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978-0-521-73822-4 - A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: From Beginnings to 1807: Volume 2: The Portuguese Empire

A. R. Disney

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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.

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“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

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A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire

From Beginnings to 1807
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A. R. DISNEY

La Trobe University



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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>

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

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

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- 19 Colonial Brazil in the eighteenth century.

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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

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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

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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.¹

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

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.

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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 Winus, 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
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MAP I. North Africa and the Portuguese.

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

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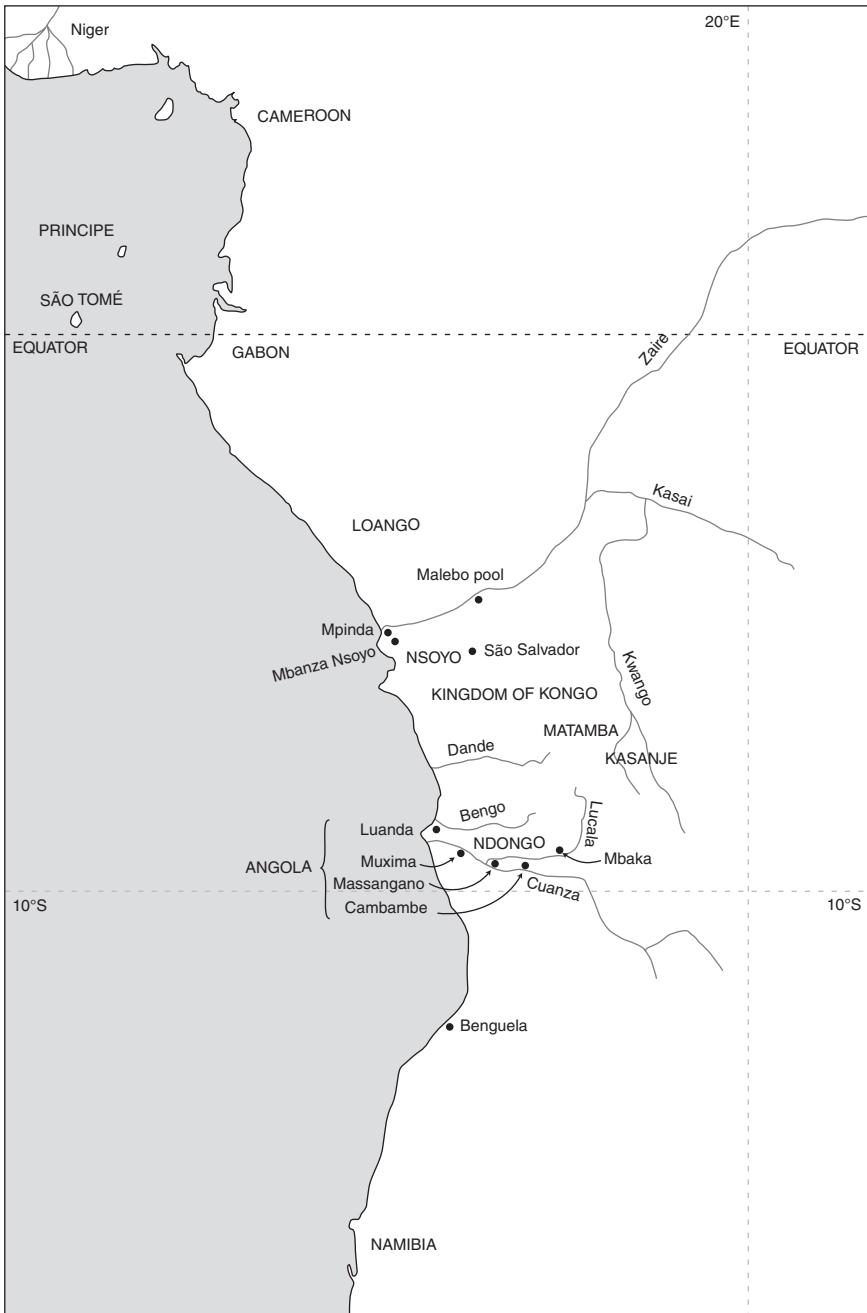
MAP 3. The Portuguese in northern Atlantic Africa.

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MAP 4. The Portuguese in southern Atlantic Africa.

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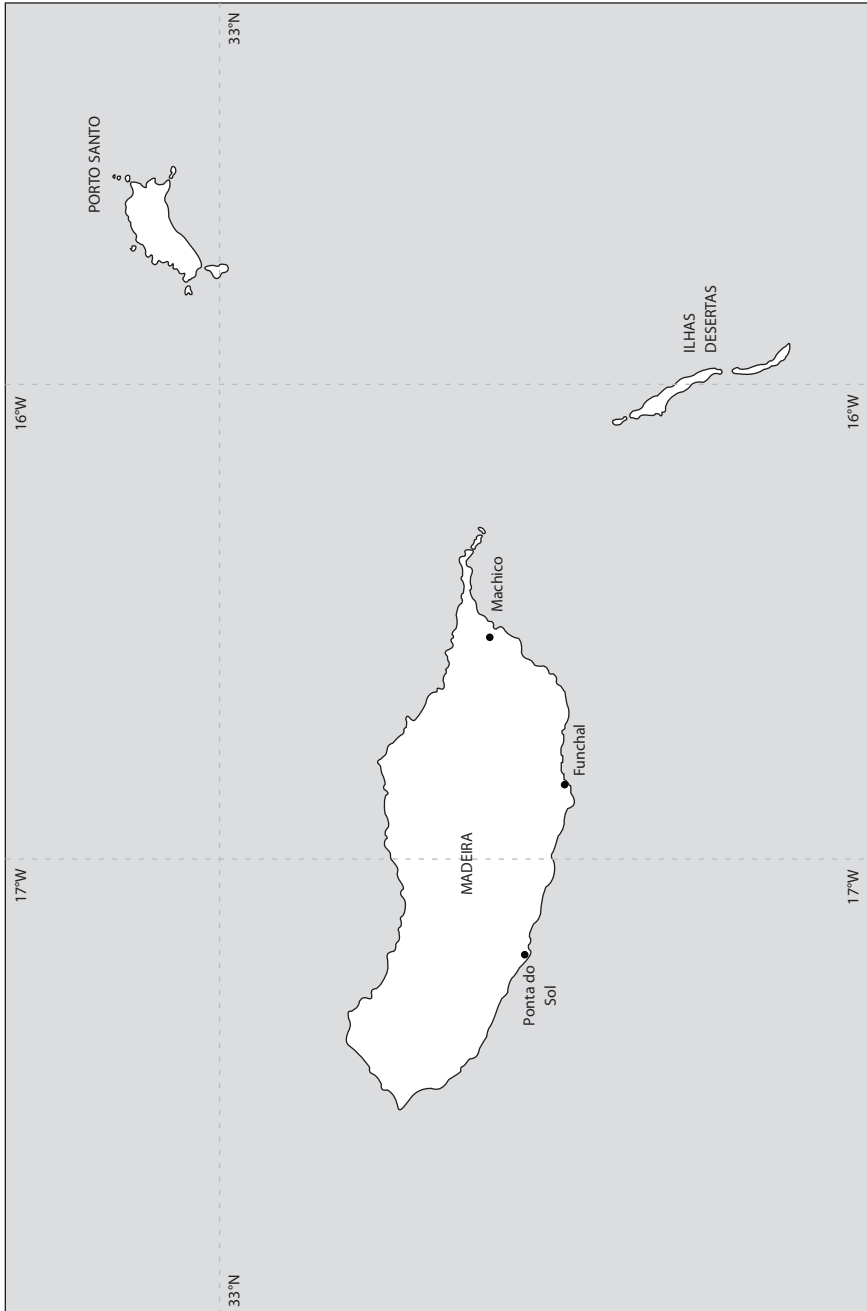
MAP 5. Portugal and the Atlantic islands.

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MAP 6. The Madeira archipelago.

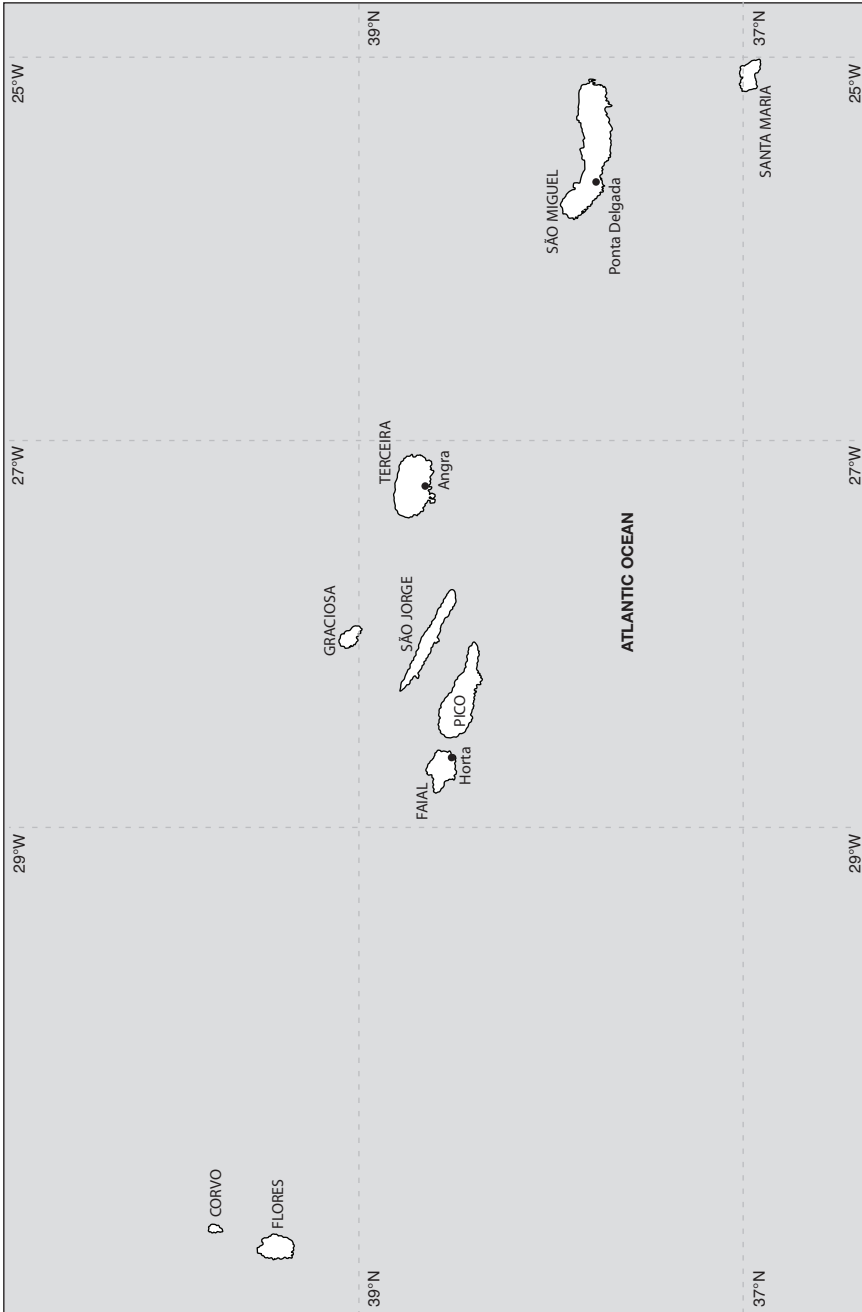
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MAP 7. The Azores.

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MAP 8. The Cape Verde Islands.