

VICEROYS AND THEIR DIARIES
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY:
THE COUNTS OF LINHARES AND SARZEDAS
THROUGH THEIR OFFICIAL JOURNALS

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Sometime during the early seventeenth century the Portuguese crown issued a regulation requiring viceroys at Goa to record what they had done each day, in an official diary. Any viceroy who failed to do so, and to hand over the duly completed diary at the end of his term of office, was threatened with the forfeiture of his final year's salary.

As far as we know, the Count of Linhares, viceroy from 1628 to 1636, was the first upon whom this demand was imposed – and almost three years into his term, he received a stern reminder of the obligation. He replied that he was already complying fully, and would personally submit his diary on his return to Europe. Meanwhile, each year he was forwarding copies of what he had written, to the Count of Sarzedas, his son-in-law – and Sarzedas would make them available to any interested Counselor of State. He was well aware of his obligations, he added, and there was no need to threaten him with a loss of salary.¹

It seems almost certain that Linhares did in fact write up his diary regularly day by day. Nevertheless, what now survives covers only some 44 per cent of his viceregal term – that is, slightly less than three out of the six years he spent in India. The earliest segment, from 3 March 1630 to 6 February 1631, is preserved in two codices in the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon. These codices are almost,

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¹ Crown to Linhares, 31 January 1632, and Linhares to crown, 2 January 1633, IAN/TT, *Documentos Remetidos da Índia* (hereinafter *DRI*) liv. 30, ff. 1-1v.

but not entirely, identical.² We know that in the eighteenth century they belonged to the Oratorian convent of Our Lady of Necessidades; but how it acquired them remains uncertain. They are written in neat hands, in a style common in the seventeenth century, and appear to be copies – or copies of copies – sent by Linhares to Sarzedas.

A second diary segment, for 9 February to 20 December 1631, now forms part 2 of Codex 939 in the general manuscript collection of the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, and is effectively a continuation of the Ajuda codices. However, its first few folios are missing, leaving a small gap of three days after the Ajuda manuscripts end. This second segment comprises 110 folios, written in an early seventeenth century script.³ Like the Ajuda codices, it remains unpublished.

A much larger time gap of about three years separates this second segment of Linhares's diary from a third, which extends from 6 February 1634 to 21 January 1635, and forms part 1 of the same Codex 939 in the Biblioteca Nacional. This manuscript was certainly one of those sent by Linhares to Sarzedas, because, on the verso of the backing folio, are written the words, "Diário 2.a Via p.a o senhor c'de de Sarzedas".⁴ It was published in 1937 by the Biblioteca Nacional; but with the briefest of introductions, no index and no editorial comment.⁵

For almost twenty years after Linhares returned to Europe, the tradition of maintaining an official viceregal diary was not continued – or, if it was, no text has survived. Linhares's immediate successor, Pero da Silva, pleaded he did not know about the requirement until he had been in Goa for seven months – and then asked to be excused on the grounds the task was too onerous, as well as pointless. Such a diary, he claimed, would never include anything unfavorable to the viceroy who penned it; at best, it would merely repeat what was already contained in dispatches.⁶

However, some nineteen years after Linhares left Goa, a second viceregal diary was written. Its author was Viceroy Dom Rodrigo Lobo da Silveira, first Count of Sarzedas. His diary began on 23 March 1655 and ended some 9½ months later, on 1 January 1656. During the first five of these months Sarzedas was sailing from Lisbon to Goa, so that hardly more than four months of the journal were actually set in India. He arrived in Goa on 21 August 1655 and died there on 13 January 1656, twelve days after making his final diary entry. His journal now survives as a manuscript of 70 folios in the Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências of Lisbon. It was published by the Comissão Nacional para as

² Biblioteca da Ajuda, Codex 51-VII-12 and Codex 51-VII-13.

³ See BNL Fundo Geral, Codex 939 pt. 2.

⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 118.

⁵ *Diário do Terceiro Conde de Linhares, Vice-Rei da Índia*, Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa, 1937. (In fact, the viceroy was the fourth, not the third, count to bear the Linhares title).

⁶ Pero da Silva to crown, 5 January 1637, IAN/TT, *DRI*, vol. 37, ff. 450-1v. Also *ibidem*, vol. 38, ff. 42-3.

Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses in 2001, in a volume edited by Professor Artur Teodoro de Matos, with introduction, notes and full index.⁷

Now, as already mentioned, Sarzedas was Linhares's son-in-law – married, in fact, to his second daughter, Dona Maria Antónia de Vasconcelos e Meneses. It was to Sarzedas that Linhares had sent copies of his own diaries, while himself still in India – in effect, using Sarzedas as his agent. Probably, therefore, Sarzedas was familiar with the contents of Linhares's diaries, which he may well have used as models for his own. The two journals are quite similar, even at times using the same repetitive expressions. However, Linhares's entries tend to be more detailed, and livelier, than those of Sarzedas: Linhares is often impassioned, Sarzedas seldom so. Probably Sarzedas possessed less imagination than his father-in-law and had more difficulty expressing himself.

Professor Matos remarks in his introduction to the Sarzedas journal that it constitutes an informative repository of enormous historic richness; and the same could be said for the Linhares diary.⁸ So, what do these journals tell us? Undoubtedly they are excellent sources, alongside official dispatches and the like, for reconstructing political and diplomatic history. However, they may also be used to throw light on a different kind of history, in a way dispatches and other records cannot easily do. These diaries speak to us about how seventeenth century viceroys lived, day by day. They tell us about values, perceptions and understandings of the world; about how, in a universal order headed by a patriarchal king, represented locally by a viceroy, relationships were expected to function – and how they actually functioned.

Almost from the moment they landed in Goa, Viceroys Linhares and Sarzedas found themselves caught up in a whirlwind of seemingly endless activity. At least, this is the impression both men convey in their journals – particularly Linhares. Between 14 March 1630 and 16 February 1631, Linhares frequently recorded the number of hours he worked, or claimed to have worked, each day. In fact, he made no fewer than 139 such diary entries during this eleven month period.⁹ The hours he logs are extraordinarily long – and, if accurate, indicate he was following a truly exhausting schedule, particularly in Goa's enervating climate.

⁷ Artur Teodoro de Matos (ed.), *Diário do Conde de Sarzedas, Vice-rei do Estado da Índia (1655-1656)* CNCDP, Lisbon, 2001. The text is from the Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, Série Azul, MS 58.

As far as I am aware, only one other seventeenth century viceregal diary from Goa has survived. It is that of the Viceroy Count of Assumar, for the years 1677-8, also in the Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências – Série Azul, MSS 496-500. (I am grateful to Mr Pedro Pinto for this information).

There are, of course, also several surviving eighteenth century diaries.

⁸ A. T. Matos, *Diário do Conde de Sarzedas...*, p. 10.

⁹ See Biblioteca da Ajuda, Codex 51-VII-12, ff. 13v, 14, 15v, 16, 16v and passim; BNL, FG, Codex 939 Pt. 2, ff. 1-2v.

On three of the said days he states he worked for twelve hours; but on all the other days his hours were longer – and sometimes much longer. On at least seven occasions he records having worked a twenty-hour day; but on two other occasions it was 21 hours. This was exceeded on 29 April 1630, and 14 February 1631, on each of which he labored 22 hours, and on 26 April 1630, when he put in over 23 ½ hours.¹⁰ Then, on 31 October 1630, he apparently achieved the ultimate working day. “On this day”, he solemnly wrote, “I spent all 24 hours in the service of His Majesty”.¹¹ His average working day over the entire period was approximately 17 ½ hours. Yet only once does he allude to feeling tired – after a 19-hour day.¹² Linhares stopped recording his daily working hours when he left on a coastal voyage to Kerala in February 1631, and never resumed the practice – at least, not in any surviving segment of his diary.

By contrast, Sarzedas apparently did not feel the need to keep a record of how long he worked; but he did sometimes indicate the time of day when his work began – especially, perhaps, when it was unusually early. He writes that on 27 August 1655 he rose at 5 a.m., on 4 September at 4 a.m. and on 19 September, “very early”.¹³ He also indicates that he often worked late, with such comments as, “at night I was with the *Vedor da Fazenda* and the Secretary of State, conferring...”.¹⁴

We might also ask what the diaries tell us about patterns of viceregal rest and recreation. We know some institutions in seventeenth century Goa, such as the law courts, went from time to time into recess – much to Linhares’s annoyance. But there was no equivalent convention of “time off” for a viceroy. Indeed, that would hardly have been compatible with his high status – though we might perhaps expect that he rested somewhat on Sundays? To test this proposition let us examine a few diary entries, for weekdays on the one hand, and for Sundays on the other. On Thursday 13 July 1634 Linhares held audiences, dealt with petitions and other paperwork, attended to the affairs of several individuals and then visited the docks.¹⁵ On Sunday 6 August he held audiences, dealt with petitions and wrote letters to various commanders of fortresses and to the Sultan of Bijapur.¹⁶ There does not seem to have been much difference between his routine on the weekday and on the Sunday. And Viceroy Sarzedas? On Friday 22 October 1655 he began the day with Mass; then he held audiences, dispatched petitions and spoke with various fidalgos. In the afternoon he conferred with

¹⁰ Biblioteca da Ajuda, Codex 51-VII-12, ff. 15v, 16v, 24v, 28, 29, 86v, 87v, 127v, 138; BNL, FG, Codex 939 Pt. 2 ff. 1, 2v.

¹¹ Biblioteca da Ajuda, Codex 51-VII-12, f. 103v.

¹² On 27 May 1630. See *ibidem*, f. 47v.

¹³ A.T. Matos, *Diário do Conde de Sarzedas...*, pp. 86, 95, 100.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 98. See also pp. 102, 112.

¹⁵ *Diário do Terceiro Conde de Linhares...*, p. 144.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 153.

the *Vedor da Fazenda*, and that night consulted the Secretary of State and interviewed a visiting Englishman.¹⁷ Two days later, on Sunday 24 October, he attended Mass, then held audiences and met with the *Vedor da Fazenda*. In the afternoon he held interviews and at night received a message that an English ship had arrived, bringing news from Europe.¹⁸ Once again, his Sunday differed little from his weekday. For both viceroys, Sundays were working days, like any other. However, if Sundays provided no relief from a viceroy’s daily round, there was opportunity for respite – as we shall see shortly – on the many saints’ days that filled the church calendar. On such days the viceroy attended church, usually in the morning, but also took time off to participate in the celebrations.

Constant emphasis in the diaries on the long hours these viceroys worked raises the obvious question – what kept them so busy? An important part of the answer would seem to be, endless accumulations of paperwork. By the seventeenth century, recording and communicating in writing were, of course, routine activities practised by every European, and European colonial, government. Goa was no exception. In fact, Sarzedas’s diary suggests that, even before reaching Goa, viceroys were handling large flows of paper. When he set sail from Lisbon on 23 March 1655, he did so under instructions to wait offshore for last minute dispatches, to be delivered by a pinnacle from Cascais. While waiting, he took the opportunity to distribute duplicate sets of dispatches he already had aboard to other ships in his fleet. The weather was rough, and one set fell into the sea; so he had to have another laboriously copied out aboard the flagship. Next day, seas were too heavy for a delivery – and Sarzedas decided to sail on without it.¹⁹ A week later, he was already laboring over his first written report to the crown.²⁰ Meanwhile, written messages were regularly being exchanged by boat, between the flagship and other vessels.²¹

Once a viceroy reached India, the flow of paper passing through his hands soon became a flood. There is scarcely a day’s entry in either diary without some prominent reference to communicating by paper. Both viceroys were for ever receiving, reading or writing dispatches – and there is ample evidence to show this work occupied a huge proportion of their time. Linhares once complained of the “heaps of paper” he had to deal with.²² On another occasion he returned to his desk after a three day absence to find paperwork piled up, including over 400 petitions. On 14 January 1631 he wrote that he had “infinite petitions” to catch up on after an illness; next day he claimed to have just signed over 500 letters.²³

¹⁷ A.T. Matos, *Diário do Conde de Sarzedas...*, p. 124.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 40.

²¹ For examples see *ibidem*, pp. 39, 43, 44, 45 and *passim*.

²² Biblioteca da Ajuda, Codex 51-VII-12, f. 90v.

²³ *Ibidem*, ff. 107v, 133v, 134.

On 24 April 1631 he again bewailed how many petitions, and how much paperwork in general, awaited him. Later he remarked that writing dispatches seemed to occupy every hour of his day.²⁴ Sarzedas complained less about this problem; but he too felt the pressure, and was kept endlessly busy with paperwork.²⁵

While a viceroy's paperwork never ended, there were certain times of year when it was especially heavy – in particular, after the arrival of the annual *naus da carreira da Índia* from Lisbon, and then preceding their departure. Now, the *naus* tried to reach Goa towards the end of the wet monsoon, and to depart early enough to avoid winter storms off southern Africa.²⁶ This meant arriving in September or October and leaving in late December, January or at the latest February. Because the *naus* brought out and took back the annual *vias* – the sets of dispatches – the viceroy's bureaucratic year was more or less tied in with the rhythm of the seasons.

To illustrate what this meant for the viceroy, let us consider what happened in 1630-31. In 1630 the *naus* reached Goa on 30 September, and the *vias* were duly delivered the same day.²⁷ Linhares records that he immediately began opening and reading them – before, he stresses, looking at any of his private letters. By October 2 he had begun composing some replies, which he was determined to send back to Portugal as soon as possible, by overland courier.²⁸ He worked earnestly on these replies, over the next few days; but the arrival of royal dispatches had also triggered a flurry of communications with other parts of the viceroyalty, which likewise required his attention.²⁹ This kept him busy through October and November, after which he became increasingly immersed in writing his own annual letters to the crown. His paperwork at this stage was all the more taxing, because it occurred just when he was heavily involved in overseeing the preparation of various fleets – including the *naus* themselves – at the start of the sailing season. By the end of January 1631 Linhares was rising at 2 a.m. in an effort to finish his dispatches – and when the Indiamen finally sailed on 15 February, it must have been a great relief to him.³⁰

But it was not just dispatches to and from Europe that consumed Linhares's time year after year, but written communications with other centres in the viceroyalty, and with numerous foreign powers in maritime Asia. We shall cite just one example. Sailing conditions meant that communications with places east of Cape Comorin required urgent attention in April and May. Linhares spent all of

²⁴ BNL, FG, Codex 939 Pt. 2, ff. 22v, 53v.

²⁵ A.T. Matos, *Diário do Conde de Sarzedas...*, pp. 87, 89.

²⁶ Cf. C.R. Boxer, *The Tragic History of the Sea*, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1959, p. 1.

²⁷ Biblioteca da Ajuda, Codex 51-VII-12, ff. 93v, 94.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, ff. 94, 95-95v.

²⁹ For example see *ibidem*, f. 98v.

³⁰ BNL, FG, Codex 939 Pt. 2, f. 2v.

27 April 1634 writing dispatches for Melaka, Macau and Manila. He continued with this work the following day, when he remarked he had so much to write that, however hard he labored, he could not see the end of it.³¹ On 1 May he reported he had finally signed “a great quantity of letters” for Macau, Melaka and Manila; but he still had not finished them. The Secretary of State's limitations, he complained, meant that he had to do everything himself. It was not until 5 May, when the viceregal letters, *regimentos*, instructions, decrees and all other relevant papers were ready, that the ships assigned to convey them finally sailed for the Far East.³²

But if the diaries of Linhares and Sarzedas emphasize the role of paperwork in the lives of viceroys, they also reveal just how crucial for them were *non-written* forms of communication. Seventeenth century viceroys had to be seen, and heard, in both private and public, at all levels. They also had to observe watchfully and listen carefully. Ability to communicate, at a personal level, face-to-face, was an essential skill – and, without it, few viceroys could have survived for long. For this was an era when literacy was still limited to the few – and those who could read, mostly read aloud. Direct verbal communications were the norm for most people – and remained important, even for the literate.

Our diaries show that the form of face-to-face communications that Linhares and Sarzedas engaged in most often was viceregal audiences. These audiences – at which the viceroy received fidalgos, religious, ambassadors and sometimes visiting foreigners – were held almost daily, including Sundays. Usually, the audience was the first item of business after the dawn Mass, and sometimes it lasted for hours. In his diary for 29 August 1655, Sarzedas noted that, after attending Mass and reading petitions, he had received a succession of individuals, until past midday.³³ Sarzedas records his audiences with conscientious regularity; but his comments are brief and monotonously repetitive. He tends just to say that he had given hearings to “individuals” – or, “some individuals”, or, “different individuals”, or, “many individuals”, but seldom says who they were, what they wanted or how he reacted.³⁴

Linhares's references to audiences are less frequent, but usually more detailed. Sometimes he mentions his own feelings towards those appearing before him. On 21 November 1630 he bewailed how long he had spent that day in audience. He blamed the many religious present, alleging they were always long-winded and tedious.³⁵ On another occasion, after receiving a group of religious, he wrote that “many fathers of the Company of Jesus wore me out”,

³¹ *Diário do Terceiro Conde de Linhares...*, p. 85.

³² *Ibidem*, pp. 91-2.

³³ A.T. Matos, *Diário do Conde de Sarzedas...*, p. 89.

³⁴ For examples see *ibidem*, pp. 91, 94-5, 96 and 97.

³⁵ Biblioteca da Ajuda, Codex 51-VII-12, f. 113.

because “they want, what they want”. He added that the Jesuit provincial himself had little understanding – and certainly no appreciation of time.³⁶ On 24 May 1630 Linhares again received in audience several Jesuits, and once more described them as “troublesome people”.³⁷

After formal audiences or other face-to-face encounters, Linhares quite often penned brief character sketches of the individuals he had met. The celebrated Rui Freyre de Andrade, who visited him in 1631, he described as a good person and a very good soldier. “He fights well”, Linhares conceded, but added, “everything he says has a double meaning...”.³⁸ Another commander, Dom Francisco de Moura, Linhares curtly dismissed as, “the most naïve man in the world”, while a third, António Teles de Meneses, Captain-General of the Galleons, did “nothing but ask for money”.³⁹ But his harshest words were usually reserved for the clergy. After listening at length to the grievances of the Bishop of Cochin, Linhares confided to his diary that the man was “a lunatic”, who, “thinks he knows more than anyone else – and that he is superior to the king!”⁴⁰

As a form of face-to-face communications, international diplomacy was one of a viceroy’s most important responsibilities, which required, and usually received, especially sensitive handling. A good illustration of this in the diaries is the signing of the Anglo-Portuguese truce, on 20 January 1635, by Linhares and William Methwold, president of the English East India Company’s establishment at Surat. Linhares prepared for his meeting with Methwold with great care. It began, his diary tells us, at 10 a.m., and lasted two hours. Methwold arrived with six members of his council, several of his “captains” and a number of dependents. The English impressed Linhares as serious-minded people – courteous, neatly-dressed after their manner, in clothes of various colours, well-spoken and worthy of respect. The president himself wore black and was quite good-looking, though rather bald. He spoke a little Spanish, which he said he had learned since arriving in India.⁴¹ Linhares’s description is precise, highly visual and quite personal. In such situations in the seventeenth century, appearances mattered; hence they were carefully maintained by the one side, and equally carefully observed and noted by the other.

Viceroy, as well as conducting face-to-face communications on an individual or small group basis, had to be highly visible to the public at large. As the

³⁶ The precise words Linhares used for the last part of this quotation, which I have loosely translated, were, “pouco entendimento e ruim termo”. *Ibidem*, f. 26v.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 43.

³⁸ “... posto que he muito boa pessoa, muito bom soldado, e peleja muito bem, todas suas práticas são de dous sentidos...”. *Ibidem*, f. 132.

³⁹ BNL, FG, Codex 939 Pt. 2 f. 102; *Diário do Terceiro Conde de Linhares...*, p. 220.

⁴⁰ *Diário do Terceiro Conde de Linhares...*, p. 164.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 266-7.

Goa *câmara* put it in 1633, viceroys should always move about in public with great display, accompanied by as many *criados* as possible.⁴² The earliest opportunity a viceroy normally had of putting himself on display in this manner was at his ceremonial *entrada*, or entry, into the city of Goa at the commencement of his term of office. Viceregal *entradas* were theatrical occasions, involving, among other things, a procession from the quayside to the palace, a formal welcome by the Goa *câmara* and a swearing in ceremony at the cathedral.⁴³ Sarzedas described his own *entrada*, which took place on St. Bartholomew’s Day, 24 August 1655. It was a relatively modest affair, as Sarzedas wanted to stress the need for frugality. Nevertheless it involved a large gathering, which included the city fathers, councilors of state, judges of the *Relação* and numerous *fidalgos*. Sarzedas rode through triumphal arches, attended by “the greater part of the city and the nobility”.⁴⁴

There were many other opportunities for a viceroy to be seen publicly at solemn, festive or ceremonial occasions. Most of these occasions were religious, and arose regularly in accordance with the church calendar. The more important religious occasions were Easter, and the feast days of St. John the Baptist (24 June), St. James (25 July), St. Catherine, who was Goa’s patron saint (25 November) and St. Francis Xavier (2 December). But commemorations were also held each year for St. Augustine, St. Francis of Assisi, and St. Dominic – whose respective Orders all maintained a significant presence in Goa – and for St. Anthony, St. Lazarus, St. Thomas, St. Lucia, Sts. Peter and Paul, St. Bonaventure, St. Teresa, St. Anne, St. Michael, various manifestations of the Virgin Mary – such as Our Lady of Grace and Our Lady of the Assumption – and for All Saints day, the day of the Holy Spirit, Ascension day and Christmas day, to mention just some of those featuring in the diaries. As already noted, such occasions could provide a welcome break from routine for the viceroy – while they also offered opportunities for effective self-promotion.

Linhares was well aware of all this and behaved accordingly. For instance, his diary shows that he knew in 1630 that a large crowd, including many foreigners, was expected for the feast of St. John. So he came on horseback, dressed in all his finery – and was delighted by the crowd’s enthusiastic reception. “I rode more to please them”, he wrote, adding that the large personal cost in

⁴² Goa *câmara* to crown, 30 December 1633, Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra, Codex 645, f. 35v.

⁴³ For the viceregal *entrada* as an institution see Catarina Madeira Santos, *Goa é a chave de toda a Índia. Perfil político da capital do Estado da Índia (1505-1570)*, CNCDP, Lisbon, 1999, pp. 248-56, and Anthony Disney, “The Ceremonial Induction of Incoming Viceroys at Goa in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”, in Fátima da Silva Gracias, Celsa Pinto and Charles Borges, (eds.), *Indo-Portuguese History: Global Trends. Proceedings of XI International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History*, Goa, India, 2005, pp. 81-94.

⁴⁴ A. T. Matos, *Diário do Conde de Sarzedas...*, p. 85.

effort and money was justified, because so many people were present.⁴⁵ Similarly on St. Catherine's Day – a feast day that viceroys were bound to attend – there was another large gathering that even included a representative of the Moghuls. Linhares again staged a fine and costly display – and it was on this occasion that the Sultan of Bijapur's ambassador asked to be shown a certain window in the viceregal palace. Linhares not only obliged, but invited him to dinner – and to make it a spectacular occasion, provided no fewer than 150 dishes, at no small cost!⁴⁶

But sometimes these religious festivals, with their Masses, sermons and processions, followed by horse races, bull-fights, feasting and general merry-making, could be both time-consuming and utterly exhausting for the viceroy. On 17 March 1630, after attending the feast of St. Lazarus, Linhares expressed his frustration at how long it had all taken. At the time he was extraordinarily busy, trying to get various fleets ready for departure.⁴⁷ On another occasion – Easter Sunday, 1630 – he attended two processions, one at the Franciscan church, where he had been worshipping through Holy Week, and the other at the cathedral. The weather was very sultry and, at the end of it all, he felt totally drained.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, always the man of action, Linhares not only believed he was duty-bound to appear in public, frequently and ostentatiously; he also wanted to see as much of the *Estado da Índia* as he possibly could, and to assess its condition. He once wrote that he considered it vital that he inspect “all the places pertaining to this city, both outside and in”.⁴⁹ More ambitiously, he wanted to visit outlying possessions – and he devised plans and schemes, under various pretexts, to make voyages of inspection to Kanara and Kerala, to the coasts north of Goa, and to Sri Lanka. However, such ventures were expensive and difficult to organize, and only his Kanara/Kerala voyage ever eventuated.

Now, there is one thing I would like to make quite clear at this juncture. It is that viceroys did not cultivate face-to-face communications merely for ornamental purposes; they also did so to get work done. This was especially so in the case of Linhares. He seems to have demanded that all officials and workers be as committed to the royal service as he claimed *he* was – and to work at the same pace. Of course, this was unrealistic; so he was forever complaining that, without his personal presence, his instructions were not carried out. This particularly applied in institutions like the dockyard.⁵⁰ In one typical diary entry, Linhares raged against lazy, incompetent dockyard officials, who had wanted

⁴⁵ Biblioteca da Ajuda, Codex 51-VII-12, ff. 55v, 57.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 75.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 15.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem* f. 18v.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 89.

⁵⁰ See, for example, *ibidem*, ff. 117, 127 and 129.

to careen a galleon without bothering to inspect its keel. When it was inspected, on his insistence, it proved to be riddled with ship worm.⁵¹ A month later, he expressed himself sick and tired of the slow progress made by the dockyard, saying that none of the orders he had given had been carried out. On 29 September 1631 he reported that he had finally got the galleons launched; but it took his personal presence, day and night, for eight consecutive days to achieve this. On 1 December he was so exasperated that he filled almost his entire diary entry with invective against non-performing officials, and with complaints about how hard it was for him, because he had to see to everything personally.⁵² There are many similar entries, scattered throughout his journal. Always it was the same story: nothing was ever done, unless he was there himself, to see that it was done.⁵³

Sarzedas was less vocal about under-performing officials than Linhares – and, indeed, tended to rely more on subordinates. However, he too had no illusions. On 27 August 1655 – less than a week after his arrival in Goa – he noted how little had been done to prepare the various fleets. Ships were still lying in the dockyard “covered in straw”, though the season was well-advanced. Later, when confronted with an all-too-familiar failure to carry out instructions, he remarked despairingly, “everything in India is like that”.⁵⁴ Paralyzing internal disputes and quarrelsome rivalries were likewise complicating factors. Linhares spent all morning of Sunday 18 June 1634 with the *moradores* of Rachol and their Jesuit priests, trying to reconcile them. Their differences were not resolved – so he had to devote all the next morning too, to the same tiresome task.⁵⁵

This incident brings out another role of the viceroy – that of local patriarch. Portuguese society in this era was still profoundly patriarchal, with the father figure of the king at its head. It was the duty of a patriarchal king – and so, by extension, of his viceroy – in exchange for loyalty and obedience, to protect, care for and dispense justice to his subjects. During Sarzedas's voyage from Lisbon to Goa in 1655, traditional patriarchal relationships functioned fairly smoothly within the enclosed community of the fleet. This is apparent, for example, in the way Sarzedas reacted to deaths and accidents at sea. Although the voyage was a relatively fast one, there were inevitably some fatalities: among them, Sarzedas mentions five soldiers, two young sailors, a Dominican friar and a 12-year old boy. Three of these nine victims fell into the sea and drowned, another fell down a hatchway, three died as a result of unspecified accidents, one died from an illness and one from unexplained causes. Sarzedas also notes six non-fatal accidents – three involving soldiers and three involving boys.

⁵¹ BNL, FG, Codex 939 Pt. 2, f. 30v.

⁵² *Ibidem*, f. 104.

⁵³ Entry for 8 November 1634, in *Diário do Terceiro Conde de Linhares...*, p. 223.

⁵⁴ A. T. Matos, *Diário do Conde de Sarzedas...*, pp. 86-7, 100.

⁵⁵ *Diário do Terceiro Conde de Linhares...*, pp. 135-6.

In almost every case Sarzedas names the victim, and often also his town of origin and his parentage. Sometimes he shows fatherly concern. About 4 p.m. on 1 May 1655 a certain Pedro Duarte, soldier from Trás-os-Montes, fell into the sea. A boat was quickly launched; but Duarte had already drowned when it reached him. Sarzedas was distressed, commenting that it was the first serious accident sustained aboard the flagship.⁵⁶ Similarly, a sense of patriarchal responsibility is implicit in his reaction to the sickness of one of the captains. On 1 July, concerned because the captain of the galleon *São Francisco* had suffered from a stomach complaint for over three weeks, Sarzedas sent his physician to him by boat, along with a *criado* bearing gifts of delicacies and remedies, including a bezoar stone. "I am very worried about this fidalgo's sickness", he wrote – and he set up a signaling system between the ships, so the captain's progress could be communicated to him.⁵⁷

Sarzedas likewise accepted responsibility for composing quarrels during the voyage, and defusing animosities – which were not uncommon in the confined world of a fleet. When informed that a corporal had wounded a young sailor in a fight, he banned the carrying of knives. He dispensed justice, appointing a *desembargador* as auditor or judge for the fleet, to hear complaints and investigate alleged offenses.⁵⁸ All this occurred within the well-tryed framework of patriarchy that prevailed aboard the fleet, more or less as it did in Portugal.

However, once a viceroy reached Goa, he found traditional controls and behaviour patterns more difficult to maintain among local Portuguese – at virtually all levels of society. At the lower levels, it proved frustratingly hard to deploy the soldiers and sailors needed to man ships and fortresses. The Portuguese in India, Linhares wrote, were an idle lot, who simply would not tear themselves away from their "comforts, pleasures, delights and amusements".⁵⁹ Even when he offered to feed unemployed and unpaid soldiers at his own cost during the wet monsoon – a traditional patriarchal solution to a perennial problem – such, he complained, was the "stupidity in India", that many men preferred to risk death by starvation rather than come to his house.⁶⁰

Linhares also found the judges of the *Relação* thoroughly unreliable; they would not, or could not, be persuaded to perform up to standard. "How the law operates in this land astonishes me", he wrote, explaining that it was simply not applied as in Portugal. In India, he explained, each judge interpreted the law according to his own whim, so there was no consistency in sentencing.⁶¹ Linhares also criticized what he believed were the *Relação*'s inflated pretensions,

⁵⁶ A. T. Matos, *Diário do Conde de Sarzedas...*, pp. 46-7.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 59, 61.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 37-9; also see pp. 42-3, 48, 62, 63, 67, 75 and *passim*.

⁵⁹ BNL, FG, Codex 939 Pt. 2, ff. 92v., 104.

⁶⁰ *Diário do Terceiro Conde de Linhares...*, pp. 133-4.

⁶¹ BNL, FG, Codex 939 Pt. 2, f. 31v.

and he warned it not to trespass on his own jurisdiction.⁶² Such comments can easily be dismissed as mere personal pique – but they suggest more than that. As Professor António Hespanha has cogently argued, in seventeenth century Portugal the power of the crown was still preeminent rather than universal. There was a balance between crown interests and particularist interests, which tradition required should be maintained.⁶³ But the viceregal diaries suggest that, in maritime Asia, particularism and individualism were more difficult to hold back than in Portugal. Viceroys encountered in Goa much less conformist patterns of behavior than were normal in the metropolis. These they did not fully understand – but they certainly disapproved of them.

At the same time, as both Linhares and Sarzedas discovered, incoming viceroys were immediately thrust into dealings not only with local Portuguese, who behaved differently to what was normal in Portugal, but also with Asians and Africans who were more obviously "other". How were they to handle these relationships? "These Moors, as I understand it, are not reliable in anything", wrote Sarzedas, when negotiating with the ambassador of Bijapur.⁶⁴ "I find these Moors do not keep their word", he later repeated, adding that they were notorious for their "fickleness and lack of sincerity". The sultan's ambassador was, "a troublesome Moor, full of lies and falsehoods".⁶⁵ And so on.

However, while the diaries suggest that these viceroys' assumptions about proper political relationships were somewhat challenged by the realities of India, this was apparently not the case with their religious convictions. Of course, viceroys had frequent clashes with clerics. Linhares described the Goa cathedral chapter as tumultuous and undisciplined and often railed against Religious Orders that offended him. The Jesuits and Augustinians were among his greatest *bêtes noires*, and he even described the latter as a nest of robbers and malefactors. Once, he sweepingly affirmed that all clergy in the *Estado da Índia* were impudent, and all tried to usurp the royal authority.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, both he and Sarzedas remained unquestioningly Catholic – or so it would seem, judging by the pattern of their religious observance. For example, Sarzedas makes clear that his normal routine was to hear Mass every day, before work. Wednesday 1 September 1655: "In the morning I heard Mass and I gave audiences...". Thursday 2 September: "In the morning I heard Mass and granted audiences to many people". Friday 3 September: "In the morning I heard Mass and went to the *Relação*". Saturday 4 September: "In the morning I rose at 4 o'clock, heard Mass, and went to Tivim,

⁶² *Ibidem*, f. 35.

⁶³ A. M. Hespanha, *As Vésperas do Leviathan. Instituições e Poder Político. Portugal – Séc. XVII*, 2nd edition, Livraria Almedina, Coimbra, 1994, pp. 526-7.

⁶⁴ A. T. Matos, *Diário do Conde de Sarzedas...*, p. 91. (Entry for 1 September 1655).

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 105, 132.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 42, 90v, 95v, 96v.

which is one of the passes...".⁶⁷ And so on, day after day. Occasionally, Sarzedas also confessed and communicated. Wednesday 8 September 1655: "In the morning I went early to Madre de Deus, where I heard Mass, confessed myself and received communion. I returned at 10 o'clock".⁶⁸ Linhares mentions attending morning Mass less often than Sarzedas – probably because the practice seemed to him so obvious, it needed no comment. There is nothing in Linhares's diary to suggest his Catholic faith was anything other than conventional. For instance, in 1634, when he was sick, he followed the common Portuguese practice of making a vow to perform novenas – that is, special thanksgiving devotions over a nine day period, at a succession of churches. These he began in late May, and concluded at the tomb of St. Francis Xavier, at the Jesuit church of Bom Jesus, on Ascension Day.⁶⁹ This was conventional, uncontroversial Portuguese piety.

It is fair to say that none of the values reflected in the two diaries, that we have so far considered, is particularly startling – even from a modern perspective. They are traditional and deeply conservative; but they represent positions we can readily comprehend and they do not differ much from what can still be found in some societies today. However, the diaries also reflect certain other values, and other assumptions, that are much more alien. Indeed, they are indicative of a mental gulf separating the seventeenth from the twenty-first century, which requires a considerable mental effort to bridge. Mostly, these alien values appear in quite casual, matter-of-fact ways. For instance, on 18 May 1634 Linhares wrote in his diary, "I continued with my novena. I gave audiences. I dispatched many papers, petitions and items of business for various individuals, and I gave orders for a number of matters in His Majesty's service. The day before yesterday they tortured a *negro*, cut off his hands and hanged him. He had killed his *senhor* three months ago. And today they hanged and quartered a robber, who had committed many robberies and killings...".⁷⁰ On another occasion Linhares expressed surprise that a certain Duarte Fernandes had been seized by the Inquisition, accused of Judaizing. "I am truly astounded that this man should have been imprisoned", he wrote. Fernandes had come to Goa as a small boy and had lived there for years, without any suggestion of trouble. But although Linhares could make no sense of the arrest, he nevertheless added, "It's clear that the Holy Inquisition would not have taken him, without good reason".⁷¹

The evidence of moral and religious values very different to those of today is even clearer in the Sarzedas diary. Generally Sarzedas wrote in a more subdued, less passionate style than Linhares. But a rare exception occurred on 1 October

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 91-4.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 95.

⁶⁹ *Diário do Terceiro Conde de Linhares...*, pp. 110-19.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 115.

⁷¹ Biblioteca da Ajuda, Codex 51-VII-12, f. 112.

1655. "A matter was brought to my attention today", wrote Sarzedas, "to cause us all to weep". Six years earlier, the devil had got into a man at a church in Cochin. He had opened the sanctuary where the Holy Sacraments were kept, emptied the consecrated elements onto the altar and fled with the communion vessel into Muslim territory. There, however, he was arrested. He was subsequently sentenced by the *ouvidor* to have his hands cut off, and to be hanged and quartered, after which his head was to be displayed before the door of the church where his unspeakable crime had been committed. But the case had then been appealed to the *Relação*, and remained unresolved. Sarzedas thought it scandalous that the sentence still had not been carried out.⁷² Of course, in the context of his times, his attitude was not unusual. In the seventeenth century sacrilege was one of the worst of crimes, attracting a correspondingly severe penalty. Most people simply took that penalty for granted.

Nevertheless, if matters of faith feature quite prominently in the diaries, then so do concerns about health and physical well-being. In this regard, each viceroy incorporated into his journal a kind of personal medical record, noting when they fell ill, what symptoms they displayed and how they were treated. Linhares makes entries about his state of health on at least 54 separate occasions. Overall, these references show that he was significantly sick, on average, for about 18 days each year. This seems a relatively healthy record for a European living in a tropical climate during the seventeenth century – though it is, of course, quite possible he was sick more often than he admits.

Linhares's diary indicates that some of his illnesses lasted for only a day or two; but he also experienced three longer and apparently more serious episodes. These occurred in December 1630/January 1631, February 1634 and January 1635, suggesting a seasonal pattern. Linhares himself commented on this pattern, writing on 14 January 1635, "since I have been in India, I have always become sick at this time of year; and the attacks have increased so much, it constantly worries me".⁷³ The fact that these bouts of sickness were occurring at the busiest time of year he found especially frustrating – and perhaps, we may surmise, excessive work was a contributing factor?

Surprisingly enough, Linhares seems to have remained quite healthy during the wet monsoon. He did experience a four-day sickness between 16 and 19 June 1630; but it seems to have been just an influenza-type infection, with a headache, temperature and cold.⁷⁴ However, the illnesses from which he suffered in December/February, in successive years, were more serious. In 1630-31 the symptoms were a recurrent high fever, followed by intense cold sweats. These attacks were often worst at night and left him much weakened. For instance, on 6 January he

⁷² A. T. Matos, *Diário do Conde de Sarzedas...*, pp. 104, 112.

⁷³ *Diário do Terceiro Conde de Linhares...*, p. 261.

⁷⁴ Biblioteca da Ajuda, Codex 51-VII-12, ff. 52v-53.

felt reasonably well till about 11 a.m. Then he experienced a very intensive cold sweat, which lasted until 2 p.m. It was followed by an all-night fever, which left him very tired.⁷⁵ In February 1634 he again developed a fever, with repeated cold sweats, and it left him utterly exhausted.⁷⁶ The symptoms described by Linhares on these occasions would seem to leave little doubt he was suffering from malaria.⁷⁷

Sarzedas also recorded his illnesses; but because he only survived for four months in India, his medical record is quite short. He mentioned two early periods of sickness – in late August and early October – but gave no details, except that he felt very weak.⁷⁸ However, on the morning of 3 December 1655 he complained that his right arm and hand had become swollen. “I called the doctors”, he wrote, “and it seemed they could do nothing for them. I got up, heard Mass, gave audiences...”.⁷⁹ Three days later the swelling was still present, and he remained in bed. On 7 December he got up, although his arm remained swollen, while his diary entry for 10 December shows that on that day also his situation was unchanged. By 12 December he had developed a fever, which apparently persisted. On Christmas Day he heard Mass and received good wishes from various people. But it was a stormy day, very sultry, and he became “soaked in sweat”.⁸⁰ He was still very sick on New Year’s Eve. His last diary entry was made on 1 January 1656 – and by 12 January he was dead.⁸¹

Do the symptoms of Viceroy Sarzedas’s last illness, as described in his own diary, provide sufficient detail to permit a plausible diagnosis? Perhaps, as the fever and cold sweat suggest, he too had malaria. But if the swellings in his arm and hand were indeed indicative of what killed him, then it may be that he died of *lymphatic filariasis* – a vector-borne parasitic disease endemic in India, where it is spread by mosquitoes.⁸² If that were the case, then there was nothing seventeenth century medicine could have done for him.

This leads us on to considerations of medical diagnosis and therapeutic practice in Portuguese India at the time when Linhares and Sarzedas held office. We know that the Portuguese, by then, had absorbed some elements of Indian

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 132 v. For descriptions of other instances of his onsets of sickness, see also ff. 122, 124-4v, 125v, 131v-32.

⁷⁶ *Diário do Terceiro Conde de Linhares...*, pp. 6-7.

⁷⁷ For malaria and its symptoms see Leonard G. Wilson, “Fevers” in W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.), *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, 2 vols., Routledge, London and New York, 1993, vol. 1, pp. 382-411.

⁷⁸ A. T. Matos, *Diário do Conde de Sarzedas...*, pp. 89, 90, 105.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 136.

⁸⁰ See *ibidem*, pp. 138, 139, 140, 142.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 144-5.

⁸² I would like to thank Mr. Leigh Reeves, MB, BS, for this suggestion.

medical tradition from local Hindu *vaidyas* (physicians), especially regarding the treatment of tropical diseases.⁸³ Moreover, since establishing themselves in Goa they had significantly increased their knowledge of Indian pharmacology. The classic evidence for this is, of course, the celebrated *Colóquios* of the Portuguese New Christian physician, Garcia d’Orta, published at Goa in 1563. Charles Boxer considered this book a landmark in the history of *materia medica*, claiming it was still cited as an authority, even in the twentieth century.⁸⁴ However, although we know some governors and viceroys consulted *vaidyas* for medical advice, it seems that Linhares and Sarzedas were not among them. Both relied on Portuguese physicians – and seventeenth century Portuguese physicians invariably subscribed to “humoralism”, the theoretical basis of learned medical practice in the West since Classical times.⁸⁵ To reduce “fevers” – including the malarial attacks from which Linhares, and possibly Sarzedas, suffered – humoral practitioners tried to restore the natural “balance” between the four bodily fluids or “humors”. According to Galen, writing in the second century A.D., fevers resulted from an excess of blood – and patients with fever should therefore be bled.⁸⁶ So bleeding was the standard remedy applied, in the Western tradition, to treat malaria.

During his attack of malaria in early 1631 Linhares was bled no less than nine times, over a period of three or four days.⁸⁷ Seventeenth century patients like Linhares firmly believed that bleeding was beneficial – because that was what conventional wisdom had taught them to believe. In fact, bleeding did lower the pulse rate – and so reduced the patient’s sensation of fever. It also served to lower the iron level in the body, which may have helped combat infections.⁸⁸ Certainly Linhares, when suffering from fever, actively sought this treatment –

⁸³ João Manuel Pacheco Figueiredo, “The practice of Indian medicine in Goa during the Portuguese rule, 1510-1699”, *Luso-Brazilian Review*, vol. 4, no. 1, June 1967, pp. 52-3.

⁸⁴ See Garcia d’Orta, *Colóquios dos Simples e Drogas e Cousas Mediciniais da India*, facsimile edition, Academia das Ciências, Lisbon, 1963. The quotation from Boxer is in Charles Boxer, *Opera Minora*, Diogo Ramada Curto (ed.), 3 vols., Fundação Oriente, Lisbon, 2002, vol. 2, p. 184. Orta’s work is also discussed in Aloka Parasher-Sen, ‘Difference and Interaction. 15th-16th Century Portuguese Contact with Indian Medicine’ in *Indo-Portuguese Encounters. Journeys in Science, Technology and Culture*, Lotika Varadarajan (ed.), INSA/CHAM/ARYAN, New Delhi and Lisbon, two vols., 2006, vol. 1, especially pp. 92-7.

⁸⁵ See Vivian Nutton, “Humoralism” in *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, vol. 1, pp. 281-91. Also Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 10-14.

⁸⁶ V. Nutton, “Humoralism”, p. 393; Roy Porter, *Blood and Guts. A Short History of Medicine*, Penguin Group, 2003, pp. 25-7, 115.

⁸⁷ See Biblioteca da Ajuda, Codex 51-VII-12, f. 132v.

⁸⁸ V. Nutton, “Humoralism”, p. 393; R. Isaac, *Landon Carter’s Uneasy Kingdom: Revolution and Rebellion on a Virginia Plantation*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2004, especially p. 115, has an illuminating discussion of this subject.

and he even had himself bled, on at least one occasion, against the advice of his chief physician.⁸⁹ So, when we begin to look at what the diaries say about health and sickness, we find ourselves, on the one hand, in a familiar world of colds, headaches and malarial visitations – but, on the other, confronted by extraordinarily ancient diagnostic and therapeutic principles that today are wholly alien.

Clearly, this was a hazardous world for patients; but it was also a very difficult and dangerous place for doctors. When Linhares returned to Goa from his coastal voyage in April 1631, he found that all the local “physicians” – meaning, presumably, the *vaidyas* – had been confined in a dungeon, for reasons he does not explain. At the time an epidemic was raging, and so he decided to have them released, to attend to the sick.⁹⁰ But the misadventures of these practitioners seem mild indeed compared to those of Chief Physician Fernão Lopes d’Orta, in the early 1620s. Sent to Bijapur to treat its sick sultan by the then governor, Fernão de Albuquerque (1619-22), this unfortunate man had his nose and ears slit off, when his illustrious patient died.⁹¹

I would like now to reiterate an important point. These two journals are not, in a strict sense, “personal diaries”. Nor are they “journaux intimes” – introspective journals, in which the authors express their innermost thoughts and feelings, without inhibition.⁹² These diaries are official documents – records that viceroys were required to keep by order of a distant crown, trying to get a clearer idea of what its representatives were actually doing. Nevertheless, the diaries are rich mines of information. They contain illuminating material on the political history of Goa and of the *Estado da Índia*. But they also tell us much about the viceroys themselves – their attitudes to work, the impact on them of a burdensome bureaucracy constantly generating paper, their roles as face-to-face communicators, their struggles with the functional problems of patriarchy under Indian conditions, their religious profiles and their attitudes to sickness and contemporary medicine. The Linhares and Sarzedas journals are indeed windows into how lives were actually lived in the seventeenth century. As historians, we should be grateful to these two hardworking viceroys – grateful for the hours they spent, laboring by candle-light, pen in hand, at the end of long, exhausting days, writing up their respective journals – to fulfill yet another tiresome bureaucratic duty.

⁸⁹ *Diário do Terceiro Conde de Linhares...*, pp. 168-9.

⁹⁰ BNL, FG, Codex 939 Pt. 2, f. 21.

⁹¹ P.S.S. Pissurlencar, *Assentos do Conselho do Estado*, Tipografia Rangel, Goa, 1953-, vol. 1 1618-1633, pp. 334-5.

⁹² For these forms of diaries see Fothergill, *op. cit.*, and Alain Girard, *Le Journal Intime*, PUF, Paris, 1986. A useful discussion concerning a Portuguese personal diary, from a somewhat later period than those of Linhares and Sarzedas, may be found in D. António José de Noronha, *Diário dos Sucessos da Viagem que Fez do Reino de Portugal para a Cidade de Goa, D. António José de Noronha, Bispo de Halicarnasse, Principiada aos 21 de Abril de 1773*, Carmen M Radulet (ed.), Fundação Oriente, Lisbon, 1995.

A FUNDAÇÃO DO ESTADO DA ÍNDIA E OS DESAFIOS EUROPEUS DE D. MANUEL I*

JOÃO PAULO OLIVEIRA E COSTA**

O arranque da Expansão Portuguesa e, sobretudo, o início dos Descobrimientos foram processos que beneficiaram da situação geográfica privilegiada de Portugal e da crise política que afectou o Ocidente Europeu no século XV. Os Portugueses foram habilidosos na diplomacia e eficazes na guerra, o que lhes permitiu chegar ao início do reinado de D. Manuel I desfrutando de uma situação hegemónica sobre vastas áreas do Atlântico.

Não fora simples chegar a esse estado de coisas.

A herança quatrocentista¹

Em relação a Castela, fora preciso enfrentar o rei João II, explorar a fragilidade de Henrique IV e, finalmente, derrotar no mar as pretensões de Isabel. No início do seu reinado, D. João II fora capaz de neutralizar pela via diplomá-

* Esta comunicação baseia-se principalmente no meu livro *D. Manuel I, um príncipe do Renascimento*, Lisboa, *Temas & Debates*, 2007 (1.ª edição, pelo *Círculo de Leitores*, 2005); aqui citada pela edição mais recente que foi retocada e actualizada.

** UNL/CHAM.

¹ Para a evolução da Expansão Portuguesa no século XV sigo, essencialmente, os meus estudos *Henrique, o Infante*, Lisboa, *Esfera dos Livros*, 2009; «D. Afonso V e o Atlântico: a base do projecto expansionista de D. João II», in *Mare Liberum*, 17 (1999), pp. 39-71. E os estudos de Luís Filipe Thomaz: «A evolução da política expansionista portuguesa na primeira metade de Quatrocentos» e «O projecto imperial joanino (tentativa de interpretação global da política ultramarina de D. João II)» in *De Ceuta a Timor*, Lisboa, *Difel*, 1994, pp. 43-168.