



A HISTORY  
OF PORTUGAL  
AND THE  
PORTUGUESE  
EMPIRE

VOLUME TWO

The Portuguese Empire

A. R. Disney

CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE

[www.cambridge.org/9780521409087](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521409087)

This page intentionally left blank

## A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire

The Kingdom of Portugal was created as a by-product of the Christian Reconquest of Hispania. With no geographical *raison d'être* and no obvious roots in its Roman, Germanic, or Islamic pasts, it long remained a small, struggling realm on Europe's outer fringe. Then, in the early fifteenth century, this unlikely springboard for Western expansion suddenly began to accumulate an empire of its own – eventually extending more than halfway around the globe. *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*, drawing particularly on historical scholarship postdating the 1974 Portuguese Revolution, offers readers a comprehensive overview and reinterpretation of how all this happened – the first such account to appear in English for more than a generation. Volume I concerns the history of Portugal itself from pre-Roman times to the climactic French invasion of 1807, and Volume II traces the history of the Portuguese overseas empire.

A. R. Disney was educated at Oxford and Harvard universities and has taught history at Melbourne and La Trobe universities. His publications include *Twilight of the Pepper Empire* (1978) and numerous articles, papers, and essays, published variously in the *Economic History Review*, *Studia Indica*, *Mare Liberum*, *Anais de Historia de Alem-mar*, and other journals and proceedings.

“This book provides a comprehensive and stimulating view of the history of the early modern Portuguese Empire. Without losing sight of chronology and geography, political projects, and economic trends, Disney skillfully elaborates on key issues of the social history of overseas Portugal, such as the nature of colonial societies or the relevance of informal settlements. The author masters an impressive range of primary sources and secondary materials and builds on them to offer a refreshing global history of the Portuguese Empire that will undoubtedly stand as a reference in the field for many years to come.”

– Jorge Flores, Brown University

“Disney’s volume provides a full economic and political outline of a truly global maritime enterprise. It is the most accessible and up-to-date history of the Portuguese Empire available in English.”

– Stuart Schwartz, Yale University

“This long-awaited volume by A. R. Disney possesses all the qualities we have come to expect of his scholarship. It is balanced, sober, and written with clarity of vision and purpose. Four decades after Charles Boxer’s classic work on the Portuguese seaborne empire, we at last have another elegant synthesis that takes on the whole of the Portuguese overseas enterprise from 1400 to 1800 armed with the fruits of the latest research. Imperial historians of a comparative bent will be obliged to read this work, and students of European expansion and the Iberian world will certainly find it on their reading lists. It is unlikely to be replaced for another generation.”

– Sanjay Subrahmanyam, UCLA

# A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire

*From Beginnings to 1807*  
*Volume 2: The Portuguese Empire*

A. R. DISNEY  
*La Trobe University*



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521409087](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521409087)

© A. R. Disney 2009

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provision of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published in print format 2007

ISBN-13 978-0-511-53028-9 eBook (Adobe Reader)

ISBN-13 978-0-521-40908-7 hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-73822-4 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of urls for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

# Contents

<i>Contents for Volume 1</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xiii
<i>List of maps</i>	xvii
<i>Preface</i>	xix
<i>Maps</i>	xxiii
15. North Africa	I
Beginnings: the conquest of Ceuta	I
The era of neo-Reconquest	5
Retreat and stalemate	10
Economic costs and benefits	13
The disaster of Al-Ksar al-Kabir	16
The fortresses after Al-Ksar al-Kabir	20
16. Exploring the Coasts of Atlantic Africa	27
The role of Prince Henrique	27
The Henrican voyages	30
Coasts and rivers of Guinea	33
Cão, Dias and the South Atlantic	35
Long-distance voyaging and nautical technology	39
Pêro de Covilhã and Prester John	42
17. Engaging with Atlantic Africa	45
Profits on the fringes of the Sahara	45
Dealing with competitors	47
Crown and <i>lançados</i> in Upper Guinea	49
Portuguese origins of Guinea-Bissau	54
The gold of São Jorge da Mina	56
Benin and the Niger delta	61

The kingdom of Kongo	65
The conquest of Ndongo	70
Early Portuguese settlement of Angola	75
The Angolan slave trade	77
18. The Atlantic Islands and Fisheries	84
Portuguese beginnings in Madeira	84
Later development of Madeira: sugar, wine and over-population	87
Discovering, settling and developing the Azores	92
The Azores in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries	97
Portugal and the Canaries	99
The Cape Verde Islands: discovery, settlement and early growth	101
The Cape Verde Islands: the later years	107
São Tomé and Príncipe: the slave islands	110
The Newfoundland fisheries and the South Atlantic	115
19. Breakthrough to Maritime Asia	119
Vasco da Gama's first voyage to India	119
Getting to know 'the other'	122
Manueline dreaming	125
Albuquerque	129
Post-Albuquerquean consolidation	134
Escalating diplomacy	137
20. Empire in the East	145
The <i>Estado da Índia</i>	145
The crown and the pepper trade	149
Tapping into the inter-port trade	153
The <i>carreira da Índia</i>	157
Governing from afar	159
Late resurgent expansionism	165
Losses in the seventeenth century	168
21. Informal Presence in the East	172
Introducing the private trader	172
Private trade in western maritime Asia	175
Private trade in eastern maritime Asia	182
Soldiers-of-fortune	187
Informal settlements and settlers	192
<i>Muzungos</i> and <i>prazo</i> -holders in Mozambique	198
Catholics in an alien world	200
22. Brazil: Seizing and Keeping Possession	204
Early voyages and the age of <i>feitorias</i>	204
The Amerindians and their culture	207
Establishing settlements: the first hundred years	210

The disintegration of coastal Amerindian society	216
The impact of the Jesuits	219
Early-seventeenth-century foreign European intrusions and the Dutch conquest of Pernambuco	221
The rule of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen	223
The end of Netherlands Brazil	226
23. Formation of Colonial Brazil	232
Trees and traders	232
The coming of sugar	235
The African slave trade to Brazil	238
Ports and plantations; farms and ranches	241
Portuguese colonists and miscegenation	244
Early colonial slavery and slave society	247
Escapees, the free poor and social control	252
São Paulo and the southern interior	254
The northeastern and northern interiors	259
24. Late Colonial Brazil	263
Post-war reconstruction: sugar, tobacco and cattle	263
The great mineral boom	267
The free population of Minas Gerais in the age of gold	270
Slavery in Minas Gerais	274
Pombaline and post-Pombaline neo-mercantilism	277
The economic resurgence of the late eighteenth century	280
Extending the frontier and establishing borders in the north, west and south	285
Intimations of separation	293
25. Holding on in India: The Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries	299
Goa and its European rivals	299
Portuguese, Omanis and Marathas	301
Old and new patterns in the intercontinental trade	305
The late colonial inter-port trade	310
The <i>Estado da Índia's</i> struggle for recovery in the late seventeenth century	314
Conservatism and stagnation in the early eighteenth century	317
Mid-eighteenth-century revival and expansion	319
Goa and the reforms of Pombal	322
The Pinto 'conspiracy'	327
The British occupation of Goa	330
26. Eastern Empire in the Late Colonial Era: Peripheries	332
The <i>Estado da Índia</i> beyond the sub-continent	332
Macau and its trade: from crisis to recovery	332
Macanese trade in the late eighteenth century	335

A glimpse of Macanese society and government	337
Macau and the mandarins of Guangzhou	339
Macau's relations with Beijing	342
The Macau <i>câmara</i> and the crown authorities	345
Toehold in Timor	347
The loss of the Swahili coast	350
The ivory, gold and slave trades of Mozambique	351
Enter the Baniás	353
Mozambique: a territorial empire in the making?	355
The Mozambique <i>prazos</i> after 1650	358
Mozambique and the eighteenth-century reforms	363
<i>Glossary</i>	368
<i>Bibliography</i>	377
<i>Index</i>	401

## Contents for Volume I

<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>page</i> xiii
<i>List of maps</i>	xv
<i>Preface</i>	xvii
<i>Maps</i>	xxiii
Introduction: The Geographical Setting	I
1. Hunter-Gatherers to Iron Age Farmers	5
The early hunter-gatherers	5
The Neolithic revolution	7
The metallurgical cultures	8
The coming of the Celts	13
Orientalisation	16
2. The Roman Experience	20
The Roman conquest	20
Towns and roads	23
Villas and mines	26
Free and slave	28
Roman administration and the idea of Portugal	30
The gods	32
3. The Germanic Kingdoms	34
The barbarian invasions	34
The Suevic kingdom	37
The Visigoths	40
Society and economy	42
Church, faith and phobias	46

4.	Gharb al-Andalus	51
	The Muslim conquest	51
	Islamic rule	53
	Social and economic fabric	57
	Muslim faith and culture	61
	Christians and Jews under Islam	62
	The Christian Reconquest of the North	65
5.	The Medieval Kingdom	70
	The <i>condado Portucalense</i>	70
	Afonso Henriques and the founding of the kingdom	74
	Expanding south	77
	The fates of the conquered	82
	Settling and developing	83
	Castles, churches and religious institutions	86
	Crown, seigneurs and ecclesiastical rights	90
	Afonso III and King Dinis	93
6.	The Fourteenth Century	95
	Becoming a nation	95
	The economic base	97
	Towns and the beginnings of commercial capitalism	100
	The ordering of society: theory and practice	102
	The Black Death and its aftermath	107
	Afonso IV and Pedro I	111
	Fernando and the Castilian wars	113
	Dynastic crisis: a Castilian usurper or a Portuguese bastard?	117
	Aljubarrota	120
7.	The Making of Avis Portugal	122
	The coming of João I: a bourgeois revolution?	122
	Settling the dynasty: war, peace and royal marriages	124
	Change and continuity in the noble estate	126
	King Duarte and the regency of Prince Pedro	128
	Regression under Afonso V	131
	João II, noble conspiracies and royal power	133
	João II: the later years	136
	Law and taxes	137
	The changing art of war	140
8.	The Golden Age	143
	The character and contradictions of the Golden Age	143
	The Golden Age economy	145
	The court and the king's majesty	149
	The Castilian connection and the Jews	151
	Elite society, government and bureaucracy	154
	Church reform without a Reformation	159

Social welfare and the <i>Misericórdia</i>	162
The Portuguese literary Renaissance	163
The Arts	166
9. The Tarnished Age	172
João III and his fated family	172
Sebastião and Henrique	173
A faltering economy?	176
The coming of the Inquisition	180
The Inquisition in action	182
Portugal, the Council of Trent and the Jesuits	186
The fate of Letters and the Arts	189
The crisis of 1580 and the succession of Filipe I	192
10. Habsburg Portugal	198
Filipe I in Lisbon	198
Institutional change, marginalisation and ambiguous autonomy	200
The Habsburg economy	204
The union of crowns and foreign relations	209
The reform program of Olivares	212
The defection of the Portuguese nobility	215
The revolt of 1640	218
11. Restoration and Reconstruction	221
The Restoration	221
João IV, war and diplomacy	225
Afonso VI and national survival	228
Pedro II and the stabilising of the Bragança monarchy	232
The internal balance of power	235
The seventeenth-century <i>cortes</i>	240
Restoration Portugal in the international economy	243
12. The Age of Gold and Baroque Splendour	249
Setting the scene	249
Gold, diamonds and João V	252
Population and agriculture	256
The wine industry and the patterns of overseas trade	259
Eighteenth-century Joanine absolutism	264
Baroque culture and the royal court	268
The Enlightenment and the Portuguese public	274
13. The Age of Pombal	280
Pombal and Pombalism	280
The 1755 earthquake	283
Pombal and Portuguese trade	286

Pombaline industrial and agrarian reform	289
The cowing of the higher nobility	292
Pombaline regalism and the expulsion of the Jesuits	298
Defence and education	305
14. The Late Eighteenth Century: Finale of the Old Regime	311
Maria I and the <i>viradeira</i>	311
The Marian economy and the Marian Enlightenment	314
Subversion, police and internal security	319
Prince João and a world in turmoil	322
1807: the <i>ano tormentoso</i>	328
<i>Glossary</i>	334
<i>Bibliography</i>	341
<i>Index</i>	356

## Abbreviations

ACE	Pissurlencar P S S (ed) <i>Assentos do conselho do estado</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
APO	Bragança Pereira A B de <i>Arquivo português oriental</i>
BEM	Mota C G (org) <i>Brasil em perspectiva</i>
CB	Bethell L (ed) <i>Colonial Brazil</i>
CEHCA	Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga
CEHU	Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos
CEPCEP	Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas da Expansão Portuguesa
CHAM	Centro de História de Além-mar
CHI	Haig Sir W (planned), Burn Sir R (ed) <i>The Cambridge history of India</i> vol 4
CHLA	Bethell L (ed) <i>The Cambridge history of Latin America</i>
CNCDP	Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses
CRB OM	Boxer C R <i>Opera Minora</i>
CRE	Matos A T de and Thomaz L F R (eds) <i>A carreira da Índia e as rotas dos estreitos</i>
DA	Turner J (ed) <i>The dictionary of art</i>
DBC	Vainfas R (dir) <i>Dicionário do Brasil colonial (1500–1808)</i>
DHCPB	Silva M B N da (co-ord) <i>Diccionario da história da colonização portuguesa no Brasil</i>
DHDP	Albuquerque L de (dir) <i>Dicionário de história dos descobrimentos portugueses</i>
DHP	Serrão J (ed) <i>Dicionário de história de Portugal</i>
DIHP	<i>Dicionário ilustrado da história de Portugal</i>
DUP	Rego A da S (ed) <i>Documentação ultramarina portuguesa</i>

- GE *Grande enciclopédia portuguesa e brasileira*
- GL-A Delgado S R (ed) *Glossário luso-asiático*
- HAHR *Hispanic American Historical Review*
- HEP Bethencourt F and Chaudhuri K (dir) *História da expansão portuguesa*
- HEPM Baião A, Cidade H, Múrias M (eds) *História da expansão portuguesa no mundo*
- HGCB Holanda S B de (dir) *História geral da civilização Brasileira. Tomo 1 A época colonial*
- HGCV Albuquerque L de and Santos M E M (co-ords) *História geral do Cabo Verde*
- H-J Yule H and Burnell A (eds) *Hobson-Jobson*
- HP Mattoso J (dir) *História de Portugal*
- HPEO Marques A H de O (dir) *História dos portugueses no extremo oriente*
- IHA-M Instituto de História de Além-mar
- IICT Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical
- IIO Das Gupta A and Pearson M N (eds) *India and the Indian Ocean 1500–1800*
- ISIPH International seminar on Indo-Portuguese history
- JIU Junta de Investigações do Ultramar
- JLAS *Journal of Latin American Studies*
- JM Boogaart E van den (ed) *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen 1604–1679. Essays on the occasion of the tercentenary of his death*
- MHP Marques A H de O *History of Portugal* vol 1
- MMA Baião A (ed) *Monumenta missionária Africana. Africa ocidental*
- NHEP Serrão J and Marques A H de O (dirs) *Nova história da expansão portuguesa*
- NHP Serrão J and Marques A H de O (dirs) *Nova história de Portugal*
- PAP Dutra F A and Santos J C dos (eds) *The Portuguese and the Pacific*
- PDH *Portugal-dicionário histórico, corográfico, heráldico, biográfico, bibliográfico, numismático e artístico*
- PEI Meneses A de F (co-ord) *Portos, escalas e ilhéus no relacionamento entre o Ocidente e o Oriente*
- PEME Tracy J D (ed) *The political economy of merchant empires*
- PHP Peres D (dir) *História de Portugal. Edição monumental*
- PNM Albuquerque L de (dir) *Portugal no mundo*
- PTP Winius G D (ed) *Portugal the pathfinder*
- REIP Matos A T de and Thomaz L F R (eds) *As relações entre a Índia, a Ásia do sueste e o extremo oriente*

- RHC Rodrigues F *História da companhia de Jesús na assistência de Portugal*
- SHP Serrão J V *História de Portugal*
- SIHI-P Albuquerque L de and Guerreiro I (dirs) *II seminário internacional de história indo-portuguesa. Actas*
- UGHA UNESCO *general history of Africa*
- VGH Magalhães J R, Flores J M (eds) *Vasco da Gama, homens, viagens e culturas. Actas do congresso internacional*
- VGL Disney A R and Booth E (eds) *Vasco da Gama and the linking of Europe and Asia*



## List of Maps

- 1 North Africa and the Portuguese.
- 2 Atlantic Africa and the Portuguese voyages of the fifteenth century.
- 3 The Portuguese in northern Atlantic Africa.
- 4 The Portuguese in southern Atlantic Africa.
- 5 Portugal and the Atlantic islands.
- 6 The Madeira archipelago.
- 7 The Azores.
- 8 The Cape Verde Islands.
- 9 São Tomé and Príncipe.
- 10 Maritime Asia and the arrival of the Portuguese at the end of the fifteenth century.
- 11 The Portuguese and western maritime Asia.
- 12 The Portuguese and southeastern maritime Asia.
- 13 The Portuguese and northeastern maritime Asia.
- 14 The Portuguese and Mozambique, before 1807.
- 15 The Portuguese and their neighbours in India, mid- to late eighteenth century.
- 16 The Goa territories after the mid-eighteenth-century conquests (1747–63).
- 17 Colonial Brazil in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.
- 18 The gold and diamond districts of Minas Gerais in the early eighteenth century.
- 19 Colonial Brazil in the eighteenth century.



## Preface

This second volume of *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire from Beginnings to 1807*, which concerns the Portuguese empire, is organised somewhat differently from Volume 1. Here each chapter engages with Portugal's presence in a particular geographical region – or, in the cases of Chapters 16 and 19, with the processes of exploring and opening up communications. Given that the Portuguese empire was an extraordinarily widespread and dispersed entity, only loosely held together – a complex patchwork of disparate parts – it seemed to me such a framework constituted easily the most appropriate option for a volume of this kind.

The volume begins with a chapter on the Portuguese presence in North Africa, where the kingdom's overseas expansion began in 1415. Portugal continued to maintain considerable commitments in this region for at least a century – and only abandoned its last North African outpost in 1769. Next, there is a chapter on Portuguese voyages of exploration in the Atlantic, concluding with Dias's rounding of the Cape of Good Hope in 1487 and the overland reconnaissances of Covilhã. The two following chapters describe how the Portuguese established and maintained themselves, respectively, in numerous parts of Atlantic Africa, from Mauritania to Angola, and in various Atlantic archipelagoes – particularly Madeira, the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands. Then there is a cluster of three chapters on the Portuguese in maritime Asia, up until the crisis of the mid-seventeenth century. These deal in turn with Portugal's arrival and early expansion in the region, the *Estado da Índia* as a formal entity and the informal Portuguese presence.

In Chapters 22 and 23 I attempt to explain how the Portuguese came to establish themselves in Brazil, the obstacles and interruptions that impeded the colonising process there and the kind of society to which that process gave birth. Chapter 24 goes on to look at developments and changes in Brazil during

the 150 years preceding the transfer of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro in 1807–8. Then, moving back to the Indian Ocean, likewise in the late colonial period, Chapter 25 concerns Goa and a few minor possessions in the sub-continent. These Indian possessions still formed, even in the eighteenth century, the central core of a by then much reduced Eastern empire. Finally, Chapter 26 deals with what had survived of that Eastern empire's periphery – in effect Macau, Portuguese Timor and Mozambique, each of which was very different from the others.

Readers will find that throughout this volume the emphasis is firmly on the overseas activities and behaviour of the Portuguese themselves. Nevertheless, in so far as space allows, I have tried to write contact peoples into the story as well – particularly where, as in the case of Brazil, the impact of the Portuguese upon them was very great. I have also emphasised that contact was a two-way process: for instance, in regard to religion, and to culture more generally, Portuguese expansion was not just a matter of formal evangelising of non-Europeans by white Catholic missionaries, or of the Portuguese teaching the 'other' their ways. On the contrary, many Portuguese were themselves influenced by the beliefs and practices of the peoples they encountered. Nor did all Portuguese react to non-Christians or non-Portuguese in a uniform manner.

This volume, like Volume 1, is fully documented. Therefore by referring to the notes and bibliography the reader may readily identify the sources on which the work is based – and so gain some appreciation of how the historiography of the Portuguese empire has progressed in recent years. One evident reality is increasing specialisation. Given the many regions of the world into which the Portuguese intruded, at different times and under a variety of circumstances, this is not surprising. The number of specialist monographs, case studies and articles is now considerable and continues to grow apace. Today most scholars of Portuguese expansion identify themselves as Asianists, Brazilianists or Africanists, and many, indeed, focus on much narrower sub-divisions. These developments are obviously reflected in the scholarly literature.

Nevertheless, a number of useful collective studies of the history of the Portuguese empire do exist, all of which were helpful in varying degrees in the writing of this volume. For much of the twentieth century the standard synthesis was the three-volume *História da expansão portuguesa no mundo*, edited by António Baião, Hernani Cidade and Manuel Múrias (Editorial Ática, Lisbon, 1937–40). However, this work was never really comparable with the 'Barcelos' history for Portugal itself, and it has now been largely superseded by three more recent works.

The first of these newer collective works is the six-volume *Portugal no mundo*, edited by Luís de Albuquerque (Publicações Alfa, Lisbon, 1989), which consists of contributions by a range of specialist scholars, both

Portuguese and foreign. The second such work is the *Nova história da expansão portuguesa* (Editorial Estampa, 1989–). This project was planned and directed – like the similarly named *Nova história de Portugal* – by Joel Serrão and A H de Oliveira Marques. Twelve volumes are projected, although only six to date have been published. As might be expected in a publication of this kind, written by various individuals over a relatively long period of time, perspectives and approaches differ quite substantially. Although overall the outcome is a reliable, well-researched tool, it does not carry quite the same authority as the *Nova história de Portugal* itself. The third collective study worthy of mention is the *História da expansão portuguesa* (five volumes, Círculo de Leitores, Lisbon, 1998), directed by Francisco Bethencourt and Kurti Chaudhuri. Volume 3 of this history, which concerns the eighteenth century, I have found especially useful.

English-speaking readers have long been better served for at least the history of the early Portuguese empire than they have for that of Portugal itself. The classic account, still highly readable, is Charles R. Boxer's *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415–1825* (Hutchinson, London, 1969). Bailey W Diffie and George D Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1977), although dealing with the formative period of the empire only, is the most detailed overall account in English of the early voyages and initial settlements. A J R Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire, 1415–1808. A World on the Move* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1992), takes the form of a series of thematic essays. Finally, Malyn Newitt's *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400–1668* (Routledge, London, 2004) – which stresses the commercial and cultural components of Portuguese expansion – is well informed and crisply written, with many thoughtful insights. However, as its title indicates, it does not go beyond the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup>

There are also several area histories that concern one or more major sectors of the Portuguese empire, among the most useful being Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500–1700* (Longman, London, 1993) and Leslie Bethell (ed) *Colonial Brazil* (Cambridge University Press, London, 1987). The latter consists of seven chapters by various authors, all taken from the first two volumes of *The Cambridge History of Latin America*.

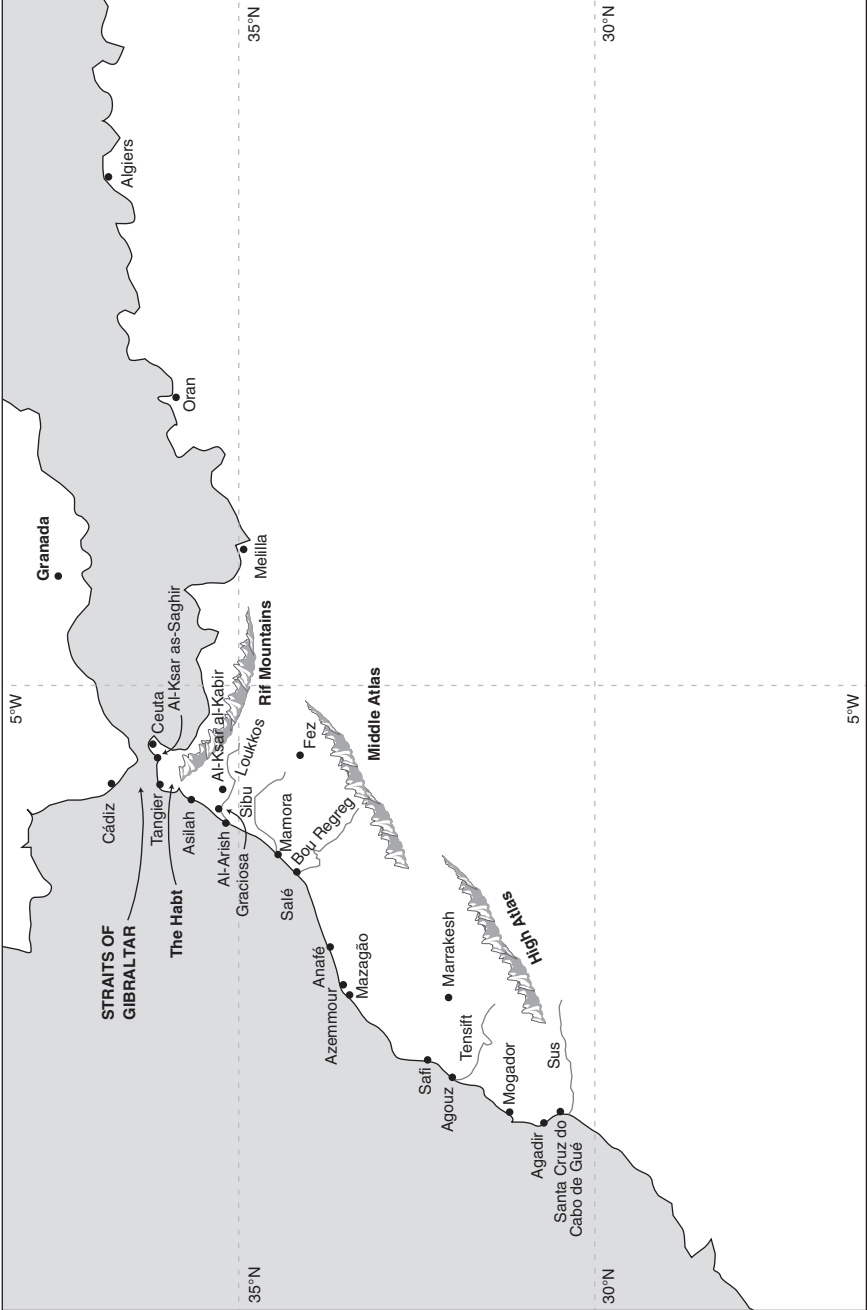
In writing this second volume of *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire from Beginnings to 1807*, the same principles have been followed in

<sup>1</sup> There is now also *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800*, edited by Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (Cambridge University Press, New York, 2007), which appeared too late to be taken into account here. Each of the fourteen individual contributions to this book is followed by a useful bibliographical essay.

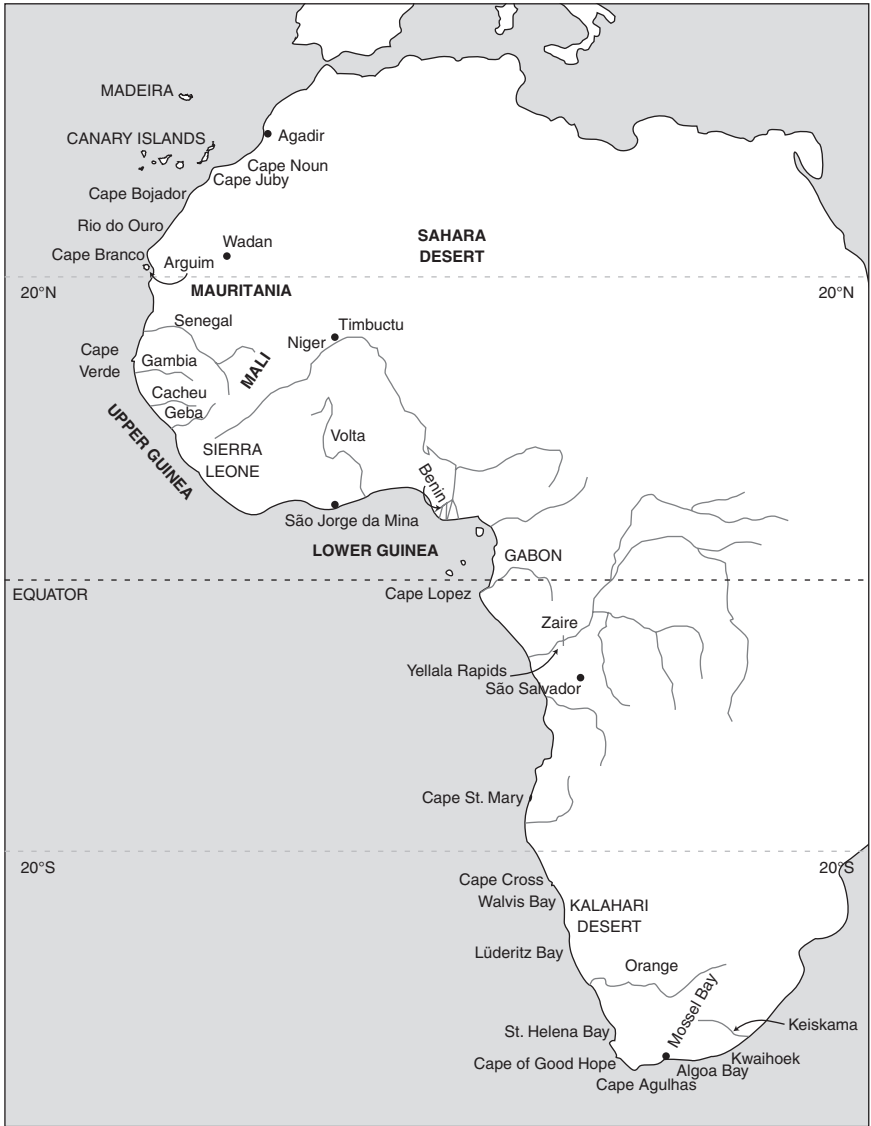
regard to foreign names as were used in Volume 1. Non-English European names, with very few exceptions, have not been Anglicised, but left in their customary native forms. On the other hand, the relatively few names from languages written in non-Roman scripts have been transcribed into English, using – wherever available – standard, conventionalised forms. Diacriticals on names from Arabic, and tonal marks on names transcribed from Standard Mandarin Chinese, have consistently *not* been used, it seeming to me that to do otherwise would be more likely to confuse than to help the overwhelming majority of readers.

I am as much indebted to other historians and researchers in respect of this second volume as I was for Volume 1. Here I would like to pay particular tribute to the late Charles R. Boxer, who re-wrote, or more often wrote for the first time, so much of the history of the Portuguese expansion – as a glance at the bibliography to this volume will readily demonstrate. I also extend grateful thanks to Luís Filipe Reis Thomaz, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Malyn Newitt, Dauril Alden, João Paulo Costa, Jorge Flores, Artur Teodoro de Matos, Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes, Zoltan Biedermann, Roderich Ptak, Fátima de Silva Gracias, Celsa Pinto, George Winius, Teotónio de Souza, Dejanirah Couto, Rui Manuel Loureiro, John K Thornton and David Dorward for their much-valued help and advice. Finally, the continuing support I received from the Australian Research Grants Commission, and from La Trobe University, was critical. To them I remain ever grateful.

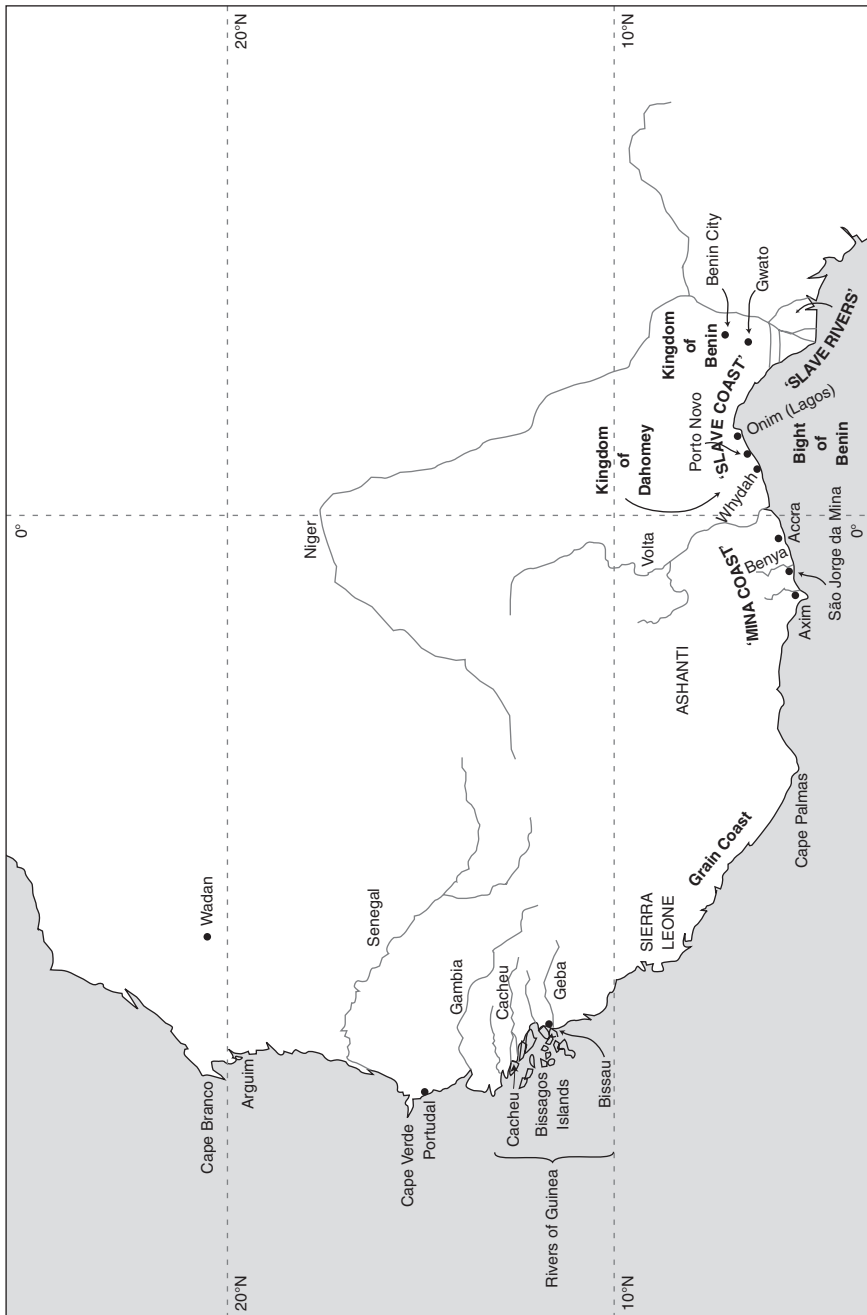
**Anthony Disney**  
**Melbourne**  
**March 2008**



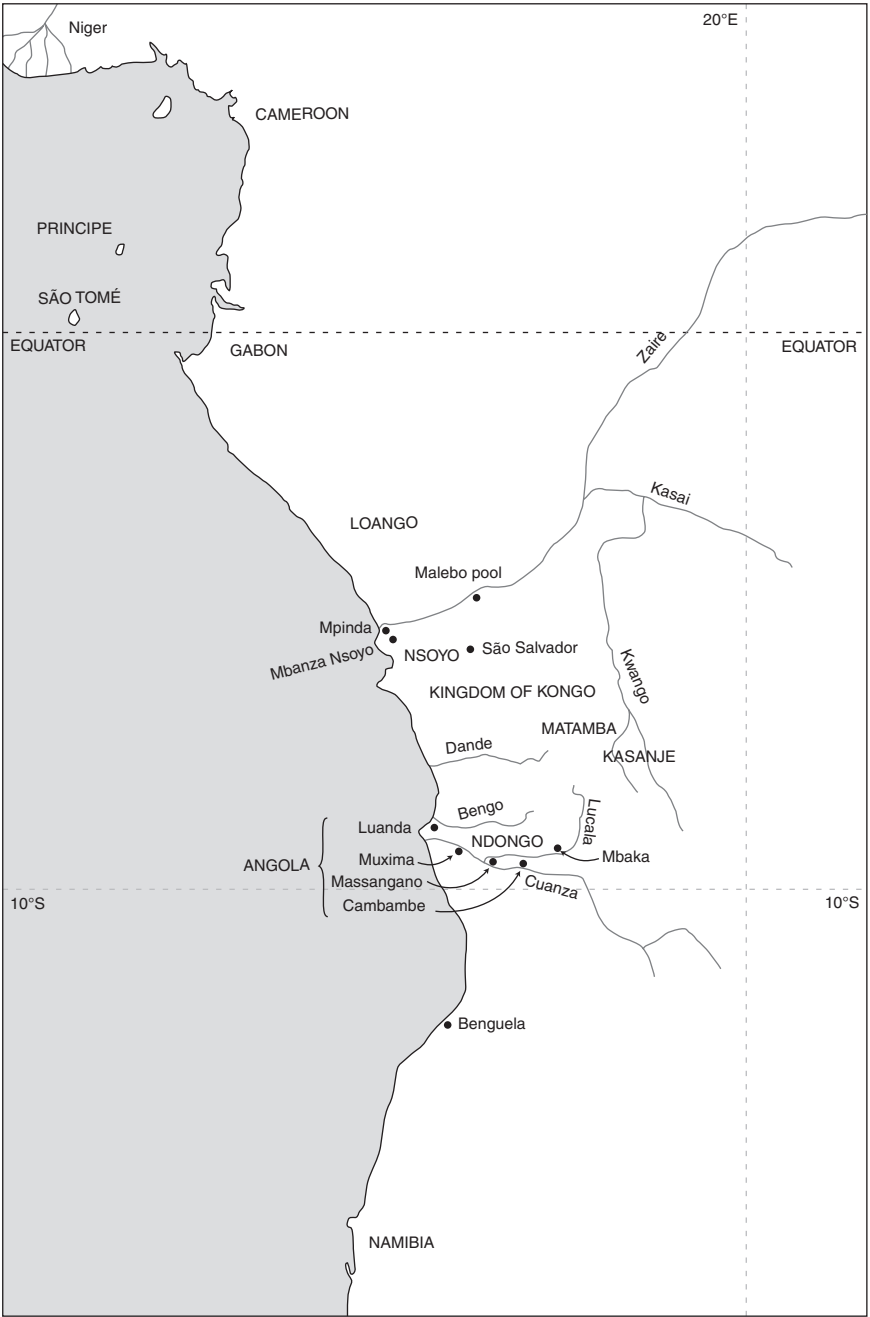
MAP I. North Africa and the Portuguese.



MAP 2. Atlantic Africa and the Portuguese voyages of the fifteenth century.



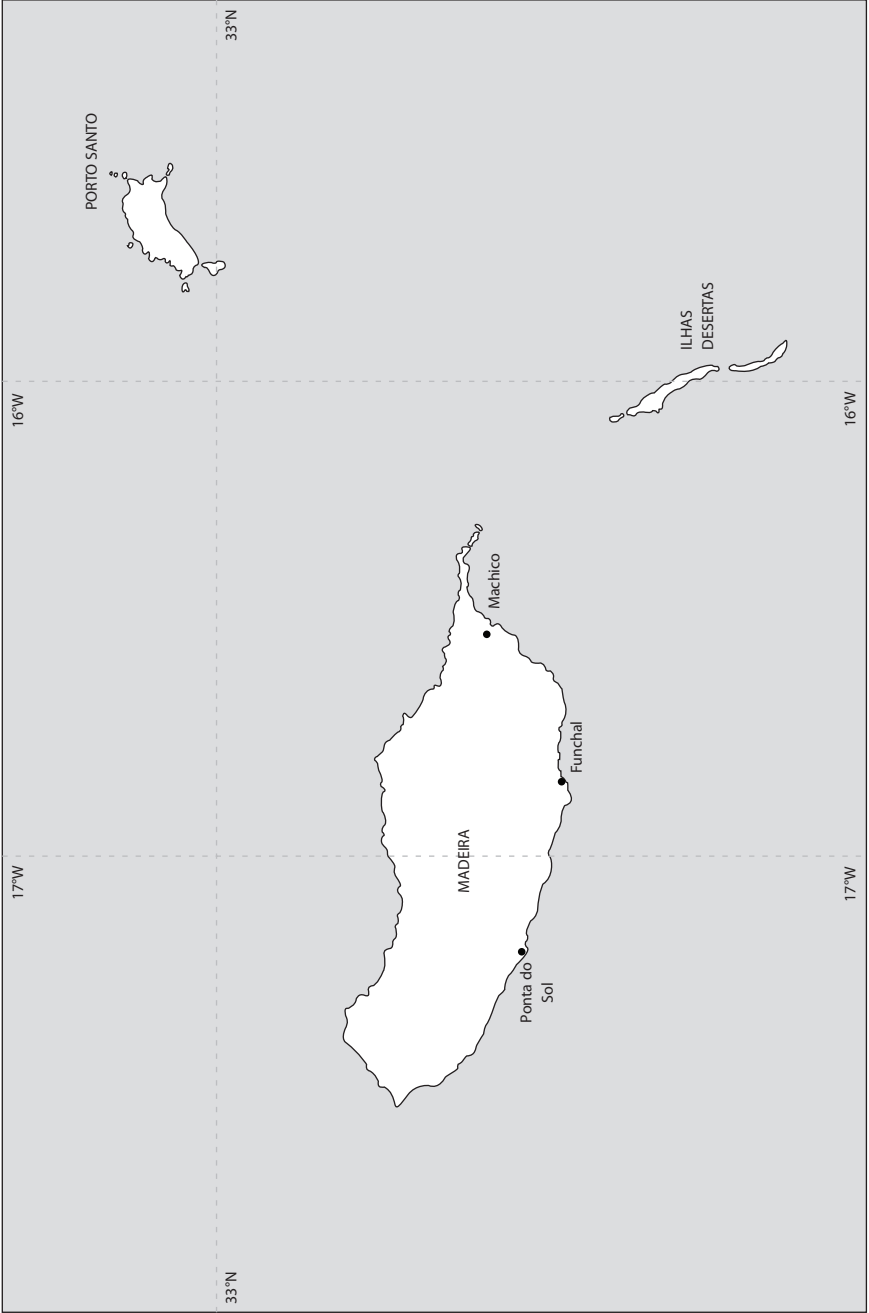
MAP 3. The Portuguese in northern Atlantic Africa.



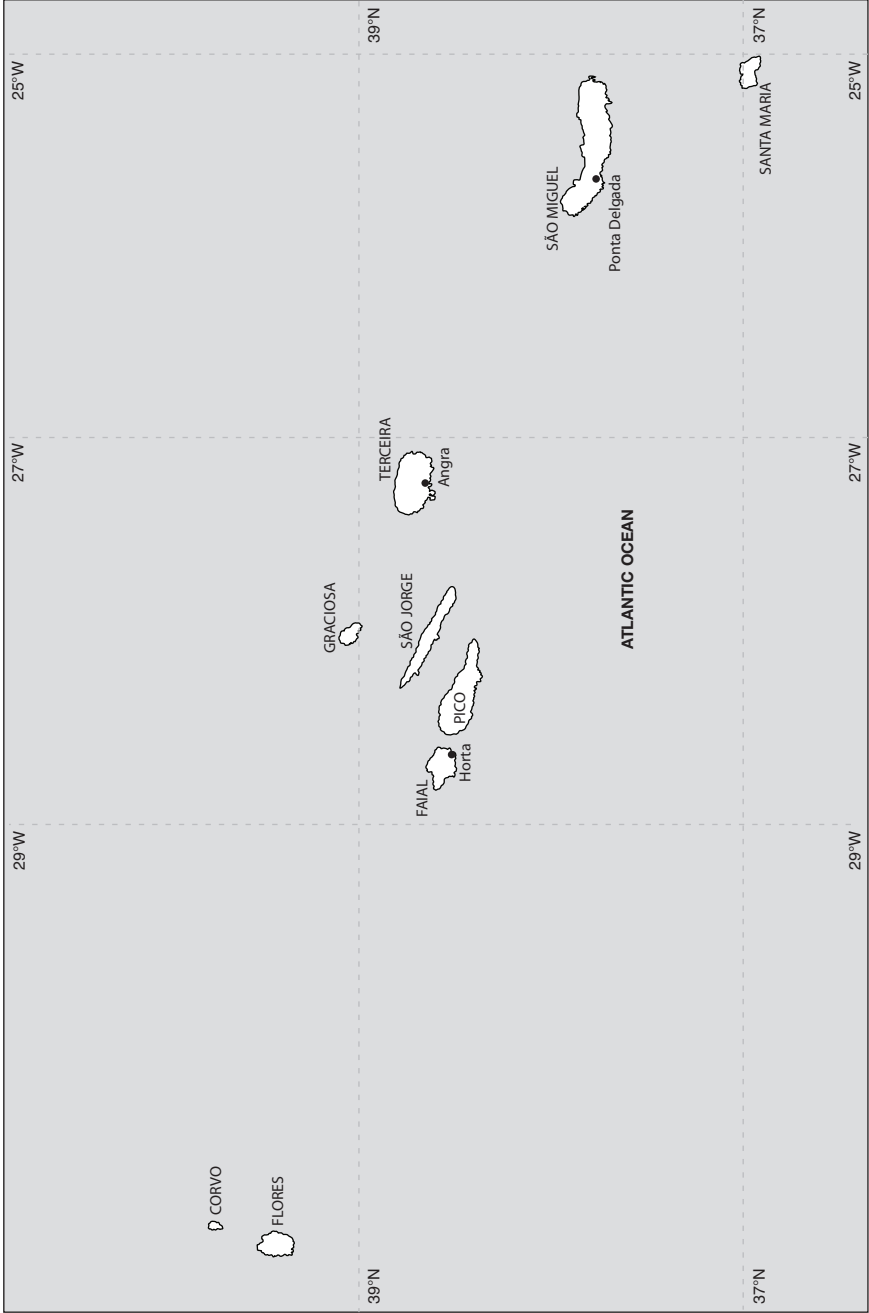
MAP 4. The Portuguese in southern Atlantic Africa.



MAP 5. Portugal and the Atlantic islands.



MAP 6. The Madeira archipelago.



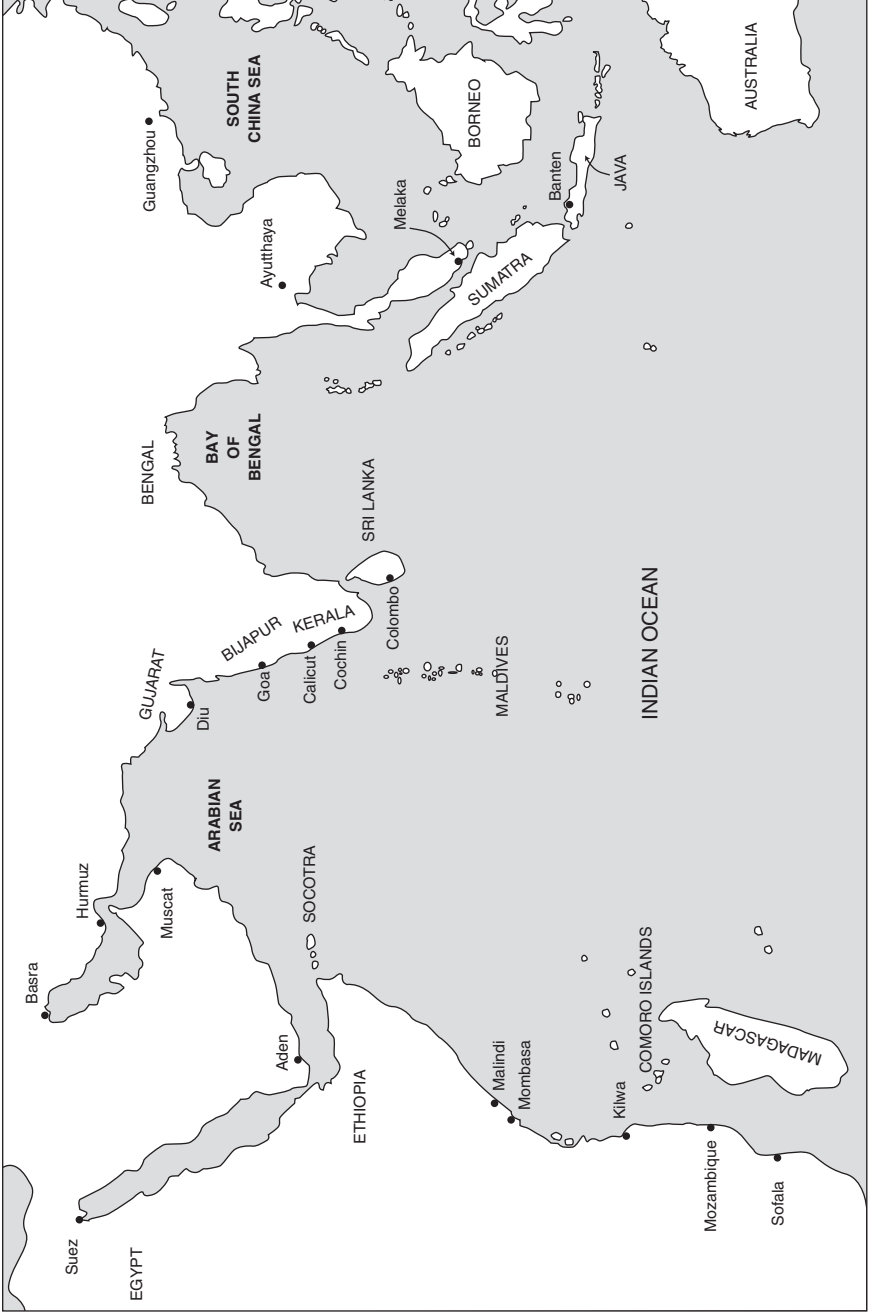
MAP 7. The Azores.



MAP 8. The Cape Verde Islands.



MAP 9. São Tomé and Príncipe.



MAP 10. Maritime Asia and the arrival of the Portuguese at the end of the fifteenth century.



MAP 11. The Portuguese and western maritime Asia.



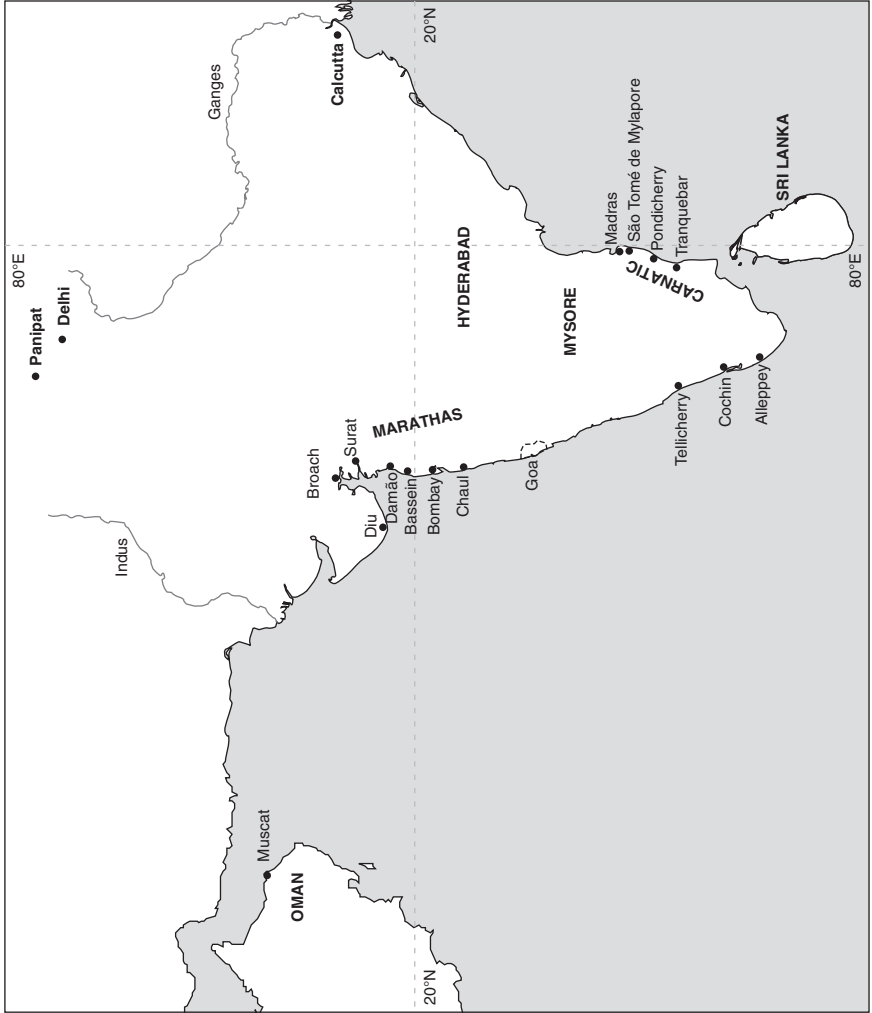
MAP 12. The Portuguese and southeastern maritime Asia.



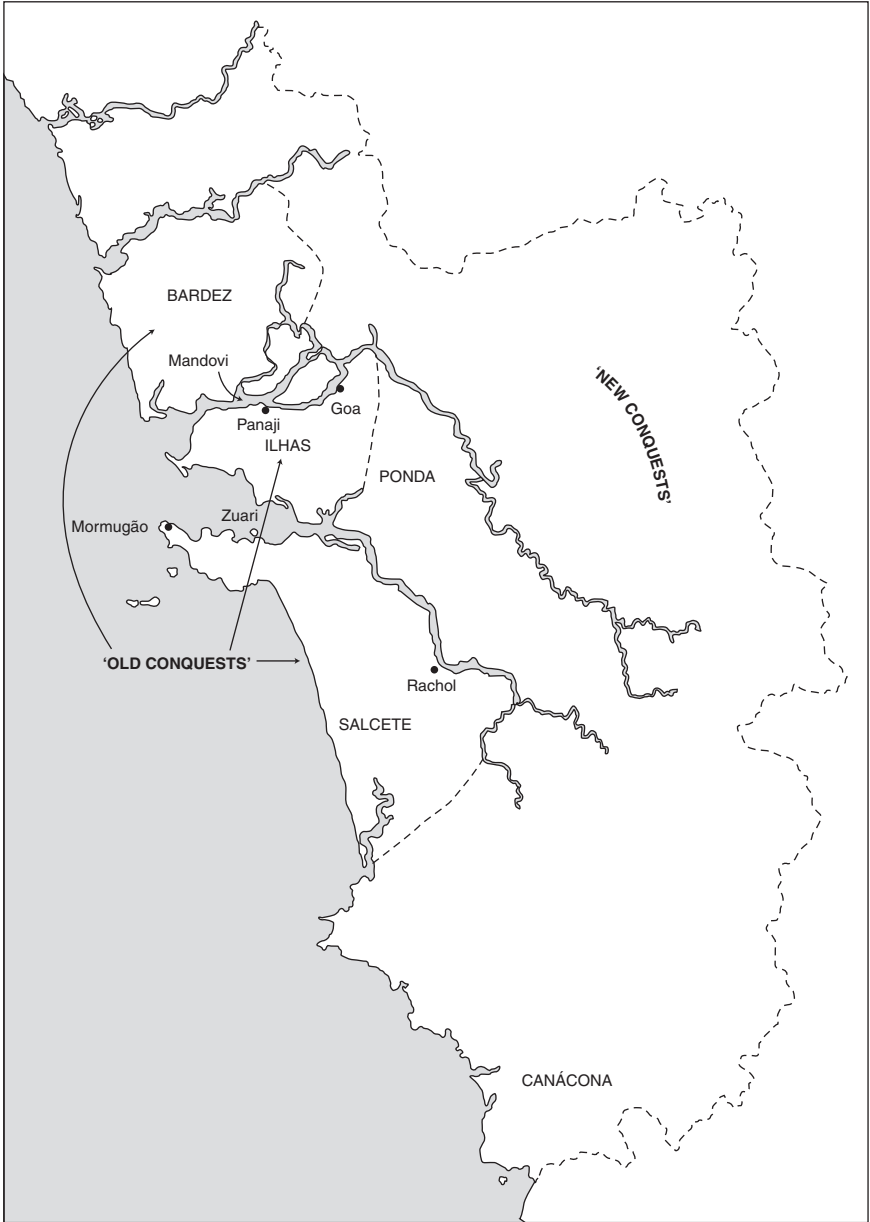
MAP 13. The Portuguese and northeastern maritime Asia.



MAP 14. The Portuguese and Mozambique, before 1807.



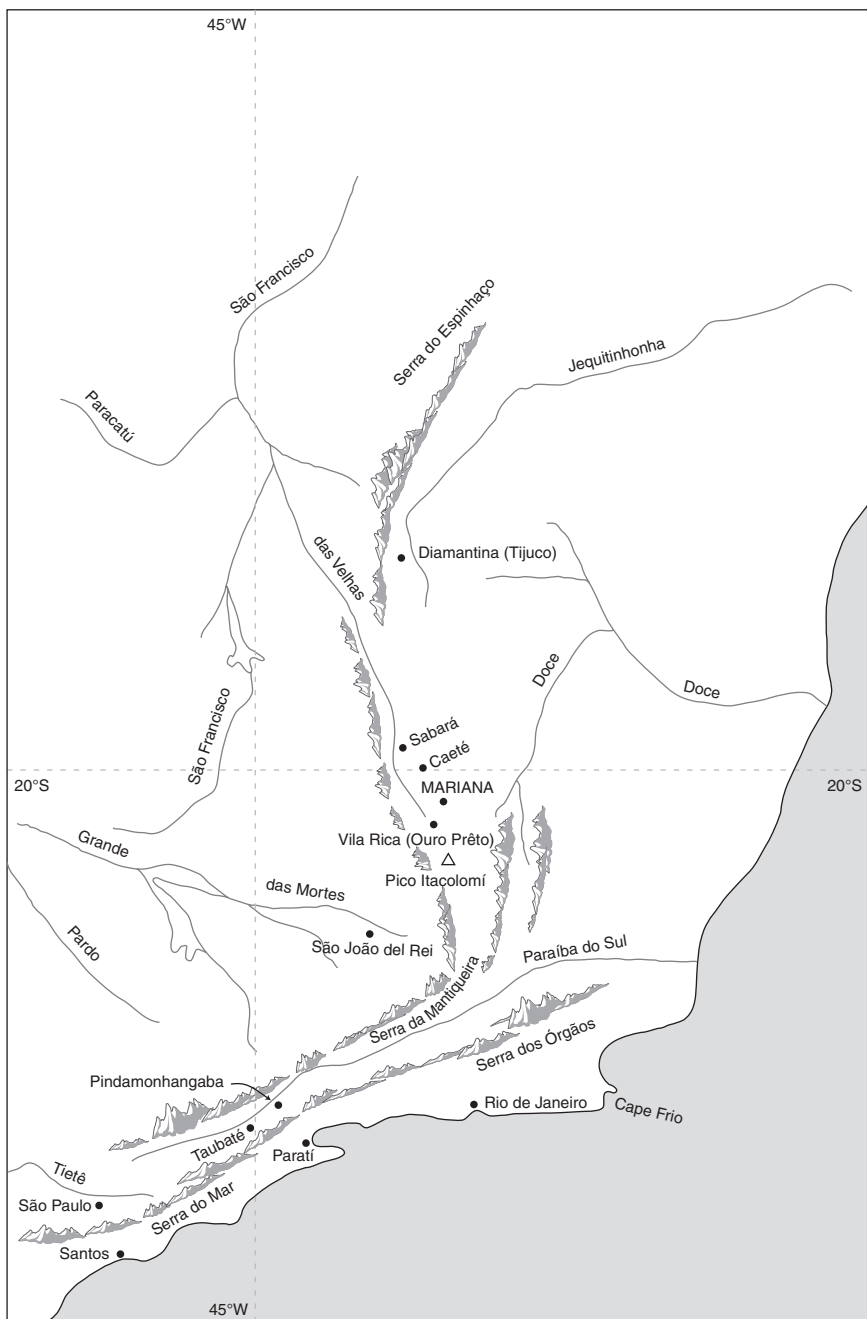
MAP 15. The Portuguese and their neighbours in India, mid- to late eighteenth century.



MAP 16. The Goa territories after the mid-eighteenth-century conquests (1747-63).



MAP 17. Colonial Brazil in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.



MAP 18. The gold and diamond districts of Minas Gerais in the early eighteenth century.



MAP 19. Colonial Brazil in the eighteenth century.



## North Africa

### BEGINNINGS: THE CONQUEST OF CEUTA

Portuguese expansion into North Africa began in 1415 with a massive military expedition against the Moroccan port-town of Ceuta, a short sea-voyage from Portugal across the narrow Straits of Gibraltar. Various explanations have been offered as to why the Portuguese leadership decided to launch this expedition, the most important of which have been conveniently summarised by Isabel and Paulo Drumond Braga.<sup>1</sup>

Firstly, there were alleged strategic objectives such as gaining a degree of control over the Straits, obtaining a port from which to combat Muslim piracy and outmanoeuvring Castile; but there is little to suggest any of these aims was of decisive importance in 1415. A second type of explanation stresses the economic incentive. Ceuta was known to receive exotic trade goods from trans-Saharan and trans-Middle Eastern caravans for which reason it had already attracted attention from the Venetians and Genoese. Perhaps Ceuta was also seen as a potential supplier of wheat – a commodity Morocco produced in some abundance but Portugal needed to import. In any event, merchant interests, particularly in Lisbon, were supposed to have strongly favoured the expedition. Such explanations received wide credence especially in the mid-to-late twentieth century, when the magisterial writings of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho were at their most influential.<sup>2</sup>

A third kind of explanation sees the Ceuta expedition, which was strongly supported by the service nobility, as primarily an extension of the Iberian peninsula's long tradition of Reconquest. Recent historiography has tended

<sup>1</sup> Braga I M D and Braga P D 1998 pp 27–32.

<sup>2</sup> See Godinho V M 1962 chs 1–7.

to lean towards this view – and with good reason. The goal of Reconquest had been integral to Iberian Christian life since well before the emergence of the Portuguese kingdom in the time of Afonso Henriques. Moreover, although Portugal had freed itself of occupation by the mid-thirteenth century, other parts of the peninsula still remained in Muslim hands. Nor had the threat of further invasions from North Africa disappeared. As recently as 1340 just such an invasion had occurred, led by the Marinid sultan of Fez in person. In response, the king of Portugal and much of the Portuguese nobility had combined with their Castilian counterparts to impose a crushing defeat on the invaders at the battle of Rio Salado, fought near Seville. This encounter took place only seventy-five years before the Ceuta expedition, and in 1415 it certainly still remained a vivid memory. Meanwhile, the Muslim kingdom of Granada persisted – a beleaguered remnant of al-Andalus on peninsular soil, and in Christian eyes a standing provocation.

The notion of Reconquest was not confined to the Iberian peninsula only. The kings of Portugal, Castile and Aragon all claimed to be the rightful heirs to an ancient Visigothic North Africa wrongfully taken from their forefathers by Muslim conquerors in the early eighth century. Against this background, a tacit understanding among the three allowed each to claim the region of North Africa nearest to his own kingdom. In the case of Portugal, this meant northwestern Morocco. So it is unsurprising that, in the decades following Rio Salado, prosecuting the war against Islam remained firmly on Portugal's agenda. In fact, as Luís Filipe Thomaz points out, five successive papal bulls were secured by Portuguese kings between 1341 and 1377 formally authorising crusades against Muslims in either Granada or North Africa.<sup>3</sup> Only the ravages of the Black Death and repeated wars with Castile prevented these bulls from being acted upon.

However, by the second decade of the fifteenth century, the impact on Portugal of 'plague' had subsided and João I had established himself securely on the Portuguese throne. In 1411, peace had been made with Castile, and Portugal entered upon a period of economic recovery and political renewal. Expeditions against Muslim targets consequently became more practicable – and, from the crown and nobility's viewpoints, had much to recommend them. Launching a major attack against Muslims offered a restless, under-resourced nobility the possibility of gaining honour and booty. The most obvious target was Granada, and the Portuguese leadership at first seriously considered moving against that kingdom. But Granada lay within the king of Castile's zone of conquest and could not be targeted without Castilian co-operation.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, an alternative was needed – which could be found only in nearby Morocco.

<sup>3</sup> Thomaz L F R 1994 pp 47–8, 50.

<sup>4</sup> Farinha A D 2002 pp 8–9.

One possibility was Ceuta, an ancient city located on the southeastern fringe of the Straits of Gibraltar. Ceuta had been briefly occupied by the Visigoths, first in the mid-sixth century and probably again in the early eighth century. In 711, it had served as the springboard for Tariq's expedition against Visigothic Hispania, as it did for subsequent Islamic invasions up to and including that of the Almohads. Ceuta was also one of just three places on the Moroccan side of the Straits that possessed fairly secure anchorages, the other two being Tangier and Al-Ksar as-Saghir. Since 1309 it had been nominally within the sultanate of the Marinids of Fez; but Marinid authority was by this time weak and was exercised only loosely. Ceuta was therefore a semi-autonomous city run largely by its own merchant elite.<sup>5</sup>

After long and careful preparation, João I's expedition against Ceuta was launched in the summer of 1415. The *Cronica da tomada de Ceuta* by Gomes Eanes de Zurara, which was written a generation later in 1449–50 at the request of King Afonso V, is the only literary source that describes the expedition and its background in substantial detail.<sup>6</sup> Zurara was Fernão Lopes's successor as royal archivist, and his account of the taking of Ceuta was intended as a continuation of Lopes's chronicle of the reign of João I. It is couched in terms of a panegyric of the military nobility who took part and of Prince Henrique in particular. But Zurara's work nevertheless used contemporary documents and was well informed. All modern accounts of the campaign are based primarily on Zurara, although Peter Russell has recently shown that a number of letters written to King Fernando I of Aragon in 1415 by a secret agent in Lisbon are also relevant.<sup>7</sup>

The Ceuta expedition was enthusiastically supported by the three older sons of João I and most of the court nobility. Among its most articulate advocates was João Afonso de Alenquer, the king's *vedor da fazenda*. He allegedly stressed the wealth Ceuta derived from the desert caravans – gold and slaves from sub-Saharan Africa, silks and spices from the East via Egypt – as well as cattle, grain and cloth from its own hinterland. Magalhães Godinho follows António Sérgio in arguing that the Ceuta enterprise was adopted largely on the advice of João Afonso, acting as a spokesman for Lisbon merchant interests. However, both Thomaz and Russell doubt that Afonso ever played such a role, seeing him instead as a nobleman promoting nobles' interests.<sup>8</sup>

The expedition assembled in late July 1415 at the port of Lagos in the southwestern Algarve. It consisted of perhaps about 20,000 men and was

<sup>5</sup> Cook W F 1994 p 31; Braga I M D and Braga P D 1998 p 15.

<sup>6</sup> Zurara G E de 1965 p 8.

<sup>7</sup> Russell P E 2000 pp 30–1

<sup>8</sup> Godinho V M 1962 pp 109–11; Thomaz L F R 1994 pp 24–5; Russell P E 2000 p 41.

formally led by João I himself – although operational command was entrusted to his three oldest sons, Princes Duarte, Pedro and Henrique. That so many male members of the royal family participated personally in such a dangerous enterprise was quite exceptional.<sup>9</sup> The expeditionaries themselves were overwhelmingly Portuguese, but also included contingents of English, French, German and other foreign mercenaries. In August the fleet of over 200 disparate transports crossed to North Africa. However, on arrival off Ceuta it found that the town's governor had already prepared his defences. The expedition therefore temporarily drew off – and the governor, believing the threat had passed, then dismissed many of his men.

A few days later the fleet returned to Ceuta, catching the defenders by surprise. Many fled, there was little resistance and on 22 August the expeditionaries broke into the largely abandoned city and duly sacked it. According to Zurara, the looters destroyed much of value in the warehouses. They sliced open bags of spices, spilling pepper and cinnamon into the street, where they were trodden underfoot and filled the air with their pungent odours.<sup>10</sup> When order had been restored the victors celebrated a triumphant *Te Deum* in the principal mosque that had been swiftly converted into a makeshift church. The three royal princes duly received their knighthoods, and, for all the Portuguese present, it was an occasion resonant with symbolism.<sup>11</sup> Later a story gained credence that on the night Ceuta fell a ghostly Afonso Henriques appeared, dressed in armour, to the canons of Santa Cruz in Coimbra – and declared he and his son Sancho had led the Portuguese forces to victory.<sup>12</sup>

After Ceuta had been captured and thoroughly looted King João I convened a council to decide what to do with it. Should the Portuguese occupy the city permanently and use it as a springboard for further North African conquests – or should they merely dismantle its defences and then withdraw? Fatefully, the decision was made that Ceuta be retained. Indeed, this had almost certainly been João's intention from the start. Why otherwise would he have mounted so large and expensive an enterprise?<sup>13</sup> Dom Pedro de Meneses was selected as captain and governor, beginning a long association between Morocco and the Meneses family – one of the earliest instances of a noble family achieving advancement and profit from overseas service. The king, the princes and most of the expedition then returned to Portugal, leaving behind a garrison of about 2,500 soldiers. The whole operation was over within less than two weeks; but

<sup>9</sup> Farinha A D 2002 p 17.

<sup>10</sup> Zurara G E de 1965 p 98.

<sup>11</sup> Lopes D 1937 pp 131–3; NHEP vol 2 pp 237–45; Braga I M D and Braga P D 1998 pp 17–25.

<sup>12</sup> Mascarenhas J de 1918 p 96.

<sup>13</sup> Godinho V M 1962 p 117; Farinha A D 2002 p 17.

it started a Portuguese commitment in Morocco that would last in one form or another for 350 years.

#### THE ERA OF NEO-RECONQUEST

After 1415 every Portuguese ruler from João I to Manuel I became deeply enmeshed in North Africa. The least involved was João I himself, who never re-visited Morocco; but he was firmly committed to retaining Ceuta, which in 1419–20, with the help of a relief expedition commanded by Prince Henrique, withstood a major counter-attack by the Marinid Sultan Abu Said Uthman III (1399–1420). For the rest of João's reign action was limited, the Portuguese remaining confined to Ceuta and its immediate environs. This lull can be partly explained by the assassination of Sultan Abu Said in 1420 and his subsequent replacement by an infant son, Abd al-Haqq II (1428–65). Moreover, Portugal needed time to recover from its earlier exertions and was distracted by renewed tensions with Castile.<sup>14</sup> By the time a new Luso-Castilian peace had been signed in 1431 João I was in his seventies and understandably had less enthusiasm for overseas adventures. Nevertheless, even before the king's death two years later, the possibility of sending another expedition to North Africa, this time against Tangier, was being vigorously debated at court.

The leading advocates of a Tangier campaign were Prince Henrique, always an ardent champion of crusading ventures, and his youngest brother, Prince Fernando, who wished to win his spurs – like the older princes had done at Ceuta. Most of the service nobility, many of whom were impoverished and desperately eager to seize any opportunity to replenish their fortunes, likewise supported the idea. However, the Tangier enterprise was opposed by several important magnates, including Prince Pedro, Prince João and the king's illegitimate half-brother Afonso, count of Barcelos. They argued that crusading in Morocco was too costly, required manpower and resources Portugal could not sustain and might even displease God.<sup>15</sup> The bourgeoisie was divided: Lisbon, Porto and the Algarve ports were pro-expansionist; but most other towns took a contrary view. These internal divisions were fundamental and persisted in one form or another for many years.

King Duarte finally gave his approval for an expedition against Tangier in 1437, placing Henrique in command with Fernando as his deputy. But the force with which they eventually set sail for North Africa late that summer was significantly under-strength. Moreover, Tangier had received plenty of notice and was well prepared to defend itself. There was therefore no repeat

<sup>14</sup> Cook W F 1994 p 93; Thomaz L F R 1994 pp 70–1.

<sup>15</sup> Godinho V M 1962 pp 104–6; Thomaz L F R 1994 pp 97–8; Russell P E 2000 pp 137–46.