



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Decay or defeat ? : an inquiry into the Portuguese decline in Asia 1580-1645

Veen, Ernst van

Citation

Veen, E. van. (2000, December 6). *Decay or defeat ? : an inquiry into the Portuguese decline in Asia 1580-1645*. Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies (CNWS), Leiden University. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/15783>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License:

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/15783>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In Portuguese names the first family name is that of the mother, the second one that of the father. In Spanish it is just the other way around. For the alphabetic order of names in this bibliography the first family name has been given prevalence, where applicable preceded by the prefix.

1. PRIMARY SOURCES

Rijks Archief The Hague (ARA)

Archives of the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie

Overgekomen brieven en papieren entry 1.04.02

Inv. 1068, 1070, 1072, 1075-1078, 1084-1085, 1090, 1099, 1100, 1115, 1118-1122, 1125-1129, 1132-1133, 1141, 1144, 1149.

Gemeente Archief Amsterdam (GAA)

Notarial archives.

The card index of the Municipal Archives in Amsterdam provides reasonably good abstracts, which most of the time were found adequate to understand the contents of the documents.

Furthermore, as far as the affairs of the Portuguese merchants in Amsterdam are concerned, abstracts can be found and are still being published in *Studia Rosenthaliana* (Amsterdam 1967-...).

Nrs. 24,32 Not. Jacob Gijsbertsz

Nrs. 33, Not. Jacob Gijsbertsz en L. Heylinc

Nrs. 42,51,52,53,55 Not. L. Heylinc

Nrs. 61, David Mostart

Nrs. 69,70,73,74,76,78,79,81,83,87,107,143 Not.J.Fr.Bruyningh

Nrs. 379, Not.J.& N.Jacobs

Nrs. 622,645,645B,Not.Sibrant Cornelisz

Nrs. 664, Not. J. Warnaerts

Nrs. 942, Not. D. Bredan

Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague

Dutch Pamphlets ca.1486-1648.

Knuttel Catalogue 1181,1290-1291,1511-1512

2. PRINTED SOURCES

Baião, António, 'A inquisição em Portugal e no Brazil' in *Arquivo Histórico Portuguez* (Lisbon 1906-1916, volumes 4-10).

Baldaeus, Philip, *A true and exact description of the most celebrated East-India coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and also*

of the Isle of Ceylon. Translated from the High-Dutch printed in Amsterdam 1672. First edition as *A collection of voyages and travels* (London 1732) Vol.III. Fascilime by Asian Educational Services (New Delhi-Madras 1996).

Barros, João de, Diogo de Couto, *Da Asia (Décadas). Dos feitos, que os Portuguezes fizeram na conquista, e descubrimento das terras, e mares do oriente* (Lisbon 1778-1788) 24 volumes.

Brásio, António, *Monumenta Missionaria Africana. Africa Ocidental* (Lisbon 1952-1956) 7 volumes.

Basílio de Sá, A. (ed.), *Documentação para a história das missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia* 6 (1595-1599) (Lisbon 1988) 288-289.

Biker, J.F.J., *Colleção de tratados e concertos de pazes que o Estado da Índia Portuguesa fez com os reis e senhores com quem teve relações nas partes de Asia e Africa oriental desde o princípio da conquista até ao fim do século XVIII* (Lisbon 1881-1887) 14 volumes.

Blussé, L., (ed.), 'Justus Schouten en de Japanse gijzeling' in *Nederlandse Historische Bronnen*, 5 (Hilversum 1985).

Bocarro, Antonio, R.J. de Lima Felner (ed.), *Década 13 da história da Índia* (Lisbon 1876).

Braun, Georg, Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cologne 1572).

Bulhão Pato, R.A. de (ed.), *Documentos remetidos da India ou Livros das Monções* (Lisbon 1880) 4 volumes.

Bulhão Pato, R.A. de, (ed.) *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque* (Lissabon 1884) 6 volumes.

Colenbrander, H.T., *Jan Pietersz. Coen. Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië* (The Hague 1919-1934) 7 volumes.

Coolhaas, W.Ph, *Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische compagnie* (The Hague 1960-64) Volume I and II.

Correa, Gaspar, R.J. de Lima Felner (ed.), *Lendas da India* (Lisbon, Coimbra 1862-1922) 4 volumes, 8 parts.

Couto, Diogo de, *Diálogo do soldado práctico* (Lisbon 1954).

Dam, Pieter van, Stapel, F.W. (ed.), *Pieter van Dam: Beschrijvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie* (The Hague 1927-1943) 3 parts in 6 volumes.

Da Silva Dias, J.S., *Os descobrimentos e a problema cultural do século XVI* (Lissabon 1973).

Da Silva Marques, João Martins, *Descobrimentos Portugueses* (Lisbon 1988) 3 parts in 5 volumes.

Davenport, F.G., *European treaties bearing on the history of the United States and its dependencies to 1648* (Washington D.C. 1917)

De reis van Joris van Spilbergen naar Ceylon, Atjeh en Bantam 1601-1604 (Lintschoten-Vereeniging, The Hague 1933).

Deman Magoffin, R. van (transl.), J. Brown Scott (ed.) *The freedom of the seas or the right which belong to the Dutch to take part in the East Indian trade. A dissertation by Hugo Grotius* (New York 1916).

Dias Dinis, António Joaquim (eds.) *Monumenta Henricina* (Coimbra 1960-1973) 14 volumes.

Foreest, H.A. van, A. de Booy (eds.), *De vierde schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Wilkens en Jacob van Neck (1599-1604)* (Linschoten-Vereeniging, The Hague 1980).

Freitas, Frei Serafim de, Miguel Pinto de Meneres (vert.), *Do justo império asiático dos Portugueses* (Lisbon 1983) 2 Volumes.

Groeneveldt, W.P., *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese sources* (Batavia 1876).

Groot Placaetboeck, vervattende de placaten, ordonnantien ende edicten van de doorluchtige Hoogh Mog. Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden: ende vande Ed: Groot Mog: Heeren Staten van Hollandt en West-Vriesland, mitsgaders vande Ed:Mog: Heeren Staten van Zeelandt. Bijeen gebracht door Cornelis Cau, Simon van Leeuwen, Jacobus Scheltus e.a. (The Hague etc. 1658-1797) 9 volumes + register.

Groot, Huigh de, Onno Damsté (transl.), *Verhandeling over het recht op buit (De Jure Praedae Commentarius)* (Leiden, 1934).

Grotius, Hugo, G.L. Williams (transl.), *De jure praedae commentarius* (Oxford 1950) 2 volumes.

Heeres, J.E.(ed.), *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts India* (The Hague 1896)

Heeres, J.E. (ed.), *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum. Verzameling van politieke contracten en verdere verdragen door Nederlanders in het Oosten gesloten, van privilegebrieven aan hen verleend enz.* (The Hague 1907-1931) volume I.

Jonge, J.K.J. de (ed.), *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost Indië: verzameling van onuitgegeven stukken uit het oud-koloniaal archief.* (The Hague 1862-1909) 16 vols.

Leupe, P.A., 'Stukken betreffende het beleg en de verovering

van Malakka op de Portugezen in 1640-41. Benevens het rapport van den kommissaris Schouten over den verleden en tegenwoordigen toestand dier stad. Uit de papieren der voormalige Oost-Indische compagnie.' in *Berigten van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, 7 (1859) 128-429.

Linschoten, Jan Huygen van, H. Kern (ed.), *Itinerario. Voyage ofte schipvaart van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien 1579-1592*, 2nd print revised by H. Terpstra (Linschoten-Vereeniging, The Hague 1955-1957) 3 volumes.

Mijer, P., *Verzameling van instructiën, ordonnanciën en reglementen voor de regering van Nederlandsch Indië vastgesteld in de jaren 1609, 1617, 1632, 1650 etc.* (Batavia 1848).

Pyrard, François, Albert Gray, H.C.P. Bell (eds./vert.), *The voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil* (London 1887-1890) 2 volumes.

Rodrigues Silveira, Francisco, Benjamin N. Teensma (trans.) *Reformaçao da milicia e governo do Estado da India oriental* (Lisbon 1996).

Rouffaer, G.P., J.W. IJzerman (eds), *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman 1595-1597* (Linschoten-Vereeniging, The Hague 1915-1929) 3 volumes.

Sinclair, William F., Donald Ferguson (vert./eds), *The travels of Pedro Teixeira* (London 1902).

Teensma, B.N. (ed.), *Jacques de Coutre (1575-1640), Como remediar o Estado da India? Being the appendices of the Vida de Jaques de Coutre (Bibliotheca Nacional, Madrid, ms.2780)* (Leiden 1989).

Tiele, P.A., J.E. Heeres, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel* (The Hague 1886-1895) 3 volumes.

Valentijn, Fr., *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indiën* (Dordrecht 1724-1726) 4 volumes.

Wieder, F.C.(ed.), *De reis van Mahu en De Cordes door de Straat van Magalhães naar Zuid Amerika en Japan 1598-1600* (Linschoten-Vereeniging, The Hague 1923).

3. Literature

Abeyasinghe, Tikiri, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon, 1594-1612* (Colombo 1966).

Ahmad, Afzal, *Indo-Portuguese trade in seventeenth century (1600-1663)* (New Delhi 1991) 90-109.

Akveld, L.A., S. Hart, W.J. van Hoboken, *Maritieme geschiedenis*

der Nederlanden (Bussum 1977) Volume II.

Alvarez, J.M., *Formosa, geográfica e historicamente considerada* (Barcelona 1930) Volume II.

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities, reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Londen/New York 1993).

Aparício, João Paulo, Paulo Pelúcia Aparício, 'As relações das armadas e a Carreira da Índia: contribuições para uma análise crítica' in *Proceedings of the IX International Reunion for the History of Nautical Science and Hydrography* (Cascais 2000) 527-554.

Attman, Artur, *Dutch enterprise in the world bullion trade 1550-1780* (Göteborg 1983).

Attman, Artur, *American bullion in the European world trade 1600-1800* (Göteborg 1986).

Barracclough, Geoffrey, *The Times Atlas of World History* (Londen 1978).

Barrett, Ward, 'World bullion flows, 1450-1800' in James D. Tracy, *The rise of merchant empires. Long distance trade in the early modern world, 1350-1750* (Cambridge 1991) 224-254.

Bartlett, Robert, *The making of Europe. Conquest, colonization and cultural change 950-1350* (Harmondsworth 1994).

Bat'ora Ballong-Wen-Newuda, J., *São Jorge da Mina 1482-1637* (Paris 1993)

Bethlehem, J., en A.C. Meijer (red.), *VOC en Cultuur. Wetenschappelijke en culturele relaties tussen Europa en Azië ten tijde van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (Amsterdam 1993).

Blussé, Leonard, 'The Dutch occupation of the Pescadores (1622-1624)' in *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan (The Institute of Eastern Culture)* No. XVIII (1973) 28-44.

Blussé, Leonard, 'Western Impact on Chinese communities in Western Java at the beginning of the 17th century' in *Nampo-Bunka, Bulletin of South Asian Studies (Japan)* 2 (September 1975).

Blussé, L., F. Gaastra (eds.), *Companies and Trade* (Leiden 1981).

Blussé, L., G. Winus, 'The origin and rythm of Dutch aggression against the Estado da Índia, 1601-1661' in T.R. de Souza (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History. Old issues, new questions* (New Delhi 1985).

Blussé, L., (ed.), 'Justus Schouten en de Japanse gijzeling' in

Nederlandse Historische Bronnen 5 (Hilversum 1985) 69-110.

Blussé, Leonard, 'Brief encounter at Macao' in *Modern Asian Studies* 22 (1988) 647-664.

Blussé, L., *Tribuut aan China. Vier eeuwen Nederlands-Chinese betrekkingen* (Amsterdam 1989).

Blussé, Leonard, 'Minnan-jen or cosmopolitan? The rise of Chen Chih-Lung alias Nicolas Iquan' in E.B. Vermeer (ed.) *Development and decline of Fukien province in the 17th and 18th centuries* (Leiden 1990) 245-264.

Blussé, Leonard, 'No boats to China. The Dutch East India Company and the changing pattern of the China Sea trade, 1635-1690' in *Modern Asian Studies* 30 (1996) 51-76.

Blussé, Leonard, *Tussen geveinsde vrienden en verklaarde vijanden* (Amsterdam 1999).

Bouchon, Geneviève, 'Dix ans d'histoire indo-portugaise (1978-1988): bilan et perspectives pour l'étude du XVe siècle' in *La découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe. Actes du colloque 1988* (Paris 1990).

Boxer, C.R., *Fidalgos in the Far East 1550-1770. Fact and fancy in the history of Macao* (The Hague 1948).

Boxer, C.R., *Salvador de Sá and the struggle for Brazil and Angola 1602-1686* (London 1952).

Boxer, C.R., 'Portuguese and Dutch colonial rivalry 1641-1661' in *Studia* 2 (July 1958).

Boxer, C.R.(ed.), Diogo do Couto, *The tragic history of the sea, 1589-1622. Narratives of the shipwrecks of the Portuguese East Indiamen Sao Thomé (1589), Santo Alberto (1593), Sao Joa Baptista (1622) and the journeys of the survivors in South East Africa* (Cambridge 1959).

Boxer, C.R., *The great ship from Amacon. Annals of Macao and the old Japan trade, 1555-1640* (Lisbon 1959).

Boxer, C.R., *Portuguese society in the tropics. The municipal councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia and Luanda 1510-1800* (Madison, Wisc. 1965).

Boxer, C.R., *The christian century in Japan 1549-1650* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1967).

Boxer, C.R., *João de Barros, Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia* (New Delhi, 19xx)

Boxer, C.R., *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo: a Portuguese merchant-adventurer in South East Asia, 1624-1667* (The Hague 1967).

Boxer, C.R., *The Portuguese seaborne empire, 1415-1825* (London 1969).

Boxer, C.R., 'Portuguese and Spanish projects for the conquest of Southeast Asia 1580-1600' in *Journal of Asian history* 3 (1969) 118-136.

Boxer, C.R., *Portuguese conquest and commerce in Southern Asia 1500-1750*, Variorum reprints (London 1985).

Boyajian, James. C., *Portuguese bankers at the court of Spain 1626-1650* (New Brunswick 1983).

Boyajian, J.C., *Portuguese trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640* (Baltimore, London 1993).

Brading, D.A., Harry E. Cross, 'Colonial silver mining: Mexico and Peru' in *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 52 (1972) 545-579.

Brakel, S. van, *De Hollandsche handelscompagnieën der zeventiende eeuw. Hun ontstaan-hunne inrichting.* (The Hague 1908).

Braudel, F., F. Spooner, 'Prices in Europe from 1450 to 1750' in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe* Volume IV (Cambridge 1967) 374-486.

Bruijn, J.R., F.S. Gaastra, I. Schöffer, *Dutch-Asiatic shipping in the 17th and 18th centuries* (The Hague 1979-1987) 3 volumes.

Carrasco, R., 'Preludio al "siglo de los Portugueses". La inquisición de Cuenca y los judaizantes Lusitanos en el siglo XVI' in *Hispania* 47 (1987) 540-546.

Castillo Pintado, Alvaro, 'Les banquiers Portugais et le circuit d'Amsterdam' in *Annales Economies Sociétés Civilisations* 19 (1964) 311-316.

Chaudhuri, K.N., *The English East India Company. The study of an early joint-stock company 1600-1640* (London 1965).

Chaudhuri, K.N., *The trading world of Asia and the English East India Company 1660-1760* (Cambridge 1978).

Chaudhuri, K.N., *Trade and civilisation in the Indian Ocean. An economic history from the rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge 1999. First edition 1985).

Chaudhury, Sushil, Michel Morineau (eds.), *Merchants, companies and trade. Europe and Asia in the early modern era* (Cambridge 1999).

Chaunu, Huguettes & Pierre, *Séville et l'Atlantique (1504-1650)* Volume V 'Le trafic de 1621 à 1650' (Paris 1956).

Chaunu, P., *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques (XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siècles). Introduction méthodologique et indices d'activité.* (Paris 1960) Volume II.

Chijs, J.A. van der, *Geschiedenis der stichting van de Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie en der maatregelen van de Nederlandsche regering betreffende de vaart op Oost-Indië, welke aan deze stichting voorafgingen* (Leyden 1857).

Cipolla, C.M., *Guns and sails in the early phase of European expansion 1400-1700* (London 1963).

Contreras, Jaime, 'Family and patronage: the Judeo-converso minority in Spain' in Mary Elisabeth Perry, Anne J. Cruz (eds.), *Cultural encounters. The impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford (1991).

Cortesão, Jaime, *Teoria geral dos descobrimentos Portugueses e outros ensaios* (Lisbon 1984)

Cross, Harry E., 'South American bullion production and export 1550-1750' in J.F. Richards (ed.), *Precious metals in the later medieval and early modern worlds* (Durham N.C. 1983) 397-423.

Da Fonseca, Quirino, *Os navios do Infante D. Henrique* (Lisbon 1958)

De Salles Lencastre, Francisco, *Tratado das alfândegas em Portugal* (Lisbon 1886) Volume I.

Diffie, B.W., G.D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese empire 1415-1580* (Oxford 1977).

Dillen, J.G. van, 'Vreemdelingen te Amsterdam in de eerste helft der zeventiende eeuw. I. De Portugeesche Joden' in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 50 (1935).

Dillen, J.G. van, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersreister van de Kamer Amsterdam der Oost-Indische Compagnie* (The Hague 1958).

Dillen, J.G. van, *Van rijkdom en regenten. Handboek tot de economische en sociale geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de Republiek* (The Hague 1970).

Disney, A.R., *Twilight of the pepper empire. Portuguese trade in Southwest India in the early seventeenth century* (Cambridge Mass. /London 1978).

Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio, 'El Almirantazgo de los países septentrionales y la política económica de Felipe IV' in *Hispania* 7 (1947) 272-290.

Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio, *Los judeoconversos en España y América* (Madrid 19xx).

Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVII* (Madrid 1963).

Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio, 'Guerra económica y comercio extranjero en el reinado de Felipe IV' in *Hispania* 23 (1963) 71-110.

Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio, *Política y hacienda de Felipe IV* (Madrid 1983).

Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio, *Historia de Sevilla. La Sevilla del siglo XVII* (Sevilla 1984).

Duncan, T. Bentley, 'Navigation between Portugal and Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in E.J. van Kley en C.K. Pullapilly (eds.) *Asia and the West. Encounters and exchanges from the age of explorations* (Notre Dame, Indiana 1986).

Ebben, Maurits A., *Zilver, brood en kogels voor de koning. Kredietverlening door Portugese bankiers aan de Spaanse kroon 1621-1665* (Leiden 1996)

Elison, George, *Deus destroyed. The image of christianity in early modern Japan* (Cambridge Mass. 1973).

Elliott, J.H., *The revolt of the Catalans. A study in the decline of Spain (1598-1640)* (Cambridge 1963).

Elliott, J.H., José F. de la Peña, *Memoriales y cartas del Conde Duque de Olivares. Política interior 1621-1645* (Madrid 1978-1981) Volume I.

Elliott, J.H., *Imperial Spain 1469-1716* (Harmondsworth 1990).

Elliott, J.H., 'The Spanish Monarchy and the Kingdom of Portugal, 1580-1640' in Mark Greengrass (ed.), *Conquest and coalescence. The shaping of the state in early modern Europe* (London 1991) 48-67.

Elliott, J.H., R. Villari, A.M. Hespanha, B. Anatra y otros, *1640: La monarquía hispánica en crisis* (Barcelona 1992).

Engerman, Stanley L., João César das Neves, 'The bricks of an empire 1415-1999: 585 years of Portuguese emigration' in *The journal of European economic history* 26 (1997) 471-510.

Enthoven, Victor, *Zeeland en de opkomst van de Republiek. Handel en strijd in de Scheldedelta c. 1550-1621* (Leiden 1996).

Enthoven, V., 'The closure of the Scheldt: closure, what closure?' in P. Holm, J. Edwards (eds.) *North Sea ports and harbours - adaptation to change. Second North Sea History Conference in Esbjerg 1991* (Esbjerg 1992) 11-37.

Flores, Maria da Conceição, João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *Portugal and the China Sea in the 16th Century* (Lisbon 1996).

Flynn, Dennis O., 'Comparing the Tokogawa Shogunate with Hapsburg Spain: two silver-based empires in a global setting' in James D.Tracy, *State power and world trade 1350-1750* (Cambridge 1991) 332-359.

Frank, Andre Gunder, *ReOrient: global economy in the Asian age* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, Cal. 1998).

Gaastra, F.S., *De geschiedenis van de VOC* (Zutphen 1991).

Gaastra, F.S., 'Success and failure of a commercial enterprise: The Dutch East India Company (1602-1800)', presented at the international seminar *História comparada da expansão Portuguesa e Holandesa* (Arrábida, Portugal, 28-30.6.2000), still to be published.

García Sanz, Angel, 'The plague in Castile at the end of the sixteenth century and its consequences' in I.A.A. Thompson, Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, *The Castilian crisis of the seventeenth century. New perspectives on the economic and social history of seventeenth-century Spain* (Cambridge 1994).

Gentil da Silva, J., *Stratégie des affaires à Lisbonne entre 1595 et 1607. Lettres marchandes des Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga* (Paris 1956).

Girard, Albert, *La rivalité commerciale et maritime entre Séville et Cadix jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris/Bordeaux 1932).

Glamann, Kristof, *Dutch-Asiatic trade 1620-1740* (The Hague 1981).

Goor, J. van, *De Nederlandse koloniën. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse expansie 1600-1975* (Bilthoven 1997).

Goris, Jan Albert, *Etude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales à Anvers de 1488-1567* (Louvain 1925).

Gould, J.D., 'The royal mint in the early seventeenth century' in *The economic history review 2nd series*, 5 (1952-53).

Grant Smith, David, 'Old christian merchants and the foundation of the Brazil Company, 1649' in *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 54 (1974) 233-259.

Greenfeld, Liah, *Nationalism, five roads to modernity* (Cambridge Mass., Londen 1992).

Groeneveldt, W.P., *De Nederlanders in China. Eerste deel. De eerste bemoeiingen om den handel in China en de vestiging in de Pescadores (1601-1629)* (The Hague 1898).

Groot, A.H. de, 'The organisation of Western European trade in the Levant, 1500-1800' in Leonard Blussé, Femme Gaastra (eds.),

Companies and trade. Essays on overseas trading companies during the Ancient Régime (Leiden 1981) 231-241.

Grosshaupt, Walter, 'Commercial relations between Portugal and the merchants of Augsburg and Nurmberg' in *La découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe. Actes du colloque Mai 1988* (Paris 1990).

Haan, Hans den, *Moedernegotie en grote vaart. Een studie over de expansie van het Hollandse handelskapitaal in de 16e en 17e eeuw* (Amsterdam 1977).

Hamilton, Earl J., *American treasure and the price revolution in Spain, 1501-1650* (New York 1965).

Harland, John, *An account of the shiphandling of the sailing man-of-war 1600-1800, based on contemporary sources* (London 1984).

Heesterman, J.C., 'Warriors and merchants' in *Itinerario* 15 (1991) 37-49.

Hespanha, António Manuel, *História das Instituições. Epocas medieval e moderna* (Coimbra 1982).

Hespanha, António M., F.J. Bouza Alvarez (transl.) *Vísperas del Leviatán. Instituciones y poder político (Portugal, siglo XVII)* (Madrid 1989).

Hespanha, António M., "La 'Restauração' Portuguesa en los Capítulos de las cortes de Lisboa de 1641" in J.H. Elliott, R. Villari, A.M. Hespanha, B. Anatra y otros, *1640: La monarquía hispánica en crisis* (Barcelona 1992) 123-168.

Hoogenberk, H., *De rechtsvoorschriften voor de vaart op Oost-Indië 1595-1620* (Utrecht 1940).

Irwin, Douglas A., 'Mercantilism as strategic trade policy: the Anglo-Dutch rivalry for the East India trade' in *Journal of Political Economy* 99 (1991) 1296-1314.

Israel, Jonathan I., *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic world 1606-1661* (Oxford 1982).

Israel, Jonathan I., *European Jewry in the age of mercantilism 1550-1750* (Oxford 1985).

Israel, Jonathan I., *Dutch primacy in world trade 1585-1740* (Oxford 1989).

Israel, Jonathan I., 'The phasis of the Dutch Straatvaert, 1590-1713. A chapter in the economic history of the Mediterranean' in Pieter Emmer, Femme Gaastra (eds.) *The organisation of interoceanic trade in European expansion 1450-1800* (Variorum, Aldershot 1996) 157-186.

Israel, Jonathan I., *The Dutch Republic. Its rise, greatness and*

fall 1477-1806 (Oxford 1998).

Jones, E.L., *The European miracle. Environments, economies, and geopolitics in the history of Europe and Asia* (Cambridge 1996).

Kamen, Henry, *Spain 1469-1714. A society of conflict* (London/New York 1996).

Kamen, Henry, *The Spanish Inquisition. An historical revision* (London 1998).

Kamen, Henry, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven/London 1998).

Kato, Eiichi, 'Unification and adaptation, the early Shogunate and Dutch trade policies' in Leonard Blussé, Femme Gaastra (eds.) *Companies and Trade* (Leiden 1981) 207-229.

Kearney, Hugh, *The British Isles. A history of four nations* (Cambridge 1989).

Kellenbenz, Hermann, *Unternehmerkräfte im Hamburger Portugal- und Spanienhandel 1590-1625* (Hamburg 1954).

Kellenbenz, H., 'Autour de 1600: Le commerce du poivre des Fugger et le marché international du poivre' in *Annales, Economies - Sociétés - Civilisations* 11 (1956) 1-28.

Kepler, J.S., *The exchange of Christendom. The international entrepôt at Dover 1622-1641* (Leicester 1976).

Kernkamp, J.H., *De handel met den vijand 1572-1609, Volume I 1572-1588* (Utrecht 1931).

Klein, Herbert S., John J. TePaske, *The royal treasuries of the Spanish empire in America* (Durham N.C. 1982) 3 volumes.

Knaap, G.J., *Kruidnagelen en christenen. De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696* (Dordrecht/Providence 1987).

Korte, J.P. de, *De jaarlijkse financiële verantwoording in de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (Leiden 1984).

Laarhoven, R., E. Pino Wittermans, 'From blockade to trade: early Dutch relations with Manila, 1600-1750' in *Philippine Studies* 33 (1985) 485-504.

Laarhoven, R., *Triumph of Moro diplomacy. The Maguindanao sultanate in the 17th century* (Quezon 1989).

Lane, Frederic C., 'Tonnages, medieval and modern' in *Venice and history. The collected papers of Frederic C. Lane* (Baltimore 1966).

Lapeyre, Henri, *Simon Ruiz et les "asientos" de Philippe II* (Paris 1953).

Leur, J.C. van, *Indonesian trade and society. Essays in Asian social and economic history* (Dordrecht 1983).

Lobato, Manuel, 'A Carreira da Índia e a variante de Malaca (1507-1641)' in Artur Teodoro de Matos, Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz (eds.) *A Carreira da Índia e as rotas dos estreitos* (Actas do VIII Seminário Internacional de história Indo-Portuguesa) (Angra do Heroísmo 1998) 343-376.

Lombard, Denys, 'The Indian world as seen from Aceh in the seventeenth century' in Om Prakash, Denys Lombard (eds.) *Commerce and culture in the Bay of Bengal 1500-1800* (New Delhi 1999).

Lopes António, Eduardo Frutuoso, Paulo Guinote, 'O movimento da Carreira da Índia nos secs.XVI-XVIII. Revisão e propostas' in *Mare Liberum* 4 (1992) 187-265.

Lopes de Melo, David, *Expansão da língua Portuguesa no oriente nos séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII* (Oporto 196x).

Lucio d'Azevedo, J., *História dos christãos novos Portugueses* (Lisbon 1921).

Lynch, John, *The Hispanic world in crisis and change 1598-1700* (Oxford 1994).

Mac Leod, N., *De Oost-Indische Compagnie als zeemogendheid in Azië*. (Rijswijk Z.H. 1927) 2 volumes.

Magalhães Godinho, Vitório, 'Dúvidas e problemas acerca de algumas teses da história da expansão' in *Ensaio. Sobre história de Portugal* (Lisbon 1968) Volume II.

Magalhães Godinho, Vitório, *Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial* (Lisbon 1991) 4 volumes.

Magalhães Godinho, Vitório, 'Finanças públicas e estrutura do Estado' in Joel Serrão (ed.) *Dicionário de História de Portugal* (Porto 1981) Volume III 20-40.

Magalhães Godinho, Vitório, 'Sociedade Portuguesa' in J. Serrão (ed.) *Dicionário de História de Portugal* (Porto 1981) Volume VI 20-50.

Magalhães Godinho, Vitório, *Les finances de l'état Portugais des Indes Orientales (1517-1635) (Matériaux pour une étude structurale et conjoncturelle)* (Paris 1982).

Mathew, K.S. 'Indo-Portuguese trade under Dom Philip I of Portugal and the Fuggers of Germany' in Artur Teodoro de Matos, Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz (eds.) *A Carreira da Índia e as rotas dos estreitos* (Actas do VIII Seminário Internacional de história Indo-Portuguesa) (Angra do Heroísmo 1998) 563-580.

Matos, Artur Teodoro de, *O estado da Índia nos anos de 1581-*

1588. *Estrutura administrativa e económica. Alguns elementos para o seu estudo* (Ponte Delgada 1982).

Matos, Artur Teodoro de, 'The financial situation of the state of India during the Philippine period (1581-1635)' in Teotonio R. de Souza, *Indo-Portuguese history. Old issues, new questions* (New Delhi 1985).

Matos, Artur Teodoro de, 'A situação financeira do Estado da Índia no período Filipino (1581-1635)' in Artur Teodoro de Matos, *Na Rota da Índia. Estudos de história da expansão Portuguesa* (Macao 1994).

Matos, Artur Teodoro de, Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz (eds.) *A Carreira da Índia e as rotas dos estreitos (Actas do VIII Seminário Internacional de história Indo-Portuguesa)* (Angra do Heroísmo 1998).

Mauro, Frédéric, *Le Portugal, le Brésil et l'Atlantique au XVIIe siècle (1570-1670)* (Paris 1983).

Mauro, Frédéric, 'La bourgeoisie portugaise au XVIIe siècle' in *XVIIe siècle* 40 (1958) 235-257.

McPherson, Kenneth, 'Trade and traders in the Bay of Bengal: fifteenth to nineteenth centuries' in Rudrangshu Mukherjee, Lakshmi Subramaniam (eds.), *Politics and trade in the Indian Ocean world. Essays in honour of Ashin Das Gupta* (Delhi 1998) 191-192.

Meilink-Roelofs, M.A.P., *Asian trade and European influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague 1962).

Mendes da Luz, Francisco (ed.), 'Livro das cidades e fortalezas que a Coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da Índia' in *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra* 21 (1954) 116-144.

Morineau, Michel, *Incroyables gazettes et fabuleux métaux. Les retours des trésors américains d'après les gazettes hollandaises (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Cambridge 1985).

Moreland, W.H., *From Akbar to Aurangzeb. A study in Indian economic history* (London 1923).

Mout, M.E.H.N., "'Holendische Propositiones'. Een Habsburgs plan tot vernietiging van handel, visserij en scheepvaart der Republiek (ca 1625)" in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 95 (1982) 345-362.

Mukherjee, R., L. Subramaniam (eds.), *Politics and trade in the Indian Ocean world. Essays in honour of Ashin Das Gupta* (Delhi 1998).

Nadal, Jordi, *La población española (Siglos XVI a XX)* (Barcelona 1984).

Nanninga Uitterdijk, J., *Een Kamper handelshuis te Lissabon 1572-1594. Handelscorrespondentie, rekeningen en bescheiden* (Zwolle 1904).

Netscher, E., *De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak, 1602 tot 1865* (Batavia 1870).

Nierop, H.K.F. van, *Van ridders tot regenten. De Hollandse adel in de zestiende en de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 1990).

Nunes Dias, Manuel, *O capitalismo monárquico Português (1415-1549) Contribuição para o estudo das origens do capitalismo moderno* (Coimbra 1963) 2 volumes.

Oliveira Marques, A.H. de, *History of Portugal* (New York 1972)

Oliveira Marques, A.H. de, *Historia de Portugal* (Mexico 1983).

Oppenheim, M., *A history of the administration of the Royal Navy and merchant shipping in relation to the Navy* Volume I (London/New York 1896).

Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, *Os Espaços de um Império*. Catálogo Vol. I (Porto 1999).

Parker, Geoffrey, *Europe in Crisis 1598-1648* (Glasgow 1979).

Parker, Geoffrey, *Spain in the Netherlands 1559-1659* (Glasgow 1990).

Parker, Geoffrey, 'David or Goliath? Philip II and his world in the 1580s' in Richard L. Kagan, Geoffrey Parker, *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic world. Essays in honour of John H. Elliott* (Cambridge 1995) 245-266.

Parker, Geoffrey, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven/London 1998).

Pearson, M.N., 'Indigenous dominance in a colonial economy. The Goa *rendas*, 1600-1670' in *Mare Luso-Indicus* 2 (1973 Geneva/Paris) 61-73.

Pearson, M.N., 'The Portuguese in India' in *The New Cambridge History of India*, Vol.I.1 (Cambridge 1987).

Piffer Canabrava, Alice, *O comércio Português no Rio da Prata (1580-1640)* (São Paulo 1984).

Pohl, Hans, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen (1567-1648) Zur Geschichte einer Minderkeit* (Wiesbaden 1977).

Prakash, Om, *European commercial enterprise in pre-colonial India*. (The New Cambridge History of India Vol. II.5, Cambridge

1998).

Prakash, Om, 'Was the Portuguese Asian enterprise redistributive?' in Artur Teodoro de Matos, Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz (eds.) *A Carreira da Índia e as rotas dos estreitos* (Actas do VIII Seminário Internacional de história Indo-Portuguesa) (Angra do Heroísmo 1998) 551-562.

Prestage, Edgar, *The diplomatic relations of Portugal with France, England and Holland from 1640 to 1668* (Watford 1925).

Rau, Virgínia, *Estudos sobre a história do sal Português* (Lisbon 1984).

Rees, Mr. O. van, *Geschiedenis der Staatshuishoudkunde in Nederland tot het einde der achttiende eeuw*, Vol.2 'Geschiedenis der koloniale politiek van de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden' (Utrecht 1868).

Reid, Anthony, *Southeast Asia in the age of commerce 1450-1680. Volume one. The lands below the winds* (New Haven 1988).

Reid, Anthony, "'An 'Age of commerce' in Southeast Asian history" in *Modern Asian Studies* 24 (1990) 1-30.

Rietbergen, P.J.A.N., *De eerste landvoogd Pieter Both (1568-1615), Gouverneur-generaal van Nederlands-Indië (1609-1614)* (Linschoten-Vereeniging, Zutphen 1987) Vol.2.

Rodenas Vilar, Rafael, 'Un gran proyecto anti-Holandes en tiempo de Felipe IV. La destruccion del comercio rebelde en Europa' in *Hispania* 22 (1962) 542-558.

Roelofsz, M. Antoinette P., *De vestiging der Nederlanders ter kuste Malabar* (The Hague 1943).

Rooney, Peter Thomas, 'Habsburg fiscal policies in Portugal 1580-1640' in *The journal of European economic history* 23 (1994) 545-562.

Rossa, Walter, *Cidades Indo-Portuguesas* (Lisbon 1997).

Russell-Wood, A.J.R., *The Portuguese Empire, 1415-1808. A world on the move* (Baltimore/London 1998).

Sanz Ayán, Carmen, *Los banqueros de Carlos II* (Valladolid 1988).

Scammel, G.V., 'The pillars of empire: indigenous assistance and the survival of the "Estado da Índia" 1600-1700' in *Modern Asian Studies* 22 (1988) 473-489.

Schwartz, Stuart B., 'The voyage of the vasals: royal power, noble obligations and merchant capital before the Portuguese Restoration of Independence, 1624-1640' in *The American Historical Review* 96 (1991) 754.

Seiichi, Iwao, 'Japanese foreign trade in the 16th and 17th centuries' in *Acta Asiatica* 30 (1976) 1-18.

Slicher van Bath, B.H., *Indianen en Spanjaarden. Latijns Amerika 1500-1800* (Amsterdam 1989).

Slicher van Bath, B.H., 'Het Latijns-Amerikaanse goud en zilver in de koloniale tijd' in *Economisch- en sociaal-historisch jaarboek* 47 (1984) 177-194.

Sloos, D.A., *De Nederlanders in de Filippijnse wateren vóór 1626* (Amsterdam 1898).

Souza, George Bryan, *The survival of empire. Portuguese trade and society in China and the South China Sea 1630-1754* (Cambridge 1986).

Souza, Teotonio R. de, *Medieval Goa, a socio-economic history* (New Delhi 1979).

Spooner, Frank C., *The international economy and monetary movements in France 1493-1725* (Cambridge Mass. 1972).

Steensgaard, Niels, *Carracks, caravans and companies: the structural crisis in the European-Asian trade in the early 17th century* (Kopenhagen 1973).

Steensgaard, Niels, *The Asian trade revolution of the seventeenth century. The East India Company and the decline of the Caravan Route* (Chicago 1974).

Steensgaard, Niels, 'Asian trade and world economy from the 15th to 18th centuries' in T.R. de Souza (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese history. Old issues, new questions* (New Delhi 1985) 226-227.

Steensgaard, Niels, 'The route through Quandahar: the significance of the overland trade from India to the West in the seventeenth century' in Sushil Chandhury, Michel Morineau (eds.), *Merchants, companies and trade. Europe and Asia in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge 1999) 66.

Stols, Eddy, *De Spaanse Brabanders of de Handelsbetrekkingen der Zuidelijke Nederlanden met de Iberische wereld 1598-1648* (Brussels 1971).

Stradling, R.A., *Philip IV and the government of Spain 1621-1665* (Cambridge 1988).

Stradling, R.A., *The Armada of Flanders. Spanish maritime policy and European war, 1568-1688* (Cambridge 1992).

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, *The Portuguese empire in Asia 1500-1700. A political and economic history* (London/New York 1993).

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, Luís Filipe F.R. Thomaz, 'Evolution of empire: The Portuguese in the Indian Ocean during the sixteenth

century' in James D. Tracy (ed.) *The political economy of merchant empire. State power and world trade 1350-1750* (Cambridge 1991) 298-331.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, *The career and legend of Vasco da Gama* (Cambridge 1997).

Swetschinski, Daniel M., *The Portuguese Jewish merchants of seventeenth century Amsterdam: a social profile* (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1979).

TePaske, John J., Herbert S. Klein, 'The seventeenth-century crisis in New Spain: myth or reality?' in *Past & Present* 90 (1981) 116-135.

TePaske, John J., 'New World silver, Castile and the Philippines 1590-1800' in J.F. Richard (ed.) *Precious metals in the later medieval and early modern worlds* (Durham N.C. 1983).

Thapar, Romila, *A history of India* (Harmondsworth 1969) 2 vols.

Thomaz, L.F.F.R., 'Les Portugais dans les mers de l'Archipel au XVIIe siècle' in *Archipel* 18 (1979) 105-125.

Thomaz, Luís Filipe F.R., *De Ceuta a Timor* (Lisbon 1994).

Thomaz, Luís Filipe F.R., 'Portuguese control over the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal: a comparative study' in Om Prakash, Denys Lombard (eds.), *Commerce and culture in the Bay of Bengal, 1500-1800* (New Delhi 1999) 115-162.

Thompson, I.A.A., *War and government in Habsburg Spain 1560-1620* (London 1976).

Tiele, P.A., *De Europeërs in den Maleischen archipel* (The Hague 1877-1887) 9 volumes.

Toby, R.P., *State and diplomacy in early modern Japan. Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Stanford 1991).

Tracy, James D. (ed.), *The rise of merchant empires. Long-distance trade in the early modern world, 1350-1750* (Cambridge 1991 a).

Tracy, James D. (ed.), *The political economy of merchant empires. State power and world trade 1350-1750* (Cambridge 1991 b).

Ulloa, Modesto, *La hacienda real de Castilla en el reinado de Felipe II* (Madrid 1986).

Unger, W.S., *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van Middelburg in den landsheerlijken tijd* (The Hague 1923) Volume III.

Unger, W.S., 'Het inschrijvingsregister van de Kamer van Zeeland der Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie' and 'De Resolutiën der

Compagnie op Oost-Indië te Middelburg, 1601-1602' in *Economisch Historisch Jaarboek, Bijdragen tot de economische geschiedenis van Nederland, uiteengegeven door de Vereeniging Het Nederlandsch Economisch Historisch Archief* 23 (The Hague 1947) 1-11 and *Idem* 24 (The Hague 1950) 1-33.

Valladeres, Rafael, *La rebelión de Portugal 1640-1680. Guerra, conflicto y poderes en la monarquía hispánica* (Valladolid 1998).

Vaz Dias, A.M., 'De deelname der Marranen in het oprichtingskapitaal der Oost-Indische Compagnie' in *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 33 (1936).

Veen, Ernst van, 'How the Dutch ran a seventeenth-century colony. The occupation and loss of Formosa 1624-1662' in *Itinerario* 20 (1996) 59-77.

Veblen, Thorstein, *The theory of the leisure class* (New York 1979).

Verberckmoes, J., E. Stols, *Aziatische omzwervingen. Het levensverhaal van Jacques de Coutre, een Brugs diamanthandelaar 1591-1627* (Berchem 1988).

Vink, Marcus P.M., 'The *Entente Cordiale*. The Dutch East India Company and the Portuguese shipping through the Straits of Malacca 1641-1663' in *Revista de Cultura* 13/14 (1991 Macao) 289-309.

Vlessing, Odette, 'The Portuguese jewish merchant community in seventeenth century Amsterdam' in C. Lesger, L. Noordegraaf (eds.) *Entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship in early modern times. Merchants and industrialists within the orbit of the Dutch staple market* (The Hague 1995).

Vliet, A.P. van, *Visseren en kapers. De zeevisserij vanuit het Maasmondgebied en de Duinkerker kapers (ca. 1580-1648)* (Leiden 1994).

Von Glahn, Richard, 'Myth and reality of China's seventeenth century monetary crisis' in *Journal of Economic History* 56 (1996) 429-454.

Vries, Jan de, Ad van der Woude, *Nederland 1500-1815. De eerste ronde van moderne economische groei* (Amsterdam 1995).

Wake, C.H.H., 'The changing pattern of Europe's pepper and spice imports ca 1400-1700' in *Journal of European Economic History* 8 (1979) 361-403.

Wang Gungwu, 'Merchants without empire: the Hokkien sojourning communities' in James D. Tracy (ed.) *The rise of merchants empires. Long-distance trade in the early modern world, 1350-1750* (Cambridge 1991).

Wee, Herman van der, *The growth of the Antwerp market and the*

European economy (fourteenth-sixteenth centuries) (Louvain 1963).

Winius, George D., *The fatal history of Portuguese Ceylon. Transition to Dutch rule* (Cambridge Mass. 1971).

Winius, George D., 'Two Lusitanian variations on a Dutch theme: Portuguese companies in times of crisis, 1628-1662' in Leonard Blussé, Femme Gaastra (eds.) *Companies and Trade* (Leiden 1981) 119-134.

Winius, George D., 'The "shadow empire" of Goa in the Bay of Bengal' in *Itinerario* 7 (1983-2) 83-101.

Winius, George D., *The black legend of Portuguese India. Diogo do Couto, his contemporaries and the Soldado Prático. A contribution to the study of political corruption in the empires of early modern Europe* (New Delhi 1985).

Winius, George D., Marcus P.M. Vink, *The merchant-warrior pacified. The VOC (The Dutch East India Company) and its changing political economy in India* (Delhi 1991).

Winius, George D., 'A tale of two Coromandel towns. Madraspatam (Fort St. George) and São Thomé de Meliapur' in *Itinerario* 18 (1994-1) 51-64.

Witte, Ch.M. de, 'Les bulles pontificales et l'expansion portugaise au XVe siècle' in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 48 (1953)

IJzerman, J.W., 'Amsterdamsche bevrachtingscontracten, 1591-1602' in *Economisch Historisch Jaarboek* 17 (1931) 163-291.

Yamamura, Kozo, Tetsuo Kamiki, 'Silver mines and Sung coins-A monetary history of medieval and modern Japan in international perspective' in J.F. Richards (ed.) *Precious metals in the later medieval and early modern worlds* (Durham N.C. 1983) 329-62.