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
## Contents

### Contents for Volume 1  
*page ix*

**Abbreviations**  
xiii

**List of maps**  
xvii

**Preface**  
xix

**Maps**  
xxiii

### 15. North Africa  
*page 1*

- Beginnings: the conquest of Ceuta  
- 1
- 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  
*page 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  
*page 45*

- Profits on the fringes of the Sahara  
- 45
- Dealing with competitors  
- 47
- Crown and lançados in Upper Guinea  
- 49
- Portuguese origins of Guinea-Bissau  
- 54
- The gold of São Jorge da Mina  
- 56
- Benin and the Niger delta  
- 61
## Contents

- 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

- 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 Principe: the slave islands 110
- The Newfoundland fisheries and the South Atlantic 115

### 19. Breakthrough to Maritime Asia

- Vasco da Gama’s first voyage to India 119
- Getting to know ‘the other’ 122
- Manucline dreaming 125
- Albuquerque 129
- Post-Albuerquian consolidation 134
- Escalating diplomacy 137

### 20. Empire in the East

- The Estado da Índia 145
- The crown and the pepper trade 149
- Tapping into the inter-port trade 153
- The carreira da Índia 157
- Governing from afar 159
- Late resurgent expansionism 165
- Losses in the seventeenth century 168

### 21. Informal Presence in the East

- 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
- Muzungos and prazo-holders in Mozambique 198
- Catholics in an alien world 200

### 22. Brazil: Seizing and Keeping Possession

- Early voyages and the age of feitorias 204
- The Amerindians and their culture 207
- Establishing settlements: the first hundred years 210
**Contents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The disintegration of coastal Amerindian society</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The impact of the Jesuits</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early-seventeenth-century foreign European intrusions and the Dutch conquest of Pernambuco</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rule of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The end of Netherlands Brazil</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formations of Colonial Brazil</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trees and traders</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The coming of sugar</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The African slave trade to Brazil</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ports and plantations; farms and ranches</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese colonists and miscegenation</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early colonial slavery and slave society</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escapees, the free poor and social control</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>São Paulo and the southern interior</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The northeastern and northern interiors</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Colonial Brazil</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-war reconstruction: sugar, tobacco and cattle</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The great mineral boom</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The free population of Minas Gerais in the age of gold</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavery in Minas Gerais</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pombaline and post-Pombaline neo-mercantilism</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The economic resurgence of the late eighteenth century</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extending the frontier and establishing borders in the north, west and south</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimations of separation</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holding on in India: The Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa and its European rivals</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese, Omanis and Marathas</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old and new patterns in the intercontinental trade</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The late colonial inter-port trade</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The <em>Estado da Índia</em>’s struggle for recovery in the late seventeenth century</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservatism and stagnation in the early eighteenth century</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-eighteenth-century revival and expansion</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa and the reforms of Pombal</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Pinto ‘conspiracy’</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The British occupation of Goa</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Empire in the Late Colonial Era: Peripheries</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The <em>Estado da Índia</em> beyond the sub-continent</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macau and its trade: from crisis to recovery</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macanese trade in the late eighteenth century</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A glimpse of Macanese society and government 337
Macau and the mandarins of Guangzhou 339
Macau’s relations with Beijing 342
The Macau câmara 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 Banias 353
Mozambique: a territorial empire in the making? 355
The Mozambique prazos after 1650 358
Mozambique and the eighteenth-century reforms 363
Glossary 368
Bibliography 377
Index 401
**Contents for Volume 1**

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

Contents for Volume 1

4. Gharb al-Andalus
   The Muslim conquest 51
   Islamic rule 51
   Social and economic fabric 53
   Muslim faith and culture 57
   Christians and Jews under Islam 61
   The Christian Reconquest of the North 65

5. The Medieval Kingdom
   The condado Portucalense 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
   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
   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
   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
Contents for Volume 1

Social welfare and the Misericordia 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 cortes 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 Joaínine 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
xii

Contents for Volume 1

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 viradeira 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 ano tormentoso 328

Glossary 334
Bibliography 341
Index 356
Abbreviations

ACE  Pissurlencar P S S (ed) Assentos do conselho do estado
AHR  American Historical Review
APO  Bragança Pereira A B de Arquivo português oriental
BEM  Mota C G (org) Brasil em perspectiva
CB   Bethell L (ed) Colonial Brazil
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
CHLA  Bethell L (ed) The Cambridge history of India vol 4
CNCDP Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses
CRB OM Boxer C R Opera Minora
CRE  Matos A T de and Thomaz L F R (eds) A carreira da Índia e as rotas dos estreitos
DA   Turner J (ed) The dictionary of art
DBC  Vainfas R (dir) Dicionário do Brasil colonial (1500–1808)
DHCPB Silva M B N da (co-ord) Dicionário da história da colonização portuguesa no Brasil
DHP  Albuquerque L de (dir) Dicionário de história dos descobrimentos portugueses
DHP  Serrão J (ed) Dicionário de história de Portugal
DIHP  Dicionário ilustrado da história de Portugal
DUP  Rego A da S (ed) Documentação ultramarina portuguesa
Abbreviations

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
IO    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
Abbreviations

RHC Rodrigues F *História da companhia de Jesus na assistência de Portugal*

SHP Serrão J V *História de Portugal*

SIHI-P Albuquerque I 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 Sáo 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 Aticã, 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 Luis de Albuquerque (Publicações Alfa, Lisbon, 1989), which consists of contributions by a range of specialist scholars, both
Preface

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, Circulo 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.¹

There are also several area histories that concern one or more major sectors of the Portuguese empire, among the most useful being Sanjay Subrahmanyan, 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

¹ 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 Luis 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, Teotônio 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 2. Atlantic Africa and the Portuguese voyages of the fifteenth century.
MAP 4. The Portuguese in southern Atlantic Africa.
MAP 5. Portugal and the Atlantic islands.
MAP 6. The Madeira archipelago.
MAP 7: The Azores

xxix
MAP 8. The Cape Verde Islands.