

Vol. 7 · n.º 2 · Winter 2009

e-journal
of PORTUGUESE
HISTORY

Table of Contents

Volume 7, number 2, Winter 2009

[ARTICLES]

The Royal Chancellery at the end of the Portuguese Middle Ages:

Diplomacy and political society (1970-2005)

Judite Antonieta Gonçalves de Freitas

The center and the periphery in the administration of the Royal Exchequer

of the *Estado da Índia* (1517-1640)

Susana Münch Miranda

Portuguese Contraband and the Closure of the Iberian Markets, 1621-1640.

The Economic Roots of an Anti-Habsburg Feeling

Ángel Alloza Aparicio

Azorean emigration in the context of social change:

Some notes from the press in São Miguel (1920-1950)

Gilberta Pavão Nunes Rocha & Eduardo Ferreira

[BOOK REVIEWS]

Koiso, Kioko. *Mar, Medo e Morte*:

Aspectos psicológicos dos naufragos na História Trágico-Marítima, nos testemunhos inéditos e noutras fontes, 2 vols.

Cascais: Patrimonia, 2004

ISBN: 972-744-061-4

Ana Paula Laborinho

Marques, João Pedro. *The Sounds of Silence*:

Nineteenth-century Portugal and the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Translated by Richard Wall.

New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006

ISBN: 1-57181-447-7

Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo

Brockey, Liam Matthew (ed.). *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World.*

Farnham: Ashgate, 2008

ISBN: 978-0-7546-6313-3

João Paulo Oliveira e Costa

The Royal Chancellery at the end of the Portuguese Middle Ages: diplomacy and political society (1970 – 2005)

Judite Antonieta Gonçalves de Freitas

University Fernando Pessoa

Researcher of Cepese -

Study Centre of the Population, Economy and Society

jfreitas@ufp.edu.pt

Abstract

The aim of this text is to review the research undertaken in Portugal on the question of the medieval royal chancellery and diplomacy and their relationship with the study of royal bureaucracy. In this sense, we characterize the lines of development that are to be noted in the research undertaken into political societies and royal power based on the records of the royal chancellery in the last thirty years. Initially, we focus our attention on the relationship established between the royal chancellery and diplomacy and later we highlight the main themes and problems studied under the scope of the social history of institutions. Finally, we refer to the use of prosopography as a method applied to the study of medieval Portuguese elites.

Keywords

royal chancellery and diplomacy; royal power; political elites; historiography; Portugal; Middle Ages

Resumo

O objectivo deste texto é o de proceder a um balanço da investigação desenvolvida em Portugal sobre Chancelaria e Diplomática régias medievais na sua relação com o estudo da burocracia régia. Neste sentido, efectuamos a caracterização das linhas de desenvolvimento das pesquisas realizadas sobre sociedades políticas e poder régio a partir dos registos da chancelaria régia nos últimos trinta anos. Centramo-nos, inicialmente, na relação estabelecida entre Chancelaria e Diplomática régias e, posteriormente, realçamos os principais temas e problemas estudados no âmbito da história social das instituições. Por fim, referimo-nos à utilização da prosopografia como método aplicado ao estudo das elites políticas medievais portuguesas.

Palavras-chave

Chancelaria e Diplomática régias; Poder régio; Elites políticas; Historiografia; Portugal; Idade Média

1. A review of history making

This text seeks to provide a review of the studies on Portuguese royal chancelleries in their relationship with diplomacy from the perspective of a history of the State and the social profile of the

higher institutions of the royal bureaucracy, in particular in the last centuries of the Middle Ages. In section 1.1, we characterize the recent developments to be noted in the different approaches to the study of royal diplomacy and the royal chancellery. In section 1.2, we contextualize the return of the political history of the Middle Ages in Portugal, explaining the influence of external approaches on internal developments (Gomes 1989; Homem 1996; Freitas 2004b). In the following sections, we analyze the studies made of the political personnel in the late Middle Ages, under the auspices of the PhD and Master's Degree programs of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto (hereafter referred to as FLUP). In this context, we undertake a critical analysis of the monographic studies presented to FLUP about royal chancelleries, defining the main lines of research that have been followed. The overriding idea in all research is that of the existence of a large set of possible relations that can be established between royal chancellery and royal diplomacy, chancellery and royal officialdom, chancellery and prosopography, chancellery and political societies and chancellery and State structures. In this way, we seek to highlight the changes in perspective in the "new" historiography of the *political* and explain the current context regarding the development of studies about medieval royal chancelleries, underlining the current perspectives of analysis of the chancellery archives: the *diplomatic* perspective (the study of the diplomatic production of the decision-making bodies), the *institutional* perspective (seeking to establish the organigram of government) and the *socio-political* perspective (the prosopography of the decision-making bodies). As we shall demonstrate, these three aspects of analysis converge in the most recent view of the *political* in Portugal¹.

1.1 Diplomacy and Royal Chancelleries

Until the 1970s, scholars studying royal diplomacy maintained a preferential interest in determining the types of documents conserved in the archives of the royal chancellery, giving pride of place in their research to the critical analysis of the authenticity, genuineness or falsity of the deeds, complementing this with the inventory of collections and the critical edition of the documents originating from the chancelleries of the counts and the first kings of Portugal (Azevedo 1927; Costa 1975 and 1979). It is therefore not surprising that, until the 1970s, there was a close relationship, in terms of academic studies, between diplomacy (Ribeiro 1810-1836; Reuter 1938 and Azevedo 1940a and 1940b), paleography (Costa 1976), archivism (Azevedo 1927), medieval literature studies (Cintra 1963), and research about the Portuguese historical and linguistic space (Cintra 1958 and 1959) from the origins of the Portuguese nationality to the consolidation of the monarchy (Azevedo 1958 and Costa 1979), bearing in mind the chronological period that was preferentially studied, the 12th to the 13th centuries. The main results of the studies undertaken until that point are systematized in the historiographic syntheses published in recent years (Coelho 2000 and Homem 2005).

A new phase in the study of royal diplomacy, in its close links with medieval chancelleries, was marked by the appearance of a "new" generation of scholars (from the 1980s onwards), a stage that can be broken down into two distinct but related areas of research and study:

- the publication of collections of royal documents, including the publication of all the Portuguese medieval chancelleries, under the coordination and initial academic supervision of A. H. de Oliveira Marques (1933-2007) and later of João José Alves Dias, from the Centre of Historical Studies of the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the New University of Lisbon; and
- the systematic exploration of the records of the royal chancelleries in close conjunction with royal diplomacy, e.g. the identification of the different types of charters through the critical analysis of the deeds issued by the chancellery services, with a view to determining the spheres of intervention of the State's agents. This aspect is expressed in the consolidation of the alliance between royal diplomacy and the history of the State in the Middle Ages (Homem 1981 and 1984).

The study of the first of the areas mentioned began in 1984 as part of a long-term project centered on preparing the publication of the collections of royal documents housed in the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo. Emphasis was laid on the publication of the registers of the royal chancelleries, later extending to the minutes of the *Cortes* and the publication of regulations and

¹ The bibliography referred to here brings together those Portuguese and foreign studies and articles that we consider illustrative of the lines of research discussed in this article. The bibliography of each author is ordered in chronological fashion, from the most recent to the oldest study, respecting the norms of the Harvard system of reference. We apologize here for any omission that may exist in relation to other important works.

legislative compilations, e.g. the *Ordenações Manuelinas* (first published in 1512-1513). This project was also geared towards the editing, critical presentation and publication of indexes of the main collections of Portuguese medieval royal documents, from the reign of Afonso III (1248-1279) to that of Manuel I (1495-1521). In fact, this aspect of seeking to publish collections of medieval royal documents can be seen as an activity that is designed to complete the work begun by Rui de Azevedo (1940a and 1958) and continued by Avelino de Jesus da Costa (1975). It is a task that will prove enormously useful for the scholars of the Middle Ages, representing the recovery of an interest in this historical period at Portuguese universities, and, in some ways, expressing the growing dynamism of the research being undertaken into the Middle Ages in Portugal.

The second area of research also follows in the wake of the works produced in the preceding period, which we have already mentioned (Azevedo 1958 and Costa 1979, to be precise), and it is directed towards producing an in-depth analysis of the royal chancellery as the State archive. One of the central aims of this line of research is to gain greater knowledge about the activity of the men of power through the systematic examination of the chancellery records, as we have already stated.

The studies about royal chancelleries that have been undertaken in the meantime have made it possible to establish a typology of the deeds produced by the royal chancellery, particularly in the 14th and 15th centuries.

We now know today that there is no uniformity in the chancellery records of the medieval Peninsular kingdoms. Just as there were various medieval Spains, there are also essential differences to be found in what has remained by way of records of the administrative procedures undertaken by the kings of Aragon, Castile and Navarre and, in the same way, between these records and those of the kings of Portugal. Furthermore, even in the same kingdom there were periods in which the records were less organized, as opposed to other periods in which there was greater regularity in the procedures and routines of the chancellery, with the records being organized by years, and within these one also finds the parchment ledgers organized by months (Homem, Duarte and Mota 1991). In this way, an assessment of the processes followed in the recording and storage of Portuguese medieval royal documents allows us to put forward the suggestion that there were many different situations that can frequently be explained by a variety of factors, namely the vicissitudes of history, and the archival purposes of the State or of the curator of the Archive of the Torre do Tombo.

In this context, we consider it pertinent at this moment to undertake a synthesis of the main evolutionary characteristics of the records of the royal chancellery throughout the Middle Ages (Coelho and Homem 1995), seeking to explain the difficulties and the advantages awaiting all those studying the main repository of the political action of the Portuguese medieval princes. The evolution of the records of the Portuguese royal chancellery is currently divided into three distinct periods (Coelho and Homem 1995):

A first period corresponds to the beginning of the activity of the production of written records, a period that coincides with the administration of the Counts Dom Henrique and Dona Teresa (1095), Afonso Henriques (1139-1185), the first king of Portugal and Sancho I (1185-1217), his son. The royal documents of this period were studied and catalogued by Rui de Azevedo and Avelino de Jesus da Costa (1940a and 1975, respectively).

A second *foundational* period arises from the appearance of a first ledger at the chancellery containing documents relating to the final years of the reign of Afonso II (1217-1221). This was followed by a period of disorganization in the chancellery services, at least until the reign of Sancho II (1223-1248);

A third and final period corresponds to a *refoundational* cycle at the chancellery, beginning in the reign of Afonso III (1248-1279) and continuing until the reign of João II (1481-1495). This cycle marks a greater maturity in the archive services, as can be seen in the recording, storage and execution of a growing number of deeds. During this phase, the services of the royal chancellery were performed more smoothly and were not subject to phenomena that lay outside the normal practice of the chancellery as the hub of the kingdom's central administration. In our view, this fact remains inseparable from the process of consolidation of the State apparatus in the late Middle Ages.

Despite this fact, the chancellery records from this period were subject to the historical vicissitudes linked to a *reform process* that began in the mid-15th century, with the underlying idea being to select only the documents that were to be definitively conserved, in keeping with the instructions of the monarch Afonso V (1439-1481). The man who was placed in charge of selecting the documents that would have some archival value was Gomes Eanes de Zurara (1410-1474), a royal chronicler and

the keeper of the Archive of the Torre do Tombo. The process of reorganizing the oldest records of the royal chancellery was, at the time, justified by the fact that many records were damaged and illegible, giving rise to the appearance of new volumes that were given the name of *reformed records*. In keeping with the orders of the monarch and following criteria for the assessment, selection and expurgation of records that were valid at that time, Gomes E. de Zurara submitted the old ledgers of the royal chancellery to a process of triage that was considered to be an extremely violent one if we take into account the criteria that are normally followed in current archival practices.

The reform of the records of the royal chancellery undertaken in the 1450s, 1460s and 1470s undervalued the importance of many of the acts that had been entered in them, with only a summary being kept of the others, so that there were few *reformed records* kept of charters that actually conserved all of their diplomatic components. Consequently, most of the documents of the *reformed records* either do not contain the *escatocolo*² of the original deed or else omit part of it. In the *reformed records*, the summarized royal charters cannot be used in the study of royal officialdom. Despite everything, the reorganization of the transcription of the deeds into new books was carried out with different levels of intensity, with some of the *original records* having been conserved in a “complete” form. For the benefit of all those studying the 15th century, the process of assessing, selecting and eliminating *original records* was applied to records prior to 1438.

For the period after 1438, corresponding to the reigns of Afonso V (1439-1481) and João II (1481-1495), the records that have survived until the present day are the *original records*. In the *original records* there is a greater correspondence between the deeds that were produced and those that have been conserved, and the registration of the deeds follows criteria that allow us to make the respective classification by type and the identification in the *escatocolo* of those taking part in the act, as well as the date of its bureaucratic dispatch.

The studies undertaken at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto from 1970 to 2005, which we will discuss in section 1.2.1, examined the royal chancelleries of the 14th and 15th centuries, or, in other words, they worked with both *reformed records* and *original records*, sensibly overcoming the main problems posed by the heterogeneity of the records of the Portuguese royal chancelleries. The systematic examination of the records of the royal chancelleries led to the appearance of “new” themes and called for the perspectives of the different approaches to be updated. As far as royal diplomacy is concerned, there was a movement towards the study of the royal *charter*, as a quintessential legal document of the bureaucratic activity of the Prince and the respective group of officials cooperating in his business (Homem 1994), making it possible to analyze the different types of legislative acts: the study of the law as an expressive form of the exercise of royal power (Homem, 1999a and 2005; Nogueira: 2006). At the same time, equal importance was given to establishing the typological classification of the acts performed at the meetings of the three Estates, commonly known as the *Cortes* (Sousa 1990a), in order to understand the dynamism of the activity of the Prince’s governance with his main interlocutors represented at the general meetings of the common people.³

Consequently, the interest in improving knowledge of the genesis of the royal chancellery and in establishing the criteria for analyzing legal documents (original form, copies, analysis of contents, determination of diplomatic types) led to the study of the list of matters in which the Prince’s servants intervened, in an attempt to explain the various factors that could reveal the priorities of the royal administration.

Among the main perspectives of the research into the records of the royal chancellery undertaken in the last four decades, mention should be made of the following: the movement around the country of the royal retinue (Rodrigues 1978; Moreno 1976b and 1988) and the consequent itinerancy of royal officialdom (Henriques 2001); the characterization of the official royal letters and the spheres of bureaucratic intervention, complemented by the definition of the classification of the royal acts (Homem 1990a; Mota 1989 and Freitas 2001); the examination of the chancellery sources from the perspective of the official memory of the State (Homem, Duarte and Mota 1991); the critical analysis of the contents of the royal charters from the point of view of the study of the forms typically

² The *escatocolo* or final protocol is the documentary part of the royal charter which states the date and the topographical and chronological details, as well as showing the signs of its validation: underwriting, signatures or seals.

³ A historiographic review of the history of the Portuguese parliament can be found in Duarte 2003.

prescribed for their writing, their discursive content and their respective importance for the Prince; the study of the different forms of record keeping, distinguishing the complete deeds from the legal documents drawn up in an abbreviated form (*ementas*)⁴ (Freitas 2001); the systematic compilation of biographical details or prosopographic catalogues of the political personnel (Homem 1990a; Mota 1989; Freitas 1996 and 2001); the study of the secularization of the royal bureaucracy (Homem 1990a; Freitas 2006); the places and territories of power (Sabatier and Gomes 1998; Freitas 2006a); the relationship between the different sectors of bureaucracy and the rates at which documents were produced in the 14th and 15th centuries (Homem 1990; Mota 1989; Freitas 2001), amongst other themes and problems that we shall analyze in detail in the following sections.

At the same time, there has been an increase in the diplomatic analysis of the public acts performed at the offices of lay notaries (Sá-Nogueira 2008) – the *tabelionado* – and a similar increase in the number of studies made of ecclesiastical chancelleries, especially those to be found at Episcopal and monastic institutions (Gomes 2007; Cunha 2005; Morujão 2005), although these are not in fact analyzed in this review. In the same way, studies have been developed in the field of paleography, centered on the characterization of the evolution of writing (Santos 1994), the formal aspects of the documents and the conditions under which the manuscripts were stored and conserved (Santos 2001).⁵

1.2. Political Society/(ies), elite(s) and the medieval origins of the Modern State

The resurrection of the studies of Political History and consequently of the medieval political societies in Portugal has been linked in particular to the foreign influences deriving from the triumph of the *political* and the return of an interest in the medieval State in Europe, from the mid-20th century onwards, amongst French and Anglo-American politologists. A first phase was marked by the influence of the work written by Raymond Cazelles (1917-1985), *Société politique et la crise de la royauté sous Philippe de Valois*, published in 1958, together with the publication of the studies produced by Roland Mousnier (1907-1993), in the 1950s and 1960s, about the political realities of modern France in the 16th and 18th centuries (Mousnier 1964, 1979 and 1980), as well as the reference work compiled by Bernard Guenée, *L'Occident aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles. Les États*, dating from 1971. In the same year, René Fédou published a synthetic study that enjoyed widespread dissemination in Portugal: *L'État au Moyen Age*; a year later Philippe Contamine wrote the work *Guerre, État et Société à la fin du Moyen Age* (1972), in which he undertook an analysis of the relationship between the improvement of the State apparatus at the end of the Middle Ages and the changes in military organization and strategy. Shortly afterwards, the best-known work of the American medievalist Joseph Reese Strayer was published: *As Origens Medievais do Estado Moderno (On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State)*, (1969), in which he defined the founding elements of the model of the *modern* State in the Middle Ages. At the level of political ideas, and especially in relation to works dedicated to the analysis of the contemporary State, mention should be made of the influence of the work *Sociologie de l'État* by Bertrand Badie and Pierre Birnbaum, dating from 1979, in which the Marxist idea that the state and its bureaucracy are merely the expression of the ideas of the ruling class is refuted. Badie and Birnbaum consider that the State is a reality that is dated historically and situated geographically. In Western Europe, this concept is sufficiently revealing of the tendency to adopt a sociological approach to the State.

As far the paths of the *new* European medieval political history is concerned, Bernard Guenée moves away from the traditional emphasis on ideology in the historiographic approach, pointing out the general lines of evolution of this specific area of knowledge (Guenée 1976). For Guenée, the historiography of the *political* has gradually progressed and reached a safe place amongst the community of historians since the 1950s and 1960s, having as its main object of study the State and its servants (Guenée 1976 and 1995). Its success is measured by the ever greater volume of studies undertaken from different approaches; as he mentions, a *history of political geography* (the study of States

⁴ “*Ementa*” is a term that derives from the Latin and means “note,” “main idea,” “written record;” or, in other words, it directs our attention to a summarized text or one that has been reduced to its essential points. In the Middle Ages, it was customary to transcribe the official documents with similar protocols in a summarized form (Marques, 1985: 362-363).

⁵ For more information about this subject, besides the essay that has been mentioned, see Coelho *et al.* 2001a.

and administrative divisions) was followed by the *history of political societies* (the study of the groups of men who held power, the tensions and the political activity of the leaders), culminating in the *history of political mentalities* (the analysis of social and political groups, the definition of pressure groups and the formation of public opinion). Bernard Guenée firstly (1976), and then later Philippe Contamine (1998), encouraged the spread amongst medievalists of the use of the concept of *political societies* in the plural, in which they include not only the study of the structures and the functioning of the institutions of the medieval State, but also the study of the political agents and the social power groups. In B. Guenée's work, we can detect a call for attention to be paid to the "new" political history, whose academic orientation and research problems have moved away from political events *tout court*, as well as from the so-called traditional history of a political, biographical and factual nature, which was the subject of intense and prolonged criticism from the *Annales School* in the period between the two world wars. In only two generations of medievalists, and after overcoming the accusations systematically leveled against it by Marxist, structuralist and *Annalist* historians in the 1930s and 1940s, as we have mentioned, the *new* political history triumphed and became humanized! Political history became geared towards the study of men, being interested in knowing more about the history of the life of all those who took part in the building of the State, reached top positions in the administrative bodies, were rewarded with favors in return for the services that they rendered to the kings, participated in military actions or in the collection of taxes, guaranteed the dispensation of justice and helped to keep the peace, and who did their best for the common good. In this undertaking, the politologists had to depend on the help of a peculiar method of study – the prosopographic method (Millet 1985b; Autrand 1986). This method allows for the construction of collective biographies, the study of groups that are defined politically and socially (Millet 1988).

These are the men who are of interest to the modern-day historian of the *political*. These are the men who achieved the status of belonging to the elite: a minority that governed in the face of a majority of the people that were ruled by them. It cannot be forgotten that the original semantic sense of the word "elite" was founded on the idea of the *exercise of power*. The theory of elites developed in political sociology and historical sociology tells us that the concept of "elite" originally occurred in the singular, in opposition to the Marxist doctrines that defended the idea of mass movements; consequently, the plural and heterogeneous use of "elites" met with considerable resistance and took some time to become established amongst the community of historians (Leferme-Falguières and Van Renterghem 2001). Despite all the difficulties encountered, the 1980s marked the beginning, throughout Western Europe, of a period dedicated to the study of the most diverse elites: aristocratic, municipal, ecclesiastic, artistic, literary, amongst others.⁶ Nowadays, the notion of elite has a plural use. Consequently, the concept of "elite" has ceased to be used exclusively to describe those who exercise power. In Portugal, the use of this term has gradually emerged amongst the community of medievalists, making it possible to provide a first review of the research dedicated to the theme in the 1980s and 1990s, under the title: *Elites e redes clientelares na Idade Média: Problemas Metodológicos* (Barata 2001), following the review presented in 1996 by Jean-Philippe Genet and Günther Lottes entitled *L'État moderne et les élites. Apports et limites de la méthode prosopographique*. In this way, a new purpose was built for the "new" political history, which was able to readjust the prism through which its main subject matter was approached – the State and the political body that it represented.⁷ We have gradually been moving towards the history of political ideas, the representations, the ceremonies, the myths and ideas of power, the propaganda and the legitimization. In other words, political history has been gradually moving towards the history of *political cultures and mentalities*. In the 1980s, the international recognition of this new way of looking at the *political* was expressed in an innovative work and project: *Les Lieux de mémoire*, by Pierre Nora (1984-1993), which provides a clear reflection on the French nation. 1984 saw the launch of the international program of research led by Jean Philippe Genet and Wim Blockmans, dealing with the problematics of the *Prosopographie et Genèse de l'État moderne* and setting in motion a wide-ranging plan of research into the medieval origins of the *Modern State* from the 13th to the 17th century.⁸ Very recently, as we have said, there has been an

⁶ In the final bibliography, references are made to those studies undertaken in Portugal between 1970 and 2005, which we consider come closest to this perspective of analysis.

⁷ On the developments of the "modern State" in Portuguese historiography, see Homem 1999c: 63-76.

⁸ The lines of development of the European project can be seen in *Prosopographie et genèse de l'Etat Moderne* (1986). Ed. Françoise Autrand, Paris: ENSJF.

increase in the studies on the political cultures of social groups connected with the State, and some works that are representative of this trend have come to light: *La genèse de l'État moderne: Culture et société politique en Angleterre* (2006) and *Du contrat d'alliance au contrat politique. Cultures et sociétés politiques dans la péninsule ibérique à la fin du Moyen Âge* (2007).

In Portugal, the history of the central and local powers and their officials was initially dealt with in the 3rd quarter of the 19th century/first half of the 20th century, by Abel Andrade (1866-1958) and Henrique da Gama Barros (1833-1925), both of whom had a positivist background and were prone to see the subject from a legal viewpoint, respectively studying the royal power in the 12th to the 14th centuries (Andrade 1892) and the history of the public administration in the 12th to the 15th centuries (Barros 1885-1923). Later, in the first half of the 20th century, attention is drawn to the work of Manoel Paulo Mêrea (1888-1977), who examined medieval political institutions. In the same way, Torquato de Sousa Soares (1903-1988) distinguished himself with the study of municipal institutions (Soares 1931 and 1935), in which he was followed by Marcello Caetano (1906-1980), a historian with a legal background (Caetano 1951 and 1953) and Maria Teresa Campos Rodrigues (1968). Since the early 1980s, the study of local government has gradually been replaced by research into municipal powers, urban societies and elites (Coelho 1995b), with the most notable achievement in this field being the model of the medieval city systematized by António Henrique de Oliveira Marques (1982 and 1988), further complemented by the approaches developed by Iria Gonçalves (1985) and by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Joaquim Romero Magalhães (1986), all of whom were followed by a younger generation of historians⁹. At the same time, the royal itineraries (Moreno 1976b and 1988), crises of the State (Moreno 1976a), social and political tensions (Moreno 1985) and the history of Portuguese municipalities (1986) were afforded special attention by Humberto Baquero Moreno. Approaching the question from a similar viewpoint, mention should be made of the study by Luís Adão da Fonseca of the political importance of the figure of the Constable Dom Pedro (1982), as well as the work by José Marques on the relationship between the ecclesiastic power and the royal power (1988).¹⁰

From the 1970s onwards, the directions taken by research also led to the study of the History of Law, the State and political institutions (Hespanha 1972 and 1978 in particular),¹¹ the history of government and royal offices (Homem 1974) and, a little later on, the history of the Portuguese medieval parliament (Sousa 1983 and 1989). More recently, there has been a study of the representations and rituals of power (Sousa 1999; Gomes 1999) and the development of a social history of war (Monteiro 1998 and 2003; Duarte 2003 and Barroca 2003).

What has just been said is justified by the chronological proximity and respective dissemination in Portugal of the thematic guidelines governing research abroad. In effect, the modern currents of the European historiography of the *political*, particularly that which was being produced in France and in Anglo-American academies, only began to affect Portuguese medievalists in an incisive and striking fashion from the 1970s onwards.

In this context, one can understand the introduction of the discipline of *Institutional and Political History (5th-15th Centuries)*, in the academic year of 1978/79, into the curricula of the History courses at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto (FLUP), the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon (FLUL), the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the New University of Lisbon (FCSH-UNL) and the Faculty of Letters of the University of Coimbra (FLUC), as well as the opening, at the Master's degree level, of the seminars in *State and Institutions in the Late Middle Ages* at FLUP, in 1986/87, under the responsibility of Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem and of the seminar in *Representative Institutions*, in 1988/89, under the responsibility of Armindo de Sousa, at the same University, contributing to the promotion and increased interest in the studies of political history *tout court* and drawing attention to the relationships that were to be established between powers, in the plural. At these seminars, new lines of research were followed in areas such as medieval institutions (central and local), social conflicts, political elites and representative powers, the elites of the royal

⁹ Among the many works that have dealt with the study of municipal powers and urban political elites, attention is drawn in particular to Beirante 1980; Gomes 1987; Silva 1987; Conde 1988; Vilar, 1988, Andrade 1990, Costa 1993 and others referred to in the final bibliography of this review. On this subject, see the historiographic review in Coelho 1998: 49-62.

¹⁰ In which he was followed by Ventura 1997 and Vilar 1999, in particular.

¹¹ Although Hespanha is a "modernist," the perspectives put forward in the studies mentioned were highly influential in renewing the history of politics in the Middle Ages.

bureaucracy and prosopography, especially in the Late Middle Ages. This return to the study of the *political* as a privileged area of historical knowledge was indissociably linked to the dissemination in Portugal of the movement for the rehabilitation of medieval political history that was taking place in France (Guenée 1971; Contamine 1972; Autrand 1981; Millet 1982; Krynen 1981; Genet 1990).

To end this section, stress should be laid on the central importance of the semantic evolution displayed in transferring the use of concepts from the singular to the plural, in particular the transformation of “political society” into “political societies,” “power” into “powers” and, finally, “elite” into “elites.” A corresponding semantic evolution also seems to us to have taken place in relation to the expression “political history,” now referred to in modern parlance as the history of the *political*, directing attention not only to the return of the *political* into the history of the Middle Ages, but also to other viewpoints and lines of research that include within themselves a *new political*, which we shall discuss in the following sections.

1.2.1 Themes and problems

The study of the royal power with a view to improving our knowledge of the departments of the central administration, the identification of the holders of public office and the areas of government intervention based on the diplomatic analysis of the deeds drawn up at the royal chancelleries of the 14th and 15th centuries, together represent the central theme of all the research that we shall be analyzing in the next few paragraphs.

In the early 1970s, the central administration began to be seen as an object of specific study in a work entitled: *Aspectos da administração portuguesa no reinado de D. Pedro I* (1974), by Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem. In this pioneering work, the author stresses the functional aspects of the government of Pedro I (1357-1367), with his source of information being the records of the royal chancellery, which he used to determine the structure, functioning and evolution of the decision-making bodies during that period. His work provides a systematic analysis of the records of the royal chancellery, seeking to identify the royal services (the different sectors of the central administration), as well as to identify the royal officials and determine their respective roles as political agents. The choice of the reign of Dom Pedro I was a deliberate one. All that remains to describe the administrative activity of the servants of this monarch is just one ledger of the *reformed records*. In fact, this was one of the smallest chancelleries, in the context of the Portuguese royal chancelleries as a whole, a situation that made it possible to undertake a preliminary exploratory research project, further complemented by the analysis of the two sets of regulations published by the king Pedro I in 1361 about the functioning of the “*Desembargo*” (High Court) that heard the petitions that arrived at the court, at a time when we still had access to legislative compilations. On the subject of the disciplinary activity relating to the functioning of the central bureaucracy, enshrined in these regulations, the same author republished the above-mentioned work under the title – *Subsídios para o estudo da Administração Central no reinado de D. Pedro I* (1978) – in which he successively presents “*the existing positions and their holders, in order to next examine both the way in which the Administration functioned and its evolution throughout the king’s reign*” (Homem 1978: 8). Or, in other words, the author combined the study of the activity of the royal bureaucrats with the study of the regulations promulgated by the king in the early years of his reign, assessing the impact that such legislation had on bureaucratic activity.

Subsequently, in his PhD thesis, the author went deeper into the already mentioned problematics, having performed a systematic survey of the records of the royal documentation relating to the period from 1320 to 1433, although he did, however, update the perspectives for approaching this subject. The authors referred to in this work were, in particular, Bernard Guenée, Jean Glenisson, Françoise Autrand, and Philippe Contamine in regard to the various dimensions of the history of the State and its agents; and there is also a mention of the work by Robert-Henri Bautier in relation to the study of the Royal chancelleries (Homem 1990: 11-17). The work was based on the systematic study of the acts recorded in ledgers that were, in the main, subjected to a selective reorganization in the mid-16th century, the records of the *Zurara reform*, which we have already talked about. The historical period that is examined includes the final years of the reign of Dinis, 1320-1325, and the reigns of Afonso IV (1325-1357), Pedro I (1357-1367), Fernando I (1367-1383) and João I (1385-1433). In it are identified the categories and posts of the officials signing the entries in the ledgers and their respective *cursus honorum* in the bureaucracy, as well as the forms of recruitment of the royal officials. The work also studies the secularization of the administrative structures, detecting the phases of the

institutionalization of the offices and the regularization of the administrative *praxis*, together with a questioning of the existence of the genealogical transmission of offices (patrimonialization). At the end, this work results in the compilation of 240 micro-biographies of the notaries who underwrote the charters issued by the chancellery (Homem 1990).

Based on the proficient lines of research developed in the already mentioned work,¹² but reflecting on the most recent European guidelines for research into the *political* in the Middle Ages, especially those emanating from the French school, Eugénia Pereira da Mota embarked upon the compilation of a pioneering prosopographic catalogue about the notaries who underwrote the royal charters between 1481 and 1483, analyzing the respective political and administrative activity from the end of the reign of Afonso V (1439-1481) to the early years of the reign of João II (1481-1495) and attempting to detect signs of change in the bureaucratic structures and the organization of the State in the late Middle Ages. Once again, the question is raised about the chancellery sources, since this was a time for which there was an abundance of *original records*. A time when the number of documents produced was almost the same as the number of records conserved, confronting the historian of political institutions with the problem of managing the “excessive” volume of documentation available. In fact, quantity does not always equal quality as the quantity of documents dispatched and recorded in the ledgers was close to the effective total number, but this reflects a new reality: that of the specialization of the administrative services, which led to a typological uniformity. Robert-Henri Bautier had drawn attention to this fact: the increase in the volume of acts recorded at the medieval royal chancelleries was accompanied by a reduction in the number of different types of deeds issued (Bautier 1964). At the turn of the 14th to the 15th century, the royal chancellery specialized in the treatment of questions of graces and favors, in particular charters *endowing property and rights, privileges in general, appointments to royal offices and pardons*, as a result of the distribution of the administrative activity amongst departments or services that specialized in the resolution of financial questions (the *Casa dos Contos* of Lisbon, institutionalized during the reign of João I) and the consolidation of the sphere of activity of the higher courts: the *Casa do Cível*, which was established permanently in Lisbon from the second quarter of the 15th century onwards and the *Casa da Suplicação*, which accompanied the king on his travels from region to region, having its own body of officials (Albuquerque 1982). Each of these departments of the royal bureaucracy was responsible for undertaking specialized activity. Between the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century, these sectors of the bureaucracy had their own ledgers for recording the royal acts and their respective deeds. In turn, the chancellery specialized in the registration of a certain type of records, with many of them having since been silenced through reforms and/or adjustments. Consequently, Eugénia Mota (1989) compiled a voluminous documentary corpus of over one and a half thousand documents per year, but this was fairly unrepresentative of the activity of the sectors of the royal finances and the dispensation of royal justice. Despite everything, the author managed to explain the impact of the change of king on the alteration of the human resources who worked in the higher echelons of the royal bureaucracy. With this work, Eugénia Mota proved the advantages of undertaking biographical macro-research (prosopography) and fostered the acceptance of prosopography as a method of analysis applied to the study of social and political groups. The work was completed at a time when improvements were being made to the method of prosopography as used by the French school (Millet 1988). It led to a greater dissemination of the prosopographic method in Portugal and its consequent application in the study of different elites: municipal, aristocratic, courtly, ecclesiastic, literary or artistic¹³.

Despite this “sudden” adherence to the method, the term “prosopography” remained throughout the 1980s a word of limited use in Portugal and was not so readily accepted in all the sectors of the community of medievalists. This fact is not particularly surprising, since, for example, for more than two decades my computer has insisted on not recognizing the expression, repeatedly alerting me to a spelling and semantic error... Anyway, it may be said that prosopography as a historiographic method applied to the study of elites proved to be fruitful initially amongst the community of medievalist politologists, and shortly afterwards amongst all those who devoted their attention to the analysis of social, political, religious or cultural groups.

¹² On the reappearance of political history in Portugal in the 1970s and 1980s, see, for all cases, Gomes 1989: 25-32.

¹³ Some reflections may be found on the possibilities offered by the use of the prosopographic method in Nogueira 1994; Oliveira 1994; Gomes 1995; Rodrigues 1996 and Pizarro 1999.

In a later work, Judite Gonçalves de Freitas (1996) undertook a similar study about the officialdom in the reign of Duarte, the king of Portugal between 1433 and 1438. The author worked with both *original records* and *reformed records* from the chancellery, having undertaken a reflection on the times when the written deeds were produced, recorded and conserved. As a further complement to this, she presented a pioneering approach to the royal scribes and made a study of the activity of the notaries underwriting these deeds, anticipating the question of the venality of the royal officials (embodied in the use of the *resignatio in favorem*). The works of Françoise Autrand, Hélène Millet, Jean-Philippe Genet, Neithard Bulst and Wolfgang Reinhard represented her main methodological bases, besides the studies that have already been highlighted. In her PhD thesis, the author analyzed the subsequent chronological period, the regency of the Infante Dom Pedro (1439-1449) and the first few years of the government of Afonso V (1449-1460), based on the compilation of two prosopographic catalogues: one relating to the officials who composed the entries (92 biographies) and another relating to the officials who recorded them in writing (315 biographies). For this purpose, she surveyed more than twenty thousand *original records* of the chancellery of Afonso V. The use of the prosopographic method allowed her to establish the socio-political profile of the officials working for the royal bureaucracy. Thus, she analyzed their social origins, levels of cultural education, types of career in the bureaucracy, professional performance and their age at the time of their access to positions of royal office, as well as the role of relations of patronage and nepotism in the obtaining of offices, having identified the models for the patrimonial transmission of the offices. At the same time, she carried out a critical analysis of the sources examined and defined the organigram of royal governance in the mid-fifteenth century (Freitas 2001).

Later, Vasco Vaz undertook an *ex professo* study of the scribes of João I (1385-1433) based on the production of a catalogue of micro-biographies that “*seeks to provide an overview of the group to which those whose biographies are written here belong, stressing what they have in common*” (Vaz 1995, vol. II: 1). Following the theoretical and methodological premises of preceding works, the author subdivides his approach to the chancellery into two main sections: “The Institution” and “The Men.” In the first section, he analyzes the bureaucratic circuit of the chancellery, investigating the difference between the legislated law and the law that was actually practiced. In the second section, he turns his attention to royal bureaucracies, stressing the increase that took place in the technical specialization of writing, the levels of activity of weekly and monthly production, the degree of specialization and the circuits that were frequented, with the aim of defining the social and political profile of the royal scribe.

For the study of the royal bureaucracy in the 1460s and 1470s during the reign of Afonso V (1439-1481), nine research works were undertaken, using the same methodological bases as the works analyzed previously.

The research undertaken by Ana Paula Almeida (1996) and Armando Borlido (1996) mark the beginning of a phase of production of monographs about a very brief period, one or two years in the operations of the High Court of Afonso V, corresponding to the same number of ledgers at the royal chancellery. This is why, for the purposes of compiling the prosopographic computer file, these studies considered the data obtained in the works mentioned earlier, completing them with the gathering of information in the published sources: the *Monumenta Henricina* (1960-1974), the *Chartularium Universitatis Portucalensis* (1966-1985), the chronicles of Fernão Lopes, Gomes Eanes de Zurara and Rui de Pina and other published medieval sources. These studies make an important contribution to the analysis of the codicological characteristics of the records of the royal chancellery, seeking to discover signs of organization of the chancellery in terms of both the form and the checking of the records, the appearance of signs of validation, the time(s) when the records were taken and the due payment of charges to the royal chancellery (Henriques, 2001). Similar efforts were made with regard to the study of the volume of documentary production (Monteiro 1997) and the distribution by type of the acts undertaken, classified according to the matters that were dealt with in them, based on the typological patterns of royal documents presented in earlier works (Homem 1985 and 1990; Mota 1989; Freitas 1996 and 2001). The main question raised by these studies is that of the impossibility of reconstituting the staff of servants of the royal bureaucracy and the *cursus honorum* of the individuals responsible for producing the deeds recorded in the ledgers of the royal chancellery, in view of the fact that they only relate to short periods. With the aim of overcoming this limitation, the studies turned their attention to describing and characterizing the chancellery as an archive, making both an internal and an external criticism of the main collection of documents relating to the period of governance of Afonso V (Henriques 2001). Consequently, the works that deal with short periods

undertake a detailed examination of the *original records* of the royal chancellery, analyzing the production and organization of manuscripts, the composition of the records in notebooks and ledgers and the routine procedures adopted by the services of the chancellery (Monteiro 1997; Durão 2002). Similarly, attempts have been made to investigate the possible relationships existing between the places where the deeds were drawn up and the establishment of the *places of power*, as a way of studying the settlement and implantation of the services of the royal bureaucracy and the central archives of the chancellery as an organ of government. A sub-group of the works studying the central offices of the royal administration, besides the subjects already referred to, is also dedicated to the study of the itinerancy of the different sectors of the bureaucracy, resulting in the drawing up of illustrative tables and graphs (Carvalho 2001; Capas 2001; Durão 2002). Others worked on defining the rhythms and working habits of the notaries and scribes (Ferreira 2001; Brito 2001). Almost all of them stress the participation of the royal bureaucrats in the council, in diplomatic missions and in war.

Thanks to this wide-ranging group of works, we can safely say today that the study of the political staff and the organizational structure of the services of royal governance has been satisfactorily made for the period from 1279 to 1483.

One of the most important pieces of research undertaken by the group of researchers mentioned was the preparation of biographical notes resorting to the definition of a prosopographic source accompanied by the respective computerized experimentation. It is this experiment that we shall now examine.

1.2.2 History, Prosopography and Information Technology

One of the distinctive aspects of the “new” history of the *political* lies in the use of modern research methods and working techniques. The use of prosopography as a method of historical research in Portugal dates back to the 1980s, as we have said, coinciding with a period of intense publication and dissemination of French and Anglo-American studies upon the subject.

The aim of prosopography is to collect a set of data originating from different sources about a pre-defined group of people (a micro-population) and organize it in a structured manner. This allows for factor analysis, i.e. the identification of correlations between the established variables, defining what the original variables have in common.

In the early 1970s, the English historian Lawrence Stone (1919-1999) relaunched discussions about the use of the prosopographic method, pointing out that the aim of prosopography is to collect multi-biographical data (collective biographies). This distinguishes it from biography which has as its aim to collect all the information available about one particular individual (Avezou 2001). For Stone, the purpose of prosopography is to produce a multi-biography (Stone 1971), which is to be created from a matrix that brings together the full set of correlations that are accepted as being essential for the analysis of the social group under study. In the prosopographic matrix, it is possible to identify sub-groups of variables that are closely correlated with one another (within each group) and have little association with other variables of other sub-groups. Stone drew attention to the usefulness of prosopographic analysis in the study of History and admitted the possibility of applying the techniques of prosopography to the study of common people, thus relieving it of its “elitist” dimension. In fact, in the 1980s, the application to the Social Sciences of developments in information technology made it possible for French and Anglo-Saxon historians to recognize in prosopography a privileged instrument for combining qualitative analysis and quantitative analysis (Millet 1985; Bulst 1989). In the 1990s, the prosopographic method underwent a genuine rebirth, becoming very popular amongst the communities of medievalists in western Europe.

Most of the studies about royal officialdom that were mentioned in the previous section made use of the prosopographic method, thus increasing Portuguese familiarity with the prosopographic style proposed by the French school (Millet 1985; Genet 1986; Autrand 1986; Genet and Lottes 1996).

The starting point for identifying the holders of royal posts and offices was the chancellery. The exhaustive survey of the chancellery records made it possible to identify the State servants whose names were written in the final protocol of the royal charters. The area(s) of government in which the agents of the royal power intervened were characterized through the recognition of the office shown in the charter (*escrivão da puridade* (private secretary), *chanceler-mor* (head chancellor), *desembargador* (high court judge), *corregedor da Corte* (magistrate at the king’s court), *ouvidores da Corte* (justices of the peace), *procuradores* (attorneys), *sobrejuizes* (superintendents) or others). A similar purpose was served by the

diplomatic classification of all the deeds drawn up with the aim of establishing the areas of bureaucratic specialization of the notaries who underwrote them (Exchequer, Justice, Grace and Favor, General Administration). At the very least, the information gathered together at the chancellery, after being fed into the database, makes it possible for us to know the length of time that the agents of the royal bureaucracy remained in office, their *cursus honorum* in the palace administration, their level of cultural education (bachelor's degree, licentiate or doctorate), their degree of bureaucratic specialization, their participation in the council and other dimensions of their political activity.¹⁴

The prosopographic method was originally applied to the study of the notaries underwriting documents (Homem 1991) and shortly afterwards to the chancellery scribes (Freitas 1996; Vaz 1995). The studies made of royal scribes follow a research methodology that is similar to the one developed for analyzing the bureaucratic activity of the higher placed agents of power. However, the volume of data available varies from individual to individual, and it is much more difficult to compile information about the dimensions of the active "political" life in the case of scribes as opposed to the officials who drew up the wording of the documents. This is one of the main limitations of prosopography, as has been underlined by several authors since the 1970s (Burke 1974).

As Hélène Millet states, "*Se lancer dans une étude prosopographique, c'est effectuer une suite de travaux dont l'ordre lui-même n'est pas indifférent. Il convient en premier lieu de collecter les informations sur les personnes, sans rien retrancher ni sélectionner*"¹⁵ (1985: 115). In this context, the studies made about the officials of the medieval royal chancelleries that we have referred to in previous sections examined all the information available in the original sources and in the published sources for the two groups of officials studied (notaries and scribes). The former sources include the so-called archive sources, in particular the records of the royal chancellery and the separate original sources. The latter include all the published medieval sources, namely genealogical sources, chronicle sources and documents originating from different areas of production. Consequently, scholars studying the royal officials have completed the information that they gathered from the main source – the royal chancellery – with the consultation of all the published medieval sources. The preparation of the prosopographic surveys took into account the whole of the information available for the two groups of higher placed agents in the royal bureaucracy (notaries and scribes). This is why underlying each of the items of the questionnaire are the quality and quantity of biographical information surveyed in all the sources examined for the group(s) of officials under analysis. In this way, it was possible to point out the similarities and differences in the political participation and the careers of the two socio-political groups.

The program of research into royal chancelleries developed by Portuguese scholars has established the following categories of data as the items to be included in the prosopographic catalogues of the upper elite of the bureaucracy (the notaries): years of service, social status and geographical position, family status, personal ties, social status, economic level, educational and cultural level, university career, military career, diplomatic career, career in the bureaucracy, activity as a notary, participation in the royal council, public life and private life (Mota 1989, vol. II: 15-17; Freitas 2001, vol. II: 373-374).¹⁶ In the case of the items established in the prosopographic catalogues of the scribes, the categories that were selected were those for which it was possible to gather together a significant set of information, namely years of service, career limits, social condition, economic condition, bureaucratic career (intensity of intervention, type of charters written and offices held) and personal ties (Vaz, 1995, vol. II: 3; Freitas 1996: 219).¹⁷

Both the compilation and the systematic organization of individual data in prosopographic catalogues correspond to what Jean-Philippe Genet calls a *metasource* (Genet 1986: 13). The *metasource* provides an organized distribution of the main questions that can be asked about all of the members of each of the groups under study. Consequently, the two main vectors of the prosopographic

¹⁴ A historiographic review about the relationship between prosopography and the history of the State can be found in Homem 1996: 29-37.

¹⁵ Carrying out a prosopographic study means performing a series of tasks, for which the order in which they are undertaken is of paramount importance. First of all, one must collect information about the people, without subtracting or selecting anything.

¹⁶ All of the studies on royal chancelleries that we referred to in section 1.2.1. applied the prosopographic method of inquiry proposed by these authors.

databases built by the scholars of the power elites of the late Middle Ages are the men and the documents (sources).

From what has been said, it can be seen that we distinguish the works that are accompanied by biographical information in which the narration of events and the succession of informative details is, to some extent, arbitrary from those works in which the information that has been gathered together follows a rigid organizational scheme, structured in the form of a prosopographic matrix. Nevertheless, we consider the possibility of there being a biographically informative text in which prosopography may be identified as an underlying “intellectual attitude,” namely in the way that the narrative details are selected and laid out, based on an identical set of questions, or, on more specific occasions, on particular concerns with quantification (Homem and Freitas 2001: 174-177).

The Master’s degree dissertations and PhD theses presented at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto about the agents of the royal bureaucracy (notaries and scribes) have brought together the data relating to more than a thousand such agents in the form of biographically informative texts and prosopographic catalogues. In this way, we can state that the paths of the royal bureaucracy and its agents have now been drawn from the end of the reign of Dinis (1320-1325) to the beginning of the reign of João II (1481-1483).

Conclusion

At the end of this text, it is important to stress the main approaches, knowing that these illustrate the main stages in the evolution of political history in Portugal over the last thirty years.

We began by stressing the alliance established by the “new” history of the *political* between the sources and the men. In this regard, the royal chancellery is seen as a documentary memory of the activity of the agents of the royal bureaucracy.

Next, we described the international framework of the studies about political societies in Portugal, bearing in mind the decisive influence of the historiography produced by French and Anglo-American scholars in enriching the problematics and in renewing the different perspectives for approaching classical themes from the historiography of the *political*.

Finally, we referred to the advantages of introducing prosopography into the study of the royal power and the upper elites of the bureaucracy in the 14th and 15th centuries, highlighting the increased possibilities for the treatment, exploration and correlation of data offered by the construction of prosopographic databases in considering the different aspects of the activity of the groups studied (notaries and scribes). This series of alliances gave rise to a renewal of the studies of political history in Portugal from the 1970s onwards, leading to the firm implantation of this field of study in the following decades. Currently the history of the *political* dominates important sectors in the production of Portuguese medieval historiography. For all of these reasons, we can look forward with confidence to moving, as Bernard Guenée has predicted, from “political societies” to “political cultures and mentalities.”

Bibliography

- Albuquerque, Martim de (1980). O Regimento Quatrocentista da Casa da Suplicação. In *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, XV, Paris: 7-9.
- Albuquerque, Ruy and Albuquerque Martim (2004). *História do Direito Português*, 2 vols., Lisbon: Edições Pedro Ferreira. (The first edition was published in 1983).
- Almeida, Ana Paula Godinho de (1996). *A Chancelaria régia e os seus oficiais em 1462*. Porto: Master’s degree dissertation, photocopied.
- Amaral, Luís Carlos, Duarte, Luís Miguel (1985). Os Homens que pagaram a Rua Nova (Fiscalidade, Sociedade e Organização Territorial no Porto Quatrocentista). *Revista de História do Centro de História da Universidade do Porto*, VI, Porto: 7-96.
- Andrade, Abel (1892). As Cortes Portuguesas. In *O Instituto*. Vol. 40, 2ª Série. Coimbra: 321-338.
- Andrade, Abel (1892). O Poder Real (Séculos XII a XIV). In *O Instituto*, vol. 40, 3ª série, Coimbra: 557-567.
- Andrade, Amélia Guiar (2000). *A Construção Medieval do Território*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.

- Andrade, Amélia Aguiar (1999). Estado, territórios e «administração régia periférica». In *A Génese do Estado Moderno no Portugal tardo-medieval. Séculos XIII-XV. Ciclo de Conferências*, ed. Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, Lisbon: Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa: 151-188.
- Andrade, Amélia Aguiar (1994). *Vilas, poder régio e fronteira: o exemplo do Entre Lima e Minho*. Lisbon: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, PhD thesis, photocopied.
- Andrade, Amélia Aguiar (1990). *Um Espaço urbano medieval: Ponte de Lima*. Lisbon, Livros Horizonte.
- Andrade, Amélia Aguiar (1987). Composição social e Gestão Municipal: o exemplo de Ponte de Lima na Baixa Idade Média. In *Ler História*, 10, Lisbon: 3-13.
- Andrade, Amélia Aguiar (1985). *Ponte de Lima: o espaço e as gentes (sécs. XIV-XV)*. Lisbon: Master's degree dissertation, photocopied.
- Andrade, Amélia Aguiar and Gomes, Rita Costa (1983-84). As cortes de 1481-82: uma abordagem preliminar. In *Estudos Medievais*, n.ºs 3/4, Porto: 151-212.
- Arnaut, Salvador Dias (1993). O Infante D. Pedro, Senhor de Penela. In *Biblos*, LXIX: 173-217.
- Arnaut, Salvador Dias (1989). D. Fernando: o Homem e o Governante. *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, 2.ª Série, 32/1: 9-33.
- Arnaut, Salvador Dias (1987). D. João I, Grande Rei, Grande Reinado. In *Aljubarrota: 600 anos, Ciclo de Conferências da Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal*, s.l. [Lisbon]: 351-363.
- Arnaut, Salvador Dias (1960). *A crise nacional dos fins do século XIV – I- A sucessão de D. Fernando*, Coimbra. *Arqueologia do Estado. Comunicações* (1988), 2 vols., Lisbon: História & Crítica.
- Autrand, Françoise (1986). Y-a-t'il une prosopographie de l'Etat Médiéval? In : *Prosopographie et Genèse de l'État moderne. [Texte imprimé] actes de la table ronde*. Paris 22-23 octobre 1984, Paris, ENSJF : 117-130.
- Autrand, Françoise (1981). *Naissance d'un grand corps de l'État. Les gens du Parlement de Paris. 1345-1454*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.
- Avezou, Laurent (2001). La Biographie. Mise au point méthodologique et historiographique. In : *Hypothèses*, Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne: 13-24.
- Azevedo, Pedro (1927). Linhas gerais da História Diplomática em Portugal. Offprint from *O Instituto*, vol. 74, n.º 2, Coimbra: 46 pp.
- Azevedo, Pedro (1915). *Documentos das Chancelarias reais relativos a Marrocos anteriores a 1531*. Tomo I (1415-1450). Lisbon: Academia das Sciencias.
- Azevedo, Pedro (1913). A Chancelaria de D. Afonso V. In *Boletim da Segunda Classe da Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa*, vol. VI, fasc.1, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade: 180-199.
- Azevedo, Rui de (1962). Documentos medievais portugueses, Documentos régios, vol I, Documentos dos condes portugueses e de D. Afonso Henriques, A. D. 1095 - 1185, Tomo II, Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História.
- Azevedo, Rui de (1958). Documentos medievais portugueses. Documentos régios, vol.1, Documentos dos condes portugueses e de D. Afonso Henriques, A. D. 1095 - 1185, Tomo I, Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História.
- Azevedo, Rui de (1940a). A Chancelaria régia portuguesa nos séculos XII e XIII. In *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*. Coimbra, 14: 31-80.
- Azevedo, Rui de (1940b). *Documentos Medievais Portugueses. Documentos particulares*. Vol. IV., t. I, Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História.
- Azevedo, Rui de (1927). *Documentos falsos de Santa Cruz de Coimbra (séculos XII e XIII)*. Lisbon.
- Azevedo, Rui de; Costa, Avelino de Jesus da e Pereira, Marcelino Rodrigues (1979). *Documentos de D. Sancho I (1174-1211)*. Vol. 1, Coimbra: Centro de História da Universidade.
- Barroca, Mário; Duarte, Luís Miguel and Monteiro, João Gouveia (2003). *Nova História Militar de Portugal*. dir. Manuel Themudo Barata and Nuno Severiano Teixeira, vol. I, coord. José Mattoso, Mem Martins: Círculo de Leitores.
- Barros, Henrique da Gama (1885-1934). *Historia da administração pública em Portugal nos séculos XII a XV*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional. 2nd edition published in 1950, edited by Torquato de Sousa Soares, Ts. I-III, Lisbon, Livraria Sá da Costa.
- Beirante, Maria Ângela Godinho Vieira da Rocha (1995). *Évora na Idade Média*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica. The photocopied edition dates from 1988.
- Beirante, Maria Ângela Godinho Vieira da Rocha (1980). *Santarém Medieval*. Lisbon, Universidade Nova de Lisboa: Master's degree dissertation photocopied.
- Bethencourt, Francisco and Curto, Diogo Ramada, ed. (1991). *A Memória da Nação. Actas do Colóquio*. Lisbon: Sá da Costa.
- Borlido, Armando Paulo Carvalho (1996). *A Chancelaria Régia e os seus oficiais em 1463*. Porto: Master's degree dissertation, photocopied.
- Branco, Maria João Violante (1999). *Poder Real e Eclesiásticos: A evolução do conceito de soberania régia e a sua relação com a praxis política de Sancho I e Afonso II*, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, photocopied.
- Branco, Maria João Violante (1997). *Aveiro Medieval*. Aveiro: Câmara Municipal.

- Brito, Isabel Carla Moreira de (2001). *A burocracia régia tardo-afonsina: a administração central e os seus oficiais em 1476*. Porto: Master's degree dissertation, photocopied.
- Bulst, Neithard (1989). Prosopography and the Computer: Problems and Possibilities. In *History and Computing II*, ed. Peter Denley *et al.*, Manchester: 12- 18.
- Bulst, Neithard and Genet, Jean-Philippe, ed. (1988). *La ville, la bourgeoisie et la genèse de l'État Moderne (XIIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris : CNRS.
- Burke, Peter (1991). *Veneza e Amsterdão: um estudo das elites do século XVII*. São Paulo: Brasiliense. Original edition: *Venice and Amsterdam: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Elites*, London, Temple Smith. 1974.
- Caetano, Marcello (1981). *História do Direito Português. Fontes – Direito Público (1140-1495)*. Lisbon: Editorial Verbo.
- Caetano, Marcello (1953). O concelho de Lisboa na crise de 1383-1385. In *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História*. II série, volume I, Lisbon: 179-247.
- Caetano, Marcello (1954). *As Cortes de Leiria de 1254*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História.
- Caetano, Marcello (1951). *A administração municipal de Lisboa durante a 1ª Dinastia: 1179-1383*. 2ª ed., Lisbon, 1981.
- Capas, Hugo Alexandre Ribeiro (2001). *A Chancelaria régia e os seus oficiais no ano de 1469*. Porto: Master's degree dissertation, photocopied.
- Carvalho, António Eduardo Teixeira de (2001). *A Chancelaria régia e os seus oficiais em 1468*, Porto: Master's degree dissertation, author's edition.
- Cazelles, Raymond (1958). *Société politique et la crise de la royauté sous Philippe de Valois*. Paris: Librairie d' Argence.
- Chancelaria de D. Afonso III* (2006). Ed. Leontina Ventura and António Resende de Oliveira, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade.
- Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Afonso IV* (1990-1992). 3 Vols, (1325-1344), Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica / Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Pedro I (1357-1367)* (1984). Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica / Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. João I.* (2004). Vol. I, Tomo 1 (1384-1385). Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. João I.* (2005). Vol. I, Tomo 2 (1385-1386). Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. João I.* (2005). Vol. II, Tomo 1 (1386-1392). Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. João I* (2005). Vol. II. Tomo 2 (1392-1402). Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. João I* (2005). Vol. II, Tomo 3, (1402-1407). Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Duarte* (1998). Vol. I : 1 Tomo, (1433-1435), Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Duarte* (1998). Vol. I : 2 Tomo, (1435-1438), Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Duarte* (1999). Vol. II : *Livro da Casa dos Contos*, Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Duarte* (2002). Vol. III : (1438-1439), Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Chartularium Universitatis Portucalensis* (1966-1985). Ed. Artur Moreira de Sá, 6 vols, Lisbon: IAC/INIC.
- Cintra, M. L. F. Lindley (1963). Les anciens textes portugais non littéraires. Classement et bibliographie. In *Colloque sur les anciens textes non littéraires. Apport des anciens textes romans non littéraires à la connaissance de la langue du Moyen Age*, 1961. In *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, Strasbourg, XXVII : 40-58.
- Cintra, M. L. F. Lindley (1959). *A linguagem dos foros de Castelo Rodrigo. Seu confronto com a dos Foros de Alfaiates, Castelo Bom, Castelo Melhor, Coria, Cáceres e Usagre. Contribuição para o estudo do leonês e do galego-português do século XIII*. Lisbon (Published by Centro de Estudos Filológicos, 9) XXIX, fac-simile reproduction, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 1984).
- Cintra, M. L. F. Lindley (1958). Toponymie léonaise au Portugal : la région de Riba-Coa. In : *Vème Congrès International de Toponymie et d'Anthroponymie*, Salamanca, 12-15 avril, 1955. *Actes et Mémoire*, I, Salamanca: 245-257.
- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz *et al.* (2001a) *Estudos de Diplomática Portuguesa*. Lisbon/Coimbra: Edições Colibri/Faculdade de Letras.
- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz (2001b). A Diplomática em Portugal. Caminhos mais antigos e mais recentes. In *Estudos de Diplomática Portuguesa*, coord. Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho *et al.*, Lisbon/Coimbra: Edições Colibri/Faculdade de Letras: 13-40.
- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz (1999). O Estado e as Sociedades Urbanas. In *A Génese do Estado Moderno no Portugal tardo-medieval. Séculos XIII-XV. Ciclo de Conferências*, coord. Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, Lisbon: Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa: 269-292.

- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz (1998). O Poder Concelhio em Tempos Medievais. Balanço Historiográfico. In *O Município no Mundo Português. Seminário Internacional*. Funchal 26 a 30 de Out.: 49-62.
- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz (1997). O Poder na Idade Média: um relacionamento de poderes. In *Poder central, poder regional, local*, ed. João Ferrão et al., Lisbon: Edições Cosmos: 25-46.
- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz (1996). Os tabeliães em Portugal: perfil profissional e socioeconómico (séculos XIV-XV). *História. Instituciones. Documentos*, 23, Universidade de Sevilla: 12-51. Reed. in *Estudos de Diplomática Portuguesa*, Lisbon/Coimbra: Colibri/Faculdade de Letras, 2001: 93-137.
- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz (1995a). O Peso dos privilegiados em Portugal. Offprint from *El Tratado de Tordesillas y su Época. Congreso Internacional de Historia*, Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y Leon: 291-314.
- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz (1995b). Les Élités municipais. In *Anais da Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa, Série História*, II: 51-56.
- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz (1990a). Relações de domínio no Portugal concelhio de meados de Quatrocentos. Offprint from *Revista Portuguesa de História*, Coimbra: 235-289.
- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz (1990b). *Homens, espaços e poderes. Séculos XI-XVI*. 2 vols., Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz (1989a). «Entre poderes»: Análise de alguns casos na centúria de Quatrocentos. Offprint from *Revista da Faculdade de Letras [UP]*. *História*, Porto: 105-135.
- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz (1989b). *O Baixo Mondego nos Finais da Idade Média. Estudo de História Rural*. Lisbon, INCM. A 1ª edição é 1983.
- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz and Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho, coord. (1996). Portugal em definição de fronteiras. Do condado portucalense à crise do século XIV. In *Nova História de Portugal*, III, dir. Joel Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques, Lisbon: Editorial Presença.
- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz and Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1995). Origines et évolution du registre de la chancellerie royale portugaise (XIII^e-XV^e siècles). In *Revista da Faculdade de Letras [UP]*, *História*, II série, XII: 47-76 (Offprint, Porto, 1996, 32 pp.).
- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz and Magalhães, Joaquim Romero (1986). *O poder local. Das origens às Cortes Constituinte. Notas da História social*. Coimbra: Instituto de Formação Autárquica.
- Conde, Manuel Alves Sílvia (1997). *O Médio Tejo nos finais da Idade Média. A terra e as gentes*. Ponta Delgada.
- Conde, Manuel Alves Sílvia (1996). *Tomar Medieval. O espaço e os homens. Patrimónia*. Cascais. The photocopied edition dates from 1988.
- Contamine, Philippe (1998). «Le concept de société politique dans la France du fin du Moyen Age : définition, portée et limite». In Serge Berstein e Pierre Milza (dir.). *Axes et méthodes de l'Histoire Politique*. Paris : PUF : 261-271.
- Contamine, Philippe (1980). *La Guerre au Moyen Age*. Paris: PUF.
- Contamine, Philippe (1972). *Guerre, État et Société à la fin du Moyen Age. Études sur les armées des rois de France (1337-1494)*. 2 vols., Paris-La Haye : Mouton.
- Cortes portuguesas. Reinado de D Afonso IV (1325-1357)* (1982). Lisbon: INIC/Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Cortes portuguesas, Reinado de D. Duarte (Cortes de 1436 e 1438)* (2004). vol. II. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Cortes portuguesas, Reinado de D. Fernando I (1367-1383)* (1993). 2 vols. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Cortes portuguesas, Reinado de D Pedro I (1357-1367)* (1986). Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Costa, Adelaide Millán da (1999). *Projeção espacial de domínios: das relações de poder ao burgo portuense (1385-1502)*. Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, PhD thesis, photocopied.
- Costa, Adelaide Millán da (1993). “Vereação” e “Vereadores:” o governo do Porto em finais do século XV. Porto: Câmara Municipal/Arquivo Histórico.
- Costa, Avelino de Jesus da (1996). A chancelaria real portuguesa e os seus registos de 1217 a 1438. In *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, II Série, XIII, Porto, 1996 : 71-101.
- Costa, Avelino de Jesus da (1979). *Os mais antigos documentos escritos em português. Revisão de um problema linguístico*. In *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 17, Coimbra: 263-340.
- Costa, Avelino de Jesus da Costa (1977). *Normas gerais de transcrição e publicação de documentos medievais e modernos*. Braga. The much improved 3rd edition dates from 1993.
- Costa, Avelino de Jesus da Costa (1976). *Álbum de Paleografia e Diplomática Portuguesa*. Coimbra. The 6th edition is from 1997.
- Costa, Avelino de Jesus da (1975). La chancellerie royale portugaise jusqu’au milieu du XIII^e siècle. Sep. *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 15, Coimbra.
- Costa, Avelino de Jesus da (1967). Diplomática. In *Verbo. Enciclopédia Luos-Brasileira de Cultura*, vol. 6, Lisbon.
- Costa, Mário Júlio Almeida (2008). *História do Direito Português*. 4ª ed., Coimbra: Almedina. The first edition dates from 1989.

- Cunha, Mafalda Soares da (1990). *Linhagem, parentesco e poder. A Casa de Bragança (1384-1483)*. Lisbon: Fundação da Casa de Bragança.
- Cunha, Maria Cristina Almeida e (2005). *A Chancelaria Arqueiepiscopal de Braga (1071-1244)*. Noia: Ed. Toxosoutos.
- Duarte, Luís Miguel (2003). The Portuguese Medieval Parliament: are we asking the right questions? In *e-journal of Portuguese History*, vol. 1, number 2 (Winter).
- Duarte, Luís Miguel (1999). *Justiça e Criminalidade no Portugal Medieval (1459-1481)*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- Duarte, Luís Miguel (1999). Órgãos e Servidores do Poder Central: os «Funcionários Públicos» de Quatrocentos. In *A Gênese do Estado Moderno no Portugal tardo-medieval. Séculos XIII-XV. Ciclo de Conferências*, coord. Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, Lisbon: Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa: 133-150.
- Duarte, Luís Miguel (1989). A Denúncia nas Leis e na Vida Portuguesa de Quatrocentos. In *Inquisição – Actas do I Congresso Luso-brasileiro sobre Inquisição*, I, Lisbon: Universitária Editora: 447-461.
- Duarte, Luís Miguel (1988). Um Rei a Reinar (algumas questões sobre o Desembargo de D. Afonso V na segunda metade do século XV. In *Revista de História do Centro de História da Universidade do Porto*, VIII, Porto: 69-81.
- Duarte, Luís Miguel (1987). Eleições Municipais no Algarve no início do século XV. In *Actas das I Jornadas de História Medieval do Algarve e Andaluzia*, Loulé: Câmara Municipal: 297-304.
- Duarte, Luís Miguel (1986). Justice et criminalité au Portugal au Moyen Age et au début de l'Époque moderne – les traces, les silences, les problèmes. In *Actas do Congresso Internacional «La Leopoldina» - Criminalità e giustizia criminale nelle riforme del 700 europeo*. Milão: Biufre, III (preprint): 2321-2332.
- Durão, Maria Manuela da Silva (2002). *1471- um ano "africano" no desembargo de D. Afonso V*, Porto: Master's degree dissertation, photocopied.
- Fédou, René (1971). *L'État au Moyen Age*. Paris : PUF.
- Fernandes, Fátima Regina (1996). *O reinado de D. Fernando I no âmbito das relações régio-nobiliárquicas*. Porto: PhD thesis, photocopied.
- Fernandes, Hermenegildo Nuno (2000). *Entre mouros e cristãos. A sociedade de fronteira no sudoeste peninsular (sécs. XII-XIII)*. Universidade Nova de Lisboa: PhD thesis, photocopied.
- Fernandes, Manuela Rosa Coelho Mendonça de Matos (1991). *D. João II: um percurso humano e político nas origens da modernidade em Portugal*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa. The photocopied text is from 1989.
- Ferreira, Eliana Gonçalves Diogo (2001). *1473 – um ano no desembargo do Africano*. Porto: Master's degree dissertation, photocopied.
- Ferreira, Maria da Conceição Falcão (1997). Guimarães: 'Duas vilas, um só Povo.' Estudo de História Urbana (1250-1389). Universidade do Minho: PhD thesis,
- Ferreira, Maria da Conceição Falcão (1989). *Uma rna de elite na Guimarães Medieval (1376/1520)*. Guimarães: Câmara Municipal/Sociedade Martins Sarmiento. The photocopied dissertation is from 1987.
- Ferreira, José de Azevedo (1986). *Afonso X. Foro Real* (Ed. e estudo linguístico), I, Lisbon: INIC.
- Ferreira, José de Azevedo (1980). (Ed.) *Alphonse X. Primeyra Partida*. Ed. et étude, Braga: INIC.
- Ferreira, João Pedro (1996). *Alenquer Medieval*. Cascais: Patrimonia.
- Fonseca, Luís Adão (1982). *O Condestável D. Pedro de Portugal*. Porto: INIC/Centro de História da Universidade do Porto.
- Franco, Maria das Neves (1955). *Aspectos da administração e da justiça durante a Primeira Dinastia em Portugal*. Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, Master's degree dissertation, photocopied.
- Freitas, Judite A. Gonçalves de (2006a). O Portugal Atlântico e o Portugal Mediterrânico na itinerância régia de meados do século XV (1433-1460). In *Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques*. Vol. II, Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto: 497-511.
- Freitas, Judite A. Gonçalves de (2006b). Tradição legal, codificação e práticas institucionais: um relance pelo poder régio por meados de Quatrocentos. In *Revista de História da Faculdade de Letras [UP]*, III série, VII, Porto: 51-69.
- Freitas, Judite A. Gonçalves de (2004a). Les Chemins de l'histoire du pouvoir dans le médiévisme portugais (ca. 1970- ca. 2000). In *Études & Travaux 2003-2004*. Centre d'Études Médiévales, CNRS/Auxerre : 81-98. Reed. In *Revista Anais, Série História*, IX/X da Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa, 2005: 231-266.
- Freitas, Judite A. Gonçalves de (2004b). A Idade dos Homens do Poder: novos e velhos na Burocracia de D. Afonso V (1439-1460). In *Economia, Sociedade e Poderes. Estudos em Homenagem a Salvador Dias Arnaut*. Coimbra: Editora Ausência: 103-122.
- Freitas, Judite A. Gonçalves de (2001). *"Teemos por bem e mandamos:" A Chancelaria Régia e os seus oficiais em meados de Quatrocentos (1439-1460)*, 2 vols., Cascais, Patrimonia (Porto: PhD thesis, 3 vols., photocopied edition, 1999).
- Freitas, Judite A. Gonçalves de (1996). *A Burocracia do Eloquentes » (1435-1438). Os textos, as normas, as gentes*. Cascais: Patrimonia (Porto: Master's degree dissertation, 2 vols., photocopied, 1991).
- Gaspar, Jorge (1985). A cidade Portuguesa na Idade Média. Aspectos da estrutura física e desenvolvimento funcional. In *La Ciudad Hispánica durante los siglos XIII al XVI*, T. I, Madrid, Universidad Complutense: 1333-150.

- As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo* (1960-1977). Ed. de A. da Silva Rego, 12 vols., Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Ultramarinos.
- A Génese do Estado Moderno no Portugal tardo-medieval. Séculos XIII-XV. Ciclo de Conferências* (1999). Ed. Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, Lisbon: Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa.
- Genet, Jean-Philippe (2006). *La genèse de l'État moderne : Culture et société politique en Angleterre*. Paris: PUF.
- Genet, Jean-Philippe e Günter Lottes, ed. (1996). *L'État moderne et les élites XIIIe-XVIIIe siècles. Apports et limites de la méthode prosopographiques*. Actes du Colloque International CNRS-Paris I, 16-19 octobre 1991.
- Genet, Jean-Philippe, ed. (1990). *L'État Moderne: genèse. Bilans et perspectives*. Paris: CNRS.
- Genet, Jean-Philippe (1986). Pour l'informatisation des dictionnaires biographiques, une expérience. In *Histoire & Mesure*, 1-2 : 99-110.
- Gomes, Rita Costa (1999). A Realeza: símbolos e cerimonial. In *A Génese do Estado Moderno no Portugal tardo-medieval. Séculos XIII-XV. Ciclo de Conferências*, coord. Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, Lisbon: Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa: 201-216.
- Gomes, Rita Costa (1995). *A Corte dos Reis de Portugal no Final da Idade Média*. Lisbon: Difel. The photocopied text is from 1994.
- Gomes, Rita Costa (1991). A construção das fronteiras. In *A memória da Nação [Actas do Colóquio]*. Org. Francisco Bethecourt and Diogo Ramada Curto, Lisbon, Sá da Costa: 357-382.
- Gomes, Rita Costa (1989). L'émergence du politique dans le Portugal du Bas Moyen Âge - perspectives récentes. In *La Recherche en Histoire du Portugal*, Paris : Centre d'Études portugaises, I: 25-32.
- Gomes, Rita Costa (1987). *A Guarda Medieval. Posição, morfologia e Sociedade (1200-1500)*. In *Cadernos da Revista de História Económica e Social*, 9-10, Lisbon: Sá da Costa.
- Gomes, Saul António (2007). *In limine conscriptionis. Documentos, Chancelaria e cultura no Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra (séculos XII-XIV)*, Viseu. The photocopied text is from 2000.
- Gomes, Saul António (1990). *O Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no século XV*. Coimbra/Faculdade de Letras/Instituto de História de Arte.
- Gonçalves, Iria Vicente (1999). Estado Moderno, Finanças Públicas e Fiscalidade Permanente. In *A Génese do Estado Moderno no Portugal tardo-medieval. Séculos XIII-XV. Ciclo de Conferências*, coord. Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, Lisbon: Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa: 95-110.
- Gonçalves Iria Vicente (1996). *Um olhar sobre a cidade medieval*. Cascais: Patrimonia.
- Gonçalves, Iria Vicente (1985). *As finanças municipais do Porto na segunda metade do século XV*, Porto: Câmara Municipal.
- Gonçalves, Iria Vicente (1964). *Pedidos e empréstimos públicos em Portugal durante a Idade Média*. Lisbon: Direcção-Geral das Contribuições e Impostos.
- Gonçalves, L. da Sandra (2003). *Sancius II.us rex Portugalensis – A Chancelaria de D. Sancho II (1223-1248)*, Coimbra: Master's degree dissertation, photocopied.
- Guenée, Bernard (1995). L'Histoire politique: Résurrection en histoire médiévale. In *L'Histoire et le métier d'historien en France, 1945-1995*, dir. Françoise Bédarida, Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme : 301-305.
- Guenée, Bernard (1991). *L'Occident aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles. Les États*. 4th edition, Paris: PUF. The first edition is from 1971.
- Guenée, Bernard (1987). *Entre l'Eglise et l'Etat. Quatre vies de prélats français à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIIIe-XVe siècles)*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Guenée, Bernard (1976). Les tendances actuelles de l'histoire politique du Moyen Âge Français. In *Actes du 100^e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale: 45-70.
- Guery, Alain (1997). L'historien, la crise et l'État. In *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, vol. 52, n° 2, Paris : 233-256.
- Henriques, Isabel Bárbara de Castro (2001). *Os caminhos do desembargo 1472, um ano na burocracia do "africano."* 2 vols, Porto: Master's degree dissertation, photocopied.
- Hespanha, António Manuel (1986a). Centro e periferia nas estruturas administrativas do Antigo Regime. In *Ler História*, 8: 85-90.
- Hespanha, António Manuel (1986b). *As Vésperas do Leviathan. Instituições e Poder Político. Portugal – século XVII*, Lisbon: Author's edition.
- Hespanha, António Manuel (1984). *Poder e instituições na Europa do Antigo Regime. Colectânea de Textos*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- Hespanha, António Manuel (1982). *História das Instituições. Épocas Medieval e Moderna*, Coimbra: Almedina.
- Hespanha, António Manuel (1978). *A História do Direito na História Social*. Lisbon. Livros Horizonte.
- Hespanha, António Manuel (1972). Prática Social, Ideologia e Direito nos séculos XVII e XIX. *Vértice*, 32 Lisbon: 334-353 e 446-471.
- Herculano, Alexandre (1980). *História de Portugal. Desde o começo da monarquia até ao fim do reinado de Afonso III*. Lisbon, Livraria Bertrand. The first edition is from 1846-1853, and the most recent edition is from 2007.

- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (2005). Diplomática e História do Direito, raízes da «nova» História política. In *Direito Natural, Justiça e Política. II Colóquio Internacional do Instituto Jurídico Interdisciplinar / Faculdade de Direito da Universidade do Porto*. vol. I, org. Paulo Ferreira da Cunha, Coimbra: Coimbra Editora: 87-101.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (2000-2001). Estado, instituições, poderes nos finais da Idade Média. In *Anais da Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa*, série *História*, V/VI: 349-355.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (2000). Poder e poderes no Portugal de finais da Idade Média. Offprint from Revista *BIBLOS*. Faculdade de Letras, 1ª parte Estrutura de Poder, Miscelânea em Honra do Doutor Salvador Dias Arnaut, vol. LXXVI: 69-98.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1999a). Législation et compilation législative au Portugal du début du XVe siècle : la genèse des Ordonnances d'Alphonse V. In : *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée, Membre de l'Institut*, ed. Françoise Autrand, Claude Gauvard and Jean-Marie Moeglin, Paris : Publications de La Sorbonne: 671-689.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1999b). Rei e «Estado Reab» nos textos legislativos da Idade Média portuguesa. In *En la España Medieval*, 22: 177-185.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1999c). O Estado moderno na recente Historiografia Portuguesa: historiadores do Direito e historiadores «tout court». In *A Génese do Estado moderno no Portugal tardomedieval (sécs. XIII-XV). Ciclo de conferências*. Ed. Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, Lisbon: Universidade Autónoma: 63-76.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1998). Poder e poderes no Portugal de finais da Idade Média. In *Praça Velha. Revista de Cultura da Cidade da Guarda*, 3 (Maio): 39-68.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1997). Ofício Régio e Serviço ao Rei em Finais do século XV: Norma Legal e Prática Institucional. In *Revista da Faculdade de Letras* [UP], *História*, II série, XIV: 123-137.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1996). Prosopographie et Histoire de l'État: La bureaucratie des rois portugais aux XIVe et XVe siècles – recherches faites, recherches à faire. In : *L'État Moderne et les Éléites. Apports et limites de la méthode prosopographique*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet and Günther Lottes, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne: 29-37.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1995). Les Officiers Royaux (XIIIe-XVe siècles): une élite politique?. *Anais da Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa*, Série *História*, II: 23-27.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1994). Dionisius et Alfonsus, Dei gracia reges et communis utilitatis gratia legiferi. In : *Revista da Faculdade de Letras* [UP], *História*, II série, XI: 11-110.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1990a). *O Desembargo Régio (1320-1433)*. Porto: INIC/CHUP (Porto: PhD thesis, 2 vols., photocopied, 1985).
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1990b). *Portugal nos Finais da Idade Média. Estado, Instituições, Sociedade Política*. Lisbon: Horizonte.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1988). Diplomacia e Burocracia nos finais da Idade Média. A propósito de Lourenço Eanes Fogaça, chanceler-mor (1374-1399) e negociador do Tratado de Windsor. Offprint from *Estudos e Ensaios em Homenagem a Vitorino Magalhães Godinho*, Lisbon: Sá da Costa: 217-228.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1987a). Conselho Real ou Conselheiros do Rei? A propósito dos 'Privados' de D. João I. In *Revista da Faculdade de Letras* [UP], *História*, II série, IV: 9-68.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1987b) L'État portugais et ses serviteurs (1320-1433). *Journal des Savants* (juillet-décembre), Paris: 181-203.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1985). Gama Barros, Historiador das Instituições Administrativas. In *I centenário do início da publicação da História da Administração Pública em Portugal nos séculos XII a XV*, sep. da *Revista da Faculdade de Letras* [UP], *História*, II série, II: 235-248.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1981). Da Diplomática Régia à História do Estado dos fins da Idade Média: um rumo de investigação, *Revista de História Económica e Social*, 8 (Jul.-Dez.): 15-31.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1978). Subsídios para o estudo da Administração Central no reinado de D. Pedro I. Offprint from *Revista de História*, vol. I, Centro de História da Universidade do Porto: 7-55.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1974). Aspectos da administração portuguesa no reinado de D. Pedro I. Porto: Licentiate'ship dissertation, photocopied.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho; Andrade, Amélia Aguiar e Amaral, Luís Carlos (1988). Por onde vem o medievismo em Portugal? In *Revista de História Económica e Social*, 22: 115-138.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho, Coelho, Maria Helena da and Marques, José (2000). Diplomatie municipale portugaise (XIIIe-XIVe siècles). In *La Diplomatie urbaine en Europe au moyen age. Actes du congrès de la Commission Internationale de Diplomatie* [Gand, Ag.º 1998], ed. W. Prevenier and Th. De Hemptinne, Lovaina / Apledoorn: Garant: 281-305.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho; Duarte, Luís Miguel and Mota, Eugénia Pereira (1991). Percursos na burocracia régia (séculos XIII-XV). In *A Memória da Nação. Actas do Colóquio*. Ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto, Lisbon: Sá da Costa: 403-423.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho and Freitas, Judite A. Gonçalves de (2001). A prosopografia dos burocratas régios (séculos XIII-XV): da elaboração à exposição dos dados. In *Elites e redes clientelares na Idade Média*:

- problemas metodológicos*, ed. Filipe Themudo Barata, Lisbon/Évora: Colibri/CIDEHUS, Universidade de Évora: 171-210.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho and Homem, Maria Isabel N. Miguéns de Carvalho (2006). Lei e poder concelhio: as posturas. O caso de Lisboa (sécs. XIV-XV). In : *Revista da Faculdade de Letras [UP], História*. 3ª série, VII: 35-50.
- Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho; Rosa, Isaías Pereira da, Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz and Marques, José (1996). Diplomatie royale portugaise: Alphonse IV (1325-1357). In *Diplomatie royale du Moyen Age. XIII-XIV siècles*, ed. José Marques, Porto: Faculdade de Letras: 133-161.
- Krus, Luís Filipe Llach (1994a). *A concepção nobiliárquica do espaço ibérico. Geografia dos livros de linhagens medievais portuguesas (1280-1380)*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian / Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica. The photocopied text is from 1989.
- Krus, Luís Filipe Llach (1994b). *Memória e Poder na Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa. Estudos*. Patrimonia: Redondo.
- Krus, Luís Filipe Llach (1985). As Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. Pedro I (1357-1367), In *Ler História*, 5: 143-147.
- Krynén, Jacques (1993). *L'empire du roi. Idées et croyances politiques en France, XIIIe-XVe siècle*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Krynén, Jacques (1981). *Idéal du prince au pouvoir royal en France à la fin du Moyen Age (1380-1440). Étude de la littérature politique du temps*. Paris: Picard.
- Leferme-Falguières, Frédérique and Van Renterghem, Vanessa (2000). Le concept d'élites. Approches historiographiques et méthodologiques. In *Hypothèses*, 1, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne : 55-67.
- Livro das Leis e Posturas* (1971). Ed. Nunes Espinosa Gomes da Silva and Maria Teresa Campos Rodrigues, Lisbon: Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Lisboa.
- O Livro das Lezírias d'El Rei Dom Dinis* (2003). Ed. Bernardo de Sá-Nogueira, Lisbon: Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa.
- Lopes, Fernão (2004). *Crónica de D. Fernando*. Critical edition, introduction, glossary and indexes by Giuliano Macchi, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda.
- Lopes, Fernão. *Crónica de D. João I*. Introduction and notes by Humberto Baquero Moreno and preface by António Sérgio, 1ª e 2ª partes, Barcelos, Livraria Civilização.
- Lopes, Fernão (2007). *Crónica de D. Pedro*. Critical edition, introduction, glossary and indexes by Giuliano Macchi, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda.
- Marques, A. H. de Oliveira (1988). *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval Portuguesa*. 3rd edition, Lisbon: Estampa. The first edition is from 1964.
- Marques, A. H. de Oliveira (1988). *Novos Ensaios de História Medieval Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Presença.
- Marques, A. H. de Oliveira (1988). Lisboa Medieval (Introdução metodológica ao seu estudo). In *Novos Ensaios de História Medieval Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Presença: 68-79.
- Marques, A. H. de Oliveira (1986). Portugal na crise dos séculos XIV e XV. In *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. IV, coord. *Idem* and Joel Serrão, Lisbon: Editorial Presença.
- Marques, A. H. de O. (1985). Ementa. In: Serrão, J. (dir.). *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, II, Porto, Livraria Figueirinhas: 362-363.
- Marques, A. H. de Oliveira (1982). Cidades Medievais Portuguesas (Algumas bases metodológicas gerais). *Revista de História Económica e Social*, 9, Lisbon: 1-16. Republished in *Novos Ensaios de História Medieval Portuguesa* 1988. Lisbon: Presença: 43-67.
- Marques, A. H. de Oliveira (1981). Introdução à Cidade Medieval Portuguesa. *Bracara Augusta*, XXXV, fasc. 79 (92): 367-387. Republished in *Novos Ensaios de História Medieval Portuguesa*, 1988. Lisbon: Presença: 13-42.
- Marques, A. H. de Oliveira; Gonçalves, Iria and Andrade, Amélia Aguiar (1990). *Atlas das Cidades Medievais Portuguesas*. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da UNL/ INIC.
- Marques, José (1988). *A Arquidiocese de Braga no século XV*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. The photocopied text is from 1982.
- Marques, José (1985). A administração municipal de Mós de Moncorvo em 1439. In *Brigantia*, V, (2-3-4), Abr-Dez: 515-560.
- Marques, José (1983a). Braga nos finais da Idade Média (subsídios para o seu estudo). In *Braga Medieval*, Braga: 43-82.
- Marques, José (1983b). A administração municipal de Vila do Conde em 1466. In *Bracara Augusta*. XXXVII, faz. 83-83.
- Marques, Maria Alegria Fernandes (1990). *O Papado e Portugal no tempo de D. Afonso III (1245-1279)*. Universidade de Coimbra: PhD thesis, photocopied.
- Martins, Rui Luís Vide Cunha (2000). *A fronteira antes da sua metáfora. Cinco teses sobre a fronteira Hispano-Portuguesa no século XV*. Universidade de Coimbra: PhD thesis, photocopied.
- Mattoso, José (2001). *Identificação de um país. I – Oposição, II – Composição*. vols. 2 e 3, Mem Martins: Círculo de Leitores. The first edition is from 1985 - *Identificação de um País. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal*. Lisbon. Editorial Estampa.

- Mattoso, José (2001). *A nobreza medieval portuguesa: a família e o poder*, Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores. The first edition is from 1981.
- Mattoso, José (2001). O essencial sobre a formação da nacionalidade. In *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval e outros textos*. Vol. 6, mem Martins. Círculo de Leitores: 247-272. The first edition is from 1985, published by Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- Mattoso, José coord. (1993). *História de Portugal. A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480)*. Vol. I, Mem Martins: Círculo de Leitores.
- Mattoso, José (1985). Feudalismo e História das Instituições. In *Estudos Medievais*. 5/6, Porto: 129-137.
- Mattoso, José (1983). *O contraste entre a cidade e o campo*. In *História de Portugal*, vol. III, Lisbon: Publicações Alfa: 159-199.
- Mattoso, José (1982). Perspectivas actuais da investigação e da síntese na historiografia medieval portuguesa (1128-1385). In *Revista de História Económica e Social*, 9 (Jan.-Jun.), Lisbon: 145-162.
- Merêa, Manoel Paulo (1923). *O Poder Real e as Córtes*. Coimbra: Editora Limitada.
- Millet, Hélène (1988). Notice biographique et enquête prosopographique. In *Mélanges de École française de Rome*, t. 100 – I : 87-111.
- Millet, Hélène (1985a). L'ordinateur et la biographie ou la recherche du singulier. In *Problèmes & méthodes de la biographie. Actes du colloque*. Paris: 115-127.
- Millet, Hélène, ed. (1985b). *Informatique et prosopographie*. Paris, CNRS.
- Monteiro, Helena Maria Matos (1997). *A Chancelaria régia e os seus oficiais: 1464-1465*. 2 vols., Porto: Master's degree dissertation, photocopied.
- Monteiro, João Gouveia (1998). *A Guerra em Portugal nos finais da Idade Média*. Lisbon: Editorial Notícias. The photocopied text is from 1997.
- Monumenta Henricina* (1960-1974). Ed. Manuel Lopes de Almeida, Vols. I-XV, Coimbra.
- Moreno, Humberto Baquero (1997). *O Infante D. Pedro. Itinerários e ensaios históricos*. Porto: Universidade Portucalense.
- Moreno, Humberto Baquero (Coord.) (1995). *História de Portugal Medieval: político e institucional*. 2 vols., Lisbon: Universidade Aberta.
- Moreno, Humberto Baquero (1989). A representação do concelho de Caminha junto do poder central em meados do século XV. In *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, II série, VI, Porto: 95-104.
- Moreno, Humberto Baquero (1988). *Os itinerários de el-rei Dom João I 1384-1433*. Lisbon: Ministério da Educação.
- Moreno, Humberto Baquero (1986). *Os Municípios Portugueses nos Séculos XIII a XVI. Estudos de História*. Lisbon: Editorial Presença.
- Moreno, Humberto Baquero (1985). *Marginalidade e conflitos sociais em Portugal nos séculos XIV e XV*, Lisbon: Presença.
- Moreno, Humberto Baquero (1976a). *A Batalha de Alfarrobeira. Antecedentes e Significado Histórico*, 2 vols., Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade.
- Moreno, Humberto Baquero (1976b) *Os Itinerários de el-rei D. Duarte: 1433-1438*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História.
- Moreno, Humberto Carlos Baquero; Duarte, Luís Miguel and Amaral, Luís Carlos (1991). História da Administração Portuguesa na Idade Média. Um Balanço. Offprint from *Medievalismo. Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, año 1, nº Madrid: 87-98.
- Morujão, Maria do Rosário Barbosa (2005). *A Sé de Coimbra: a instituição e a Chancelaria (1080-1318)*, 2 vols., Coimbra: PhD thesis, photocopied.
- Mota, Eugénia Pereira da (1989). *Do "Africano" ao Príncipe Perfeito: caminhos da burocracia régia (1481-1483)*. 2 vols. Porto: Master's degree dissertation, photocopied.
- Mousnier, Roland (1980). *Les institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue (1558-1789)*. 2 vols., Paris : PUF.
- Mousnier, Roland (1979). *La Vénalité des offices sous Henri IV et Louis XIII*. Genebra : Mégariotis. The first edition is from 1945.
- Mousnier, Roland (1964). *L'assassinat d'Henri IV*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Neves, João António Mendes (2005). *A "formosa" Chancelaria. Estudo dos originais da Chancelaria de D. Fernando (1367-1383)*, Coimbra, Master's degree dissertation, photocopied.
- Nogueira, José Duarte (2006). *Lei e poder régio. I – As leis de Afonso II*. Lisbon: Associação Académica da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Lisboa.
- Nogueira, José Duarte (1994). *Sociedade e Direito em Portugal na Idade Média: dos primórdios ao século da Universidade (contribuição para o seu estudo)*. Lisbon Suplemento da Revista da Faculdade de Direito [UL].
- Nora, Pierre (1984-1993). *Les lieux de mémoire*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Oliveira, António Resende (1994). *Depois do espectáculo trovadoresco: a estrutura dos cancioneiros peninsulares e as recolhas dos séculos XIII e XIV*. Lisbon, Colibri. The photocopied text is from 1992.
- Oliveira, Luís Filipe (1999). *A Casa dos Continhos: Linhagem, Parentesco e Poder (1360-1542)*. Cascais: Patrimonia.
- Ordenações Afonsinas* (1984). Ls. I-V, reprint of the 1972 edition, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- Ordenações de el-Rei D. Duarte* (1988), ed. Martim de Albuquerque and Eduardo Borges Nunes, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

- Ordenações Manuelinas* (1984). Ls. I-V, reprint of the 1797 edition, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- Ordenações Manuelinas* (2002). Ls. I-V, facsimile reproduction of the edition of Valentim Fernandes from 1512-1513, introduction by João José Alves Dias, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Pereira, Isaías da Rosa (1986). O tabelionato em Portugal. In *Notariado público y documento privado: de las orígenes al siglo XIV (Actas del VII Congreso Internacional de Diplomática)*, Valencia: 615-690.
- Pereira, Isaías da Rosa, Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz, Marques, José and Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1996). Diplomatie royale portugaise: Alphonse IV (1325-1357): In *Diplomatique royale du Moyen Âge XIIIe-XIVe siècles. Actes du colloque*, coord. José Marques, Porto, Faculdade de Letras.
- Pimenta, Alfredo (1940). *As Chancelarias medievais portuguesas da senhora Abiã E. Reuter*. Guimarães: Arquivo Municipal / Lisbon: Portugália.
- Pina, Rui de (1977). *Tesouros da Literatura e da História. Crônicas de Rui de Pina*. Porto, Lello & Irmão Editores.
- Pizarro, José Augusto P. de Sotto Mayor (1999). *Linhagens Medievais Portuguesa. Genealogias e estratégias (1279-1325)*. Ts. I-III, Porto: Universidade Moderna/Centro de Estudos de Genalogia, Heráldica e História da Família.
- Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Diplomata et Chartae* (1867). Lisbon.
- Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Inquisitiones* (1888-1977). Lisbon.
- Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Leges et consuetudines* (1856-1868). Lisbon.
- Power Elites and State Building. The Origins of the Modern State in Europe 13th to 18th Centuries* (1996). Ed. Wolfgang Reinhard, vol. 4 (Oxford, 1996) [Contains an extensive bibliography for the late medieval and early modern periods]
- Prosopographie et genèse de l'Etat Moderne* (1986). Ed. Françoise Autrand, Paris: ENSJF.
- Reuter, Abiã Elisabeth (1938). *Documentos da Chancelaria de Afonso Henriques*. vol. I, Coimbra: Instituto Alemão da Universidade.
- Ribeiro, João Pedro (1810-1836). *Dissertações Chronologicas e criticas sobre a Historia e Jurisprudencia ecclesiastica e civil de Portugal, publicadas por ordem da Academia Real das Sciencias*, 5 volumes: 1.º tomo (1810); 2.º tomo (1811 e 2ª edição em 1857); o 3.º tomo, parte I e II, (1813); o 4.º tomo (Parte I), 1819, (Parte II), 1829; e 5.º tomo (1836).
- Rodrigues, Ana Maria S. A. (1995). Torres Vedras. A vida e o termo nos finais da Idade Média. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian / Junta Nacional de Investigação científica e Tecnológica. The photocopied text is from 1992.
- Rodrigues, Maria Teresa Campos (1978). Itinerário de D. Fernando (1367-1383). Offprint from *Revista Bracara Augusta*. Braga, tomo XXXII, fasc. 73-74.
- Rodrigues, Maria Teresa Campos (1968). Aspectos da administração municipal de Lisboa no século XV. Offprint from *Revista Municipal*, n.ºs 101-109, Lisbon.
- Rodrigues, Miguel Jasmins Pereira (1996). *A organização dos poderes e Estrutura Social. A Ilha da Madeira: 1460-1521*. Cascais, Patrimonia.
- Rodrigues, Miguel Jasmins Pereira (1988). As “Monarquias centradas.” Redes de poder nos séculos XV-XVI. In *Arqueologia do Estado*. I, Lisbon: História & Crítica: 537-560.
- Rosa, Maria de Lurdes (1995). *O Morgadio em Portugal, séculos XIV-XV. Modelos e práticas de comportamento linhagístico*. Lisbon: Estampa.
- Sabatier, Gérard and Gomes, Rita Costa, coord. (1998). *Lugares de Poder: Europa, séculos XV a XX / Lieux de Pouvoir: Europe, XVe-XXe siècles / Places of Power: Europe, 15th to 20th centuries* (1998), Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- Sá-Nogueira, Bernardo de (2008). *Tabelionato e Instrumento Público em Portugal. Gênese e implantação (1212-1279)*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. The photocopied text is from 1996.
- Sá-Nogueira, Bernardo de (1990). Cartas-missivas, alvarás e mandados enviados pelos reis D. João II e D. Manuel ao concelho de Montemor-o-Novo (estudo diplomático), *Almansor*, 8: 43-129.
- Sá-Nogueira, Bernardo de (1988). *Laurenço Eanes, tabelião de Lisboa (1301-1332). Reconstituição e análise do seu cartório*. Lisbon: Master's degree dissertation, photocopied.
- Santos, Maria José Azevedo (2001). As condições de conservação dos documentos e dos livros em Portugal (séculos XII-XV). In *Estudos de Diplomática Portuguesa*, Coord. Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho *et al*, Lisbon/ Coimbra: Edições Colibri/Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, pp. 233-256.
- Santos, Maria José Azevedo (2000). A Chancelaria de D. Afonso II (1211-1223). Teorias e práticas. In *Ler e compreender a escrita na Idade Média*, Lisbon: 11-57.
- Santos, Maria José Azevedo (1994). *Da visigótica à carolínea. A escrita em Portugal de 882 a 1172 (aspectos técnicos e culturais)*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian / Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica.
- Serrão, Joaquim Veríssimo (1977). *História de Portugal, I. Estado, Pátria, Nação*. Lisbon: Editorial Verbo.
- Silva, Manuela Santos (1997). *Óbidos Medieval. Estruturas urbanas e administração concelhia*. Cascais: Patrimonia. The photocopied edition is from 1987.

- Silva, Manuela Santos (1994). O Concelho de Óbidos nas Cortes Medievais Portuguesas. In *A região de Óbidos na época Medieval. Estudos*. Caldas da Rainha: Património Histórico.
- Silva, Maria Teresa B. Lino da (1997). *Crónica do conde D. Pedro de Meneses de Gomes Eanes de Zurara. Edição e Estudo*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian / Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica. The photocopied text is from 1994.
- Silva, Nuno Espinosa Gomes da (2006). *História do Direito Português. Fontes de Direito*. 4th edition, revised and updated, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- Soares, Torquato de Sousa (1935). *Subsídios para o estudo da Organização Municipal da Cidade do Porto durante a Idade Média*. Barcelos.
- Soares, Torquato de Sousa (1931). *Apontamentos para o estudo das Instituições Municipais Portuguesas*. Lisbon.
- Sousa, Armindo de (1999). Estado e Comunidade: Representação e Resistências. In *A Génese do Estado Moderno no Portugal tardo-medieval. Séculos XIII-XV. Ciclo de Conferências*, coord. Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, Lisbon: Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa: 293-316.
- Sousa, Armindo de (1990a). *As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas (1385-1490)*. Porto: INIC.
- Sousa, Armindo (1990b). O Parlamento Medieval Português: perspectivas novas. Offprint from *Revista da Faculdade de Letras [UP], História*, II série, VII: 47-58.
- Sousa, Armindo de (1989a). As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas. Panorama bibliográfico. In *Penélope. Fazer e Desfazer a História*, nº 4 (Nov.), Lisbon: 140-155.
- Sousa, Armindo de (1989b). A estratégia política dos municípios no reinado de D. João II. *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, II série, VI, Porto: 137-174.
- Sousa, Armindo de (1985). O Discurso Político dos concelhos nas Cortes de 1385. In *Revista da Faculdade de Letras [UP]. História*, II série: 9-54.
- Sousa, Armindo de (1983). Conflitos entre o bispo e a Câmara do porto em meados do século XV. In *Boletim Cultural da Câmara Municipal do Porto*, II série, I : 9-103.
- Sousa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e (2000). *Os Pimentéis. Percursos de uma linhagem medieval portuguesa (séculos XIII-XIV)*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. The photocopied text is from 1995.
- Sousa, João Silva de (1991). *A Casa Senhorial do Infante D. Henrique*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte. The photocopied edition is from 1988.
- Stone, Lawrence (1971), Prosopography, *Daedalus* reprinted in *The Past and Present Revisited* (London, 1987): 45-73, 414-19, respectively.
- Strayer, Joseph Reese (1969). *As Origens Medievais do Estado Moderno*. Lisbon: Gradiva. The second edition is from 1986.
- Tavares, Maria José Pimenta Ferro (1987). Política Municipal de Saúde Pública (sécs. XIV-XV). In *Revista de História Económica e Social*, 19: 17-32.
- Varandas, José Manuel Henriques (2003). *Bonus Rex ou Rex Inutilis: as periferias e o centro – redes de poder no reinado de D. Sancho II (1223-1248)*. Universidade de Lisboa: PhD thesis, photocopied.
- Vaz, Vasco Rodrigo dos Santos Machado (1995). *A Boa Memória do Monarca*. 2 vols., Porto: Master's degree dissertation, photocopied.
- Ventura, Leontina Domingos (1992). *A nobreza na corte de Afonso III*, Ts. I-II, Coimbra: PhD thesis, photocopied.
- Ventura, Margarida Garcez da Silva (2003). *Estudos sobre o poder (séculos XIV-XV)*. Lisbon: Colibri.
- Ventura, Margarida Garcez da Silva (1997). *Igreja e poder no século XV. Dinastia de Avis e liberdades eclesiásticas (1383-1450)*. Lisbon: Colibri. The photocopied text is from 1993.
- Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos (1999). *As dimensões de um poder. A Diocese de Évora na Idade Média*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa. The photocopied text is from 1998.
- Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos (1988). *Abrantes Medieval*. Abrantes: Câmara Municipal.
- Zurara, Gomes Eanes de (1978). *Crónica do Conde D. Duarte de Meneses*. Ed. Larry King, Lisbon, Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Zurara, Gomes Eanes (1997). *Crónica do Conde D. Pedro de Meneses*. Ed. Maria Teresa Brocardo, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/JNICT.
- Zurara, Gomes Eanes de (1989). *Crónica do Descobrimento e Conquista da Guiné*. Ed. Reis Brasil, reprinted Mem Martins, Europa-América.
- Zurara, Gomes Eanes (1992). *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta*. Introduction and notes by Reis Brasil, Mem Martins, Europa América.

The center and the periphery in the administration of the Royal Exchequer of the *Estado da Índia* (1517-1640)

Susana Münch Miranda

Department of History—Faculty of Social and Human Sciences
of the New University of Lisbon (FCSH-UNL)
Center for Overseas History (FCSH-UNL and University of the Azores)

Post-doctoral scholarship holder of the Foundation for Science and
Technology/Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education (FCT-MCTES)
smm@fcsch.unl.pt

Abstract

This study focuses upon the financial governance mechanism set up in the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, which is examined from both a structural and dynamic perspective over the period from 1517 to 1640. It seeks to provide a general outline of the peripheral extensions of this system—taking the form of a network of *feitorias* (trading posts) and *recebedorias* (tax collection offices)—as well as the successive configurations of the central institutions located in Goa. Since it is clear that this mechanism served to guarantee the material and financial flows necessary to sustain the political and commercial projects of the Portuguese monarchy in Asia, the aim of the study is to assess the constraints placed upon the relationship between the center and the periphery and to consider the challenges faced by central institutions in controlling the tax revenue of the *Estado da Índia*.

Keywords

Estado da Índia, Royal Exchequer, financial governance, trading posts, viceroys, comptrollers of finance; *Casa dos Contos*; *Casa da Matrícula*.

Resumo

O presente estudo toma por objecto o dispositivo de governo financeiro que se constituiu no *Estado da Índia*, numa perspectiva estrutural mas também dinâmica, ao longo do período compreendido entre 1517 e 1640. Procura-se caracterizar, nos seus traços gerais, as suas extensões periféricas — materializada numa rede de *feitorias* e *recebedorias* — bem como as sucessivas configurações orgânicas que conheceram as instituições centrais sedeadas em Goa. Sendo certo que era por este dispositivo que circulavam os fluxos materiais e financeiros que sustentavam os projectos políticos e comerciais da monarquia portuguesa na Ásia, trata-se aqui de avaliar os constrangimentos que impendiam sobre a articulação entre o centro e a periferia e avaliar os desafios levantados às instituições centrais para controlar as receitas fiscais do *Estado da Índia*.

Palavras-chave

Estado da Índia; *fazenda real*; governo financeiro; *feitorias*; *vice-reis*; *vedores da fazenda*; *Casa dos Contos*; *Casa da Matrícula*.

Introduction

By the mid-sixteenth century, the administrative structure underpinning the Portuguese royal exchequer had already been established in the region of the Indian Ocean. It was made up of a network of trading posts and customs houses, spread between the East African coast and the Molucca Islands, and the central administrative bodies located in Goa. In its two aspects (central and peripheral), this administrative structure was responsible for the circulation of tax revenue, merchandise and the other material goods that supported the political and commercial projects of the Portuguese monarchy in Asia. Part of this structure also bore responsibility for collecting together the Asian goods bound for the metropolis, as well as organizing the logistical support rendered to the *Carreira da Índia* (the India Route). The royal exchequer of the *Estado da Índia* consequently represented a vital administrative instrument, particularly since the planned Portuguese monopoly over navigation and trade in the Indian Ocean presupposed from the outset that there would be abundant resources available for sustaining a military and naval machine.

In recent decades, interest in the financial history of the *Estado da Índia* has resulted in various in-depth studies that have made it possible not only to reconstruct the many different tax systems linked to the Portuguese monarchy in Asia, but also to identify the successive financial conjunctures that occurred throughout the period under observation. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1982) and Artur Teodoro de Matos (1994 and 1996) have produced landmark studies within this context. More recently, Francisco Bethencourt (1998) and Jorge Pedreira (2007) returned to the theme and produced some important bibliographical summaries. The political historiography on the Portuguese empire in the Asia has also produced some important contributions towards understanding the process of establishing a royal taxation system and creating an administrative framework for financial governance. In a seminal article, Luís Filipe Thomaz (1994b) highlighted the political heterogeneity of the *Estado da Índia* and its complex relationships of power, based upon the diversity of statutes adopted by the different areas and territories making up the empire. This central idea has been taken up by other authors and studied from the viewpoint of the new theoretical context generated by the political and institutional historiography written since the early 1980s. Within this field, there are the seminal texts by António Manuel Hespanha on the political-administrative architecture of the empire (1995 and 2001), the study of Catarina Madeira Santos on the construction of the capital in Goa (1999), as well as the research by António Vasconcelos Saldanha (1997) geared towards identifying the crown's treaties for territorial acquisition in the Asia and studying the nature of the diplomatic relationships established with the Asian rulers. Thanks to these contributions, it has become clear that the establishment of the Portuguese monarchy's fiscal jurisdiction in the Asia was bound up with the different solutions for political integration that were encountered on a case-by-case basis. Hence, the political submission of some territories led to the appropriation of the pre-existing taxation systems, resulting simply from the replacement of the previously existing Asian rulers. Conversely, the capacity for exacting taxes was nonexistent in places where the establishment of the Portuguese presence was based on solutions for shared rule, negotiated with the local political authorities.

Although the administrative framework set up for the management of the royal exchequer is understood in its general terms, little is yet known about the instruments and practices of the financial governance of the *Estado da Índia*. The historiography written on the Portuguese presence in Asia has not yet resulted in any in-depth study of such themes as the true configuration of the State's organizational bodies, the functional interaction between the center and the periphery, the logics of the circulation and internal redistribution of the money raised from taxes or the inspections carried out by the tax receiving officials. Far from exhausting this vast and complex theme, the aim here is to reconstitute the functional make-up of this administrative mechanism, in both its central and peripheral aspects in order to identify the instruments of financial management and consider the challenges faced by central institutions in controlling the tax revenue of the *Estado da Índia*.¹

¹ This study returns to some of the conclusions presented under the scope of the doctoral thesis in the History of the Discoveries and Portuguese Expansion, defended by the author at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the New University of Lisbon (Miranda 2007).

The time span chosen for this study requires some explanations. The first year of this period coincides with the moment when the functional structure of the region's financial governance underwent the first of several alterations that were to take place over the course of the following decades with the appointment of the first comptroller of finance for the *Estado da Índia*. He enjoyed exactly the same powers as his counterparts in the metropolis, and it was this that laid the foundations for the subsequent complexity of the central administrative system. Ideally, the year marking the end of the period studied would be 1769, the date when the Pombaline reforms of the kingdom's accounting and financial system, launched in the metropolis in 1761, reached the *Estado da Índia*, breaking with the model that had been in force until then. In truth, although there were some other processes of reconfiguration, resulting from the vicissitudes experienced by the *Estado da Índia*, the organizational system inaugurated in 1517 did not undergo any major or profound alterations that were such as to distort its nature, and it was only effectively dismantled in 1769 with the abolition of the *Casa dos Contos da Índia* and the establishment of the *Junta da Real Fazenda*. Correspondingly, the date of 1640 was chosen as the *ad quem* limit of this study, as it simultaneously represents the end of the Iberian Union and the culmination of a cycle of gradual contraction of the *Estado da Índia*, symbolized by the fall of Malacca to the Dutch at the beginning of 1641.

The peripheral administration: a network based on trading posts

It is in its peripheral extensions that we encounter probably the greatest peculiarity of the *Estado da Índia*, particularly if we compare its organizational network with the one found in the Spanish possessions in the Americas (Sanchez Bella 1968: 71-127; Bertrand 1999: 49-50). In Portuguese Asia, the administrative extensions set up for the purposes of financial management are inextricably bound up with two essential aspects. On the one hand, the crown's own commercial interests, linked to sustaining the *Carreira da Índia* and leading to the establishment of the first trading posts on the coast of Malabar and the East African coast. And, on the other hand, a broader project of political intervention across the Indian Ocean, begun in 1510 and itself also associated with the maintenance of the Cape maritime route. Its implementation involved the subjection of certain Asian territories through various treaties of acquisition (Bouchon 1992; Thomaz 1994a; Subrahmanyam 1993; Saldanha 1997). To this end, after starting out as an essentially commercial venture, based upon the creation of a network of trading posts, Portuguese intervention in the Indian Ocean gradually began to take on another dimension as the crown set about establishing its position as a fiscal presence in those territories that had been subjugated politically.

Thanks to this intrusion onto the Asian political chessboard, the king of Portugal was able to use taxation as a means of establishing sources of revenue that enabled him to ensure the self-sustainability of the crown's intervention in Asia. At the end of the 16th century, tax revenues were varied in nature, deriving from land tax in those cases where territories had been integrated into the empire (Island of Goa, Salsete, Bardez, Bassein and Daman and, up to a certain point, the island of Ceylon), but also from taxes levied on intra-Asian trade and payable at the customs houses controlled by the *Estado da Índia* (Godinho 1982). Indeed, the Portuguese recognized the immense potential of their dealings in Asia and sought to control local trade by force of arms, whether through a system of *cartazes*,² or through the not always successful attempt to ensure local trade was channelled to their maritime customs houses (Goa, Diu, Ormuz and Malacca). And, in fact, in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, the income from customs duties amounted to 60 percent of the total revenue of the *Estado da Índia* (Matos 1994).

Both the management of the king of Portugal's commercial interests in the Asia and the incorporation and management of the tax revenue required the administrative structures to be purpose built for this role. Hence, until 1510, the administrative network connected to the exchequer in Asia was based upon trading posts such as those in Cochin, Cannanor, Quilon, Sofala and Mozambique, which played logistical support roles and/or provided commercial links with the local rulers in the regions where they were located.³ Simultaneously passing through the hands of

² *Cartazes*: licenses granted to Muslim vessels, issued by the Portuguese authorities.

³ This form of commercial organization represented the extension into the Asian world of a European instrument of mercantile intervention, with proven links to the medieval trading posts of the Mediterranean and commonly used whenever there was some permanent presence in "foreign" lands (Rau 1984: 143-149). It

these agents were coins and goods sent by the treasurers of the *Casa da Índia*, the revenue deriving from their participation in regional trading networks, as well as the income from the sale of sea looted goods. This original administrative structure grew and became much more complex from 1510 onwards, given the need to create a mechanism for collecting and managing the tax revenue resulting from the incorporation of new territories. The administrative instruments used for this purpose were much more adaptable, whenever possible incorporating the pre-existing organizational framework, specifically the customs houses and *tanadarias*,⁴ which were considered equivalent to collection offices because of the role that they played in exacting taxes and duties. However, the central core of the exchequer structure continued to be based on the trading post, replicated in the different territories taken over by the Portuguese monarchy (such as Goa, Malacca, Ormuz, Bassein). However, there was one difference. The new trading posts were granted the jurisdiction necessary for them to operate just like any other treasury or *almoxarifado* (tax collection office) in the metropolis: they were locally responsible for centralizing the revenue due to the king of Portugal, incorporating and overseeing the *recebedorias*, whenever these existed, as well as for effecting the payment of local expenses. Under such circumstances, the trading posts endowed with fiscal jurisdiction were hybrid administrative units as far as their scope of action was concerned: on the one hand, they performed the typical tasks of commercial representation, and, on the other hand, they took on fiscal and financial responsibilities similar in every way to those of the *almoxarifados* to be found elsewhere in the kingdom.

For all intents and purposes, the progressive annexation of tax revenues, fostered and sustained by the dynamism of the Asian economies, inaugurated a specific organizational model characterized by the autonomy and decentralization of financial management in relation to the central bodies of the kingdom as a whole. Seen from this perspective, although the *Carreira da Índia* and the intra-Asian trade routes were integrated into the same economic system (Schwartz 2007: 26-27), their management was far from unified. The organization and financing of the *Carreira da Índia*, a crown monopoly, were undertaken in Lisbon, at the *Casa da Índia* (Ferreira 1984; Costa 2002: 25-26), while the management of the intra-Asian trade and the control of its benefits were the responsibility of the extensions to the royal administration that were gradually being implemented across Asia. Under these terms, the taxes collected by the trading posts were spent locally on maintaining their heavy administrative, ecclesiastic, military and naval machinery. As Filipe I of Portugal was to say in a letter to the municipality of Chaul in 1591, from the income linked to the royal exchequer and collected in Asia, nothing flowed back to the central coffers of the kingdom (AHU, CI, cod. 281, f. 151).

Inextricably linked to the ebb and flow of the Portuguese presence in Asia, the peripheral administrative network in this area of governance was characterized by a high degree of fluidity that makes it difficult to form any precise picture of its real size. Nevertheless, a detailed account produced by a senior officer of the *Casa dos Contos* provides us with an x-ray for the year of 1618 (AHU, Índia, caixa 8, doc. 45). At that point in time, there were twenty trading posts dotted along the East African coast, the Persian Gulf, the west coast of India, Ceylon and Southeast Asia.⁵ While not all posts had their own sources of tax revenue, these administrative units had as their common denominator the fact that they managed financial resources belong to the monarchy and that their officials were subject to inspection by the *Casa dos Contos* at the end of their three-year postings. In addition to these trading posts, there was also the complex organizational system established in the territories of Goa, Salsete and Bardez, made up of twelve autonomous administrative units.⁶ In overall terms, the peripheral administrative network of the exchequer, at that time, was composed of thirty-two units, geographically dispersed but unified under central institutions based in Goa. Despite the sheer scale of this network, what needs to be taken into consideration is that these cells presented distinctly different potentials in terms of their capacity to produce net gains that could be

should also be added that this solution had already been tried out on the West African coast at the trading posts in Arguim and São Jorge da Mina.

⁴ Tax districts unified by a *tanadar*, who was responsible for centralizing the collection of the taxes owed to the lord of the land.

⁵ The trading posts were the following: Sofala, Mombasa, Muscat, Ormuz, Diu, Damão, Bassein, Manorá, Chaul, Goa, Onor, Barcelor, Mangalor, Cannanor, Cochin, Cranganor, Quilon, Manar, Ceylon and Malacca.

⁶ The most important included the executor of the *Casa dos Contos*, the tax officers (*almoxarifes*) of Ribeira Grande and Ribeira das Galés, as well as the tax receivers (*recebedores*) of Salsete and Bardez.

appropriated by the capital. Their relative importance in this field is clearly reflected in those reports on their expenditure that have survived till this day.⁷ Thus, based on the budgetary information available for 1620, the trading posts in Ormuz, Diu, Bassein, Daman, Goa and Malacca were the most profitable and consequently called for greater attention from the central institutions (Matos 1994: 79). By the same logic, those trading posts not generating any tax revenue, such as Barcelor, Cannanor, Quilon or Mangalor, to name just a few, were deemed secondary, irrespective of their strategic value for the *Estado da Índia*.

The central administration. The governing structure of the exchequer

Although displaying certain specific characteristics, the *Estado da Índia*'s model of financial management did not differ substantially from the organizational systems of other European monarchies. In the mid-1570s, the central apparatus located in Goa was structured around four distinct functions, which were entrusted to magistrates or specific bodies. They were: 1) *economic* governance or the active management of the crown's material resources, embodied in the capacity to issue general and particular directives on matters of financial governance; 2) the inspection of the accounts of the agents of the peripheral and central administration, which was designed to check on the legitimacy of accounting transactions; 3) the centralization of the records kept of the soldiers and officers in the service of the king of Portugal for the purposes of controlling their respective payments; 4) the executive management of the expenditure entrusted to the central administration, which resulted in the creation of a treasury structure. Largely reproducing the organizational pattern adopted in the metropolis, between 1505 and 1576, this structure was gradually built up in response to the increasing Portuguese intervention in the territories around the Indian Ocean. After all, the purpose was to endow the center with the jurisdictional competences and the administrative means necessary to rule over the peripheral network. This resulted in a process that, far from reflecting any systematic plan for improving the methods used for the management of the exchequer, was shaped by factors of a political order and marked by successive reconfigurations that were sometimes nothing more than a response to short-term situations and events. It is worth taking a general look at the evolution of this quadripartite structure.

The creation of an organic structure for financial governance dated back to 1505 and was achieved by vesting the powers inherent in *economic* governance in the first viceroy of India (Santos, 1999: 35). This consequently determined the top rank in the hierarchy of the administrative network, itself made up of factors (*feitores*) and tax officers (*almoxarifes*), who henceforth were obliged to execute the orders issued by the highest magistrature of the *Estado da Índia*. However, this area of governance only achieved functional autonomy in 1517 with the separation of some juridical areas of competence initially entrusted to the viceroy and attributed to a specific magistrature. The scope of action of the first comptroller (*vedor*) of the Indian exchequer, appointed in that same year, was similar to his counterparts attached to the kingdom's central administration (Hespanha 1989a: 182-188) and included yet further specific powers and duties. The coordination of supplies to the trading posts and fortresses, the administrative control of the crown's trade and the supervision of the loading of the ships operating on the *Carreira da Índia*, can be numbered among the most relevant of these responsibilities (Miranda 2004: 322-323). With this solution, the periphery was also endowed with its own higher body of control: the officials of the trading posts and customs houses were hierarchically answerable to the comptroller of the royal exchequer, executing his instructions and his orders of expenditure and submitting their accounts to him on completion of their three-year period of service. In this way, the essential conditions were created for attributing specific powers in the area of fiscal management within the framework of the crown's administrative organization. Despite the unequivocal autonomy that was granted in 1517, the jurisdiction of the viceroy in the active administration of the royal exchequer remained practically unaltered.

In the following decades, the higher administration of the exchequer was to undergo successive reformulations in terms of its governing bodies. The most relevant interventions took place in the 1550s, involving the setting up of a new magistrature entrusted exclusively with coordinating the tasks related with the provisioning of the *Carreira da Índia*. The headquarters for

⁷ On the budgets and the calculation techniques in effect, see Godinho 1982.

the operations of the “comptroller of the exchequer for the loading and unloading of ships” was fixed in Cochin, due to its status as the centralizing port for the loading of vessels sailing back to the metropolis. Irrespective of this division of responsibilities, the active management of the resources of the royal exchequer and the structuring of the hierarchy of tax collection officials remained the preserve of the viceroy and the “comptroller of the Goa exchequer”, also designated the “comptroller-general” (*vedor-geral da fazenda*).

When the administrative governance of the exchequer was made autonomous in 1517, the first steps were also taken towards rendering its second function autonomous through the creation of what would also become a specific body. We are referring here to the introduction of local mechanisms for inspecting the tax collection officials. In Cochin, a small group of auditors (*contadores*) and secretaries (*escrivães*) began to take on the shape of the future *Casa dos Contos*, equipping the viceroy with a fundamental instrument for evaluating the financial positions of the actual trading posts themselves. However, in the following years, this new structure still remained under the supervision of the central institution located in Lisbon (the *Casa dos Contos do Reino e Casa*). Full autonomy would only be granted in around 1545 and already after its transfer to Goa had been completed. Henceforth, the *Casa dos Contos de Goa* took over the inspection of the exchequer officials with the respective letters of quittance being issued in India and signed by the viceroy.

The third pillar of the structure of governance was based upon the *Casa da Matrícula*, whose field of action has to be understood within the framework of the model for Portuguese intervention in the region of the Indian Ocean and the control exercised by the crown over the emigration of its subjects. Each year, the ships following the *Rota do Cabo* would arrive in Asia and set ashore hundreds of individuals, all previously enrolled at the *Casa da Índia*, who would be expected to swell the ranks of crown servants working at fortress garrisons or in the fleets. On arrival in India, since their names were already listed in the ledgers sent from the metropolis, they had to present themselves at the *Casa da Matrícula* in order to formally complete the registration of their names in the respective official ledgers. In this way, the link of their service to the monarchy was confirmed, since only those individuals who were thus registered with the *Casa da Matrícula* were eligible to receive their pay from the royal exchequer. This institution therefore played the fundamental role of serving as a repository of information about the men who worked for the organs of Portuguese control in the Asia. The centralization of this information was essential for the *a posteriori* inspection of the legitimacy of the salaries paid by the trading posts.

Finally, the fourth central body of financial management was represented by the treasury of the *Estado da Índia*, which was formally established in 1576 through a change in the status of the original treasury of Goa, making it the central treasury. Thereafter, in addition to the executive management of the taxes collected locally, the treasury of the capital of the *Estado da Índia* was also given responsibility for centralizing the net balances emanating from the State’s other administrative units (Pissurlencar 1951: 3-15). This solution sought to ensure that the “hard cash of the State’s income” was brought to Goa, thus equipping the treasury with the resources necessary to meet the extraordinary expenses for which it was responsible. This financial concentration was designed to cover the significant costs of equipping and provisioning the fleets that set sail each year from Goa with the mission of patrolling the Indian Ocean and providing support to navigation and the Portuguese garrisons.

Following the integration of Portugal into the Hispanic Monarchy, this functional structure was not called into question, even though some alterations were introduced into the field of political practices. The *Casa dos Contos* and the *Casa da Matrícula* provide examples of wide-reaching interventions designed to specify their responsibilities and redefine their place within the organizational framework. The former was subjected to intense restructuring, resulting in a new set of rules for the rendering of accounts, tax collection and the execution of debts, as well as a new definition of the duties to be performed by its officials (Rivara 1992: V, 1173-1246,⁸ 1578-1585). Simultaneously, the structure of the tribunal also underwent significant changes with the

⁸ The regulations of the *Casa dos Contos* of Goa date from 23 March 1589 and were published for the first time by J. H. da Cunha Rivara in 1866, who used the copy contained in one of the 16th-century registers of the *Casa dos Contos de Goa*, kept at the Historical Archives of Goa. It should be noted that these regulations were later republished in another edition, courtesy of Virgínia Rau (Rau 1949, 107-176).

establishment of the *Mesa do Despacho dos Contos*.⁹ For all intents and purposes, the laws enacted in 1589 endowed the *Casa dos Contos de Goa* with a clearly defined organization and configuration. In keeping with this greater bureaucratic complexity, the human resources allocated to the service of this tribunal grew in number, amounting to around fifty officials by the early 17th century (Miranda 2007). In general terms, the intervention undertaken at the *Casa da Matrícula* followed the same regulatory principles, through the introduction of a new set of regulations brought into effect in 1593 (Rivara 1992: V, 1325-1363).

However, the most important change introduced by Filipe I of Portugal was the creation of the *Conselho da Fazenda* (the Revenue Council of the Exchequer). This change formed part of the extension of the model of synodal and jurisdictional administration, typical of the Hispanic Monarchy, to the overseas territories held by the Portuguese crown (Hespanha 1989b: 58-59). Under these terms, this Council in India duplicated the corresponding institution established in the metropolis in 1591 and presupposed an alteration in the style of government since the control of goods and resources belonging to the crown was now exercised by a synodal structure. Accordingly, extraordinary matters relating to the exchequer would have to be put before a council of magistrates so that their deliberations would be the result of a broader debate.

The process leading to the foundation of the *Conselho da Fazenda* in India still remains shrouded in a series of questions. The first “exchequer boards” (*mesas da fazenda*) met in Goa in the late 1580s thus complying with the instructions emanating from the court of Madrid (Lemos 1862: 65-69, 92-94, 135-137). However, in the absence of a normative body to regulate its specific configuration and its duties, this body was characterized in its early years by a serious lack of institutional definition.¹⁰ This ambiguity was reflected, for example, in the alterations made to its composition, which only attained stability in the second decade of the seventeenth century with the establishment of a team of two ministers of the exchequer and three jurists, in addition to the viceroy or governor serving as president of the Council (Miranda 2007: 247-253). A similar lack of definition was to be found in the irregular nature of the meetings that were held, leading us to believe that their convening depended on the availability of its members or the will of the governor.¹¹ In any case, this institutional ambiguity of the Council suggests that only matters of extreme importance required a collegial decision, since the ordinary day-to-day management of the exchequer was undertaken by the treasury comptrollers of Goa and Cochin. As from the second decade of the seventeenth century, the Council’s sphere of action became clearer and also tended to extend into different areas. Its main responsibilities centered around the active administration of the exchequer, while it was also entrusted with the task of performing the acts of power necessary to ensure its conservation and enlargement.¹² To this end, the *Conselho da Fazenda* was placed hierarchically at the top of the entire exchequer apparatus, ranging from the tax collection officials to the treasury comptrollers, and including the *Casa dos Contos*.

A decentralized management model

One of the essential characteristics in the structure of this organizational system was certainly its decentralization, which was in fact a common feature in the mechanisms of financial governance adopted by the European monarchies throughout the modern period. This form of organization gave rise to the typical atomization of accountancy, with the crown’s overall income

⁹ The Audit Board. This body comprised three high-ranking officials from the tribunal, responsible for exercising voluntary jurisdiction and taking note of the appeals submitted regarding the payment of debts.

¹⁰ This lack of institutional definition was not unusual within the political and administrative panorama of the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula (Carlos Morales 1996: 25-27).

¹¹ The intervals between the meetings of these “exchequer boards” varied greatly, sometimes amounting to as long as seven months.

¹² Among the matters falling within the Council’s sphere of action were the tax collection of the royal exchequer, the contracting and auctioning of royal rents, the increase of salaries, the acquisition of provisions for fleets and fortresses, the supervision of the *Carreira da Índia*, the signing of pepper contracts and the transfer and circulation of funds between units (Gune 1979; HAG, CF, cód. 1159-1160).

being divided into multiple small local balances, which it was difficult for the political center to collect. Until the reforms introduced by the Marquis of Pombal in India in 1769, the trading posts endowed with fiscal jurisdiction managed their own revenue and were also responsible for the payment of local expenses, through the technical device of assigning income to expenditure. This resulted in great rigidity in regard to the availability of the money that was raised as well as the impossibility of ensuring its unified management.

This organizational system also reveals a peculiarly characteristic feature. The joining together of a handful of trading posts and customs houses in the form of a network was the result of the immense territorial dispersal arising from the eminently maritime and discontinuous nature of the empire, which was gradually being built up as the Portuguese presence spread across Asia. Consequently, the geographic distance between the political heart of the *Estado da Índia* and its peripheral outposts, where tax revenue was raised, proved to be the second feature determining the structure of this system. With one aggravating factor. In this case, the financial dispersal was exacerbated by the fact that the links with the capital, Goa, were maintained through maritime voyages that were necessarily dependent on a restricted annual calendar dictated by the monsoon season. Inevitably, the relationship between the center and its peripheral extensions, for the purpose of collecting their revenue, suffered from the limitations resulting from these circumstances.

While inevitably being dictated by geographic dispersal, the decentralization of the *Estado da Índia*'s royal exchequer derived above all from the nature of its financial administration, based upon the high level of autonomy that factors, tax officers (*almoxarifes*) and treasurers enjoyed in administering the crown's goods and resources.

Such autonomy could be noted at various levels. Firstly, tax collection officials were not hierarchically subject to the civil authority of the fortress captains. In keeping with a strategy pursued by the crown since the beginning of the sixteenth century, these captains were not allowed either to have any involvement in matters relating to the exchequer or to order the payment of expenses (Rivara 1992: V, 4-5). Although there was frequent infringement of this directive, this rule presupposed the administrative separation between civil and military powers and those of the royal exchequer in the administrative extensions of the *Estado da Índia*. At the same time, the activities of the factors were themselves also outside the control of local magistrates and they were only inspected on completion of their respective three-year periods of service when they were obliged to submit their accounts. The tax collection officials consequently enjoyed great room for maneuver in their daily management of monetary flows, as demonstrated, for example, by the freedom that they were given to decide upon the sequence in which payments were to be made out of local revenue or to take decisions about the purchase and sale of supplies and munitions. While tax collectors were hierarchically answerable to the government officers based in Goa, i.e. to the viceroy, the comptroller of the exchequer and the *Conselho da Fazenda*, who issued the collectors with directives from the late 16th century onwards, this hierarchical relationship did not affect the foundations of a model based upon the budgetary plurality of the monarchy.

On another level, the jurisdiction afforded to tax collection officials also tended to increase their autonomy. At trading posts where tax revenues were collected, the jurisdiction of the factors was similar to that afforded to the tax officers (*almoxarifes*) of the judicial districts back in the metropolis (Hespanha 1989a: 168-169). Hence, they were able to decide upon civil and criminal matters involving tax farmers and tenants, with appeals being made to the comptroller of the exchequer, and they had the power to confiscate goods from them and even to order their arrest under certain circumstances. To this end, the factor behaved like a "judge" in matters relating to the exchequer, which provoked institutional conflicts with the magistrates at the fortresses.

Inevitably, an organizational structure of this type placed the factors, *recedores* and *almoxarifes* at the center of financial administration. In practice, they were the key actors, so that we need to evaluate the characteristics of the individuals appointed to take up these offices. As in the administrative systems of other European monarchies, exchequer officials were selected in accordance with criteria related with notions of personal loyalty and the remuneration of services (Carlos Morales 2008: 333).

In the *Estado da Índia*, appointments were the prerogative of the crown, even though, from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, this power was extended to viceroys, although only within certain limits. Furthermore, the governors were to follow the criteria dictated by the

crown and consider only individuals worthy of “favor”, preferably chosen from among those who had already served in a military capacity. In 1605, a more precise rule was imposed making it impossible for anyone to be appointed a factor unless they had already rendered eight years of service to the *Estado da Índia* (Silva 1854: I, 106). However, at the beginning of the second quarter of the 17th century, there were already clear infringements to be noted in the appointments made by viceroys, which were marked by personal interests and their own patronage-based strategies. The positions of factors and secretaries were granted as a favor, using the expedient of wedding dowries, and were thus given to individuals who were close to the viceroy and did not have any prior record of service in India. Once this failure to abide by the rules established in 1605 was noted, the system of grace and favor relating to such appointments came to require prior authorization by the *Conselho da Fazenda* (Silva 1855: III, 176). Over the course of the 1630s, a new trend began to emerge in terms of the selection filters used for recruitment to such positions, with efforts being made to restrict appointments to those who could demonstrate basic mastery of writing (AHU, CU, cod. 219, f. 66v-67). However, this restriction did not alter the essential pattern of appointments to the exchequer, which continued to be based upon the remuneration of services (AHU, Índia, caixa 28, doc. 65).

This perception of the positions of factor and secretary at the trading posts as amounting to royal favors had the usual consequences. The corresponding salaries were low and scarcely guaranteed the dignified survival of their recipients. Hence, the door was opened to the spread of fraudulent practices, some of which were tacitly tolerated by the crown: with greater or lesser skill, many officials sought to extract monetary gain from their three-year period of office, rewarding themselves for the services that they rendered to the monarchy. The existence of a causal connection between the criteria established for the appointment of tax collection officials, their low salaries and the appropriation of exchequer resources for individual benefit did not go unnoticed among the most senior magistrates of the *Estado da Índia*.

Among the most common practices adopted by exchequer officials were the private use of the goods and money entrusted to their care and the embezzlement of funds destined for the payment of wages. In this latter case, this was done with the connivance of the fortress captains: the factors allocated to themselves the wages of individuals who had already died. These were the so-called fantastic soldiers (*praça fantásticas*), systematically denounced in the correspondence reaching Lisbon and Madrid. This was undoubtedly a systemic fraud that involved platforms of tacit understanding with other administrative structures of the crown, extending equally to the *Casa da Matrícula* and the *Casa dos Contos*. Other practices included the manipulation of the ledgers detailing income and expenditure or the falsification of receipts. However, above all, it was the existence of a large market in *dívidas velhas* (old debts) that appeared to represent the corollary of the range of different practices designed to embezzle funds from the royal exchequer. This procedure became common practice from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, even if it was far from being exclusive to the *Estado da Índia*. On the contrary, the debentures representing *dívidas velhas* also circulated in the metropolis, pointing to a systematic recourse to credit, itself reflecting the growing financial needs that were, in fact, common to all western monarchies in the sixteenth century (Bonney 1995: 438). As has already been highlighted in relation to other contexts (Bertrand 1999: 30-31), the debentures of the loans contracted by the royal exchequer from individuals were subject to intense trading, brought about by the typical liquidity problems faced by the treasury: unable to obtain immediate satisfaction of the amount owed, the parties involved tended to sell the debentures for a third or even a quarter of their face value. In the *Estado da Índia*, fortress captains, exchequer officials and viceroys all became involved in the acquisition of these securities in the expectation of being able to collect the full value of the debt from the royal coffers, simply by invoking the powers of the jurisdiction that was vested in them.

The interaction and constraints existing between the center and the periphery

One of the consequences of this decentralized model of governance was the prevalence of the “financial egoism” with which each trading post tended to consume the tax revenue collected locally. Various fraudulent practices were perpetrated involving widespread complicity between residents and royal officials, so that the local coffers were systematically emptied, even though it is impossible to quantify the scale of this misuse of funds, for which the crown showed a high level of

tolerance. The principal magistrates of the *Estado da Índia* could clearly see the great discrepancy between, on the one hand, the surplus balances estimated in the budgets and recorded at the fortresses of Ormuz, Diu, Malacca and Bassein and, on the other hand, the amounts of money that actually made their way to Goa, which were always far lower. In this context, the lack of liquidity at the central institutions seems to have been a systematic occurrence, at least from the 1560s onwards.

Seen from the viewpoint of the political heart of the *Estado da Índia*, this tendency to appropriate financial resources, shown by the periphery, had disastrous consequences. The seriousness of the problem has to be seen in the light of the particular characteristics of the Portuguese enterprise in Asia. Because of the role it played in coordinating the military defense of the *Estado da Índia*, Goa incurred high extraordinary costs related to provisioning the fleets that patrolled the seas. Within this context, the payment of certain expenses at the local tax offices, as was common practice in the metropolis, was not a viable option. Furthermore, Goa was also responsible for redistributing the surplus revenue of the *Estado da Índia* and channeling it towards those territories that were deprived of income. Under such circumstances, the regular inflow into the Goa Treasury of the net balances from the more lucrative tax collection offices was vital for maintaining the *Estado da Índia*.

Goa responded to the “financial egoism” of the periphery by implementing extraordinary administrative procedures designed to increase the collection of monetary and material inflows. From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, viceroys and governors systematically sent commissioners, vested with special powers in matters relating to the exchequer, to the fortresses with the highest income in the *Estado da Índia*. The three main destinations for the placement of these temporary officials were, in accordance with their geographic distribution, the fortresses of Ormuz and Mascate in the Persian Gulf, the “Northern fortresses” (Diu, Daman, Bassein and Chaul), and finally Malacca in south-east Asia. Of these destinations, given their geographic proximity to the capital, the Northern fortresses were the ones that received the largest number of commissioners with a frequency that became annual in the 1570s and 1580s. The island of Ceylon was also visited by a commissioner who, between 1597 and 1599, surveyed the tax revenue collected in the kingdom of Kotte and recorded in a register (BNP, cod. 1976, 41-48v.º; Silva 1975: 69-153).

As magistrates vested with extraordinary powers, the scope of their jurisdiction and the duration of their commission varied in accordance with their specific objectives. Irrespective of these variations, some common features may, nevertheless, be identified. During their term of office, these magistrates took over the administration of the exchequer and exercised powers of inspection over the local administrative infrastructures, thereby acting as a competing authority. Although the concrete results obtained by these commissioners may have been unequal, it may be safely claimed that this was an expedient that increased the center’s power of intervention in its peripheral outposts.

However, this expedient was not used as a regular mechanism for monitoring the periphery, largely because of the constant complaints made by captains and factors, as well as other critical voices that were raised firstly in Lisbon and then in Madrid, calling for an end to this procedure. The problem was that the commissioners were individuals working for the viceroys and consequently alien to the locally composed teams, being vested with a delegated jurisdiction that placed them above the local magistrates. Indeed, the strong opposition of the captains and factors to the presence of these extraordinary comptrollers of the exchequer sometimes even resulted in physical confrontations, which certainly underlines their effectiveness and capacity to counteract the autonomy of the periphery. Within the context of the legal and political culture of that time, these extraordinary magistrates were viewed as a disturbance to the established order and an intolerable intrusion into the area of jurisdiction of the factors.

In view of the upset caused by this measure, and given the jurisdictional traditions of the Hispanic Monarchy, from the mid-1580s onwards, Filipe II imposed heavy restrictions on these commissions, systematically recommending that viceroys abstain from engaging in such procedures (Rivara 1992: III, 92-97, 207-215, 286-289, 308-315, 703-709, 921-932). It was becoming clear that improving management procedures was not in itself one of the objectives of the political powers. On the contrary, the financial policy of the crown operated within the limits imposed by the recognition of the privileges and rights of the ordinary magistrates.

The restrictions imposed by the Hispanic Monarchy on these commissioners immediately resulted in a split with the central authorities in Goa. The permanent atmosphere of military tension existing within the *Estado da Índia* placed great strain on the resources of the royal exchequer and called for a greater capacity to irradiate power out to the periphery. Thus, between the end of the 16th century and the early years of the 17th century, based on decisions taken in the *Conselho da Fazenda*, viceroys and governors resorted to various pretexts in order to continue sending commissioners to the more lucrative fortresses, flouting the directives issued by Madrid. And so, in order to circumvent the objections of the court, instead of these magistrates being given the title of “comptrollers of the exchequer,” they were referred to as “superintendents,” or “visitors to the fortresses.” These expressions supposedly afforded them the power to be able to watch over ordinary magistrates, but they did not evoke the powers of control that were normally associated with comptrollers or inspectors. Another expedient that was also used by Goa consisted of taking advantage of the dispatch of *desembargadores* (crown judges) sent on legal missions to the fortresses, by granting them additional powers in relation to matters of the exchequer. Any of these solutions would always meet with the crown’s vigorous disapproval.

However, signs of recognition of the negative effects of budgetary fragmentation also emanated from Madrid, stressing the need to limit the financial autonomy of ordinary magistrates because of the strain on financial resources arising from the continuing rivalry with the Dutch. A change in direction could be noted in the creation of the post of comptroller of the exchequer in Ceylon, Malacca and Ormuz, decided by the monarchy and implemented in 1608, 1612 and 1615 respectively (Pato 1884: I, 138-139; II, 207-208; III, 179-180). In this way, these officials were afforded an ordinary status, being integrated into the local administrative structures and thus acquiring a different configuration in terms of their functions. Theoretically, the administrative network was strengthened and the political heart of the *Estado da Índia* gained a new and additional means of inspecting the periphery. And it was not by chance that this decision involved trading posts that were important from a financial point of view, even if they were simultaneously distant from the geographic point of view. Left out of this new scheme were the territories closest to Goa, such as Bassein and Daman. In these cases, communications with Goa continued to be made through commissioners, at least until the mid-seventeenth century.

Despite the weaknesses described here, it should be recalled that this atomized model of financial management made use of various expedients that made it possible to soften the effects of budgetary fragmentation. For example, we may refer to the transfers between customs houses, made through the use of internal mechanisms for monetary compensation, or the opening of customs boards in territories deprived of fiscal jurisdiction, which anticipated the collection of the duties linked to the central customs (such as Goa and Diu). This latter mechanism was a way of allocating resources to trading posts without any income from taxation and served to operate an effective redistribution of resources without the costs of physically transporting cash. At the same time, allotting the payment of expenses to the receipt of specific income, which was common practice in the financial organizations of modern monarchies and was transposed to the *Estado da Índia*, was a strategy that could be used for the benefit of the royal coffers, enabling the exchequer to defer payments, specifically those that needed to be made to its creditors (Dubet 2000). These and other questions open up a vast field of analysis that is beyond the scope of this article, but which is worthy of further investigation. Only in this way will we be able to fully understand the logic underlying this decentralized model, which needs to be seen within the framework of the limits imposed by the material culture of the Ancien Regime.

Conclusion

Throughout the period under observation, the mechanism of financial governance located in Goa became unequivocally more complex, as can be seen from the replication of the magistratures and organizational structures that were to be found at the political center of the monarchy, as well as the deepening of the body of laws designed to regulate their operations. The political core of the *Estado da Índia* was endowed with jurisdictional powers and the administrative means necessary for inspecting the peripheral network, which consisted of scattered trading posts and customs houses enjoying great functional autonomy. However, the greater complexity of the central structures did not result in any systematic plan to improve the methods used for the

management of the exchequer and to better adapt them to the needs of the *Estado da Índia*. The initiatives taken by either the court of Lisbon or the court of Madrid were above all shaped by factors of a political nature that sought to ensure the stability and continuity of the political-administrative system, broadly dominated by the local magistratures, endowed with a jurisdiction that was in fact unavailable to them. As was the case with the other European monarchies, principles such as rationality in economic and accounting processes were still far from dominating political decisions.

Given these circumstances, the difficulties faced by Goa in its control of the periphery were quite clear. The financial dispersal, the limitations imposed by the Asian monsoon season, the high level of autonomy enjoyed by officials and the frequency of fraudulent practices placed serious limits on the collection of the monetary and material flows generated locally and managed on a daily basis by the factors.

The structural limitations affecting the relationship between the center and the periphery were exacerbated by the insufficient operation of the *Casa dos Contos*. Despite the Iberian Union's clear attempts to regulate the system, the administrative inspection of the tax collection officials carried out by this tribunal was constantly hampered by countless internal and external obstacles, whose most immediate consequence was the systematic slowness with which accounts were rendered (Miranda 2007).

The frailties of the organizational system and its reduced capacity for inspection were not only of benefit to the factors and other tax collection officials, but also to all other administrative bodies that, rightly or wrongly, intervened in the executive management of the exchequer. Little alternative was left to the central authorities other than to tolerate the situation, given that any form of repression that was taken to its ultimate consequences might have called into question the loyalty of their servants. In this sense, the management of the royal exchequer must be seen as a means of redistributing resources in such a way as ensure synchronization between the interests of the monarchy and the private interests of the individuals serving the crown in administrative posts.

Abbreviations

AHU—Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Overseas Historical Archive)—Lisbon
BNP—Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (National Library of Portugal)
CF—*Conselho da Fazenda* (Revenue Council of the Exchequer—HAG)
CI—*Cartas da Índia* (Letters from India—AHU)
CU—*Conselho Ultramarino* (Overseas Council—AHU)
HAG—Historical Archives of Goa—Panaji, India

References

- Bertrand, Michel (1999). *Grandeur et Misère de l'Office. Les officiers de finances de Nouvelle-Espagne (XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.
- Bethencourt, Francisco (1998). O Estado da Índia. In Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa*. Vol. II, *Do Índico ao Atlântico (1570-1697)*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 284-314.
- Bonney, Richard (1995). Revenues. In R. Bonney (ed.), *Economic Systems and State Finance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 423-505.
- Bouchon, Geneviève (1992). *Albuquerque. Le Lion des Mers d'Asie*. Paris: Desjonquères.
- Carlos Morales, Carlos Javier de (1996). *El Consejo de Hacienda de Castilla. 1523-1602. Patronazgo y clientelismo en el gobierno de las finanzas reales durante el siglo XVI*. Madrid: Junta de Castilla y León.
- Carlos Morales, Carlos Javier de (2008). *Felipe II: el Imperio en Bancarrota. La Hacienda Real de Castilla y los negocios financieros del Rey Prudente*. Madrid: Editorial Dilema.
- Costa, Leonor Freire (2002). *Império e Grupos Mercantis entre o Oriente e o Atlântico (século XVII)*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- Dubet, Anne (2000). Finances et Réformes Financiers dans la Monarchie Espagnole (mi-XVI^e-début XVIII^e siècle): pour un état de la question. *Le Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 3-4: 56-83.
- Ferreira, Maria Emília Cordeiro (1984). Casa da Índia. In Joel Serrão (ed.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*. Vol. III, Porto: Livraria Figueirinhas, 281-289.
- Godinho, Vitorino Magalhães (1982). *Les Finances de l'État Portugais des Indes Orientales (1517-1635). Matériaux pour une étude structurelle et conjoncturelle*. Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

- Gune, V. T. (ed.) (1979). *Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda (1613-1621)*. Goa: Directorate of Historical Archives & Archaeology (Museum).
- Hespanha, António Manuel (1989a). *Vísperas del Leviatán. Instituciones y poder político. Portugal, siglo XVII*. Madrid: Taurus Humanidades.
- Hespanha, António Manuel (1989b). O Governo dos Áustria e a Modernização da Constituição Política Portuguesa. *Penélope*, 2: 50-73.
- Hespanha, António Manuel (1995). *Panorama da História Institucional e Jurídica de Macau*. Macau: Fundação Macau.
- Hespanha, António Manuel (2001). A Constituição do Império Português. Revisão de alguns enviesamentos correntes. In J. Frago, F. Bicalho and F. Gouvêa (eds.), *O Antigo Regime nos Trópicos. A dinâmica imperial portuguesa (séculos XVI-XVIII)*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 163-188.
- Lemos, Jorge de (1862-1863) [1593]. Carta a Pedro Álvares Pereira sobre vários negócios da Índia portuguesa. *Instituto*, X: 65-69, 92-94, 135-137; XI: 104-107, 131-134.
- Matos, Artur Teodoro de (1994). A Situação Financeira do Estado da Índia no Período Filipino (1581-1635). In *Na Rota da Índia. Estudos de História da Expansão Portuguesa*. Macau: Instituto Cultural, 61-81.
- Matos, Artur Teodoro de (1996). Le Régime Fiscal de l'Inde Portugaise du XVI^e et du XVII^e siècles. In *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian*, 35: 43-63.
- Miranda, Susana Münch (2004). A Administração da Fazenda no Estado da Índia (1545-1560): vedores da fazenda e Casa dos Contos. In *D. João III e o Império*. Actas do Congresso Internacional Comemorativo do seu Nascimento (Lisbon and Tomar, 4-8 June 2002). Lisbon: Centro de História de Além-Mar—Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa, 319-335.
- Miranda, Susana Münch (2007). *A Administração da Fazenda Real no Estado da Índia (1517-1640)*. PhD Thesis in the History of the Discoveries and the Portuguese Expansion (15-18th Centuries), Lisbon, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa (in print).
- Pato, R. A. de Bulhão (1884). *Documentos Remetidos da Índia ou Livros das Monções*. Vols. II-III, Lisbon: Academia Real das Ciências.
- Pedreira, Jorge M. (2007). Costs and Financial Trends in the Portuguese Empire, 1400-1800. In Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (eds.), *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400 to 1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 49-87.
- Pissurlencar, Panduronga S. S. (ed.) (1951). *Regimentos das Fortalezas da Índia*. Goa: Cartório Geral do Estado da Índia.
- Rau, Virgínia (1949). “Regimento da Casa dos Contos de Goa de 1589”. *Revista do Centro de Estudos Económicos*, 9: 107-176.
- Rau, Virgínia (1984). Feitores e Feitorias. ‘Instrumentos’ do Comércio Internacional Português no Século XVI. In *Estudos sobre História Económica e Social do Antigo Regime*. Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 143-199.
- Rivara, J. H. da Cunha (ed.) (1992). *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*. Vols. III-V, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.
- Saldanha, António Vasconcelos de (1997). *Iustum Imperium. Dos tratados como fundamento do império dos portugueses no Oriente*. Lisbon: Fundação Oriente—Instituto Português do Oriente.
- Sanchez-Bella, Ismael (1968). *La Organización Financiera de las Indias. Siglo XVI*. Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla.
- Santos, Catarina Madeira, (1999). “Goa é a Chave de toda a Índia”. *Perfil político da capital do Estado da Índia (1505-1570)*. Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses.
- Schwartz, Stuart B. (2007). The Economy of the Portuguese Empire. In Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (eds.), *The Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 19-48.
- Silva, C. R. de (1975). The first Portuguese revenue register of the Kingdom of Kotte—1599. *Ceylon Journal of History and Social Studies*, 5: 69-153.
- Silva, J. J. Andrade (ed.) (1854-1855). *Colecção Cronológica da Legislação Portuguesa*. vol. I-III. Lisbon.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay (1993). *The Portuguese Empire in Asia. 1500-1700. A Political and Economic History*. London and New York: Longman.
- Thomaz, Luís Filipe (1994a). Os Portugueses e a Rota das Especiarias. In *De Ceuta a Timor*. Lisbon: Difel, 169-187.
- Thomaz, Luís Filipe (1994b). A Estrutura Política e Administrativa do Estado da Índia no Século XVI. In *De Ceuta a Timor*. Lisbon: Difel, 207-243.

Notes

¹This study returns to some of the conclusions presented under the scope of the doctoral thesis in the History of the Discoveries and Portuguese Expansion, defended by the author at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the New University of Lisbon (Miranda 2007).

²*Cartazes*: licenses granted to Muslim vessels, issued by the Portuguese authorities.

³This form of commercial organization represented the extension into the Asian world of a European instrument of mercantile intervention, with proven links to the medieval trading posts of the Mediterranean and commonly used whenever there was some permanent presence in “foreign” lands (Rau 1984: 143-149). It should also be added that this solution had already been tried out on the West African coast at the trading posts in Arguim and São Jorge da Mina.

⁴Tax districts unified by a *tanadar*, who was responsible for centralizing the collection of the taxes owed to the lord of the land.

⁵The trading posts were the following: Sofala, Mombasa, Muscat, Ormuz, Diu, Damão, Bassein, Manorá, Chaul, Goa, Onor, Barcelor, Mangalor, Cannanor, Cochin, Cranganor, Quilon, Manar, Ceylon and Malacca.

⁶The most important included the executor of the *Casa dos Contos*, the tax officers (*almoxarifes*) of Ribeira Grande and Ribeira das Galés, as well as the tax receivers (*recebedores*) of Salsete and Bardez.

⁷On the budgets and the calculation techniques in effect, see Godinho 1982.

⁸The regulations of the *Casa dos Contos* of Goa date from 23 March 1589 and were published for the first time by J. H. da Cunha Rivara in 1866, who used the copy contained in one of the 16th-century registers of the *Casa dos Contos de Goa*, kept at the Historical Archives of Goa. It should be noted that these regulations were later republished in another edition, courtesy of Virgínia Rau (Rau 1949, 107-176).

⁹The Audit Board. This body comprised three high-ranking officials from the tribunal, responsible for exercising voluntary jurisdiction and taking note of the appeals submitted regarding the payment of debts.

¹⁰This lack of institutional definition was not unusual within the political and administrative panorama of the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula (Carlos Morales 1996: 25-27).

¹¹The intervals between the meetings of these “exchequer boards” varied greatly, sometimes amounting to as long as seven months.

¹²Among the matters falling within the Council’s sphere of action were the tax collection of the royal exchequer, the contracting and auctioning of royal rents, the increase of salaries, the acquisition of provisions for fleets and fortresses, the supervision of the *Carreira da Índia*, the signing of pepper contracts and the transfer and circulation of funds between units (Gune 1979; HAG, CF, cód. 1159-1160).

Portuguese Contraband and the Closure of the Iberian Markets, 1621-1640. The Economic Roots of an Anti-Habsburg Feeling.¹

Ángel Alloza Aparicio
CSIC
Angel.alloza@cchs.csic.es

Abstract

This article aims at exploring the extent of smuggled goods apprehended in Portuguese ports between 1621 and 1640, both in an economic and political perspective. Contraband is thus seen as the response of local authorities and merchants to neutralize the losses they suffered due to the decrease in legal trade caused by Philip IV's foreign policy. The paper also includes some evidence which shows how the problems of the Portuguese economy became a key element in arousing the anti-Spanish feelings that ultimately led to the 1640 uprising.

Keywords

Contraband, Portugal, Spain, Seventeenth Century, Foreign trade

Resumo

Este artigo pretende estudar a dimensão e o impacto do contrabando apreendido nos portos portugueses entre 1621 e 1640, numa perspectiva económica e política. Esta actividade ilegal era vista como uma resposta das autoridades locais e dos comerciantes que procuravam neutralizar os prejuízos recebidos pela diminuição da actividade comercial regular prejudicada pela política externa de Filipe IV. Considera-se ainda a importância da situação económica Portuguesa como elemento explicativo essencial para a consolidação do sentimento anti-Espanhol que conduziria ao 1 de Dezembro de 1640.

Palavras-chave

Contrabando, Portugal, Espanha, Século XVII, Comércio Externo

I. Philip IV's foreign policy and its impact on the Portuguese economy

The beginning of the reign of Philip IV witnessed a profound change in Spanish commercial policy towards the *Northern Countries*.^{*} Planners and economists close to the new government discovered that the freedom of trade enjoyed by Dutch and English merchants during the first two decades of the seventeenth century was highly beneficial for their nations but quite detrimental for Spain. The fear of a negative balance of payments, which meant that the deficit recorded in the accounts would have to be paid off in silver, provoked a shift towards a more protectionist policy. This change began at the end of the twelve-year truce signed with the United Provinces in 1621, which officially closed all trade with the rebels, and it was followed by the *Proclamation for Reformation*^{*} of 1623, which in its Chapters 12 and 13 established strict limitations on the importation of

¹The research for this paper was funded by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science, Project I+D HUM2006-06413/HIST.

^{*} The "Northern Countries" (Países de Septentrión in Spanish) included England, the Low Countries, Denmark, the Hanseatic League, the Baltic area, as well as other countries in the region.

^{*} Pragmática de Reformación.

French and English manufactures into the Iberian Peninsula. Finally, the *Admiralty of the Northern Countries** and its Court, founded respectively in 1624 and 1625, consolidated the mercantilist project (Israel 1997, Brightwell 1974, Grice-Hutchinson 1978, Larraz 2000, Hamilton 1948, Colmeiro 1963, Carrera Pujal 1945).

The Peninsular and colonial dependence on certain resources and manufactures transported mostly by Dutch and English merchants weakened the hermetic closure of the Iberian ports pursued by the government of the Hispanic Monarchy, as contraband and illicit trade gradually began to play a major role. The demand for products such as wheat from the Baltic area, timber, ammunitions, pitch, rigging, copper from the Scandinavian countries, and fish and textiles from England and Holland, not only encouraged illicit trade but was further stimulated by the implementation of a regulated system of special licenses to introduce banned merchandise—supposedly goods of prime necessity—into Spain and Portugal (Alloza 2006: 109-148, and Alloza and Cárceles de Gea 2009: 129-152).

For the Portuguese authorities, the new policy issuing from Madrid and tending towards the closure of the Iberian ports to the enemies represented a particular set of problems. The ban on trade with the Dutch, and later on with both the English and the French, caused serious damage to the Portuguese economy, which depended upon the trade in salt and colonial products, such as sugar, pepper and brazilwood. Nevertheless, such damage was not a new thing in 1621: under the Habsburg rule between 1580 and 1640, Portugal had become involved in all the Hispanic Monarchy's wars against the United Provinces, England and France. This means that not only did the Portuguese suffer continuous attacks on their colonies and navigation routes by the Dutch and the English, but they also had to cease trading with these nations whenever they became enemies of Spain (Boxer 1965, Valladares 2001, Freire Costa 2002, Cathia Antunes 2008). The combined effects of this situation were seriously detrimental to the Portuguese economy. First, wars prevented any commercial activity, and second the Portuguese government had to increase expenditure on defense, which brought greater fiscal pressures. From the outset, these problems were a source of conflict between Madrid and Lisbon, and despite their being presented as a jurisdictional dispute, they were, to some extent, one of the factors precipitating the rebellion of 1640.²

The Hispanic Monarchy's strategy of *economic warfare*, developed during the second half of the sixteenth century, recommenced in 1621, at the end of the 'Twelve Years' Truce with the United Provinces. The new cycle of hostilities against the rebels, designed to suffocate their trade, targeted any use made of their means of transport in all the Habsburg domains, including the kingdom of Portugal and its colonies. The Board of Trade,* founded in 1623, was created to act as an advisory body to Philip IV in the task of organizing trade with Northern Europe, without involving Dutch and English traders.³ The same year a decree was also published, prohibiting almost all British merchandise that promoted the interests and trade of British nationals.⁴ The export of precious metals from Spain was likewise banned.

The degree of success of the measures taken against Dutch and English merchants was to depend greatly on the commercial relationships established with allied or neutral traders, in particular the Flemish and the Germans. To further secure these aims, the *Admiralty of the Northern Countries** was created in October 1624. This institution was a form of trading company which incorporated a fleet of 24 warships to protect trade with the Northern states such as the Hanseatic ports, the Low Countries and Denmark, which had been gravely

* Almirantazgo de los Países Septentrionales.

² The economic roots of this anti-Habsburg feeling are not a new finding. As stated by Antonio Manuel Hespanha, it was after the appearance of Jaime Cortesão's book *A economia da Restauração* (1940) that a number of publications began to lessen the importance of the nationalistic perspective in determining the causes of the 1640 rebellion (in which the constitutionalist aspects were predominant) and to analyze instead the social and economic contexts which, to some extent, had determined both the union and the restoration. See Serrão (1950), Hespanha (1990), Rooney (1994). A recent study concerning the relationship between the war state and the increase in fiscal expenditure in Portuguese Brazil is to be found in Lenk (2007).

* "Junta de Comércio."

³ Plans and other documents drawn up from 1619 to 1623 by experts and experienced merchants, such as Francisco de Retama, Ortuño de Urizar, Duarte Gómez Solís, Anthony Sherley, Alberto Struzzi, Coronel Semple, and others, were discussed at the Board of Trade. This body was created in the spring of 1623, chaired by the Marquis of Montesclaros (president of the Council of the Exchequer) and composed of Mendo da Mota, Juan de Pedroso, Ortuño de Urizar, Gabriel de Roy, and others. In brief, their conclusions tended to support the closure of the Iberian markets to the enemies (particularly the Dutch, and eventually the English and French) and to look to their friends and allies (Hansa, Denmark, Poland...) to obtain the necessary supplies. For more information about this Board and the papers seen and discussed there, see Molas Ribalta (1987), Elliott (1986), Stradling (1992), and Alcalá Zamora (1975: 162-190).

⁴ Pragmática de Reformatión, Chapters 12 and 13 and some interesting comments on them, Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter AHN), Consejos, legajo 51,443 (4).

* "Almirantazgo de los Países Septentrionales," also known as "Almirantazgo de Sevilla," as it was established in Seville.

weakened since the end of the 'Twelve Years' Truce. In addition to providing this security instrument, the *Admiralty* introduced additional measures to guarantee the legality of trade, a system of deposits and certifications to register and control the origins and destinations of the merchandise to be transported, and a board of inspectors (*veedores*) formed to police contraband trade. From 1625 onwards, their work in the Iberian Peninsula's major ports proved an efficient measure for the enforcement of Habsburg policy (Alloza 2006, Alloza and Cárceles de Gea 2009).

It may be argued that, rather than its being the failure of the negotiations designed to bring about the marriage of the Prince of Wales to Philip IV's sister, it was the measures taken to exclude English and Dutch merchants from all trade with the Iberian Peninsula and the Mediterranean that prompted the Anglo-Dutch expedition against Cádiz in 1625 that led to the banning of Anglo-Spanish trade until 1630. In response to the offensive launched by Charles I, Philip IV introduced reprisals against English merchants operating in his dominions. The same year, the Duke of Guisa provoked another conflict with the Spanish king when his guards seized 160,000 ducats* belonging to Genoese merchants being shipped along the coast of Marseille. Reprisals were thus also taken against French merchants living in and trading with Iberian ports, an issue that is returned to later on.

The closure of the Hispanic Monarchy's ports to products manufactured in England and the United Provinces, as well as to shipping equipment and products such as wheat or copper, transported by Dutch and English merchants from the Baltic region, provoked shortages and other problems. It was undeniably detrimental to Spain and Portugal's economies, as was clearly stated in the bitter denunciations made by customs' officers and foreign merchants, as well as by prominent planners and pamphleteers. This policy also led to shortages of certain key foodstuffs in different regions, such as wheat, fish or salt. Finally, the reduction in port activity led to decreases in fiscal incomes, and this scarcity of net revenues caused problems for the interest payments on the national debt securities that had been issued on the basis of the expected yields in terms of customs duties, such as those of the *Almojarifazgo Mayor* and *Almojarifazgo of Indias* in Seville (Echevarría 1987, Pulido 1993).

But for the kingdom of Portugal these problems were even more serious, because its economy—much more so than Spain's—was based primarily on maritime activities and colonial trade. Study of the kingdom's royal revenues reveals the negative impact of Spain's foreign policy on Portugal. According to Thomas Rooney, the revenues of Habsburg Portugal may be grouped according to six tax sources: 1) *Almoxarifados*: revenues derived from internal trade, local taxes, a municipal tax on food, and the use of legal documents; 2) revenues derived from the fishing and salt industries, located mainly in Setúbal and the Algarve; 3) customs duties generated in the *alfândegas* [customs houses mainly in Lisbon] from the maritime trade with Brazil; 4) local revenues, from Brazil and different islands off the western coast of Africa, derived principally from the slave and sugar trades; 5) the trade with the Orient, via the Cape of Good Hope, which enjoyed a monopoly over pepper as its principal source of income; 6) and finally the revenues derived from the Portuguese colonies to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, known as the *Estado da Índia* (State of India) (Rooney 1994: 545-62).

In 1588, these revenues amounted to 2,908,183 *crúzados*. By 1607, after the wars and conflicts with England and France in the late sixteenth century, and following the creation of the *East Indian Company* in 1599 and the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) in 1602, the revenues had risen to 3,597,695 *crúzados*. That same year, there was a decrease in the tax on pepper, but this was compensated for by the dramatic increase in the slave trade. Although the reign of Philip IV provided a period of stability, Rooney's reconstruction of Portugal's revenues clearly shows that the period of fiscal growth was reversed from 1621 onwards, as a direct result of Philip IV's policy of trade bans, particularly with the Dutch (Rooney 1994: 546-555).

To complete this perspective, data from Mauro's *Portugal et l'Atlantique* are equally conclusive. Indeed, Frédéric Mauro has shown that brazilwood and sugar prices stagnated in Lisbon and Brazil during the 1620s, while in Amsterdam they increased dramatically. This author has also established that there was a downward trend in Portuguese salt exports: in 1621, two hundred ships with Portuguese salt were registered as passing through the Sound of Denmark, while, in 1632, the number of such ships only amounted to ten (Mauro 1960: 515-518).

* Note on exchange rates of currency:

1 Pound Sterling = 4 Ducats

1 Ducat = 11 Reales

1 Real = 34 Maravedís

10 Reales = 1 Cruzado

1 Cruzado = 400 Reis.

The 1630 Dutch invasion of Pernambuco constituted a serious blow to Portuguese trade and revenues. Between 1630 and 1639, the quantity of sugar the Dutch transported to Holland directly from America increased from 3,000 *arrobas* a year to 130,000. Moreover, its price in Bahia doubled in those ten years, while in Lisbon it decreased by about 20 percent, thus drastically reducing Portuguese merchants' profits. The same thing happened with brazilwood: direct exports to Holland rose from zero to 500,000 *arrobas* a year between 1630 and 1638, while its price in Lisbon fell by 50 percent. The decline in Portuguese trade led to an immediate fall in fiscal income, thus imposing the need to renegotiate contracts signed with tax farmers for the collection of the duties for slaves and pepper, as well as for the *Consulado* tax (Rooney: 1994: 559-562, Mauro 1960: 140, 229).

It is a commonplace for historians that the ban on Dutch trade throughout the Habsburg Monarchy's territories spurred the rebels "to look elsewhere for what had previously been obtained here," just as in another context the Duke of Medina Sidonia had insightfully commented during a debate about the participation of foreign merchants in Spain's foreign trade (Alloza 2006: 44-51). The same idea can be applied to the Portuguese subjects who, having lived, prior to 1621, from activities related to trade, insisted on continuing their business even when—according to Spanish law—it had become illicit.

As stated earlier, Portuguese subjects opposed the policy dictated by Madrid, clothing their arguments in legal terms, trying to slow down what they considered to be the *Castilians'* interference in Portuguese business. On many occasions, Portuguese officers did not heed the demands made by the government of Madrid unless these arrived with the stamp and signature of the Council of Portugal. On other occasions, the Portuguese authorities simply did not recognize the authority of the *Castilian* commissioned by Madrid. Indeed, this view extended even to the members of the Council of Portugal (*Consejo de Portugal*), for whom the contraband trade carried out by the Dutch and English merchants in partnership with Portuguese correspondents was a result of the limitations of the Portuguese government, "which was more concerned about the damages suffered by their nationals as a result of the prohibition of trade with Holland and occasionally with England, than about the benefits that could be gained for Christianity and the Hispanic Monarchy, circumstances from which all the jurisdictional disputes began."⁵

II. Contraband in Portugal

The creation of the Court of Admiralty in January 1625 and the commissioning of inspectors (*veedores*) to police contraband in major ports of the Iberian peninsula, not only points to the considerable extent of the illegal trade existing in the ports, but also to its significant impact on Philip IV's commercial policy towards the *Northern Countries*. However, the problem of contraband was by no means new in the 1620s, nor was it restricted to the illicit trading of merchandise and foodstuffs. It also concerned the export of silver currency, a capital offence, and the introduction of false coinage (Carrasco 1997, Belinchón 2001). The claims raised by Portuguese officials in favor of their supposedly legal rights to defend and maintain commercial activity against the strategy devised in Madrid, were nothing new in the 1620s. For these reasons, in order to better understand the changes occurring after 1621 in matters related to illegal trade and the emergence of an anti-Habsburg feeling, it seems of paramount interest to summarize here some of the results obtained from research into contraband in Portugal in the early years of the seventeenth century, together with the responses of the Portuguese authorities to the Habsburgs' attempts to close the markets to enemies or to increase taxes on foreign trade in those years.

At the end of 1603, the Court in Lisbon conducted a review of the trials for contraband and smuggling and other related offences that had occurred in that port since the year of 1600. During that control, it was noted that the value of the twenty-two prosecutions had amounted to the sum of 101,416 *reales*. The amount was particularly significant because most of the prosecutions for contraband trade were based only on the amount paid to the Royal Exchequer, that is to say, only a third of the full value.⁶ [Table 1]

However, these calculations of the real recorded values need to be viewed in relation to the fact that, in 1598 and 1602, further embargoes were imposed on Dutch ships trading with Spain and Portugal, as it was evident that Dutch merchants had not ceased their trade with the Iberian Peninsula and America despite the existing prohibitions; as a matter of fact, it has been estimated that from 1587 to 1602 more than a thousand

⁵ Quoted from extracts of the Council of Portugal discussed in the Council of State in 1627. Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS), Estado, Legajo 2,646.

⁶ AGS, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, tercera época, legajo 3,042. The figures are meager when compared to those obtained from the English and Dutch captures of Portuguese ships in Asian seas. Gentil da Silva shows how, in March 1601, English corsairs captured a galleon coming from the East Indies worth 600,000 cruzados. See J. Gentil da Silva (1956: 68). Two years earlier, Francis Drake had captured a Portuguese ship in the Azores named *San Felipe*, whose cargo of pepper, cinnamon, cloves, grain, ivory, gold and silver was valued at 114,000 pounds sterling. See Garrett Mattingly (1959: 134).

ships set sail from Amsterdam to America in search of salt. The efficacy of the 1598 embargo and its impact on Portugal is noted by the records of a total of 191 ships seized, many of which were large ships and armed with artillery; 24 of them were seized in Porto, 41 in Lisbon and Setúbal, and nine in the Algarve.⁷

On that occasion, aiming to undermine the 1598 embargo by way of creating problems of jurisdiction, Portuguese officers staged one of their first confrontations with Madrid. Francisco Bermúdez, the Spanish inspector commissioned in Viana, conscious of the jurisdictional conflicts that had arisen, recommended an exhaustive review of confiscations, because, according to his estimates, the value of the ships and merchandise apprehended in Porto and Viana alone could amount to as much as 400,000 ducats. Moreover, the crews of the ships seized in Porto were put in jail before being transferred to Lisbon. However, the seafarers started a prison riot and set the building on fire, and many of them managed to escape with the help of Portuguese officers. Don Juan de Carvajal, the *Castilian* in charge of the embargo in Porto, wrote to Madrid informing the government of this event and complaining that nobody had helped him, not even the representatives of Portuguese Justice. From Viana, Francisco Bermúdez informed Madrid of the embargo carried out in that place, and the arrest of the Dutch merchant Enrique Baldovinos (Alloza 2006: 31-34, Gómez-Centurión 1988: 329-335).

After these embargoes of 1598 and 1602, a new and important decree known as the *Decreto de Gauna* was enacted in 1603 with the aim of increasing the efficiency of the control of Dutch, English and French contraband trade. According to the decree, all merchandise available to be exported from or imported to Spain and Portugal was subject to a 30 percent charge *ad valorem* (upon its value). In practice, the implementation of this decree constituted one of the first measures of seventeenth-century *commercial warfare*. To avoid any fraud, the decree also introduced the payment of deposits to guarantee that merchandise would be unloaded only in authorized ports. The new duty aroused international opposition, and it also provoked complaints from domestic tax farmers, due to the expected decrease in revenue as a result of an eventual fall in mercantile activity. The decree was not to be applied to goods exported to Mediterranean ports, nor to products such as iron and steel exported to France, via the Basque Country. Goods being exported to the obedient Low Countries were also exempt from the 30% duty (Echevarría, 1986).

The *Decreto de Gauna* had a very short life, at least as far as the trade with England, Holland, France, Denmark, and the Hanseatic towns was concerned. Nonetheless, during the brief period that it remained in force, it produced significant financial results in Spain: in Seville, Sanlúcar, Puerto de Santa María, Ayamonte, and other parts of Andalusia, 13,138,854 *maravedís* were raised; in Málaga, 9,659,094 *maravedís*; in Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa, and Cuatro Villas 4,866,977 *maravedís*; in Cartagena 187,272; and in Galicia 86,250 *maravedís*. In addition to these sums, 37,071,779 *maravedís* were registered as deposits for goods being exported to the Low Countries, and 28,508,366 as deposits for those being exported to Mediterranean ports.⁸

Contrary to what had happened in Spain, in the kingdom of Portugal it was practically impossible to enforce the decree despite the fact that commissioners were sent there from Madrid, and despite the clear instructions given to them to implement it. The Portuguese authorities proved to be highly resistant to its application. No money at all was collected. There are several reports about the obstacles raised by Portuguese officials. In one of them, Domingo de Végil, the commissioner of trade in Aveiro, reported to Madrid that since the decree had been published in that dock in November 1603, many ships had arrived with goods and departed with salt and sugar without paying the 30% duty, and, even worse, without any request being made by the Portuguese authorities for them to pay it. Besides this, when Domingo de Végil himself tried to visit the ships that had arrived in port and to demand the payment of the new tax, Portuguese officials prevented him from doing so. Other Commissioners sent from Castile were Alonso de Castro Macedo to Lisbon and Cascais; Captain Antonio de Escobar to Setúbal, Sesimbra and Tróia; Hernando de Espina was sent to Porto and Viana; Francisco de Aduna to the island of Terceira, and Captain Manuel de Escobar to the island of São Miguel.⁹ The difficulties in enforcing the decree in Portugal, together with the special permissions given for the import of goods urgently needed by the merchant navy, rendered it ineffective.

Despite the Portuguese officials' reluctance to apply the *Decreto de Gauna*, it still hindered the regular trade of goods, and this circumstance served to provide even greater encouragement for both the English and the Dutch to organize expeditions to the East and West Indies. A report written in 1605 about the ships sent by the Dutch "against the Indies of Castile and Portugal," offers a remarkable insight into the implications of the Spanish trading policy towards the *Northern Countries*. The report by the Dutch captain Cornelius Guillermo

⁷AGS, Guerra Antigua, legajos 561 and 562. The number of ships apprehended in the Canary Islands, Asturias and Málaga is not known, because their officers had not reported on all the captures made at the time when the final report of the embargo was compiled.

⁸ AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, Legajos 432 (6) and 447.

⁹ AGS, Estado, legajos 435 and 2,847.

shows that between the summer of 1604 and May 1605 fourteen ships, ranging from six to eight hundred tons in weight, set sail from Holland. All of them were equipped with artillery, horses and materials for the building of forts. They had 3,600 men aboard, representing a force that intended to capture either Goa or the Moluccas. The fleet was commanded by General Corneiles Medelief and Admiral Guillermo de la Haya. The convoy was chartered by private merchants together with the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*. Cornelius Guillermo also pointed out that, in recent months, 34 ships had departed from Holland and Zeeland to Santo Domingo, Cumana, Trinidad and Margarita in the West Indies. In addition to these, there were another 20 Dutch ships trafficking in Guinea and the 'mine of Portugal', from where they bought gold, elephant tusks and drugs. It should be noted that at the very beginning of 1605 some 150 ships had set sail for Punta de Araya (Brazil) to purchase salt.¹⁰

The English followed a similar course of action. Records for January 1604 show that among the ships prepared for departure from London to the Portuguese Indies, chartered by the *Merchant Adventurers*, there were five 800-ton ships, each equipped with 48 guns, and with a crew of 563 sailors. The English also sent to America another five 800-ton ships and four pinnaces, which were armed with 150 guns and carried 748 men.¹¹ According to Jonathan Israel, after the outbreak of hostilities in 1570, the difficulties encountered by Dutch merchants in trading with ports in the Iberian Peninsula and the Mediterranean encouraged them to expand their activities eastwards, where they founded new colonies and opened new and prosperous markets (Israel 1990 and 1997). The expansion of the English trade followed a similar pattern; as Robert Brenner has explained, the English merchants "were motivated to expand English commercial horizons by the desire to emulate and, ultimately, to displace the Spanish and Portuguese in their trades of gold, spices, and other commodities. What actually drove them to initiate the new trades were the serious disruptions of their Iberian and Antwerp entrepôts and the consequent need to acquire on their own the goods that they formerly obtained from middlemen" trading in the Iberian Peninsula and the Mediterranean (Brenner 1993).

The period of peace heralded by the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609 meant that, while it lasted, trade with the Iberian Peninsula flourished, in terms of both imports (naval equipment, Scandinavian wood, Swedish copper and wheat from Poland and the Baltic area) and exports (salt, sugar, wine, oil, grapes, and agricultural produce). Furthermore, as Jonathan Israel has demonstrated, the return of Dutch merchants to Setúbal and Aveiro transformed the European salt trade. Israel cited the case of the trader Andrés Lopez Pinto, who alone sent more than two hundred ships with salt to the Low Countries, Scandinavia, and Poland between 1615 and 1618. According to this author, the salt trade generated no less than 13 million ducats a year (Israel 1990).

In this peaceful period, there is no doubt that trade did increase greatly, but it does not mean that all business dealings were transparent. Before the end of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1621, the Spanish government's informers in Holland relayed information about Dutch merchants' fraudulent negotiations in their trade dealings with Brazil during the period of peace. In 1618, one of these informers confirmed that in previous years ten ships had set sail from Holland each year to the Azores, each laden with merchandise worth 50,000 ducats. In the Azores, the merchandise was unloaded and transferred to *navios de registro* (authorized ships) to then be transported to Brazil. Before returning to Holland, these ten ships were loaded with sugar, brazilwood, and other products. However, duties were not paid in Portuguese ports, which thus defrauded the Spanish Crown of at least 80,000 ducats each year.¹² Informers also reported on the smuggling of false currency (*vellón*) into the Peninsula by *marranos* (Portuguese Jews) living in Holland, and the subsequent drain on gold, silver, and diamonds, which they then exported back to Holland.¹³

Whatever illicit activities had occurred during the truce, when it finished in April 1621, the contraband trade increased again. The authorities soon noted that the rebels continued their trade with the Iberian Peninsula and the Mediterranean ports. In response, in 1623, they ordered an embargo in which 160 purportedly neutral ships were seized in Andalusia and Portugal; Dutch merchandise was found aboard most of them. In addition to the embargo, from August 1622 until September 1623, 42 prosecutions for cases of contraband were registered at the Court in Lisbon against captains and ships coming from Holland and Zeeland, as well as against some of their Portuguese counterparts. Table 2 shows the value of the confiscations resulting from these prosecutions, which reached at least 30,000 ducats, although not all the figures were recorded.¹⁴ [Table 2]

¹⁰ Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (hereafter BNM) Mss. 2,347 (264).

¹¹ AGS, Estado, legajo 435.

¹² AGS, Estado, legajo 2,305.

¹³ AGS, Estado, legajo 2,309.

¹⁴ AGS, Guerra Antigua, legajo 898. Legal proceedings were initiated against Portuguese merchants as they did not stop trading with their Dutch correspondents. There were also a number of prosecutions brought against rebel ships carrying

In 1623, with the aim of eliminating all rebel trade in Portugal, Philip IV ordered Diego López de Haro to move to Lisbon and to execute his orders strictly. The king also established a system of inspections in Lisbon and Setúbal. As a result of these measures, the trading activity at these docks underwent a crisis, which provoked considerable discontent among local traders and customs officials, as the fall in customs duties meant that Lisbon's *alfândega* (main customs house) lost half a million ducats a year. López de Haro's ability to keep control of this situation was demonstrated in May 1623: despite having to regretfully report to Madrid the escape of a Dutch boat laden with wheat and hemp being delivered to a German named Jan Ryter and to a Dutchman named Isaac Banas, he was able to declare that he had confiscated goods, money and incriminating letters detailing the Dutch business contacts of these two merchants. The money confiscated from these two traders' houses amounted to 30,000 ducats.¹⁵

Some days earlier, by order of the Marquis of Cropani (who had been placed in charge of the general embargo of 1623), López de Haro went to Setúbal to inspect two ships suspected of being Dutch. On that occasion, he received 5,880 *reales** from the captains of those ships. Once in Setúbal, he visited five more ships. The Mayor of Setúbal requested from López de Haro the order signed by the Council of Portugal giving him permission to inspect boats in that port; as he ignored the request, the Mayor forbade him from carrying on with the inspections, arguing that he lacked the jurisdiction to do so. In these circumstances, the Marquis of Cropani intervened by ordering Madrid to send signed orders on behalf of the Council of Portugal. In his letters, Cropani informed the authorities that four of the cases he had recently prosecuted had produced 8,000 ducats for the Royal Exchequer, and that he had another 11 cases to work on, two of them being of great importance. However, despite such efforts being made in Lisbon and Setúbal, the situation was very different in Porto, Viana, Aveiro, the Azores, Madeira, and the North of Portugal, where illicit trade continued practically unchecked.

In addition to resorting to fraud and contraband trade, one of the key methods the Portuguese subjects used in order to be able to maintain their commercial dealings with Dutch merchants was—as was said earlier—to encourage the development of legal conflicts over jurisdiction with the Spanish authorities, so that trade could continue while the dispute rumbled on. There were plenty of motives for hindering the normal functioning of the Council of Portugal based in Madrid, and disobeying the Spanish authorities. It should be noted that almost as many jurisdictional conflicts were registered in Castilian ports as in Portugal: in some cases, these disputes were between the local authorities, the Inquisition, and the inspectors of the Court of Admiralty; in other cases, they were between the Council of War or the Royal Exchequer and the different kingdoms that together formed the Iberian Peninsula.

Even so, the jurisdictional conflict in Portugal had a more oppressive side. It should be remembered that while the *Decreto de Gauna* was in force during the period 1603-1606, some *Castilian* commissioners were issued with death threats, others were jailed, and many were maltreated. The same also happened to inspectors belonging to the *Court of Admiralty* commissioned in Portugal from 1625 onwards.¹⁶ For these reasons, it is difficult to share the conclusion arrived at by Jean Frédéric Schaub, in particular when he stated that the lack of obedience shown by Portuguese officials to the inspectors of the *Court of Admiralty* was due to the military jurisdiction under which this institution came. It is true that, in Spain, during the 16th and 17th centuries, matters relating to contraband came under the jurisdiction of the Council of War, but this does not mean that the inspectors commissioned by that Court (*veedores*) were themselves under military jurisdiction. Most of them were experts in foreign trade, and people like Francisco de Retama, Ortuño de Urizar or Gabriel de Roy proved their expertise through the reports that they sent to the *Board of Trade*, founded in 1623. They had nothing to do with the military world. In any case, what seems very clear is that the disobedience demonstrated by the Portuguese officials had already existed long before the foundation of the Admiralty in 1624. Last, but not least, the *Admiralty* cannot be classified as a Castilian institution, in the way that Schaub does so, because it was created by

wheat and different goods to Portugal. Such was the situation with the case involving Jarish Banderley in 1602, who, four years later, would once again be condemned for the same type of smuggling operation. There also were ships condemned in Setúbal for buying salt destined for Holland.

¹⁵AGS, Estado, legajo 2,847 and Israel (1990: 376).

* There were *pesos* worth eight *reales* and others worth four *reales*. We do not know how many of these were worth eight *reales* and how many were worth four.

¹⁶ By way of example, those threatened with death in 1606 included Captain Diego de Obregón of *Isla de la Madera*, while, in 1629, the inspector of the Court of Admiralty in *Faro*, Pedro de la Barreda, was the target of an attempted murder. These cases can be found in AGS, Estado, Legajo 435; and AGS, Guerra Antigua, Legajo 3,153.

Philip IV in 1624 to operate in all of his dominions, except America and the Mediterranean, as it actually did, from the Low Countries to the Canary Islands, from Lisbon to Valencia.¹⁷

The following episode from the Spanish war on contraband in Portugal serves to illustrate, in some detail, the conflicts and difficulties that the Spanish authorities faced in that kingdom. In early 1627, the Hispanic Monarchy's informers in Holland raised the alarm about two ships that had been chartered to travel to Faro, in the South of Portugal. Don Fernando de Toledo, the Spanish military commander in Portugal, was ordered to capture them. The Archbishop of Lisbon, the Governor of the Kingdom of Portugal, was also ordered to assist with the confiscation of the ships' goods. However, instead of helping the operation to succeed, the Archbishop did his best to impede it. Not being entirely happy with his performance, the Archbishop ordered the imprisonment of the public prosecutor responsible for cases of contraband, Cristóbal de Abreo, to whom Fernando de Toledo had assigned this case.¹⁸ Nonetheless, on their arrival in Faro, the ships were seized and their cargoes confiscated.

The Council of State in Madrid was immediately informed of these events. Indignant, its members began a heated discussion on the "problem of contraband in Portugal." The Marquis of Montesclaros, a leading member of the Council of the Exchequer, explained that the great effort that had been made to seal off most of the Peninsular ports in order to frustrate the rebels' efforts, would be meaningless without the compliance of the Portuguese ports with these measures. In his opinion, the only solution to this longstanding problem was the appointment of a qualified and experienced Viceroy, with military jurisdiction, able to implement immediate orders without waiting for the responses of Madrid to the number of questions raised by the Portuguese authorities with the sole purpose of gaining time for loading and unloading ships. In addition, Montesclaros considered the Archbishop's actions in the aforementioned case to have been very serious, and he demanded an urgent investigation in order to ascertain the truth and punish the culprits. The Council unanimously agreed with Montesclaros.

An exchange of reports between the commissioners working in Portugal and the Spanish authorities in Madrid was provoked by this particularly flagrant case of opposition to the control of illicit trade, which is also a further piece of evidence pointing to the continuation of contraband activities and the challenge that they posed to the authorities. In this aforementioned correspondence, Fernando de Toledo confirmed that in the Algarve and the ports between the Douro and the Minho rivers, trade with Dutch and English merchants continued just as it had done during the 'Twelve Years' Truce: "ships arrive and the mariners unload the merchandise, and it is then taken to privileged places (*quintas*) where the *hidalgos* distribute it without any problems, because the inspectors of contraband activities are not allowed to enter there."¹⁹

At that time, it was also reported that merchants in Porto and Setúbal were trading freely with the Dutch. In Setúbal, for example, the Irish merchant Alexander Quin headed a network of salt traders. No merchant bought salt without his permission. He was arrested in Lisbon, together with two of his partners, but he was so powerful that no one dared put him in jail; instead, he was not allowed to leave Lisbon. However, the two partners arrested with him, probably under duress from the Spanish officials, denounced Quin for selling salt to Dutch merchants and buying merchandise from them. As usual, by the time the officials tried to re-arrest him, Quin had already escaped from Lisbon.

The authorities in those places were also aware of important quantities of codfish arriving from Newfoundland in French boats, but this had been bought from English mariners, and custom duties had been paid to the king of England. There was no way to stop such trade, however, not even by means of officials placed in Calais and Hamburg, who monitored the merchandise sent from English ports.²⁰

Furious and hopeless, in January 1627, the members of the Council of State reached the conclusion that there was no other solution "to the problem of Portugal" than to reconsider the effectiveness of the bans on trade. The Council's advisers agreed that it was fruitless to stop the collection of taxes, to stop the production of salt, or to paralyze foreign trade, if it was impossible to prevent illicit trade, such as that displayed by the Dutch merchants loading salt in Setúbal. Despite the issues raised during the debate, the only measure actually adopted was the dispatch of 90 soldiers to assist in the control of the contraband trade. The inefficacy of this measure became clear when, in November 1627, Fernando de Toledo reported to Madrid that a large quantity of merchandise from England and Holland had arrived in Porto, which included the 800 pieces of English cloth safely delivered to a merchant named Francisco de Cáceres.²¹

¹⁷ See Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *Le Portugal au temps du Comte-Duc d'Olivares*. op. cit., 289-311.

¹⁸ AGS, Estado, legajo 2,646.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ AGS, Estado, legajo 2,646.

Although it seems to contradict the frequent reports of contraband activities and the desperation expressed by the members of the Council of State, the Council of Portugal and the Council of War in Madrid (notably Duarte de Portugal, Juan de Villela, Diego de Mejía, Montescarlos, Conde de Monterrey, and Mendo da Mota), it was at this time that the fight against contraband was at its most intense. In January 1628, the attorney of the Council of War, Juan Palafox, reported that the value of merchandise confiscated from German merchants awaiting sentencing amounted to 26,000 ducats. Another case related to the seizure of several pieces of cloth worth 200,000 ducats. Around that time, an English ship headed for Madeira and Tenerife was seized with a cargo of French *ruanes* (fine cloths made in Rouen). The Spanish authorities tried to confiscate that boat, but it managed to escape.²² In addition to these examples, shown in Table 3, which detail the money sent to the *Court of Admiralty* in Madrid by its inspectors in Portugal, the same table also reveals that these officials continued the war on contraband in the Peninsula.²³

Furthermore, the repetition of the threats endured in the Portuguese ports by the Spanish inspectors proves that they worked hard to repress contraband and illicit trade. The exact results and consequences of the fight against this activity are difficult to apprehend. But no doubt this fight had two effects: on the one hand, to some extent it dissuaded merchants from trading directly in Portugal, as demonstrated by Mauro's data quoted earlier; on the other hand, it aroused great anger among the Portuguese officials, traders and intermediaries, as can be deduced from the jurisdictional disputes raised by them.

There was one key element showing how English and Dutch merchants were dissuaded from doing business in Portugal: this was the establishment of a special system of licenses for the importation of contraband goods. To obtain one of these licenses, 10 or 15 percent of the total value of the goods to be imported had to be paid in advance. The establishment of this system indicates that the closure of the ports, despite the continuation of illegal trade, had resulted in a shortage of certain key products, which the introduction of the special licenses was intended to alleviate. During the strictest years of the embargo, a number of licenses were given to import wheat and naval equipment, amongst other products. For example, in May 1629, a license was issued to the merchant Adrian Paez to import 2,500 pieces of cloth to Portugal, for which he paid 4,000 ducats in advance. A few months earlier, another license had been issued to Pablo Carondelet to import 5,000 pieces of English cloth. He paid 31,000 ducats for the license. Other established Portuguese merchants, such as Pedro Fernández Pato, Domingo López, Antonio Martínez Peña, Fernando Montesinos, Rodríguez Gordillo and Diego Rodríguez de Morais, were also granted licenses to introduce different merchandise and products such as cloth, tobacco, and spices.²⁴

Between 1630 and 1640, the illicit trade and the efforts to repress it continued in keeping with the pattern outlined thus far, as shown in Table 3. Another insight into the trade in contraband in this decade is offered by Juan de Zufre's records. Zufre was responsible for paying the Spanish army salaries in Portugal during the 1630s. His records document the receipt of money from the capture of contraband merchandise. According to his accounts in 1631, from the first of March to the end of December, he received 3,800 *reales* from the French consul in Aveiro, 1,692 *reales* from the official receiver of contraband goods, Alonso de Alarcón, 5,000 *reales* from the Portuguese merchant Martin Pedro (Lisbon), and various different amounts from Flemish, German and French merchants. Together, these sums amounted to a total of 30,529 *reales*.²⁵ Zufre's accounts may be complemented by other indirect sources: for example, in April 1639, the *veedor* Diego de la Rocha prosecuted a Dutch ship laden with iron, and although the crew and the cargo were acquitted, the ship and freight were confiscated and valued at 24,000 *reales*.²⁶ [Table 3]

Special licenses played an important role in maintaining a constant supply of foodstuffs and other important goods, but the shortage of many other products and raw materials provoked complaints and conflicts from port authorities and officials. In October 1636, the Lisbon City Council declared a bread shortage, as that year's crop was going to be insufficient. The City Council thus sought permission to purchase wheat transported

²² AGS, Guerra Antigua, legajo 3,152. These last prosecutions were directed against Jacques Jacques and the codfish that he took to Lisbon from England before the outbreak of the war (109,692 *reales*), Cornelius Juan el Viejo from Danzig (1,000 *reales*), Enrique Crumel and Enrique Barresten from Lübeck and Strampson with coal from England (7,490 *reales*), as well as Federico Pedro from Hamburg with English cloths (151,306 *reales*).

²³ The figures in Table 3 are quite significant, since they reflect only the part of the value confiscated that belonged to the Royal Exchequer, usually one third of the total confiscations. However, on many occasions, this share was actually much smaller, as explained in Alloza (2006: 122-133).

²⁴ AGS, Guerra Antigua, legajo 3,153.

²⁵ AGS, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, tercera época, legajo 3,051 (5).

²⁶ AGS, Guerra Antigua, legajo 1,297.

by Dutch merchants, no matter if their boats were larger than 300 tons and were armed to repel Berber pirates. The City Council also requested permission for the French to import wheat, something that was absolutely forbidden following the outbreak of war with them in 1635. The Council argued that the French merchants not only supplied wheat but also bought salt and paid the necessary duties without hesitation. The Council of the Exchequer approved the request knowing that that year's wheat crop was going to be even worse than the Portuguese claimed – that year the price of an *alqueire* of wheat rose from 5 *reales* to 9.5 *reales*. Furthermore, the City Council's advisors stated that it was not good to have the Dutch as the sole suppliers, as that would allow them to manipulate prices in their favor.²⁷

From the evidence that has been examined so far, it is clear that the Hispanic Monarchy's policy of closing off the ports did not benefit Portugal at all. On the contrary, it was harmful for the economy of that kingdom. The closure also created economic problems for all the ports throughout the Peninsula: trading activity with the *Northern Countries* was drastically reduced for long periods. In any case, there were significant differences between Spain and Portugal. In this sense, although Philip IV's government stated to the Portuguese authorities and the Council of Portugal that the suffering was the same in all the regions, the Portuguese replied with none too conciliatory arguments. By way of example, in 1611, the Council of Portugal requested that spices from the East Indies should be denied entry to Castile unless they were registered at Lisbon's *alfândega*, as a measure designed to stifle the Dutch spice trade. The Dutch transported numerous quantities of cloves, cinnamon and pepper into Navarre via Saint Jean de Luz and Bayonne, and, from Navarre, these spices then made their way into Castile. This trade was obviously detrimental to the Portuguese. On that occasion, the Council of the Indies was in favor of the petition, although the Council of State, led by the Cardinal of Toledo, rejected the request.²⁸

It was not until the autumn of 1617 that the importation of cloves from the East Indies to Castile, which went unregistered at Lisbon's *Alfândega*, was prohibited. In 1621, the Courts of Navarre and the Viceroy Count of Castrillo appealed against this provision with the argument, also a jurisdictional argument, that this type of general ruling could only be approved by the General Courts. The authorities at the Court of Madrid replied that the ruling only concerned spices that were not registered at Lisbon's *alfândega*, but the officials of the Courts of Navarre concluded that the ruling did not apply to them. The truth of the matter is that the conflict had an economic character, as the deputies of the Courts of Navarre clearly expressed: "economic damages suffered due to the closing of their trade with France: they estimate that the revenue from '*las tablas reales*' (a kind of Royal customs duty) brought the King 8,000 ducats a year (only from the trade in goods from France to Aragón via Navarre)." After the prohibition of 1617, the losses amounted to 10,000 ducats. In addition, Navarre officials stated that the real beneficiary of such prohibition was Béarn (in France), not Lisbon, since Béarn had increased its trade with Aragón by the amount of 100,000 ducats, of which 20,000 ducats were net revenue for the King of France.

Finally, this rule was abolished, thus diminishing the Portuguese trade (and the corresponding fiscal revenue it produced) and increasing the Dutch one. The increase in Dutch trade is noted in the records kept by the commissioner for contraband, Pedro Fernández de Castroverde. He found it recorded that, in the 15 months between August 1621 and November 1622, during which the Portuguese Jew Juan Núñez Vega had worked as a tax farmer for the domestic customs (*puertos secos altos*), 30 ships had arrived in Saint Jean de Luz and Bayonne, with merchandise and spices worth 800,000 ducats, coming from Amsterdam and Rotterdam and heading for Castile.²⁹

As has been shown, the Portuguese authorities' resistance to the ban on trade after 1621 had serious economic and political consequences. The tension increased as the bans on trade were extended to both English merchants (1625-1630) and French merchants (1625-1626, and then again from 1635 onwards), because the control of contraband was further compounded with the pressure of general embargoes that resulted from reprisals against the three enemy nations (The United Provinces, Great Britain and France). The confiscations that resulted from these measures, in Castile and in Portugal, are highly indicative of the extent of the interdependence of foreign trade in the Iberian Peninsula, and thus of the damage caused by the closure of the markets.

The Anglo-Dutch fleet's attack on Cádiz in 1625 produced an immediate ban on trade with English merchants that continued until 1630, and an embargo on the property, goods, ships, and money of the English trade in the Habsburg dominions. In Portugal, Fernando Alvía de Castro ordered the seizure of different ships laden with English cloth, some of which had come from Hamburg. Despite the obstacles created by the

²⁷ AGS, Estado, legajo 2,614.

²⁸ AGS, Estado, legajos 436 and 2,847.

²⁹ AGS, Estado, legajo 2,847.

Portuguese authorities, the value of the sale of 2,400 pieces of confiscated cloth amounted to 165,000 ducats. To this sum was added 164,511 *reales* collected from those found guilty of contraband activities through the authority of Fernando de Toledo. The results of these first confiscations demonstrate the authorities' diligence, including that of the *veedores* of the *Court of Admiralty*: in less than a year and a half, a sum of 250,000 ducats had been collected, and the blockade was effectively maintained (Alloza 2006: 69-75).

In April 1625, Spanish boats carrying money from Barcelona to Genoa were seized near Marseille by order of the Duke of Guisa. This worried Madrid to such an extent that the government reacted immediately by ordering reprisals against French merchants living or operating in all of the Habsburg dominions, so as to recover the money captured by Guisa. Louis XIII's response was to ban trade with the Spanish, and to confiscate the ships, goods and money of Spaniards living or working in France. In reply, Philip IV ordered a general embargo on French merchants. In the course of a few months, nearly 700,000 ducats belonging to French traders were confiscated in the Iberian Peninsula. In Lisbon, the total amount of confiscations reached 409,801 *reales*, as well as 12 ships, although 82,594 *reales* of this sum belonged to Portuguese merchants. The Treaty of Monzón, signed in 1626, brought an end to this conflict, and prescribed the restitution of the seized property to their original owners.³⁰

A new and much more serious conflict with France began in 1635, which lasted until 1659. Major reprisals were then taken against the French, from whom 1,500,000 ducats were seized. Taking into account the fact that French merchants had an annual turnover of four to five million ducats, the value of this seizure was considerable. In Portugal, although a significant sum was captured, the officials failed to collect the full amount of the money due to their resentment for "the Castilians" (explicitly expressed) and their favorable attitude towards foreign merchants. Thus, of the 920,000 *reales* that were presumably collected in Portugal, only 312,000 were actually included in the final report of the reprisal.³¹ [Table 4]

III. Conclusion

On the basis of the evidence examined in the course of this essay, the policy of commercial warfare pursued by the Hispanic Monarchy had direct and negative effects on the Portuguese economy, in particular for the period starting in 1621. Despite the scarcity of sources of information related to contraband, and of studies on the effects of blockades during the first half of the seventeenth century, the enormity of the phenomenon is apparent. The measures and tactics used to combat illicit trade, as well as the fragmentary archival data, show the scale of the fight against contraband during this period.

In spite of the fact that a complete and hermetic closure of the ports was not achieved, the capacity of dissuasion displayed by the inspectors of the *Court of Admiralty* was of great importance, as it led to a reduction in the level of trading activity in the ports of Portugal. One sign of this decrease was the need to reduce the annuity or annual payment for tax farmers responsible for the collection of the taxes on pepper and slaves. The same situation occurred with the *Consulado* tax; in 1632, it was contracted out for 75 million *reis*, but in 1649 for only 50 millions.

The reduction of the Kingdom of Portugal's tax base after 1630 automatically increased the fiscal pressure and led to the introduction of new taxes, such as the *media annata*, which was a levy upon office-holders and members of the nobility. They paid a tax of 50 percent on the salaries and favors (*Mercedes*) received from the Crown. This new tax had considerable repercussions, since the taxes levied by Philip IV's Exchequer on the favors (*Mercedes*) granted to Portuguese subjects between 1632 and 1634 alone amounted to 433,189 ducats in silver.³² Other taxes were introduced later, in 1635, such as the *sizas* (duties on sales) and *real d'água*, a tax on the consumption of meat and wine. Finally, it was ordered that 25 percent of annual income was to be paid by those with *comendas* (benefices) granted by the military orders, or by those who benefited from royal properties. Measures such as these increased the hostility felt towards Castile, and above all towards the Count-Duke of Olivares.

³⁰ Ibid., 57-67.

³¹ Ibid., 78-108.

³² *Mercedes*, such as the one provided to Manuel de Vasconcelos, who was given the Señorío and jurisdiction of Villanueva de Fascoa for the price of 80,000 *reales* of double silver. But, in reality, most of them derived from the sale of offices and the licenses to transfer (to sell) these offices. The whole process: "Relación jurada y firmada por Diego Suárez, del Consejo y Contaduría Mayor de Hacienda de Su Majestad, y su secretario de estado de Portugal, de los maravedís que entraron en su poder procedidos de expedientes del reino de Portugal que él y otros ministros beneficiaron en virtud de órdenes de Su Majestad," in AGS, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, tercera época, legajo 2,294 (3).

According to Thomas Rooney, in order to understand the political repercussions of the policy adopted by Madrid in its dealings with Lisbon, it is fundamental to comprehend that during most of the period of Habsburg rule in Portugal, Madrid had pursued an essentially conservative economic policy. However, the rapid growth of the Atlantic economy at the end of the sixteenth century had enabled the Portuguese authorities to expand their tax base, but from 1630 onwards the crisis that overtook the Hispanic Monarchy led to an increase in the fiscal pressure exerted on Portugal, and in particular on the privileged classes. It was this that eroded the relationship between the Portuguese and the government of Madrid, and led to the emergence of an anti-Habsburg feeling which, together with several other factors, incited the 1640 rebellion.

The efforts to control the contraband trade and to enforce general embargoes resulted in a partial success for Madrid: notably, a reduction in trade with the Hispanic Monarchy's enemies, which, in part, supports Thomas Rooney's conclusions. However, it should be noted that Portugal's dissatisfaction with the Castilian foreign policy was expressed not only during the 1630s, but also long before this. Indeed, the Courts of Lisbon set up in 1619 reproached Philip III for his hegemonic policy, which provoked wars with detrimental repercussions for Portugal (Fernández Albaladejo 2009: 179-192). Subsequently, as Rafael Valladares has shown, Philip IV's regulation of Portuguese foreign trade at the end of the Twelve Years' Truce brought with it an additional disruptive pressure, which was further aggravated by the Dutch attacks on the Portuguese colonies (Valladares 1998 and 2001, Oliveira 1991 and 2002). It may therefore be concluded that if the contraband trade in Portugal hampered Philip IV's strategy, it was because this strategy was itself already causing so much damage to the Portuguese economy.

References

- Alcalá-Zamora, José (1975). *España, Flandes y el mar del Norte (1618-1639)*. Barcelona, Planeta.
- Alloza Aparicio, Ángel (2006). *Europa en el mercado español. Mercaderes, represalias y contrabando en el siglo XVII*. Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León.
- Alloza Aparicio, Ángel and Cárceles de Gea, Beatriz (2009). *Comercio y riqueza en el siglo XVII. Estudios sobre cultura, política y pensamiento económico*. Madrid, CSIC, (forthcoming).
- Antunes, Cathia (2008). "The commercial relationship between Amsterdam and the Portuguese salt-exporting ports: Aveiro and Setubal, 1580-1715," *Journal of Early Modern History*, 12, 25-53.
- Appleby, J. C. (1998). "War, Politics and Colonization, 1558-1650," in N. Canny (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, Vol. I: 55-78.
- Artola Gallego, Miguel (1982). *La Hacienda del Antiguo Régimen*. Madrid, Alianza Universidad.
- Bilbao Bilbao, Luis María (1984). "Exportación y comercialización de lanas de Castilla durante el siglo XVII, 1610-1720," in *El pasado histórico de Castilla y León*. Actas del Congreso de Historia de Castilla y León, Vol. 2 (Edad Moderna). Salamanca, 19: 225-243.
- (2003). "Comercio y transporte internacionales en los puertos de Vizcaya y Guipúzcoa durante el siglo XVII (1600-1650). Una visión panorámica," *Itas Memoria. Revista de Estudios marítimos del País Vasco*, 4: 259-285.
- Boyajian, J. (1983). *Portuguese Bankers and the Court of Spain, 1626-1650*. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press.
- Boxer, C. R. (1965). *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800*. London, Hutchinson.
- Brenner, Robert (1993). *Merchants and Revolution. Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Brightwell, Peter (1974). "The Spanish System and the Twelve Years' Truce," *English Historical Review*, 89: 270-292.
- Broens, N. (1989). *Monarquía y Capital Mercantil: Felipe IV y las Redes Comerciales Portuguesas (1627-1635)*. Madrid, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Carrasco Vázquez, Jesús (1997). "Contrabando, moneda y espionaje (el negocio del vellón: 1606-1620)," *Hispania*, 197: 1.081-1.105.
- Carrera Pujal, Jaime (1943). *Historia de la Economía Española*. Barcelona, 1943, Vol. I.
- Clay, C. G. A. (1984). *Economic expansion and social change: England, 1500-1700. Vol. II. Industry, trade and government*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Colmeiro, Manuel (1965, first ed. 1863). *Historia de la Economía Política en España*, Taurus, Madrid, Vol. II.
- Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio (1947). "El Almirantazgo de los países septentrionales y la política económica de Felipe IV," *Hispania*, XXVI: 272-290.
- Echevarría Bacigalupe, M. A. (1986). "Un notable episodio en la guerra económica hispano-holandesa: el decreto de Gauna (1603)," *Hispania*, XLVI/162: 57-97.
- (1987). "Una original contribución al pensamiento antimercantilista: la doctrina Struzzi de 1629," *Hispania*, 167: 897-928.
- Elliott, John (1986). *The Count-Duke of Olivares. The Statesman in an Age of Decline*. Yale University, New Haven and London.

- Fernández Albaladejo, Pablo (2009). *La crisis de la Monarquía*. J. Fontana and R. Villares (eds.) *Historia de España*, Vol. 4. Barcelona, Crítica/Marcial Pons.
- Freire Costa, Leonor (2002). *Império e Grupos Mercantis. Entre o Oriente e o Atlântico (século XVII)*. Lisbon, Livros Horizonte.
- Gentil da Silva, J. (1956). *Stratégie des Affaires à Lisbonne entre 1595 et 1607. Lettres marchandes des Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga*. S.E.V.P.E.N., Paris.
- Gómez-Centurión, C. (1988). *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra y el comercio septentrional (1566-1609)*. Madrid, Instituto de Historia y Cultura Naval.
- Grice-Hutchinson, Marjorie (1978). *Economic Thought in Spain, 1177-1740*. London, George Allen & Unwin.
- Guiard y Larrauri, Teófilo (1913). *Historia del consulado y Casa de Contratación de Bilbao y del comercio de la villa*. Bilbao.
- Hamilton, Earl J. (1948). *El florecimiento del capitalismo y otros ensayos de Historia Económica*. Madrid, Revista de Occidente, 1948.
- Hanson, C. (1982). "Monopoly and Contraband in the Portuguese Tobacco Trade, 1624-1702," *Luso-Brazilian Review* XIX, 2, pp. 149-168.
- Herrero Sánchez, Manuel (1999). "La política de embargos y el contrabando de productos de lujo en Madrid (1635-1673). Sociedad cortesana y dependencia de los mercados internacionales," *Hispania*, 201: 171-191.
- Hespanha, Antonio Manuel (1990). "Portugal y la política de Olivares. Ensayo de análisis estructural," in J. Elliott and A. García Sanz (eds.) *La España del Conde Duque de Olivares*, Valladolid: 621-651.
- Israel, Jonathan (1980). "Spanish Wool Exports and the European Economy, 1610-40," *The Economic History Review*, 2: 193-211.
- (1990). *Empires and Entrepôts. The Dutch, the Spanish Monarchy and the Jews, 1585-1713*. London, The Hambledon Press.
- (1997). *La República Holandesa y el Mundo Hispánico. 1606-1661*. Madrid, Nerea.
- Larraz, José (2000). *La época del mercantilismo en Castilla*. Salamanca, FEHM, (first ed. 1943).
- Lenk, W. (2007). "Warfare and Taxation in Portuguese Brazil During the Dutch War, 1624-1654," in R. Torres Sánchez (ed.) *War, State and Development. Fiscal-Military States in the Eighteenth Century*. Orcoyen- Navarra: 231-249.
- López Belinchón, B. (2001). "Sacar la sustancia del reino. Comercio, contrabando y conversos portugueses, 1621-1640," *Hispania*, 209: 1017-1050.
- López Martín, I. (1998). "Embargo and protectionist policies. Early modern Hispano-Dutch relations in the Western Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Studies*, 7: 191-219.
- Mattingly, Garrett (2004, first ed. 1959). *La Armada Invencible*. Madrid, Taurus.
- Mauro, Frédéric (1960). *Le Portugal et l'Atlantique au XVII siècle (1570-1670). Étude économique*. S.E.V.P.E.N., Paris.
- Molas Ribalta, Pere (1987). "Instituciones y comercio en la España de Olivares," *Studia Historica*, V: 91-98.
- Oliveira, A. (2002). *Movimentos sociais e poder em Portugal no século XVII*. Coimbra.
- (1991). "Oposição política em Portugal nas vésperas da Restauração," *Cadernos de Historia Moderna*, 11: 77-98.
- Owens, J. B. (2005). "By my absolute royal authority." *Justice and the Castilian Commonwealth at the beginning of the first global age*. Rochester, University of Rochester Press.
- Pulido Bueno, Ignacio (1996). *La Real Hacienda de Felipe III*. Huelva.
- (1993). *Almojarifazgos y comercio exterior en Andalucía durante la época mercantilista, 1526-1740*. Huelva.
- Rooney, Thomas (1994). "Habsburg Fiscal Policies in Portugal, 1580-1640," *The Journal of European Economic History*, 23, 3: 545-562.
- Schaub, J.-F. (2001). *Le Portugal au temps du Comte-Duc d'Olivares (1621-1640). Le conflit de juridictions comme exercice de la politique*. Madrid, Casa de Velázquez.
- Stradling, Robert (1972). *The Armada of Flanders. Spanish Maritime Policy and European War, 1568-1668*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, Harland (1972). "Trade, Neutrality and the English Road, 1630-1648," *The Economic History Review*, second series, XXV, II: 236-260.
- Valladares, Rafael (2001). *Castilla y Portugal en Asia (1580-1680). Declive imperial y adaptación*. Louvain, Leuven University Press.
- (1998). *La rebelión de Portugal, 1640-1680. Guerra, conflicto y poderes en la monarquía hispánica*. Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León.

Table 1: Prosecutions for contraband in Lisbon, 1600-1603.

Port	Year	Captain/trader	Confiscations	
			Ships	Money (<i>reales</i>)
Lisbon	1600		San Pedro	42,932
Lisbon	1600	Lucas Simon	Molino Rojo	1,894
Lisbon	1601	Jacques Ans	El Cazador	300
Lisbon	1601	Alberto Ans	Águila Dorada	300
Lisbon	1601	Juan Bretón	El Ángel	1,176
Lisbon	1601		Lobo Marino	2,553
Lisbon	1601	Guillermo Arrien	El Jonás	162
Lisbon	1601	Cornelis Juan	León Rojo	666
Lisbon	1601	Giraldo Pedro	Racton	2,708
Lisbon	1601	Juan Bois	Sansón	4,173
Lisbon	1602	Juan Rodríguez	Ancesdey	1,444
Lisbon	1602	Alberto Bernardo	Aguilaparda	1,444
Lisbon	1602	Juan Nicolás	Galgo blanco	1,445
Lisbon	1602	Eliquel Vives	El Rodaballo	2,000
Setúbal	1602		Campo Verde, Águila, Vaca Pintada	4,570
Lisbon	1602	E. Credar y F. Aites	Paloma blanca y Esperanza	7,333
Viana	1602	Daniel Federico	Urcas Coche	21,493
Lisbon	1602		Águila Dorada	4,700
Lisbon	1602	Lamberto Pedro		150
Lisbon	1603	Manuel Rodríguez		700
Lisbon	1603	Gilberto Decreton		690
Lisbon	1603	Bernardo Pedro	Molino Rojo	826
Lisbon	1603	Ibarte Adrian	Falcón Blanco	4,000
Lisbon	1603		Flor de Lis	3,333
			M ^a Magdalena, Falcón Pardo, Avestruz,	
Lisbon	1603		Tierra de Promisión	6,600
Viana	1603		San Pedro	4,340

Source: Archivo General de Simancas, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, tercera época, legajo 3,042.

Table 2: Prosecutions for contraband in Lisbon between August 1622 and May 1623

Date	Captain/trader	Place of origin of the accused	Sentence	Course of Process
8/1622	Pedro Bons	Holland	Free	
10/1622	Jorge Rodríguez de Acosta	Lisbon		in progress
10/1622	Ruiz López Manis	Lisbon and Porto		in progress
10/1622	Francisco Márquez Enríquez	Lisbon and Porto		in progress
10/1622	Enrique de Paz Silvera	Lisbon and Porto		in progress
10/1622	Pedro Méndez Florez	Lisbon and Porto		in progress
10/1622	Francisco Moreli	Lisbon and Porto		in progress
10/1622	Nuño Montero	Lisbon and Porto		in progress
10/1622	Pedro Leariz	Lisbon and Porto		in progress
10/1622	Jerónimo Gozen	Lisbon and Porto		in progress
10/1622	Duarte Pérez Solís	Lisbon and Porto		in progress
10/1622	Antonio López Dalega	Lisbon and Porto		in progress
10/1622	Martín Alfonso de la Palma	Lisbon and Porto		in progress
10/1622	Juan Amelín	Lisbon and Porto		in progress
10/1622	Lucas Estrevega	Lisbon and Porto		in progress
10/1622	Matían Balon	Porto		in progress
10/1622	Jacques de Sater	Viana		in progress
10/1622	Juan de Guardamaciel	Viana		in progress
11/1622	Guillermo Prin	Holland	5,000 <i>reales</i>	appeal
11/1622	Jacques Boquete	Lisbon	Confiscation	appeal
11/1622	Esteban Farin	Porto	Confiscation	appeal
11/1622	Juan Juanes	Lisbon	17,564 <i>reales</i> 54,000 <i>reales</i>	appeal
12/1622	Jarish Banderley	Holland	(cargo of wheat)	appeal (1)
1/1623	Cornelis Pedro	Holland	Free	
1/1623	Justo Cornel		Free	
1/1623	Adam Guillermo	Holland	20,000 <i>reales</i>	
2/1623	Alberto Jacques	Holland	10,500 <i>reales</i> (ship)	appeal
2/1623	Alberto Giraldo	Setúbal	5,000 <i>reales</i>	
2/1623	Urban Compostel		Free	
2/1623	Mauricio Livermen		58,400 <i>reis</i> (merchandise)	
2/1623	Rodrigo Comepari		95,400 <i>reis</i> (merchandise)	
2/1623	Juan Reyter	Germany	6,000 <i>reales</i>	
3/1623	Roberto Estra...		4,000 <i>reis</i>	
3/1623	Rodrigo Juan		4,000 <i>reis</i>	
4/1623	Nicolas Bunier	Holland	10,598 <i>reales</i> (ship)	

4/1623	Enrique Lucas	Setúbal	8,135 <i>reales</i> (cargo of salt)
4/1623	Alberto de Amberque	Setúbal	8,270 <i>reales</i> (ship and merchandise)
4/1623		Holland	7,492 <i>reales</i> (ship and merchandise)
4/1623	Alberto Barbanes	Holland	Free
5/1623		Setúbal/Holland	15,534 <i>reales</i> (ship and merchandise)
5/1623	Jacques Jacques	Viana/Holland	50,000 <i>reis</i>
5/1623	Pedro Amon		50,000 <i>reis</i>
5/1623	Juan Adrian		7,828 <i>reales</i>
6/1623	Guillermo Straton		Free
6/1623	Arman Conop		20,000 <i>reales</i>
6/1623	Jacob Juan	Holland	9,825 <i>reales</i> (ship and merchandise)
7/1623	Jacques Gobeas		Free
8/1623	Nicolás Pedro	Setúbal	Condemned
8/1623	Miguel Martínez		in progress
8/1623	Lamberto Juan,		in progress
8/1623	Nicolas Giraldo		in progress
8/1623	Juan Eberca		in progress
8/1623	Jacques Francisco		500 <i>reales</i>
9/1623	Tomás Matías	Setúbal	in progress

Source: Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra Antigua, Legajo 898.

(1) Sentence is paid by Juan Sinel.

Table 3: Money confiscated in Portugal by *Junta del Almirantazgo*, 1631-1639 (maravedís)*

Veedor	Port	1631	1632	1633	1634	1635	1636	1637	1638/39
Diego Masso de Andrade	Algarve	339,456	.	232,150	.	.	.	.	.
Luis Fernández de Olivera	Isla de la Madera	834,394	-	396,950	.	10,9016	170,000	387,600	.
Diego Fajardo	Isla Tercera	.	1,305,872	1,487,816	.	.	352,370	.	.
Fernando Albia de Castro	Lisbon	1,326,000	.	61,880	278,442	223,220	145,874	.	1,020,000
	Lisbon and Canary islands	.	.	.	.	.	780,402	.	.
	Porto	.	.	.	113,764	.	.	.	.
	Viana	-	.	-	217,014	347,114	260,558	.	.

Source: Archivo General de Simancas, Contaduría del sueldo, segunda serie, legajo162.

*These amounts represent only one third of the total money confiscated from merchants and traders

Table 4: Money confiscated from French merchants in Portugal during the 1635 embargo (in *reis*)

Merchant	Confiscation	Merchant	Confiscation
Francisco Marean	561,333	Damián Ramírez	16,000
Nicolás de Mola	500,000	Honorano Infante	50,000
Pedro Salón	50,000	Telmo Manente	250,000
Juan de San Pe	2,000,000	Joseph Francisco	82,000
Pedro de Oliveros	40,000	Antonio Benedicto	32,000
Reinel Peletier	700,000	Jacques Buquet	200,000
Gisalberto Fontana	30,000	Juan Farmo	24,000
Gil de Nicola	800,000	Juan Bodín	15,000
Jorge Broarte	400,000	Julio Boquel	100,000
Juan Tolosan y D. Furnier	6,400,000	Andrés Lamberto	8,000
Juan Orí	120,000	Salvador Arnaut	8,000
Gabriel Bonet	80,000	Jacques de Gaumont	150,000
Pedro Francés	30,000	Tomas Roxfort	30,000
Guillelme de la Gara	60,000	Antonio Routier	20,000
Bernardo Francés	50,000	Juan de la Predra	200,000
Isaac de Fuentes	50,000	Francisco Violeta	20,000
Juan de Espinosa	195,000	(...)	1,400,000
Juan de la Fuente	27,000	Gaspar de la Rocha	32,000
Antonio Quirín	200,000	Juan Bautista Moreli	4,000
Guillelme de Vargas	6,000	Juan Barberá	30,000
Bernabé de ...	120,000	Mateo Rigao	800,000

Source: Archivo General de Simancas, Contaduría del sueldo, segunda serie, legajo 151.

(400 *reis* = 1 *cruzado* = 10 *reales*)

Azorean emigration in the context of social change: some notes from the press in São Miguel (1920-1950)

Gilberta Pavão Nunes Rocha

Full Professor at the University of the Azores
CES-UA
grocha@uac.pt

Eduardo Ferreira

Assistant Professor at the University of the Azores
CES-UA
eferreira@uac.pt

Abstract

Changes in the volume of Azorean emigration between 1920 and 1950 transformed the demographic pattern of the archipelago, introducing significant socioeconomic adjustments into its new demographic configuration. However, it seems safe to argue that on the whole, unlike later periods, this was not a period of significant change in the contents of the newspaper articles that were written on the subject, even if some conflicting opinions were occasionally produced.

Keywords

Emigration, population, press, discourse, Azores.

Resumo

A alteração verificada na intensidade da emigração açoriana nos anos compreendidos entre 1920 e 1950 teve consequências na configuração demográfica do arquipélago, na sua economia e sociedade. Parece-nos razoável afirmar que este período, contrariamente a outros posteriores, não constituiu um tempo de grandes mudanças no que respeita ao conteúdo das peças jornalísticas que foram sendo elaboradas em torno desta problemática, ainda que, pontualmente, se fizessem notar algumas opiniões diferentes sobre o mesmo assunto.

Palavras-chave

Emigração, população, imprensa, discurso, Açores.

Introduction

This paper presents some perspectives on population and migrations in the Azores, between 1920 and 1950, based on the information found in some newspapers published in São Miguel. Being aware of the Azorean demographic dynamics in this period and the role played by emigration in this area (Rocha 1991), which justifies the interconnection between population and mobility, we seek to increase knowledge of such a relevant phenomenon pertaining to the history of the archipelago. Some studies (for example, Rocha 2001) have already sought to look at the question from other angles, namely the perception of emigration by political power and by the Azorean population, the backdrop against which this article is set. Being similarly aware of the

importance the host countries have in labor-based emigration, such as that of the Portuguese in general and Azorean emigration in particular, we could not avoid starting this study except by referring to the great changes of the time.

Effectively, the years under analysis were marked by a climate of increasing political, economic and social change, both nationally and internationally, which significantly affected the level of Azorean migratory flows.¹ Throughout the three decades following the end of World War I (1914-1918), which resulted in the creation of a new international equilibrium, namely the consolidation of the American domination of the international scenario, major events took place in several countries with serious external repercussions, such as the economic crisis of 1929 and World War II. These events not only had important economic and political effects, but they also affected the internal social relations in several European countries and in the USA. We can further add to this the new cultural influences, which in turn also led to new concepts about the individual and society as a whole.

In particular, the economic and financial crisis that paradigmatically broke out on *Black Friday* in October 1929 in the USA had extremely serious repercussions. Not only did unemployment have an immediate effect on the living conditions of the populations, but it also encouraged the long-term spread of political authoritarianism and, in that sense, also contributed to the emergence of dictatorial regimes and the outbreak of major conflicts. Such a situation compromised international mobility, particularly the flow of emigrants to North America, as in the case of Azores, mainly because the turn of the 19th to the 20th century had marked the end of the cycle of emigration to Brazil in all the islands (Rocha 2008).

While remaining shielded from some of these events, such as World War II, Portugal was also affected by the changes taking place in other countries and itself underwent an important political change with the end of the First Republic and the implantation of the *Estado Novo* through the military *coup d'état* in 1926. In this international context, which was particularly adverse to mobility, and with the emergence of different concepts regarding the role and functions of the State, the Portuguese political climate of that time brought about, or rather sought to bring about, alterations in the migratory flows inherited from the 19th century.

We assumed that any significant changes in the volume of emigration, affecting both the economy and society as well as the demographic structure of the archipelago,² would necessarily be reflected in the local newspapers. We therefore sought to discover how these changes were reported in the local press, and what were the prevailing opinions on this matter, seen within the context of the social evolution and the demographic trends of the time. With the help of statistical data on emigration, we analyzed news articles published in two weekly newspapers: *Açoriano Oriental*, during the 1920s and 1930s, and *A Ilha*, during the 1940s. In spite of the differences in editorial policies, emigration was a recurrent theme in the writings of politically and socially influential figures in Azorean society, as we already had occasion to remark in an earlier study (Rocha 2001). It is now our aim to examine how the question of emigration reached a wider audience, namely that composed of newspaper readers.

Sources and methodology

Analytically, we chose to use two types of sources. On the one hand, we studied the demographic statistics and the census, the quality of which had already been tested earlier (Rocha 1991). These sources referred to specific moments during that period, which we considered capable of providing concrete data about the Azorean population, emigration and its intensity. On the other hand, we also chose to consult two weekly newspapers of that time, printed in São Miguel (*Açoriano Oriental* and *A Ilha*), which constituted the empirical corpus of our analysis in our attempt to understand the main trends in the discourse about emigration in the press.

¹ The term *social change*, which is used in the title of this article, was chosen as a conceptual basis for synthesizing all the changes that occurred, both nationally and internationally, in the political, economic and social climate of that time.

² Amongst the trends in Azorean migration, we assumed that greater importance would be given to international political and social changes than to the rationale of the internal order, despite the consequences that emigration had within the regional context.

The first newspaper was chosen because of the high regard in which it was held amongst the Azorean press, a status that it had enjoyed ever since its foundation in 1835. Throughout the following decades, it continued to be a newspaper that defended the political and administrative autonomy of the Azorean archipelago, which meant that it gave important coverage to issues relating to the idiosyncrasies of the different islands, while also discussing these matters in a more general fashion. This fact led us to believe that there was a significant likelihood of our finding in this newspaper a considerable number of articles dealing exclusively with the subject of Azorean emigration.

However, because of the newspaper's reduced availability in the 1940s and the consequent difficulties that we encountered in consulting it for that decade, and with the aim of finding similar data for that period (10 years), we chose to complete our analysis through the consultation of another newspaper, in which the issue of emigration continued to be a matter of interest to journalists. We chose to study *A Ilha*, which, after a break of over seventy years, had begun to be republished in 1939 and was characterized, among others aspects, by the diversity and intellectual quality of many of its collaborators (Enes 2005). The greater subjectivity of the contents of this newspaper, resulting from its large number of opinion articles, was offset by its objective presentation of the facts. We considered this to be a quality that, from the outset, would enhance the significance of the discourse relating to the question of emigration. This was the main reason for our choosing the newspaper *A Ilha* for our analysis of the texts relating to the last decade of the established period—the 1940s—with the *Açoriano Oriental* remaining as our reference for the decades of the 1920s and 1930s.

As was to be expected, there were certain limitations resulting from these choices. First, the fact that our analysis was restricted to the consultation of these two particular periodicals as our sources for unique qualitative data directly influenced the interpretations that are made throughout this paper as well as the conclusions we draw. On the other hand, despite the fact that this is not a subject of study here, the editorial policies pursued by each newspaper similarly constituted a serious obstacle to our making any firm generalizations based on the results obtained. However, in spite of these limitations, we believe that our results can contribute to the future development of a vast research project examining the social representations of the Azorean migratory phenomenon.

We therefore tried to discover the main issues linked to the question of migration that appeared in the pages of the above-mentioned newspapers between 1920 and 1950 using some fairly rudimentary techniques of content analysis. We began by selecting all the articles that referred either directly or indirectly to the subject of Azorean emigration regardless of their journalistic nature or whether their author's name was included or not. Next, we undertook an exploratory reading of these articles in order to draw up a classification for the various categories or subjects. Based on this typology, we then analyzed the frequency with which the different issues were treated.

Because of the analytical and methodological choices made, we could not include among the objectives of this study the identification of any relationship between the contents of the discourse produced and the political and ideological orientation of the newspapers or the writers of the articles, since this was an aspect that required a more detailed analysis of the contents and a more in-depth knowledge of both the newspapers and the journalists in question.

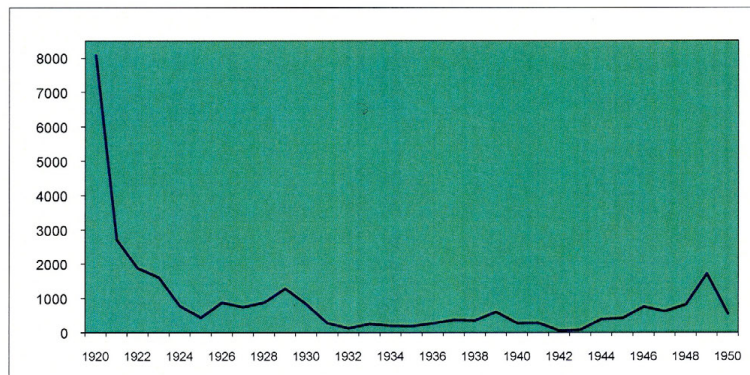
However, it is important to bear in mind that the object of our study has a unique particularity in terms of its historical context. According to the law regulating the Portuguese press during the period of the *Estado Novo* in Portugal, the Azorean newspapers of that time were also subject to censorship. We cannot therefore exclude the possibility of there being certain points of convergence between the journalistic discourse on emigration and the official position on this same issue, which, as will be seen later, followed a policy designed to discourage people from leaving the country. As Maria da Graça Rodrigues demonstrates, the encouragement of emigration was one of the topics on the long list of subjects to be censored, a list that was maintained by the SNI (Secretariado Nacional da Informação)³ until the time of the government of Marcelo Caetano (Rodrigues 1980: 75).

³ National Information Office.

The Azorean population and emigration (1920-1950)

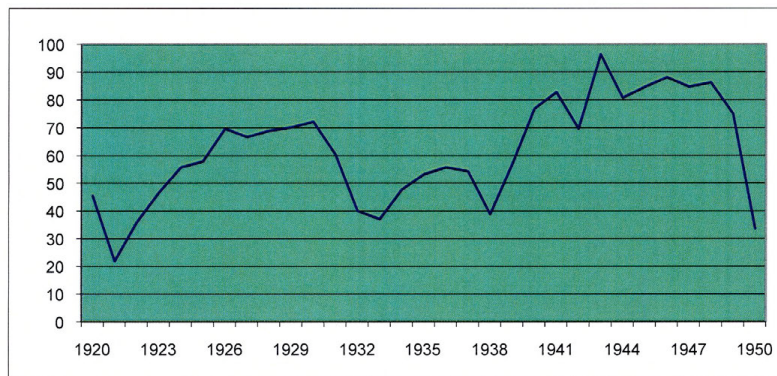
As can be seen in Chart 1, this period was characterized by a reduction in the flow of emigration, with an average total of less than 1,000 individuals each year. It can also be seen that the highest values were recorded in the first few years. 1920, in particular, with more than 8,000 emigrants, must be considered exceptional, even in comparison with previous years (Rocha 2008).

CHART 1
EVOLUTION OF THE NUMBER OF AZOREAN EMIGRANTS
FROM 1920 TO 1950



Source: Demographic Statistics.

CHART 2
RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF EMIGRANTS FROM S. MIGUEL ISLAND
IN THE REGIONAL CONTEXT, FROM 1920 TO 1950

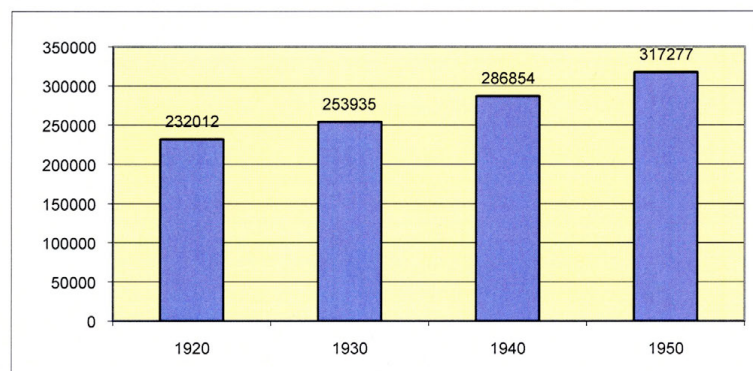


Source: Demographic Statistics.

As can be seen in Chart 2, emigration originating from the island of São Miguel was of crucial importance, taking place at a rate that was disproportionately higher than the share of this island's population in the archipelago's total number of inhabitants (at the time, less than 50% of the whole Azorean population). If, in the first two years, the numbers involved were not comparatively important, since this island provided less than half of the total number of Azorean emigrants, the same cannot be said of the following years, especially the 1940s, when emigration from São Miguel amounted to 80% and even 90% of the total Azorean outflow. This situation was crucial in determining our choice to use newspapers published in São Miguel for the purposes of this essay. At that time, this island was, as in other periods, one of the most densely populated and the one that displayed the fastest rate of demographic growth – a key factor behind the population increase occurring in times of dwindling outflows (Rocha 1991).

As emigration decreased and became practically limited to the island of São Miguel, in sharp contrast to the general pattern since the second half of the 19th century (Rocha 2008), changes began to be noted in the volume and structure of the demographic pattern of the archipelago, and new variables emerged that were related to the natural movement of the population (Rocha 1991). In fact, the dramatic fall in emigration led to a major rise in population numbers,⁴ as shown in Chart 3, together with an increase in the number of young people in terms of the composition of age groups, and a renewed balance in terms of gender distribution. These are aspects that we have already had the opportunity to highlight in other studies, especially when we analyzed the dynamics of the population in several Azorean islands between 1900 and 1981 (Rocha 1991), and more recently, in a synopsis of the demographic growth of the Azores between 1895 and 1976 (Rocha 2008).

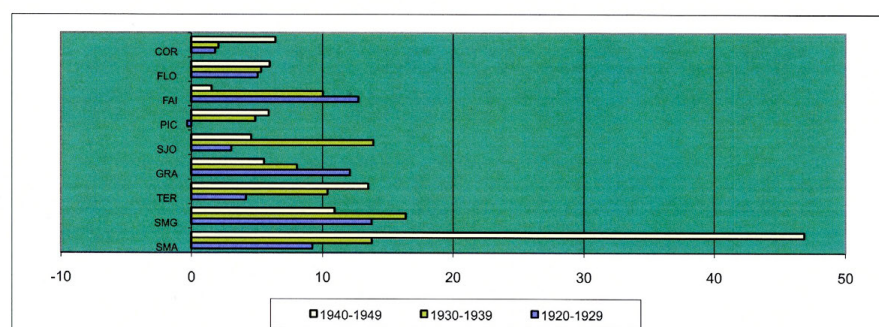
CHART 3
EVOLUTION OF POPULATION IN THE AZORES FROM 1920 TO 1950



Source: Census, 1920, 1930, 1940 and 1950.

Over the course of thirty years, the Azorean population increased by more than 85,000 individuals: 21,923 between 1920 and 1930; 32,919 between 1930 and 1940, and 30,423 between 1940 and 1950. However, the population growth rates differed from island to island, being higher in São Miguel, as can be seen in Chart 4. Such differences in terms of demographic volumes and growth rates can be understood in the light of geographic variations, with their being a tendency for greater demographic concentration in the larger islands. Santa Maria was an exception to this rule from 1940 to 1950, when the male half of the population was attracted by the employment opportunities created with the building of the international airport (Rocha 1991).

CHART 4
POPULATION VARIATION IN THE AZORES (%)
FROM 1920 TO 1950, BY DECADES

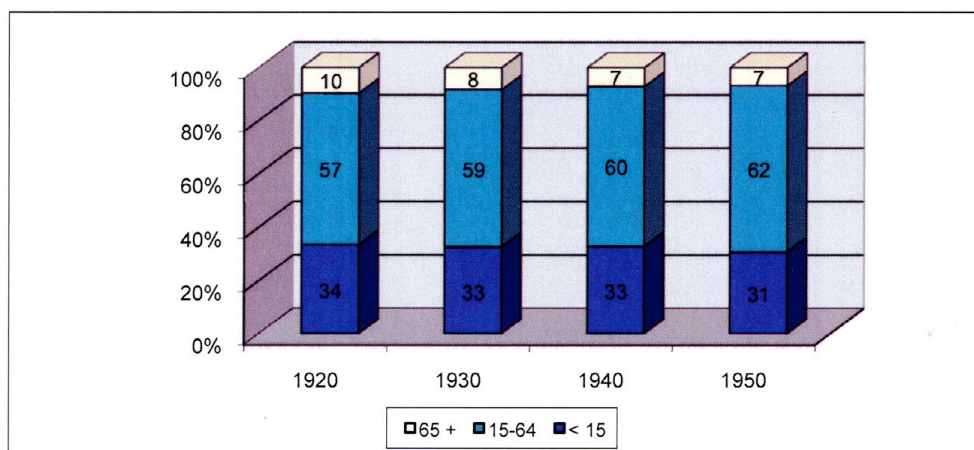


Source: Census, 1920, 1930, 1940 and 1950.

⁴ Present Population. We use *present population* instead of *resident population*, since the former was classified according to age groups in the Census that we consulted.

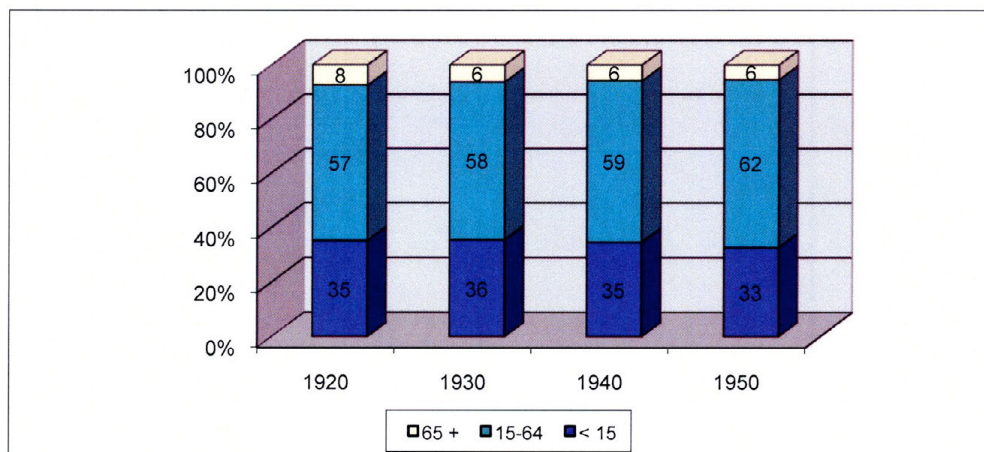
There were distinct changes to be noted in the age structure,⁵ mainly resulting in an increase in the adult population (Charts 5 and 6) as mentioned earlier. Effectively, the increase in the relative share of the adult population is quite clear, as is the consequent relative fall in the shares of the young and elderly age groups. The indirect influence of these changes on the birth rate, resulting from an absolute as well as a relative increase in the population of fertile age, was just as important in all of the Azorean islands as it was in São Miguel.

CHART 5
AGE STRUCTURE IN THE AZORES FROM 1920 TO 1950 (%)



Source Census, 1920, 1930, 1940 and 1950.

CHART 6
AGE STRUCTURE IN S. MIGUEL FROM 1920 TO 1950 (%)



Source: Census, 1920, 1930, 1940 and 1950.

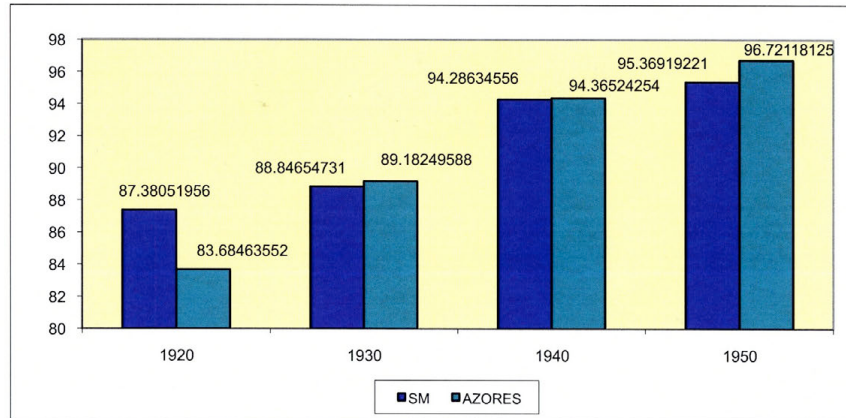
Besides affecting the age groups, the decrease in Azorean emigration brought further changes, namely in terms of gender balance, after years of striking disparities, particularly in the late

⁵ Young age group under 15; Working age group (15-64); Elderly people (65 and over).

19th century (Rocha 1990), when it became clear that Azorean emigration was predominantly attractive to the male element.⁶

Contrasting with the masculinity ratio of 85% in 1920, the following years were characterized by a similarity in the shares of the male and female population (Chart 7). In this particular case, São Miguel deviated from the general trend of the archipelago, even when the other islands had experienced sharper gender cleavages in the past (Rocha 1991). The movement towards a greater gender balance was, therefore, less evident in São Miguel than in the rest of the islands.

CHART 7
MASCULINITY RATIO IN ACTIVE POPULATION, IN THE AZORES AND S. MIGUEL, FROM 1920 TO 1950



Source: Census, 1920, 1930, 1940 and 1950

The declining emigration numbers led to a fear in certain circles that already existing social problems, such as unemployment and poverty, might be aggravated (Rocha 2001). The Azorean economy was mostly rooted in a stagnant primary sector (Enes 1994). In addition to a lack of vitality in agricultural production, the political regime dealt strongly with any form of dissent and social unrest. Despite the poor living conditions (Brito 1955), the government propaganda spread notions of national greatness and unity, slowly bringing into existence the so-called New State, ideologically strong, censorial and highly critical of the ways of life to be found in foreign countries, particularly the USA, which had the highest concentration of Azorean emigrants, after Brazil had reigned supreme as the most popular destination for emigrants in the second half of the 19th century (Rocha 2009).

Frequency and main contents of newspaper articles about emigration

A systematic analysis of the characteristics of the discourse produced in the press about Azorean emigration over the course of this thirty-year period must necessarily take us far beyond the world of journalism. This is especially true in the case of Azorean writing, since, in the period of our study, there appeared to be a clear overlap in the opinions and representations published about migratory flows originating within the archipelago. In other words, several genres of discourse were juxtaposed as a result of the multiple social roles that some of the authors often played: politicians, journalists, literary figures, among others. As has been stated earlier (Cordeiro 2003), beginning in the late 19th century and continuing through the first decades of the 20th century, most of the writing on the theme of emigration was produced by highly regarded figures in Azorean cultural

⁶ São Miguel was not the island that was most affected by this gender imbalance. Emigration to North America, characterized by the largely illegal outflow (Chapin 1981; Silva 2002) of the young male population in the second half of the 19th century, affected, first and foremost, the islands of Faial, Pico and São Jorge, where age and gender imbalances were more evident, particularly at the end of the 19th century and in the first two decades of the 20th century (Rocha 1991; 2008).

and political life.⁷ The articles they published in the local press were usually speeches that had been presented earlier in a political context or else took the form of cultural essays and/or academic studies.

Because it crosses over discursive boundaries, the theme of emigration shows the importance of political, economic, social and cultural questions as a source of public interest (Santos 2004: 10). Even when relatively informal, no discourse on the subject of migration and its agents can ignore the living conditions of the population, the prevailing ideology and currents of thought, or the decisions taken with regard to migratory policy, either in the country of origin or in the destination society. Even when there is a fall in the volume of migratory flows – as is the case with the period under scrutiny here – all information and opinions are structured and expressed in accordance with the complexities of the societal framework of their time.

The present analysis is based on this premise and seeks to clarify the contents of the messages that were produced and conveyed within a particular social and political environment. In keeping with the methodology and aims established for this article, a reading of Table 1 shows that the evolution in the number of articles written on the subject of Azorean emigration and published between 1920 and 1950 does not always reveal the real dynamics of the emigration flows during those thirty years. The number of articles published in the 1940s contrasts sharply with the phase of “low emigration” to be noted in this thirty-year period. The explanation for this fact is probably to be found in the methodological options that we took, namely in terms of the newspapers that were chosen, given their editorial differences.⁸

Table 2 shows how the contents of the press articles can be grouped together around specific themes, thus indicating some of the prevailing concerns and purposes of that time. At the same time, the relatively restricted scope of these themes may express the generally shared ideas as to which emigration-related matters were considered relevant and worthy of public debate, from a journalistic point of view. Even so, as will be shown later on, such consensus did not exclude the airing of conflicting ideas, notwithstanding the central priorities of a social and political context that was averse to any form of social upheaval; nor could it conceal the different thematic trends that were developed, with there being a sharp contrast between the first and the last years of the period under analysis.

The 1920s thus focused on emigration as representing a problem in itself and/or as the cause of further difficulties and predicaments.⁹ The idea of *excessive emigration* was immediately presented as a demographic threat to Azorean society. The risk of upsetting the already frail balance in the population (a difficult goal to achieve and maintain, even under normal conditions, especially in the smallest islands) went hand in hand with the decrease in agricultural production and the increase in wages in the primary sector.¹⁰ A shortage of goods and rising prices were some of the arguments presented in a number of articles that were overtly opposed to emigration and to uncontrolled emigration in particular. It is our belief that this kind of assessment was actually more closely related to the high emigration rates in the past, since it hardly mirrored the reality of the historical period in which the articles were written.

At the same time, other shortages and problems were pointed out as being closely connected with the migratory process. The inhuman traveling conditions and the precarious situation awaiting immigrants in terms of employment and residence in the destination country

⁷ For example, Mont'Alverne de Sequeira, Luís da Silva Ribeiro, Carreiro da Costa or Armando Cortes-Rodrigues.

⁸ In spite of this, we have already had the chance to demonstrate on another occasion (Rocha and Ferreira 2008) that, in the periods after the one analyzed here, a much larger number of news items and opinions tended to be published about the subject at times when there was a significant rise in the number of emigrants, with the reverse situation also being true.

⁹ Following this same line of thought, Miriam H. Pereira defines the 1920s as a decade similar to the 1850s and 1860s, due to the unrest that emigration caused among the ruling classes (Pereira 1993: 14).

¹⁰ This view linking together demography and economics was not exclusive of the 1920s. Cordeiro (2003) claims that such a “reading” of Azorean emigration was already to be found in the mid-19th century, and that it continued into the first half of the 20th century, meeting with changes in its acceptance and visibility “depending on economic and social circumstances, ideologies, interests, aims and the public it was addressed to” (translated from Cordeiro 2003: 124-125).

were also the subject of harsh criticism.¹¹ As one of the main destinations for Azorean emigrants, the United States was the target of vehement accusations in this respect, in contrast with what was said about Brazil. The 1929 crash was held responsible for the plight of unemployment, which spread rapidly among the Azorean immigrants living in North America, bringing with it famine and disease,¹² and causing some of them to rush back to their country of origin, an aspect that justifies the observation that we made earlier about the appearance of an older adult population, or even an elderly population, in some of the islands during those years (Rocha 1991).

Furthermore, the mere mention of the United States seems to have aroused explicit nationalistic feelings in the press of the time, even if the 1920s in the Azores were generally associated with the activities of a remarkable cultural movement in favor of the formation of a regional identity¹³ (Cordeiro 1995; Enes 1995). The Azorean emigrant in America was seen as being particularly exposed to the dangers of *de-naturalization*, given the vulnerability of immigrants to the processes of assimilation and acculturation.

*In contact with a new civilization that doesn't even deny him political rights, adapted to the life of another race, one that is young and strong and that isolates him and separates him from his homeland, the settler in North America rapidly forgets his nationality. His absorption is complete.*¹⁴

Another fear was added to the above, namely that a mass emigration of whole families might take place, something that did indeed become a distinctive feature of Azorean emigration in the 20th century. This was, however, a concern that was essentially limited to official bodies and which was applicable to the nation as a whole, as Miriam H. Pereira reminds us when analyzing Portuguese emigration policies between 1850 and 1930. The author argues that the government feared the emigration of entire families, as this might reduce – if not completely do away with – the remittances of funds to Portugal. Such a possibility never did in fact materialize because the emigration from the mainland was predominantly of an individual nature (Pereira 1993: 14-15), contrary to what was happening in the Azores.

Nevertheless, the official State discourse on this subject, consulted for the purposes of this study, is not particularly elucidative. Rather, it seems to have been aimed at discouraging individual plans for emigration, which may be interpreted as a way of impeding any possible future plans for family reunification abroad. We believe that one of the main strategies developed at the time consisted of minimizing the quantitative importance of migratory flows. The restrictions on the entry of newcomers imposed by the United States during the 1920s proved to be of assistance to the Portuguese government's purposes (Baganha 1994). An article in *Açoriano Oriental*, dated January 1927, reproduced a press release from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which had previously been published in *O Século*. The text reports on the low number of Portuguese citizens seeking to settle in North America and informs the population of the remote possibilities of candidates on waiting lists ever achieving their emigration wishes or succeeding in becoming clandestine emigrants:

The last published bulletins on emigration account for [...] something like 18 in one thousand in certain northern districts, whereas in the south the percentage is insignificant. [...] North America establishes yearly quotas for all countries; our country has a limit of 503, women and children

¹¹ cf. *Contra a emigração* [Against emigration]. *Açoriano Oriental*, 24/07/1920; *O problema da emigração* [The emigration problem]. *Açoriano Oriental*, 15/01/1927.

¹² cf. *Os portugueses em má situação na América* [The difficult living conditions of the Portuguese in America]. *Açoriano Oriental*, 18/02/1933.

¹³ As a rider to what has already been said, it should also be added that the authors mentioned saw no contradictions or conflicts between regionalist and nationalist ideas, as they were both linked together in the debates and speeches dating from the 1920s. We can even read that “(...) regionalism did not oppose nationalism. In other words, the former did not jeopardize the nationalist feelings of the Azoreans: on the contrary, it strengthened them” (translated from Cordeiro 1995: 283) and “‘Azoreanity’ was not seen at that time as the basis of an Azorean ‘nationalism’ that might foster the independence of the archipelago. [It was rather seen as] a complement to and a part of the Portuguese nation” (translated from Enes 1995: 299).

¹⁴ *A emigração* [Emigration] *Açoriano Oriental*, 06/11/1920.

*included. We can safely say that there is practically no emigration to North America, since 70% of this amount is reserved for women and children, and only the remaining 30% for men. And yet, however, there are many applications. Approximately 12,000. Some of the candidates will give up, or have already given up, this purpose, finding a different course for their lives; others go abroad illegally, being arrested on arrival and then shipped back to their country of origin.*¹⁵

In direct contrast to what has been seen in relation to the USA, newspaper articles from the period that centered on the question of Brazil as a migratory destination underlined the need for Portuguese foreign policy to give additional importance and value to that country. This is a topic we shall return to later on when analyzing the 1940s, but its relevance was already hinted at as early as 1920 due to a number of interrelated factors.

The first and foremost of these is the setting in which Portuguese and Brazilian bilateral relations took place. The first years of the 20th century were crucial to the fundamental shaping of such relations. The first steps in bringing the two countries closer together involved the acknowledgement of a common purpose: each country was determined to carry out its own *project of national regeneration* (Santos 2006)¹⁶ and was therefore willing to assist the other by strengthening their transatlantic bonds.

Two other, albeit contradictory, factors explain the central focus given to migrations to Brazil in the newspaper articles we examined. On the one hand, there was the relative increase of interest in this country as an emigration destination (probably as a result of the restrictions imposed by the United States in 1921, 1924 and 1927). On the other hand, there was the steady determination of the Brazilian authorities to extend their legislation restricting immigration. The end of World War I triggered this restrictive policy as a response to major national events, such as the successive economic depressions following the 1930 Revolution (Westphalen and Balhana 1993: 22-23).

Both factors help to explain the reasons why the articles consulted were concerned with describing the difficulties that Portugal would face if it neglected its economic relations with Brazil.¹⁷ Thus, emigration to Brazil was advertised as a solution to the problem of insufficient numbers of workers on the other side of the Atlantic, with financial benefits for Portugal arising from the transfer of funds and the strengthening of commercial transactions.¹⁸

The invectives delivered against emigration, a central theme in the newspaper articles we first analyzed, were thus replaced by a laudatory discourse in favor of outflows towards destinations that were historically linked to Portugal, such as Brazil and the African colonies. The new theme was gradually presented as the main solution to the “emigration problem,” providing the basis for a wider public debate in the 1940s.

In actual fact, despite its being sustained by the colonial policy of that time, the plan to redirect Portuguese emigration flows to the colonial sphere was not an original idea of the *Estado Novo*. The beginning of the political discourse defending the departure en masse of Portuguese (and even other Europeans) to the African colonies dates back to the 19th century and was included in the program of the liberal movement of the time (Pinto 2006: 59-60). By then there were a number of ideological aspects that were involved in this suggestion – one was the idea of the *civilizing mission* that could be played by the Portuguese; another was the defense of the principle of the *historical rights* that Portugal enjoyed over its African territory – but the fact remains that in 1822 the proclamation of Brazilian independence ended up contributing to the idea and yet at the same time, because of this, one of the main reasons for the Portuguese presence in Africa – the transatlantic

¹⁵ *O problema da emigração* [The problem of emigration]. *Açoriano Oriental*, 15/01/1927.

¹⁶ After conducting an in-depth study of the relationship between Portugal and Brazil, during the period from 1930 to 1945, Paula Marques Santos states as follows: “(...) fresh and more vigorous attempts were made to bring the two countries closer together, as they embarked upon similar political and ideological processes, through the centralized and dictatorial governments of Oliveira Salazar and Getúlio Vargas, whose central goal, in each case, was to establish a new *project of national regeneration* and to form a new conception of the country, in the light of the existing international order and its main actors” (Santos, 2006: 2).

¹⁷ cf. *A influência portuguesa no Brasil está ameaçada* [The Portuguese influence in Brazil is at risk]. *Açoriano Oriental*, 23/09/1923.

¹⁸ cf. *idem, ibidem*.

slave market – was done away with (MacQueen 1998: 30-21). Consequently, the inevitable and progressively increasing demographic vacuum in the colonies had to be compensated for.

The idea of presenting the African colonies as a territory that was attractive to the Portuguese people started to gain in intensity at the end of the 19th century, after the Berlin Conference in 1885,¹⁹ and it became part of the program of colonial propaganda in the first two decades of the 20th century, already under the regime of the Portuguese Republic. With the fall of this regime in 1926, important changes were brought to colonial policy with the coming to power of Salazar – consolidated in the 1930 Colonial Act and its transposition to the Portuguese Constitution in 1933. Yet, nonetheless, the idea did not perish, being presented in the light of arguments that were apparently less ideological than those that were used in the past. As Norrie MacQueen states, the Colonial Act was passed at the time of the economic conjuncture that had spread across the world after the 1929 depression. Consequently, the Portuguese colonies in Africa were presented as a viable alternative to the harsh living conditions that were being experienced all across Europe (MacQueen 1998: 29). However, the plan to increase the migratory flows to Africa and establish large populations there did not meet with the hoped for success, although some legislative changes were made in an attempt to encourage this process.²⁰

We believe that the fact that this theme continued to be discussed in the newspapers of São Miguel is symptomatic of the New State's supportive attitude towards the idea. Although the channeling of the Portuguese population towards colonies such as Angola and Mozambique was part of a vast scheme intended to solve the problem of "excessive emigration," it was also intended to contribute to the project of expanding the empire.

This is the main reason why the theme remained a vital one in the newspapers for over thirty years, even during a period of decline in migratory movements. This solution was meant both for Portuguese citizens who had returned to their country of origin after unsuccessful emigration experiences and for aspiring emigrants:

We also have a surplus population, who are anxious to emigrate, we have many thousands of families, country people, fighting against extreme poverty because even bread is in short supply. Why shouldn't we use them for the purpose of occupying land that others covet?
[...]
*Let the Portuguese people occupy the land, before others come and take it over. Portuguese people! It is your duty to populate Angola and Mozambique. And this is more urgent than you might think. Let it be done now: For the Good of the Nation.*²¹

Between 1920 and 1930, analysis of the newspapers shows a decrease in the number of articles focusing specifically on emigration (Table 2). New demographic topics began to be covered randomly by the press, such as general quantitative data on the population or migratory flows. This trend changed in the 1940s. Not only was there a rise in the number of articles showing a renewed concern with the theme, but the discussion of the old questions was also returned to once again.

One of these articles, reviving the debate on the relations between Portugal and Brazil, restored the official discourse of the Portuguese and Brazilian governments about the mutual interest of promoting the joint project of internal restructuring and international empowerment that was referred to earlier. Influential regional and national figures, as well as highly regarded Brazilian publicists, came out and vindicated the political ideals nurtured by their respective governments.

¹⁹ Isabel Castro Henriques justifies the colonialist strategy of the main imperialist nations during the period immediately after the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) as follows: "The creation of African colonies by the powerful European countries, from the late 19th century onwards, called for the implementation of structures and the deployment of men – soldiers, missionaries, technicians, colonial administration agents, businessmen, settlers – essential for ensuring territorial control and the development of the European projects for exploiting the local resources and the African populations" (Henriques 2004: 433).

²⁰ For example, in 1907, departure for those territories no longer required the obtaining of a passport (Pereira, 1993: 14).

²¹ *O povoamento das Colónias portuguesas* [The settlement of the Portuguese Colonies]. *Açoriano Oriental*, 05/08/1933.

Dutra Faria and Azevedo Amaral were two men of letters and political thinkers who stood out as distinguished examples offering their support to the activities of their respective governments in this area.

The convergence in the Azorean press of the ideas and opinions from the two continents highlights the popularity of the concept of “*luso-brasilidade*” (a combination of the Portuguese and Brazilian characters, traditions and goals). A cultural and propagandistic movement was therefore founded upon the pillars of a common language, a common history and now a common political purpose (Santos 2006: 9).²² No wonder that the regional press mirrored this movement and sought to draw the two countries closer together; claims were made about the relevance of teaching each country’s history on both sides of the Atlantic, and stress was laid on the importance of the Portuguese emigrants’ role in the development of Brazil. In its turn, Brazil prized highly an immigrant community that adjusted easily to the local rules and standards and that succeeded in all activities based on the values of *work*, *honesty* and *public spirit*.²³ The Brazilian acknowledgement of the Azorean emigrants’ good attributes helped to shape the articles written on the theme:

*Parents and grandparents of Brazilians, the Portuguese living in Brazil, have been granted unrequested privileges under Brazilian law, simply by virtue of their being of Portuguese origin. The whole of Brazil grants them moral citizenship as a result of their keen historical awareness, as well as their affectionate feelings derived from reciprocal habits of good companionship.*²⁴

These writings are much more than mere newspaper articles. Besides sharing a common interest in the emigration theme, they succeed in cementing mutual affinities, such as language, history, culture and religion. Although emphasis is laid upon emigration, wider cultural purposes are thus attained, as is shown by the words with which the well-known politician Manuel de Abranches Martins tried to convey Marcello Caetano’s thought:

*The Portuguese in Brazil, and the Brazilians in Portugal, must be considered almost of the same nationality [...] Friendly relations between Portugal and Brazil have matured lately, by virtue of a broad and clear international policy. [This] friendship [...] will have its appropriate judicial counterpart.*²⁵

The *demographic problem* was another subject of renewed interest for journalists in the 1940s. It gained newfound autonomy from the theme of emigration, and was now approached from the viewpoint of a surplus population.²⁶ Carreiro da Costa was the author of an article in which the decline in the flows of emigration, stemmed by the restrictive measures taken by the United States of America, was held responsible for the growth in the population. Furthermore, the author argued that the difficulties experienced by the various economic sectors in the Azores combined with the international climate of war to exacerbate the precarious living conditions of the lower strata of Azorean society at the beginning of the 1940s.²⁷

²² During the 1930s and the 1940s, cultural and intellectual exchanges were a distinct reality. As mentioned earlier (Santos, 2006), “(...) besides the several visits and the special missions being sent between the two countries, there was also a continuous exchange of specialists in different areas, who worked as consultants and participated in universities, enterprises, etc.” (Santos 2006: 9/note 18).

²³ cf. *Os portugueses do Brasil* [The Portuguese of Brazil]. *A Ilha*, 06/04/1940; *Somos Cem Milhões* [We number one hundred million]. *A Ilha*, 29/03/1941.

²⁴ *Os portugueses do Brasil* [The Portuguese of Brazil]. *A Ilha*, 06/04/1940. Another right granted to the Portuguese to the exclusion of other immigrants was the right of association, on Brazilian territory, in social clubs of a regional and local nature, (cf. *Portugal no estrangeiro* [Portugal abroad]. *A Ilha*, 25/05/1940).

²⁵ *Portugueses e Brasileiros* [Portuguese and Brazilians]. *A Ilha*, 13/02/1943.

²⁶ In spite of the controversy surrounding this issue, this expression is normally used only under very special circumstances: when there is an excess of people in a certain territory, which in most cases cannot be dissociated from the economic, social and political contexts of the respective societies. This can be linked with the demographic reality when we talk about a general decrease in the population between 1900 and 1920, followed by an increase from the mid-1920s until the end of the period under analysis, especially in the 1940s, when the trend ran counter to emigration.

²⁷ cf. *A crise Açoriana* [The Azorean crisis]. *A Ilha*, 11/01/1941.

It is consequently plain to see that within the space of a decade a shift in attitude had occurred with regard to the pressing demographic issues and the effects of emigration on society. Carreiro da Costa recalls the past outflows of Azoreans heading for Brazil and the United States, in order to stress the economic benefits that had been gained: a strengthening of commercial ties and the receipt of foreign capital.²⁸

Since this is a personal interpretation of the facts, it is somewhat risky to consider this to reflect a general trend in the Azorean press.²⁹ In support of this cautious position, we should mention an anonymous article, published in the second half of the 1940s, which expressed unequivocal backing of the regime's positioning in this matter.³⁰

The text presents a favorable appreciation of the surplus active population, viewing it as an outcome of a well-designed social and economic policy. According to what has been said, the New State had succeeded in establishing and implementing objective measures leading to agricultural and industrial progress, resulting in an overall decrease in the tendency to emigrate.³¹ In the same spirit, an argument was again evoked that was popular in the 1920s – the advantages of settling in African colonies for all those who felt the urge to live far from the metropolis.³²

Existing alongside these main themes were other articles that focused upon the *image* of the Azorean emigrant. They played an important role in the portrayal of regionalism and in the formation of a specific identity, a project which was still very much alive in journalist circles in the 1940s, even if it remained under the sway of an all-pervasive national feeling (Enes 1995). The role and the profile of the Azorean emigrant in the destination society seem to be part of a certain Azorean *and* national *essence*:

*[Azoreans in California] have performed social action that is worthy of praise, and have managed to extend our islands, and even Portugal, abroad, by giving continuity to habits, customs and traditions.*³³

As mentioned previously (Rocha and Ferreira 2008), and strange though it may seem, articles dealing with this theme tended to be written in periods of low migratory flows and were accompanied by a relative effort to form an identity, as in the second half of the 1970s and most of the 1980s. The same may be said of the texts that focused on the cultural scope of the migratory process. The representations of the emigrant, being central to these documents, include a description of the relationship with the homeland, seeking to highlight the preservation of a collective memory and a sense of belonging, without which no regional identity is ever completely formed.

Conclusions

The analysis of the press discourse about Azorean emigration, for the thirty years considered in this study, is far from concluded. We recognize the benefits of further and more in-

²⁸ cf. *idem, ibidem*.

²⁹ It is, however, interesting to note that, by the end of the 1940s, emigration was beginning to be mentioned as a *solution* to the demographic problem (cf. *O Problema Demográfico Micaelense* [The demographic problem in São Miguel]. *A Ilha*, 12/02/1949). This view continued to be held throughout the 1950s (Rocha and Ferreira, 2008). Carreiro da Costa has the particular merit of having anticipated this question and introduced it into the public arena.

³⁰ cf. *Medida justa e oportuna* [A fair and opportune measure]. *A Ilha*, 19/04/1947.

³¹ cf. *idem, ibidem*.

³² Further reading on the channeling of migratory flows towards Africa must include: *Portugal de Aquém e de Além-Mar* [Portugal on this side of the ocean and overseas]. *A Ilha*, 10/11/1945; *A emigração portuguesa* [Portuguese emigration]. *A Ilha*, 09/08/1947.

³³ *Portugal na Califórnia* [Portugal in California]. *A Ilha*, 21/11/1940.

depth research in this area, both in terms of the interpretation of data and of the methodology adopted. We also recognize that other contents and discursive forms, as well as continuities and novelties, may be found and highlighted.

In any case, it seems reasonable to argue that the period 1920-1950 did not witness any major changes as far as the contents of articles on Azorean emigration were concerned, despite some diverging opinions. Subjects such as migratory flows and their relationship with demography and culture, emigration as the cause of all manner of problems, the attempt to encourage people to emigrate to the African Colonies, or the Portugal-Brazil relationship, using the history of Portuguese emigration as the backdrop to their discussion, were all to be found with some regularity in the pages of the newspapers analyzed during those thirty years.

Another point of view that must be emphasized is the widespread tendency to discourage discourse about emigration during this period, with only one solitary text appearing in the 1940s explicitly referring to its advantages. This is not such a strange fact if we consider that, with the press being subject to censorship, a certain kind of convergence was inevitably to be noted between the discourse to be found in the press and the prevailing political attitude towards emigration at that time. During the *Estado Novo*, the Portuguese government's position towards emigration was basically characterized by the restrictive procedures that were adopted, with strict control being exercised over departures aboard and punitive measures being taken against those who emigrated irregularly (Peixoto 1999: 156; Santos 2004: 30-35). In a certain way, it is understandable that the incentive to emigrate was not included among the fundamental principles of Salazar's policies, despite the Portuguese government of that time encouraging the sending of remittances to the nation.

Sources

Statistics

Census of Portuguese Population, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950
Demographic Statistics from 1920 to 1950

Newspapers

Açoriano Oriental (Ponta Delgada, 1920-1939)
A Ilha (Ponta Delgada, 1940-1950)

Bibliography

- Baganha, Maria I. (1994). "As correntes emigratórias portuguesas no século XX". *Análise Social*, XXXI (128): 959-980.
- Brito, Raquel Soeiro de (1955). *A Ilha de S. Miguel*. Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura/Centro de Estudos Geográficos.
- Chapin, Francis White (1981). *The tides of migration: a study of migration decision-making and social process in São Miguel, Azores*. Michigan: University Microfilms International.
- Cordeiro, Carlos (1995). "Regionalismo e identidade açoriana. O debate nos anos 20". In AA.VV, *A Autonomia no Plano Histórico. Actas do Congresso do I Centenário da Autonomia dos Açores*. Ponta Delgada: Jornal de Cultura, 277-287.
- Cordeiro, Carlos (2003). "O fenómeno emigratório açoriano. Leituras e contextos". In AA.VV, *Actas do Colóquio Portugal-Brasil. Uma Visão Interdisciplinar do Século XX*. Coimbra: Quarteto, 111-127.
- Enes, Carlos (1994). *A Economia Açoriana entre as Duas Guerras Mundiais*. Lisbon: Edições Salamandra.
- Enes, Carlos (1995). "A construção da unidade e identidade regional". In AA.VV, *A Autonomia no Plano Histórico. Actas do Congresso do I Centenário da Autonomia dos Açores*. Ponta Delgada: Jornal de Cultura, 289-305.
- Enes, Carlos (2005). *A Ilha* (Jornal). In *Enciclopédia Açoriana* available online at <http://pg.azores.gov.pt/drac/cca/enciclopedia/index>.
- Henriques, Isabel Castro (2004). *Os Pilares da Diferença. Relações Portugal-África. Séculos XV-XX*. Lisbon: Caleidoscópio / Centro de História – Universidade de Lisboa.
- MacQueen, Norrie (1998). *A Descolonização da África Portuguesa. A Revolução Metropolitana e a Dissolução do Império*. Mem Martins: Editorial Inquérito.

- Peixoto, João (1999). "A emigração". In Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Vol. V. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 152-181.
- Pereira, Miriam H. (1993). "Liberdade e contenção na emigração portuguesa (1850-1930)". In AA.VV, *Imigração/Emigração em Portugal. Actas do Colóquio Internacional sobre Emigração e Imigração em Portugal. Séculos XIX e XX*. Lisbon: Editorial Fragmentos, 9-16.
- Pinto, Alberto Oliveira (2006). *Cabinda e as Construções da sua História (1783-1887)*. Lisbon: Dinalivro.
- Rocha, Gilberta Pavão Nunes (1990). "Os Açores na viragem do século (1860-1930) - características da sua evolução demográfica". In AA.VV, *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional de História da Madeira*. Funchal: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 849-863.
- Rocha, Gilberta Pavão Nunes (1991). *Dinâmica Populacional dos Açores no Século XX – unidade, permanência, diversidade*. Ponta Delgada: Universidade dos Açores.
- Rocha, Gilberta Pavão Nunes (2001). "A emigração nos Açores nos séculos XIX e XX – a necessidade, a solução, a valorização". In *Portos, Escalas e Ilhéus no Relacionamento entre o Ocidente e o Oriente. Actas do Congresso Internacional Comemorativo do Regresso de Vasco da Gama a Portugal*, Vol. II. Lisbon/Ponta Delgada: Comissão Nacional para os Descobrimentos Portugueses/Universidade dos Açores, 75-89.
- Rocha, Gilberta Pavão Nunes (2008). "Crescimento da população e os novos destinos da emigração – 1895-1976". In António Teodoro de Matos, Avelino de Freitas de Meneses and José Guilherme Reis Leite (eds.), *História dos Açores*, Cap. V, Vol. II. Angra do Heroísmo: Instituto Açoriano de Cultura, 265-306.
- Rocha, Gilberta and Ferreira, Eduardo (2008). "A população açoriana e a diáspora – factos e contextos (1930-2000)". Paper presented on *Narrating the Portuguese Diaspora (1928-2008) – International Conference on Storytelling*. Lisbon, October 23-25.
- Rodrigues, Graça Almeida (1980). *Breve História da Censura Literária em Portugal*. Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa – Ministério da Educação e Ciência.
- Santos, Paula Marques. (2006). "Relations between Portugal and Brazil (1930-1945) – the relationship between the national experiences of the Estado Novo". *e-JPH*, 4(2), Winter 2006.
- Santos, Vanda (2004). *O Discurso Oficial do Estado sobre a Emigração nos Anos 60 a 80 e Imigração dos Anos 90 à Actualidade*. Lisbon: Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas (ACIME).
- Silva, Susana Serpa (2002). "Em busca de novos horizontes. Açores, emigração e aculturação nos finais do séc. XIX, inícios do séc. XX". *Arquipélago História*, 2ª Série, VI: 347-360.
- Sztompka, Piotr (1995). *Sociología del Cambio Social*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Westphalen, Cecília M. and Balhana, Altiva P. (1993). "Política e legislação imigratórias brasileiras e a imigração portuguesa". In AA.VV, *Imigração/Emigração em Portugal. Actas do Colóquio Internacional sobre Emigração e Imigração em Portugal. Séculos XIX e XX*. Lisbon: Editorial Fragmentos, 17-27.

Table I

Evolution of published texts on emigration in the newspapers
Açoriano Oriental and *A Ilha* (1920-1950)

News- paper	Year	No. of articles	Total
Açoriano Oriental	1920	6	13
	1921	0	
	1922	1	
	1923	2	
	1924	1	
	1925	0	
	1926	0	
	1927	1	
	1928	0	
	1929	2	
	1930	0	5
	1931	0	
	1932	0	
	1933	2	
	1934	0	
	1935	1	
	1936	0	
	1937	0	
	1938	0	
	1939	2	
A Ilha	1940	8	23
	1941	3	
	1942	0	
	1943	1	
	1944	1	
	1945	3	
	1946	0	
	1947	4	
	1948	1	
	1949	2	
	1950	3	

Source: Açoriano Oriental (Ponta Delgada, 1920-1939) and A Ilha (Ponta Delgada, 1940-1950)

Table II

Main themes of the texts on Azorean emigration, from 1920 to 1950

	1920 - 1929	1930 - 1939	1940 - 1950	Total
Culture	2	-	4	6
Demography and migratory flows	-	1	2	3
Problems (emigration as a solution)	-	-	1	1
Problems (emigration as the cause)	4	1	-	5
Emigration to the "colonies"	2	1	3	6
Emigration and relations between Portugal and Brazil	2	-	5	7
The "image" of the emigrant	-	-	4	4
New destinations (Curaçao and São. Domingos)	-	-	3	3
Foreign/immigration Policy	1	-	-	1
International and diplomatic relations	-	-	1	1
Support for the emigrant	-	1	-	1
Participation/Integration	1	-	-	1
Other	1	1	-	2

Source: *Açoriano Oriental* (Ponta Delgada, 1920-1939) e *A Ilha* (Ponta Delgada, 1940-1950)

Kioko Koiso, *Mar, Medo e Morte: aspectos psicológicos dos naufragos na História Trágico-Marítima, nos testemunhos inéditos e noutras fontes*, 2 vols., Cascais, Patrimonia, 2004, 705p., ISBN 972-744-061-4

Ana Paula Laborinho
Department of Romance Literatures
Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon
ap.laborinho@fl.ul.pt

The accounts of shipwrecks that are now known to us as the “Tragic History of the Sea” (*História Trágico-Marítima*), to use the term first coined by Bernardo Gomes de Brito, the author of the famous 18th-century compilation, have led to the production of an abundant critical bibliography, as is recognized by the author of the two volumes of the work reviewed here. It is worth noting that many of these works have been produced by foreign specialists, including such crucial names for research in this area as Charles R. Boxer and Giulia Lanciani. They gave high praise regarding the originality of these reports in the context of European literature and were also responsible for offering distinct critical approaches to the subject that have usefully revealed the great wealth of this textual corpus.

This “foreign” view of the question has now been joined by that of Kioko Koiso, who presents a highly detailed compilation of sources, while at the same time seeking to reconstruct the psychological conditions that encouraged the writing of these reports and determined their central semantic directions. No less important is the profound admiration that the author feels for the Portuguese navigators and the conditions under which they lived (and died) in the course of the many ups and downs of their maritime adventures. As she says in the preface, more than the exploits of such people, what interests her is “the hidden part of the History” (19). This ambition is evident in the various central threads of her research and reflection, resulting in a highly productive cross-disciplinary approach. But the inevitable consequence of there being such a wide range of different aims set out in her plan for the work is that the results of her research are somewhat partial in nature. This is something that the author is fully aware of when she announces in her conclusions the need for new studies to be produced on the subject, a task in which she is, in fact, already engaged. This does not in any way detract from the interest and the opportune nature of the research she has compiled in these two volumes, in particular the exhaustive survey that she makes of manuscript sources that allow her to gather together and quote previously unpublished information.

Corresponding to the two parts into which the plan of the work is divided, we find two different contributions in this compilation, deriving from two distinct avenues of previous research. The first part examines the philological and editorial questions of the various lessons provided by the reports of shipwrecks and their different editions. Beginning with the *História Trágico-Marítima* of Bernardo Gomes de Brito, which brings together 12 reports divided into two volumes, the author once again takes up the debate about the pseudo-3rd volume comprising yet another six reports. In keeping with the work of Boxer, she includes these reports in the corpus of her reflections, also referring to the various compilations found in Portuguese libraries and archives. Recognizing that few studies have so far been made about the unpublished documentation, the author dedicates a chapter to the comparison of seven manuscripts of accounts of shipwrecks and their published versions, whose variants she identifies and analyzes. In an appendix, she includes the annotated transcription of five manuscripts, which occupies a substantial part of the 2nd volume, to which she also adds an inventory of the editions, sources and translations of the 18 reports of shipwrecks. Although she includes here a great deal of information drawn from the research of Boxer (1957,

1979) and Lanciani (1997, 2002), as well as from the work of Moniz (1995), who had already compiled these data in his PhD thesis (albeit only in relation to the 12 reports of Brito's edition), we must emphasize the great effort of synthesis contained in the inventory presented by Koiso, who furthermore adds supplementary information resulting from her own research. This aspect of Koiso's work represents a valuable contribution that brings us ever closer to the greatly desired complete critical edition of the *História Trágico-Marítima*.

The other important aspect of this work is the attention paid to the cultural and literary history of that time, which is already to be noted in the final chapter of Part 1, dedicated to the analysis of the shipwreck of the great galleon São João relating the ordeals and misadventures of Manuel de Sousa Sepúlveda and his wife. This is a narrative that became a paradigm of the genre and was published on numerous occasions before it finally appeared in the first volume of Brito's edition. By comparing the different versions (including those in manuscript form), the author succeeds in identifying the way in which the text was successively manipulated in order to create a *pathos* aimed directly at the readers and transforming this episode into a *topos* that was a recurrent feature in literature and other arts up until the contemporary period.

Part 2 is marked by her analysis of the various psychological aspects associated with shipwrecks (the sea, fear, death). We are provided with a reconstruction of the conditions experienced by sailors during the sea voyages of that time (the route, the discomforts on board, victuals, clothing, periods when there was a lull in the wind, the shortage of water), with the author using the letters of the Jesuit priests as her main source of information. Life on board—which the author insisted on experiencing herself in order to be able to better understand the difficulties of navigation—configures the sea voyage as representing a space and time in which the various threats can be developed that, from the very outset, determine the psychological context in which seafarers are forced to live. Shipwrecks, the various causes of which are evoked through reference to earlier studies, are a permanent threat that generates fear and explains the religious tenor of these reports.

Having established this context, the author returns to the corpus of the shipwrecks and analyzes in detail the representation of fear, death and religiousness. It is not a question of reviving these psychological aspects but rather of interpreting the reports and surveying a series of themes and motifs that determine the literary quality of these texts. In this sense, the author draws closer to the works of Lanciani (1979, 1992, 1997) by suggesting a narrative model that moves seamlessly from the tragic history of the sea to the tragic history of the land. The arrangement of the sequences, from the moment of setting sail to the crossing of the ocean, exacerbates the inevitable onset of a catastrophe in which the shipwreck is merely the end of one cycle and the beginning of another, almost always bringing greater suffering and other dangers. The narrative is constructed in the form of a spiral of setbacks and improvements that reach their climax in the shipwreck, but it also passes through so many other stages of hope and distress, of which the report itself is, after all, the manifestation of the end of the tragedy. This whole atmosphere serves to represent the divine punishment that is brought to bear on the human sins, most notably envy, expressed in the constant references to the excessive cargo. The author mentions this dimension of religiousness, but the reports really need to be placed to some extent within the context of the spirit of the Counter Reformation, which was the setting in which they were written, just as an analysis also needs to be made of their 18th-century appropriation through a special fondness for tragedy, which was responsible for the configuration of the theme and motifs of the shipwreck in Portuguese culture.

In the conclusions to her work, Koiso promises to continue her research into the variants of the reports of shipwrecks, and from the results that she presents us with here we have every reason to believe that these efforts may well shed light on a whole host of other black holes that still persist in the current state of research into this subject. It should, however, be stressed that the publication reviewed here provides us with immediate access to a corpus that has not previously been published, paving the way for the development of new and more complete studies about this rare textual heritage.

João Pedro Marques, *The Sounds of Silence: Nineteenth-century Portugal and the Abolition of the Slave Trade*. Translated by Richard Wall. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006. xxi plus 282 p. ISBN 1-57181-447-7

Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo
Institute of Social Sciences
University of Lisbon
mbjeronimo@gmail.com

The Sounds of Silence: Nineteenth-century Portugal and the Abolition of the Slave Trade by João Pedro Marques, the fourth volume of the interesting series *European Expansion & Global Interaction*, edited by Pieter C. Emmer and Seymour Drescher, is a significant contribution to the vast and rich international literature on abolitionism, its causes and consequences, main events and historical processes. Well-informed and up-to-date in relation to the most pressing debates on the abolition of slave trade, the study is based on comprehensive research work that has amassed a considerable bulk of the primary and secondary sources and data available at several archives—from the military and the colonial collections to the diplomatic records, which are mainly to be found in Lisbon. *The Sounds of Silence* provides a much-needed counterpoint (and counterbalance) to an *Anglocentric* leaning that overwhelmingly dominates this field of studies. A more polished version of his PhD (completed and published in 1999 by the Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, and manifestly serving as the source of other publications, such as *Portugal e a Escravatura dos Africanos* or *Sá da Bandeira e o Fim da Escravidão—Vitória da moral, desforra do interesse*, both also published by the Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, in 2004 and 2008), *The Sounds of Silence* also offers a detailed and insightful analysis of the troubled Portuguese political history in the nineteenth century (from the changes taking place in the Euro-African-Brazilian Empire to the Portuguese civil war and its end and aftermath), revealing the points of intersection and the mutual influences that its evolution had upon the abolitionist process.

Consisting of six chapters, this work successfully combines theoretical and analytical questions associated with the literature on abolitionism (especially in the preface and the first chapter) with an in-depth historical evaluation of the main actors, events and processes, enabling the reader to gain a meticulous understanding of the ever changing ways in which both the colonial issues and, more particularly, the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade were dealt with in Portugal at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. Marques departs from and promotes a predominantly metropolitan reasoning (even considering the extensive importance given to the role played by the British authorities), seeking to deliver a political anatomy of the process that ended with the legal abolition of the Atlantic slave trade. He consequently proposes a “reconstruction of the ideological frameworks” (xiii) that accompanied its evolution, downplaying the economic reasoning and critically devaluing the contributions of scholars such as Eric Williams (and followers) and, in Portugal, the likes of José Capela and Valentim Alexandre (with whom he engaged in a heated debate over several issues of the Portuguese academic journal *Penélope* that, for various reasons, merit the special attention of those who are interested in the specific views of Portuguese historiography and its accompanying academic world). The exclusive emphasis on ideas as “explanatory factors in the abolitionist movement” (*idem*), the genealogy of which dates back to Thomas Clarkson and has David Brion Davis’ *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (1966) as a major landmark, is further enhanced by an overtly elitist, strictly political and markedly metropolitan (or *metrocentric*) approach to the Portuguese path to the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade.

As a consequence, in Marques’ analytical framework, international factors are reduced from the outset to the external pressures increasingly exerted by the British from the beginning of the

nineteenth century, an aspect that is convincingly and exhaustively explored throughout the book. The important role played by the restless forces within the Catholic and the Protestant worlds apropos of the slave trade and slavery—a role that was strongly determined by ideological dimensions—is, however, an aspect that is missing from the book, except when mentioned in order to highlight their relevance in influencing the nature of Anglo-American abolitionism. At the same time, the African and colonial causes and consequences of this crucial historical process are virtually absent (as is the Brazilian side of the issue), although an analysis is finally made in the last chapter of the *imagination* of Africa developed in Portugal after the formal disintegration of the Portuguese-Brazilian empire, which includes a critical assessment of the real significance and impact of the Portuguese imperial and colonial policy-making. The colonial situation and the colonial societies involved in the complex and contentious process of abolition are scarcely addressed and their importance is all too readily dismissed, although they are mentioned briefly in each chapter of this work. The focus and emphasis on the “the will of the masters”—a major concern of the author that has been pursued in recent writings—require the author to adopt this approach, but the colonial world was surely more than a mere recipient of recurrent and often contradictory and impractical political and economic instructions and legislative guidelines before, during and after the abolitionist process. For example, one wonders about the importance and impact of the strong ties that directly linked Angola to Brazil (chiefly based on the slave trade in the latter country). One also wonders about the extent to which organized interests in these latitudes worked in combination with the political and economic interests operating in Lisbon, powerfully, if not publicly, conditioning the ideological formulation of *tolerationism*. The amount of research that still needs to be carried out in order to satisfactorily answer questions such as these should warn against making clear-cut and bold assertions that locate the key explanatory factors within a single framework and geography of analysis. It also suggests that a more multidimensional form of investigation should be adopted.

At another level, the convenient and unquestioned focus on a political and diplomatic history (always conceived within a metropolitan framework) and the consequent importance that is attached to legal and legislative procedures (treaties, decrees, laws, etc.) as major indications of the variegated political positioning towards the abolitionist issue, and as major signs of its evolution, inevitably obscure crucial events and processes that are essential for making a more balanced appraisal. The resulting narrative of abolition fails to address the question of the great resilience of the slave trade and moreover overlooks the institution that upheld the associated market: slavery. To focus on *de jure* measures has analytical costs. The slave trade continued to characterize the Portuguese imperial and colonial world long after the closure of the Brazilian markets and the legal suppression of the odious commerce, and long after the abolition of slavery in Portugal in 1878. As the *serviçais* question and the “slave cacao” issue prove, the slave trade did not, by any extent, end when “national honor” implied the abandonment of *tolerationism*, and *gradualism* ceased to be just an expedient of a *de facto* calculated procrastination. Angola remained an active source of slave shipments to São Tomé and Príncipe, just to mention one maritime example of the ongoing slave trade, a market that accompanied the rise of *legitimate* commerce and persisted well into the twentieth century. The abolition of the slave trade must be critically examined, and its narrative, even if powerfully questioning longstanding mythologies and *identitarian* givens (many of which are still to be found in use today), must not be so clearly encapsulated and isolated from the study and understanding of the persistence of slavery, or analogous forms of forced labor, and related economies. As James Duffy’s *A Question of Slavery. Labour Policies in Portuguese Africa and the British Protest, 1850-1920*, published in 1967, undeniably established (although it remains curiously absent from the otherwise fairly comprehensive bibliographies of the thesis and of this excellent translation), slavery and the slave trade were fundamental cornerstones of the third Portuguese empire and continued to be so long after their putative legal abolition.

Perhaps the new book edited by Seymour Drescher and Pieter C. Emmer for the same collection—*Who Abolished Slavery? Slave Revolts and Abolitionism. A Debate with João Pedro Marques* (Berghahn Books, 2010), which is shortly to be published—will contribute towards enriching the ways in which the convoluted “Portuguese” abolitionist trajectories are assessed and revealed to an international historiography.

Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World (ed. Liam
Matthew Brockey), Farnham, Ashgate, 2008, 298.p
ISBN 978-0-7546-6313-3

João Paulo Oliveira e Costa
New University of Lisbon
jpcosta@fcsh.unl.pt

Published in 2008, this volume analyzes the phenomenon of urbanism in the context of the Portuguese Expansion in the Modern Age. The starting point for this work is, in fact, to be found four years earlier, in April 2004, when the conference on *Nodes of Empire: Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern Period* took place at the University of Princeton. The group of texts that is now published does not include the contributions of all the participants at that conference, but it does include other texts that help to bring the whole volume much closer to an overall vision of the Portuguese Empire.

In the introductory preface, Liam Brockey presents this book in the expectation of its becoming the starting point for future studies, and we can, in fact, hope that its reading will arouse the interest of researchers from various origins about the theme in question. Seen from this point of view, the book presents a range of different looks at the urban spaces of three continents, with equally varied chronological records that, as a general rule, are based on an irreprehensible methodology and an in-depth knowledge of the contemporary documentation; besides this, there was clearly a significant effort of coordination, which can be felt, for example, in the frequent cross references leading readers from one chapter to another, enabling those who have less knowledge of the theme to note similarities and establish relations between the different phenomena that marked the history of the empire's cities in such distant regions as Brazil, China or Japan. I have no doubt, therefore, that the reading of this work may stimulate researchers and students to become interested in the theme of the history of the cities of the Portuguese Empire. It should, however, be understood that this book will be able to perform this role because of the fact that, in most cases, the articles provide us with good syntheses of the great number of studies that have already been written about this theme. It is, therefore, not a work that brings very great novelties for the historiography of the Portuguese Expansion—in my view it does not match up to the editor's wish that it will represent "a new panorama of the cities within the Portuguese colonial and cultural sphere" (14), which is also due to the fact that many of its chapters present us with case studies that are too firmly fixed in time to function as a panoramic view of the city in question, while others do not really focus on a city, as is the case with the texts by Tavim (who studies the Jews in various cities around the Empire – Chapter 1) and Ames (who presents a good synthesis on the history of the Province of the North, without fixing his attention on its cities, namely in Baçaim – Chapter 5). I am, however, certain that this book can be particularly relevant for an English-speaking audience that knows nothing of the abundant bibliography that exists on this theme, above all in Portuguese.

In his introductory study, Brockey identifies the distinguishing features of Portuguese cities: the Municipal Council, the *Misericórdia*, the Hospital, the confraternities, and the Portuguese language (used only as the official and institutional language, for various authors show us that the lingua franca in the cities that they studied was not the language of Camões). The editor stresses that these institutions were the hallmarks of a distinctive civic organization in the colonial cities that furthermore survived until the end of the Empire. He further adds that, at the same time, they were all culturally hybrid environments, representing "crossroads of cultures," in which a group of institutions and individuals originating from Europe were linked to local dynamics and the force of European Colonial History. It should, in fact, be said that this is precisely one of the characteristics that is stressed most throughout the book—that the cities of the Empire were centers of intense

cultural exchanges. And this is one of the themes that deserves to be studied in greater depth in the future.

Liam Brockey chose to organize the book by themes, his aim being to avoid the traditional models that tend to structure studies of this type in a geographical sequence from West to East. It is a praiseworthy choice that immediately highlights the complexity of the theme and, above all, the similarity of processes. Grouping the studies together by themes affords us a more ample view of the cities of the empire, in which one can better understand the existence of a structural model that has been developed in such different places as the Brazilian hinterland, on the shores of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, or even within the confines of the China Sea.

Having mentioned the volume's general purposes and characteristics, let us now analyze its different chapters. Grouped together in the first part are three chapters on the theme of *Religion and Empire*, involving the study of three different cases: first, the presence of Jews in the cities of Morocco and on the shores of the Western Indian Ocean; next, the role of the Jesuits in the political life of Salvador da Baía at the beginning of the 17th century; finally, a Christian city, Nagasaki, which had its own ephemeral life somewhere between the fringes of the Portuguese Empire and those of its own country, the Japanese Empire.

In his article, *In the shadow of Empire: Portuguese Jewish Communities in the Sixteenth Century*, José Alberto Tavim does not analyze a single city but instead two religious communities—the Jews and the New Christians—and their activities throughout the Empire, from Morocco to Cochin, between the end of the 15th century and the last few decades of the 16th century. In this study, Tavim highlights the way in which two communities coexisted peacefully within the Empire during the first half of the 16th century: the Portuguese Crown permitted the existence of Jewish quarters in Moroccan fortresses, and there was also a Jewish street in Goa until 1565. In this journey through a diversified space, which also includes Ormuz, Tavim draws the reader's attention to an important aspect of this theme of the empire's cities, referring to the different status that the Portuguese dominions could have, a subject that is not specifically analyzed in this volume, although there are other references, particularly in the case of Nagasaki, as we shall see later on. Tavim notes that in Ormuz and Cochin the Jews lived under the authority of the local kings and were not subordinated to the Portuguese captain. The institutional flexibility of the State of India, so clearly shown by Luís Filipe Thomaz,¹ made it possible for this same State of India to be formed from cities, territories and trading posts with a different legal nature. The mobility of New Christians and Jews around the Empire clearly illustrates the peculiar dynamics of Portuguese India.

The author also stresses the fact that in these years of relative tolerance Jews and New Christians believed that they were part of a “Portuguese identity” (37), and that a new policy of intolerance promoted by the royal officials in the last third of the 16th century led many New Christians to flee and even return to their Jewish faith. Tavim thus shows us that in the first decades of the 16th century the main cities of the Portuguese Empire were spaces that were more tolerant towards Jews and New Christians than the metropolis itself.

It is worth mentioning that in these years the two groups were of crucial importance for the success of business and for the relationship with the Muslim world. When the winds of intolerance began to blow in the second half of the 16th century, the Empire was already being led more by the logic of the private merchants who fatally entered into direct competition with the New Christians. At that time, there was nothing to prevent the intolerance that had been experienced in the metropolis for several decades from spreading to the State of India, especially to its dominions in the western part of the territory.

While the article by José Alberto Tavim only gives us a few scattered images of various cities (but nonetheless illustrates a specific aspect of the way in which the Portuguese overseas spaces were organized), the following one by Charlotte de Castelneau-L'Estoile simply directs our attention to a case study that does not illustrate a particular specificity of the Portuguese Empire. Resorting in particular to studies by Fernanda Bicalho, the author analyzes the role played by riot and procession in the political language of the city, apropos of the disorder aroused in 1610 by the promulgation of a law designed to protect Indians. In her conclusion, Castelneau-L'Estoile states that “riot and procession were two important elements of the political language of the Ancien

¹ See Luís Filipe Thomaz, “A estrutura política e administrativa do Estado da Índia no século XVI” in *De Ceuta a Timor*, Carnaxide, Difel, 1994, pp. 207-244.

Regime societies” (61). Apart from recounting an interesting episode from the history of Salvador da Baia, this article therefore limits itself to demonstrating that this city had dynamics that were peculiar to the urban spaces of that time, inasmuch as it resembled European cities, a fact which places us before the question of the emergence of a genuine colonial space—situated overseas but developing models in its way of life that were imported from the country of origin of the imperial forces.

Elisonas’ study of *Nagasaki: The Early Years of an Early Modern Japanese City* also shows us the formation of a city modeled according to principles that were exogenous to the country in which it was situated but with a quite different result from the one noted in Brazilian cities. Nagasaki, quite correctly referred to by Brockey as the joker in the pack of cities studied in the book (9) was, in fact, a unique experience that momentarily made it possible for a Christian city to exist in Japan. Elisonas highlights the specific dynamics of this city, which was always marked by a typically Japanese urbanism and architecture (even in the case of the churches) and inhabited almost solely by the Japanese themselves, even though, for several decades, it lived to the sound of the church bells, following the liturgical calendar of Rome, assimilating Portuguese institutions such as the *Misericórdia* and cultural and linguistic practices that were highly influenced by the permanent contact with the *nanbanjin*.

Elisonas’ article is, however, characterized by the criticism made of certain ideas that, in the author’s opinion, exaggerate the importance of the Portuguese in the birth of the city and its shaping over the first decades of its existence. However, much of this criticism relates to a “popular belief” that is not actually referred to in contemporary Portuguese historiography, so that the text has a certain Quixotic feel to it.

Elisonas begins by criticizing the idea that the Portuguese created the city “in their own image” (63), referring, amongst others, to my own studies. The author considers that there are other “hillside communities” in Japan and even reminds us that the topography of Edo/Tokyo is undulating (66). Elisonas also specifically criticizes my statement that the Portuguese created “a new city”, referring to the foundation of Nagasaki, and in this specific case he bases his claim on the fact that there existed a castle with a small settlement just over a kilometer from the new port (69). Later on, however, he distinguishes the old “castle town” from the “harbor city”, which he ends up referring to as a “new town” (71). This means that despite criticizing my formulation Elisonas ends up using it himself. And, in fact, what he states is exactly the same as I and other Portuguese researchers have repeatedly written: Nagasaki was a Japanese city, but its foundation (the choice of the site where the first neighborhoods were to be built) and its rise to become a great city of international trade were due to the Portuguese; besides this, as Elisonas himself recognizes that it was a “Christian city” (78) with equipment and institutions that had been transferred from the Portuguese model (76-77), as well as with a unique identity (69), “but it was a Japanese, not a Portuguese identity even if it had an exotic tint” (70). Now, this is precisely what recent Portuguese historiography has claimed, so that it is hard to understand why Elisonas adopts such a combative tone.

In the final part of his article, Elisonas alludes to the tenacious resistance of the inhabitants of Nagasaki to the anti-Christian policy of the shogunate, in the years immediately following the expulsion of the clergy in 1614, thus testifying to its specificity as a Christian city.

Beyond his analysis of the city’s history, Elisonas also refers to the way in which firearms were introduced into Japan. As a phenomenon that has long been associated with the arrival of the Portuguese in the archipelago, it is called into question here and the hypothesis is raised that it was instead the *wako*² who were actually responsible. To justify this, the author cites an exhibition held at the National Museum of Japanese History, in Autumn 2006. I did not see the exhibition, nor am I familiar with the respective catalogue, but I cannot help noting that the *wako* had already been moving around the China Sea for close on 300 years when the Portuguese arrived in Japan, and I am rather surprised by the coincidence that these seafaring warriors should have introduced firearms into the country at the precise time when the *nanbanjin* began to frequent the Japanese ports (it is an indisputable fact that muskets began to spread throughout the Japanese Empire in the 1540s). The Japanese memory itself has associated the entry of firearms into the country with the arrival of the Portuguese, for the chronicle that records the appearance of the *nanbanjin* in

² Sino-Japanese pirates operating in the China Sea from the 13th to the 17th century.

Tanegashima is entitled the *Chronicle of the Shotgun*, so that the hypothesis of its having been the *wako* who were responsible, as is evoked in this article, is nothing more than an embellishment from the current of Japanese historiography that persists in belittling the importance of the Portuguese presence in the country, and which has obvious ramifications in Anglo-Saxon authors, particularly those who originate from Protestant or anti-Catholic backgrounds.

Finally, it should be said that if we dissociate ourselves from Elisonas' phantoms, his article provides us with an excellent synthesis of the main characteristics of Nagasaki during its *nanban* period, directing our attention to the extremely rare case in the History of European Expansion of the emergence of an indigenous city with a strong alien dynamics—a center for the coming together of civilizations and a center of extraordinary knowledge.

The second part of this book groups together three other studies, this time on the theme of trade, with particular attention being paid to Mozambique, the Province of the North and Macau.

Malyn Newitt presents a text entitled *Mozambique Island: The Rise and Decline of a Colonial Port City*, which provides us with an excellent overview of this city's history, with the added particularity of its being linked to the evolution of the Portuguese Empire. Particular attention is drawn to the fine synthesis that is presented on pages 105 to 108 about the characteristics of the cities of the Portuguese Empire, including a pertinent comparison between those situated in the regions of the Indian and Pacific Oceans and those situated in the Atlantic.

Newitt stresses the fundamental role played by the city in the context of the *Carreira da Índia* (India Route), as well as its links with the networks of merchants operating in the Indian Ocean and the evolution of trade, namely the establishment of the ivory trade, from the mid-16th century onwards, and the development of the slave trade from the second quarter of the 18th century onwards. He also notes the city's defensive capacity and demonstrates that Mozambique's resistance to the attacks by the Dutch in the early 17th century was decisive for the evolution of European colonialism in Asia, since it obliged the Dutch to shape the nature of their dominions through alternative places. Despite the success that it enjoyed in comparison with its European rivals, Mozambique failed as a port city (125), insofar as there was never any serious investment made in the development of the port, nor was it provided with decisive institutions such as a municipal council and a diocese. Newitt considers that this was due to the personal interests of the captains and adds that the maritime trade undertaken by the city provided excellent profits for more than two centuries. Its informal character was, after all, of interest to all concerned, for without any extra costs to the crown and without the presence of powers that competed with the authority of the captain, the city guaranteed the continuation of Portuguese influence over the region and made it possible for the officials and merchants operating there to make sizeable profits. In this sense, Newitt's text reveals the relatively informal nature of the establishment that satisfied the needs of all the agents involved, from the royal officials to the private merchants.

Also demonstrated in this article is the importance of the non-European population, which in this case included Africans, Indians and people of mixed race. The author also refers to the importance of the city's hinterland, which was not situated in the territories adjacent to the island, but was to be found further south, in the valley of the River Zambeze. Recognizing that Mozambique had always been "a hostile place for foreign shipping," the author should perhaps have also recognized the important roles played by the hinterland and by the friendly relations that continued to be enjoyed between the Portuguese and the neighboring coastal populations in guaranteeing the permanent presence of the Portuguese in the region.

Next, Glenn Ames presents a study that, broadly speaking, lies outside the overall logic of the volume: *The Province of the North: Continuity and Change*. As in the article by Charlotte de Castelneau-L'Estoile, this text does not actually analyze a city of the Portuguese Empire. In the case of the French author, we are left with a very localized case study, which limits itself to illustrating the spread to Brazil of a dynamic that was common to European cities; in Ames' article, however, the reader finds an analysis that goes far beyond examining the life of a colonial city. In fact, Ames analyzes the Province of the North as a whole, especially the trade that brought such life to its cultural exchanges. As in the articles about Nagasaki and Mozambique, our attention is once again drawn to the phenomena of cultural exchanges, in keeping with a model that is very different from the one used to describe the classical colonial cities. Ames even gives us the example of an official of the East India Company, who, around 1670, mentioned that the Portuguese lived "confusedly" amongst the Asian peoples. The urban agglomerations of the Province (Baçaim, Chaul and Damão)

are barely mentioned at all, but the article provides an excellent framework for understanding the overall context chosen by the author.

Following this, Isabel dos Guimarães Sá presents a text on the theme of *Charity, Ritual, and Business at the Edge of Empire: The Misericórdia of Macau*. In this article, the author combines a geographical focus (Macau) with another of an institutional nature (the *Misericórdias*), so that her study helps the reader to understand this phenomenon as a whole. In fact, the *Misericórdias* rapidly spread across the Empire, having simultaneously been “a logical way of organizing charity for the poor” and “an arena of power for local elites” (149). The author also stresses the way in which these institutions managed to accumulate liquid capital, so that she considers that the *Misericórdia* of Macau functioned as a proto-banking institution, an idea that can be applied to the other confraternities spread around the cities of the Empire.

In this chapter, we are once again offered an overall appreciation of the characteristics of the city under consideration, which Isabel dos Guimarães Sá presents in satisfyingly correct terms. What stands out in this case is the multi-ethnic character of Macau (154), where the number of Europeans amongst the population was extremely low and where it was very rare to find women who were born in Europe. Consequently, the Portuguese who were born in the city were all either Eurasian individuals or simply Asians with some European ancestry. The author even notes that people were not being born in Portugal in sufficient numbers to fill the vacant posts at the *Senado da Câmara* and the *Misericórdia* (164), which helps us to understand that, as she states, the governor and bishop were alien elements from outside the city (162), in which the prevailing influence was that of the Jesuit (159). The author understands that the Portuguese culture survived due to the permanent arrival of men originating from Portugal and adds that the *Misericórdia* also made a decisive contribution towards maintaining a Portuguese identity (172-173), if only because the Portuguese community was predominantly a female one (169), and the women, as we have seen, were not born in Europe.

Thus, what comes across in this article is once again the phenomenon of miscegenation, noted earlier by Newitt and Ames. The reading of the article allows us to see that the Portuguese born in the territory were Oriental Portuguese, with faces that looked similar to those of the native people from the same country and who spoke the local language, while at the same time also speaking the language and professing the religious faith of their far-off king. And, in business, their personal interests were confused with those of China itself, as well as with those of the Portuguese Crown. Finally, it should be mentioned that, in this city, there occurred another phenomenon of interculturality, which is also noted in this work by Catarina Madeira Santos, apropos of Luanda: in effect, in their early childhood, these Oriental Portuguese were cradled and nurtured by Asian women, listening to songs and stories that involved them in the imaginary of China and Far Eastern Asia, just as the small Portuguese children of Luanda grew up listening to the sound of Kimbundu songs and the legends of the black women. This is, in fact, a dimension of the Portuguese Empire that still remains to be studied in greater depth and which finds one of its first formulations in the article by Catarina Madeira Santos.

The third and last part of the book brings together four studies centered upon the theme of the “Politics of Empire” and allows us to travel once more through the three continents over which the Portuguese Empire was to spread. Once again, it should be stated that this was undoubtedly a wise choice on the part of the editor: by organizing the work according to themes and not in a geographic sequence, Brockey causes the reader to be confronted with institutional, political and cultural similarities, and, in a certain way, he demonstrates that the perception of the empire as a whole always requires a geographic coverage and an interlinking of the different regional realities.

The text by Stuart Schwartz (*The King's Processions: Municipal and Royal Authority and the Hierarchies of Power in Colonial Salvador*) is undoubtedly the one in this volume that best explains the role played by the municipal councils as an institution that served to link the royal power with the local dynamics (177). Besides providing a synthesis of the main characteristics of the municipal institution, Schwartz observes the leading figures behind the processions organized by the *Câmara* of Salvador and notes how these events evolved over time, seeking to celebrate the main feast days of the liturgical calendar and the most important events occurring under the dynasty, as well as the local dates of some significance, such as the commemoration of the victories over the Dutch. The author also shows us how the main body of participants in these celebrations kept changing.

Initially seen as a way of attracting the Indians, the processions included the participation of the indigenous population during the 17th century, but from the 18th century onwards the situation began to change, while at the same time the colonization of Brazil was intensified and the cities saw a significant reinforcement of the community originating from the metropolis. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Carnavalesque elements of the processions began to be contested and the Indians ceased to be mentioned, which also tends to suggest a gradual assimilation of these individuals by the colonial society, in which people of mixed race were framed under new categories. In this multi-racial society (199), mulattoes began to play an increasingly important part and to join in these great manifestations of city life, although naturally they were only afforded subordinate roles. And Schwartz also reminds us that the black people had their own festivities, such as the enthronement of the king of Congo. In 1765, the governor of the captainship of Baía banned the brotherhood of the Holy Spirit, which had many black and mulatto members, from participating in the procession, but, 15 years later, the bishop of Rio de Janeiro recognized that the *batuques* (folk dances) were a pagan, but after all a necessary ritual (202-203). In these lines, the author shows us the way in which Brazilian colonial society evolved under an inevitable state of tension between the different groups of which it was composed, in which the pretext of the color of a person's skin was nothing more than a subterfuge for power games. In these cities, where the predominant culture was a mixed one resulting from miscegenation, an elite from the metropolis sought to assert itself, at the moment when it grew large enough to attempt to reconstruct the model that was in force on the other side of the ocean.

The next two articles show us, on the one hand, the occurrence of similar phenomena in other parts of the Empire and, on the other hand, new forms for the establishment of the colonial society in Brazil.

Diogo Ramada Curto (*Notes on a Project for the city of Goa*) presents us with a project that was itself presented in the Indian city in 1728 by the captain Diogo de Pinho Teixeira. This was a plan that proposed a reorganization of the city which would give it a more colonial appearance, apparently based on the model that regulated everyday life in the city of Batavia (209). For example, an attempt was made to ensure that greater respect was shown for Sunday as the day when shops were closed and trading would cease, the wearing of sensual clothing was condemned, and it was suggested that prostitutes should be confined within their own street; overall, the project displayed a profound sense of hierarchy and social differentiation (208). However, as the author himself stresses, this proposal was never even analyzed by the Goan authorities. At the end of 1730, almost three years after the presentation of the proposal, the viceroy wrote to Dom João V, saying that he hadn't yet had time to analyze the document. This was an extremely clear answer—Teixeira's ideas were of no interest to the powers that ruled over the city of Goa and the viceroy communicated this rejection by not finding the time, over a period lasting several months, to even devote his attention to the document.

In this way, Diogo de Pinho Teixeira's project served, after all, to paint a negative picture of what the city of Goa was really like at the beginning of the second third of the 18th century – a city that was heavily marked, just like the other cities of the Empire, by phenomena resulting from miscegenation. As Ramada Curto says, Teixeira wished to impose an “idealized social order,” and his proposal undoubtedly had echoes of segregation and violence (216-217), but the way in which it was ignored by the authorities, including the viceroy, who would always be more sensitive to the ideas of the metropolis, shows us that, after all, the cultural, social, economic and even religious dynamics of the city, in which many of its members of Portuguese origin saw themselves reflected, were much more capable of integrating citizens than the Goa imagined by Diogo de Pinho Teixeira. At a time when the great colony of the Empire was situated on the shores of another ocean, Goa might have in its midst individuals who were more sensitive to an affirmation of European power, but its survival in the Indian and Asian context depended, as always, on the establishment of close links with the local people and an assimilation of their customs, even if remaining under the symbolic guidance of the principles of Christian society.

Diogo Ramada Curto concludes his text by criticizing those who refuse to think about different forms of colonial violence (221), bearing in mind examples such as that of the project under consideration in the article. Although, from a theoretical point of view, one should always hope that the societies of the past are studied without any preconceptions, and whilst it is certain that Teixeira's text shows us a “racial” view of the empire, the fact remains that this “violent”

proposal was not even discussed by the authorities of Goa. In the end, what this shows us therefore is that the powers that ruled over the Goan society of that time (including those who originated from the metropolis) rejected this model of “violence” and “racial superiority,” and that the elites preferred to cement their prominence and power through more subtle means.

Kirsten Schultz, on the other hand, shows us precisely how Teixeira’s project would have met with much greater acceptance in Brazil. In her study *Sol oriens in occiduo: Representations of Empire and the City in Early Eighteenth-Century Brazil*, she analyzes the emergence of the academies, the first of which was founded in Salvador, in 1724, a mere four years after the creation of the *Academia Real da História* (Royal Academy of History). This study does, in fact, show us an extremely important phenomenon in the development of Brazilian colonial society, throughout the 18th century, illustrating how it gradually drew closer to the status of a kingdom, which it was finally to achieve at the beginning of the 19th century. Schultz refers to the intense circulation of texts from the academies in both directions across the Atlantic, showing that in these years the Brazilian academies understood that their territory had gained supremacy in the context of the Portuguese Empire and were gradually acquiring a historical awareness. Schultz even states that, for the academicians, the celebration of the monarchy did not depend on references to Portugal (237). The Brazilian cities grew, strengthened and improved their equipment and infrastructures and turned themselves into important ceremonial spaces, and the author considers that, in the case of the commemorations held in Rio de Janeiro to celebrate the birth of the first-born son of Queen Dona Maria I, “the celebration of the monarchy was eclipsed by the celebration of the city itself” (247).

Whereas Brazil established itself as a space with its own power in the midst of the Empire and was heading towards achieving its own complete autonomy, on the other side of the Atlantic, another society was also seeking to find its own destiny, taking advantage of the winds of time, but adapted to its (still) small size, as is shown to us by Catarina Madeira Santos³ in her article entitled *Luanda: a Colonial City between Africa and the Atlantic, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*.

In this chapter, the author traces for us a brief synthesis of the history of this city since its foundation, stressing that, from the outset, Luanda was a colonial city with the attributes of a capital, whose evolution resulted from a permanent compromise between the local reality and the dynamics of the Portuguese Empire in the Atlantic. Recovering a model mapped out by Luís Filipe Thomaz, in relation to the State of India in the 16th century, Catarina Madeira Santos refers to Angola as a “network state”, in which Luanda played a crucial role in connecting the colonial world and the African world. Because of this, the foundation of the city was associated with the Portuguese penetration inland along the River Cuanza; furthermore, in this look into the history of the city, what stands out, as in so many of the other histories described in this volume, is its miscegenation, which was decisive in causing its inhabitants to seek refuge in the bush, at Massangano between 1641 and 1648, during the Dutch occupation of the city. According to the author, the elite of Luanda was formed from both white and mulatto families who had their roots in the first conquerors who had created the city and begun the exploration of the interior. The author then focuses her attention on the reforms introduced by the Marquis of Pombal to note that, on that occasion, there was a project of colonization that had as its objective to effect a genuine Europeanization of the local elite, in accordance with a civilizing ethnocentric logic. Even so, this process was accompanied by the desire to promote the development of the local people, with one of the most expressive examples being the creation of the class of Geometry and Fortification to be followed by white people and mulattoes alike. As the author states, an attempt was therefore made in this way to create a new elite that was capable of manipulating new forms of knowledge. It was the time when the word “Angolan” began to be used and when a local awareness, parallel (although different) to the one that was being built up in Brazil, was beginning to make the people of Luanda feel more and more distant from Portugal, but not from the king (261-262).

Finally, the author highlights the fact that the implementation of this project was only feasible with the participation of the mulattoes and she even notes that some governors recognized

³ For reasons that are unknown to me, the author is presented as having a PhD from the École des Hautes Études, which is not entirely correct, given that she obtained the degree under a system of joint supervision between the École and the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Her public examination did in fact take place in Lisbon, and I myself belonged to the jury that evaluated and approved her doctoral thesis.

that it was easier to Africanize the Europeans than to Europeanize the Africans, which undoubtedly directs our attention to the structural characteristics of the History of the Portuguese Expansion in the Early Modern Age.

Catarina Madeira Santos ends her article by looking for the African side of the city and insisting that Luanda was structured like a city of people of mixed race, which could be seen in the everyday colonial routines (266-267). On this subject, she reminds us that many Portuguese spoke Kimbundu (which was the *lingua franca*) and that the children of the white people were brought up by black and mulatto women, being enveloped by their sounds and their imaginary; an obvious reality, but one that is frequently forgotten by authors and which, in the case of this volume, could well have been mentioned in many other chapters.

* * *

To conclude, it must be said that this work confirms already known topics, which are afforded some further systematization here. The different chapters clearly highlight the general characteristics of the Portuguese Empire, which enables us to understand many of its common components. These, in turn, direct our attention to the existence of a *de facto* model of the Portuguese imperial city, whose characteristics can be felt, however slightly, even in a city lying outside the Empire, such as Nagasaki, and which are also to be found in cities where the Portuguese authority was always highly controlled by the regional power, as happened in Macau.

Cities scattered around the peripheries of the Empire were, in their turn, new cities that revitalized trade, coordinated the colonization efforts while simultaneously making it possible for people to conform and adapt all too readily, and set up political centers and environments for diplomatic action. If these were dynamics that stood out very clearly in the group of texts as a whole, other characteristics were not so evident, such as the fact that almost all of them were important missionary centers and port cities, with an everyday life that was highly conditioned by the rhythms of shipping and by the existence, in many cases, of shipyards, capable of performing ship repairs or even shipbuilding.

Through the successive examples that are provided, the book also shows that the cities were centers of miscegenation, and that serious and repeated efforts were made to attract native people and to open the cities up to many of their habits. The intermingling with the local women had significant political consequences, since, for all the continents, the Portuguese living in these cities were, most of the time, the offspring of Portuguese and overseas parents, with extremely strong affective, linguistic and cultural ties with the land of their birth and with their relatives on their mother's side. With the passing of the years, the evolution of these mixed race groups (both ethnically and culturally) led them to feel the voice of their homeland and their "Portugueseness" ceased to be a primordial feature of their identity. However, the connection with Portugal was maintained through their loyalty to the king, for this was, after all, the source of their identity and the legitimization of the powers of the local authorities.

The passing of time saw the gradual idealization of white colonial societies, over and above the locally born population, which could better legitimize the ever larger white elites in the 18th-century overseas world. This growth in the numbers of people originating from the metropolis was particularly evident in Brazil, and it was there that a more clearly colonialist discourse began to be developed, although the bishop of Rio de Janeiro continued to tolerate the *batuques*, at the end of the 18th century. However, further East, whether in Luanda or in Goa, the same ideas came up against the intransigence of the local reality. Without the mass emigration that there had been to Brazil, these cities were not sensitive to the proposals originating from the more ethnocentric sectors—the reforms of the Marquis of Pombal favored the mulattoes and Diogo de Pinho Teixeira's proposal remained forever locked away in the drawer.