inquisition simultaneously.

⁴ It is interesting to note that inquisitors told Coustos that "if this society of freemasons was so virtuous as I claimed, there was no occasion for their concealing so industriously the secrets of it", while at the same time making prisoners take oaths not to reveal any of the proceedings of the Inquisition (26).

Death

Overall (from 1540 on), more than 1,000 people were killed in my sample of 17,000, or, in other words, six percent. However, those who were killed differed from those who were not: in gender, age, occupation, country of origin and defect.

Witch hunt victims were primarily women and disproportionately widowed (Oster 2004: 215). In a broadly similar fashion, the Inquisition also killed widows at high rates, but not non-widowed women. Less than four percent of non-widowed women were killed, whereas more than ten percent of widows were. About six percent of men were killed by comparison.

Table 5: Men, Women and Widows Killed

	Total	Killed	Percent
Everyone	10,116	531	5.2%
Men	5,313	323	6.1%
Women	4,803	208	4.3%
Widowed	629	65	10.3%
Non-Widowed	4,174	143	3.4%
Data from 1636 to 1778 and people with gender data			

From 1636 on, there were 7,301 people with their ages recorded, of whom 314 were killed. Those killed were significantly older, more than a decade older on average, with women having a 17-year disparity in average age as opposed to those who were not executed.

Table 6: Mean Ages and Sentencing

	Death Sentence		Other sentence	
	Total	Age	Total	Age
All	314	47.6	6,987	36.1
Men	196	44.8	3,699	36.7
Women	118	52.2	3,288	35.4
Data from 1636 to 1778 and people with age data				

Death rates for those with a listed occupation varied. Merchants were killed at a rate of more than ten percent, with doctors close behind at nine percent. Religious authorities were lower at about six percent and military men had the lowest score with three percent.

Merchants and doctors were dominated by New Christians, and therefore had the higher average.

Table 7: Men with a Listed Occupation

	Total	Killed	Rate
All	4,111	256	6.2%
Business	996	109	10.9%
Medical	211	19	9.0%
Lawyer	111	8	7.2%
Religious	241	14	5.8%
Farm	493	22	4.5%
Military	243	7	2.9%
Other	1,816	77	4.2%
Data from 1636 to 1778 and men with occupation data			

Table 8 shows the data relating to those who were killed, by place of origin. People listed as being from foreign places came from Spain, Brazil, the Islands (Madeira and the Azores), and all other countries. Native Portuguese were killed at a rate that was three times higher than for foreigners. However, most foreigners who were killed were Spanish. Nearly seven percent were killed, as opposed to about two percent in the case of non-Spanish foreigners.

Table 8: Death Rates by Origin

	Total	Killed	Percent
All	4,313	470	10.9%
Portugal	3,443	434	12.6%
All Foreign	870	36	4.1%
Spain	368	25	6.8%
Brazil	366	7	1.9%
Islands	74	0	0.0%
Non-Spanish Foreign	502	11	2.2%
Data from 1636 to 1778 and people with origin data			

Those killed were mostly executed because they were Jewish. The minimum estimate suggests that more than 80 percent were alleged crypto-Jews and the maximum estimate points to more than 95 percent. Eleven people had multiple reasons for death given; all of them were New Christians, and were listed for the other reason in the following chart (7 for Sodomy, 1 marriage, 2 apostasy, 1 other (sins against the

Inquisition)), thereby leading to a downward bias in the death rate for Judaism. About 15 percent of those killed had no reason listed: it is almost certain that most (if not all) of them were killed because they were Jews. If all of those without a reason listed are assumed to be New Christians, then more than 95 percent of those killed were New Christians. If we only consider those with a reason listed (910 people), 95 percent were killed as a result of their Judaism.

Table 9: Death Rates by Defect

	Total	Killed
Deaths	1,066	100.0%
Jew	867	81.3%
No Reason	156	14.6%
Sodomy	27	2.5%
Apostasy	10	0.9%
Other	6	0.6%
Data from 1540 to 1763		

Death was the most severe punishment, but it was not used randomly. Widows were killed at high rates, whereas married women were killed at lower rates than men. Older people were more likely to be killed. Portuguese natives were put to death at high rates, Spanish nationals at lower rates, and non-Spanish foreigners were rarely killed. The crime of Judaism was almost exclusively the reason for being killed, with the best estimate being about 95 percent.

3. Differing Punishments

As was the case with the death sentence, the Inquisition did not apply non-capital punishments uniformly. Holding the defect constant, the punishments given to religious figures systematically differed from those given to secular figures, those given to women differed from those given to men and those given to Old Christians from those given to New Christians. Various defects and their punishments are shown here, broken down into different groups.

Sodomy and apostasy were offenses committed by both religious and secular people. Table 10 shows the comparison made of 155 people sentenced for sodomy and separated according to whether they were religious figures or not. The most severe

punishment – death – occurred at a much higher rate for religious figures, clearly amounting to a sign of deterrence. Brutal galley work and being exported to colonies (which could easily result in death) occurred at much lower rates for religious figures, but accounted for three quarters of secular punishments. Whipping, a public humiliation, was the punishment given to half of the sodomites, but only to five percent of religious figures: a sign of deterrence for secular men, but representing an apparent shielding of co-religionists. Religious homosexuals received the harshest punishment at the highest rate, but if death was avoided then the punishment was less severe than it was for secular homosexuals.

Table 10: Punishments for Sodomy

	Total	Religious	Secular	Total	Religious	Secular
Total	155	21	134	100%	14%	86%
Death	13	5	8	8%	24%	7%
Galleys	72	4	68	46%	19%	56%
Jail	4	1	3	25%	19%	2%
Exile to Colonies	38	4	34	3%	0%	28%
Exile in Portugal	5	0	5	1%	5%	4%
Banishment	1	1	0	3%	5%	0%
Whipping	68	1	67	44%	5%	55%
Note: Nine people received other punishments, while 13 punishments were missing; percentages calculated only for those cases with punishments listed, except in the case of death, which was always listed; whipping was accompanied by other additional punishments.						

Table 11 is similar to the previous one, but relates specifically to apostates. As before, religious people were killed at a higher rate than secular people, but the ratio was only one religious apostate to two secular apostates. The sample size is therefore too small to carry any real meaning. Religious figures were more likely to be sent to the galleys and exiled to the colonies, both of which were harsh punishments. While whipping was a much less frequent punishment for religious apostates rather than for secular apostates, the gap is much smaller than it was in the case of sodomy. Religious apostates were sentenced more severely than secular apostates in almost every case. This was a clear sign of deterrence for other priests, nuns and friars, showing that heretical notions would not be tolerated by the Inquisition.

Table 11: Apostate Punishments

	Total	Religious	Secular	Total	Religious	Secular
Total	310	59	251	100%	19%	81%
Death	7	1	2	2%	1.7%	0.8%
Galleys	52	14	38	17%	24%	15%
Jail	34	7	27	11%	12%	11%
Exile to the Colonies	47	11	36	15%	19%	14%
Exile in Portugal	101	4	97	33%	7%	39%
Banishment	53	11	42	17%	19%	17%
Whipping	78	4	74	25%	7%	29%
Note: Thirteen people received other punishments, while one punishment was missing; percentages calculated only for those cases with punishments listed, except in the case of death, which was always listed; whipping was accompanied by other additional punishments						

Bigamy was a crime that resulted in many more men than women being sentenced. With divorce being illegal, a spouse would marry someone else even if the first spouse was still alive. Death was almost a non-existent punishment for this crime, with only one bigamist being killed, who was also a New Christian. The vast majority of men were sent to the galleys, which was a harsh punishment. Women, on the other hand, were sent to the overseas colonies at high rates, a harsh punishment that acted as a substitute for the galleys, where only men were sent. Both men and women were frequently whipped.

Table 12: Punishments for Bigamy

	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	431	349	82	100%	81%	19%
Death	1	1	0	0%	0.3%	0%
Galleys	249	249	0	58%	72%	0%
Jail	38	27	11	9%	8%	13%
Exile to the Colonies	84	33	51	19%	9%	62%
Exile in Portugal	50	34	16	12%	10%	20%
Banishment	5	2	3	1%	1%	4%
Whipping	263	220	43	61%	63%	52%
Note: Three people received other punishments, while one punishment was missing; percentages calculated only for those cases with punishments listed; whipping was accompanied by other additional punishments.						

Table 13 gives a similar breakdown, but for Jewish and non-Jewish offenders. During this period (after 1635), Judaism as a defect represented about 70 percent of the total. Those accused of Judaism were executed at much higher rates, but were sent to the

galleys less frequently. The vast majority were imprisoned, as opposed to non-Jews, who were imprisoned at very low rates. Few Jews were exiled within Portugal, but had similar total numbers sent to overseas colonies, albeit at vastly different rates. More than 50 percent of non-Jewish offenders were either banished or exiled, as opposed to five percent of Jews. Interestingly, New Christians were rarely whipped; only one percent were recorded as being whipped, as compared to a third of Old Christians. *Defunta* refers to those who died in prison and had no other punishment associated with them, a situation which occurred more frequently among New Christians. Some who died in prison were vicariously killed. Such people have death listed for their sentence, not *defunta*.

Table 13: New vs. Old Christian Punishment

	Total	New Christian	Old Christian		New Christian	Old Christian
Total	10,442	7,237	3,205	100%	69%	31%
Death	484	438	46	5%	6%	1%
Galleys	552	132	420	7%	2%	27%
Jail	5,753	5,588	165	68%	82%	11%
Exile to the Colonies	551	298	253	7%	4%	16%
Exile in Portugal	521	97	424	6%	1%	27%
Banishment	221	20	201	3%	0%	13%
Other	157	114	43	2%	2%	3%
<i>Defunta</i>	166	147	19	2%	2%	1%
Whipped	593	75	518	7%	1%	33%
Note: Percentages calculated only for those cases with punishments listed, except in the case of death, which was always listed; whipping was accompanied by other additional punishments.						

Regression Analysis

From 1636 on, there were 6,863 people whose records showed the reason why they were sentenced, together with data relating to their employment (in the case of men), age, and place of origin. A probit regression was run on five punishments. A probit is a regression for an event that is either zero or one and assesses the probability of this event happening. The reasons for sentencing included in the regressions were Judaism and sodomy, together with employment (business, medical, military, cloth, and farm), and place of origin (Spanish and foreigners who were not Spanish). Controls were included for grain prices, urbanization, New Christian lobbying, Pedro II and Pombal (from Anderson 2012).

The regression results reiterate the above findings. For example, the column labeled “Death” assigns a value of one if the person was *relaxado* (burnt at the stake) and zero for any other punishment. The numbers in the column relate to the change in the probability of being killed given that the person was sentenced; with stars denoting significance. Being a New Christian is highly correlated with capital punishment, as is being older, a male or a widow. Being a farmer, on the other hand, yields a lower probability of being *relaxado*; possibly due to the lack of New Christian farmers.

New Christians were also much more likely to be incarcerated, but less likely to be whipped, exiled and sent to the galleys. Sodomy resulted in a somewhat opposite pattern: offenders were less likely to be sent to jail, but more likely to be sent to the galleys and be whipped. The probability of being exiled increased with age, but older people had a lower rate of incarceration. Businessmen were more likely to be killed and exiled – consistent with a rent-seeking story of eliminating competition. Military men were exiled more frequently, but sent to the galleys less often. Men were more likely to be killed, but less likely to be exiled. As already stated above, women were exiled more, in order to help populate the colonies. Widows had a higher probability of being killed, but otherwise this condition had no effect on the sentence.

Table 14: Probit of Punishments

	Death	Exile	Jail	Galleys	Whipping
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
New Christian	0.9***	-1.7***	2.5***	-1.7***	-2.1***
	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Sodomy	0.2	-0.3*	-0.9***	0.5***	0.4***
	0.599	0.062	0.003	0.000	0.005
Age	0.02***	0.01***	-0.02***	0.00	0.00
	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.487	0.498
Business	0.2**	0.2**	-0.1	-0.1	-0.2
	0.024	0.033	0.124	0.217	0.225
Medical	0.2	-0.1	-0.2	0.3*	0.1
	0.235	0.510	0.140	0.051	0.693
Military	-0.4	0.5***	0.2	-0.4**	-0.2
	0.109	0.000	0.231	0.018	0.172
Cloth	0.0	0.2**	0.1	-0.1	0.1
	0.815	0.013	0.307	0.615	0.545

Farm	-0.3*	0.0	0.1	-0.1	0.0
	0.067	0.970	0.393	0.174	0.984
Male=1	0.3***	-0.5***	-0.2***		0.2**
	0.001	0.000	0.000		0.036
Widow	0.2**	-0.1	-0.1		-0.1
	0.027	0.443	0.244		0.454
From Spain	0.1	0.2	-0.2*	-0.2	0.0
	0.678	0.116	0.082	0.166	0.868
From Foreign	0.0	-1.0***	0.1	0.3	0.2
	0.931	0.001	0.794	0.279	0.540
Pseudo R²	0.135	0.256	0.394	0.299	0.418
*** is significant at the 1% level, ** at the 5% level, and * at the 1% level					

4. Conclusion

I have presented some statistics of punishments at the Lisbon and Évora Tribunals. There are some limitations to these data. Consistent records are not available for almost the whole of the first century of the Inquisition and all of the records of the Coimbra Tribunal are excluded, as well as those of Goa. This places certain restrictions on an analysis of how punishments evolved in the early stages of the Inquisition, limiting comparisons across time. Unfortunately, confiscations were not recorded, thereby excluding a very common punishment. However, there is still substantial data, which is enough to paint a picture of inquisitorial sentencing.

In seeking to deter certain behaviors, there were various punishments meted out by the Inquisition's tribunals. The *sanbenito*, confiscation and whipping were common punishments; as were death, jail, exile, banishment and becoming a galley slave. Sentencing displayed systematic differences between the punishments meted out for religious and secular homosexuals and apostates, in addition to systematic differences for men and women who were sentenced for bigamy and for New and Old Christians. Punishments were given in order to deter certain behaviors, while simultaneously meeting political objectives. Inquisitors used the punishments at their disposal in systematic ways in order to hold onto their power and consolidate their control over the masses.

Bibliography

- Anderson, R.W., 2012. "Measuring the Portuguese Inquisition". Working paper.
- Bernardini, & Fiering, N. (eds.), 2000. *The Jews and the expansion of Europe to the west, 1450-1800*, New York: Berghahn Books.
- Bethencourt, F., 2009. *The Inquisition: a global history, 1478-1834*, Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bethencourt, F., 1997. *La Inquisición en la época moderna: España, Portugal, e Italia, siglos XV-XIX*, Madrid, España: Akal.
- Braamcamp Freire, A., 1899. *O conde de Villa Franca e a Inquisição*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional.
- Carrasco García, G., 2006. Judeoconversos de Jerez y el obispado de Cádiz a fines del siglo XV. *En la España Medieval*, 29, pp. 311-345.
- Coates, T.J., 2001. *Convicts and orphans: forced and state-sponsored colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Coelho, A. B., 1987. *Inquisição de Évora. Vol. 1, Dos Primórdios a 1668*. Lisbon: Ed. Caminho.
- Costigan, L.H., 2010. *Through cracks in the wall: modern inquisitions and New Christian letrados in the Iberian Atlantic world*, Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Coustos, J. & Gavin, A., 1821. *The mysteries of popery unveiled in the unparalleled sufferings of John Coustos, at the Inquisition of Lisbon: to which is added the origin of the Inquisition and its establishment in various countries*, Enfield, [Conn.]: P. Reynolds & H. Thompson.
- Dellon, G., 1812. *Dellon's Account of the Inquisition at Goa. Translated from the French. With an appendix, containing an account of the escape of Archibald Bower, (one of the inquisitors) from the Inquisition, at Maçerata, in Italy*, Hull: I. Wilson.
- Eymerich, N., 1578. *Directorium inquisitorum*, Romae: in Aedibus Populi Romani. Available at: <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=witch;idno=wit045>.
- Green, T., 2007. *Inquisition: the reign of fear*, London: Macmillan.
- Janin-Thivos Tailland, M. 2001. *Inquisition et Société au Portugal: Le Cas du Tribunal d'Évora, 1660-1821*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- Kamen, H., 1997. *The Spanish Inquisition: an historical revision*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Llorente, J.A., 1843. *The history of the Inquisition of Spain, from the time of its establishment to the reign of Ferdinand VII, composed from the original documents of the Archives of the Supreme Council and from those of subordinate tribunals of the Holy Office*, Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co.
- Oakley, J. L., 2008. *Lists of the Portuguese Inquisition*, London: The Jewish Historical Society.
- Oster, E., 2004. Witchcraft, Weather and Economic Growth in Renaissance Europe. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 18 (1), pp. 215-228.
- Pieroni, G., 2000. Outcasts from the Kingdom: The Inquisition and the Banishment of New Christians to Brazil. In *The Jews and the expansion of Europe to the west, 1450-1800*. : 242-251.
- Saraiva, A.J., 2001. The Marrano Factory, the Portuguese Inquisition and its New Christians 1536-1765.
- Torres, J.V., 1994. "Da Repressão Religiosa para a Promoção Social: A Inquisição como Instância Legitimadora da Promoção Social da Burguesia Mercantil". *Revista Crítica De Ciências Sociais* 4 (October): pp. 109-135.
- Walker, T.D., 2005. *Doctors, folk medicine and the Inquisition: the repression of magical healing in Portugal during the Enlightenment*, Leiden; Boston: Brill.

The diversification of Portugal's commercial relations in the late eighteenth century: between discourse and praxis.

Miguel Dantas da Cruz¹

Abstract

The diversification of trading partners marked the context of Portugal's economic relations with the outside world in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This had also been a frequent argument put forward in the organized discourse of Portuguese economic thought throughout the eighteenth century. Without claiming to be exhaustive, this article examines the testimonies of some of the eighteenth-century authors who reflected at greater length on the advantages of diversifying trading partners. After this, an analysis is made of some of the more distinctive manifestations of this experience, essentially related to the marked changes that took place in the shipping sector and the readjustments in the economic importance of trading partners.

Keywords

diversification of trading partners, foreign trade, shipping, economic thought, port of Lisbon, Baltic.

Resumo

A diversificação de parceiros comerciais marcou o quadro das relações económicas de Portugal com o exterior no final de Setecentos e princípios de Oitocentos. Esse havia sido também um argumento frequente no discurso organizado do pensamento económico português ao longo do século 18. Sem pretender ser exaustivo, o texto aborda os testemunhos de alguns dos autores setecentistas que reflectiram mais longamente sobre as vantagens da diversificação de parceiros. De seguida são exploradas as manifestações mais distintivas desta experiência de diversificação, essencialmente relacionadas com mudanças pronunciadas no sector da navegação e com reajustamentos no peso económico dos parceiros.

Palavras-chave

Diversificação de parceiros comerciais, comércio externo, navegação, pensamento económico, porto de Lisboa, Báltico.

¹ CEHC-IUL (Center for the Study of Contemporary History, Lisbon University Institute). *E-mail:* migueldacruz75@gmail.com. The author is very grateful to Professors José Vicente Serrão and José Luís Cardoso and to the referees of the *e-Journal of Portuguese History* for their critical advice on the earlier version of this study. He also would like to thank Graça Almeida Borges, Inês Versos and Marianne Czisnik for their comments, as well as for their help in editing the text.

1. Introduction

As a recurring proposal in Portuguese economic discourse throughout the eighteenth century, the diversification of trading partners was finally brought to fruition in the last quarter of that same century, when it became one of the most prominent aspects of the changes being introduced into Portugal's economic relations with the outside world. This study examines these two sides of the question: first, the successive reformulations of this proposal made by eighteenth-century opinion and policy-makers, and then the terms under which this diversification took place (its results).

If only in an indirect way, the first aspect has received more attention from the academic community. In fact, the greater or lesser sensitivity of eighteenth-century discourse to the diversification of partners has been explored by historians primarily interested in the history of Portuguese economic thought, like Jorge Borges de Macedo (1971), Armando Castro (1979) or José Luís Cardoso (1989). Although, we should emphasize, the subject was not the main focus of their research.

In this respect, even though other studies might also justify a similar mention, attention is drawn here in particular to the introductory texts that accompanied the recovery and publication of the historical works of authors such as José da Silva Lisboa, Domingos Vandelli and José Azeredo Coutinho. Since the integration of Portugal into European trading circuits was a recurring theme in these contemporary works, historians responsible for the various editions—in the above-mentioned cases António Almodovar (1993), José Vicente Serrão (1994) and Jorge Miguel Pedreira (1992), respectively—could gauge with some detail the different degrees of enthusiasm with which the idea of geographical diversification of trade was received.

Notwithstanding these contributions, there are a number of important questions that still remain to be asked. For example, we do not know to what extent the geographical diversification of trade corresponded to a hostile reaction to the British hegemony.

Historiography has been far less prolific in what concerns the particularities of the actual transformation that took place in the framework of the Portuguese economic relations at the end of the eighteenth century (i.e., the diversification of trading partners). Mention must be made, however, of some important contributions that explored (at least to some degree) the quantitative aspects of the geographical diversification of Portugal's commercial relations.

Rómulo de Carvalho's study of Portugal's relations with Russia in the eighteenth century (Carvalho 1979) has the merit of being one of the first works to specifically examine Lisbon's contacts with European capitals other than London, Paris or Madrid. Despite its wide-ranging approach (that goes beyond the economic issues), Rómulo de Carvalho's study presents an interesting and detailed analysis of Portugal's shipping and foreign trade with the empire of the Czars. Based on the number of ships involved in the export and import trade, the author shows that the balance of trade was extremely unfavorable to Portugal (Carvalho 1979, 218-224). Some years later, the economic relationship between Russia and Portugal was once again subject to a study; in this case, a brief essay about the fruitless Baltic adventures of the *Companhia Geral da Agricultura dos Vinhos do Alto Douro* (Sá and Pereira 1990).

The unpublished dissertations by Jorge Martins Ribeiro (1997), about Portuguese-American relations (between 1776 and 1822), and António Jorge Afonso (1998), about Portugal's relations with the Maghreb at the end of the Ancien Regime, provide some excellent indications about the kind of trade taking place at that time between Portugal proper and those territories. In the latter case, the author linked diplomacy with the economic activity undertaken by commercial agents such as Leonardo Pinheiro de Vasconcelos, who became the great protagonist (if not in fact a monopolist) in the importation of Moroccan grain to Lisbon.

More recently, a brief study by Leonor Freire da Costa has highlighted the importance of this diversification, stating that it represented the "hallmark" of Portugal's foreign relations in the last quarter of the eighteenth century (Costa 2005, 275). However, in global terms, this change has not yet received the attention it deserves. There has been a lack of more systematic research, seeking, for example, to map the connections between ports, of which little is known, as Leonor Freire da Costa stressed (Costa 2005, 268). It should be noted that the most important work on the evolution of maritime transport at the port of Lisbon, at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, is almost exclusively based on information compiled about Portuguese-Brazilian shipping (Frutuoso, et al. 2001).

This article addresses the subject of the diversification of Portugal's commercial relations, exploring it in its dual dimension. It is consequently organized into two sections. First, an attempt is made to show the way in which the question of the diversification of trading partners permeated Portuguese economic thought, highlighting what seems to have been a broad consensus built up around an argument that was frequently presented as an

indispensable condition for the development of Portugal's foreign trade. Second, relying on data about the Lisbon trade (the most important port in the kingdom and therefore the one chosen for this study) and data about navigation to the Baltic, at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, an attempt is made to identify some of the main characteristics of the transformation that actually took place in the framework of Portuguese economic relations with Europe. As far as this transformation is concerned, and besides the expected readjustments introduced in the economic weight of different international partners, there clearly seems to have been a pronounced multiplication of agents involved in shipping lanes linking Lisbon to other European ports.

2. Diversification of trading partners as an option for Portuguese foreign trade

“I remember a Portuguese brigantine being apprehended in London, whose captain made me laugh when he very seriously told me that, after being in London, he did not know the winds, but that on the Brazil route no other pilot could get ahead of him” (Cunha 2001, 310). The subtle irony of Dom Luís da Cunha clearly summarizes the diplomat's global approach to the problems that affected foreign trade and, above all, shipping in Portugal, which at that time was exclusively directed towards the South Atlantic. His opposition to the basic premises of the Treaty of Methuen (the exchange of cloth for wine) is widely known, since he was among the first to denounce the negative effects of this agreement. But his criticism extended to other aspects of the Anglo-Portuguese relationship. For the senior ambassador, there was a clear lack of reciprocity arising from the English Navigation Acts. In practice, these were a series of laws decreed in England and implemented since the time of Cromwell's Protectorate as a way of restricting the use of foreign shipping and stimulating the British transport sector. In the case of Anglo-Portuguese trade, these laws dictated that colonial Portuguese goods could only be transported to Great Britain on board British ships. Such a limitation even led Dom Luís da Cunha to state ironically that London was acting “as if Brazil [belonged] to another power” (MNE, Liv. n° 776, fl. 4).

Given England's privileged status within the context of Portuguese foreign trade (Fisher 1984 [1971]; Macedo 1954; 1982a [1963]; 1989), this restriction led to a severe lack of knowledge of the routes, seas and ports, of Great Britain and continental Europe alike, with damaging effects in terms of the insurance premiums demanded of Portuguese traders

and ship owners. It also affected other transaction costs. Furthermore, the greater the lack of knowledge of shipping in European waters, the less likely it was that they would be able to compete with the British, French and Dutch on an equal footing. For the diplomat, therefore, there was a kind of vicious circle that could only be broken by reducing the British hegemony over foreign trade in Portugal. The asymmetrical nature of the Anglo-Portuguese trading relationship, and the losses that Dom Luís da Cunha associated with it, could only be overcome by diversifying trading partners and by searching for new markets that would (hopefully) be free from those kinds of restrictions. Hence, he recommended the creation of a large company that would transport “to the north our wines, sugar, tobacco, etc.” (Cunha 2001, 310). In his opinion, the financial fragility of Portuguese traders, about which he had no illusions, could be offset by the return of the Jews, who “would put [their] wealth, and, what is more, their industriousness into the company” (Cunha 2001, 324-325).

Some years before Dom Luís began to work on his famous *Instruções Políticas* (1736), an important *assentista* (contractor) trading in Lisbon, by the name of Estêvão Álvares Bandeira, wrote two essays in which he defended the development of Portuguese trade in the Baltic region. These documents were addressed to Czar Peter the Great and the Duke of Cadaval and significantly referred to the formation of a trading company, which would have its headquarters in Setúbal (Costa 2005, 275-276).

In the arguments of the senior ambassador it is very clear that the much-coveted geographical diversification of trade conveyed the intention to restrict the role of intermediaries, namely the British or Dutch transport agents. Given Dom Luís da Cunha's mercantilist way of thinking, the development of national shipping was one of his most central concerns, which was why he wanted the projected company to have its own fleet (Cunha 2001, 310). In fact, he himself affirmed this when he stated that “all would result in an increase in our shipping (and a growth in the number of sailors), because we are in fact ignoring the [shipping] in the North” (Cunha 2001, 310).

It should be noted, however, that Dom Luís da Cunha did not wish to politically alienate London. Above all, he wanted to rectify the negative effects of a very unbalanced trading relationship, including the repercussions of the Methuen Treaty (Sampaio 1928 and Cardoso 2003). In view of the geographical dispersal of the Portuguese overseas territories, the ambassador couldn't help being sensitive to the advantages offered by the support of the Royal Navy; an understanding that he continued to nurture despite the suspicions that he had formed in relation to British loyalty.

Just like Dom Luís da Cunha, Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo also was very hostile to the British hegemony and, as a result, he tried to undermine it. However, once again, it was a question of overcoming the more negative effects of the trading relationship without jeopardizing the political alliance.

The notion that the Marquis of Pombal was a staunch enemy of the British has been questioned for several decades. Borges de Macedo, for example, demonstrated that the activity of Dom José I's minister was mainly aimed at solving economic problems that might be considered internal matters. This was certainly the case with the creation of the *Companhia Geral da Agricultura dos Vinhos do Alto Douro* (General Company for Wine-Culture in the Upper Douro), designed to reorganize the country's wine production for the benefit of the Douro region (Macedo 1982 [1951], 58 and ff.). It does, however, seem undeniable that Carvalho e Melo sought to restrict the wide-ranging hegemony of the British over the monarchy's foreign trade and shipping. In fact, authors such as Kenneth Maxwell, José Vicente Serrão or Jorge Pedreira consider that his economic policy amounted to an attempt to nationalize the vital sectors of the economy (Maxwell 1968; Serrão 1987, 62; and Pedreira 1994, 274-275).

The formation of the Grão Pará and Maranhão and the Pernambuco and Paraíba companies, in 1755 and 1759 respectively, was in fact regarded as a very serious threat by the British community (Maxwell 1968, 626). It was feared that the new companies would install agents in every British city, altering "the circulation and channel of trade from the hands of British subjects to the Portuguese". Rather unsurprisingly, navigation was the main preoccupation of British traders, who claimed: "Such an alternative will be extremely hurtful to our navigation, the trade being entirely carried on by the Portuguese" (Maxwell 1968, 626).

These fears were not entirely unjustified. As a mercantilist, Carvalho e Melo fiercely disputed an economic dynamic that excluded Portuguese ship owners and merchants from the bulk of the Anglo-Portuguese trade. Furthermore, as an envoy to London (1738-1745), the future Marquis of Pombal even recommended raising obstacles to the extraction of certain metropolitan products by the British (Pombal 1986, 117).

The reduction in British demand, resulting from the possible retaliation to an economic policy that displeased London, did not worry the plenipotentiary minister. Other "northern nations" would take the place of the British as Portugal's main commercial partners because, according to Carvalho e Melo himself, "they are extremely keen to take part in our trade" (Pombal 1986, 83).

This testimony of the man who was to become the most important Portuguese statesman of the eighteenth century is not far removed from the argument put forward by Dom Luís da Cunha. For both of them, the coveted geographical diversification of external trade was directly linked to a necessary readjustment that needed to be introduced in the lopsided Anglo-Portuguese economic relationship.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the geographical diversification of kingdom's commercial relations remained a commonly shared ambition, sometimes continuing to be proposed as a way of liberating the kingdom from the British economic influence. This was certainly the case with Domingos Vandelli. The approach of this Portuguese-Italian, hired by Pombal in 1764, displayed some surprising hints of an almost anti-British radicalism. In fact, he denounced the alliance as a whole, even claiming that "these arrogant Englishmen" were becoming rich at the expense of the monarchy's wealth, leaving it like a "corpse" (ANRJ, Liv. 28, fl. 77). The international crisis of 1797 was an opportunity not to be wasted. Lisbon ought to break away from London and join the French Directory, compensating for the resulting lack of economic complementarity with the diversification of the number of clients for Portuguese products (ANRJ, Liv. 28, fl. 102). Vandelli had no doubt that salt would find alternative markets in Northern Europe or that wine could expand into America, Holland or Russia (Vandelli 1994, 341-344). It is therefore not surprising that at around this same time he proposed the signing of a trade agreement with the United States (Vandelli 1994, 306).

Even though the radical testimony of the Portuguese-Italian scholar represented a less common stance, the need for a geographical diversification of foreign trade was generally agreed upon amongst the Lisbon court of Dom João VI, which, at that time, was politically split between those who supported an approach to Paris and those who favored the traditional British alliance (Alexandre 1993, 97-164; Costa and Pedreira 2006, 71-83, 86-105; Amaral 2010, 9-31). In regard to this particular aspect, it is important to stress that the two currents of opinion—namely the Francophile and the Anglophile approaches—were equally sensitive to the strengthening of economic links with other European states. The diversification of trading partners suffered no visible repercussions from this political rupture, which was essentially caused by different approaches to Portugal's diplomatic position. It was, therefore, a matter of general agreement in a period that was marked by a lack of convergence and by political conflict.

Luís Pinto de Sousa, for example, who has been identified historically as belonging to the pro-British faction, showed a clear concern with the expansion of Portuguese trade

into other markets, even when such a strategy would certainly upset British economic interests. In 1779, the future Viscount of Balsemão recommended the establishment of a trade agreement with Russia. The moment seemed appropriate, since the international destabilization caused by the American War of Independence had brought difficulties for the marketing and sale of the traditionally competing products, such as French wine. Around this time, Luís Pinto de Sousa stated:

Portugal has many powerful reasons for establishing its own system of this kind with Russia, and for grasping the opportunity offered by the same disturbances in Europe. [...] The situation in which most European traders find themselves—in the midst of a war that renders the more powerful nations incapable of energetically opposing the designs planned under so many different auspices—is such that it is possible to establish a Trade Treaty with Russia, with there being so much that can be taken advantage of with time and the opportunity of the moment. (BNL-FG, cód. 254, II, § 17)

This expansion of Portuguese trade, especially if it was supported by a Portuguese merchant navy active in the northern seas, would make it possible to acquire better quality products at lower prices. The plenipotentiary minister in London stated that there was not “the slightest doubt that all those [products]” that were traded in the “markets of Spain and Portugal” were “the rubbish of the North” (BNL-FG, cód. 254, II, § 17). The same argument was put forward by one of the leading figures on the pro-French side, António de Araújo e Azevedo, while serving as ambassador in St. Petersburg (1802-1803). The future Count of Barca understood the advantages that could be enjoyed through direct access to the Baltic region’s important resources and reported these to Lisbon. In times of war a parsimonious access to the Baltic commerce was pivotal, mainly due to the military application of their products (linen, hemp, tar, pitch, iron, timber). The Francophile António de Araújo stated that it would be “essential for the Portuguese Nation to take full advantage of its trade with the Northern Powers [...] in order to supply the Portuguese Royal Navy with what it needs at less expense” (Pintassilgo 1987, 337).

Dom Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, archrival of António de Araújo in matters of diplomatic orientation (Gouvea 1820), shared the same ideas about the geographical diversification of Portugal’s commercial relations. As José Luís Cardoso mentioned, his writings displayed “undeniable elements of a desire to blow the sails of Portuguese foreign

trade in a different direction” (Cardoso 1989, 138). While serving as ambassador in Turin (1778-1791), he was particularly sensitive to the importance of economic links with the Italian states and with the Mediterranean in general; links that he sought to strengthen and reform. In fact, commercial contacts with the Italian peninsula were already intense, but, to his great displeasure, much of the profit was lost in the costs of transport, which was almost always carried out by ships from different countries (Coutinho 1993, I, 103). It was, therefore, essential to set up a form of commerce in which business was conducted by Portuguese traders and goods were transported by the Portuguese merchant navy.

However, the fulfillment of this plan was prevented by certain obstacles, essentially related to the apparent lack of enthusiasm displayed by Portuguese traders and ship owners, about whom Dom Rodrigo had no illusions. On the one hand, there remained some doubts about their capacity to adapt to the competition from European markets. On the other hand, there was Brazil, which because of its trade monopoly continued to exercise an overwhelming power of attraction. Why should a merchant risk his capital in highly competitive European markets when Brazil guaranteed him “considerable profits with little work?” (Anonymous [Coutinho] 1987, 286).

The development of Portuguese trade at Italian ports therefore depended on the Crown's support, something that Dom Rodrigo was well aware of. Thus, in his well-known essay about trade in Italy, he defended the expansion of the consular network and the ratification of treaties, in order to ensure the protection of traders (Coutinho 1993, I, 103-104). It is important to note that Italy and the whole of the Mediterranean region would continue to capture the careful attention of the Count of Linhares. In 1809, when he was already in Rio de Janeiro, Dom Rodrigo insisted on strengthening the expansion of the consular network to other markets in the region, where Portuguese-Brazilian trade, now established in the best and most important part of the monarchy, continued to have ideal conditions for growth (MNE, Liv. 611, fls. 20-21).

The need to ratify new international treaties was not entirely unheard-of. In fact, diplomats had been complaining about it since the mid-eighteenth century. They stressed the unfavorable legal framework, which raised insurmountable obstacles to the expansion of Portuguese foreign trade, or, at least, a trade that was conducted by Portuguese merchants. When he was in the Hague (1789-1802), serving as an extraordinary envoy, António de Araújo repeatedly related the limited numbers of Portuguese merchants in Dutch ports with the Portuguese-Dutch treaties signed in 1669 and in 1705, “extorted [in his opinion] under conditions of weakness and dependence” (Pintassilgo 1987, 312). He

therefore suggested the renegotiation of the treaties, taking advantage of the Dutch weakness at that time, due to its political submission to Paris.

Apparently, discriminatory taxes also served to discourage Portuguese ships from traveling to certain regions of Europe. This was the case with the toll levied on ships heading for the Baltic Sea and passing through the Sound. Between 1801 and 1807, the chargé d'affaires in Copenhagen, João Rademaker, never stopped drawing attention to the perverse effects of the selective nature of the tolls levied on those passing through these straits. According to Rademaker, when entering the Baltic Sea, goods that were transported on Portuguese vessels paid 25% more than if they were transported on British vessels. This was why he repeatedly insisted on the need to “equalize the Portuguese flag with the British one in the passage through the Sound” (MNE, Cx. 548, ofício 269). In the meantime and as an alternative, he proposed establishing a direct shipping lane between Portugal and the port of Helsingor, which stood at the entrance to the Baltic, and where a warehouse was to be established. Portuguese goods could then be redistributed from there throughout the entire Baltic region.

It should be emphasized that the various forms of promoting Portuguese foreign trade were naturally connected with what each author considered more relevant. For example, Manuel Joaquim Rebelo, a trader from Lisbon, was one of those who more visibly interrelated the success of foreign trade and the development of shipping. According to the author of *Economia Política feita em 1795*:

The advantages of foreign trade mainly depend on the ability of the navigation business, for this expense is greatly influenced by the greater or lesser cost of goods, both for purchase and for sale; which makes it obvious how much maritime trade deserves to be aided and protected. (M.J.R. [Rebelo] 1992, 57)

As we have shown, defending the use of national ships for conducting Portuguese foreign trade was subject to careful reflection on the part of Dom Luís da Cunha, who associated the British hegemony with the difficulties faced by Portuguese trade and navigation. In 1795, Manuel Joaquim Rebelo considered this to be fundamental. Furthermore, when he took part in the debate surrounding the official establishment of a Free Port in Lisbon, he said that this would only be justified if it made it possible to strengthen the national shipbuilding capacity. He further added that a carefully designed

fiscal policy would make it feasible to set up an “Italian route” dominated by Portuguese ship owners (M.J.R. [Rebelo] 1992, 132).

As far as the international positioning of the Portuguese economy is concerned, the testimonies produced by Portuguese-Brazilian scholars were marked by their more or less openly pro-British stance. Unlike other authors, Joaquim José de Azeredo Coutinho and José da Silva Lisboa did not consider the British role as protagonists to have pernicious effects. And they certainly did not see the diversification of trading partners as a way of freeing Portuguese foreign trade from a possible British oppression; an idea with which, in fact, they openly disagreed.

For Silva Lisboa, England could never be held responsible for the state of Portuguese trade and the Portuguese navy. The causes for the decline were primarily internal ones and had to do with the lack of dynamism exhibited by the merchant class: “If we did not conduct trade in a more active and extensive fashion, if we did not have more ample and direct agencies in foreign markets, and if our capital and credit did not grow higher, we can only attribute this situation to our own indifference and our negligence with regard to the resources that help nations to develop” (Lisboa 1993 [1808], I, 208). It was negligence, and not the British, that had impeded the formation of an active merchant navy and had made it impossible to set up trading companies in foreign markets. In Silva Lisboa’s opinion, in the trade taking place in Portugal, the British traders were merely taking their fair share, just as did all the others (Lisboa 1993 [1808], I, 204).

Regarding Azeredo Coutinho’s arguments, we can say that he stressed the mutual advantages of the Anglo-Portuguese economic relationship. At the same time, he emphasized the importance of political alliance, which was essential in times of war. In his 1794 *Ensaio Económico sobre o comércio de Portugal e suas colónias*, he wrote:

Of all the European powers, England is the one whose friendship Portugal must seek most to preserve; not only because of the great interests of the trade that the two nations carry out between themselves; but also because of the prompt and efficient help that Portugal can always expect from England.” (Coutinho 1992 [1794], 113)

However, the Bishop of Olinda considered the British market to be unable (or unwilling) to absorb all Portuguese exports, especially its colonial products. And it was within the context of this incapacity that Azeredo Coutinho defended the geographical

diversification of Portuguese trade. In order to enhance trade with other partners, he proposed a strategy based on the use of less restrictive import tariffs, “deliberately leaving the door open to allow the entry of industrial nations keen to trade with us” (Coutinho 1992 [1794], 107).

Silva Lisboa, on the other hand, argued in a fairly unique way that the desired diversification of partners should be linked to a strengthening of the trading alliance with the British. Although he defended the same objective (diversification of commercial partners), his testimony was certainly at-odds with arguments that saw the diversification of Portugal's commercial relations as a way of escaping from the British hegemony. For the future Viscount of Cairú, it was merely a question of following the leader of the world's economic relations, in order to enjoy the advantages that came from this (Cardoso 2010, 57). It would therefore be possible to enter into trade with all the states touched by the long tentacles of the international trade promoted by London (Lisboa 1993 [1808], I, 216-222).

3. Economic changes at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century

As Fisher noted, the long period of expansion of Anglo-Portuguese trade came to an end in the third quarter of the eighteenth century (Fisher 1984 [1971], 68-80). Portugal's foreign relations embarked upon a new phase whose dynamics were further accentuated at the end of that century, being marked by the highly coveted geographical diversification of trade. The general direction of this new phase is well known by the academic community, although there still remains a need for carrying out more in-depth studies into the most notable specificities of this transformation. An attempt will be made in the following pages to identify these particular features, while at the same time examining some of the less noted aspects of the decline in the British share of Portugal's foreign trade.

3.1. Diversification of trading partners

Table A shows the evolution in percentage terms of the transactions made between Portugal and some of its more active partners in the last quarter of the eighteenth century: Denmark, United States of America, Prussia, Russia and Sweden. Unfortunately, the lack of data of a similar quality for the previous decades makes it unfeasible to attempt any more

definitive diagnoses and prevents us from making a more effective long-term comparison. This is, in fact, a problem that affects most studies that attempt to explore the structure of eighteenth-century Portuguese foreign trade prior to the introduction of the Trade Balances in the mid- 1770s. For the previous period, our knowledge is mainly a result of the research that Fisher (1984 [1971]) and Labourdette (1988) carried out.

The values of exports and imports which inevitably reflect the military upheavals of the period do, however, seem to confirm a general trend towards growth. The overall volume of trade with these states greatly increased during this period, and, in certain cases, by as much as sixfold. In fact, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon for the Baltic countries and the United States of America to account for more than 20% of Portugal's purchases abroad. In 1801, that value was more than 30%. During the same period, Russia alone was responsible for an average of 11% of all Portuguese imports. In strictly commercial terms, it can be said that Denmark was the only relatively insignificant partner in the group analyzed. As I shall attempt to show, its role was of another kind.

Table A—Percentage share in the value of Portuguese exports and imports for other partners

Years	Denmark		USA		Prussia		Russia		Sweden	
	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.
1776	0.502						0.610	10.235	0.572	2.314
1777	1.397	0.001					0.859	8.128	1.122	2.868
1783	1.278	0.246	2.685	0.900		0.064	3.890	16.194	1.704	6.417
1787	0.260	0.023	1.360	1.593	0.253	0.079	1.812	6.155	0.352	2.625
1789	0.361	0.156	2.571	5.744	0.005	0.752	2.311	9.426	0.209	3.979
1796	0.897	0.104	2.754	0.844	0.665	1.603	0.993	13.093	1.302	5.360
1797	2.149	0.775	2.248	2.588	1.497	4.397	1.397	14.587	1.346	4.376
1798	2.467	0.627	1.883	1.962	1.360	5.402	0.418	9.073	1.362	2.049
1799	1.539	0.588	3.563	2.542	0.854	4.065	0.530	9.096	1.337	7.571
1800	3.684	0.437	3.405	3.189	4.058	3.827	0.379	7.474	0.716	5.809
1801	0.661	0.330	1.768	12.877	4.091	5.204	0.214	14.550	0.768	2.149
1802	0.456	0.216	1.875	4.908	0.309	3.901	0.971	11.290	0.816	4.397
1803	0.521	0.087	2.459	8.138	1.473	3.220	0.803	11.261	0.646	4.666
1804	1.055	1.550	1.589	7.901	0.389	9.765	1.533	9.161	0.629	3.475
1805	0.345	0.381	3.647	2.146	1.338	6.120	1.417	13.967	1.194	4.733
1806	0.232	1.009	1.971	5.571	0.032	0.406	1.362	14.507	0.546	2.807

Source: Ribeiro 1997, II, 20-21 and 45-46.

The rise in the demand for Baltic products is explained in the light of its great strategic importance. At the end of the eighteenth century, despite the appearance of American alternatives, the timber, iron, hemp and tar traded on European markets continued to originate mainly from the Baltic region. All these products were heavily consumed in

Portugal, which in this same period also began to import the grain production of the Prussian territories, through the port of Danzig. Prussia became the main supplier of grain, in this way replacing Great Britain, which previously exported to Portugal 1/5 of its annual production (periods of 1721-1727 and 1744-1763; Fisher 1984 [1971], 184).

Table B, which shows the cargo imported from the Baltic region and the number of vessels involved, highlights the clear importance of this trade, although it did, however, result in highly negative trade balances for Portugal. In fact, there was not one single year when Portuguese exports to the Baltic, dominated by goods produced in the kingdom itself, exceeded imports.

Table B—Cargo imported from the Baltic region and number of vessels involved (absolute values)										
Products	1797	1798	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806
Grain	112	126	95	56	134	95	115	205	143	26
Linen	60	60	37	40	31	54	56	59	48	43
Iron	45	37	37	46	22	60	53	54	53	42
Timber	29	17	11	35	8	16	15	29	8	23
Source: ANTT, MNE, Cx. 547, Maço 1799, ofícios 12, 45, 27, 69, 115, 149, 186, 217, 247, 281.										

Together with this increased trade with the Baltic, economic relations were consolidated with Hamburg, and with Italian ports; these were areas where Portuguese trade had long been present, and with which Portugal enjoyed a trade surplus.

The experience of the last quarter of the eighteenth century therefore included a readjustment in the economic importance of foreign relations, with repercussions in the amount of business made with partners who traditionally enjoyed varying degrees of involvement in Portuguese trade.

However, other transformations took place, specifically related with the country's international port connections, which experienced a marked multiplication in the number of agents. In fact the transformation of the maritime transport sector was perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the diversification of trading partners in the period under study. Contrary to what had happened throughout the eighteenth century, at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, Portuguese trade with Italy, France, Germany and the Baltic began to be mainly provided by Swedish, Danish and American captains and masters. It is clear that by performing such a role they replaced British ship owners and became essential partners in Portugal's foreign trade.

Tables C and D illustrate the importance of Swedish and Danish shipping, with vessels from these countries entering the port of Lisbon having set sail from Scandinavia, Prussia, Great Britain, France, Holland, Italy, North Africa and even from other Portuguese ports.

Table C—Main origins of Swedish vessels entering the port of Lisbon (in %)							
1795		1798		1801		1804	
Prussia	24	Sweden	20	Sweden	25	Sweden and Finland	25
Sweden	22	Great Britain	15	France and Holland	15	Great Britain	17
France and Holland	18	Baltic	14	Russia and Prussia	15	Prussia	15
Great Britain	11	Holland and France	10	Great Britain and Ireland	13	Russia and the Baltic	8
Portugal and the Islands	10	Prussia	9	Spain	11	France and Holland	7
United States	5	Hamburg	6	Italy and North Africa	5	Northern Germany	7
Spain	3	Norway	5			Italy	6
		Spain	4			Spain	3
Source: BCM-AH, Cxs. 240 and 241, Maços 1795, 1798, 1801 and 1804							

Table D—Main origins of Danish vessels entering the port of Lisbon (in %)							
1795		1798		1801		1804	
Holland and France	30	Prussia	16	Prussia	25	Prussia	37
Great Britain	20	Holland	16	Great Britain and Ireland	16	Russia	14
Russia	12	Hamburg	12	France and Holland	14	Italy and Austria	13
Portugal and the Azores	11	Spain	12	Russia	13	Great Britain	7
Spain	6	Great Britain	7	Hamburg	7	France and Holland	7
Prussia	6	Denmark	6	Spain	7	Denmark and Norway	7
Italy and Austria	5	Mediterranean	6	Portugal	6	Northern Germany	3
		Portugal *	6			Spain	2
		France	5				
Source: BCM-AH, Cxs. 240 and 241, Maços 1795, 1798, 1801 and 1804							

Emphasis should be placed not on the number of vessels involved in port traffic, for the volume of British ships remained unattainable, but rather on the multilateral nature of the trade carried out by these agents, who took full advantage of the decline of the British share in the shipping trade. This seems to have been the case with Portuguese-Italian trade,

nationalize the vital sectors of the Portuguese economy, and which was designed to restrict the leading role played by British traders, greatly contributed to the future diversification of trading partners. This was even noted by the famous French general, Dumouriez, when he commented on Pombal's economic policy:

This Minister has also made an effort, through the signing of treaties, to attract direct trade from Denmark, Sweden and Russia to Lisbon. Nothing is more sensible nor more useful, because the more nations there are seeking to engage in trade with Portugal, the more these ramifications cause the total amount of this trade to be removed from the hands of the English.” (Dumouriez 2007 [1774], 147)

It should also be remembered that eight years after the signing of the agreement with the Nordic countries, Carvalho e Melo signed a peace treaty with Morocco that made the seas safer for Portuguese vessels, not only for those engaging in coastal trade, but also for those trading over longer distances. This same treaty also guaranteed access to the grain production of that North African kingdom, at a time when imports of British grain were declining at a very fast rate.

3.2. The British decline: the end of the role of the intermediary

Just like the diversification of partners that has been explored here, the decline of the British hegemony in Portuguese trade during the last few decades of the eighteenth century is a phenomenon that is well-known to the academic community. According to Fisher, Great Britain's loss of its overall importance in Portugal's foreign trade began in the 1760s (Fisher 1984 [1971], 69-79). The data presented by the British historian show how exports from England to Portugal never again rose above the level of a million pounds sterling from 1765 onwards, thus bringing an end to the dynamic growth that had continued almost uninterruptedly since 1730 (Fisher 1984 [1971]). Also important was the diversification of kingdom's trading partners, which contributed to mitigate the overwhelming British presence. In fact, after the ratification of the Treaty of Madrid, in 1801, France itself became an important partner, overtaking England in the imports of various Brazilian products, such as sugar or cotton (Alexandre 1993, 35).

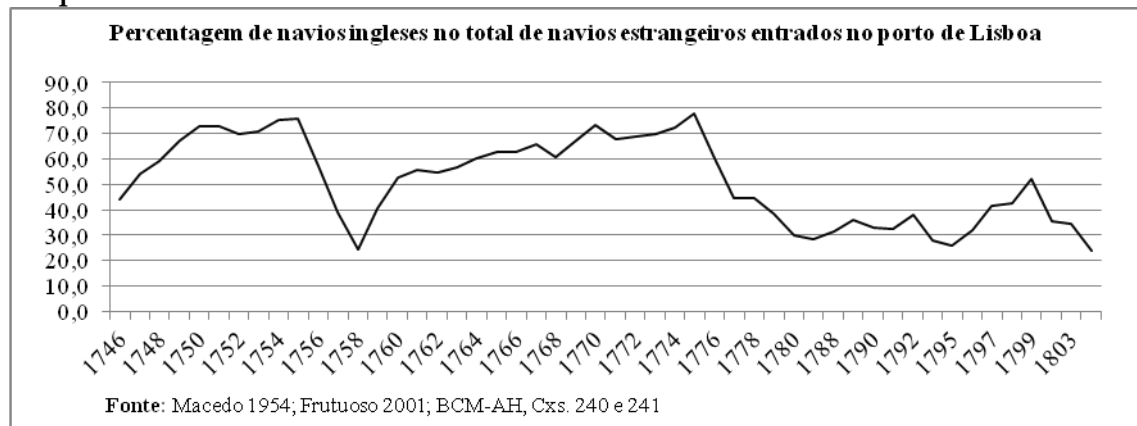
Some caution is, however, needed in assessing the decline in British trade. As studies show (Alexandre 1993, 74), in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, England

only lost part of the economic hegemony that it enjoyed over Portugal. Its leading position within the framework of Portuguese imports and exports was never really threatened.

Table F—Percentage of Great Britain's share in Portuguese imports and exports		
Years	Exports	Imports
1776	23.347	38.394
1777	34.453	37.283
1783	26.418	38.855
1787	33.872	44.332
1789	42.598	43.248
1796	30.519	38.672
1797	33.663	31.918
1798	45.359	45.226
1799	51.211	44.725
1800	32.405	44.486
1801	38.444	25.233
1802	39.580	37.307
1803	48.839	37.081
1804	35.433	32.313
1805	39.133	29.698
1806	35.265	40.066
Source: Ribeiro 1997, II, 21 and 46.		

It is in the navigation sector that we can find some of the most interesting signs of this decline, particularly with regard to the British participation in Portugal's shipping trade.

Percentage share of British vessels in the total number of foreign vessels entering the port of Lisbon



Source: Macedo 1954; Frutuoso 2001; BCM-AH, Cxs. 240 and 241

As can be seen in the above graph, the British withdrawal from Portuguese trade did not amount to an absolute retreat. The British flag remained predominant, even though the records showed a clear fall in the number of British vessels entering the port of Lisbon. It should also be added that not all the vessels entering the port of Lisbon were actively

involved in the capital's trade. In a period that was heavily marked by war, a good many of the British vessels came only in search of shelter and protection from the French-Spanish pirates and did not engage in any business transaction. The same thing happened with the warships and the vessels that transported troops or military equipment, which were estimated to amount to between 20% and 30% of the total (Frutuoso *et al* 2001, 40). Let us just look at some examples. Of the 678 British ships recorded as entering or leaving the Tagus estuary in 1798, 151 were warships and 174 were ships providing support to the Royal Navy (*Almanach de Lisboa* 1799, 469). Between 1 January and 6 June of that same year, the Torre de Belém recorded the entry of almost 90 ships belonging to the British Royal Navy (BCM-AH, Cx. 240, Maço 1798). Even more spectacular are the data for 1797, since of the 533 British ships entering the port of Lisbon, 223 were said to be “war vessels”, or, in other words, 42% of the total (*Almanach de Lisboa* 1798, 457).

Despite their impressive numbers, these boats should not be considered in our analysis, since they did not take part in Portuguese trade. What interests us are the vessels that did in fact engage in commercial activities. And, in regard to this particular aspect, the data that have been collected are fairly clear: most British vessels were only involved in bilateral trade. As can be confirmed in Table G, at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, the British merchant navy continued to enjoy a sizeable presence in Portugal's foreign trade, but it acted predominantly in ensuring Portugal's connections with Great Britain and its dependencies.

Table G - Main origins of British vessels entering the port of Lisbon (in %)							
1795		1798**		1801**		1804	
Great Britain	56	Great Britain	43	Great Britain	45	Great Britain	45
British colonies	18	Newfoundland	23	Gibraltar	19	Newfoundland	34
Ireland	11	Gibraltar	15	Newfoundland	14	Gibraltar	5
Portugal,	5	Portugal	5	Portugal,	5	Quebec	4
Azores and				Azores and			
Madeira				Madeira			
Spain *	5	Russia	3	Mediterranean	4	Portugal,	3
				and Morocco		Azores and	
						Madeira	
Russia	3	Ireland	1	Russia	2		
Source: BCM-AH, Cxs. 240 and 241, Maços 1795, 1798, 1801 and 1804							
* Includes ships that were supporting operations for the blockade of enemy ports.							
** An attempt was made here to exclude warships, vessels that were supporting the fleets (transportation of troops, military equipment and supplies) and passenger ships.							

A pattern with a similar meaning can be observed in the trade between Portugal and the Baltic. Although it was an area with a massive British presence (a presence that was in fact

fiercely defended by London—Munch-Petersen 2007), there were few British ships involved in the trade from Portugal to Scandinavia, Prussia and Russia. Therefore, contrary to what was reported to the court, there were no signs that the British were taking great advantage of the favorable tax benefits that they enjoyed in the Sound, at least with respect to the transportation of Portuguese products.

Table H—Nationality of the vessels carrying out the trade between Portugal and the Baltic (1797-1806)

Nationality	1797	1798	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	Total
Swedish	174	246	164	207	97	103	123	120	73	87	1394
Danish	148	127	87	92	81	49	66	71	64	82	867
British	13		24	10		21	15	41	23	5	152
Portuguese	13	12		6	8	7	11	35	27	30	141
Hamburg	18			11	5	14				12	60
Prussian	97	114	24	34	83	47	134	165	71	4	773
North American	11		7	3		5	41	24	11	17	119
Other	76	5	24	21	14	22	43	31	19	30	285

Source: ANTT, MNE, Cx. 547, Maço 1799, ofícios 12, 45, 27, 69, 115, 149, 186, 217, 247, 281.

With most of the British vessels (involved in the Lisbon port traffic) being restricted to bilateral circuits, a window of opportunity was opened for the fleets of Scandinavian and North American vessels, already heavily committed to this trade. Portugal had reinforced its links with places such as Hamburg or St. Petersburg and could not dispense transport services, regardless of whether the business was being conducted by Portuguese or foreign traders.

Apparently, the discourse of eighteenth-century economic thought, which linked the diversification of trading partners to the development of a more active form of navigation proved to be inaccurate. Portuguese shipowners remained almost exclusively involved in Portuguese-Brazilian trade, as can be seen from the data collected about Portuguese shipping at the port of Lisbon (Table I).

In fact, contrary to what many people actually thought, the extremely reduced presence of Portuguese ships at European ports could be explained by factors that went far beyond the British hegemony over Portuguese trade. In 1788, Domingos Vandelli (unsuspected of any Anglophile leanings), wrote a brief essay about Portugal's trade with its colonies, pointing out the reasons for the lack of Portuguese vessels sailing to Europe. These included the high duties paid by Portuguese ships at foreign ports (something that had not been contemplated in the ratified treaties), the piracy of the Berbers in the Mediterranean and the price of the freight (Vandelli 1994, 173-174).

Table I—Main origins of Portuguese vessels entering the port of Lisbon (in %)							
1795		1798		1801		1804	
Brazil	34	Brazil	66	Brazil	51	Brazil	36
Morocco	34	Portuguese	39	Azores	17	Azores and	17
		ports				Madeira	
Azores and	19	Azores	15	Portuguese ports	12	Great Britain	15
Madeira							
Great Britain	7	Morocco	11	England and	5	Holland and	11
				Ireland		France	
		Great Britain	6	Morocco	4	Portuguese ports	6
		Spain	4	Asia	3	Spain	4
						Morocco	2
						USA	2
						Asia	2
Source: BCM-AH, Cxs. 240 and 241, Maços 1795, 1798, 1801 and 1804							

4. Conclusions

This article's opening premise, which is in fact completely in line with most of the testimonies scrutinized, is that the diversification of trading partners constituted a recurrent argument that aimed to stimulate the kingdom's foreign trade. At the very least, diversification should foster the frequency of exchanges with Europe. This was, for example, one of the reasons presented by Dom Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, already at the end of the eighteenth century, to justify his project to expand the consular network in the Mediterranean area.

At the same time, the geographical diversification of Portuguese trade, particularly in the event of its being accompanied by the development of a national shipping industry active in the northern seas, was meant to guarantee first-hand access at lower prices to a series of goods that were being heavily consumed in Portugal. The commercial approach to the Baltic powers should be understood within this reasoning. The Baltic was the region where it would be possible to obtain linen, hemp, tar, pitch, iron and timber—products that were crucial for shipbuilding. In this regard, the military imperative is undeniable, although the majority of the testimonies we tried to capture were above all concerned with non-military ventures.

The development of a national merchant navy that could guarantee the connections between Portuguese ports and Europe was, in fact, one of the objectives that most frequently arose in association with the defense of the diversification of Portugal's commercial relations. Additionally, at least in some cases, the discourse displayed a marked hostility to the British protagonism in the Portuguese economy, seen as an obstacle that

prevented development of that same navy. Hence, the diversification of trading partners was also a vivid reaction to the prevalence of a bilateral relationship, truly lopsided, with a country that had equipped itself with mechanisms that were extremely hostile to foreign shipping. As was to be expected, the restrictions imposed by Great Britain on Portuguese shipping clearly upset the mercantilist leanings of Dom Luís da Cunha and Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo. These restrictions were reason enough for seeking out other directions and looking for other partners.

It is important to note that the majority of the testimonies mentioned here did not engage in any lengthy considerations about the nature of the Portuguese fleet, which was possibly more geared towards imperial trade and, as such, incapable of competing with foreign merchant navies in the European trading circuits. Absolutely indisputable is the displeasure with which the various authors contemplated the lack of Portuguese involvement in the latest stage of the re-exportation of the Brazilian products, i.e. from Lisbon to other European ports.

Another level of conclusions relates to the economic impacts associated with the actual transformation, which we have tried to break down here. It can be said that the pivotal innovations were rooted in two particular aspects. The first corresponds to the readjustment made in the economic importance of different countries in the general framework of Portugal's commercial relations. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a group of European markets, some of them with a less traditional involvement in the flows of Portuguese foreign trade, became important trading partners. The Baltic countries and the United States of America were frequently responsible for more than 20% of Portugal external purchases. Grain, linen, iron and timber were undoubtedly the most important goods; they were also the ones who required the use of more ships for their transportation. During this period, Danzig became the main and the more reliable exporter of grain to Lisbon, replacing Great Britain in that role.

The second aspect has to do with the transformation that took place in the connections between the Portuguese ports and Europe. The maritime transport sector, previously dominated by British ship owners, was now subjected to a pronounced multiplication in the number of operators. With the British ships almost completely limited to the bilateral trade circuits, the connections of Portuguese ports to Europe began to be ensured by the resolute services of Scandinavian and North American vessels, even in the case of connections to Mediterranean ports.

An attempt has been made here to highlight the fact that this transformation that took place in the transport sector was not exclusively bound up with international conflicts, in particular with the American War of Independence and the French Revolution; even though the importance of these wars and disturbances should not be underestimated. There were several stimuli that contributed for the transformation of the Portuguese economic relations in Europe. War was one of them. The changes taking place in foreign markets were another. But we must not forget the political incentive promoted by the Portuguese government, from the third quarter of the eighteenth century onwards. Finally, it can be said with some certainty that those who were more sensitive to the mercantilist arguments about the importance of navigation were mistaken when they linked the diversification of trading partners and the concomitant end of the British economic hegemony with the development of the Portuguese shipping. Or rather with the formation of a merchant navy that would be able to participate in the European trading circuits.

Bibliography

Manuscripts

ANTT—Instituto de Arquivos Nacionais (Portuguese National Archives),
 ANRJ—Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro National Archives), Livro nº 28,
 MNE—Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs),
 Caixas 547, 548; Livros 611,
 BCM-AH—Biblioteca Central da Marinha—Arquivo Histórico (Central Library of the Portuguese Navy—Historical Archives), Caixas 240 and 241,
 BNP—Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Portuguese National Library),
 BNL-FG—Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa—Fundo Geral (Lisbon National Library—General Collection), código nº 254.

Studies and printed sources

- Afonso, António Jorge (1998). *Portugal e o Magrebe nos finais do Antigo Regime*. Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa (photocopied text).
- Alexandre, Valentim (1993). *Sentidos do Império—questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do antigo regime português*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento.
- Almanach de Lisboa*. 1798 and 1799.
- Amaral, Manuel (intro.) (2010). *A luta política em Portugal nos finais do Antigo Regime; I—A proposta de reforma do Exército de 1803*. Lisbon: Tribuna da História.
- Anonymous [Dom Rodrigo Sousa Coutinho] (1987). Carta sobre o comércio de Portugal com a Itália. In J.L. Cardoso (intro. and notes), *Memórias económicas inéditas 1780-1808*. Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 282-299.
- Cardoso, José Luís (1989). *O Pensamento económico em Portugal nos finais do século XVIII, 1780-1808*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa.
- Cardoso, José Luís (2003). Leitura e interpretação do Tratado de Methuen: balanço histórico e historiográfico. In J.L. Cardoso (et al.), *O Tratado de Methuen, 1703: diplomacia, guerra, política e economia*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 11-29.
- Cardoso, José Luís (2010). Bloqueio Continental e desbloqueio marítimo: o Brasil no contexto global das Guerras Napoleónicas. In J.L. Cardoso, N.G. Monteiro and J.V. Serrão (eds.), *Portugal, Brasil e a Europa Napoleónica*. Lisbon: Imprensa das Ciências Sociais, 39-60.
- Carvalho, Rómulo (1979). *Relações entre Portugal e a Rússia no século XVIII*. Lisbon: Sá da Costa.
- Castro, Armando (1979). *As doutrinas económicas no Portugal moderno (de fins do séc. XVIII a começos do séc. XX)*. Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa.
- Costa, Fernando Dores and Pedreira, Jorge Miguel (2006). *Dom João VI: O Clemente*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores.
- Costa, Leonor Freire da (2005). Relações Económicas com o exterior. In P. Lains and Á.F. Silva (eds.), *História Económica de Portugal—1700-1800*, vol. I, *O Século XVIII*. Lisbon: Imprensa das Ciências Sociais, 263- 298.
- Coutinho, Dom Rodrigo de Sousa (1993). *Textos políticos, económicos e financeiros: 1783-1811*, 2 vols., A.M.D. Silva (ed.). Lisbon: Banco de Portugal.
- Coutinho, José Joaquim de Azeredo (1992) [1794]. *Ensaio económico sobre o comércio de Portugal e as suas colónias*, J.M. Pedreira (ed.). Lisbon: Banco de Portugal.
- Cunha, Dom Luís da (2001). *Instruções Políticas*, A.M.D. Silva (ed.). Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses.
- Dumouriez, Charles (2007) [1775]. *O Reino de Portugal em 1766*, intro. A. Ventura. Lisbon: Caleidoscópio.

- Fisher, H. E. S. (1984) [1971]. *De Methuen a Pombal: o comércio anglo-português de 1700 a 1770*. Lisbon: Gradiva.
- Frutuoso, Eduardo *et al* (2001). *O Movimento do porto de Lisboa e o comércio luso-brasileiro (1769-1836)*. Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses.
- Gouvea, R. da C. [Domingos de Sousa Coutinho] (1820). *Resposta pública à denúncia secreta que tem por título "Representação que a Sua Magestade fez Antonio de Araujo de Azevedo em 1810...* London: Off. R.E.A. Taylor.
- Hecksher, Eli (2006) [1922]. *The Continental System—an Economic Interpretation*. New York: Cosimo Classics.
- Johansen, Hans (1992). Scandinavian Shipping in the Late Eighteenth Century in a European Perspective. *The Economic History Review, New Series*, 45 (3): 479-493.
- Labourdette, Jean-François (1988). *La nation française à Lisbonne de 1669 a 1790 entre colbertisme et libéralisme*. Paris: Centre Culturel Portugais.
- Lisboa, José da Silva (1993). *Escritos económicos escolhidos, 1804-1820*, 2 vols., A. Almodôvar (ed.). Lisbon: Banco de Portugal.
- Macedo, Jorge Borges de (1954). Portugal e a Economia Pombalina—Temas e Hipóteses. *Revista de História* (São Paulo), nº 19, 81-99.
- Macedo, Jorge Borges de (1971). Mercantilismo. In J. Serrão (ed.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, Vol. III. Lisbon: Iniciativas Editoriais, 35-39.
- Macedo, Jorge Borges de (1982) [1951]. *A situação económica no tempo de Pombal: alguns aspectos*. Lisbon: Moraes.
- Macedo, Jorge Borges de (1982a) [1963]. *Problemas de História de Indústria Portuguesa no século XVIII*. Lisbon: Querco.
- Macedo, Jorge Borges de (1989). Diplomacia, agricultura e comércio transitário: factores subalternizados no estudo do Tratado de Methuen. In Alfredo de Sousa (ed.), *Nova Economia Portuguesa—Estudos em homenagem a António Manuel Pinto Barbosa*. Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa—Faculdade de Economia, 75-93.
- Maxwell, Kenneth (1968). Pombal and the Nationalization of the Luso-Brazilian Economy. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 48 (4): 608-631.
- Munch-Petersen, Thomas (2007). *Defying Napoleon: How Britain bombarded Copenhagen and seized the Danish Fleet*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing.
- M.J.R. [Manuel Joaquim Rebelo] (1992). *Economia Política feita em 1795*, A. Castro (ed.). Lisbon: Banco de Portugal.
- Pedreira, Jorge Miguel (1994). *Estrutura industrial e mercado colonial—Portugal e Brasil (1780-1830)*. Lisbon: Difel.
- Pintassilgo, Joaquim (1987). *Diplomacia, política e economia na transição do século XVIII para o século XIX: o pensamento e acção de António de Araújo de Azevedo (Conde da Barca)*. Lisbon: Universidade Nova (Photocopied text).
- Pombal, Marquês (1986). *Escritos económicos de Londres: 1741-1742*, J. Barreto (ed.). Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional.
- Ribeiro, Jorge Martins (1997). *Comércio e diplomacia nas relações luso-americanas, (1776-1822)*, 2 vols. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade Porto (Photocopied text).
- Sampaio, Luís Teixeira (1928). *Para a história do tratado de Methuen*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade.
- Sá, Victor de and Pereira, Gaspar Martins (1990). Do Porto ao Báltico, 1780: Achegas para a história das relações entre Portugal e a Rússia. Offprint from *Revista da Faculdade de Letras do Porto*, II Série, Vol. VII, pp. 137-156.
- Serrão, José Vicente (1987). *O Pombalismo e a Agricultura*. Lisbon: ISCTE (Photocopied text).
- Vandelli, Domingos (1994). *Aritmética política, economia e finanças, 1770-1804*, J.V. Serrão (ed.). Lisbon: Banco de Portugal.

Slander, Ideological Differences, or Academic Debate? The “Verão Quente” of 2012 and the State of Portuguese Historiography

Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses¹

Over the course of the summer of 2012 the Portuguese historical profession suffered a major blow to its image and reputation. Due initially to the efforts of a single colleague, the gloves came off within the Portuguese academy, with old battles being fought anew, and with veterans and newcomers alike joining in what at times became an unseemly war of words. Week after week, in the pages of the daily newspaper *Público*, historians—some known to the general public, others less so—argued about the relative merits of one work in particular, the state of historical writing in Portugal in general, and the links between history, ideology, and the political commentary on current events that so many Portuguese academics, historians included, engage in. This should not have been a problem, and indeed some valid points were made along the way; but they were made in the context of a discussion initiated by slander, or something very close to slander, and which was shaped by political passions at a particularly difficult and sensitive time in recent Portuguese life, when the country is gripped by apprehension over the effects of prolonged austerity. As a result, the overall value of the incident as a whole was negligible, and it certainly did not amount to a badly needed debate over how differing visions of the past can coexist in present-day Portugal. This article attempts to chronicle the dispute, setting it into its wider context for the benefit of readers outside Portugal. In so doing, it will try to establish why the dispute was so bitter, a task related both to wider questions regarding the uneasy relationship between academic debate and mass media outlets, and to the fine line between historical argument and political disputes.

Before the article goes any further, however, I must make clear that one of the figures at the heart of this historiographical dispute, Manuel Loff, of the University of Oporto, wrote a very negative review of my biography of Salazar (*Salazar: Biografia Política* (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 2010)). Technically, in fact, he wrote three reviews—which might be seen by some as excessive—but they say essentially the same thing. These were published in the Portuguese edition of *Le Monde Diplomatique* (February 2011), in the

¹ National University of Ireland, Maynooth/Brown University. E-mail: Filipe.DeMeneses@nuim.ie

national daily *Público* (10 July 2011, shortly before Loff was announced as a regular contributor to that newspaper), and in *Análise Social*. The principal accusation Loff leveled at my book is that it deliberately panders to a readership nostalgic for Salazar and his New State. Loff's review in *Análise Social* finished by asking: "Convincente? Permita-me, então, o leitor que eu proponha que nos perguntemos por que teve esta biografia tão boa aceitação."² The reason was tied, presumably, to the allegation, made earlier in the same piece, that "É provável que uma parte do sucesso editorial, e da boa recepção mediática, que o livro tem tido decorra da forma como Meneses parece escrever para um leitor-tipo que parta sistematicamente do princípio da boa fé de Salazar."³

Over the course of the summer, the venerable political weekly *Expresso* announced, with great publicity, that it would be serializing the recent (2009) *História de Portugal* coordinated by Rui Ramos, of the Instituto de Ciências Sociais (ICS), in which Ramos himself covered the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴ This book had already met with extraordinary public success, going through a number of print runs. Ramos prides himself on the readability of his work, a quality abundantly displayed, for example, in his biography of King D. Carlos.⁵ The *História de Portugal* continues this tradition, reasonably rare in Portugal, which helps to account for its success. A staunch believer in the intrinsic value of political history, Ramos is also, and again unusually for a Portuguese academic, openly conservative, not shying away from political debate in the media, including television, where he makes his points forcefully. Much was written about this *História de Portugal* when it was first published, and it is worth recalling what Pedro Aires Oliveira had to say about the book and its reception some two years ago in the *e-Journal of Portuguese History's* special number on historiography:

The most negative reactions related, above all, to the author's approach to the period of the Portuguese Republic and the New State. More than seeing it simply as a revisionist exercise, some historians suggested that what we were witnessing was a kind of whitewashing of the iniquities of Salazar's dictatorship. It would be hard to think of a more unfortunate way of beginning the debate that this work undeniably

² "Convincing? Allow me, dear reader, to propose that we ask ourselves, why this biography was so well received."

³ "Part of the editorial success and good mediatic reception of this book probably results from the way in which Meneses writes for the kind of reader who systematically gives Salazar the benefit of the doubt."

⁴ The volume's other authors are Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa (Universidade Nova de Lisboa) and Nuno Monteiro (Instituto de Ciências Sociais).

⁵ Rui Ramos, *D. Carlos. 1863-1908* (Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2006)

merits, and my personal wish in this matter is that initiatives of the sort now being promoted by the *e-Journal of Portuguese History* will be able to pave the way for a more rational and calmer tone in this debate.

Aires Oliveira was referring, in part, to a survey of historians' verdicts on Ramos' work collected by journalist São José Almeida and published in *Público* on 31 May 2010. Those surveyed at the time included not only Manuel Loff, but also the better known Irene Flunser Pimentel, Manuel de Lucena, Fernando Rosas, and António Costa Pinto. One of the more interesting comments in the article was made by Flunser Pimentel, author of an important history of the PIDE,⁶ who suggested that it was time for a public debate on the subject of the New State. In the words of São José Almeida, who paraphrased her, "há varias correntes historiográficas que convivem em Portugal sem que isso seja assumido."⁷ Aires Oliveira's advice was not, however, heeded, notably by some who had already contributed to that 2010 article.

On 2 August 2012 Manuel Loff turned his attention to *Expresso's* offer, and Ramos's book, in his regular column in the pages of *Público*. If Ramos is well known for his conservative views, then Manuel Loff, whose area of expertise lies in the Salazar-Franco relationship,⁸ is known for his leftist stance; he was elected as an independent to the Oporto municipal assembly as part of the communist list. Characterizing Ramos as "uma das penas mais sólidas da direita intelectual portuguesa,"⁹ and his work as "puro revisionismo historiográfico política e ideologicamente motivado,"¹⁰ Loff then attempted, over the course of two newspaper articles, to characterize Ramos' portrayal of Salazar and the New State. Ramos, he said, presented a picture of a "Salazar sensato e algo neurasténico,"¹¹ very different from Franco, Mussolini and Hitler. In this Ramos was being typical of the historians 'da sua área'¹², presenting a Salazar who wanted to make Portugal live habitually, reduce political agitation, and find its lost equilibrium. But Ramos went further, according to Loff, presenting Salazar as a true liberal, by opposition to the totalitarian men of the Republic which preceded him. Against these men, 'arrastados por

⁶ Irene Flunser Pimentel, *A História da PIDE* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2007)

⁷ "There are various historiographical currents co-existing in Portugal without this fact being recognized."

⁸ See, for example, "O nosso século é fascista!" *O Mundo visto por Salazar e Franco (1936-1945)* (Oporto: Campo das Letras, 2008).

⁹ "One of the stalwarts of the Portuguese intellectual right."

¹⁰ "Pure historiographical revisionism, politically and ideologically motivated."

¹¹ "Sensible and somewhat neurasthenic Salazar."

¹² 'Of his area'.

ideias de transformação radical'¹³, Salazar appeared as someone deeply rooted in the realities of Portugal, who merely wished to reconcile the Portuguese to those realities. He was, in other words, akin to pragmatic nineteenth-century British statesmen. Loff then established a link between Ramos' historical writing and his political commentary, in which austerity is described as the reality facing Portugal, now that illusions have been swept aside, and the country can no longer afford a welfare state. Since this was Salazar's recipe for Portugal's woes in the 1920s and 30s, the implication is, it seems to me, clear.

In a second article, published on 16 August, Loff upped the ante. Ramos, Loff wrote, had created a 'ficção sinistra e intelectualmente cínica sobre a ditadura salazarista, procurando aquilo que, até hoje, ninguém na historiografia séria e metodologicamente merecedora do nome tinha tentado: desmontar a natureza ditatorial do Estado Novo'¹⁴. For Ramos, then, the New State was merely a reformulated constitutional monarchy (a charge Loff had already made in 2010), with credible political events (in the shape of national elections) but without political pluralism; the badges of its fascism, such as national syndicates, 'casas do povo', and 'grémios', had been mere associations which allowed for popular participation in public events; the regime's recourse to violence was compared to, and found less severe, than the First Republic's; it had purged fewer public servants than the regime that followed the 25 April 1974 revolution. Loff berated Ramos for seeing the New State as unexceptional in a world where democracy was not the norm, and where, once the Cold War had begun, anti-communism was the order of the day in the West. He also berated him for minimizing the effects of the Colonial Wars, both among Portuguese, seen as generally accepting of the sacrifice they required, which was supposedly slight, and among Africans.

As can be expected, Rui Ramos attempted to preserve his good name and reputation. In a letter to *Público*, published on 21 August, he accused Loff of deliberate manipulation in order to present him (Ramos) as a defender of the New State. Thus, for example, Loff quoted the far-right French writer Henri Massis on Salazar and attributed the words to Ramos. Loff also, and deliberately, muddled the status of the New State's President of the Republic, whose constitutional role had been described by Ramos as similar to that of the King during the liberal monarchy (hence Loff's charge, detailed above). Ramos detailed the description he made in his book of the dictatorship's repressive

¹³ 'Swept along by ideas of radical transformation'.

¹⁴ 'Cynical and intellectually sinister fiction about Salazar's dictatorship, seeking to do something which so far no-one one within the bounds of serious and methodologically acceptable historiography had attempted: to undo the dictatorial nature of the New State'.

apparatus, and the violence inherent in the colonial relationship, but then claimed that there was no point in continuing the argument: the point of Loff's articles was to qualify him, Ramos, as 'fascist', and using the methods that Loff uses, anyone at all could be made to fall into this category. Thus, 'Esta não é uma polémica historiográfica ou uma questão de opiniões. É um simples caso de difamação pessoal'¹⁵.

Like Loff, Ramos is a public figure. Both men make no secret of their political views; but Ramos' are as legitimate as Loff's, or those of any other academic historian writing in democratic Portugal. But in Ramos' reply, Loff was deprived of even the "legitimacy," if that is the term, of naked ideological conflict: the two articles boiled down, in Ramos's view, to a prolonged personal insult. Ramos was certainly right to be indignant. Manuel Loff never called him a fascist, it is true, but he came very close to it—he accused Ramos of wanting to whitewash the New State's crimes. He not only criticized Ramos because of what he had written—which, if done correctly, is the basis of legitimate academic debate—but actually attacked Ramos because of the latter's motives, which he claimed to divine, and then linked these motives to a right-wing political agenda. This brings us to a first point of reflection. No serious historian should be subjected to this abuse, carried out in public, in the pages of a newspaper that thinks of itself as a "newspaper of record." Loff's articles fall a long way short of the historiographical debate called for by Flunser Pimentel in 2010, and one can certainly question *Público's* wisdom in giving them so many column inches. The decision to do so seems motivated less by a desire to allow for a sober reflection on the state of play in Portuguese history and more by the desire to set off a frenzy that would help sell newspapers.

There, with Rui Ramos' reply the matter might well have ended, but it did not. António de Araújo, a lecturer in the Lisbon University (Clássica) Law Faculty and a political advisor (consultor) to President Aníbal Cavaco Silva, who has also produced a number of significant historical works,¹⁶ weighed in with a letter to *Público*, published on 23 August, expressing his support for Ramos. Araújo referred to an earlier article published by Manuel Loff in *Portugal Diário*, on 17 March 2006, in which Araújo's writings had been deliberately misrepresented. Thus, Loff had criticized Araújo for opposing a Supreme Court decision concerning homosexual relations between adults and consenting adolescents *above* the age of sixteen, when in fact Araújo had written in relation to those *below* the age of sixteen. Araújo, in his letter, defined what he called the "Loff method": a lie, followed first by an

¹⁵ 'This is no historiographical polemic or a difference of opinion. It is a straightforward case of personal defamation'.

¹⁶ See, for example, *Jesuítas e Antijesuítas no Portugal Republicano* (Lisbon: Roma Editora, 2004).

“abusive extrapolation,” and then by a completely hypothetical situation that reinforces the original lie. He provided other instances of the “Loff method” present in that same *Portugal Diário* article: Araújo, according to Loff, was opposed to a new nationality law, and had written against it in the *Diário de Notícias*. This allowed Loff to bring in far-right leaders such as Jean-Marie Le Pen and Umberto Bossi, using their reputation to smear Araújo. But there was one problem: Araújo had never written any such article.

António de Araújo explained that while he had been willing, in 2006, to let the matter lie, he now realized that unless Manuel Loff was challenged directly, he would continue to slander others with impunity. He was not alone in his indignation; others rushed to Ramos’ defense. His colleague at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais (ICS), Maria Filomena Mónica, wrote in *Público* on 1 September that she had never heard of Loff before, and then proceeded to attack him with enormous, and unnecessary, violence:

Basta ver o que diz sobre as liberdades fundamentais na I República e a mistura que faz entre Salazarismo, Fascismo italiano e Nazismo alemão para se constatar o que vai naquela cabeça. Se fosse apenas estúpido, não estaria a escrever este artigo. A coisa é pior. Loff é um fanático que só concebe duas espécies de filiação ideológica: o comunismo e o fascismo.¹⁷

Since he wasn’t a communist, Ramos must by definition, for Loff, be a fascist. For Mónica, this was not a quarrel among historians, or even a political debate; it was calumny, hatred, and envy: ‘Loff distorce o que aparece num livro que vendeu milhares de exemplares, o que terá contribuído igualmente para a ira de alguém cujas obras nunca vi nos escaparates’¹⁸. Another ICS stalwart, António Barreto, also joined the fray, two days later, but in more measured tones. Barreto, who had launched Ramos’ book when it was first published, praised it once again:

Ainda não se tinha escrito uma história global, compacta e homogénea que rompesse com a alternativa dogmática, que viesse até aos nossos dias e que,

¹⁷ “It suffices to consider what [Loff] says about fundamental freedoms during the First Republic and the way he mixes up ‘Salazarism,’ Italian Fascism and German Nazism to take stock of what is going on in that head of his. If it was just a case of stupidity, I would not be writing this article. But it’s worse. Loff is a fanatic who conceives of only two ideological affiliations: communism and fascism.”

¹⁸ “Loff distorts the contents of a book which sold thousands of copies—a fact that contributed to the anger of someone whose works I never came across in a shop-front.”

especialmente para o Século XX, “normalizasse” a interpretação da Primeira República e do Estado Novo.¹⁹

At last, Barreto suggested, Portuguese contemporary history was being written “com igual serenidade académica, sem ajustes de contas.”²⁰ And while not naming Loff directly in the concluding paragraph, Barreto nevertheless admonished him:

Sinceramente, já não esperava que ainda houvesse demónios capazes de despertar o pior da cultura portuguesa.²¹

These two articles added fuel to the flames. They went too far; the medicine was as deadly as the symptoms it was trying to combat.²² Through their tone, or their apparent disregard for the quality of other historians’ work, they were hardly designed to contribute to any further debate.

This was quickly seen when, again in *Público*, Fernando Rosas, of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, stepped in, on 5 September. It is impossible to underestimate Rosas’ contribution to Portuguese letters; his importance is measured not only by the quality, and number, of his publications, but also by the large number of graduate students who, whatever their own political views, have had the pleasure and good fortune of being supervised by him. Rosas, for many years a leading member of the Bloco de Esquerda party, which he helped to found, and which he represented in parliament, claimed that he had not wanted to intervene in the debate, but that Mónica’s article, which he described as “inacreditável,”²³ had made him change his mind. But Rosas quickly turned his attention to Ramos’ book, which he considered “empapado em ideologia”²⁴—and this because, as Loff pointed, out, it attempted to present the First Republic as a dictatorial and terrorist regime and the New State as its orderly successor. This was a vision opposed by most historians, wrote Rosas, who went on to accuse Ramos of refusing to even debate these questions.

¹⁹ “A global, compact and homogenous history which broke with the dogmatic alternative, which reached the present day and which, in relation to the twentieth century, ‘normalized’ the interpretation of the First Republic and the New State, had yet to be written.”

²⁰ “The same academic serenity [as non-contemporary history], without settling scores.”

²¹ “In all honesty, I no longer suspected the existence of demons capable of awakening the worst in Portuguese culture.”

²² One might give Barreto the benefit of the doubt, allowing that he was merely lamenting the fact that it had taken until 2009 to produce a single-volume national history in which the twentieth century was treated in the same way as those that preceded it. If so, he did not make himself sufficiently clear.

²³ “Incredible.”

²⁴ “Saturated with ideology.”

Playing the wounded victim and taking offence at slights that did not exist in the first place, Ramos was merely avoiding his critics. Right in his indignation over Maria Filomena Mónica's words, Rosas failed to see that by his own criteria, Ramos too had been insulted, including by himself. Instead of appealing for calm, Ramos fanned the flames.

João Paulo Avelãs Nunes, of the University of Coimbra, also replied to Mónica and Barreto, on 7 September.²⁵ Unlike his predecessors, he attempted to strike a tone of moderation in his contribution to the discussion. Avelãs Nunes attempted to distinguish between revisionism (legitimate) and the outright denial of documented events (illegitimate); he chided Mónica for not taking Loff seriously and resorting to such emotional language; and he pointed out that it was not only "false historians" who saw the New State as Fascist or totalitarian. Finally, Avelãs Nunes took on Barreto's praise of Ramos' allegedly unprecedented impartiality head-on: accepting this meant rejecting the work of historians such as António Costa Pinto, António José Telo, César de Oliveira, José Maria Brandão de Brito, Luís Reis Torgal, Manuel Braga da Cruz, Manuel de Lucena, Maria de Fátima Patriarca, and Fernando Rosas. What Avelãs Nunes did not do, however, was call a spade a spade when it came to the nature of Loff's attacks on Ramos. His was the first of many articles which tried to move the debate towards the historiographical level, but whose timing was flawed, serving above all to legitimize Loff's attack on Ramos.

Still the debate went on. Rui Ramos had written again, this time to take on Rosas, on 6 September. Rosas, he claimed, was generously laying down a smokescreen in order to allow Loff to withdraw in good order, but refusing to engage with the central accusation that Ramos made in his own defense—that Loff had lied in order to denigrate his opponents: "Para Fernando Rosas, tachar alguém de fascista 'cínico' e 'sinistro' não é 'pessoalmente insultuoso.' Para mim, é."²⁶ Ramos also accused Rosas of making the same mistake as Loff in twisting what he, Ramos, actually affirmed in his *History of Portugal*, so as to give an impression that he denied the New State's dictatorial nature. Finally, Ramos identified for the readers what he believed lay at the heart of the matter: While Rosas, in his books, could describe the First Republic as un-democratic and vindictive, he, Ramos, could not. Why this discrepancy?

²⁵ João Paulo Avelãs Nunes' works include *A história económica e social na Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra: Ascensão e queda de um paradigma historiográfico, 1911-1974* (Lisbon: Instituto de Inovação Educacional, 1995), and *O Estado Novo e o volfrâmio (1933-1947): Actividade mineira, "grande depressão" e Segunda Guerra Mundial* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2010).

²⁶ "For Fernando Rosas, labeling someone a 'cynical' and 'sinister' fascist isn't 'personally insulting.' For me it is."

O que Fernando Rosas sugere, de facto, é que há coisas que só alguém com as credenciais partidárias de Fernando Rosas pode dizer sem que isso justifique de imediato uma suspeita política. É isso que eu rejeito: a História não tem donos, Fernando Rosas.²⁷

In his reply to Rosas, then, Ramos was drawing a distinction between Rosas and Loff. What lay at the heart of Rosas' criticism was old-fashioned politics, a crude ideological barrier that, in Portugal, prevented dialogue and the acceptance of a different view of the past, even of a different approach to the past. This was an idea Ramos had already expressed when interviewed by São José Almeida, in 2010:

Vivemos num mundo muito diferente do que eu vivi em Inglaterra ou em Espanha, onde nos mesmos seminários, congressos e departamentos convivem pessoas com ideias muito diferentes, discutindo acalorada ou friamente, mas debatendo e divergindo. Pessoas que se respeitam e veem o trabalho dos outros com respeito.²⁸

While Flunser Pimentel in 2010 had described the existence of different historiographical traditions as something that must be acknowledged, and debated, Ramos sees it as an acceptable, even self-evidently desirable, state of affairs. This divergence of views is in and of itself interesting, and constitutes a second point of reflection, one well worth exploring by Portuguese academics in a collective effort. At its heart, of course, lies the debate over the nature of history, and where it can be found on the continuum between science and literature.

Perhaps the most interesting and profitable of all the interventions made in the debate came from Diogo Ramada Curto, like Rosas from the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, but, unlike the other participants in the debate, a specialist in early modern, not contemporary, history. In a text commissioned by *Público* and published on 8 September, Ramada Curto wrote:

²⁷ "What Fernando Rosas is suggesting is that there are, in fact, certain things that only someone with his party credentials can say without immediately arousing political suspicions. This is what I reject: History had no owners, Fernando Rosas."

²⁸ "We live in a very different world from the one I experienced in England or in Spain, where in the same seminars, congresses or departments people with very different ideas coexist, arguing passionately or coolly, agreeing or differing. People who respect each other and each other's work."

Se a objectividade no fazer da História não existe por decreto, pouco ou nada adiantam as declarações de princípio relativas à autoridade dos historiadores universitários. É claro que, enquanto cidadãos, mais ou menos comprometidos politicamente, estes têm todo o direito de exprimir as suas opiniões políticas, mas não poderão fazê-lo em nome das famigeradas lições da História. De igual modo, tanto os historiadores de profissão como os leitores informados sabem que análises, narrativas, argumentos e instrumentos de prova expostos em livros de História se encontram sujeitos a verificação [...] nenhum historiador académico se pode considerar fora desse processo “normal” de debate e verificação analítica.²⁹

Ramada Curto then pointed out that while Loff's attack on Ramos was unfairly conducted (“donde não está ausente a deturpação pura e simples do sentido da obra de Rui Ramos”³⁰), the work itself should be debated like any other—and proceeded to attack it where it is indeed most vulnerable, the coverage of the war in Africa, whose impact on the local population is undoubtedly minimized by Ramos. But Ramada Curto fell into the trap that others before him had done, and others still would continue to do: he fed a public debate initiated by a piece of something close to slander, thus legitimizing the initial accusations and treating them as acceptable—just as acceptable, in fact, as Ramos' defense of his good name. The following day Vasco Pulido Valente, in some ways a mentor figure to Ramos, notably in his treatment of the First Republic, chided Ramos for feeding the “polemic,” which was merely the result of “generalized ignorance.”³¹

True to form, Manuel Loff, with a newspaper column to fill, returned to this theme, on 13 September. Complaining of the chorus of personal insults directed against his person, and quoting the choicest among them, Loff claimed that ‘não sou seguramente o único a achar que esta polémica tem permitido perceber melhor por que valores se pautam alguns dos nossos académicos’³². He quickly resumed the offensive: As a work of synthesis, based in part on secondary readings, Ramos' *História de Portugal* was a manipulative text,

²⁹ “Since objectivity in the writing of History does not exist by decree, there is not point to declarations of principle regarding university professors. Of course they have the right, as more or less politically involved citizens, to express their political opinions, but they cannot do so in the name of the [in]famous lessons of History. Equally, both professional historians and well-informed readers know that analyses, narratives, arguments and evidence presented in History books are open to verification [...] no academic historian can rule herself/himself out of this “normal” process of debate and analytical verification.”

³⁰ “In which one can find the plain and simple deturpation of the meaning of Rui Ramos' work.”

³¹ He also added, interestingly, that Ramos could not have “white-washed” the New State, because there was nothing left to white-wash: “O ‘fascismo’ passou por Portugal quase sem deixar vestígio” [“Fascism” passed through Portugal, leaving almost no traces behind.”]

³² ‘I am surely not the only person to think that this polemic has allowed us to understand better the values which guide some of our academics’.

establishing constant but misleading conclusions in order to guide the reader down blind alleys: the result is indeed a whitewashing of the recent past, punctuated by false assertions and by speculation. All in all, ‘200 páginas de qualidade mais que duvidosa...’³³

There were other contributions to the debate. José Neves, a young prize-winning historian also of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa,³⁴ wrote in *Público* on 12 September, that both Loff and Ramos had made important contributions to Portuguese historiography, and that both deserved a ‘crítica despida de elogios fáceis e de insultos gratuitos’³⁵. Loff went too far, Neves wrote, in suggesting that Ramos’s historical writing was designed to further a political agenda. Puzzlingly, however, Neves wrote that ‘nesta sugestão de instrumentalização tem tido origem parte dos equívocos do debate que Loff em boa hora lançou’.³⁶ I write puzzlingly, because there is little in Loff’s articles beyond this brand of accusation—an accusation which, rather than being ‘suggested’, is in fact made very forcefully. Neves also overplayed his hand by placing on the same level the erroneous accusations made by Loff and Ramos’ angry replies. While it is true that, word per word, writing that Ramos’ text is ‘a ficção sinistra e intelectualmente cínica sobre a ditadura salazarista’ does not equate with calling someone a ‘fascista “cínico” e “sinistro”’, the difference is not great, and it is a terrible aspersion to cast on someone in a newspaper of record, before a mass audience; why would all that cynicism and sinister writing be deployed if not to confuse the New State’s record, and to whitewash its crimes? And why would someone engage in that activity if one wasn’t a covert Salazar supporter, a covert fascist? Or is Ramos (like, allegedly, the author of these lines,) only out for an easy cash score by giving nostalgic supporters of Salazar what they want?

On 20 September, it was the turn of Luís Reis Torgal, a retired University of Coimbra Professor, and, like Fernando Rosas, a historiographical heavyweight,³⁷ to contribute his thoughts to the question at hand. Reis Torgal wrote that since he too had consistently been calling for a public debate on historiography, he could not abstain from the ongoing discussion. But what followed can hardly be described as informative, and leaves one apprehensive about whether such a debate can be engaged in. For Reis Torgal,

³³ ‘200 pages of less than dubious quality’.

³⁴ See, for example, his *Comunismo e Nacionalismo em Portugal - Política, Cultura e História no Século XX* (Lisbon, Tinta-da-China, 2008).

³⁵ ‘Criticism free of empty compliments and gratuitous insults’.

³⁶ ‘This suggestion of manipulation is at the root of the misunderstandings in the timely debate initiated by Loff’.

³⁷ Luís Reis Torgal’s works include *A universidade e o Estado Novo: O caso de Coimbra, 1926-1961* (Coimbra: Minerva, 1999) and *Estados novos, Estado Novo: Ensaios de história política e cultural* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2009).

Ramos was not a specialist in the New State, and this showed in the work, which was not sufficiently theoretical, nuanced, or capable of suggesting contradiction, difficulty, and alternatives. This questionable assertion aside, Reis Torgal's tone was highly paternalistic, if not actually insulting: "Seria bom que Ramos entendesse que a História se compreende numa lógica diacrónica, mas também sincrónica,"³⁸ he wrote, as if Ramos was a first year student. Reflecting on the book as a whole, Reis Torgal concluded, "Palavras e frases, provavelmente bem construídas, mas sem nenhuma reflexão profunda...—é esta a técnica de divulgação de Ramos, parecendo não entender que a História supõe sempre uma análise e uma reflexão problematizadoras."³⁹

Last but not least, Dalila Cabrita Mateus, of ISCTE, a specialist in Portuguese colonialism and its aftermath,⁴⁰ also picked up the anti-Ramos baton, criticizing, in a letter published on 14 September in *Público* both the idea he created of a war in Africa that was sustainable '*ad eternum*' and even winnable, had it not been for the April 1974 movement, and the view that the Portuguese in Europe had never had it as good as they were having it by the early 1970s: full employment, increasing salaries, and the expansion of the welfare state. She then went on to add that the economic situation by the end of 1975 was actually a good one, comparing it to that of today for reasons best understood by herself in what is meant to be a piece on historiography. While correct in what she wrote about Ramos' treatment of the Colonial Wars, Cabrita Mateus, like others before her, ignored that the ongoing debate had started in the worst of circumstances, with a violent personal attack, and that to prolong it, without acknowledging its flawed origin, served only to legitimize that attack.

The very next day, in the course of a long interview published in *Expresso Online*, António de Araújo was asked about the ongoing historiographical controversy. He refused to call it a polemic, since

³⁸ 'It would be good if Ramos understood that History should be understood both diachronically and synchronically'.

³⁹ "Words and sentences, probably well constructed, but free from any deep reflection...That is Ramos' technique of dissemination, failing to understand that History always presupposes a problematically fertile analysis and reflection."

⁴⁰ See, for example, her *A PIDE-DGS na Guerra Colonial (1961-1974)* Second Edition (Lisbon: Terramar, 2011) and *Purga em Angola: O 27 de Maio de 1977* Fourth Edition (Lisbon: Texto, 2009).

Não se inicia honestamente uma discussão sobre um livro com base em falsidades e citações truncadas, como Manuel Loff fez no caso da *História de Portugal* coordenada por Rui Ramos.⁴¹

Araújo was correct, and his words bring us to a third point of reflection. Academia does not sit well with either the press or political debate; it moves at a different speed, and is regulated by different codes of behaviour. If its debates are to be opened up to a wider public, then they should not be turned into the kind spectator blood sport witnessed in Portugal in the summer of 2012. But in a country where the lines between academia and politics are blurred (in part by the large number of academics who appear regularly in media outlets to comment on ongoing events), where the University has long been a trampoline for a political career, and where contemporary history was for a long time the preserve of Marxist historians, who cling to the view of their discipline as a science, this is especially hard to ensure. In a review article published in this journal as far back as 2003, the difficulties faced by the practitioners of political history when investigating the twentieth century—the First Republic and the New State—was alluded to.⁴² This year's controversy suggests that considerable ideological resistance remains in place against those who focus their investigations on the lives, writings, and actions of the country's political elite.

Can anything useful be learned from the recent controversy? Firstly, it is impossible to speculate on why Manuel Loff argues the way he does. It is not far removed from the way he writes History; as one reviewer of his *O Nosso Século É Fascista!* put it, “Loff adopta uma postura de advogado de acusação.”⁴³ In his reviews and newspaper articles Loff moves one step further still and adopts an entirely confrontational posture that leaves normal academic language far behind. Non-academic ideological cheerleaders have elected him as their champion, and egg him on. One can, however, speculate about his timing, which seems related to the free distribution of Ramos' *História de Portugal* at a time of harsh austerity and great national apprehension about the future of the country. Loff opposes the idea that austerity is necessary, wants the country to mobilize against it, and wants as well to demonize those who propound it; but, in addition to this, he seems to fear that Ramos'

⁴¹ “One cannot honestly begin a discussion of a book on the basis of falsehoods and truncated citations, as Manuel Loff did in the case of the History of Portugal coordinated by Rui Ramos.”

⁴² Manuel Baiôa, Paulo Jorge Fernandes and Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses, “The Political History of Twentieth-Century Portugal,” *e-Journal of Portuguese History*, Vol. 1, no. 2, Winter 2003.

⁴³ “Loff adopts a prosecutor's stance.” Bruno Cardoso Reis, “Este século não foi fascista. Salazar, Franco e a efêmera nova ordem internacional nazi-fascista,” *Relações Internacionais*, n. 27 (September 2010), 129-138.

interpretation of the past might be internalized by people outside his normal catchment area. Loff seems to fear, in other words, that Ramos' view of Salazar's New State might, via the free distribution by *O Expresso*, reach an unsuspecting and ideologically unprepared readership, resulting in yet another step in the destruction of the vision of the recent past upheld by the left in Portugal: that of a great popular anti-fascist struggle that finally emerged victorious in April 1974. If a popular struggle defeated the New State, then it can defeat the EU/ECB/IMF "Troika." Keeping this flame alive is a political imperative for the left in Portugal today: but immediate political imperatives and academic pursuits are not happy bedfellows.

Secondly, it is certainly the case that many academics in Portugal—especially historians of the contemporary age—are still putting political or personal allegiances ahead of scholarly considerations, and allowing these allegiances to intrude on their public utterances, despite the obvious cost to their discipline. This was undoubtedly the case in the ham-fisted interventions of Maria Filomena Mónica and Vasco Pulido Valente on behalf of Rui Ramos. But it was as true in the case of Ramos' detractors, who refused to even acknowledge the slanderous, or quasi-slanderous nature of Loff's charges, and then proceeded to criticize, correctly or not, Ramos' book. This created the impression that there was nothing really wrong with Loff's initial articles, and allowed him to return again and again to the fray, portraying himself as the victim along the way. At the same time, Loff's own work was not subjected to any sort of scrutiny, and what in some cases was a well-meaning attempt at historiographical discussion became, in the public's eye, part of a concentrated and even co-ordinated attack on a single author. Only in an article published much later (on 29 October 2012) in *Público* and, in an expanded version, in the blog *Jugular*, did Irene Flunser Pimentel, who in 2010 had called for a proper historiographical debate to be initiated, finally criticize a concrete aspect of Loff's work, being thus the first writer to do so as part of this controversy:

[...] errado, quanto a mim, é concluir que a ditadura salazarista nos anos trinta e quarenta se assemelhava, na sua essência, ao nacional-socialismo alemão, sem ter em conta a diferença de monta que é a ausência de anti-semitismo na ideologia e no estado salazarista, como o faz Manel. *O Nosso Século é Fascista!* 2008)⁴⁴

⁴⁴ "I think it a mistake to conclude, like Loff does, that Salazar's dictatorship in the 1930s and 40s was, in its essence, similar to German National-Socialism, without considering the enormous difference which resulted from a lack of anti-Semitism in the Salazar state."

But this criticism was delivered in the context of a wider discussion of repression in the New State, which had Rui Ramos very much in its sights.

Thirdly, recent events have reminded academics that they must be careful about how, when, and where to speak out about each others' work. They must be exceptionally careful when doing so to a non-academic audience. Pedro Aires Oliveira's words, cited at the start of this article, should be heeded, as should be the instructive silence of so many other Portuguese historians over the course of August and September 2012. They stayed silent not because they lacked an opinion on Ramos' work, but rather because they understood that they should not participate in a debate that had, at its base, a vitriolic personal attack which fatally skewed what followed. My impression is that most professional historians wish the controversy had never occurred and were pained by its course and the continual reopening of the wound.

Fourthly, the controversy shows that the dual identity assumed by so many Portuguese historians—that of academics and political actors, or commentators—is damaging to their academic credibility. They are not political scientists, economists, or sociologists, whose expertise revolves around the present, and who see the vindication of their theories and their research in the world around them. Historians deal with the past, which cannot talk back, respond to stimulus, and be altered. It can only be analysed and interpreted. And while politically engaged historians' ability to interpret the past is not necessarily impaired by the views they defend in party political campaigns, or in the press—not more so, in any case, than the private political views of other historians—the reception of their work most certainly is. They can be—and are—labelled “communist” or “conservative” and dismissed, or interpreted exclusively as proponents of certain views, so that years of careful work is ignored. The urgency of political battles and media disputes then invades academic life, poisoning personal and professional relationships.

Finally, and turning to what Portuguese and non-Portuguese academics who live and work abroad can do to help the situation, the way forward seems clear. Just as, through their seminars and publications, departments such as Brown's Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies, as well as the learned associations to which academics belong, provide a crucial outlet for Portuguese historians to publish and disseminate their work abroad, as is now increasingly demanded of them, so too should they not remain aloof from controversies such as the one that erupted in this year's “Verão Quente.” They should work to cool tempers; to provide a space where debate can take place in an orderly fashion; to act as honest brokers, stitching together with patience what has been torn apart

so that the slanderous words of some cannot form the basis for generalized debates which degenerate into ideological free-for-alls. If it is true that there are rival historiographies at play in today's Portugal, and that these find it hard to communicate peacefully with each other, then it is the task of foreign-based academics to mediate between the currents, so that the attempts to engage in dialogue do not degenerate into name-calling or obscure and off-putting discussions about the interpretation of events long ago. This could even be done in partnership with the Portuguese media, in order to bring the resulting debate to a wider readership which, like never before, is interested in the country's recent past. It is a difficult and perhaps unenviable task, but a necessary one.

**Alves, Jorge Santos. *Fernão Mendes Pinto and the “Peregrinação”*.
4 vols. (Studies, restored Portuguese text, notes and indexes).
Lisbon: Fundação Oriente—INCM, 2010. ISBN 978-972-785-096-9.**

István Rákóczi¹

I should like to begin by stressing that in writing these lines we are paying homage to the greatest philological monument ever erected in honor of the *Peregrinação*. Now that such an “epistemological leap” has been made, I can say that this valuable and wise work promises to breathe a new lease of life into an area that—because of Portuguese traditions—is subject to regular commemoration.

And to begin with a subjective observation I should like to question the organization of the four volumes of *Fernão Mendes and the “Peregrinação”*. I believe that it would have been preferable if the second volume (the restored Portuguese text) had preceded the first one (Studies), which would then have been followed by the last two (Notes and Indexes), since in the new critical edition—although it does not claim *ipsis verbis* to be considered as such—these latter three volumes form an undeniable trilogy.

In the first volume (Studies), the first and third essays (even in their respective titles) evoke social networking as a novel way of structuring all that we thought we already knew about the positioning of Fernão Mendes Pinto within the social contexts that both preceded and followed his travels abroad, as well as in the context that marked his presence outside Portugal. This systematic mapping of interpersonal relations—as suggested, above all, by Giovanni Levi in *Les usages de la biographie*²—allows us to make more than just a few general observations about the origin and social status of our author. Through *network analysis*, all the “factual” biographies or linear coordinates presented in the traditional way are rendered outmoded. Instead, this network approach allows us to afford a different dimension to our protagonist’s status: through the writings of Jorge Santos Alves and Luís Filipe Barreto, we learn about F. Mendes Pinto as a trader and as someone linked to the Jesuit Order, someone bound by social ties and connections much sturdier than those that have already been gleaned from scattered documents and have enabled authors ranging from Father Schurhammer to Rebecca Catz to engage in a certain “deliteralization” of the author of the *Peregrinação*. When the work is considered as a whole, it can

¹ ELTE University, Budapest, and researcher at the Centro de História do Além-Mar (Lisbon). E-mail: irakoczi@gmail.com

² *Annales, ESC*, 1989, 6, 1325–36.

be seen that it is treated as a source of knowledge by Marília dos Santos Lopes, who, like Francisco Roque de Oliveira, when talking about the use made of the manuscript of the *Peregrinação* before the date of its posthumous publication, manages to place this work in the context of its reception, considerably broadening our knowledge, which until now has tended to be directed towards the author of the message (in the acceptance that is afforded to these concepts by Umberto Eco, from the aesthetic point of view). There is no doubt that this mission is accomplished—despite its being considered impossible by Rui Loureiro—in relation to many of the sources of the *Peregrinação*, which, just like the whole section of the volume’s intertextualities, not only introduces philological novelties, but also a series of innovations in the way in which it approaches its subject-matter. The section “Visions of Asia in the *Peregrinação*” also displays a paradigm shift, by placing side by side the State of India—dealt with by George Bryan Souza, in his vision of individual wealth and economic policy—and the *Shadow Empire*, to use the fortunate expression of Sanjay Subrahmanyam. Various experts were consulted expressly for the areas of half-shadow—the coast of Cochinchina, or East Java (Charles Wheeler and Claude Guillot), as well as several longstanding and highly regarded specialists, such as Roderich Ptak, or the editor of this initiative. They all tirelessly make use of new documents and points of view that open up broader horizons, going far beyond the mere regurgitation of individual research.

The essay by Jacques P. Leider, about the Buddhist monks of the *Peregrinação* by Fernão Mendes Pinto, might also have been incorporated into the section that deals with skills and practices, whose “exoticism” would then be highlighted in different ways for historians and for literary specialists. The fact remains, however, that the four excellent published texts, whose aim is to strip bare both the *parole* and the *langue* that are used, heard and/or transcribed by Fernão Mendes Pinto, and free them of their literary clothing, convince us of the many languages which the real, myth-free and lie-free (“não-mi(n)to”) Pinto dealt with. If and when we add the great deal known by those who enlighten us in this respect (Ludvik Kalus, Jin Guoping, Ana Fernandes Pinto & Hino Hiroshi, as well as Luís Filipe Reis Thomaz—who chose to collaborate in this volume with a “technical” contribution, but who, through his disciples, is undoubtedly more present here than he is in the lines that he himself writes), we are surprised by the multiplicity of meanings (to use a phrase coined by Alfredo Margarido) about the paths taken by Pinto in his intellectual self-construction, and now followed and pursued by philology. Without the commitment of these authors specializing in the “archaeology of languages”, following the etymological paths of influences, borrowings, mutations, equivalences and analogies, respectively, in such a varied range of oriental languages (Arabic, Persian, Chinese, Japanese and

Malay in particular), the rigorous work of the annotators would also not have been possible. The fact that some “linguistic” collaborators have limited themselves to publishing nothing more than “glossaries” glorifies their collective spirit even more, because of the way in which they consider the branch of science that they use to be part of a long hierarchical heritage, whose acceptance is in itself an example of great humility. The same can be said of the prestigious annotators, who have been able (because they wished to do so) to submit to the rules that such a contribution imposes—although they aspire to much greater scientific heights.

The second volume of this great initiative corresponds to the “restored” text of the *Peregrinação*, whose philological criteria are summarized in just one modest page of explanation and are inversely correlated with the magnitude of the work that is to be undertaken. Through this painstaking and laborious work, Elisa Lopes da Costa joins the ranks of those engaged in laying the foundations of a Work. By refining and perfecting a text, by limiting herself to simply “arranging” solutions that have tended to be either postponed or circumvented in earlier editions, she is to be included amongst the “servants” that we most yearn for and should most extol. She is later joined by a long list of collaborators on the third volume, who by annotating the text of the *Peregrinação* are the heirs and continuers of one of the criteria that were always to be found in previous editions: to provide extratextual knowledge and information that will supplement the work, whose reading, even in its own time, was to become an effort that it was believed could usefully benefit from some outside help.

It proved possible to assemble this great “architecture” by bringing together the cream (in the best sense of the word) of those who had undertaken to collaborate with their own specific “understanding” and “know-how”. All of this was placed at the service, not only of ensuring a better understanding of the text, but also of improving its interpretation. Thus, with this work, both the general public and the specialists are not only brought “up to date” with regard to a whole host of matters relating to the text and author of the *Peregrinação*, but they are also presented with a tool whose usefulness will prove to be essential for future research. I am referring to the volume of indexes—onomastic, geographic, and based on themes and subjects—which encourage readers to make cross references. These indexes are classified under fourteen headings, all of them corresponding to important and pertinent aspects, including segments that have never before been touched upon (such as “gender” or “food & drinks”, for example), but whose “singularity” and “synopticity” suggest many new avenues of exploration. It seems to me to be symbolic that we owe this precious volume to the author of one of the most remarkable introductions ever to open a volume of essays: Zoltán Biedermann, who, in this tremendous

effort, strives to bring together all of the vast range of his good schools: French, Portuguese and Central European, respectively.

A review must be critical; otherwise it will lose its reason for being. What are the most obvious failings of this work? First of all, the fact that it does not transpose its new findings and information to the visual world, in the form of new maps. Since 1947, when the map “A *Peregrinação* de Fernão Mendes Pinto (Tentativa de reconstituição geográfica)”³ was published by the Viscount of Lagoa, successive editions have (ab)used the contribution of the same Viscount of Lagoa, although they may have outlined different itineraries and physical places for the quest of Fernão Mendes Pinto, which have now been made known to us by the extra information and knowledge that have been provided. Consequently, we are still left with the task of renewing the geographic part of our knowledge in terms of its structurally didactic dimension. Although the intention of this work was to conduct fresh research only from the historical point of view, there still remains a strong need for us to make use of the point of view of the historians of literature. But I recognize that this would only complicate even further the already enormous effort that has been made by the organizer and soul of this present initiative, Jorge Santos Alves, who deserves the most fulsome praise.

To end this review, I should like to make a proposal. As this excellent masterpiece, with its 750 copies sponsored by the Fundação Oriente, is intended more for a select international audience rather than a broader Portuguese public, I propose that we take advantage of all the know-how that has now been brought together in a *Dicionário da Peregrinação e Cartas de Fernão Mendes Pinto* (just like the *Dicionário dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, *Dicionário de Eça de Queirós*, *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Portuguesa*, etc...) to place all the sources and information together in just one reference work, making it available for anyone who wants to make use of it, in Portugal, to plunge deeper into the fascinating adventure of Fernão Mendes Pinto. And whoever wishes to set about the same task abroad already has an extraordinary instrument for disseminating the Portuguese culture, besides a very valuable impetus and stimulus. Beginning with us Hungarians, whose edition of the *Bolyongások* by Fernão Mendes Pinto (and I hate to have to rectify this) was in fact published by the Cédus Publishing House in Budapest, in 1992, with the translation and selection of texts being the work of Ervin Székely (and not mine). Alas, poor me, I can only claim to have revised his translation and to write the notes, a task that took me more than a year of my life. Never was time better spent...but, even so, with this new *Fernão Mendes Pinto and the Peregrinação* at our disposal, we are also challenged to publish, now more than

³ LAGOA, Visconde de, “A Peregrinação de Fernão Mendes Pinto (tentativa de reconstituição geográfica),” *Anais da Junta de Investigações Coloniais*, vol. 2, tomo I (Estudos de História e Geografia da Expansão Portuguesa), Lisbon, 1947, 11–156.

ever, a complete edition of the *Peregrinação* for the twenty-first-century Hungarian reader. For our own part, we are ready and willing to press ahead with this idea and to go beyond our own shadow. However long it may be.

Mazumdar, Shaswati. *Insurgent Sepoys. Europe views the Revolt of 1857*, New Delhi, Routledge, 2011. ISBN: 978-0-415-59799-9.

Filipa Lowndes Vicente¹

As happens with so many other conflicts in history, the event that is the central subject of this book—an Indian armed resistance against British dominion—has been named in many different ways depending on the perspective of who is naming it. In terms of the most traditional British historiography, which began to reflect on the event as soon as it happened, this was the Indian “mutiny” of 1857. However, within the most critical and recent bibliography it has multiplied its terminology: the word “Mutiny” is still used, but so is “Uprising”, “Rebellion” or “Revolt”. This last word—“revolt”—was the one chosen for the title of this book, one that concentrates on the ways in which this event was perceived and written about in different European countries. By choosing this word and not others, the editor is undoubtedly engaging with recent debates on this central event of Indian history and the history of Indo-British relationships while assuming the subversive and widespread impact of this episode.

The word “mutiny” was until recently the most commonly used term within the context of British historiography. For a long time, since the event itself, it was used in a sense that restricted the Indian agency to the actions of a few armed men, underlined its military character and tended to be associated with a history where the British were the victims of the violence of those who previously served them. Within this approach, ideas of “conspiracy,” a conspiracy that had been carefully orchestrated, came to be especially relevant as a tool of historical explanation, as another recent book on the subject has demonstrated (Kim A. Wagner, *The Great Fear of 1857. Rumours, conspiracies and the making of the Indian Uprising*, 2010). However, two other recent books on the subject use the word “mutiny” in their titles, probably because this is still the word that best identifies the subject in the context of where they concentrate, its impact in Britain: Gantam Chakravarty, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination* (2005) and Christopher Herbert, *War of No Pity: The Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma* (2008). Therefore, to use other words in the title, as the book we are reviewing does, implies a consciousness that is in itself a historiographical statement.

But a reader might ask, what is the Indian “mutiny” or “revolt” or “uprising”? Even if throughout the second half of the nineteenth century this event had a global impact, with

¹ Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon. E-mail: filipa.vicente@ics.ul.pt

particular resonance in Europe, nowadays it is more probable that only those familiar with Indian or British history know something about it. Even if, at the time, it was related to other historical events such as the French Revolution, the American War of Independence, or the 1848 revolutions in Europe, right now other events in India history—such as its independence from Britain in 1947—have a much stronger place in world history. The uprising took place amongst the Indian *sepoys*, the Indian soldiers who formed part of the military of the East India Company. A cartridge used in the new rifle introduced amongst the native regiments, needed to be opened with the teeth. The problem was that in order to be better loaded, the cartridge was greased and it was rumoured that the grease was made of pig lard and cow tallow, two components that would contradict the religious precepts of both Hindus and Muslims. This fact, based in a rumour, was the trigger for the first events of 10 May 1857, when some *sepoys* murdered their officers and also all the British civilians they encountered along the way. They then went to the city of Delhi while other revolts spread throughout the north of India, ones in which civilians often joined the military. Some Indian rulers who had been taken from their seats of power also demanded to return. This long process of Indian dissatisfaction manifested in different ways, which took the British by surprise, was only completely suppressed two years later in 1859.

This event has been seen as a major turning point in British-Indian relationships although this book does not ponder on this perspective. There is a before 1857 and an after 1857: before 1857, the commercial oriented East India Company and after 1857 the transformation of India into the biggest part of the Empire, with Queen Victoria calling herself the Empress of India from 1859 on. Behind this change in names and terminology there were major political transformations: the event, as is so often repeated, had a deep and enduring impact on Indo-British relationships. For some, those who call it “the first Indian war of Independence,” it was a proto-nationalistic event that culminated in India independence less than a century later in 1947. And even if this view is contested and considered as an artificial projection from the present to the past, it is generally accepted that the impact of this uprising had an enduring effect on subsequent colonial relationships: from a deeper British consciousness of the need to respect local traditions and religious precepts, to the growing separation of colonizer and colonized.

A characteristic of this event is the quantity of fiction that it provoked. Beyond the newspapers articles, the historical writings or the autobiographical narratives of those involved, there was an immense output in popular adventure novels and literary texts. Early on, men, and also women, started writing about the event in a kind of worldly catharsis, one which the editor of this book identifies as a response to trauma. Even if the opposite argument could be stated—sometimes a traumatic historical event provokes a silence amongst those who are not yet ready

to deal with it—it is true that the 1857 events were “commodified” as sensational, consciously playing with the fear of British readers. Along with writings, there were many visual images of the event contributing to augment its tantalizing effect, something that this book does not explore. Another characteristic that *Insurgent Sepoys* does not address is the fact that there was a substantial number of women writing about the 1857 uprisings. In fact, books on the “Indian mutiny” appear as one of the main subjects of women travelers in colonial India according to the typology with has been drawn by recent historiography devoted to women writing in British colonial contexts.

However, what many of the authors of this book also show is that when analyzing the response of this event beyond the specific British context, the reactions, positions and approaches were much more diverse. And so was the terminology used to designate an historical episode that, as this book also demonstrates, had a huge impact on European public opinion of the time. One of the originalities of the book is precisely to concentrate on the reactions to a contemporary Indian event, at a time when India’s past dominated European interest. Amongst the prolific writing on European orientalism that has been published in the last decades, the India that comes across was that of Sanskrit literature, religiosity, and ancestral traditions. Not the “India” of agency and action that prompted revolts and that came to disturb the widely repeated idea of Indians as passive, spiritual and submissive to foreign domination.

By concentrating on the European—which here means non-British—reactions to a major episode of the history of British-Indian relationships in the middle of the nineteenth century, and therefore a central subject of British imperial history, this book also has the great merit of subverting the tendency of British historiographical preeminence in anything that relates to this period of Indian history. If, on the one side, this preeminence is historically understandable—India was at this time the central place for Britain to rehearse its different ways of colonial domination—this book demonstrates how other European countries, colonizers or non-colonizers, were very attentive to what was happening “there”. But what the book also shows is that they were attentive for different reasons. While for those European countries that were engaged with their own colonial enterprise, this event was seen as a “cautionary tale,” even if one with different meanings, for those countries that had no colonies and that were still dealing with their own nationalistic expectations, the Indian revolt had a direct resonance. Like themselves, the Indians were also reacting to an invasive and uncomfortable power or even fighting for their national independence. This is manifest, for example, in the Italian case addressed by Chiara Cherubini, “Freedom and Democracy: the Revolt in the Italian Press.” In 1857, Italy was not yet a united nation but was on the verge of becoming so. The Italian example

is especially rich because of its transformations along the second half of the nineteenth century: from concentrating on the internal process of becoming a united nation, to the late-nineteenth-century effort of also becoming a colonizer nation, as other major European countries.

These changes also had repercussions in the ways in which the Indian revolt of 1857 was perceived. While Cherubini argues that in 1857 the “Italian public opinion understood the Indian rebellion in right of the contemporary internal debates on the legitimate forms of government and nascent ideas of national identity,” when Italy’s colonial ambitions fully manifested themselves a few decades later, the Indian event had a deeper colonial significance, as Flaminia Nicora’s article also shows. British colonialism could be seen as an example of “bad colonialism,” but this idea of “bad” could mean different things: it could be perceived negatively because it was too violent or too concentrated on economic interests and had thus awaked the hatred of those that were subject to it, as the 1857 happenings had shown; or because it was too tolerant towards local religions and should have invested more on Indian Christianization, as the Portuguese and the Spanish had done. However, in other Italian accounts, in earlier or later periods, British colonialism was praised for its “civilizing” aim, while Britain’s position within European balances was valued because of its position against despotism. The Italian case is perhaps the most explored within the book, with many different articles devoted to different kinds of responses. Some concentrate on newspaper articles or on travel accounts, while others analyze the very popular tales of Emilio Salgari, a familiar name amongst a vast European readership, mostly boys, as from the late nineteenth century, when he first published his adventure books, and throughout the twentieth century. They were reprinted in many different languages, and characters such as “Sandokan” became part of children’s games and imagination. Salgari also used the Indian 1857 rebellion as a backdrop to one his books as Nicora explores in her article: in it the British are not portrayed in a very favorable light, in contrast with characters from other nationalities, such as the French, the Portuguese or the Italian, who somehow project their individual qualities into the wider idea of different national colonialisms, some better than the others.

Along with the Italian Emilio Salgari, another nineteenth-century author that has a significant presence in this book is the French writer Jules Verne. Beyond the fact that both were extremely popular authors, especially amongst the young, being translated into many different languages, they also shared other things: an uneasiness towards British colonialism, that sometimes led to an open criticism, and also the choice of using the 1857 episode or some of its characters—such as the Indian Nana Sahib—as the plot for their fictional stories. Swati Dasgupta’s article, “Lost in Translation: Jules Verne and the Indian Rebellion,” is particularly

interesting. By confronting the original French text with some of its nineteenth century English translations, the author concludes that many negative references to “British” actions in colonial context were simply omitted from the English versions. This conscious and non-innocent censorship was present for example in the popular *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea*, where Nemo’s denunciation of the British treatment of Indian pearl divers, was absent from the version prepared for a British readership. As Suchitra Choudhury also demonstrates in her article, in Verne’s book *The Steam House*, “the ‘mutiny’ is no longer the glorified site of British valour but rather a culpable scene of war crimes.” This position was not necessarily an anti-colonialist one. As both authors show, Verne’s position towards French colonialism was very different, and much more tolerant.

A few of the articles in the book are devoted to how the Indian event was received in Eastern Europe, from the Hungarians to the Czech. The latter, under the German rule of the Habsburg Empire, sometimes described themselves as the “Indians” of the Habsburg monarchy, as Sarah Lemmen refers to in her article. Therefore, this book also has the originality of putting together different “Europes,” Europes that usually are not historically confronted with each other. The main dividing line that comes through in this book is that of the European countries which were colonizers in the second half of the nineteenth century, in different degrees and with differing experiences, and that of the European countries that were not colonizers and that often were the ones that felt “colonized” by other European nations. These were the nations that were not yet nations, and that only became so much later, after the World War II. This historical specificity had an enduring historiographical implication: as Lemmen writes “historians of east central European history rarely come across debates on post-colonialism in the context of their work.” Therefore, all the theoretical approaches that have been present in most Anglo-Saxon approaches to colonial history since at least 1978, the date when Edward W. Said published *Orientalism* (and much later in countries such as Portugal or Italy) have not engaged at all with historians from a significant part of Europe.

France, Italy and Spain are some of the countries analyzed in this book. Portugal does not enter this list. It would have been especially interesting, and poignant, to know how this revolt was perceived in the Portuguese context. On the one hand, this was a nation that was herself a colonizer of India, and that could not be indifferent to what was happening in the neighboring colony. On the other, Portuguese colonial India had already been the site of similar revolts in different periods and could project a comparative approach that could hardly be felt by the Spanish or the Italian. Nonetheless, *Insurgent Sepoys* contains two articles that introduce Portuguese India in the narrative. Even if they do so through the writings of an author that

cannot represent how the 1857 was perceived in Goa, and who has to be read in his specificity and individuality. The author is the Goan intellectual Francisco Luis Gomes (1829-69) and the text, his fictional work *Os Brahamanes* (Lisbon, 1866). One article on him is that by Balaji Ranganathan, “Francisco Luis Gomes’s *Os Brahamanes*: The uprising and Anglo-Indian Society,” while the other which concentrates on the same book is written by Everton V. Machado, “The Rebellion in a 19th century Indo-Portuguese Novel.”

Machado, who is also the editor of a recently published French version of this book, argues that Gomes’ fictional work is the first novel of Indo-Portuguese literature and an anti-colonialist novel in the sense that he “demonstrates and criticizes severely the harmful effects of colonial practices in terms of human relationships and of a people’s culture.” However, as Machado also explains, it would be more accurate to say that this anti-colonialism was directed specifically at what he perceived as the British way of colonising—non-religious and mercantile—in opposition to the “humanistic values incarnated by the Christocentric vision” of Portuguese colonialism. It was this Christianity that would overcome both the inequalities of colonialism as well as those of the Hindu caste system. A doctor and a writer, Gomes was also a member of the Portuguese parliament, something possible due to the “citizenship” that empowered Catholic men born in the Portuguese colonies. From this privileged position he could both defend the redemptive qualities of Christianity, while also reclaiming Goa’s colonial autonomy. To analyze a novel that takes place in British India in 1857 and has so many relations to the uprisings makes a lot of sense, but it would also have been interesting to know more about the impact of the 1857 revolts in the context of Portuguese India in historical and journalistic accounts. Even if this, it is true, would not have fit neatly in the subtitle of the book—*Europe views the revolt of 1857*. José Gerson da Cunha (1843-1900), for example, a Goan historian and doctor who lived in Bombay, argues that long before the 1857 revolts and other signs of proto-nationalism, he could already see in the last decades of the nineteenth century that the natives of Goa had already contested the power of the Portuguese colonizers. He was referring to the *Conjuração dos Pintos*, in 1787, embodied with French revolutionary ideas, but also to earlier events such as the sixteenth-century union of the kings of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar against the Portuguese.

These materials were not written in English but in a wide array of European languages, and only a book such as this one, combining scholars from different countries, could purvey this panoramic vision, one that manages to give centrality to the discourses that have remained in a peripheral dispersion (the exception is in a section of a book published in 1957, *Rebellion 1857*, by P.C. Joshi, as Shaswati Mazumdar also acknowledges). The identity of Mazumbar, the editor of

this volume, can also suggest a reflection on the ways and the places in which knowledge is produced. In the period in which the book concentrates—second half of the nineteenth century—Germany was one of the major centers for Indian studies, usually concentrated on its literary Hindu past. Now, the woman responsible for the research project, which started on the 150th anniversary of the 1857 revolt, and that culminated in this volume, is an Indian specialist in German studies and professor at the University of Delhi. Therefore, one of the great contributions of this book is precisely that of showing the “cacophony of voices,” as Suchitra Choudhury describes, that reacted to the Indian revolt. While the great majority of British reactions, from the late 1850s, portrayed the British in India as victims of native violence, the non-British writings that this book analyses are characterized by their diversity, ambivalence and even critique of British Imperialism.