The Casa da Índia and the Emergence of a Science of Administration in the Portuguese Empire

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Abstract

The role played by archives in the making of a Portuguese science of imperial administration is scarcely known. Systematic research is still lacking on what literature suggests was a critical dimension in the management of the empire. By focusing on the Casa da Índia's activities of production, record-keeping and retrieving of information and knowledge, this study intends to contribute to a better understanding of the links between empire and Portuguese early-modern archival experiences. For more than a century, the Casa da Índia was the institution responsible for the circulation and storage of commodities, information and people within the Portuguese empire, as well as the payment of duties and taxes. What challenges did territorial expansion entail for the Portuguese monarchy, and, in particular, for its archival organization and practices? How did the Casa da Índia register these imperial dynamics? Did its archive materialize the Empire at home? Finally, was its archive relevant to the emergence of a Portuguese science of imperial administration?

Keywords

Portuguese Empire – science of imperial administration – archive – Casa da Índia – João de Barros

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Introduction

This essay argues that the foundation of the Casa da Índia e Mina (House of India and Mina, henceforth Casa da Índia) in 1500 contributed to the emergence of a science of administration in the sixteenth-century Portuguese Empire. Active until 1833, the Casa da Índia was established two years after Vasco da Gama's journey to India (1498) and in the same year that Pedro Álvares Cabral travelled to Brazil (1500).[1] Until the mid-seventeenth century, it was the primary institution responsible for the circulation and storage of commodities, information and people within the Empire (from Asia to Brazil), for contracts with private merchants, for the production of information and knowledge, and for payment of duties and taxes. It also controlled the factories which the Portuguese Crown had established around the world. Finally, between 1506 and 1570, the Casa da Índia managed the entire monopoly of the Portuguese Crown over imperial trade.

In the following pages, I shall focus on the Casa da Índia's activities related to the production, record-keeping and retrieval of information and knowledge during the sixteenth century. I place particular importance on understanding how these activities responded to imperial needs, contributing to the construction of the Portuguese Empire, while expressing modes of government which were explicitly dependent on the production of written information and knowledge.[2]

That the complexity of archives and the emergence of "new modes of government" were intertwined is no new concept; scholars have argued the case for years, and this theme has recently been revisited in a series of works that remind us of the "dramatic increase in the production of documents and a substantial improvement in their management and preservation" in early modern Europe.[3]

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1   The year of 1501 is usually referred as the date of the Casa da Índia's foundation. However, a decree sent by the King to the municipality of Lisbon in March 1500 already refers to it: see José de Vasconcellos de Menezes, "As Tercenas de Lisboa," *Lisboa-Boletim Municipal*, 2ª série, 19, no. 1 (1987): 3-14, 10.

2   I use the expression "imperial archive" (rather than "colonial archive"), as well as "science of imperial administration" (instead of "science of colonial administration") in order to avoid any confusion with the common uses of "colonial" and "colonialism" in historiography about modern empires. On that point, see Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (New York, 1998).

3   Filippo de Vivo, Andrea Guidi, and Alessandro Silvestri, "Archival Transformations in Early Modern European History," *European History Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (2016): 421-434. For recent works on the history of archives Ann Blair and Jennifer Milligan, eds., *Toward a Cultural*

Possibly linked with a persisting image of a certain backwardness of early modern Portugal, early modern Portuguese archives and their links with political imperial power have only attracted critical attention in recent years.[4] The same applies to its imperial archives, even if scholarship on imperial archives also goes back decades. Top-down and bottom-up approaches, along with discussions about the multiple intricacies of the production, circulation, consumption and storage of information and knowledge in the European empires constitute a vast and vibrant field of research.[5] An area of common ground in this literature is the belief that the interdependence between information, knowledge and power is part of the making of imperial modernity. However, most scholars' field of research has focused in particular on the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the British were the strongest Western imperial power.[6]

History of Archives, Archival Science 7, no. 4 (2007): 289-397; Randolph C. Head, ed., *Archival Knowledge Cultures in Europe, 1400-1900, Archival Science* 10, no. 3 (2010): 191-343; and Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alex Walsham, eds. *The Social History of the Archive: Record Keeping in Early Modern Europe, Past & Present Supplement 11* (Oxford, 2016).

4   See, for example, Judite Antonieta Gonçalves de Freitas, "The Royal Chancellery at the End of the Portuguese Middle Ages: Diplomacy and Political Society (1970-2005)," *e-journal of Portuguese History* 7, (2009) https://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/; Maria de Lurdes Rosa, "Arquivos de família: para um roteiro de temas e problemas," in *Arquivos de família, séc. XIII-XX: que presente, que futuro?*, ed. Maria de Lurdes Rosa (Lisbon, 2012), 15-30; and Randolph Head, "Recreating an Archivum in Books: The Lisbon Leitura Nova, 1504-1552, in the context of European Chancelleries and their Practices," Paper presented at Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, Cincinnati, 2012, retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/2096742/Recreating_an_archivum_in_Books_The_Lisbon_Leitura_Nova_1504_1552_in_the_Context_of_European_Chancelleries_and_Their_Practices (accessed December 12, 2016).

5   Deepak Kumar, ed., *Science and the Raj, 1857-1905* (Delhi, 1995); Roy Macleod, ed., *Nature and Empire: Science and the Colonial Enterprise, Osiris*, 2nd series, 15 (2000); Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe* (Basingstoke 2007); and B. Bennet and J. Hodge, eds., *Science and Empire: Knowledge and Networks of Science across the British Empire, 1800-1970* (London, 2011).

6   See, among others, Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and Fantasy of Empire* (London, 1993); Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton, 1996); Christopher Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering in Colonial India* (Cambridge, 1996); Ann Laura Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 87-109; Antoinette Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham, 2006); and Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain. Epistemic Anxieties and Epistemological Common Sense* (Princeton, 2009).

The reception of this scholarship by scholars in the Iberian world has been relatively limited.[7] Among others, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Henrique Leitão and Palmira Fontes da Costa contended a decade ago for the need to study systematically the links between knowledge and power in the Iberian empires.[8] Sanjay Subrahmanyam and Anthony Pagden, as well as Cañizares-Esguerra, have argued that connections must be identified between the later British imperial experiences and the earlier Iberian ones.[9]

This essay is located at the intersection of these avenues of research, claiming that the interdependence of information, knowledge and power characterized the early modern Portuguese political imagination and practices, and that the Casa da Índia was a critical part of it. The increase in the territories, people and international trade in the early sixteenth century entailed the construction of a system of production, circulation and retrieval of information meant to control those people, territories and trade (and taxation).[10] At risk of being

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7   Among others, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation: Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World* (Stanford, 2006); Daniela Beichmar, Paula de Voos, Kristine Huffine, and Kevin Shehan, eds., *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500-1800* (Stanford, 2008); James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew, eds., *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (New York, 2008); Maria M. Portuondo, *Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World* (Chicago, 2009); Antonio Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution* (Austin, 2010); Ângela Domingues, *Monarcas, ministros e cientistas: mecanismos de poder, governação e informação no Brasil colonial* (Lisbon, 2012); Ângela Barreto Xavier and Ines G. Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism, Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge* (Delhi, 2015); and Palmira Fontes da Costa, *Medicine, Trade and Empire: Garcia de Orta's Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India (1563) in Context* (London, 2015).

8   Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "Iberian Science in the Renaissance: Ignored How Much Longer?", *Perspectives on Science* 12, no. 1 (2004): 86-124; and Palmira Fontes da Costa and Henrique Leitão, "Portuguese Imperial Science: A Historiographical Review," in Beichmar, Voos, Huffine, and Shehan, eds. *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires*, 35-53.

9   Anthony Pagden and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Roots and Branches. Ibero-British Threads across Overseas Empires," in *L'Europa divisa e i nuovi mondi. Per Adriano Prosperi*, ed. M. Donatini, G. Marcocci, and S. Pastore (Pisa, 2011), 2: 279-301. On these connections, see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, ed., *Entangled Empires and Severed Archives: Anglo-Iberian Atlantic Worlds 1500-1830* (forthcoming).

10   There is a long tradition in Portuguese scholarship on the history of Portuguese nautical and cartographic science, although in a classical approach to the history of science. On this point, see Francisco Contente Domingues, *Os Navios do Mar Oceano. Teoria e empiria na arquitectura naval portuguesa dos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon, 2004) and *Navios e Viagens. A Experiência Portuguesa nos séculos XV a XVIII* (Lisbon, 2007) and bibliography cited there.

accused of anachronism, I go as far as to suggest that there was the political need of constructing an imperial "information order" in order to conserve and control a "new order of things."

In the first part of this essay I take a step back in historiography and history to argue that the administrative environment of the Portuguese monarchy and its concerns with information at the time of the Casa da Índia's founding framed the emergence of this institution. In the second part, I analyze the rules of the Casa da Índia, decreed in 1509 and subsequent additions until the 1530s, specifically those related to the production, logging and retrieving of information.[11] My aim is to understand how these rules could help to materialize the empire at home, and by doing so, to contribute to the imperial rule. I end with some remarks on the initial argument about the interdependence of information, knowledge and power in a monarchy that was facing challenges that demanded "new modes of government."[12]

Portuguese Administration in the Early Modern Period

Despite its key position in the management of the Empire, scholarship on the Casa da Índia is limited, in part because its material archive was destroyed in the 1755 Lisbon earthquake. This is in stark contrast to its Spanish counterpart, the Casa de la Contratación, which was apparently inspired by the Casa da Índia.[13] Some of the Casa da Índia's remaining sources and regulations were

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11   Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Records, England, 1066-1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1993).

12   Randolph Head, "Empire at Home: European Chancellery Practices and the Challenge of Record Keeping for Early Modern Colonial Enterprises," in *Pratiques d'archives, XVe-XIXe siècles*, ed. by Maria-Pia Donato and Anne Saada (Paris, 2018, forthcoming).

13   Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *El primer oro de la America: los comienzos de la Casa de la Contratación de las Indias, 1503-1511* (Madrid, 2002); Antonio Costa Rodriguez et al., eds., *La Casa de la Contratación y la navegación entre España y las Indias* (Seville, 2003); Portuondo, *Secret Science*; Guiomar de Carlos Boutet, ed., *España y América. Un océano de negocios. Quinto Centenario de la Casa de la Contratación, 1503-2003* (Madrid, 2003); Ramón María Serrera, "La Casa de la Contratación en el Alcázar de Sevilla (1503-1717)," *Boletín de la Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras* 36 (2008): 141-176; Antonio Sánchez, *La Espada, la Cruz y el Padrón: soberanía, fe y representación cartográfica en el mundo ibérico bajo la Monarquía Hispánica, 1503-1598* (Madrid, 2013); and Arndt Brendecke, The *Empirical Empire, Spanish Colonial Rule and the Politics of Knowledge* (2016).

published by Damião Peres and others, along with a few studies on the topic.[14] Complementing their insights about the Casa da Índia's centrality to managing imperial issues and increasing the Crown's revenues, Susannah Humble Ferreira's recent book is a reminder that some of the Casa da Índia's main officers were very close to the Portuguese king.[15] Previously, Leonor Freire Costa has shone a light on important aspects of the institutional system established by the Portuguese Crown in the sixteenth century to manage overseas trade and of the role which the Casa da Índia played in it.[16] In particular, Costa recalled that in 1501 King D. Manuel had nominated one Chief Officer to the Casa da Índia and another to the Armazéns da Guiné e Índia (Stores of Guinea and India), two institutions which, together with the Ribeira das Naus (Shipyard), attempted to respond to the challenges of empire. While the Casa da Índia was responsible for commercial transactions, fiscal matters, the appointment and transportation of officers and political communication in general, the Armazéns were more concerned with the production of nautical instruments, nautical knowledge, maritime cartography, captains' education and other technical issues of overseas voyages.[17] In contrast with Spain, where Casa de

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14   A. Braancamp Freire, *Ementa da Casa da India* (Lisbon, 1907); Luciano Ribeiro, *Registo da Casa da India* (Lisbon, 1954); Carlos Alberto da Encarnação Gomes, *Ementa da Casa da Índia* (Lisbon, 2010); Damião Peres, *Regimento das Cazas das Indias e Mina* (Coimbra, 1947); Francisco Mendes da Luz, *Regimento da Caza da India: estudos de história da geografia da expansão portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1951); Francisco Mendes da Luz, *O Conselho da Índia: contributo ao estudo da História da administração e do comércio do Ultramar Português nos princípios do século XVII* (Lisbon, 1952); Francisco Mendes Luz, "Dois organismos da Administração Ultramarina no século XVI: a Casa da Índia e os Armazéns de Guiné, Mina e Índia," in *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e a Questão das Molucas, Actas do Colóquio Luso-Espanhol de História Ultramarina*, ed. A. Teixeira da Mota (Lisbon, 1975), 91-105; Francisco Mendes Luz, *Regimento da Casa da Índia: manuscrito do século XVII existente em Simancas* (Lisbon, 1992); Carlos Geraldes, *Casa da Índia: Um estudo de estrutura e funcionalidade (1509-1603)*, (master's thesis, Lisbon, 1997); and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos Portugueses e a Economia Mundial* (Lisbon, 1991). Of course, studies on the *carreira da Índia* also cover topics related to the functioning of the Casa da Índia. See João da Cunha Teles, *A carreira da Índia e a criação do mercado intercolonial português: 1660-1750* (Ph.D. Diss., University of Lisbon, 2007).

15   Susannah Humble Ferreira, *The Crown, the Court and the Casa da Índia. Political Centralization in Portugal, 1497-1521* (Leiden, 2015).

16   Leonor Freire Costa, *Naus e Galeões na Ribeira de Lisboa* (Cascais, 1997).

17   17 Costa, *Naus e Galeões.*

la Contratación brought these functions under the same institution, Casa da Índia and the Armazéns da Guiné and Índia were complementary institutions.[18]

The foundation of the Casa da Índia was simultaneously a natural consequence of the Portuguese institutional climate since the last quarter of the fifteenth century, as well as a novelty. It was a natural consequence because this institutional climate favored the expansion of the Crown's institutions, although there were many obstacles to such expansion, as António Manuel Hespanha argued many years ago.[19] The creation and reorganization of several institutions under King Afonso V (1448-1481) were part of this process, namely the royal archive, which was reformed by his Chief Officer and royal chronicler, Gomes Eanes de Zurara, and the Casa da Suplicação, the most important judicial court of the kingdom. In addition, several offices and officers received new statutes, as shown by the *Ordenações Afonsinas*, a legal compilation bringing together the most important norms decreed under King Afonso's reign, and the *Ordenações d'el Rey D. Manuel*, which completed the *Ordenações Afonsinas* and were published between 1512 and 1514.[20] The manuscripts of the *Leitura Nova*, which Randolph Head described as an "archive in books,"[21] were begun in 1504 and were transcriptions of several documents stored at Torre do Tombo intended to preserve properly the information they contained. Reforming the archives of the Portuguese Crown was a process, and interest in these issues only increased under King D. João III (1521-1557). For example, as was common in other political contexts of the time, the clerk of the Torre do Tombo was asked to send the King an inventory of all the documents stored in the Torre, a practice that went on to be repeated by every custodian of that archive.[22]

The Casa da Índia was also a novelty because overseas demands expanded greatly the challenges the Portuguese monarchy had to face since the trips of

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18   Edward Collins, "Portuguese Pilots at the Casa de la Contratación and the Examenes de Pilotos," *The International Journal of Maritime History* 26, no. 2 (2014): 1-14.

19   A.M. Hespanha, *As vésperas do Leviathan. Instituições e Poder político, Portugal, século XVII* (Coimbra, 1994), 85-111. Some authors argue that these dynamics of knowing and ordering already existing information, and building the memory of the kingdom can be identified at the very beginning of the dynasty of Avis. See Susani S. Lemos França, "A história portuguesa medieval. Preservação, memória, esquecimento," *Varia Historia* 23, no. 38 (2007): 490-499, 494-495; The most recent work on these changes is Ferreira, *The Crown, the Court and the Casa da Índia*.

20   For an overview of this subject, see the online database *Ius Lusitaniae. Fontes Históricas do Direito Português* (http://www.iuslusitaniae.fcsh.unl.pt).

21   Head, "Recreating an Archivum in Books."

22   José Pessanha, "Uma Rehabilitação historica: inventarios da Torre do Tombo no seculo XVI," *Archivo Historico Portuguez* 3 (1905): 287-303.

Vasco da Gama and Pedro Álvares Cabral.[23] In that sense, the foundation of the Casa da Índia in 1500 or even before,[24] and its concerns with record-keeping, can be considered as a response to the new needs that Portuguese imperial expansion in the Indian Ocean and Brazil entailed. The foundation of Estado da Índia, in 1505, is definitely part of the same process. This means that when King D. Manuel established these institutional rules of the Casa da Índia, complementing the ones he had already given to his Chief Officer in 1501, these concerns were very clear.

In addition, from the first half of the fifteenth century, the personnel of overseas institutions were concerned with the relationship between the administration of places *extra territorium* and the production of different types of knowledge. Such institutions included the Casa de Ceuta (House of Ceuta) in the first decades of the fifteenth century, the Casa da Guiné (House of Guinea) in 1443, and the Casa da Mina (House of Mina) in 1482.[25] It is no coincidence that a long-standing Treasurer of the Casa de Ceuta, Gonçalo Pacheco, was the grandfather of Duarte Pacheco Pereira, who wrote the *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*—one of the early geographic works on the world known to the Portuguese—between 1505 and 1508.[26] Similarly, Fernão Lourenço, the Chief Officer of the Houses of Guinea and Mina from 1486, and later the first Chief Officer of Casa da Índia, was also the Chief Officer of the Torre do Tombo, the royal archive.[27] In the sixteenth century, figures like Garcia de Resende, João de Barros, Francisco Homem, Francisco Abreu, Baltasar Estaço and Diogo de Sousa were all scholars and humanists as well as personnel of Casa da Índia.

The transformations taking place on the banks of the Tagus in the first decades of the sixteenth century inscribed these institutional changes onto

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23   Randolph Head, "Empire at Home."

24   Jose de Vasconcellos e Menezes, "As Tercenas de Lisboa III," Lisboa-Revista Municipal, 2ª série, Anno XLVIII,19-1, 1º trimestre 1987, 3-14; Damião Peres, *Regimento das Cazas*.

25   Carlos Caetano, "Um olhar sobre a Casa de Ceuta," *Cadernos do Arquivo Municipal* 2, no. 4 (2015): 65-86; and Ferreira, *The Crown, the Court and the The Casa da India*, chap. 1. There are several examples of scholars working in the Casa da Índia or travelling as officers of the Crown to the Empire in Ribeiro, *Registo da Casa da Índia*: xlii-xliii,

26   See Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, *As fontes de Duarte Pacheco Pereira no "Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis"* (Lisbon, 1982).

27   Luz, *O Conselho da Índia*, 29-57; and Ribeiro, *Registo da The Casa da Índia*, 2: xxxvi-xxxvii. On Fernão Lourenço, see João Paulo de Oliveira e Costa, "Fernão Lourenço, tesoureiro e feitor da the Casada Mina e da Índia (c. 1481-1504): uma carreira de sucesso," in *Aquém e além da Taprobana : estudos luso-orientais à memória de Jean Aubin e Denys Lombard*, ed. Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz (Lisbon, 2002), 57-69.

the city's geography.[28] With Lisbon symbolically presenting itself as the new center of the spice, gold, and slave trades, it is not surprising that the Casa da Índia, whose building also housed the Casa da Mina and the Casa dos Escravos (Warehouse of Slaves), was one of the most significant structures on the Lisbon riverfront.[29] Linking the Royal Palace and the river, Casa da Índia reassured the monarch that the management of empire was under his sight. Damião de Góis classified it as one of the beauties of the town, saying that its rooms were organized with "ingenious art and order" and filled with commodities that anyone would admire.[30]

"Order" and "Art" in the Rules of 1509

Although it already existed as an institution, it was only in 1501 that King D. Manuel decided to merge the old Casa da Mina and the new Casa da Índia in order to consolidate the management of the Carreira da Índia (India Run), the slave trade and the Atlantic trade, as well as the circulation of people on those routes in the hands of the same officer, Fernão Lourenço. The Casa dos Escravos, which dealt specifically with slaves' issues, also came under Lourenço's authority.[31] However, in 1509, King D. Manuel declared that "this could not be well done […] as it was done until now,"[32] i.e. with only a chief officer, a treasurer and three clerks. Besides the imperial challenges the King was facing, he may have also made the decision in response to the founding of the

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28 Luís Filipe Thomaz, "L'idée impériale manuéline," in *La Decouverte, le Portugal et l'Europe*, ed. Jean Aubin (Paris, 1990), 35-103; and Giuseppe Marcocci, *A Consciência de um Império, Portugal e o seu Mundo (sécs. XV-XVII)* (Coimbra, 2012).

29 Leonor Freire Costa, "Carpinteiros e calafates da Ribeira das Naus: Um olhar sobre a Lisboa de Quinhentos," *Penélope—Fazer e Desfazer a História* 13 (1994): 37-54; Nuno Senos, *O Paço da Ribeira, 1501-1581* (Lisbon, 2002); Carlos Caetano, *A ribeira de Lisboa na época da expansão portuguesa (séculos XV-XVIII)* (Lisbon, 2004); Hélder Carita, "Da "Ribeira" ao Terreiro do Paço: génese e formação de um modelo urbano," *in Do Terreiro do Paço à Praça do Comércio-História de um Espaço Urbano*, ed. Miguel F. Faria (Lisbon, 2014), 13-36; and Maria de Fátima Reis, "A Ribeira de Lisboa, porto do Império Marítimo Português : circulação de pessoas e de mercadorias," *e-Spania* (October 2015), http://e-spania.revues.org/25062 (accessed December 14, 2016).

30 Damião de Góis, *Descrição da Cidade de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 2001), 52-53 (Portuguese version of Góis, *Ulysipus*).

31 Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo (henceforth ANTT), Chancelaria de D. Manuel, L. 1, fl. 48v; ANTT, Fragmentos, cx. 3, mç. 3, n.º 14ª.

32 Peres, *Regimento das Cazas*, 3, my italics.

Casa de la Contratación in 1503 in Seville, which had already developed a set of rules with twenty-two chapters.

The 1509 regulations of the Casa da Índia included different groups of documents, some of which were similar to the Casa de la Contratación's.[33] A first and longer part (65 chapters) laid out the chief officer's jurisdiction. The rules covering the management of trade to Mina (chapters 8 to 25) assembled those that were in practice since 1482. Additions to the rules of 1509 were made during the course of that year and in the next decade. Justifying these additions, King D. Manuel wrote to Estêvão Vaz, the Chief Officer of Casa da Índia by that time, that he had decided to assemble "the old statutes that were dispersed," namely the ones that concerned several officers of the Casa da Índia. The same is to say: the additions (101 chapters) completed or changed the first sixty-five norms and expressed an ongoing effort at institutional systematization.[34]

The rules of 1509 help us to understand the political and administrative imagination of the Portuguese Crown at this period, how the Casa da Índia fit into the design of the Portuguese administration, and its place in the imperial governance. Its Chief Officer was required to report directly to the King (via the Secretary of State) but for financial issues answered to the Vedor da Fazenda (who oversaw the kingdom's finances) and to the Casa dos Contos (Treasury). The Casa da Índia was also in direct communication with the Juízo da Casa da Índia e Mina, the court that settled overseas criminal and civil conflicts concerning people involved in imperial trade and governance.[35] The court bailiff and the mayor of Lisbon were required to help the officers of the Casa da Índia to inspect people travelling on the Carreira da Índia. The mayor of Lisbon also informed the Casa da Índia about the city's markets.[36] Finally, as mentioned, the Casa da Índia was connected to the Ribeira das Naus, the Armazéns da Guiné e Índia, and the Armaria (Armoury). These three institutions provided the Casa da Índia with almost everything needed to load the fleets. As said before, the Armazéns also soon became a complementary and later competing institution, concerned with the gathering and record-keeping

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33   Francisco Morales Padrón, *Teoría y leyes de la conquista* (Madrid, 1979), 253-258. Thanks to the similarity of both institutions, the archive of the Casa de la Contratación might give us an approximate idea of the type of documents which might have been found in the Casas da Índia e Mina.

34   Peres, *Regimento das Cazas*, 84.

35   On this subject, see Eduardo Freire de Oliveira, *Elementos para a História do Município de Lisboa*, vol. 1 (Lisbon, 1904).

36   Peres, *Regimento das Cazas*, Title of the Chief Officer, ch. 17-18: 21-24, ch. 34-36: 35-37; Geraldes, *Casa da Índia*: 114-124.

of cartographic, nautical and more technical information. In short, the Casa da Índia and the Armazéns were the main producers and repositories in what concerned the different types of information needed, produced for, or coming from the Empire.[37]

Extra territorium, the Casa da Índia ruled over the vast network of dozens of *feitorias* (official trading posts) and stores which the Portuguese had established around the world, with the exception of those in North Africa (which sat under the Casa de Ceuta). On one hand, the officers of Casa da Índia produced rules that would govern each *feitoria*, either disparate rules, or a *regimento* (set of rules, like the ones of 1509).[38] On the other hand, all the way from Flanders (between 1509 and 1549) and Andaluzia to São Jorge da Mina and Malacca (conquered by the Dutch in 1637 and 1641 respectively), the supervisors of *feitorias* reported to the Chief Officer of the Casa da Índia. Moreover, the officers of the Casa da Índia could also give their opinion (*pareceres*) not only in matters of administration, but also of conquest, as in the case of the "discovery of Bengal and China."[39]

Despite the apparent linearity of these rules, the relationship between the Crown, the Casa da Índia and the other institutions involved in imperial issues was not always transparent. Rather, jurisdictions frequently overlapped, and sources show that the King intervened directly in the management of imperial issues, and that there were more obstacles to political communication than had been envisaged in the rules of 1509.

Still, the documents produced for or in the imperial context were required to be registered and kept in the *cartorio* of Casa da Índia. There is no concrete evidence that the Casa da Índia officers always did it, but further exploration on the collection known as "Corpo Cronológico" (today in Torre do Tombo), possibly one of the most important remains of the main Casa da Índia's archive, could provide more detailed answers on these issues. Also, some of the documents kept in "Núcleo Antigo" (in the same archive) fit into the demands of the rules of 1509. It is possible that they were copies of the old archive of the Casa da Índia. In any case, the institutional imagination of the Casa da Índia as disclosed by the rules of 1509 is interesting in and by itself, as it reveals a political culture concerned with the needs of adapting to the challenges entailed by Empire.

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37   Luz, *O Conselho da Índia*, 64.

38   This was the case, in 1531, of feitoria of São Tomé: ANTT, "Carta dos oficiais da Casa da Índia ao feitor e oficiais da feitoria da ilha de São Tomé," Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, mç. 48, n.º 7.

39   ANTT, "Carta dos oficiais da Casa da Índia," Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, mç. 17, n.º 86.

It is not coincidental, then, that the rules of 1509 and subsequent additions focus on the production, circulation, recording and retrieving of information since they allowed an intellectual appropriation of territories, people and commodities located in the four parts of the world.[40] Books following a rigid protocol would document almost all the activities of the Casa da Índia. While the role of the Torre do Tombo archives was to preserve the memory of the kingdom, that of the Casa da Índia's was to do the same for the overseas territories. This could be seen as a sort of "division of labor," as was already happening in other institutions like Chancelaria Mor (the Grand Chancellery), from whose chief officer some powers were transferred to the chancellors of specialized institutions.[41]

The rules of 1509 explicitly specified the information that the officers of the Casa da Índia, ship clerks, supervisors of *feitorias* and others were to produce and register. From the very beginning of the sixty-five chapters, the primary focus was the register of officers' activities, such as their daily hours of arrival and departure (chapter two) or the books which the chief officer had to send to the King every eighteen months (chapter four). The subsequent chapters covered rules about correspondence, as well as the comparison and verification of information in the original books and their copies. Later chapters covered the functions of other officers, such as the treasurer and clerk; these, too, began with rules about books and the cabinets where they were to be stored, showing that these practices were crucial part of their activities.[42]

The same preoccupation can be seen in the sections dedicated to loading and landing the people and commodities transported on the Carreira da Índia and the Atlantic trade route, two of the most relevant activities of the Casa da Índia. Twelve ships were to be sent annually to Mina, and between five and fifteen to India (between 1497 and 1650, 1,033 ships were sent on the Carreira da Índia).[43] Regardless of whether the traveler was Vasco da Gama, a Fugger's

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40   It is crucial to compare these rules with the ones that operated in the Casa de la Contratación. See Francisco Fernandéz Lopez, "La Casa de la Contratación de Indias: gestión, expedición y control documental (siglos xvi-xvii)," *Relaciones* 144 (2015): 169-193.

41   Testos, *Sentenças Régias.*

42   Peres, *Regimento das Cazas*, Title of the Chief Officer, ch. 2-7: 5-7. Also see Title of the Treasurer of the Casa da Mina, ch. 106: 87; Title of the Clerk of the Treasurer, ch. 121: 96-97; Title of the Treasurer of Casa da Índia, ch. 131: 102, and so forth.

43   Each ship transported a crew and passengers made up of royal officers, soldiers, merchants, missionaries and others, including, between 1505 and 1520, 9,196 slaves: António Almeida Mendes, "Les réseaux de la traite ibérique dans l'Atlantique nord (1440-1640)," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 63 (2008): 739-768, 745; José Alberto Leitão Barata, "Do

agent, or a mere soldier, their date of departure and the name of the fleet and ship they were travelling on had to be registered in special books. Furthermore, these books registered and controlled not only Portuguese subjects but also other Europeans travelling to Portuguese overseas territories. Since the Treaty of Tordesillas and the inauguration of *mare clausum*, the King of Portugal, like his Spanish counterpart, had the right to decide who could travel to "his" parts of the world. The books that registered these people, from which the collections known as *Ementas* and *Registo* were made, started as early as 1503, six years before the rules of 1509, once again demonstrating that some of the practices compiled in this document were already in motion.[44]

The cargo transported in the ships—commodities, people and supplies like food, guns and clothes—were also to be registered carefully. Every detail was required to be scrutinized and registered in specific books: not just the commodities themselves, but also their value, origin and category (spices, gold, slaves, or jewels), the type of contracts associated with them, the names of the fleets, their captains and the years of the trips. For example, the *Caderno dos ofiçias da India da carreguaçam das naus que vieram o anno de BexBiiji* (a notebook with the commodities transported from India in 1518) clearly responds to chapter 159 of the Casa's rules.[45] If put into practice, this process transformed every carrack, every caravel into a handy written record, materializing the Empire at home.

Similar processes would take place when cargo was unloaded in Portugal, again controlled by different officers of Casa da Índia but also by the judge and officers of the Juízo da Casa da Índia e Mina. When ships arrived from India, between June and August, these officers were required to demand the reporting books of the ships' captains and clerks, as well as the information and letters sent by captains and factory supervisors and the clerks' diaries. These diaries had to register the people (namely slaves, the sick and the deceased),

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castelo de S. Jorge ao castelo de S. Jorge—A rota da Mina entre 1482 e 1567," in *O Reino, as ilhas e o mar oceano. Estudos em homenagem a Arthur Teodoro de Matos*, ed. Avelino de Freitas de Meneses and João Paulo Oliveira Costa, vol. 3 (Lisbon, 2007).

44   For example, "Carta dos oficiais da The Casada Índia para o rei sobre a gente que devia embarcar para a Índia, 1515-02-12 (ANTT, Corpo Cronológico, Parte1, Mç. 17, nº 76); "Memoria das pessoas que passaram a India, 1505-1828" (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Col. Pombalina, nº 123).

45   Geneviève Bouchon, *Navires et cargaisons retour de l'Inde en 1518: caderno dos ofiçiaes da India da carreguaçam das naos que vieram o anno de bcxbiij* (Paris,1977).

the commodities transported and any incidents that had happened over the course of the journey.[46] The same was demanded of ships coming from Mina.[47]

After collecting this information, the officers would check it against the actual commodities and people transported, noting any incongruities. As one of the articles of the rules of 1509 stated, "The book of expenses must be matched with the book of contracts, in all aspects related to contracts," and this was the norm for everything transported.[48] Alongside the information provided by the ship's captain, slaves were also evaluated by an officer, who put a collar necklace with their price around their neck and registered all the relevant information in the Casa dos Escravos' register. After this, the slaves could be sold,[49] either in the kingdom or abroad.[50]

The registry process did not end there. The other officers of the Casa da Índia had their own writing tasks. For example, the treasurer, who was responsible for buying everything needed to load the ships and for paying the wages to all travelling officers of the Crown, had to register all his expenses in different books. The same was demanded of other treasurers and clerks.

A significant part of the information registered in the Casa da Índia was produced by officers in the European and overseas factories which were under its jurisdiction. Together, these factories and their officers constituted a transcontinental information network. The heads of the factories had to ensure that each fleet carried registers of the commodities and people sent from that factory, predictions about the markets and the value of the commodities exchanged, and reports on daily life in the colonies. These reports were similar to those contained in the documents *Enformação da pimenta* (an information about pepper) and *Caderno de toda a Especearia que pertença ha El-rey Nosso Senhor* (a notebook about spices), of 1505.[51] Every four years, the head

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46   On the rules of these clerks see *"Regimento dos Escrivães das Naus da Carreira da Índia,"* in *Systema, ou Colecção dos Regimentos Reais*, tomo VI (Lisbon: 1791), 1-13.

47   Peres, *Regimento das Cazas*, Title of the Chief Officer, ch. 32: 35. On Mina's trade, see Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos Portugueses*, 1: 168-174.

48   Peres, *Regimento das Cazas*, chap. 6.

49   Peres, *Regimento das Cazas*, Title of the Chief Officer, ch. 23: 28-29, on the landing of ships coming from Guinea with slaves. The rules for the slave trade in São Tomé, decreed in 1518, were part of the same dynamic. In the collection *Corpo Cronológico* at Torre do Tombo, there are several decrees by King D. Manuel, offering some of these slaves, depending on their value, to different people and institutions (ANTT, Corpo Cronológico, mç. 14, 15, 18).

50   Quesada, *El primer oro de la America*, 27-28.

51   ANTT, Colecção de Cartas, Núcleo Antigo 875, nº 95; Geneviève Bouchon, "Le inventaire de la cargaison rapportée de l'Inde en 1505," in *Inde découverte, Inde retrouvée, 1498-1630* (Paris-Lisboa), 159-188.

of each *feitoria* had to send a complete report of their activities to a superior officer (the governor of Estado da Índia, for example), which were then cross-checked with the individual reports they had previously sent. Correspondence and other (official and private) documents were also carried by the Carreira da Índia.[52]

A full chapter of the rules of 1509 was dedicated to the "ordering" of the letters coming from India, explaining that original correspondence should be bound together in a book, copied into another book, and organized by year. Each year, one of the clerks of the Casa da Índia was responsible for doing this task, as well as answering to the King's request for further information to be kept in the institution.[53]

In addition, the Casa da Índia was supposed to archive "all the rules, letters, decrees, any ordinations and decisions we sent to these houses, as well as to the factories of India and Guinea." This, the King explained, was "convenient for our service and for communication with the territories."[54] Throughout, the rules repeated the convenience and utility of the archived information and the need to be able to retrieve it, making clear that this information was necessary to political rule. A decree of 1522 reminded clerks that each book had to be signed and numbered, and that all activity should be done in *boa ordem* ("good order") in order to maximize such utility.[55]

Following a strict protocol, the registers were compiled in books, carefully bound and stored in purpose-built library cabinets. These books were to be placed, the rules of 1509 stated, in the cabinets "as if they were in a registry (*cartorio*)."[56] *Cartorio* was the most common word to designate an archive (*archivo*), quite different from a traditional library (*livraria*), since the former had specific administrative purposes and a specific system of codification. There was a dedicated cabinet for each type of commodity or topic, with a title inscribed on the door. These cabinets had several locks so that documents could not disappear or be stolen; only selected officials had access to the keys or could grant access to them.[57]

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52   Peres, *Regimento das Cazas*, Title of the Chief Officer, ch. 24: 29-30. This is testified by the notification sent by King D. Manuel to the Captain of São Tomé on February 7, 1514 (ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Manuel I, L. 15, fl. 23).

53   Peres, *Regimento das Casas*, ch. Title of the Chief Officer, 40-41: 40.

54   Peres, *Regimento das Casas*, Title of the Chief Officer, ch. 53: 47.

55   Peres, *Regimento das Casas*, Title of the Chief Officer, ch. 80-92: 63-71.

56   Peres, *Regimento das Casas* Title of the Chief Officer, ch. 44: 42; Luz, *Regimento da the Casa da Índia*, 227.

57   Luz, *O Conselho da Índia*, 48-50.

Over the course of the first decades of the sixteenth century, the cabinets containing the books were located in the offices of the clerks of each house, below their desks. But in 1546, the chief officer was told to dedicate a special room for assembling all the books coming to and being produced at the houses. The expression used in the rules of 1509—"as if they were in a registry"—was now substituted by a material *Cartorio*, signaling, perhaps, the increasing relevance that the imperial territories had in the Portuguese monarchy. The cabinets bearing the names of commodities (spices, gold, slaves and so on), of fleets of ships and of people filled this room, organized in Ann Stoler's words through a "coding system by which they could be tracked."[58] In fact, from 1520, a bookkeeper—who, it was noted, should be a well-known scholar—had to organize these books in such a way that their contents could be easily and precisely understood.[59]

This political awareness was also demonstrated in the Casa da Índia's reformed protocols for writing contract, expense and receipt books, which were decreed on October 25, 1530. The reform aimed to rationalize the huge amount of information arriving each year and make it easier for officers to handle it. Each contract book was required to have, at its beginning, an index with the contents of the "old books." The receipt and expense books also had to follow a strict protocol: the top of each page noted the year and month of the information beneath, and below this were sections for each type of receipt and expense. The treasurer had to sign the pages, and the book included *conhecimentos*, documents demonstrating that the information was certified.[60]

Clearly, the Portuguese Crown wanted to know the people that had travelled to overseas territories, when and why. The King and his officers also wished to know exactly which commodities came and went, as well as the oscillations of the international markets of certain commodities. Furthermore, the Crown wanted to be able to quantify losses incurred through the sea trade and their impact on royal revenues—ultimately the most important financial aspect of the Empire for the Crown. These would then help the Crown and its officers to plan future trips.[61]

Reports covering other imperial matters were also to be sent to the Crown on a monthly and annual basis. The king also requested information from or communicated directly with the high and low officers of the Casa, giving them

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58   Stoler, "Colonial archives," 98.

59   Geraldes, *The Casa da Índia*, 107-109. In the structure of the wages of the Casa da India, the bookkeeper was relatively well-paid (30,000 rs), roughly half the chief officer's salary.

60   Peres, *Regimento das Cazas*, New Rules...: 140-145.

61   Ferreira, *The Crown, the Court and the The Casa da Índia*, 66-68.

precise orders concerning imperial trade, whenever he wished.[62] The information stored in the Casa da Índia was accessible to other people involved in overseas life, such as traders, officers and their heirs: they could request to look up at documents related to their own activities.[63]

The number of *alvaras* (decrees) by the kings Manuel and João III related with all these issues show that these communication flows were satisfactory, and the detail of knowledge entailed in these decrees is a witness of it. Still, the king was not always content with what he found in the books of Casa da Índia, as it happened in 1595, when Philip II (I of Portugal) asked for more information about some debts of the Portuguese Crown. The King found that the books with that information were "old," making it difficult to retrieve the data referring to these debts, and he ordered them recopied into new books.[64] The same is to say that between the rules of Casa da Índia and the practice of its officers there was a gap, more or less relevant depending on the officers engaged with the registry. In addition to that, officers could have the privilege to take books home, as it was the case of João Dias, in 1521. Because of these practices, some of the books were missing from the *cartorio*, too.[65]

Besides being a collector and record-keeper of this type of information, the Casa da Índia was also a producer and an archive of other types of knowledge. This becomes evident when reading the books of João de Barros, Chief Officer from 1532 to 1567, and one of the most important Portuguese humanists of the sixteenth century. Ethnographies, lists of natural products and riches and narratives from different parts of the world—written in several languages and scripts and produced by a range of imperial agents including merchants, officers and missionaries—were used to write the official history of the Portuguese

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62   Peres, *Regimento das Cazas*, Title of the Chief Officer, ch. 40; 39. For the King's direct communication, see, for example, "Alvara de D. Manuel I em que manda o Feitor da Casada Índia dar a Gaspar Leão a metade de toda a especiaria e coisas da India que se acharem na Ilha Terceira, tiradas todas as despesas do Monte Maior, 1511-10-20" (ANTT, Corpo Cronológico, Parte 1, Mç. 10, nº 114); and "Carta do rei para João Sá enviar à Flandres as especiarias referidas no rol junto, 1518-12-28 (ANTT, Corpo Cronológico, Parte1, Ms.23, nº151). Maços 10 and 11 of Corpo Cronológico.

63   Peres, *Regimento das Cazas*, Title of the Chief Officer, ch. 78: 62-63.

64   ANTT, Portaria para o Provedor da Casa da Índia, 9-6-1595, Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, mç. 113, n.º 25.

65   ANTT, "A João Dias, escudeiro da Casa Real," 22-11-1521, Chancelaria de D. Manuel I, liv. 18, fl. 84v.

conquests in Asia in the *Décadas da Ásia*, a treatise published between 1552 and 1563.[66]

João de Barros was born in 1496 and educated in the royal palace, together with Prince John (later King D. João III) and other nobility. He was first officially involved in imperial life in 1522 when he was nominated to the captaincy of São Jorge da Mina, where he stayed until 1525.[67] Mina was the most important and profitable Portuguese settlement (and municipality) on the western coast of Africa and hosted the main slave trade market controlled by the Portuguese. Captaincy was the most important role in the administration of Mina. Once back in Lisbon, he became Treasurer of the Casa da Índia until 1528, and then its Chief Officer in 1533.

As far as we can tell, Barros' steering of the Casa da Índia was characterized by the rationalization of its activities. On the one hand, the King reinforced the Chief Officer's position by declaring that Barros had to sign any official document, as well as those requested by third parties.[68] Given his proximity to the King, this guaranteed the reliability of the information that passed through the Casa da Índia and simultaneously reinforced the chain of command. The concentration of power in Barros was increased through additional rules about the disembarkation of the fleets at the wharf of the Casa da Índia and the appointment of officers.[69] It was also during Barros' rule that the King decreed that special room be established for the *Cartorio* in 1546, perhaps in response to former's requests.[70]

Barros' dynamism as Chief Officer of the Casa da Índia is also confirmed in the *Décadas da Ásia*. Since Barros used many original records originating from territories that the Portuguese had conquered, or with whom they had political and economic relations, which surrounded him in his office, the *Décadas* can rightly be considered, to borrow Randolph Head's expression, an archive in books, albeit a different one from the *Leitura Nova*.

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66   The first of the *Décadas da Ásia* ("*Decades of Asia*") appeared in 1552, and its reception was such that the king immediately asked Barros to write a chronicle of King D. Manuel, which was eventually written by Damião de Góis. The second *Decade* came out in 1553, and the third in 1563.

67   João de Barros lived between 1496 and 1570 and was probably born in the town of Viseu. He was the son of Lopo de Barros, an officer in Viseu's municipal government, and a man with good relations in the Court, which explains his education in the royal palace.

68   Luz, *Regimento da Casa da Índia*, Title of the Provider, ch. 6: 59; ch. 7: 59.

69   Luz, *Regimento da Casa da Índia*, Title of the Provider, ch. 11: 61; Title of the Navy, ch. 4: 71-72; ch. 10: 78-79; ch. 13: 82; ch. 15: 84.

70   Luz, *Regimento da Casa da Índia*, Title of the Registry.

Indeed, the *Décadas* used contemporary Asian chronicles written in several languages—Persian, Chinese, Arabic, and South Indian languages—and translated into Portuguese by different interpreters. Barros also used fresh information brought by pilots and travelers and from Asian classical works on the geography of China, Persia and other countries.[71] Grappling with such a large amount of information, Barros was also inspired to write, besides the *Décadas*—the political history of the Portuguese presence in India—a *Geographia* (which he did not finish) and a *Natural and Artificial History of the Objects Brought by the Portuguese from Asia* (now lost).[72] An impressionist reading of the *Décadas* is enlightening about the type of information and knowledge available in the Casa da Índia during Barros' time. Some of the sources can be retrieved: *Geographies* written by Arabs and Persians; the *Chronicle of the Kings of Quíloa* from East Africa, through which he explained the foundation of that town and its social characteristics; a *Cosmography* brought from China, written in the style of an "Itinerary" (a genre that was also very common in Portugal), as well as maps from China; several books from India (Southern and Northern); information taken from local informants, as in Ceylon; and books from Thailand.[73] In addition, Barros refers to copies of administrative records such as the accounting of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, which he had requested directly from Treasury officials in that kingdom. Showing his own interest in questions of knowledge, registering and archiving, Barros also engaged in comparisons between Asian and Portuguese approaches to philology, measurements, mapping and the recording of history.[74]

This section of the Casa da Índia was, therefore, a polyphonic section, where foreign voices could be heard without the type of filters that would characterize later "colonial archives," or, to some extent, the strictly administrative part of the *Cartorio*. It translated into words—albeit in a selective way, of course—the vast world that was stored in the Casa da Índia, testifying that its

71   Manuel Severim de Faria, "Vida de João de Barros," in Discursos varios politicos, por Manuel Severim de Faria Chantre, & cônego na Santa Se de Evora (Évora: 1624).

72   António Baião, "Documentos inéditos sobre João de Barros, sobre o escritor seu homónimo contemporâneo, sobre a família do historiador e sobre os continuadores das suas 'Décadas'," *Boletim da Segunda Classe da Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa*, 40 (1917): 202-355. On Barros see also, Charles H. Boxer, *João de Barros* (1981) and Zoltán Biedermann, "Nos primórdios da antropologia moderna: A Ásia de João de Barros," *Anais de História de AlémMar* 4 (2003): 29-61.

73   João de Barros, *Da Ásia de João de Barros*, 8 vols. (Lisboa: 1777) vol. 1, Book 1, Part 2.8, chap. 4: 2,056.

74   Barros, *Da Ásia*, vol. 1, Book 1, Part 2.8, chap. 4: 214; Part 2.9, chap.1: 288; chap. 2: 313-322; and *Décadas*, vol. 3, Book 1, Part 1.1, chap. 2: 110-111.

knowledge was not one-sided, not only produced by agents of the Empire, but, from the very beginning, co-produced, and dependent on previously existing local practices.[75]

Conclusion

The preceding pages invite us to return to the initial problems: Which were the challenges that territorial expansion entailed for the Portuguese monarchy, and, in particular, for its archival organization and practices? How did Casa da Índia register these imperial dynamics? Did its archive materialize the Empire at home? And was its archive relevant to the emergence of a Portuguese science of imperial administration?

From the introductory overview provided by the previous pages, it is clear that Casa da Índia is testament to the challenges which overseas expansion imposed on the Portuguese Crown. The investment in registration and record-keeping activities was part of a process of increasing bureaucratization of the Portuguese Crown as it attempted to cope with the complexities of the new geographies and people it intended to rule. Imperial experiences stimulated and fastened "new modes of government" that relied on the information produced and stored in these institutions. The administrative environment of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Portuguese monarchy already favored institutions that produced and gathered information, stored it and used it in their daily management. In that sense, the Casa da Índia reproduced, expanded and altered the Casa da Mina (1482), which is made very clear through the inclusion of the rules relating to trade with the West African coast in the rules of 1509. The rules given to other institutions may also have influenced the Casa da Índia, and the same may be true of the rules of the Casa de la Contratación (and vice versa), warranting a connected analysis of the two institutions.[76]

However, the trips of Vasco da Gama and Pedro Álvares Cabral seemed to have accelerated these processes. This means that like its twin institution, the Spanish Casa de la Contratación, the Casa da Índia contributed to the emergence of a Portuguese imperial science of administration, and with it, to the fabric of the Portuguese Empire. Its archive was intended to represent and condense an Empire that was expanding to the four parts of the world, permitting—at least intellectually—its "appropriation." The *cartorio* of the Casa da

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75   Stoler, "Colonial Archives."

76   "Regimentos dados aos Vedores da Fazenda," in *Sistema ou Collecção dos Regimentos Reaes*, vol. 1 (Lisbon, 1983).

Índia became not only part of the "administrative apparatus that produced" the information needed to rule, but also a kind of a written empire, bringing Empire at home.[77] The rule of the humanist João de Barros was, it would seem, an important contributor to this achievement.

Unlike in the case of the Casa de la Contratación, the strictly scientific aspects of navigation were developed in the Armazéns da Guiné e Índia and not in the Casa da Índia. This means that the next step needed to study the emergence of a Portuguese imperial science of administration would be, following the paths of Leonor Freire Costa, to investigate simultaneously the Casa da Índia and the Armazéns da Guiné e Índia.[78]

Bureaucratization was a process in motion in the Portuguese early modern monarchy, and the imperial challenges (geographic expansion of territories, different societies to rule upon) did play a role in it. However, the bureaucratic transformations identified in this essay were frequently a response to *ad hoc* political imperatives more than a planned project systematically put into practice. Fluidity and change were the hallmarks of these processes, which adapted themselves to changing circumstances. As early as the end of the sixteenth century, inquiries into the functioning of the Casa da Índia led to calls for reform. From 1591, the Casa da Índia reported directly to the Conselho da Fazenda (Treasury Council), and its decline and loss of power was dictated in part by the foundation of the Conselho da Índia between 1604 and 1614 and of the Conselho Ultramarino in 1642, which would take over part of the Casa's former jurisdiction. In fact, the changing shape of the Portuguese Empire—its significant reduction in the Indian Ocean during the seventeenth century and the increasing prevalence of direct relations between Brazil (the main importer of African slaves) and the West African coast—had profound consequences on the role of the Casa da Índia.[79] Symptomatic of this were the new rules decreed in 1674 for the Armazéns da Guiné e Índia. Since then, the Armazéns became the institution which henceforth held privileged communication with the new Conselho Ultramarino and the old Conselho da Fazenda. By the eighteenth-century, the Casa da Índia almost only kept its function as a customs house.

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77   Stoler, "Colonial Archives," 96.

78   Costa, *Naus e Galeões*; and Collins, "Portuguese Pilots."

79   Luz, *O Conselho da Índia*; and Edval de Souza Barros, *Negócios de Tanta Importância. O Conselho Ultramarino e a disputa pela condução da guerra no Atlântico e no Índico (1643-1661)* (Lisbon, 2008).