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"*BALCÃO*" AND GOAN MANOR HOUSES: ANATOMY OF A SINGULAR ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENT

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INTRODUCTION

The Goan *balcão* is one of the most striking elements of Goan residential architecture and one of the attributes that is usually mentioned regarding the "Goanness" of Goan houses both for its architectural characteristics and the enormous cultural and social burden associated with it. The *balcão* precedes the main entrance to the Goan manor house and usually consists of a staircase of greater or lesser apparatus that offers access to a space flanked by masonry benches that can function as a semi-outdoor living space. Its importance in the context of Goan Brahmin Catholic houses can be seen in the individualisation and independentisation of this architectural element within the overall ensemble of the house, having taken on its own forms and expressions that have been replicated, reinterpreted, and reinvented over time (image 1).

However, despite all this symbolism and the studies that have mentioned this element in the last quarter of a century, this structure remains a

case study regarding its origins and evolution over the centuries. It is therefore important to delve deeper into its antecedents and the possible influences that gave rise to it, but also to try to establish a framework of typological variants and even its symbolic importance within Goan society. This study constitutes a work in progress which already has some interesting findings.

Image 1 – Monteiro House in Candolim *(drawing by Hélder Carita)*

In 1950-51, the "Study Mission to the Monuments of Goa, Daman and Diu" took place, led by Mário Chicó, who carried out the first major research into Indo-Portuguese arts. Regarding architectural heritage, the study essentially covered religious and military architecture. However, civil architecture was practically absent and residential architecture especially was only briefly covered for a specific type of traditional house in Daman and a few references to Diu. The vast array of residential architecture in Goa is absent from this study mission — or at least it is not published.

In fact, the first concrete studies on Goan residential architecture date back to the end of the 20th century, more specifically to 1995, when the book *Palácios de Goa*, by Hélder Carita, was published. In this study, one can already see a small chapter dedicated to the Goan *balcão*, which already points out an origin (the porch of Portuguese manor houses and the *mandapa* of Hindu temples) (image 2), observing the main elements that make it up and suggesting its social function. A wide variety of authors would later cite this pioneering study, but without much progress in that

field of knowledge. Hélder Carita briefly revisited the subject in 1997 as part of an article entitled "A arquitectura civil indo-portuguesa e as famílias brâmanes e chardós católicas".

Image 2 – Temple with a *mandapa* in Goa, photo by Mário Chicó, 1951
(source: Mário Soares Foundation, Mário e Alice Chicó collection, image 07105.000.105)

The book *Baroque Goa*, published by José Pereira in 1995, leaves us with two small sub-chapters dedicated to the originality and particularity of the Goan house, but the *balcão* is given only a few lines; José Pereira would mention the *balcão* again in his 2006 article "Goan residential architecture". Ângelo Costa Silveira also devotes a small subchapter to the Goan *balcão* in his book *A casa-pátio de Goa*, published in 1998, in which he points out some possible antecedent influences (the *sopos* of Indian vernacular houses and the porches of Portuguese churches). The following year, in 1999, Heta Pandit and Annabel Mascarenhas published the book *Houses of Goa*, in which they reference the Goan *balcão*; a mention Heta Pandit resumes in her article "The feminine space in Goan houses", published in 2006.

In 2001 Raya Shankhwalker publishes the first specific study of the Goan *balcão* in an article entitled "The Balcão: A Goan expression", in which he historically contextualises the *balcão*, briefly analysing some examples, and even proposing a genesis for it (the Indian *sopo*). Finally, it is important

to mention the book *Arquitetura vernacular de Goa – A casa: Contexto e tipos*, published in 2022 by Victor Mestre, which contains a subchapter briefly summarising previous studies.

THE ORIGINS OF THE GOAN *BALCÃO* AND ITS FIRST MUTATIONS

The question of the origin – or rather, the initial influences – of the Goan *balcão* remains a matter of debate among the various researchers who have dedicated themselves to this subject. The origin (or origins) of the *balcão* intersects with an evolution over a long period of time that, going back to the 16th century, and it requires an in-depth documentary study. We know from 16th century iconography that many of the first residential buildings the Portuguese erected in India had porches that directly derived from the residential schemes of Portuguese manor houses.

Thus, the drawings of Diu and Cananor, made around 1545 by Gaspar Correia (1975), are particularly important given that King John III of Portugal directly gave the author the official mission to draw Portuguese fortresses and settlements in India. This confirms the unusual degree of precision in this type of document, plus the documented fact that Gaspar Correia inhabited both places to carry out these surveys (image 3).
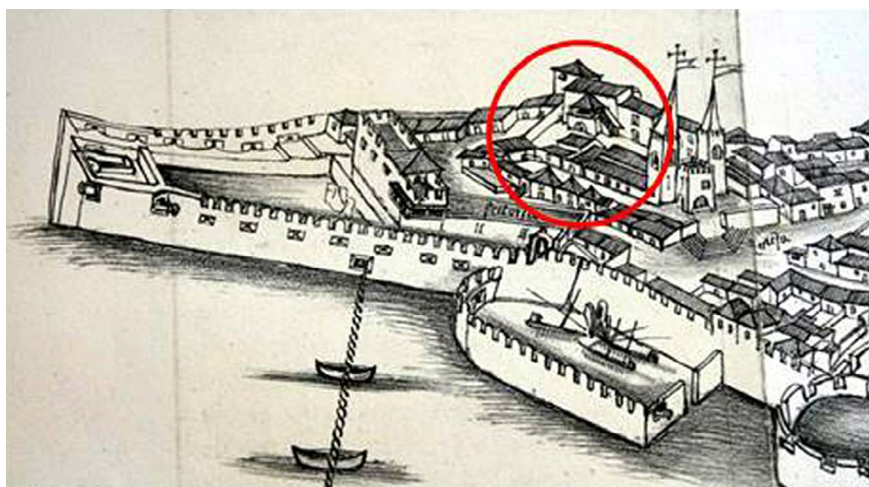

Image 3 – House in Diu with a porch, detail of a drawing by Gaspar Correia from the *Lendas da Índia*, c.1545 *(source: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, codex PT/TT/CF/040-3)*

Both cases show a solution to porches that was very common in manor houses from the late Middle Ages and early Modern Period in Portugal, with a protruding masonry structure crowned with a three-sided roof that includes an access staircase running along the façade. Unlike later examples of Indo-Portuguese *balcões*, these narrow, strictly functional, staircases , had none of the scale and formal apparatus they would acquire in later Goan architecture. Gaspar Correia's drawings also represent porches in front of churches, as in the case of Cananor, in which these structures appear in the churches of Our Lady of Hope, Mercy House and the Chapel of Saint Anthony and in the village of Challe.

The emergence of the porch in India as early as the 16th century naturally stems from its importance in 16th-century Portuguese architecture, which in turn was anchored in an ancient tradition established throughout the Middle Ages. In fact, we find documentary references to porches as far back as the 13th century, confirming the antiquity of this type of structure in Portuguese civil architecture. For example, the contract for the sale of a house in 1235, still in Vulgar Latin, states: "*debet vertere ad alpender ad unam aquam*" (Azevedo, 1904, p. 70). Still from the 13th century, but with one of the oldest references to the architectural programme of a manor house, a document of the sharing of the Manor House of D. Maria Rodrigues describes: "*la porta acima e com o alpender de çima [...] e ficoulhi a cortizela cõ todas sãs arvores e cõ outra partiçõ da via [...] e com a adega e cõ o lagar*" (Freire, 1906, p. 39-40).

Livro de Posturas Antigas also tells us about the frequent use of porches in the urban buildings of Lisbon when it mentions: "*em rua nam pode nenhuu fazer rramada nem alpendre nem poer escada nem outra coussa que seja embargo nem estreitura da rrua e o que o fezer devem lho a derribar*" (Rodrigues, 1974; Oliveira, 1887).

Porches were very common at the entrances to houses and urban buildings, and in Lisbon they were the object of a demolition campaign by the Town Council during the reigns of King Afonso V and King João II of Portugal. Towards the end of the 15th century, the Lisbon City Council banned these porches as they hindered traffic in its streets. The tradition was, however, very consistent, as can be seen the construction of a set of 15 houses destined for Lazaruses in Lisbon in which a building contract prescribed in 1503: "*se façam novas quinze moradas de cassas E que cada*

huua morada tenha duuas cassas com sua chamynee e sua cantareira e janella E que seja altura de cada apousemtamento do chaõ atee o frontal doze palmos [...]. See fara huu Alpendre ssobre as portas pera poderem estar os lazaros como comvosquo praticamos".[1]

From the early 16th century, *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*[2] are a fundamental document for assessing the importance of porch structures in the manorial architecture in the early 16th century. This set of 10 books inventories a vast collection of large estates and manors belonging to the Commanders of the Order of Christ, distributed throughout the Portuguese territory. It shows a very significant percentage of houses with porches attached to their entrances, confirming, in documentary form, the importance of this structure in the architecture of this period. Alongside written documentation, iconography has left us some examples of porches, one of the most interesting being the detail of the illumination by Simão de Bening and António de Holanda in *Geneologia dos Reis de Portugal*, belonging to the British Library, which was made in the first half of the 16th century (image 4).

Equally precious is a view of Castelo Branco drawn by Duarte d'Armas[3] in 1509-10, which shows a small urban palace with a characteristic porch in the centre of its main façade (image 5). Although in different areas of the façade, in both cases (Lisbon and Castelo Branco) the two porches are very similar to each other and very identical to those represented by Gaspar Correia (Diu and Cananor). All of them include a staircase structure that runs parallel to the façade, forming a landing at first floor level crowned by a hipped roof.

Worthy of note for our study is the importance of the porch in the manor house, which varied significantly during the Modern period. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, these structures in the manor house progressively lost importance, with their existence documented in very rare cases in rural areas and in situations in which the buildings received few updates over the centuries (image 6).

However, this fact is radically cancelled out with the evolution of Indo-Portuguese architecture, in which this type of structure not only remains, but gains greater relevance and formal impact.[4] This autonomous path of the Goan porch (or *balcão*) seems to be manifesting itself at an early stage, dating back to the 17th century. Documented proof of this

phenomenon occurs in the various representations by Pedro Barreto de Resende[5] from around 1634, depicting large houses located in Mahim, Dahanu and Tarapur, respectively (image 7).

Image 4 – Porch of the Royal Palace of Ribeira in Lisbon, detail of an illumination by António de Holanda from the *Genealogia dos Reis de Portugal*, c.1530-34
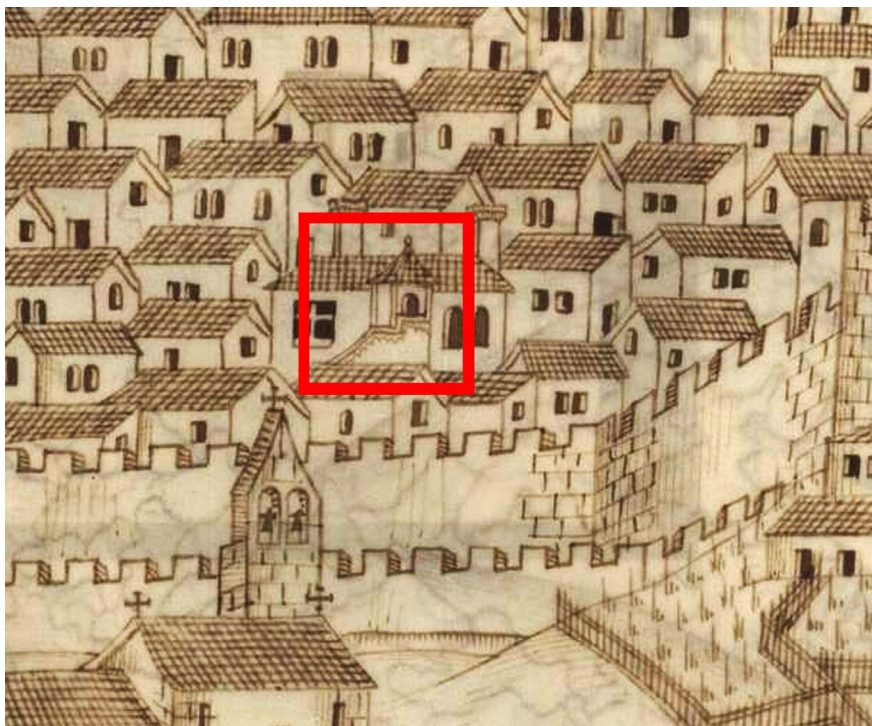*(source: British Library, codex BL Add MS 12531)*

Image 5 – House with porch in Castelo Branco, detail of a drawing by Duarte d'Armas from *Livro das Fortalezas*, c.1509-10 *(source: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, codex PT/TT/CF/159)*

Image 6 – Mello e Castro Manor House with a porch in São Mamede - Bombarral, postcard from 1910 *(source: courtesy of Luís de Matos)*
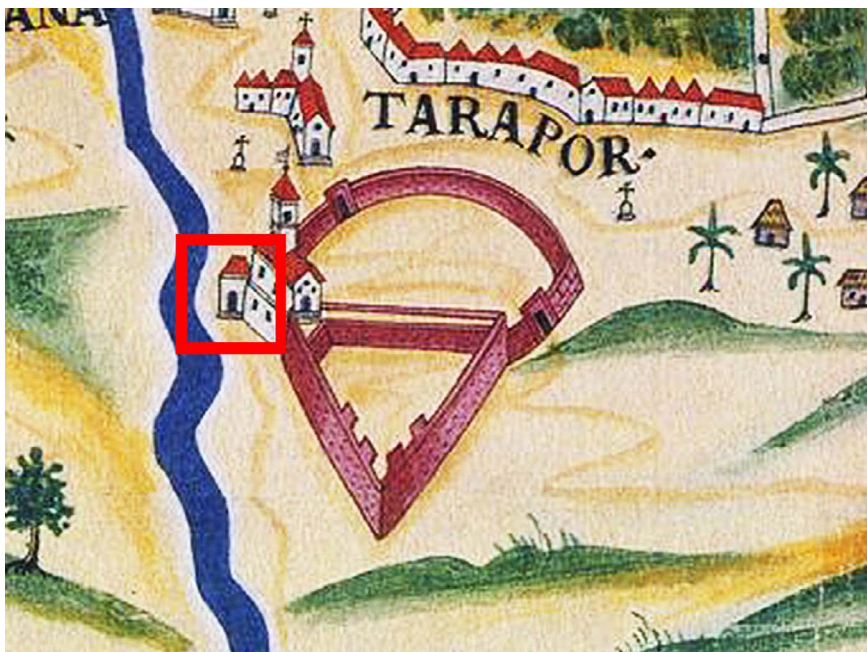
Image 7 – Fortified Manor House of Tarapur with a porch, detail of a watercolour by Pedro Barreto de Resende from *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoaçoens do Estado da India Oriental*, 1634 (source: Biblioteca Pública de Évora, codex BPE COD. CXV/2-1)

A UNIQUE ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENT: THE GOAN *BALCÃO*

Standing out from Gaspar Correia's depictions and the types of porches used in Portugal, the porches in Barreto de Resende's depictions acquire new configurations, gaining formal impact with autonomous hipped roofs and a very distinctive individuality. In these new features we can see a tendency towards greater formal apparatus, noting that, in all cases, the porches are structured axially, with a central entrance articulated with a wide full-width staircase. This full-width staircase, which can be seen in Barreto de Resende's drawings, gives these structures pomp and a capacity for ritualisation, thus responding to a local culture – we can place these structures within an Indo-Portuguese aesthetic (image 8).

Barreto de Resende's various depictions very significantly coincide with the large porch of the Archbishop's Palace in Old Goa, which takes on new significance in the context of the evolution of the porch in Indo-Portuguese

architecture (image 9). This building has an ostentatious porch that is clearly an element of passage to see and, above all, to be seen. In fact, several travellers have written about all the ceremonial and ostentatious things that surrounded the movements of the high authorities of State of India, be they the viceroys, the archbishops or even, by emulation (albeit with less apparatus), the nobility. The porch of the Archbishop's Palace is perhaps the oldest still in existence and, unlike the porch of the Viceroys' Palace – certainly because the latter was an adaptation of an existing building – it is already quite individualised, with a volumetry that is clearly distinct from the rest of the building, with a steeply pitched pyramidal roof that was imposing on the first reception level.
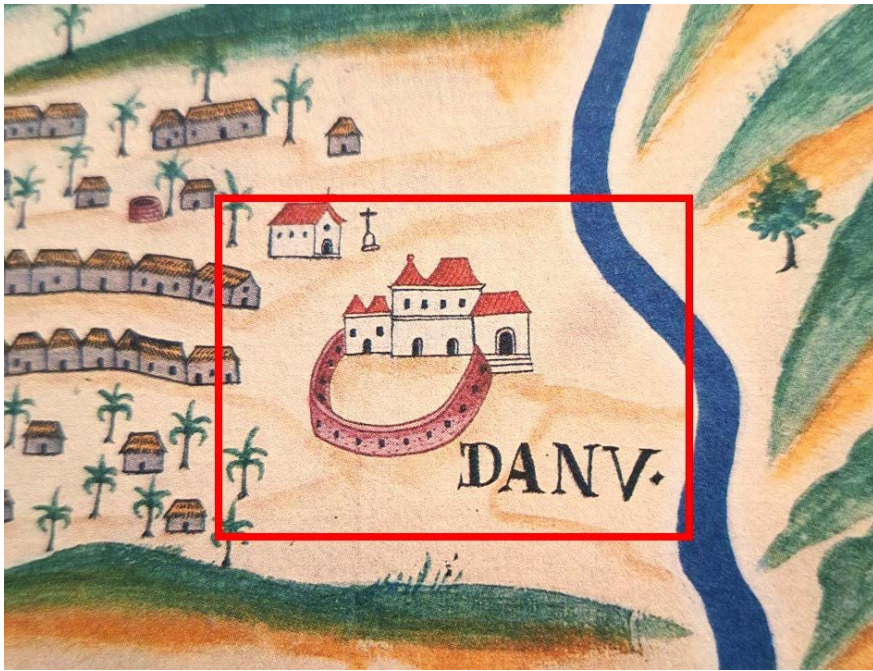

Image 8 – Manor House in Goa with a porch, detail of a watercolour by Pedro Barreto de Resende from the *Livro do Estado de India Oriental*, 1646 *(source: British Library, codex Sloane 197)*

Image 9 – Porch/*balcão* of the Archbishop's Palace in Old Goa *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

In the Archbishop's Palace, the beginning of the porch stairs at the level of the first flight is wider (at the lowest part), narrowing upwards (image 10). This opening would therefore invite ascent and its progressive narrowing to the covered part of the porch would symbolically mark the transition from the public space to a semiprivate space before entering the palace (the private space). It should be noted that the second level, just before entering the building, has small masonry seats next to the large openings, which suggests that this was also a seating area – perhaps a reminder of the *namoradeiras* ("flirtatious seats") found in many openings of manor houses in Portugal (image 11).

This palace also has a second porch at its opposite end, facing south, that gives direct access to the chapel of the palace. Its visual impact is clearly lesser as it is a secondary entrance – for example, the roof is simpler and lower than that of the palace. Even so, it has similar features, such as its staircase – is more open at the bottom, gradually narrowing toward the ascent – and the benches on two sides of the porch, which could turn this space into an outdoor seating area.

We know from a survey carried out by João Batista Vieira Godinho in c.1770 that the (now gone) old Viceroy's Palace in Old Goa had a large

porch that gave access to the noble space on the upper floor – generally in Portuguese manor houses, the upper floor was the noble floor, with the living rooms and bedrooms, whereas the lower floor was used for services and servants (image 12). The porch would have housed a T-shaped staircase, i.e. the staircase would have been ascended from the side by a flight of stairs on each side that would then be joined into the last flight of stairs, perpendicular to the previous ones.

Image 10 – Beginning of the porch stairs of the Archbishop's Palace in Old Goa
(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)

Image 11 – Masonry seats of the Archbishop's Palace in Old Goa *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*
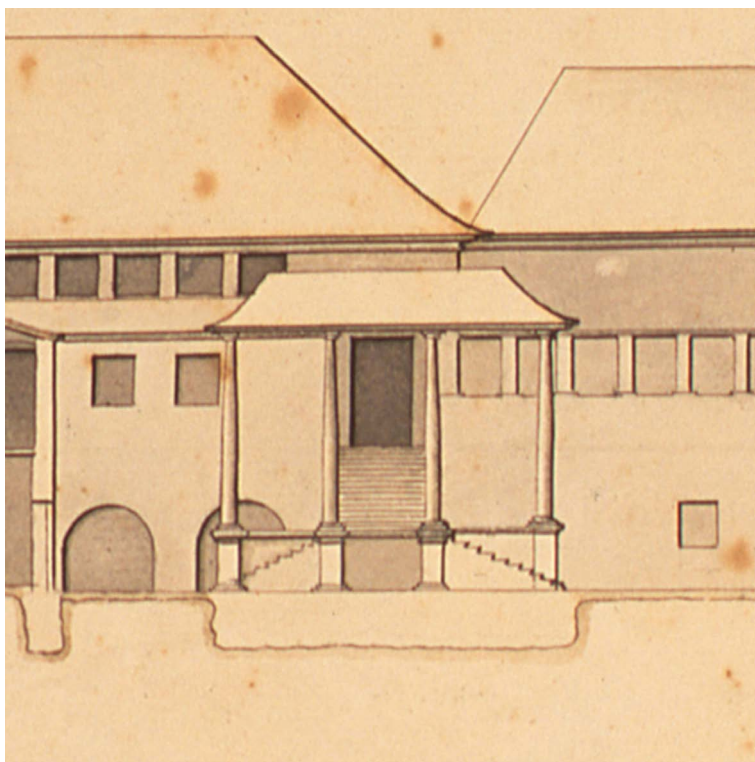

Image 12 – Porch of the Palace of the Viceroys in Old Goa, detail of a ink drawing
by J. B. Vieira Godinho, c.1770 *(source: Lisbon Geographic Society, codex Des. 6-e-5)*

However, this porch was clearly – rather than a living space – one to be traversed, to be observed. Furthermore, the porch was still subordinately linked to the palace since the last flight of stairs entered the building, and the porch roof itself still had no visual impact that made it independent from the main building. Even so, this would have been one of the first – if not *the* first – porches the Portuguese built on a manor house on the Indian subcontinent, which probably started the development that would culminate in the Goan *balcão*.

In c.1865-70, António Lopes Mendes depicted some examples of porches that were not necessarily associated with the manor houses of the Portuguese nobility or their descendants and that had somewhat different characteristics from previous porches. In fact, we can already see *balcões* in Catholic manor houses (image 13) and in some Hindu houses (such as Cullem), most certainly under the influence of Catholic houses (image 14). The views of São Pedro de Panelim and Verem, drawn up by José Maria Gonsalves c.1820, also transcribe a reality from the 18th century, in which the depicted manor houses have Goan *balcões* (image 15).

Image 13 – Catholic manor house with a *balcão* in Cussemane - Goa, drawing by António Lopes Mendes from the album *Paisagens, edifícios, retratos e costumes da Índia portuguesa*, c.1865-70 *(source: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, codex D.A. 12 V.)*

Image 14 – Hindu manor house with a kind of *balcão* in Cullem - Goa, drawing by António Lopes Mendes from the album *Paisagens, edifícios, retratos e costumes da Índia portuguesa*, c.1865-70 *(source: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, codex D.A. 12 V.)*

Image 15 – Manor houses with *balcão* in Panelim, detail of a painting by José Maria Gonsalves, c.1820 *(source: private collection)*

The *balc*ão as a singular element may have emerged during the 18th century but it became more popular in the 19th century. The reason may have been the gradual return of the *gãocares* to their villages after the decay and gradual abandonment of the municipality of Goa (Souza, 1979). Portuguese town planning regulations prohibited porches or balconies projecting over the streets, so most buildings in Goa lacked these elements; porches were

reserved for the largest city palaces (those mentioned above and little else) but also for the manor houses on more open land on the outskirts of the municipality or, possibly, in some villages of the Old Conquests.

The return of the *gãocares* to their villages from the end of the 17th century motivated the construction of residential houses, which obviously had to be of a size equivalent to their social status. The Goan *gãocares* were essentially from the Brahmin and Chardo castes (the latter is equivalent of the Hindu Kshatriya), i.e. they were the highest castes within the Indian social system and therefore considered themselves to be equivalent in some way to the highest social strata of the Portuguese colonial system. Curiously, this would have given rise to two different types of Goan manor houses: the Brahmin Catholic house and the Chardo manor house.

It is the Brahmin Catholic manor house that can be seen associated with the Goan *balcão*: being at the top of the Indian social pyramid and having received strong Portuguese influences, their houses synthesize traditional Indian experiences and Portuguese social signs. Traditional Indian houses faced inward and their exterior façades were generally closed and simple. In contrast, the façades of Portuguese houses had, in the image of the European culture of the time, a strong urban relation with the street and the municipality – albeit with various filters between public and private spaces. This meant more scenographic façades that reflected the social status of their master.

During the century and a half or so that the Goans experienced Indian culture mixed with European ones, naturally instilled in them a taste for scenographic façades that would show their importance within Goan society. Thus, Goan manor houses – especially the more westernised Catholic ones – gradually opened themselves to the street by larger and more numerous fenestrations, creating westernised façade schemes, albeit with local reinterpretations. It is, therefore, unsurprising that elite Goan landlords absorbed and reinterpreted for their residences some elements of the manor houses of the Portuguese nobility , one of which was precisely the stately porch with its grand staircase, although acclimatised to Catholic Brahminic living.

It is curious that the Chardo Catholic house generally avoided adopting the Goan *balc*ão. On the other hand, it adopted the two-storey system, in which, as Portuguese manor houses, the noble floor was the upper one, whereas the lower one was dedicated to services (image 16). The Brahmin

Catholic house, on the other hand, had a single floor, albeit high above the ground; this single-floor option was due to the fact that the Brahmins were culturally and religiously more attached to the land and therefore chose to have no floor under their living space – the house extended further over the ground to accommodate the services which, as a general rule, were on a slightly lower level than the noble spaces (image 17). It could be said that the Chardos adopted a type based on the Portuguese urban manor house, and the Brahmins based themselves on the Portuguese rural manor house type.

Image 16 – Fernandes House in Chandor *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

Image 17 – Figueiredo House in Loutulim *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

Returning to the Goan *balc*ão, it seems to have suffered the direct influence of the Portuguese manorial porch the reigning nobility in Goa introduced, in that it also has a grand staircase (albeit more modest in height since it only rises to a high ground floor) and a porch that tends to individualise itself from the rest of the house, namely by its roofing system with a high-sloping pyramidal roof, as we saw in the porch of the Archbishop's Palace in Old Goa. The *balc*ão therefore becomes a structuring element of the façades of Brahmin Catholic manor houses in Goa.

The set of masonry benches on the sides of the porches was also adopted for the Goan *balc*ão (images 18 and 19) but while the porches configured spaces for passage and reception, the *balc*ões became spaces for longer stays and, at the same time, social filters that triaged entry to the house according to the social status (caste) of the visitors. The use of the *balc*ão as an outdoor living space perhaps stems from the influence of the *sopo* of the traditional Indian house – an outdoor living space that was covered but inserted into the building in which families could socialise, albeit without a direct connection to the street (image 20). Thus, the masonry benches of the *balc*ão acquired greater importance and, with it, more varied and refined formal solutions, as did the staircase itself. The apparatus element continued to be present, where the family would gather round the *balc*ão to watch the traditional mandó, tiatr, weddings, etc.

The roofs of the *balc*ões are generally wooden structures covered in ceramic tiles (initially barrel tiles, later replaced by Mangalore tiles), resting on stone or masonry pillars or columns (images 21 and 22). Some *balc*ões, especially in Bardez *taluka*, are closed by windows made up of *carepas* grilles (translucent oyster shells that were flattened and trimmed) and, later, small panes of glass, which protected the covered space from rain or sun (images 23 and 24); these grilles could range from the simplest and most regular to the most intricate designs (images 25 and 26).

Finally, there are three main typological types of staircase: those with a front section perpendicular to the façade of the house (image 27); L-shaped staircases with a first section parallel to the façade of the house that leads to a landing, followed by another section perpendicular to the previous one and to the façade (image 28) and T-shaped staircases, with two opposite sections going up laterally to the façade of the house to a first landing, followed by another single section perpendicular to the previous

ones and to the façade (image 29). The staircases ranged from simple, straight sections to elaborate curvilinear ones (images 30) — even with several landings (image 31).

Image 18 – *Balcão* of the Gama House in Verna *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

Image 19 – Masonry benches at the *balcão* of the Godinho House in Majorda *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

Image 20 – *Sopo* of the Desai House in Lamgaon, Bicholim *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

Image 21 – Roof of the *balcão* of the Bobo House in Saligao *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

Image 22 – Roof of the old *balcão* of the Figueiredo House in Loutulim
(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)

Image 23 – *Balcão* of the Rebello House in Anjuna *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

Image 24 – *Balcão* of the Mascarenhas House in Anjuna *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

Image 25 – Window with *carepas* in the *balcão* of the Souza House in Anjuna
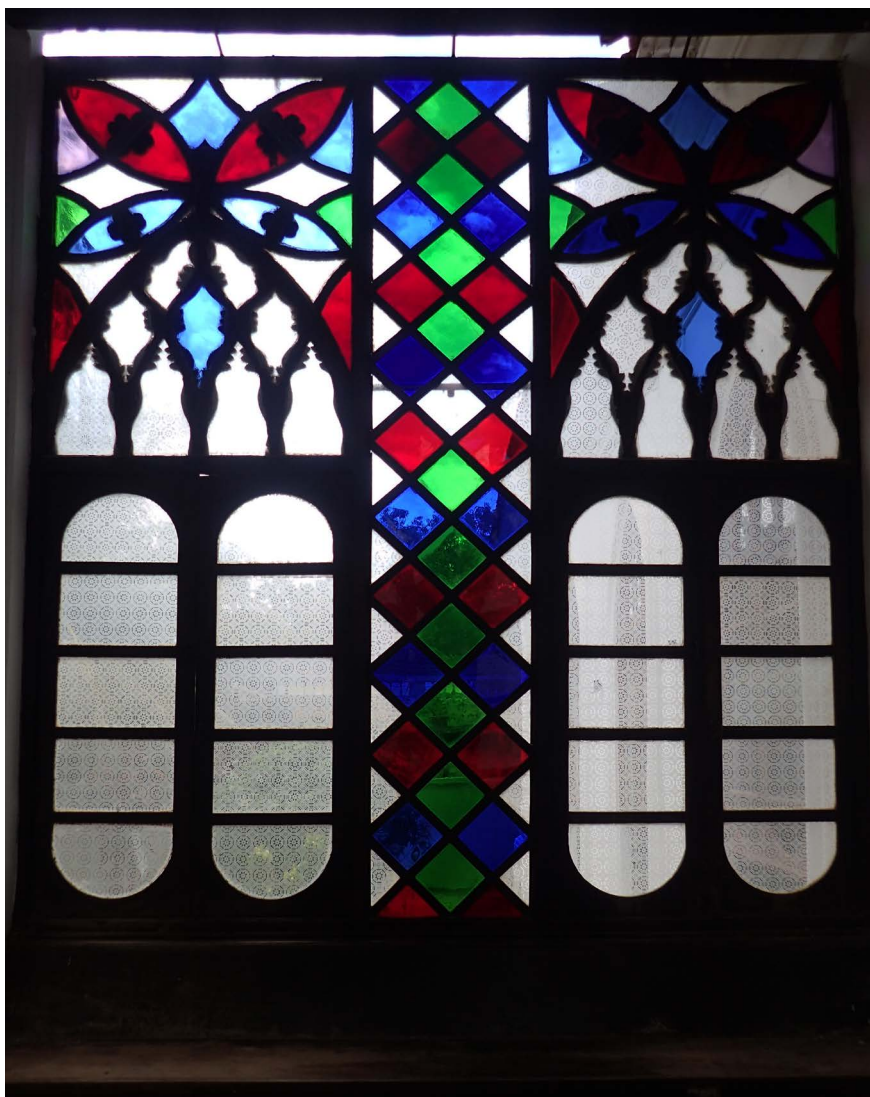*(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

Image 26 – Window with coloured glasses in the *balcão* of the Mascarenhas House in Anjuna *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

Image 27 – Benalva House in Velsao *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

Image 28 – Monteiro House in Candolim *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

Image 29 – Pinto House in Santa Cruz *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

Image 30 – Colaço House in Margao *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

Image 31 – Deao Palace in Quepem *(photo by Joaquim R. Santos)*

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Image 32 – Goan family listening to music in a *balcão*, cartoon by Mário Miranda
(source: Mário Gallery, Porvorim)

CONCLUDING REMARKS: THE SOCIOCULTURAL QUESTION OF THE GOAN *BALCÃO*

The covered semi-open space of the *balcão* in Goa typically overlooks the street outside the house. Open to public view, it once enabled Goan elites to showcase their high economic and caste status. The elite Goan community, namely Brahmins and Chardos, engaged in bitter rivalry in establishing economic status, especially considering that caste status was immutable. Brahmins used *balcões* as a symbolic and integral element of the house to communicate the status of their caste and class. The *balcão* especially served to screen visitors to the house, who typically belonged to lower castes and were prohibited to enter. Thus, the *balcão* evolved as a crucial architectural element in Goa as Goan patrons used it to play a significant functional role in "entertaining" and dealing with people whose entry to the house was generally restricted.

Of course, the development of the *balcão* can also be attributed to the Goan climatic conditions. Providing shade and enabling the flow of breeze, the *balcão* offered ideal conditions for residents to spend time during the hot and humid summers of Goa. Invariably, Goan families in their opulent houses who spent time in the *balcãos* showed that they enjoyed the luxury of leisure. This leisurely lifestyle of the *bhatkars* (landowners) is popularly referred to as the "*susegado*" lifestyle. In his drawings depicting the characteristics and traditions of Goa, the famous Goan cartoonist Mário Miranda represented Goan Brahmin families sitting in line on *balcões* while listening to Mandó songs or socialising (image 32). It is ironic that this lifestyle was made possible by the labour of the *mundkars* (tenants), the very people who were excluded from entering the inside of the palatial house due to the structure of the *balcão* space.

However, regarding the use of this space by elite residents of Goa, the *balcão* holds a unique significance. It represents a period in which women from elite families made appearances in the public realm, albeit within the confines of family property and while indulging in leisure. Before the advent of *balcãos*, women from elite families were confined to the house, their private domestic sphere. In pre-Catholicism Goa, women were bound by local customs associated with the concept of *purdah* (veil), keeping them away from the eyes of strangers. Consequently, the development

of the *balcão* in elite palatial Catholic houses in Goa, especially from the 18th century onwards, marks the emergence of a gender-neutral space for those enjoying higher class and caste status.

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NOTES

1   Lisbon Municipal Archive, *Livro 1º do Hospital de São Lazaro*, doc. 15.

2   National Archive of Torre do Tombo, "Ordem de Cristo/C. T.", Livros 301 a 310. Published in: Gonçalves, Iria. 2002-17. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

3   Armas, Duarte d'. 1509-10. *Livro das fortalezas situadas no extremo de Portugal e Castela por Duarte de Armas, escudeiro da casa do rei D. Manuel I.* National Archive of Torre do Tombo, "codex 159", Casa Forte.

4   On the Goan *balcão*, see the works mentioned above, which provide a general overview on this singular structure.

5   Bocarro, António, and Resende, Pedro Barreto de. 1635. *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoaçoens do Estado da Índia Oriental com as Descripçoens da Altura em que Estão, e de Tudo que ha Nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, Gente de Armas, e Vassalos, Rendimento, eDespeza, Fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reys da Terra Dentro, o Poder que tem, e a Paz, e Guerra, que Guardão, e Tudo que Esta Debaxo da Coroa de Espanha.* Évora Public Library, codex COD.CXV/2-X.