Joseph C. Miller Memorial Lecture Series

17

eds. Janico Albrecht, Jeannine Bischoff, Sarah Dusend

Timothy J. Coates, Geraldo Pieroni

Castro Marim: Where Sin Became Salt in Portugal's Algarve, 1450–1836

EBVERLAG

Castro Marim: Where Sin Became Salt in Portugal's Algarve, 1450–1836

Joseph C. Miller Memorial Lecture Series

eds. Janico Albrecht, Jeannine Bischoff, Sarah Dusend

Volume 17

Timothy J. Coates, Geraldo Pieroni

Castro Marim: Where Sin Became Salt in Portugal's Algarve, 1450–1836

ebv BERLIN

EBVERLAG

Bibliographic information published by
the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de

Gefördert durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) im Rahmen der Exzellenzstrategie des Bundes und der Länder – Exzellenzcluster Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Projektnummer: 390683433

Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – Cluster of Excellence Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Project No.: 390683433

This book is available for free download in the Open Access section of the publishers' website. (https://doi.org/10.53179/9783868934571).

A print version is available for a fee from the publisher.
The page numbers in the print and in the online version are identical.

Coverdesign: © Rainer Kuhl, Berlin

ISBN 978-3-86893-447-2 (Print)
ISBN 978-3-86893-457-1 (Open Access)
DOI 10.53179/9783868934571

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

The trial of Maria Simoa, the twenty-five-year-old wife of the farmer Gregório Álves from the central city of Tomar (see Map 1), had not gone well. She had just been found guilty of claiming to see visions. In her interrogation, she told the Inquisitors that although she could not speak directly with the Virgin Mary, she did speak with a court of angels and souls in purgatory. In an *Auto-da-Fé* (Inquisitorial trial and punishment) on October 7, 1722, she was sentenced to eight years of compulsory residence in Castro Marim, a small town in the extreme southeast corner of Portugal's southern province of the Algarve.[1] The town sits next to the Guadiana River near its mouth and the Atlantic Ocean and the border with Spain. She faced her first major dilemma after being freed from the *aljube*, the jail of the Lisbon Inquisition. After making her way down to the docks in Lisbon, she had to decide if she wanted to find a boatman to ferry her across the wide mouth of the Tejo River or if she wanted to walk north to the nearest bridge and continue from there. Whatever her decision, the 200-mile trek southeast on foot to Castro Marim was the first phase of her punishment, and she had a thirty-day grace period to complete it.[2] She would have to make her way across the flat plains of southern Portugal crossing the rich farmland of the lower Alentejo. The road led to Beja, then Mértola, over the low rolling hills that separate the Alentejo from the Algarve, to arrive in Castro Marim (see Map 1). Along the way, she may have received some food or clothes from local chapters of the *Santa Casa da Misericórida* (The Holy House of Mercy), the municipally based charity that was omnipresent throughout the Portuguese World. On the other hand, sinners and convicts such as Maria were common sights walking through these towns on their way south; it is possible few would have offered any help. While on the road, Maria

1 Geraldo Pieroni and Timothy Coates. *Castro Marim: Da vila do couto à vila de sal (1550–1850)* (hereafter Pieroni and Coates, *Castro Marim*) (Lisboa: Sà da Costa Editora, 2002): 36. Case is from the Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo (hereafter IAN/TT) Inquisição de Lisboa, processo 676.

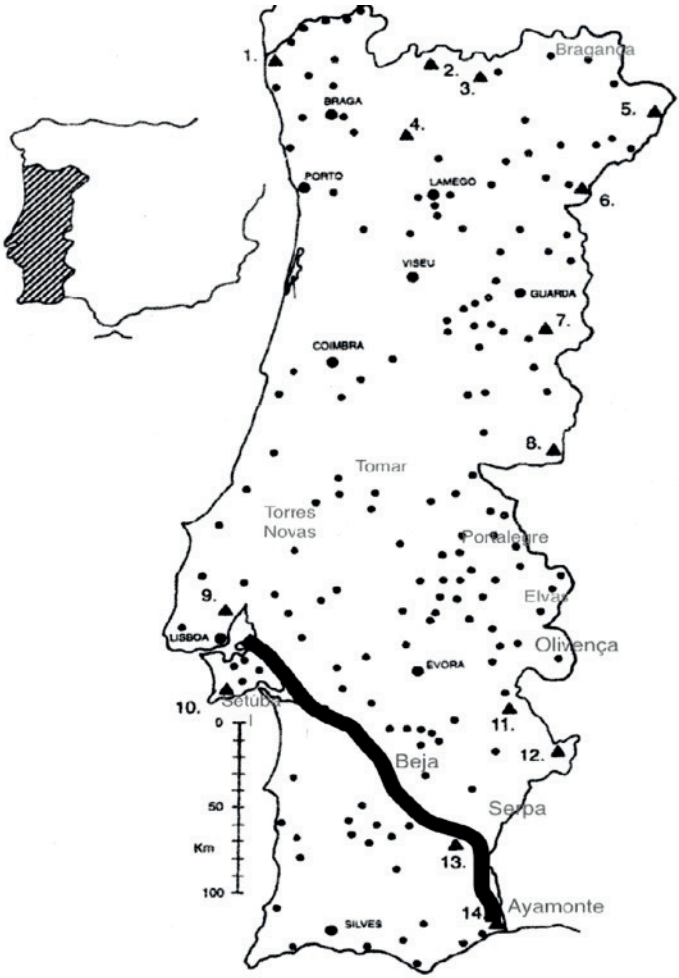
2 This could be extended to sixty or even ninety days if required by the convicted, but thirty days was the norm. The Inquisition in particular, was very flexible in allowing sinners time to return to their homes and prepare to depart for Castro Marim.

would have kept a sharp eye out for wolves and highway robbers, both common on the roads in early modern Portugal; she would have welcomed the safety of a town or village as night fell.[3]

There is no indication that sinners, such as Maria, were supervised or shackled; there is also no suggestion that they traveled in groups. This is in sharp contrast to those convicted of more serious crimes or sins, who were conducted on periodic levies of chain gangs from the countryside to jail in Lisbon and ultimately to departing ships.[4]

[3] For conditions in rural Portugal and the dangers of road travel in this period, see António Henrique de Oliveira Marques, *Daily Life in Portugal in the Late Middle Ages*, trans. Vitor André S. S. Wyatt (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1971).

[4] The collection process is discussed in detail in Coates, *Convicts and Orphans. Forced and State-Sponsored Colonization in the Portuguese Empire, 1550–1755* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001): 29–35. For the complete text of the convict collection and transport process, see Janaína Amado, ed. "Regimento dos degredados," *Textos da História* 6 nos. 1–2 (1998): 265–80. This *regimento* is much more complete than what was ultimately included in the *Ordenações Filipinas*,



Map 1: The route to Castro Marim, showing places mentioned in the text, location of larger cities (dots), and 14 sites of internal exile (triangles with numbers). Modified from A.H. de Oliveira Marques, *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 4 (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1987): 185. Published with their permission in Timothy Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*: 51.

Sites of internal exile and dates internal exile began and ended (see above in Map 1): 1. Caminha (1406); 2. Monforte do Rio Libre (1420); 3. Chaves (1454); 4. Celorico de Basto (1441); 5. Miranda do Douro (1406); 6. Freixo da Espada à Cinta (1406); 7. Sabugal; 8. Segura (1421); 9. Alhandra (to 1586); 10. Sesimbra (1492); 11. Marvão (1483); 12. Noudar (1308); 13. Métrola (to 1535); 14. Castro Marim (1421–1832). Most of these sites were discontinued by the 1550s, all but Castro Marim ended by 1691.

2. Crimes, Sins, and Their Punishments in Early Modern Portugal

The case of Maria, cited above, exemplifies how the Church and state exerted social control in early modern Portugal and coordinated their punishments for minor infractions. As discussed below, the state extracted labor from those who broke the norms of this society. Sentences of obligatory residence in Castro Marim were some of the mildest punishments in the legal and Inquisitorial systems of early modern Portugal.

The Portuguese legal codes divided crimes into three basic categories: unpardonable, serious, or minor.[5] Courts of the Inquisition punished sins according to its own guidelines and handbook. While these categories will undoubtedly appear vague to the modern reader, this was how the legal codes ultimately classified crimes. It allowed the courts (both those of the state and the Church) a great deal of flexibility in sentencing and was well suited to a global empire with unending demands on its manpower. That flexibility also allowed manpower to be directed to crisis areas as needed.

Unpardonable crimes were the most straightforward: treason, counterfeiting, heresy, and sodomy.[6] This is an odd list, but these actions threatened the state at its political, financial, religious, and social roots (respectively). Minor crimes were those involving petty theft, verbal insults of officials, or (such as the case of Maria, above) relatively minor infractions of religious belief. Serious crimes were everything in between, such as murder, kidnapping, highway robbery, assault (e.g., stabbing someone with a knife), and theft of an object of greater value.

5 Portuguese legal codes during the early modern period were a series of collections complied by various monarchs. The *Ordenações Manuelinas* were codified at the beginning of the sixteenth century and remained in effect until the *Ordenações Filipinas* were collected and issued approximately one hundred years later in 1602. This was amended by a series of *leis extravagantes* or uncodified laws. The *Ordenações Filipinas* were the current law until the nineteenth century. For a modern edition, see Mario Julio Brito de Almeida Costa, *Ordenações Filipinas*, 5 vols. in 3 (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985).

6 Counterfeiting included falsification of papers.

Those guilty of minor and even serious crimes were frequently pardoned on special occasions, such as royal birthdays or weddings.[7]

Exile to a specific location (*degredo* in the legal terminology, having one's free status *degraded*) was the usual sentence for all three levels of crime but their relative gravity (as viewed in the legal codes or by the Inquisition) determined the locations and the lengths of the sentences.[8] The more serious the infraction, the more distant (from the court) was the place of exile and for a longer sentence. Thus, for unpardonable crimes, the courts in Lisbon would typically issue sentences of ten years (considered a life sentence) to the galleys, or five to ten years to Angola or to the Island of São Tomé. For serious infractions, a typical sentence from the Lisbon authorities might be three to five years in Brazil or Portuguese India (whichever was in greater need of manpower at the moment). For those with convictions for minor offenses, the punishment was internal exile to one of fourteen towns along the border (Map 1). Only Castro Marim remained as a site of internal exile after 1690. This process is outlined in the chart below, and this same rationale of distance from the court and length of sentence was applied by the courts in Brazil and India once they were established throughout the early modern empire.[9] This included internal exile, which was first established by the courts in Goa using the two nearby forts in Mormugão and Aguada. *Couto* status was later extended to several cities in Portuguese Asia to provide an alternative to desertion. In the first century of the Portuguese

7 This is a time-honored practice that continues until the present. On October 5th, the anniversary of the Republic, the President of Portugal issues a list of those pardoned.

8 Portuguese legal codes from the early modern period classify exile or *degredo* (i.e., having one's status degraded by a limitation placed on movement, labor, or speech) based on seven or eight types, all of which were based on Roman law. "*Degredo*: leaving the place where one normally resides because of a legal sentence," José Joaquim Caetano Pereira e Sousa, *Esboço de um Diccionario Juridico, Theoretico, e Pratico* (Lisboa: Rollandiana, 1823): unnumbered pages.

9 Four high courts were established in the empire during the time frame of this article. They followed this same general pattern of sentencing as metropolitan models. The three courts in Brazil (Salvador established in 1609, Rio de Janeiro in 1752, and Maranhão in 1811) used distant towns in the north and south of the colony in lieu of Castro Marim. In Goa, India, the High Court, and Tribunal of the Inquisition (established in 1544 and 1560 respectively) used nearby forts in Goa for internal exile, Diu and Sri Lanka for serious crimes and Mozambique Island and (occasionally) Timor for unpardonable infractions.

presence in Brazil, all the captaincies were made *coutos* in 1577. As the colony developed, Brazilian courts later used the Colony of Sacramento (in modern Uruguay) and Rio Grande do Norte.[10]

The punishment of *degredo* makes better sense when we examine how the common folk identified themselves. In the notarial or Inquisitorial documents, people state their identities through their parents (i.e., daughter of [names of father and mother]), the street where they live, the name of their parish, and, ultimately, their town. *Degredo* removed them from their families, friends, and neighbors only to relocate them to a new locale where all these connections were absent. They had to survive on their own in an indifferent and demanding environment. That was the real sting in what was otherwise a humane punishment.

It is worth noting that while *degredo* was a common, if not the *most* common, punishment, there was a range of other sentences used by the courts. Fines or being tied to the pillory (see Fig. 1), located in a prominent square in every town, were also applied. Such punishments could be used (normally by the town council or local judge) for petty offences such as selling bread outside a market or failure to use legal weights for measuring goods. José Jorge in 1770 from Torres Novas (central Portugal) was convicted of a similar minor crime of irregularities in selling his new olive oil; however, rather than the pillory, he was sentenced to five years in Castro Marim. Public whippings were also enforced by both the Church and state, as was simple banishment from town for a set period. The Inquisition also forced many sinners to wear *Sambenitos* (penitential outer garments) for set periods. Nevertheless, *degredo* was the most frequent punishment handed down by the courts. It provided a flexible sentence that could be tailored to respond to pressing manpower needs at home or overseas. It is worth noting that the use of the pillory, public whippings, *Sambenitos*, and ultimately *degredo* itself, were all related mechanisms designed for social control.

[10] On this issue, see Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*: 50–56.

Fig. 1: The Pillory in Elvas, Portugal (photo by Timothy Coates).

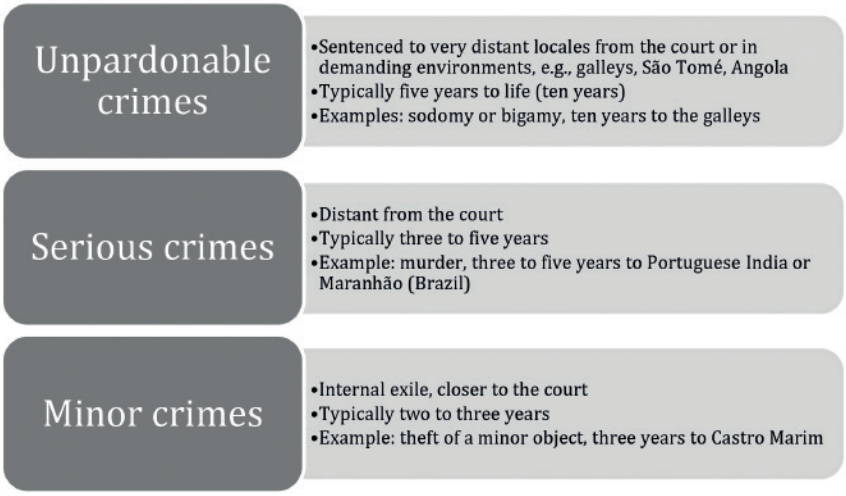


Fig. 2: The Tripartite Division of Crimes and Sentences.

It might be worth pausing a moment to reflect on the rationale for, and reality of, these punishments. Supplying men for the galleys was

a constant problem for all the maritime powers that maintained them; in this case, the state received free labor. Male convicts sent to Brazil, Africa, or India provided military manpower (and possible colonizers); the timing and location of their sentences were coordinated to supply "soldiers" at critical junctures overseas. A good example of this process is the global struggle with the Dutch over the period from 1602 until a final peace was negotiated in 1663. The Dutch were largely successful in Asian waters and the struggle there for Lisbon was prolonged and serious. In response, royal authorities issued at least fifteen edicts alternatively directing convicts to Brazil, Angola, or Asia (as the situation demanded) from 1621 until the 1680s.[11]

Female sinners and convicts, as a rule, were either sent to internal exile or to Brazil (for more serious violations) to address the notable gender imbalance in the European population in Portuguese America. The unwritten expectation was they would marry and have children, thus providing a more stable Portuguese presence in the colony. Women were approximately one-third of the total number of sinners sent to internal exile (see below). Their percentage among those convicted of crimes by the state is unknown due to a lack of complete date. Nevertheless, in all probability, they did not exceed the five percent of female convicts sent to Portuguese Africa (in a modern penal system that replaced internal exile and the entire early modern penal framework discussed here) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[12] The percentage of female sinners before the Inquisition was higher; in the data we have examined, it was around one-third of the total.

Convicts who prematurely left their places of exile presented special problems. In theory, they could face death sentences, but these were empty threats. Instead, runaways normally received extended sentences, usually in their original sites of exile. For example, someone sentenced to three years residence in Castro Marim who fled and was apprehended might receive a new sentence of two (additional) years in the town. However, this was not the case for António da Costa, age 34 from Por-

11 For a more detailed discussion, see Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*: 115–17.

12 See Coates, *Convict Labor in the Portuguese Empire, 1740–1932. Redefining the Empire with Forced Labor and New Imperialism* (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 69.

talegre. In 1621 he was convicted of forming a pact with the Devil and sentenced to two years in Castro Marim. Despite his promises to the contrary, he continued his heresy and eventually fled town. When apprehended later, he was sentenced to time in one of the African presidios, a much harsher environment.[13]

Portugal, when contrasted with more populous powers such as England, Spain, or France, had a much smaller demographic base to draw upon to obtain these "soldiers." The avoidance of the death penalty is logical given the overall objective of extracting labor; applying it would have been counterproductive.[14]

Within this complex legal and labor system, convicts and sinners sent to Castro Marim had important roles to play as well. Sinners such as Maria (mentioned above) destined for Castro Marim received comparatively lenient sentences of internal exile to a location they could reach on foot. Unlike Brazil or India, they had the real possibility of also returning home once they completed their sentences and obtained certificates confirming completion.[15] Exile to Castro Marim and other internal sites clearly functioned as a durable mechanism of social control. It succeeded in punishing those who had committed relatively minor infractions of Church and state laws with two-to-three-year sentences away from their homes. They would provide forced labor in the Algarve, bolstering local garrisons and the frontier population.

3. A Group of Outsiders

When the convicted arrived in Castro Marim, their names, crimes, and the particulars of their cases would be registered in special books retained for this purpose by the local judge or the representative of the Inquisition.[16] They joined a small group of similar outsiders living in the

13 Pieroni and Coates, *Castro Marim*: 99.

14 On the rare use of the death penalty, see Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*: 113–15.

15 Issued to the individual, these certificates are exceedingly rare. One such certificate was discovered in the register of those sent to the galleys.

16 The sentencing court would have given them written record of their cases to submit to this official. Such registration books were mandated in the legal codes but in the case

town, other sinners, and a larger group of minor convicts. At any given moment, this group would have consisted of fifteen to twenty people and been largely male. While this may appear to be an insignificant number, Castro Marim in 1527 had 125 hearths or perhaps a total population of around 560.[17] By 1722, the town's population was perhaps three times that or as high as 1,870 (see Appendix 1).[18] Using these estimates, these outsiders would have formed between four to six percent of the overall population at any given moment. Given their modest numbers and typically short sentences of two to three years, their overall impact on the town was limited to the labor they offered.

People such as Maria had been arriving in the town for several hundred years; legally, socially, and geographically they had reached the fringes of Portuguese society. The documentation on them disappears after they left the sentencing courts; the details of their lives can be based on what we know about this unique place.

4. The Town of Castro Marim

Castro Marim is only four miles from the mouth of the Guadiana River where it joins the Atlantic Ocean. Because of its geographical location, there have been settlements in the region since the Bronze Age. Phoenicians and Romans both had outposts there. The term *castro* itself is an indication the town was a pre-Roman encampment; during Roman times, the town was called Baesuris.[19] A medieval castle, parts of which were constructed by the Arabs, rises on a small hill to the north of the

of Castro Marim, the 1755 earthquake destroyed the documentation in the town. The *Ordenações Filipinas* states that each *couto* was to have a judge (i.e., *Juiz do Couto*), but at least in the case of Castro Marim that duty appears to have been blended with the local justice, the *Juiz da Fora*.

17 Joaquim Antero Romero Magalhães, *Para o estudo do Algarve durante o século XVI* (Lisboa: Cosmos, 1971): 34.

18 Joaquim Antero Romero Magalhães, *O Algarve Económico, 1600–1773* (Lisboa: Estampa, 1993): 110.

19 For Castro Marim in antiquity, see Osvaldo Pires and Pedro Pires, "A estrutura urbana de Castro Marim," *Promontoria* 10, no. 10 (2012–2013): 115–33.

modern town (see figs. 3 and 8). Modern archeological digs have found traces of this distant past inside the castle.

Castro Marim was captured in 1249 at the end of the Portuguese segment of the *Reconquista,* the Christian recapturing of land from the Arabs in Iberia. The conquest of the Algarve largely completed the boundaries of the modern state, and internal exile helped to defend the long frontier.[20] Work on the castle was completed in 1274, and its outer walls were erected in 1279. The reality of Castro Marim being on the frontier was acknowledged when it became the headquarters of the Order of Christ in 1318, one of the three medieval orders of crusading knights active in Portugal. The early modern castle of São Sebastião was added on a hill to its south during the reign of King D. João IV (1640 to 1656). It would provide additional defense of the southern flank of the country from possible Spanish invasions during the generation-long war between the two countries for the restoration of Portuguese Independence (1640–1668). As recently as The War of the Oranges (1801), Portuguese troops fired cannons on the Spanish from these forts. Thus, the town has a long history of being on the front lines of struggle.

Being on the frontier also means being distant from the center of power, the courts, and the king; it means being at "the end of the road." In short, it was a fitting place to send those who violated the norms of society, a place to relocate them from their daily lives, make them useful, and enforce social control. From the perspective of the Church, Castro Marim was purgatory where the guilty could purify themselves by correcting their errors through prolonged reflection and penitence. For the state, the guilty were punished by being removed from their

[20] After the end of the Portuguese *reconquista*, Portugal and Castile concluded two important treaties defining their border. The first of these, the Treaty of Badajoz, was signed in 1267 and established the lower Guadiana as the border between the two. The second in 1297 consolidated (for Portugal) the towns of Serpa and Moura to the north of Castro Marim, but east of the Guadiana River in the Treaty of Alcanizes. Much later, Portugal lost the town of Olivença and the lands around it to the Spanish in the War of the Oranges in 1801 (see Map 1). Otherwise, Portugal assumed its modern boundaries at the end of the *Reconquista.* The Guadiana and other rivers largely define the boundary. On this issue, see the definitive work by Dan Stanislawski, *The Individuality of Portugal* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1959).

family, friends, and parish. In both cases, they would redeem themselves through years of toil in the heat of the Algarve.

As early as 1421, the Portuguese crown recognized the special status and demands of the town by making it a sanctuary or legal haven for a maximum of forty convicts, one of several such frontier locales in Portugal. This haven was open to all except those guilty of treason. This status was renewed in 1484, 1497, and 1526, while excluding those guilty of other unpardonable crimes.[21] In 1496, the crown noted that this special status for the town was needed "to increase its population."[22] At that time, the crown extended three special privileges to the residents of the town: 1) they were exempted from paying the *dízimo* (a tax) on all foodstuffs, (including wine and bread); 2) they were excused from military service on ships;[23] and 3) they were allowed to carry weapons.[24]

Convicts had fled or been sent to Castro Marim during the late Middle Ages as they had gone to other border towns.[25] Over the next 150 years (1540 to 1690), the status of legal haven would gradually be elimi-

---

21 These edicts are listed in IAN/TT, *Documentos do Reino do Algarve*, *índice.* One interesting twist in the recruitment of soldiers was the option that allowed convict-soldiers to request reassignment from the north African outposts to duty in Portugal. The crown allowed this with a ratio of two years' service in Castro Marim (or other internal sites at the time) for each year sentenced to North Africa. See Coates, "Crime and Punishment in the Fifteenth-Century Portuguese World: The Transition from Internal to Imperial Exile," in *The Final Argument: The Imprint of Violence on Society in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Donald Kagay (London: Boydell & Brewer, 1998): 119–39.

22 IAN/TT, *Chancelaria Régia, Livros de D. Manuel I, livro* 30, fl. 101.

23 Note exclusion from service *on ships* (our emphasis) since anyone available for military service was needed on land for the two local forts.

24 IAN/TT, *Chancelaria Régia, Livros de D. Manuel I, livro* 30, fl. 117v and 118. Again, this is an additional indication that Castro Marim was on the frontier.

25 The Portuguese crown maintained a series of legal havens along the northern and eastern border during this period. The exact number of these fluctuated, ranging from ten to fifteen as did the number of the convicted each could shelter, typically between five to ten persons at one time. Forty convicts being allowed to reside in Castro Marim is unusually high. See Henrique da Gama Barros, *História da Administração Pública em Portugal nos Séculos XII à XV*, 2nd ed., 11 vols. (Lisboa: Sá da Costa, 1947–1954): vol. 5, 255–65. On legal havens during the medieval era, see the works of Humberto Baquero Moreno, such as his *Exilados, Marginais, e Contestátarios na Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa: Estudos da História* (Lisboa: Presença, 1990). For the early modern period see Coates *Convicts and Orphans*: 50–56.

nated for all other towns in the country, to be retained by Castro Marim alone after 1691.

As we move into the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Portuguese legal codes and the entire judicial system to implement them were becoming more uniform and efficient. Portugal was precocious in having national legal codes as well as university-trained judges by the late Middle Ages. Never-ending manpower requirements overseas only increased, making sanctuaries counterproductive. As the jurist Thomas John de Mazzinghi aptly noted in a slender volume on this subject, written in 1887, "The more the administration of the laws improved, and the less imperfect was the system of the laws which they had to administer, the fewer the instances of the resort to sanctuaries."[26] After 1691, internal exile became synonymous with Castro Marim; no other locale within Portugal received as many convicts over such a long period. Once the Tribunals of the Holy Office (i.e., the Inquisition) began to sentence sinners in the mid sixteenth century, they too would be sent to Castro Marim with greater frequency. These features are critical in understanding the town's long relationship with *degredo*, sanctuary status, internal exile, and forced labor.

[26] Thomas John Mazzinghi, *Sanctuaries* (Stafford: Halden & Son, 1887): 101.

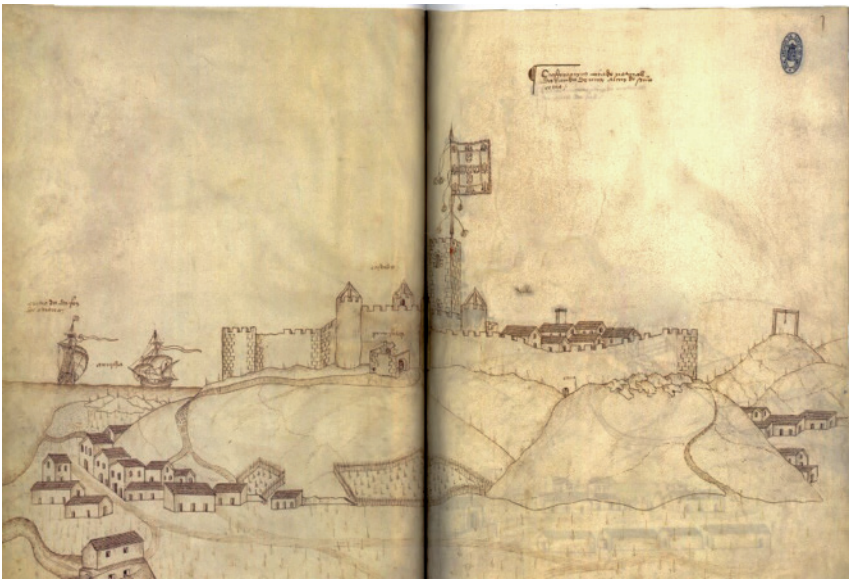


Fig. 3: The Approach to Castro Marim, 1509.[27] Note the piles of salt mid-left under the ships. Despite numerous royal edicts prohibiting such construction, houses have already spread beyond the castle walls by the river (to the left) and in the small valley on the opposite side of the castle (front-right).[28]

5. Legal Haven, Sanctuary, or Internal Exile?[29]

Elsewhere in early modern Europe, there were several *somewhat* similar types and sites of punishment. The first of these was banishment; however, banishment should not be confused with penal exile (*degredo*) to a specific obligatory destination. Those banished by courts were removed

27 Duarte de Armas, a squire in the royal household, completed a series of sketches of the Kingdom's border castles, the *Livro das Fortalezas*, in 1509–1510 at the request of King Manuel I. This manuscript has been published in several modern editions.

28 The gallows in the distance (mid-right) are a confusing detail here. Local judges did not have the authority to use the death sentence, a penalty reserved for the highest courts in Lisbon and one that was very rarely applied. As a result, the purpose of these gallows is unclear.

29 We are very much indebted to Professor Lauren Benton for highlighting the importance of sanctuaries in this context.

from their homes and not allowed to return for a set period. As was the case with France and the Germanic Lands, the authorities had no interest where they might go nor did they attempt to harness their labor.[30] The Portuguese courts banished the guilty as well; however, sentences of exile or *degredo* to a specific place were much more common and, ultimately, more useful. This very old punishment remained central to Portuguese legal codes (despite numerous nineteenth-century legal reforms) until the early twentieth century.[31]

Portugal, of course, was not alone in creating such specific places of exile or extracting forced labor. In neighboring Spain, convicts were systematically sent to work the mercury mines of Almadén, to the galleys, or impressed into military service in North African or Caribbean presidios.[32] Powers that maintained galleys all found it necessary to use some sort of forced labor to man them. This was the case for France, the Italian city states, and the Ottomans.[33] However, (as scholars have noted) such forms of forced labor are more akin to prison labor, the galley being in essence a mobile prison. France used its Louisiana colony as a destination for many vagrants, convicts, and prostitutes during early modern times. The British crown did the same with Barbados, Jamaica, and its Chesapeake Bay colonies (especially Virginia).[34] The Russian state used

30 For an example, see Jason Coy, *Strangers and Misfit, Banishment, Social Control, and Authority in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 2008). For examples of French magistrates, see Julian Swan, "Disgrace without Dishonor: The internal Exile of French Magistrates in the Eighteenth Century," *Past & Present* 195 (2007): 87–126.

31 The Portuguese used *degredo* to various overseas locales (chiefly Angola) as a common punishment from the 1830s until 1932.

32 See Ruth Pike, *Penal Servitude in Early Modern Spain* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983). More recent and extensive studies by Christian De Vito have clearly shown the Spanish use of convict labor was linked to its global military outposts. For example, see his article "The Spanish Empire, 1500–1898," in Clare Anderson, *A Global History of Convicts and Penal Colonies* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018): 65–96.

33 France is an excellent example, see Paul Bamford, *Fighting Ships and Prisons: The Mediterranean Galleys of France in the Age of Louis XIV* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1973) and André Zysberg, "Galley Rowers in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," in *Deviants and the Abandoned in French Society*, ed. R. Forster and O. Ranum (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978): 83–110.

34 For an overview, see Coates, "European Forced Labor in the Early Modern Era," in *Cambridge World History of Slavery*, 4 vols., ed. David Eltis et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011–2021): vol. 3, 631–49.

various sites in Siberia as places of internal exile during the early modern period.[35] All these examples share *some* aspect or aspects with Castro Marim; none are identical.

Castro Marim was not exclusively a legal haven *or* a site of internal exile since it had its own population of free residents who could come and go. It was not a *presido* (fortified military outpost), even though its two forts loomed over the town and defended the southern part of the country. At times of military conflict, it may have appeared to be one. Castro Marim was a *couto*, a legal haven created by the crown, where the guilty were safe from the arm of the law.[36] It was a sanctuary but not in the traditional sense inherited from antiquity. There was no religious or sacred nature attached to the region, no temple or specific structure which offered sanctuary, such as Delphi in ancient Greece or churches in later times.[37] Rather, immunity from prosecution was obtained by residing *in the town or the surrounding lands* [emphasis ours] under its jurisdiction. Thus, the term "legal haven" seems more apt. Over time, it also became a site of internal exile, where people were sent by the legal and ecclesiastical authorities. The vast majority of its population was composed of free townspeople who could come and go at will. This complex mix is represented below in Figure 4.

Cesare Beccaria, the famed early modern criminologist and legal scholar (1738–1794), discusses sanctuaries in his *Essay on Crimes and Punishments* (published in 1764). He dismisses them by saying "in the

35 See Andrew Gentes, *Exile to Siberia. 1590–1822* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018). The Brazilian government created a penal colony on the island of Fernando da Noronha, side by side with a free population. However, it was a very remote open-air prison and not a site of internal exile or a legal haven. It was also established later than Castro Marim. See Peter Beattie. *Punishment in Paradise: Race, Slavery, Human Rights, and a Nineteenth Century Penal Colony* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

36 *Couto* from the Latin *cautum*. *Couto* (in Portuguese) is a place where a guilty party is beyond the reach of the law, a haven or place of refuge, "a place where a criminal can find refuge; a specially defined area with rights or privileges as to who can enter." In this case, royal judicial officials, such as bailiffs, were forbidden entrance.

37 William C. Ryan, "The Historical Case for the Right of Sanctuary," *Journal of Church and State*, 29, no. 2 (1987): 213–14. On cities of refuge see also *The Bible*, Deuteronomy 19:1–13; Numbers 35:6–15; and Joshua 20:1–6. Note that in the Biblical examples, refuge is only for those who commit a crime (e.g., murder) *without malice or forethought*; today this would be called "involuntary manslaughter." This distinction did not apply to the Portuguese use of internal exile.

whole extent of a political state, there should be no place independent of the laws. Their power should follow every subject, as the shadow follows the body."[38] Castro Marim was unique in that it was a legal haven but, as it moved into the early modern period, it was also a site of internal exile. Convicts and sinners lived and worked side by side with the free population, which was the vast majority (96% or more) of its population.

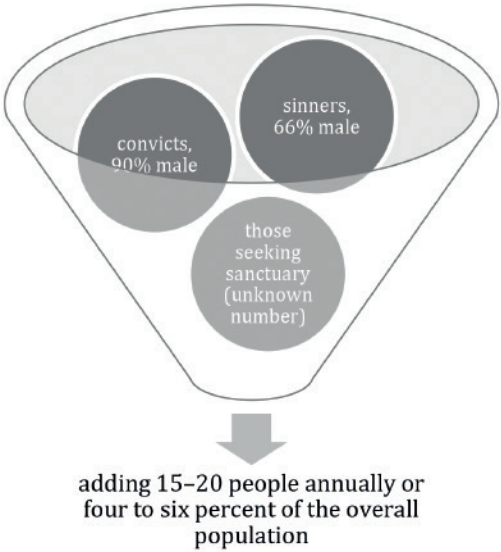


Fig. 4: Outsiders in Castro Marim.

6. Crimes and Sins Punished by Exile to Castro Marim

A great deal of early modern legal documentation was destroyed by the Lisbon earthquake in 1755. Bits and pieces of data scattered throughout numerous archives survived.[39] On the other hand, the various tribunals of the Inquisition in Portugal produced massive documentation totaling

[38] Cesare Beccaria, *On Crimes and Punishments*, trans. David Young (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1986): chapter XXXV.

[39] This is changing as the massive *feitos findos* collection has been organized and incor-

over 40,000 individual files. These files are intact, but unfortunately researchers face numerous obstacles (e.g., condition of the files, organization) in consulting them. As a result of this dilemma, both the estimates of annual numbers of people sent to Castro Marim (as above) as well as the crimes and sins they committed must be based on the incomplete and piecemeal data which has been uncovered.

In terms of the Inquisition, Professor Pieroni's previous work uncovered 600 individuals exiled to Castro Marim during early modern times by the Holy Office. Of these, 65% were men and 35% were women. Only a handful (five percent) were sentenced during the sixteenth century, the remainder were split between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries (53% and 42% respectively). Most sentences were for five years or less (91%) with the majority of those for two or three years.[40]

Almost one quarter of these individuals (22%) were convicted of witchcraft or folk healing (*feitiçaria*) while another twenty percent were guilty of giving false testimony to the Holy Office.[41] Some fifteen percent were convicted of blasphemy and an additional ten percent were guilty of interfering in the work of the Inquisition.[42] These four offences account for 75% of the 581 cases examined and the pattern fits with the overall sentencing outlined above. Once again, we see that exile to Castro Marim was the most benign form of punishment reserved for those who committed (relatively) minor infractions. Interfering with the work of the Inquisition, giving false testimony, and blasphemy certainly fall into this category, as does folk-healing, since Inquisitors believed folk-healers to be self-delusional rather than evil or dangerous.

The remaining 25% of the cases are very diverse and surprisingly include several serious crimes, namely [reverting to] Judaism (nine percent), bigamy (seven percent), heresy (two percent), and sodomy (one

porated into the holdings of the IAN/TT. Most of the legal documentation contained within this collection appears to be post 1755.

40 Pieroni and Coates, *Castro Marim*: 30–31.

41 The Inquisition considered folk-healing or witchcraft to be a minor sin since they believed it was promoted by the devil and was self-delusional.

42 The Inquisition functioned using "familiars" or lay people tasked with various errands, including apprehension of those charged. Thus, "interfering" could mean stopping or preventing any official from any duty.

percent). These cases must have involved extenuating circumstances to have avoided the usual, much more serious, punishments. Jorge Torres Bezerra, 19 years old, from Lisbon is an example. In 1698, he was convicted of "being driven by the Devil on nine or ten occasions to commit acts of sodomy with Vieira Machado."[43] He was sentenced to three years in Castro Marim, possibly because of his youth. More typically, those convicted of heresy, bigamy or sodomy would face years in the galleys and were excluded from residing in a *couto*.[44] Other sins included falsely claiming to have visions (five percent), such as Maria (mentioned above); pretending to be part of the Inquisition (three percent); revealing its secrets[45] (three percent); priests soliciting [sexual favors] from the confessional (one percent); practicing *Molinism*[46] (one percent); and failure to complete the first sentence of *degredo* (one percent).[47]

In another analysis of 8,000 cases before the Lisbon and Évora tribunals of the Inquisition, Warren Anderson found 1,114 sinners punished by exile. Of these, one quarter (260) were sent to Castro Marim in the period from 1636 to 1778.[48] As mentioned above, the data from the Inquisition is (unfortunately) not matched by the State's courts. The two exceptions are a list of 152 runaways sentenced to Castro Marim in middle of the eighteenth century, listing names, crimes, and lengths of sentences.[49] A second, later, and much larger, collection is outlined below.

---

43 Pieroni and Coates, *Castro Marim*: 84.

44 *Ordenacões Filipinas*, livro 5, título CXXIII. Bigamists were not excluded but those guilty of sodomy, heresy, treachery, intentional murder (i.e., first-degree murder), counterfeiting money, forging documents with royal signatures, bringing a married woman with them into the *couto*, injuring a crown official or resisting his authority were all forbidden residence in a *couto*. As noted above these guidelines were not always followed, and we lack the details of these cases. Those guilty of bigamy or sodomy were frequently sent to the galleys depending on the current manpower needs.

45 At the close of their cases, the convicted had to swear to compete secrecy regarding all the details of their cases.

46 *Molinism* is named for the Spanish Jesuit Luís de Molina (1535–1600), who expressed a strong belief in human free will. At the time, this would have been a minor form of heresy.

47 Pieroni and Coates, *Castro Marim*: 30.

48 R. Warren Anderson, "Inquisitorial Punishments in Lisbon and Évora," *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 10, no. 1 (2012): 25.

49 IAN/TT, *Desembargo do Paço* (hereafter DP), *Repartição do Alentejo e Algarve* (hereafter RAA), *maço* 460, doc. 23 dated August 25, 1771.

Given the tripartite division of crime and sentencing, it is to be expected that those sent to Castro Marim would be guilty of minor crimes, or at most the low end of serious infractions. In the two-thirds of the cases in the 1771 list where the crime/sin is stated, this is the case. The leading crimes were living with a woman outside of marriage (punished by the Church, 14%), theft (12%), (various forms of) assault (11%), murder (10%) and resisting authority/rioting (9%). The remaining crimes were only committed by a handful of those listed and included: committing errors while in office, holding people in a private jail (done by military figures for recruitment), giving false statements or complaints, copying a key, assisting someone to escape from jail, slander, incest, smuggling tobacco (a state monopoly), and acting as an agent for a prostitute. In the comments section, the professions of these people are listed in thirty-five cases. Seven are noted as "workers," while the other professions listed are seven members of the military (e.g., soldiers, sergeants, captains), three carpenters, five stone masons, three barbers, two tailors, a miller, a secretary, a merchant, a goldsmith, a gemstone cutter, a secretary, a locksmith, a jailer and one slave.

One detail of the 1771 report is of particular interest where it states these 152 convicts "failed to be entered into the registration books or assume residency." In other words, there was no record of them in Castro Marim. If that were the case, then one must question how the judge, D. Francisco Luís Martins Veloso, was aware of their existence. His local registration books and all other paperwork held by the court was destroyed in the earthquake. He must have been responding to information he received from Lisbon. In this report, the judge repeats the royal orders cautioning judges from prematurely signing certificates of completion or issuing licenses to allow the guilty to relocate. This list raises several questions; especially-- what happened to these 152 convicts? It is possible that they simply never appeared in Castro Marim. It is also possible that they did appear, and the registration books were destroyed or altered. Other possibilities are that they left before completion of their sentences or obtained certificates from a judge allowing them to do so, despite royal orders to the contrary.

When we review the nearly 600 Inquisitorial cases of *degredo* to Castro Marim and question which sins were more closely linked to women, two categories stand out: claiming visions (79% of those convicted for this sin) and folk-healing/witchcraft (62%). Yet, women totaled about one-third of the total number of cases. For the remaining sins, men far outnumber women. For example, 91% of those sentenced for providing false testimony and 73% of those who committed blasphemy were men. Luís Castanheda de Brito was one such man. The forty-four-year-old was married to Luisa Vermelha. The couple and their seven children lived in the city of Beja. He was arrested in 1651 for rejecting the Lord and the Virgin Mary and for stating it would have been better to be born a Moor [i.e., Moslem] than a Catholic. He was sentenced to three years in Castro Marim.[50] When we apply the same lens to the 1771 list of 152 runaways, there are only six women. When their crimes were stated, they were convicted of theft, bigamy, and infanticide.

A second, larger collection of data tells us only the numbers of people exiled to Castro Marim from 1728 to 1836. It does not provide any names or other details, but it does show that 1,442 men were exiled there during those years, and they were joined by 192 women. However, the bulk of these people were sent to Castro Marim in the period from 1820 to 1830 just after the Portuguese Civil War, presumably for supporting the losing side. Today they might be labeled as political prisoners rather than common criminals. To place these numbers in perspective, this same collection shows slightly over 19,000 people were sentenced to some form of *degredo* during this hundred-year period (1728–1836). Those sent to Castro Marim represent eight percent of this total. A slightly smaller number were simply banished from their towns for set periods (1,213 or 6.3%), an additional 7.8% (1,506) were sentenced to public works clearing the rubble in the years immediately following the Lisbon earthquake. Until 1822, Brazil received 961 convicts from this group or 5%, almost exclusively to Pará, Maranhão, and Santa Catarina.[51] By the early nineteenth century, larger numbers of convicts

50 Pieroni and Coates, *Castro Marim*: 63.

51 These numbers should be interpreted with great caution. In the case of Brazil, they do not match the documentation contained in the materials in the Arquivo Histórico

were being sent overseas to Portuguese Africa, especially Angola (15%), Cape Verde (7.8%), and Mozambique (4.6%). Portuguese India received 1,665 convicts or 8.7% of this total.[52]

7. How Many People Were Sent There?

Our estimate of a total number of sinners and convicts sentenced to live in Castro Marim from 1421 to 1550 is five to eight annually or about 1,000 people. To that figure, from 1550 to 1836 fifteen to twenty convicts and sinners were sent annually, giving a rough total of 5,000 to 6,000 souls sent there over 400 years. An as of yet unknown number must be added for the twentieth century arrivals. If the list from 1771 is representative of the whole system, many of those sentenced to Castro Marim failed to appear or left before completion of their sentences. The list indicates eight people each year failed to appear (in the period covered by the list), which would be between a third to half of those sent. It is a safe guess that many of the guilty would have taken advantage of the administrative chaos following the 1755 earthquake and simply vanished. Without more complete documentation, we will never know how large a percentage that may have been.

8. Lengths of Sentences and Types of Work

The state's courts in Lisbon (or sometimes in Porto or elsewhere in the north) would typically sentence those guilty of minor to mid-range crimes to sentences of three to five years obligatory residence in Castro Marim. However, sentences as short as two or as long as ten years or life also appear in the records. This is in accordance with the Inquisitorial courts (see above). The sentencing courts had to balance the seriousness

Ultramarino in Lisbon. For an extended discussion of this discrepancy, see Coates, *Convict Labor*: 21–25.

52 These figures are all extracted from the data summarized by Professor Domingues da Silva in the IAN/TT collection *Juízo dos degredados*, livros 1–44.

of the crime or sin with the never-ending manpower requirements in the galleys, in the north African presidios, in Asia, Southern Africa, and in Brazil. Exile to Castro Marim was the most lenient form of this punishment, despite the fierce heat of the summer and the difficulty of laboring in the salt works.

Once they arrived in town, the convicted had minimal supervision. Their only restrictions were that they were forbidden to hold any office (such as with the town council), and they were not allowed to leave the town and its immediate surrounding jurisdiction for more than two months each year.[53] The documentation is lacking on what labor they performed and how they sustained themselves. They had no money, were forced to remain in the town, and thus were at the complete mercy of the local townspeople. The logical conclusion (assuming they did not flee) is they entered the economic activities around them to sustain themselves. In return, they would have received food and shelter from their employers.

What opportunities were available to them in this corner of the early modern Algarve? As already suggested, Castro Marim is the land of salt. Salt collection would have been one of the largest opportunities for this group of outsiders. The Portuguese have a long tradition of extracting salt from sea water via evaporation and using it for preserving fish and as an item in long distance trade.[54] Most of this production is associated with Setúbal, just south of Lisbon (see Map 1), but many other coastal cities (including nearby Tavira, see Map 2) have produced salt as well. Castro Marim is surrounded by flat fields, which are periodically flooded with the salty water from the Guadiana (note the numerous inlets around the town depicted in Map 2). The town also has the distinction of being one of the hottest in Portugal. This combination makes it ideal for the slow and laborious process of salt collection via evaporation. To accomplish

[53] Those sentenced by the state could leave a *couto* for two months each year, but they were forbidden to visit the areas where they committed their crimes. If they committed new crimes in that period, they lost the right to reside in any *couto*. *Ordenações Filipinas*, livro 5, título CXXIII. Presumably, this would result in being sent to the galleys or overseas.

[54] See the fundamental works on salt in the early modern Portuguese economy by Virginia Rau, such as *Estudos Sobre a História do Sal Português* (Lisboa: Presença, 1984).

this, a channel must first be opened at high tide to allow the seawater to flow into the prepared flat fields (*salinas*). The channel is then closed, and the edges of the fields must be constantly monitored to ensure there are no leaks. After sufficient time has passed, the water will have evaporated, leaving a thick, dry, salty crust covering the ground. This must be carefully collected and sifted, removing the dirt and stones.

Fig. 5: Modern salt production to the west of town (photo by Timothy Coates).

The people of Castro Marim have produced salt since well before the Middle Ages. During the time frame of this article, the virtually free labor provided by the systematic arrival of convicts and sinners from outside the town supported the royal monopoly of salt collection in the town. This group would have been the ideal workers for such demanding tasks; unfortunately, it cannot be proven by documentation. It is strongly suggested, however, by the fact that once this labor ended by the early nineteenth century (see below), salt production decreased sharply. We do know that in 1788, there were more than 600 men in town listed as "workers" and that some of them would have been convicts collecting

salt. Although production was in decline, salt provided at least 5% of the revenue from exports for the town that year.[55]

Castro Marim was home to a fishing fleet; it was also a trans-shipment point for grains and mineral ores shipped down the Guadiana River. There would have been an on-going demand for labor to load and unload these cargoes. Salt is closely linked to fishing, more specifically in the preservation process. Drying and salting the catch were other activities available to these outsiders and many must have been involved in preserving fish in this manner. This would have been especially true until this was assumed by the nearby Royal Fishing Company in 1773 (see below).

Boat building and repair work would have been other opportunities for these outsiders. Early modern boat building was a skilled profession and would have required expertise well beyond what these individuals could have offered but repairing a boat did not. This is especially true if we assume the repairs were done under close supervision of the town carpenter. We know from the 1771 list that skilled men were sent to Castro Marim. For example, the carpenters, masons, locksmiths, and other tradesmen directed there would have been able to practice their professions.

The Algarve is a rich agricultural region and Castro Marim is no exception. We know from the lists drafted in the 1780s that Castro Marim (and many parts of the Algarve) exported olives, olive oil, grains, grapes, plums, figs, garlic, onions, and many other foodstuffs. People in many towns such as Castro Marim distilled wine from grapes into brandy. Castro Marim was noted for having the best sheep, beans, and for making whips. Map 2 indicates numerous mills (wind and tidal) around Castro Marim, where olives and grains could be processed. A later list from 1841 shows the people in Castro Marim were raising oranges, lemons, and excellent wheat. The women, it noted, made lace and items from

[55] Vasconcelos "Mappa Geral..." 12.07.2022, https://www.europeana.eu/en/search?query=who%3AVasconcelos,%20Jos%C3%A9%20de%20Sande,%201738-1808&rows=12: pages not numbered.

palm fronds.[56] All of this activity required labor as well as assistants to help the ten millers, thirteen cobblers, the iron mongers, barbers, and pharmacists working in the town as this form of the penal system was nearing its end by the 1780s.[57]

Other than salt extraction, the largest potential employer in Castro Marim was the army. The two forts required staffing and at times of crisis (such as during the War for the Restoration of Independence, 1640–1668), housed as many as 2,000 troops.[58] Drawings made in 1641 by Spanish military engineers note this new fortress, indicating its size, composition, and the angles of the walls.[59] Meeting the recruitment needs for military duty was a constant problem for early modern authorities, and they frequently emptied the jails to fill their ranks. In Castro Marim, that was not necessary. Convicts *were* part of the available labor pool around them in what (for them) was an open-air jail. Many of them would have joined the garrisons or been impressed into service in such times of crisis.

56 João Baptista da Silva Lopes, *Corografia ou memória económica, estatística e topográfica do Reino do Algarve* (Lisboa: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1841): 390.

57 See also the classic regional study by Dan Stanislawski, *Portugal's Other Kingdom: The Algarve* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1963).

58 Francisco Xavier Ataíde de Oliveira, *Monografia do Concelho da Vila Real de Santo António* (Faro: Algarve em Foco, 1908 [repr. 1986]): 67.

59 "Fuerte Nuevo de Castro Marim que esta hecho de piedra y cal y de boveda de ladrillo adonde juega la artilleria la qual esta puesta sobre arcos," Arquivo General de Simancas, Guerra y Marina, Legajos, 01400. Entre otros documentos, con carta de Gerónimo Roo en relación con la situación y defensa del Algarve en la lucha de España con Portugal. Ayamonte 30 de Noviembre de 1641.

Fig. 6: The early modern fortress of São Sebastião above the town to the south (photo by Timothy Coates).

Castro Marim is at the edge of the Guadiana River opposite the Spanish town of Ayamonte (see Map 2). We know from royal edicts that there was wide-spread smuggling in the area and that the Spanish and French were purchasing untaxed goods on the nearby beaches of Monte Gordo and Cacela (see Map 2). Marginal figures such as these would have been the ideal agents for such illegal commerce. It is hard to believe such trade was limited to the Spanish chocolate exchanged for Portuguese jams that appears in the official documentation. Official trade between the two countries was minimal since both export and import the same items. However, this does explain the attraction of untaxed (i.e., cheaper) fish, olive oil, and other foodstuffs the Spanish were purchasing from residents in Castro Marim.

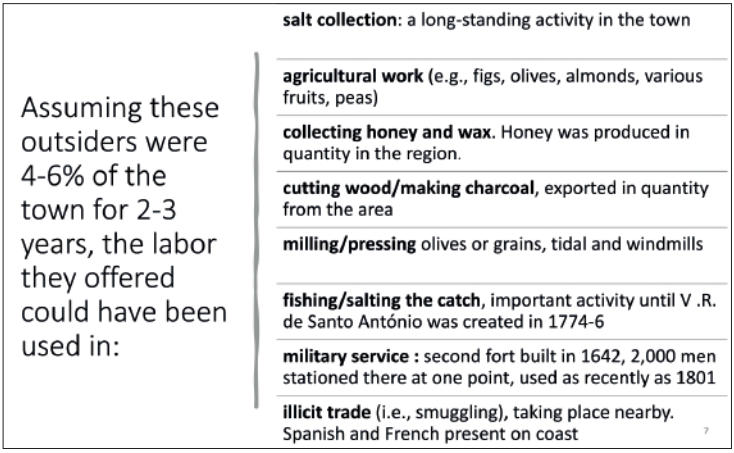


Fig. 7: Work in Castro Marim.

Despite these varied possibilities for work listed above, there were some who could not sustain themselves and thus petitioned for a pardon (at best) or a change of locale (at least). This was the case for Father Amaro de Almeida from Viseu. He was sentenced to eight years of *degredo* to Castro Marim in 1720 for the sins of soliciting "illicit, scandalous, and dishonest" relations with his penitents as well as for the heresy of *Molinism*. He first asked for permission to conduct Mass, weddings, and baptisms to support himself. The town, he said, was "without resources" and he did not encounter anyone willing to help. After three years, he petitioned the Holy Office for a pardon, which was ignored. His second petition was sent four years later and was granted, probably because of his poor health and repeated visits to the hospital in nearby Tavira.[60]

Once the guilty completed their sentences, they were free to reside wherever they wished; they could make their way home, reversing the long journey on foot that initially brought them to the Algarve. This was an additional unique aspect of their punishment since returning from *degredo* overseas was impossible for many.[61] The town did not experi-

60 Pieroni and Coates, *Castro Marim*: 97.

61 The great distances (returning from overseas) and expense would have made returning to Portugal very difficult.

ence an unusual growth rate indicating some of these newcomers were remaining. These new arrivals would have always been known as outsiders and probably not embraced by this small, closed society.[62] In all likelihood few if any became permanent residents.

9. Living Accommodations

Where these people lived is a matter of speculation. The men probably lived outside the walls, possibly in one of the buildings depicted at the edge of the salt flats or docks in Figure 3. There is no documentation indicating where they lived, but we know they had to reside within the town and its lands. The women would have resided separately, possibly in a house or houses within the town's walls. The crown repeatedly insisted that no structures be built outside the walls, with exceptions allowed for fishermen and sailors.[63] This was for defensive purposes, but the fact that the crown issued repeated edicts (1509, 1521, 1537, and 1578) forbidding such construction indicates the townsfolk were doing as they pleased.[64] Building or maintaining homes for this group of outsiders would have been a good reason to do so.

10. The Beginning of the End

On November 1, 1755, a massive earthquake struck Lisbon, causing widespread devastation, especially from the resulting tsunami and fires. Some estimates have suggested the earthquake measured between 8.5 and 9 on the Richter scale. This same quake hit Castro Marim and severely damaged the walls of the medieval castle, which had already been weakened by a previous earthquake in 1722. This second quake

62 Available local records are the parish registers indicating births, deaths, and marriages. They were of very limited use since convicts were not born there and without knowing their names, it is impossible to check marriages or deaths.

63 Pires and Pires, "A estructura urbana": 121.

64 IAN/TT, *Documentos do Reino do Algarve*, *índice*.

killed three people, destroyed the church, and the town records.[65] In fact, Justice Álvares mentioned in his 1775 report that the earthquake and resulting fire destroyed the secretary's office and his papers.[66] Until that point, the town had an insular, medieval character, being largely contained within the castle walls. One report from the 1740s even noted that the castle had two entrances and the gates to both were closed at night after the sound of a drum.[67] The earthquake dramatically altered the physical layout of the community.

The town expanded into the small valley between the two castles (see Fig. 8). Presumably, this group of outsiders would have assisted in the clearing and rebuilding the town. This new town rises above the flat salt works immediately surrounding it, in the words of a former town official, "as if it were an island in a salt lake." At some point after the earthquake and the damage to the church dedicated to him, St. James, the former patron saint of Castro Marim, was replaced. Had he not failed to protect the town in its hour of need? The new church outside the walls is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in the form of Our Lady of Martyrs, the current patron of the town.[68]

65 Lopes, *Corografia*: 391.

66 IAN/TT, DP, RAA, *maço* 469, doc. 64.

67 Luís Cardoso, *Diccionario geografico, ou Noticia historica de todas as cidades, villas, lugares, e aldeas, rios, ribeiras, e serras dos reynos de Portugal, e Algarve…*, vol. 2 (Lisboa: Regia Officina Sylviana e da Academia Real, 1747–1751): 530.

68 The town's feast day is now August 15th, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

Fig. 8: The modern town of Castro Marim looking north (photo by Timothy Coates). The medieval castle in the background enclosed much of the town before the 1755 earthquake. The new bridge over the Guadiana River is just visible to the far right.

11. Problems in the System

The first problem in this structure of forced labor is the complete lack of supervision. Convicts or sinners were normally given a thirty-day grace period to walk to Castro Marim, yet there was no guarantee Castro Marim was their destination. That time frame requires about six miles of walking daily, which would have given the guilty ample time to ponder their options. They could and did go elsewhere as we know from the 1771 list. They could flee to other towns in Portugal, where they may have had friends or relatives, or they could have crossed the border to Castile to begin new lives. While serving their sentences in the town, it appears there was no supervision. The guilty could sign the registration books and then vanish. This option would have been especially tempting for those working in distant fields or tending sheep or cattle in the countryside. The Spanish town of Ayamonte is clearly visible directly across

the river. Sevilla, an international economic hub, and the major port and naval base of Cádiz are both within a few days walk of Castro Marim. Still others, such as Domingo Álvares (see below) fled to nearby towns in the Algarve. When apprehended later, people such as Álvares claimed that they could not make a living in Castro Marim. Others complained of the excessive heat.

Basic coordination was absent. There is no indication that the central authorities coordinated with local officials as to who was present or absent in the town or more importantly who *should* be present. The 1771 list appears to be unique and supervision from Lisbon was haphazard at best. The first convict in this report was sentenced in 1754 and the last was in 1771, a span of seventeen years. Judges were appointed for three-year periods, which means that five judicial terms had passed; yet no one in Castro Marim or in Lisbon had discovered any missing convicts. The officials of the Inquisition, who periodically visited towns in the region, did apprehend the odd escapee because he or she appeared in another town without any explanation. This was the case with the unlucky slave Domingos Álvares as well as a black woman named Luzia. Both had been sentenced to reside in Castro Marim for folk healing and had fled town. Álvares was apprehended in nearby Tavira, where his practices apparently caught the attention of the authorities.[69] Álvares was then sentenced to four years in the town of Bragança in the northeast corner of Portugal (see Map 1).[70]

Lastly, from the perspective of the newly arrived, we do not know what structures or institutions might have assisted them in finding housing or employment. True, there is a chapter of the *Misericórida* in Castro Marim, founded in 1594, but whatever assistance it may have offered remains speculation. The brutal reality for this group was they were obligated to remain in the town for at least ten months of the year while being at the mercy of the townspeople for their food and shelter. Their labor was all they had to offer in exchange.

---

69 James Sweet, *Domingues Álvares, African Healing, and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011): 185–89, 191–94, 204–5.

70 Pieroni and Coates, *Castro Marim*: 99.

Thus, this relationship between the newcomers and the townsfolk is a clear example of asymmetrical dependency, a relationship which is the focus of the BCDSS and its affiliated scholars and publications. As noted above, one party "has the ability… to control the actions… and resources of another." In addition, the required institutional structure (in this case from both the Church and the state) needed to support asymmetrical dependency has also been summarized above. However, we have seen that this group, even though legally they were forbidden to leave, had the agency to flee.[71]

12. Royal Control

All this, however, only raises yet more questions. To what purpose would the medieval and early modern Portuguese state create a legal haven/site of internal exile and continue to send minor convicts and sinners to this town over the course of four centuries? We have already discussed how Castro Marim was a frontier zone. Yet, if the system were so durable and successful (which it was), why and how did it end?

By sending convicts and sinners to Castro Marim, the crown was deliberately adding troops to the local garrisons and providing labor for the royal monopoly on salt. That is, this rabble was defending the state and making money for the crown.[72] A more immediate concern, from the crown's perspective, was the untaxed commerce being conducted in the vicinity. Reports sent to Lisbon noted illegal trade (i.e., untaxed, and unregulated) in the region west of the small fishing village of Santo António da Arnelha, located at the mouth of the Guadiana (see Map 2).[73]

---

71 For a definition of asymmetrical dependency, see Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann. "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 2–3.

72 On the issue of defense, see Alberto Iria, A. *Da Importância Geo-Política do Algarve na Defesa Marítima de Portugal, nos Séculos XV a XVIII* (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1976).

73 See Oliveira, *Santo António*: 71–75. The village was apparently destroyed by the 1755 earthquake. Vila Real de Santo António was built slightly inland and not on the exact site of Arnelha to avoid the sandy soil.

Smuggling/contraband sales, as already suggested, may have been one of the many activities in which these outsiders became involved. This was true at the local level and may have extended to the two months of the year when the convicted were allowed to leave Castro Marim and roam the countryside. We know for example, that families from Castro Marim and Ayamonte, across the river in Spain, had intermarried over the years. Would they not have traded as well? In fact, as early as 1699, the authorities were being notified that the fishermen of nearby Monte Gordo and Arnelha were avoiding taxes, meeting in groups on the beach, and trading with Spaniards.[74] This illicit commerce continued throughout the first half of the eighteenth century and included townspeople from Castro Marim trading with merchants from as far away as Cataluña and France.[75]

Part of the crown's motivation in directing people to this town was to increase its population and, therefore, its defensive posture. This included reenforcing its ability to enforce royal codes and collect taxes. Such edicts dating from the late medieval period state that the town lacked manpower and convicts were specifically mandated to reside there *to increase its population* [emphasis ours].[76] All signs indicate that effective royal control never materialized. Smuggling persisted as the fishermen, the local townspeople, and those in Ayamonte (and beyond) were very happy to maintain the status quo. The permanent population of the town slowly increased over time. The crown had to face the reality of either accepting a porous border and lax collection of taxes or solving the problem definitively with some bold action. By 1755, it chose the latter.

74 IAN/TT, *Corpo Cronológico*, 1161/1699, *segunda parte*, *maço* 352; Oliveira, *Santo António*: 100–101.
75 On this issue, see Oliveira, *Santo António*: 71–75.
76 IAN/TT, *Chancelaria Régia*, *Livros de D. Manuel I*, *livro* 30, fl. 101v.

Map 2: Detail of a 1788 map of the Algarve by Captain Vasconcelos, showing the south-east Algarve. Note the numerous inlets south of Castro Marim and the number of mills in the area.

The Enlightenment was slow to arrive in Portugal, but some of its most decisive examples are the actions of the Prime Minister Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo. Better known as the Marquês of Pombal, he was appointed by King José I (ruled from 1750 to 1777). Pombal applied much of what he had learned in London and northern Europe as a diplomat, starting with the rebuilding and urban planning of Lisbon following the 1755 earthquake. Pombal created a series of royal companies throughout the Portuguese world, each with a monopoly, designed to stimulate commerce in that region. The best known of these was the Port Wine Company, founded in 1756. In the case of the Algarve, Pombal took the far-reaching step of creating a new town next to Castro Marim

and making it the local seat of royal authority. This action demoted Castro Marim to a subordinate status. This new town would replace the fishing village of Santo António de Arnelha, severely damaged in the earthquake. It would be unique, designed on a perfect grid with streets meeting at right angles as was done in the rebuilding of Lisbon (see Fig. 9, below). One of the military engineers assigned to plan and build the new town, Captain José Sande de Vasconcelos, created a set of data, charts, graphs, and maps of the Algarve, some of which are included here (see Map 2). In 1774, Pombal removed the local judge and customs house from Castro Marim and relocated them to his new town, the *royal town* [our emphasis] of Santo António.[77]

Fig. 9: Obelisk in the central square marking the foundation of Vila Real de Santo António (photo by Timothy Coates).

[77] Oliveira, *Santo António*: 78.

13. Conclusion: A Landscape of Huge Ideas

We can see two conflicting models of early modern royal authority and use of labor exercised at the micro-level in this corner of the Algarve. One, Castro Marim, was a medieval and early modern forced labor system supported by the convicted sporadically arriving from Lisbon. As we have seen, this system, while providing free labor, had serious shortcomings. The Enlightenment version was Vila Real de Santo António, a planned city under royal patronage, home to one of Pombal's new companies: the Royal Fishing Company of the Algarves (founded in 1773) with a twelve-year monopoly.[78] Its economy would be based on free labor, and commerce would thrive with royal assistance. People living in the immediate area (including many who had been engaged in the illicit commerce mentioned earlier) were strongly encouraged (if not forced) to relocate to the new town. The records indicate this was a rapid success; much of Vila Real de Santo António was built within five months using prefabricated materials in a system perfected in rebuilding Lisbon. The town was making a profit, based on fishing, as early as 1785. All of this, of course, heavily impacted Castro Marim's rights to fish, preserve the catch, and its labor market in general. If the older model failed to prevent smuggling and allowed the locals to evade paying taxes, the newer example would not. In the end, this second, newer model would supersede the first.

Since its establishment, Vila Real de Santo António has drawn the work force and commerce away from Castro Marim and prospered at Castro Marim's expense. The organization and development of this new town and its commerce (and the Enlightenment thought behind it) are well beyond the scope of this article. What is central here is that the creation of Santo António clearly forced Castro Marim into a secondary role, contributing to the decline of this penal labor system. By 1788, Santo António had already surpassed Castro Marim with more sailing vessels

[78] John Smith Athelstane Carnota, *Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal with Extracts from His Writings and From Despatches* [sic] *in the State Papers Office Never Published*, vol. 2 (London: Longmans. 1843): 247–48.

and mariners to man them.[79] The economic impact of this new town on Castro Marim was relatively fast; a report on the Algarve made in 1841 noted a drop in salt production and that Castro Marim's catch of fish was "not a big element."[80] The hundreds of books of tax records from this new customs house in Vila Real de Santo António attest to its ability to meet royal expectations of tighter fiscal control.[81] Control of smuggling undoubtedly improved; however, the temptation to trade with the Spanish neighbors did not instantly disappear. The authorities were still charging locals with contraband sales of tobacco (a state monopoly) as late as 1824.[82]

By 1839, Vila Real de Santo António had grown to be the larger of the two towns. Since then, the demographic gap has only widened. By 1900, Santo António had 1,500 more souls than Castro Marim; by 1940, the difference was twice that.[83]

The end of this phase of the system was caused by the frequent revisions of the legal code, especially post 1836. A series of legal reforms shifted the punishment of *degredo* away from Castro Marim to overseas locales. This began with serious legal reforms in 1836 and 1852, followed by more in 1867 and later. The punishment of internal exile was gone, as were the convicts which had provided free labor. Until the creation of the Lisbon Penitentiary (1879), convicts were sent annually to Portuguese Africa, especially Angola. After the 1870s, this system became more organized and sentences to the Lisbon Penitentiary were followed by *degredo* to Angola or Mozambique. Both the theories behind the new laws as well as in the design of the penitentiary itself anticipated reflection, penitence, and the ultimate "cleansing" of their criminal past. However, the Lisbon Penitentiary quickly became too crowded for the

79 Vasconcelos, "Mappa Geral": unnumbered pages.
80 Lopes, *Corografia*: 391.
81 Located in the IAN/TT.
82 Mateus Pires was so charged in 1805; João Coelho and his wife Ana Coelho in 1824. In Santo António, José da Horta was so charged in 1822 and Francisco Mascarenhas in 1824. See IAN/TT, *Feitos Findos, Processo Crime, letra* I, J, *maço* 153, *número* 17, *caixa* 398; idem, *letra* M, *maço* 123, *número* 23, *caixa* 271; idem, *letra* F, *maço* 45, *número* 7, *caixa* 92.
83 Figures from the census for those years.

guilty to remain alone in their cells, as had been originally envisioned. The courts then waived time in prison and sent the guilty directly to Africa. Typically, they received long sentences of forced labor designed to help cement Portugal's claim to its two largest and most promising colonies.[84] Pressing needs in Portuguese Africa made internal exile counterproductive. The use of exile to Castro Marim halted around 1836.

It is tempting to view this as a micro-history of a small corner of the Algarve. However, much larger themes emerge here. What we can clearly see here are *huge* historical and social concepts playing out in a very small space. Redemption, penitence, punishment, crime, sin, forced labor, smuggling, military history, state taxation and monopolies, Enlightenment economic thought, urban planning, sanctuaries, internal exile, and many additional topics rear their heads here and interact.

The use of Castro Marim for forced labor over the course of 400 years directly impacted 5,000 to 6,000 people. This labor helped defend the region and promote the local economy. Here we find a detailed and revealing example of coordination between the Church and state to enforce social control. Asymmetrical dependency, which underlines much of this article, defines the relationship between this group of outsiders: convicts, sinners, runaways, on the one hand; locals on the other. There is no shortage of additional theories and models which could be applied to this material. Our concern here has been crime and sin and the rationale and need for their punishment of internal exile. The answers to those questions about Castro Marim reveal a unique legal and social space. In turn, that 400-year uniqueness fades when replaced by Enlightment planning. Castro Marim and internal exile form an unexplored, yet critical and complex, segment of the legal/punishment systems of the state and of the Inquisition.[85]

The punishment of exile to Castro Marim may have faded, but its memory lingered in the popular imagination. In a travel guide published in 1874, the author found that:

---

84 This is the subject of Coates, *Convict Labor*.

85 The same could be said about supplying labor for the galleys, another unexplored subject. This is another intersection where Church and state coordinated their sentences to supply manpower as required at the moment.

> In all the places in Portugal where I have traveled (largely in Lisbon and to the north), when Castro Marim is mentioned, everyone becomes fearful, believing this town to be the end of the world, the most ugly and inhospitable land there is—the land of exiled convicts.[86]

These observations on Castro Marim were made in 1874, almost two generations *after* the punishment halted in 1836. The penalty was resumed a century later for some individuals convicted of sodomy or lesbianism during the *Estado Novo* dictatorship (1933–1974).[87] Recent scholarship has unearthed a clear pattern of sentences for sodomy or lesbianism to jails, and specialized penal colonies. In the 1936 legal code, exile to Castro Marim was reserved as a form of secondary punishment for bad behavior in these institutions.[88] These sentences continued until the 1960s. Further research will undoubtedly reveal total numbers and details from individual cases. This most recent group of new arrivals raises numerous complex issues extending well beyond the scope of this article. However, the rationale and utility behind this twentieth-century rebirth of internal exile has been examined here.

14. Postscript: Castro Marim Today

After the revolution in 1974 (which restored democracy in Portugal), development money transformed the Algarve creating beach-front hotels, condos, and vacation homes. The Algarve became a popular vacation destination and many people have moved there to enjoy the beauty of the region and its beaches. Castro Marim has restored its medieval

86 Augusto Soares Augusto Barbosa de Pinho Leal, *Portugal Antigo e Moderno…* (Lisboa: Mattos Moreira, 1874): 208.

87 Several years after our book was published in 2002, Professor Coates was contacted by a film producer who had discovered a fascinating legal case of a woman convicted of lesbianism during the *Estado Novo* dictatorship. A Lisbon court sent her to Castro Marim. At the time, it appeared that she was a unique case, not an example of yet another group of people sent to reside in the town.

88 Antonio Fernando Cascais, "A homossexualidade nas malhas da lei no Portugal dos séculos XIX e XX," *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 29, no. 2 (2016): 95–112.

castle and established a large bird sanctuary on the salt flats south of town. Focusing on its dynamic, cross-cultural, medieval past, the town hosts an award-wining, week-long annual fair.[89] It has also created a market featuring traditional folk crafts, a unique feature for the region. Salt collection has resumed since the town has discovered a niche market for its high-quality organic sea salt (see Fig. 5). At first, the post-1974 boom associated with economic development and an influx of outsiders largely passed over Castro Marim, although it now appears to be catching up with golf courses and hotels. A bridge connecting Castro Marim to Ayamonte was opened in 1991. Previously, the only crossing was by a small ferry from Ayamonte to Vila Real de Santo António. Nevertheless, the town remains a traditional city in the Algarve.[90] Vila Real de Santo António continues to draw a segment of the work force from the town as it has done since it was created. As Pombal had envisioned, people flock to this newer and bigger neighbor to make (now very legal) purchases. The forced labor provided by so many convicts and sinners over four centuries, the intricate legal and ecclesiastical systems that supplied it, and the smuggling and need for a new town nearby to enforce royal authority have long been forgotten.

89 See: https://diasmedievais.cm-castromarim.pt/site/ [accessed 28.03.2023]

90 For what "traditional" means in this context, see Stanislawski, *Portugal's Other Kingdom*.

Appendix 1: Populations of Castro Marim and Vila Real de Santo António

Year	Castro Marim Hearths	Population (Estimate hearths x 4)	Comments	Population of Vila Real de Santo António
1527[91]	125	500?	281 hearths in district	
1573[92]	250	1000?	400 soldiers in district	
1607[93]	200	800?	499 hearths in district	
1621[94]	373	1492?	413 soldiers in district	
1722[95]	417	1668?		
1732	262	1048?		
1756	843	3372?		
1776[96]	861	3444?		1918
1788	n/a	3317		1900
1802	649	2939		1283
1828	670	2260		1720
1835	798	2012		1305
1836	843	1892		1401
1837	722	2519		1755

91 Magalhães, *Para o estudo do Algarve*: 34.
92 Lívio da Costa Guedes, "Aspectos do Reino do Algarve nos Séculos XVI e XVII," *Boletim do Arquivo Histórico Militar*, nos. 190 and 195 (1989).
93 Guedes, *Aspectos do Reino do Algarve*: 195.
94 Magalhães, *Para o estudo do Algarve*: *34;* Guedes, *Aspectos do Reino do Algarve*: 191.
95 Magalhães, *O Algarve Económico*: 110.
96 Oliveira, *Santo António*: 106.

1839[97]	408	1632		1653
1841[98]	330	1320		unavailable
1869[99]	Unavail-able	600		unavailable
1884[100]		3970		4255
1901		8,308		9.817
1940[101]		9,717		12,955

Appendix 2: A Note on Sources

The study of crime, punishment, and forced labor in Castro Marim is just starting. Many more materials exist to close some of the gaps. The judicial materials in the IAN/TT consist of many hundred bundles and more than 1,000 boxes of loose documentation. Timothy Coates was only able to review approximately three hundred of these, leaving many more to be investigated. Also, in the IAN/TT are the Inquisitorial records, which have yet to reveal their secrets about Castro Marim. Once the entire collection of *processos* is digitalized, that will change. Beyond the judicial documents, there are numerous materials on the growth and development of the two towns (i.e., Castro Marim and Vila Real de Santo António) such as customs records.

97 Data from 1732 to 1839 is from Lopes, Cor*ografia*.

98 Cristiana Bastos, *Os montes do noreste Algarvio* (Lisboa: Cosmos, 1993): 26. Her source is Lopes, C*orografia*.

99 António Carvalho da Costa, *Corografia Portuguesa e descripçam topográfica do Famoso reyno de Portugal*, 2nd ed. (Braga: Domingos Gonçalves Gouvêa, 1868–1869): vols. 3 and 8.

100 José Leite de Vasconcelos, *Diccionario de Chorografia de Portugal* (Porto: Livraria Portuense de Clavel, 1884): 45, 179.

101 From the national census from 1901 and 1940.

In the district archives in Faro, the notarial records from Castro Marim could contain more information about this group of outsiders living on the town. This archive has a great deal of documentation on both Castro Marim and Vila Real de Santo António awaiting further discoveries. Documentation from the Archivo General de Simancas revealed very little, and another, longer investigation could find more on relations between Castro Marim/Vila Real de Santo António and Ayamonte.

In the twentieth century, the history of vagrants and gay people became blended and then mixed again with penal law, penal colonies, and internal exile, all under fascism. Castro Marim has an untold and unexplored chapter in that story.

Bibliography (see also Pieroni and Coates, *Castro Marim*: 167–73)

Archival Sources

Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo (IAN/TT), Lisbon.

Fundos: Ministério de Negócios Eclesiásticos e da Justiça (MNEJ); Juízo dos Degredados; Casa da Suplicação; Desembargo do Paço; Feitos Findos, Chancelaria Régia, and the Corpo Cronológico.

Arquivo Distrital do Algarve, Faro.

Archivo General de Simancas, Simancas, Spain.

Secondary Sources

Amado, Janaína, ed. "Regimento dos degredados," *Textos da História* 6, no. 1–2 (1998): 265–80.

Anderson, R. Warren. "Inquisitorial Punishments in Lisbon and Évora," *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 10, no.1 (2012): 19–36.

Bamford, Paul. *Fighting Ships and Prisons. The Mediterranean Galleys of France in the Age of Louis XIV* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1973).

Barros, Henrique da Gama. *História da Administração Pública em Portugal nos Séculos XII à XV*, 11 vols., 2nd ed. (Lisboa: Sà da Costa Editora, 1947–1954).

Bastos, Cristiana. *Os montes do noreste Algarvio* (Lisboa: Cosmos, 1993).

Beccaria, Cesare. *On Crimes and Punishments*, trans. David Young (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1986).

Beattie, Peter. *Punishment in Paradise: Race, Slavery, Human Rights, and a Nineteenth Century Penal Colony* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

Cascais, Antonio Fernando. "A homossexualidade nas malhas da lei no Portugal dos séculos XIX e XX," *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 2, no. 2 (2016): 95–112.

Cardoso, Luís. *Diccionario geografico, ou Noticia historica de todas as cidades, villas, lugares, e aldeas, rios, ribeiras, e serras dos reynos de*

Portugal, e Algarve... (Lisboa: Regia Officina Sylviana e da Academia Real, 1747–1751).

Carnota, John Smith Athelstane. *Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal with Extracts from His Writings and From Despatches* [sic] *in the State Papers Office Never Published* (London: Longmans, 1843).

Coates, Timothy. "Crime and Punishment in the Fifteenth-Century Portuguese World: The Transition from Internal to Imperial Exile," in *The Final Argument: The Imprint of Violence on Society in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Donald Kagay (London: Boydell & Brewer, 1998): 119–39.

Coates, Timothy. *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonization in the Portuguese Empire, 1550–1755* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

Coates, Timothy. "European Forced Labor in the Early Modern Era," in *Cambridge World History of Slavery*, 4 vols., ed. David Eltis et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011–2021): vol. 3, 631–49.

Coates, Timothy. *Convict Labor in the Portuguese Empire, 1740–1932. Redefining the Empire with Forced Labor and New Imperialism* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

Costa, António Carvalho da. *Corografia Portuguesa e descripçam topográfica do Famoso reyno de Portugal*, second edition (Braga: Domingos Gonçalves Gouvêa, 1868–1869).

Costa, Mario Julio Brito de Almeida. *Ordenações Filipinas*, 5 vols in 3 (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985).

Coy, Jason. *Strangers and Misfits, Banishment, Social Control, and Authority in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

De Vito, Christian. "The Spanish Empire, 1500–1898," in *A Global History of Convicts and Penal Colonies*, ed. Clare Anderson (London: Bloomsbury, 2018): 65–96.

Gentes, Andrew. *Exile to Siberia, 1590–1822* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Guedes, Lívio da Costa. "Aspectos do Reino do Algarve nos Séculos XVI e XVII," *Boletim do Arquivo Histórico Militar* nos. 190 and 195 (1989).

Iria, Alberto. *Da Importância Geo-Política do Algarve na Defesa Marítima de Portugal, nos Séculos XV a XVIII* (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1976).

Leal, Augusto Soares Augusto Barbosa de Pinho. *Portugal Antigo e Moderno...* (Lisboa: Mattos Moreira, 1874).

Lopes, João Baptista da Silva. *Corografia ou memória económica, estatística, e topográfica do Reino do Algarve* (Lisboa: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1841).

Magalhães, Joaquim Antero Romero. *Para o estudo do Algarve Económico durante o século XVI* (Lisboa: Cosmos, 1971).

Magalhães, Joaquim Antero Romero. *O Algarve Económico 1600–1773* (Lisboa: Estampa, 1993).

Marques, António Henrique R. de Oliveira. *Daily Life in Portugal in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Vitor André S. S. Wyatt (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1971).

Marques, António Henrique R. de Oliveira. *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 4 (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1987).

Mazzinghi, Thomas John. *Sanctuaries* (Stafford, UK: Halden & Son, 1887).

Moreno, Humberto Baquero. *Exilados, Marginais, e Contestátarios na Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa: Estudos da História* (Lisboa: Presença, 1990).

Oliveira, Francisco Xavier Ataíde de. *Monografia do Concelho da Vila Real de Santo António* (Faro: Algarve em Foco, 1908 [repr. 1986]).

Pieroni, Geraldo, and Timothy Coates. *Castro Marim: Da vila do couto à vila de sal (1550–1850)* (Lisboa: Sà da Costa Editora, 2002).

Pike, Ruth. *Penal Servitude in Early Modern Spain* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

Pires, Osvaldo, and Pedro Pires. "A estrutura urbana de Castro Marim," *Promontoria* 10, no. 10 (2012–2013): 115–33.

Rau, Virginia. *Estudos Sobre a História do Sal Português* (Lisboa: Presença, 1984).

Ryan, William C. "The Historical Case for the Right of Sanctuary," *The Journal of Church and State* 29, no. 2 (1987): 213–14.

Sousa, José Joaquim Caetano Pereira e. *Esboço de hum Diccionario Juridico, Theoretico, e Pratico* (Lisboa: Rollandiana, 1823).

Stanislawski, Dan. *The Individuality of Portugal* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1959).

Stanislawski, Dan. *Portugal's Other Kingdom: The Algarve* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1963).

Swan, Julian. "Disgrace without Dishonor: The Internal Exile of French Magistrates in the Eighteenth Century," *Past & Present* 195 (2007): 87–126.

Sweet, James. *Domingues Álvares, African Healing, and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

Vasconcelos, José Leite de. *Diccionario de Chorografia de Portugal* (Porto: Livraria Portuense de Clavel, 1884).

Vasconcelos, José de Sande (Captain). "Mappa geral de differentes objectos e noticias do reyno do Algarve feito no tempo do Conde de Val de Reys, Governador e Capitão General do dito reyno," 1788, 12.07.2010, https://www.europeana.eu/en/search?query=who%3AVasconcelos,%20Jos%C3%A9%20de%20Sande,%201738-1808&rows=12.

Zysberg, André. "Galley Rowers in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," in *Deviants and the Abandoned in French Society*, ed. R. Forster and O. Ranum (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978): 83–110.

For further titles see: www.ebverlag.de

EBVERLAG DR. BRANDT
WWW·EBVERLAG·DE

Rainer Kuhl
Jägerstraße 47
13595 Berlin

Tel.: 00 49 30 68 97 72 33
Fax: 00 49 30 91 60 77 74
E-Mail: post@ebverlag.de

Castro Marim, in SE Portugal, was a site of internal exile for several thousand minor sinners and convicts from the 1400s until the 1830s. The punishment was revived by the Estado Novo dictatorship a century later. During early modern times, the guilty could flee to several border towns for sanctuary. The state's courts and later courts of the Inquisition directed minor offenders to this town, typically for two to three years. These newcomers were forced to either enter the local work force or flee. Here we see a detailed example of social control and coordination between the early modern Church and state. Crime, sin, punishment, redemption, sanctuary, the Enlightenment, monopolies, and smuggling interact with this system of forced labor. Sanctuary, internal exile, and town of free people created a unique legal and social space. This labor force was long-lasting, flexible, and useful. Tax evasion and smuggling forced Lisbon to create neighboring Vila Real de Santo António, with tighter fiscal control and free labor which would eventually supersede this forced labor system in Castro Marim. Internal exile was a semi-independent judicial component linked to manpower needs overseas, ending as those demands increased.

THE AUTHORS

Timothy Coates, Professor of History (emeritus), The College of Charleston (Charleston, South Carolina, USA), studies marginality and forced labor in the early modern Portuguese Empire. Fellow of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, The American Institute of Indian Studies, Visiting Professor at Brown University and the Universidade de Lisboa. His major publications include Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonization in the Portuguese Empire (Stanford, 2001) and Convict Labor in the Portuguese Empire, 1740–1932: Redefining the Empire with Forced Labor and New Imperialism (Brill, 2014). Between the two, he and Professor Geraldo Pieroni authored Castro Marim: Da vila do couto à vila de sal, 1550–1850 (Sà da Costa Editora, 2002). This BCDSS study is the first work on Castro Marim in English and includes numerous materials uncovered since the book appeared.

Geraldo Pieroni, Ph. D. in Modern Western History from the Université Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV). Professor and Researcher in the Graduate Program in Communication and Language at the Universidade Tuiuti do Paraná, Brasil. He lives in Curitiba, Brazil.