

*War breeds Taxes and Taxes breed War*  
*The State Finances of Portugal in context (c. 1370-1520)*

The title (loosely based on Charles Tilly's "War makes States and States make War") and the subtitle convey the aim of this paper: to understand the relationships between warfare and change in the fiscal system by examining a particularly well-documented case: Portugal. In most European countries, the available sources deal with the revenue side of the budget. As such, literature in the field of Fiscal History has based its conclusions upon revenue and has assumed that the fiscal systems are changed by expenditure-driven pressures which are, nearly always, of military nature. Thus, warfare is regarded as an independent variable which affects fiscal systems but is not affected by them. Seldom has the inverse hypothesis – the advance of fiscal systems makes military confrontation more likely and more intense – been addressed by fiscal historians, despite the suggestions of the famous debates on the "Military Revolution".

Fifteenth-century Portugal has largely been a missing country in the recent publications about Fiscal History. However, the relatively good quality of its data on expenditure makes it a very relevant and extremely relevant case, most of all when compared with less consistent evidence from other realms, namely France, Aragon and England. The paper will argue that warfare in fifteenth-century Portugal was largely revenue-driven (a case with strong parallelism with France) and thus, challenge the conventional theory that changes in fiscal systems are led by the military confrontation. It will do so by resorting to published fiscal data for France, England and Aragon and to the author's recent, still unpublished estimates for Portugal.

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