

Portugal

Portugal, officially **Portuguese Republic**, Portuguese **República Portuguesa**, country lying along the Atlantic coast of the **Iberian Peninsula** in southwestern **Europe**. Once continental Europe's greatest power, Portugal shares commonalities—geographic and cultural—with the countries of both northern Europe and the Mediterranean. Its cold, rocky northern coast and mountainous interior are sparsely settled, scenic, and wild, while the country's south, the **Algarve**, is warm and fertile. The rugged **Estrela Mountains** (Serra da Estrela, or “Star Mountain Range”), which lie between the **Tagus** and **Mondego** rivers, contain the country's highest point.

In the 1st millennium BCE the Celtic **Lusitani** entered the **Iberian Peninsula** and settled the land, and many traces of their influence remain. According to national legend, though, **Lisbon**, the national capital, was founded not by Celts but by the ancient Greek warrior **Odysseus**, who was said to have arrived at a rocky headland near what is the present-day city after leaving his homeland to wander the world and who, liking what he saw, stayed there for a while; his departure was said to have broken the heart of the nymph Calypso, who, the legend goes, turned herself into a snake, her coils becoming the seven hills of **Lisbon**. Of course, had Odysseus actually come to Portugal, he would have found the land already well settled by the **Lusitani**. Lusitani tribes battled the Romans for generations before acceding to empire, whereupon Rome established several important towns and ports; the Roman presence can be seen in the very name of the country, which derives from *Portus Cale*, a settlement near the mouth of the **Douro River** and the present-day city of **Porto**. Later, the descendants of Romans and the Lusitani would live under Moorish rule for several centuries until an independent kingdom was established.

In constant battle and rivalry with **Spain**, its eastern neighbour, Portugal then turned to the sea and, after **Henry the Navigator**'s establishment of a school of navigation at Sagres, in time founded a vast overseas empire that would become Europe's largest and richest. Much of that empire was quickly lost, but even then Portugal retained sizable holdings along the African coast, in southern and eastern **Asia**, and in **South America**. Portugal remained a colonial power until the mid-1970s, when a peaceful revolution transformed the country from a dictatorship into a democratic republic. Long among the poorest countries of Europe, Portugal modernized in the last decades of the 20th century, expanding its economy from one based primarily on textile manufacture and livestock raising to include a range of manufactures and services. **Lisbon** is Portugal's capital and economic and cultural centre. The city clings to low but steep hills situated on the right bank of the Tagus and is a popular tourist destination. Lisbon is rather more tranquil and reserved than Madrid in neighbouring Spain, but it shares with it a reputation for great food, melancholy and romantic music, dance, and sport. Portuguese traditionally have prized a simple and unostentatious life, favouring the rural over the urban and the traditional to the modern, where a fine meal might consist of *carne de porco à Alentejana* (lean pork stuffed with clams), thick-crust bread, and dark wine. Portuguese delight in the countryside, where they gather to hold family picnics, tend to their gardens and orchards, and relax. It is from the countryside that the *fado*, a form of romantic ballad, is thought to have come (though it is now clearly associated with the cities of Lisbon and Coimbra), and it is in the countryside that the country's traditional sport of **bullfighting** takes its finest form, though in Portuguese bullfighting the bull is not killed but rather is retired to the countryside for the rest of its life.

Land

Portugal occupies one-sixth of the Iberian Peninsula at Europe's southwestern perimeter. To its north and east is **Spain**, which makes up the rest of the peninsula; to the south and the west is the Atlantic Ocean; and to the west and southwest lie the **Azores** (Açores) and the **Madeira Islands**, which are part of metropolitan Portugal. Portugal is not a large country, but it offers a great diversity of physical geography, ranging from low-lying coasts and plains to the **Estrela Mountains**, which rise to nearly 6,500 feet (2,000 metres) at the country's highest point.

With Spanish **Galicia**, northern Portugal comprises the mountainous border of the **Meseta** (the block of ancient rock that forms the core of the Iberian Peninsula); southern Portugal also contains extensive areas of limestone and other sedimentary strata, mostly plateaus or plains. Other physical features link Portugal with Spain: its major rivers—**Douro**, **Tagus** (Rio Tejo), **Guadiana**—rise in the central Meseta before draining west (or, in the case of the Guadiana, south) to the Atlantic, while the proximity of the Meseta affects the climate and increases the rainfall of the northern Portuguese interior, contributing to that region's verdant vegetation. Southern Portugal, however, is predominantly Mediterranean both in vegetation and in climate. Despite Portugal's remarkable scenic diversity, the essence of its relief and underlying geology can be described under three headings: the north, the northern interior, and the south. The old coastal provinces of **Beira Litoral** (see **Beira**) and **Estremadura** are transitional in cultural landscape, vegetation, and climate but southern in relief and geology. In order to discuss Portugal's physiographic regions, however, it is necessary to consider the provincial divisions of the country that no longer exist as administrative entities but that survive as important geographical designations. Although superseded by several planning regions and districts (see below **Local government**) that now organize Portugal, six provinces have traditionally divided the country since the Middle Ages (though these never served as administrative units): **Minho**, located between the Minho and Douro rivers; **Trás-os-Montes**, bounded by Spain (north and east), by the gorges of the **Douro River** (south), and by the mountains (west); **Beira**, extending from the Douro River in the north to the Tagus in the southeast and from the border with Spain to the Atlantic Ocean; **Estremadura**, containing Lisbon; the **Alentejo**, covering south-central Portugal; and the **Algarve**, in southern Portugal. From 1933 to 1959, mainland Portugal also was officially further divided into 11 new provinces that were created on a geographic and economic basis: the Algarve, the Alto (Upper) Alentejo, the Baixo (Lower) Alentejo, Beira Alta (Upper Beira), Beira Baixa (Lower Beira), Beira Litoral, Douro Litoral, Estremadura, Minho, Ribatejo, and Trás-os-Montes e Alto (Upper) Douro.

Relief

Less than one-eighth of Portugal rises above 2,300 feet (700 metres). Most of the country's mountains are north of the [Tagus River](#), which flows northeast to southwest and divides the country. North of the Tagus, more than nine-tenths of the land rises above 1,300 feet (400 metres); in the south, only one range, São Mamede, surpasses 3,200 feet (1,000 metres).

NORTH

In the northwest the mountains of the [Minho province](#), surmounted by the Larouco Mountains, which rise to 5,010 feet (1,527 metres), form an amphitheatre facing the [Atlantic Ocean](#). The area is composed of metamorphic rocks (crystalline schists, slates, and quartzites) and intrusive or granitic rocks, marked by fault lines that give rise to hot springs. Rolling plateaus and deeply entrenched streams characterize the relatively fertile granitic regions; the schist outcrops offer poor soils. Between the ridges, rivers such as the Lima and the Cávado flow through deep gorges or in flat-floored valleys. The narrow coastal strip is backed by hills that rise steeply to 1,000 to 2,000 feet (300 to 600 metres).

NORTHERN INTERIOR

Beyond the mountains of the Minho is [Trás-os-Montes](#), which is bordered on two sides by Spain. In the region south of the Douro, which is also the western extension of the Spanish Meseta, are [Beira Alta](#) and [Beira Baixa](#). In the north of the northern interior region are high plateaus (*terra fria* ["cold country"]) at 2,000 to 2,600 feet (600 to 800 metres) that are heavily faulted and composed largely of ancient [Precambrian](#) rock (more than 540 million years old), such as granites, schists, and slates. They form a rolling topography. The rivers follow lines of structural weakness and run northwest-southeast. After rejuvenation in the past 5 million years, they now flow in deep valleys and canyons that reach depths of as much as 1,600 feet (500 metres) below sea level. The singular monadnock of the Nogueira Mountains rises to 4,330 feet (1,320 metres) above the general plateau level. A similar pattern of relief and geology is found south of the Douro, but the sheltered valleys of dark-coloured schists trap the heat of a [Mediterranean climate](#), creating a *terra quente* ("hot country"). The high Beiras plain is bounded on the northwest by the Caramulo (3,527 feet [1,075 metres]) and Montemuro mountains (4,531 feet [1,381 metres]) and their foothills; the plain is flanked to the south and southeast by the granite and schist escarpment of the [Estrela Mountains](#), which, together with the lower Guardunha Mountains (4,026 feet [1,227 metres]), represent the continuation in Portugal of the Central Sierras of Spain. Between the two ridges, the [Guarda](#) plateau has an average elevation of 3,000 feet (900 metres). The mountain chain extends southwestward to the Açor (4,652 feet [1,418 metres]) and Lousã mountains (3,953 feet [1,205 metres]). Farther south the eroded plateau of Beira Baixa drops from an elevation of 1,600 feet (500 metres) to 700 feet (200 metres) toward the Tagus River. It merges almost imperceptibly into the highlands of the Alto [Alentejo](#).

SOUTH

Some three-fifths of Portugal's land below 1,300 feet (400 metres) is found in the south. From the lower Douro to Lisbon and the lower Tagus, the plains—mainly [Triassic](#) sandstones—of the old western provinces of Beira Litoral and Estremadura descend to low-lying, sometimes marshy coasts. Shifting sands and dunes have been stabilized since the 19th century, but lagoons and salt marshes still characterize the river mouths (e.g., Aveiro Lagoon at the mouth of the Vouga River). Inland, east and south of [Leiria](#), [Jurassic](#) limestones interspersed with large areas of slightly younger [Cretaceous](#) sandstones and conglomerates have been eroded into rolling sandy hills and steep calcareous escarpments. Ancient volcanic activity has left basalt plateaus. Between the Tagus and the Guadiana, the Alto [Alentejo](#) is a continuation of the Spanish tablelands—a series of plateaus, either crystalline (Paleozoic [Cambrian](#) and [Silurian](#) schists), at 600 to 1,300 feet (180 to 400 metres) with poor soils except where outcrops of diorite have weathered into rich black soils, or limestone, with piedmont springs at their foot. North of [Beja](#), in the Baixo [Alentejo](#), ridges of quartz and marble oriented northwest-southeast account for a monotonously undulating relief between 300 and 600 feet (90 and 180 metres). This terminates in the east with the schistose Caldeirão Mountains (1,893 feet [577 metres]). Sheltered by the mountains from northern climatic influences are the more extensive scarps and hills of the [Algarve](#). These are composed of limestones and sandstones of the [Mesozoic](#) Era. The [Monchique Mountains](#), a dissected massif of intrusive igneous rock (syenite), rise to 2,959 feet (902 metres) at Mount Foia.

THE MADEIRA ISLANDS

The [Madeira](#) archipelago includes eight volcanic islands in the Atlantic, 600 miles (1,000 km) southwest of the mainland. Only two of these, Madeira and [Porto Santo](#), are inhabited. Madeira forms an asymmetrical mountainous hump in midocean, rising to 6,109 feet (1,862 metres) in the interior, falling more steeply in the north. Thick layers of basalt alternating with beds of ash and scoriae create a stepped relief that has been deeply dissected into gorges and canyons. The cratorial Curral das Freiras is about 2,265 feet (690 metres) deep. Paul da Serra is a bleak high-level plateau. The eastern tip of Madeira, like the uninhabited Desertas Islands, is sandy. The island of Porto Santo is low-lying and flat.

THE AZORES

Nine islands constitute the [Azores](#), which extend in three groups over 400 miles (650 km) in the mid-Atlantic. The easternmost island, Santa Maria, lies 875 miles (1,408 km) from the Portuguese mainland; the westernmost, Flores, is about 1,230 miles (1,980 km) from Cape Race, Newfoundland, [Canada](#). The islands are volcanic, occasionally active. Their varied scenery includes crater lakes, plateaus at various elevations, mountainous massifs, flat-bottomed valleys, and rugged coastlines.

Drainage

All of Portugal's main rivers flow from Spain over the edge of the Meseta in a series of defiles (narrow gorges), and their usefulness, either for navigation or as routeways for roads and railways, is thus limited. The longest river crossing Portugal, the [Douro](#), which extends some 200 miles (300 km) in the country, has been made navigable from near [Porto](#) to the Spanish frontier. In its upper reaches, the Douro riverbed drops 16 feet (5 metres) per mile in gorges 90 to 160 feet (30 to 50 metres) deep, a navigability problem resolved by locks built into five dams, including one that is 115 feet (35 metres) high. The longest river wholly in the country is the 137-mile (220-km) [Mondego River](#), which rises in the Estrela Mountains. Other mainly Portuguese rivers include the Vouga, Sado, and Zêzere (a tributary of the Tagus). Like the Mondego, all are navigable for short distances. Rich silt land (*campo*) in the lower Tagus valley is the result of regular flooding, which is especially severe when strong southerly gales drive high seas up the estuary. The Guadiana, which flows south into the Gulf of Cádiz, forms part of the frontier with Spain, as does the Minho in the north. Portugal has more than 500 miles (800 km) of coastline, four-fifths of which faces westward. Except at the mouths of the larger rivers, there are few major indentations or natural harbours; the most important are those of Lisbon, on the Tagus, and [Setúbal](#), on the Sado. The entrance to the Tagus is a long, narrow deepwater channel opening out into a broad expanse of inland water. Other harbours depend on the protection of headlands (e.g., the artificial harbours of Leixões and Sines).

Soils

Most of Portugal's soils are arid, acidic, and sandy, though in the north the soil often is rocky. Except for parts of northern Portugal that receive significant precipitation and along the country's primary rivers, which deposit fertile alluvium, the soils are not suitable for intensive agricultural production. In the central and southern parts of the country, the soils are generally poor and incapable of significant agricultural production without extensive irrigation schemes.

Climate

Climate, through its effect on vegetation, divides Portugal. As in Spain, three sets of influences are involved: Atlantic, continental (Mesetan), and Mediterranean. The Atlantic climate predominates overall, putting most of the country into the humid zone of the Iberian Peninsula; this is especially true in the northwest, where the climate is mild and rainy. Summer temperatures near sea level may average up to 76 °F (24 °C) but are rather lower at exposed higher elevations. Winter temperatures average 37 to 40 °F (3 to 4 °C) but tend to be milder south of the Douro. Annual rainfall averages more than 40 inches (1,000 mm). In the extreme northwest, much of the Minho receives 40 to 80 inches (1,000 to 2,000 mm) of precipitation, with more than 100 inches (2,500 mm) falling on mountain slopes. Inland, lee slopes are arid, receiving at most 20 inches (500 mm), much of which is lost through high evaporation rates. In the interior, continental influences increase the duration of the summer drought to more than a month and intensify winter severity. High-pressure conditions from the Spanish Meseta or from Siberian anticyclones bring very cold temperatures. The Alentejo can experience both acute winter cold and extreme summer heat. In the highest areas of the Estrela Mountains and northern ranges, temperatures drop to 32 °F (0 °C), and snow remains on the summits for several months. In the south, where the Azores high-pressure system prevails in summer, the period of drought lengthens to two months or more. Temperatures average about 75 °F (24 °C) in summer and 50 °F (10 °C) in winter. Mean annual precipitation is slightly more than 20 inches (500 mm) along the coast and a bit higher in the mountains of the Algarve. Nevertheless, there is considerable climatic variability from one year to the next. Mediterranean, Saharan, and oceanic influences produce seasonal precipitation, occasional dry winds, and thermal equability, respectively, in the Madeiras. Climate varies markedly with altitude. In the Azores the anticyclone dominates, though conditions can be highly variable. Rainfall, for example, is irregular both in annual total and in regime: Horta (on Faial Island) may have more than 40 inches (1,000 mm) a year or may suffer severe drought.

Plant and animal life

VEGETATION

Portugal's vegetation is a mixture of Atlantic, or European, and Mediterranean (with some African) species. Overall, the former accounts for some two-thirds of species, but the regional distribution is revealing. North of the Mondego valley, nearly three-fifths of the plants are European species (some seven-eighths in the northern interior), and only one-fourth are Mediterranean. In the south the proportions are three-tenths and nearly one-half, respectively. One-third are foreign species, introduced in periods of colonization.

Millennia of human activity have left Portugal with only one-fourth of its area under woodland. The remainder of the country features two types of Mediterranean scrublands—called [maquis](#) and [matorral](#), or steppe. Mixed deciduous trees are confined to the north and northern interior, where the landscapes of the Minho are lush and green except for the heaths (*mato*) of the Cambrian schists. These carry erica, heather, cistus, and bracken. The original oak climax (with *Quercus robur* as the dominant species) has been largely replaced by maritime pine with some cork oak and extensive plantations of eucalyptus. [Olives](#) extended into the north in Roman times but are now generally limited to elevations below 1,200 feet (400 metres); inland, where the summer drought is longer, they can be found in some areas with elevations as high as 2,200 feet (700 metres). In the Douro valley, juniper scrub has been replaced by vineyards.

The thickest forests in Portugal are found in the traditional province of [Beira](#), where cultivation is limited to less than one-fourth of the area. Pines prevail in the north, chestnut groves on the granites, and ericas on the dense maquis. The elevational succession of vegetation is strongly marked on the Estrela Mountains, where a zone of Pyrenean oak extends above the

pedunculated oaks, chestnuts, and pines to 5,500 feet (1,700 metres), while southern slopes are covered with a maquis of cistus and tree heath. The central ridge marks the southern limit of deciduous oak, which is thereafter replaced by *Q. lusitanica* (Portuguese oak). Heat-loving stone pines mix with maritime pines.

In the south the Alentejo still has extensive *matorral* and *charneca*, uncultivated land dominated by cistus or groves of cork oak, often managed in estates, and holm oak. Most of the Algarve landscape is dominated by the vine and by trees typical of Mediterranean arboriculture—olive, fig, almond, and carob.

The rich vegetation of both Madeira and the Azores has been Europeanized. The climate encourages year-round growth of a considerable variety of flora. A wealth of ferns, mosses, heaths (especially tree heaths), and junipers reflects the influence of grazing and human activities on these islands. About 100 plants are peculiar to Madeira, either as indigenous or as highly individualized varieties. Only Madeira has much woodland, most of it the result of reforestation (e.g., of poplar, pine, and eucalyptus). Two-thirds of Madeira is a conservation area; its Laurel Forest ([Laurisilva](#)) was designated a UNESCO [World Heritage site](#) in 1999.

Parks, reserves, and other protected areas covering more than 5 percent of the mainland have been declared from the far north of Portugal (Peneda-Gerês and Montesinho) to the extreme south (Formosa River), from the east (Malcata Mountains and Guadiana valley) to the west (Berlengas Islands, Sintra), and in several areas of natural beauty in between. Since the mid-1980s, environmental concerns and ecological associations have grown slowly but steadily. In 1990, as part of an effort to expand protection of the environment, the [government](#) established an environment ministry.

WILDLIFE

The fauna of Portugal is a mixture of European and North African types. As in Spain, the wild goat, wild pig, and deer can be found in the countryside. The wolf survives in the remote parts of the far north and northeast, and the lynx inhabits the Malcata Mountains. The fox, rabbit, and Iberian [hare](#) are ubiquitous. Birdlife is rich because the peninsula lies on the winter migration route of western and central European species. Hunting zones cover nearly one-third of Portugal. In the Azores, only the smaller mammals are found—such as the rabbit, [weasel](#), ferret, rat (brown and black), and mouse as well as various types of bats. Game birds include woodcock, red partridge, quail, and snipe. The highly endangered [Mediterranean monk seal](#) is native to Madeira's [Desertas Islands](#), which were designated a nature reserve in 1990. Some 40 species of birds breed there, including the Madeira laurel pigeon and the Zino's petrel. The variety of [beetles](#) (nearly 700 species, many indigenous) and [moths](#) (more than 100 species, about one-fourth of which are peculiar to the Madeiras) is remarkable.

Fish are plentiful in the Atlantic waters of mainland Portugal, especially the European [sardine](#). Crustaceans are common on the northern rocky coasts, and clams and oysters are raised in the Algarve. Larger fish (tunny, bonito) as well as mullet are caught off the Azores and the [Madeira Islands](#).

Ilídio Melo Peres do Amaral[Catherine Delano Smith](#)[Marion Kaplan](#)

People

Ethnic groups and languages

Although western Iberia has been occupied for a long time, relatively few human remains of the Paleolithic Period (Old Stone Age) have been found. Neolithic Period (New Stone Age) and Bronze Age discoveries are more common, among them many dolmens (stone monuments). Some of the earliest permanent settlements were the northern [castros](#), hill villages first built by Neolithic farmers who began clearing the forests. Incoming peoples—Phoenicians, Greeks, and Celts—intermingled with the settled inhabitants, and Celticized natives occupied the fortified [castros](#). For two centuries these were centres of resistance to the Roman legions. Subsequently the Romans, [Suebi](#), Visigoths, Moors, and Jews exerted influence on the territory. Portugal's location at the western extremity of Europe made it a gathering place for invaders by land, and its long coastline invited settlement by seafarers.

More than nine-tenths of the country's population are ethnic Portuguese, and there are also small numbers of Brazilians, Han Chinese, and people from Portugal's former colonial possessions in [Africa](#) and Asia. Ethnic [Marranos](#) (descendants of Jews who converted to Christianity but who secretly continued to practice Judaism) constitute about 1 percent of the population, and the country's [Roma](#) (Gypsy) population lives primarily in the Algarve. Language is an extremely common bond: Portuguese is the first language of nearly the entire population.

Religion

More than ninth-tenths of Portugal's citizens are [Roman Catholic](#). Regular attendance at mass, however, has declined in the cities and larger towns, particularly in the south. Less than 2 percent of the population is Protestant, with Anglicans and Methodists the oldest and largest denominations. In the late 20th century, fundamentalist and Evangelical churches grew in popularity, though the number of their adherents remained quite small. The [Jewish](#) population of Portugal is also tiny, as Jews were forced to convert or emigrate during the Inquisition in the late 15th century.

Settlement patterns

The landscapes of mainland Portugal are the result of human activity since prehistoric times. Inhabited caves and rock shelters, some with rock art (e.g., in Escoural), indicate occupation during the Upper Paleolithic Period. The discovery of 20,000-year-old engravings in the Côa River valley led to the opening in 1996 of an archaeological park of prehistoric rock art. Most of the later Neolithic megalithic monuments and [rock-cut tombs](#) are found in west-central Portugal or south of the Tagus. Known sites of early metal-using (Copper Age [Chalcolithic Period] and Bronze Age) people are concentrated in the drier portions of Portugal. Only from the Early Iron Age onward does the whole of Portugal appear to have been equally densely occupied, although the area lying between [Braga](#) and the Gerez (Gerês) valley is singularly rich in Roman remains.

Many of Portugal's urban centres date from Roman times. Settlements developed on lower ground around native fortified hilltop *castros* in northern Portugal. The harbour at [Lisbon](#) had been used by the Carthaginians, but it was the Romans who enlarged the site into a strategically located administrative centre for the province of [Lusitania](#). Lisbon continued as a Visigothic stronghold. Indeed, fortification is the keynote for most of Portugal's settlement history. The Middle Ages and the [Reconquista](#) (Reconquest) left fortified, usually hilltop towns throughout the country but especially toward the Spanish frontier in the south (e.g., [Santarém](#), [Tomar](#), [Évora](#), Portalegre, [Estremoz](#), Beja, [Castelo Branco](#), Abrantes, and Monsanto). Other small towns grew from Cistercian colonization on the Estremadura coast (e.g., the abbey at [Alcobaça](#) and granges at Alvominha, Cós, Maiorga, Salir do Porto, and Turquel). New towns were created later for a variety of reasons, including proximity to mineral springs (Caldas da Rainha) or important fortresses (Leiria and Viana do Castelo). Along the coasts the fortunes of [port](#) settlements were as unstable as the shifting sands that blocked their harbours, and most modern ports are of relatively recent origin (e.g., [Faro](#), in the south, and Olhão, an 18th-century fishing settlement).

The pattern of rural settlement also reflects both historical and physical factors. The *bocage* (hedgerow country: fields surrounded by woodlands) of the Minho is associated with a dense distribution of individual holdings on granite that drops to a thin scatter in areas of schist. Most buildings are of two stories with an outside staircase. Nucleated settlement, formerly associated with communal farming systems, is characteristic of the Trás-os-Montes and the pastoral districts of Beira Alta. In Estremadura, traditional farmsteads consist of a number of single-storied buildings. In the formerly feudal south, estate labourers and tenants were housed centrally in long barracklike buildings grouped around *montes* (courtyards), whose origins date from Arab and even Roman times. The waterwheels and fig-drying floors associated with the dispersed farmsteads of arboriculture districts in the Algarve are another Arab legacy. Neither the Madeiras nor the Azores were occupied before the start of colonization by the Portuguese in the 16th century.

Today the population distribution within Portugal reveals striking contrasts between the more densely populated north and the more sparsely populated south. A number of rural areas have suffered considerable population losses, resulting in economic and social depression, particularly in parts of the north, the Alentejo, and southern inland areas. The coastal zones between [Braga](#) and [Setúbal](#), with their low-lying plains and urban development, have attracted a large proportion of the population. Few places outside the industrial areas of Lisbon, Setúbal, and Porto are able to absorb their own working populations. Areas such as the Minho and parts of the coastal plains are seriously overpopulated. Overall, about two-thirds of Portugal's population live in urban areas.

In the main, rural settlement is dispersed, with inhabitants living in small villages under a system of open-field farming. Beira Litoral and Estremadura have settlements varying between dispersed and clustered farmsteads. In the Aveiro district, clusters of farmsteads and other dwellings are strung along roads in strips, often of considerable length and density. Fishing, one of the earliest enterprises of the Portuguese, still plays an important role in coastal communities. Owing in part to the rigours and hazards of this and certain other traditionally male occupations, as well as intensive waves of largely male emigration, women have substantially outnumbered men in the Portuguese population since the first modern census in 1864 (a previous census had been carried out in 1527).

Demographic trends

The [decolonization](#) process that took place after the [Revolution of the Carnations](#) (April 25, 1974) inevitably had demographic repercussions on metropolitan Portugal because of the large number of people (mostly Portuguese) who left the former overseas provinces. Some one million refugees, most of whom came from [Angola](#) in part because of the civil war between the liberation movements, settled in Portugal. The majority of the repatriates (*retornados*) crowded into Portuguese cities and towns, the effect of which was a high unemployment rate that continued for the next decade. Portugal has one of the highest rates of emigration in Europe. Before 1960 most of its émigrés went to [Brazil](#) and a few other Latin American countries. The population underwent its only decline in the modern period during the 1960s, when two external developments coincided: severe labour shortages in industrialized western Europe induced an outflow of Portuguese workers, and Portugal's efforts to suppress the liberation movements in its African colonies prompted thousands of young men to emigrate illegally in order to avoid conscription. From Madeira and the Azores too, emigration was a continuing pattern—from the Azores mainly to the [United States](#) and from Madeira mainly to South America.

Life expectancy in Portugal is high in comparison with the rest of the world, but it is slightly lower than most other countries in western Europe. Birth rates are about half the world average; death rates are slightly higher than the world average. At the beginning of the 21st century, population growth was slow, and it was anticipated to begin a slight decline.

Economy

Portugal was the world's richest country when its colonial empire in Asia, Africa, and South America was at its peak. Because this wealth was not used to develop domestic industrial infrastructure, however, Portugal gradually became one of western Europe's poorest countries in the 19th and 20th centuries. From the mid-1970s, after the Portuguese revolution, the country's economy was disconnected from Portugal's remaining overseas possessions in Africa and reoriented toward Europe. In 1986 Portugal joined the [European Economic Community](#) (ultimately succeeded by the [European Union](#) [EU]), spurring strong and steady economic growth. Similar to those of other western European countries, Portugal's economy is now dominated by services; manufacturing constitutes a significant share of output, while agricultural output is relatively minor, accounting for less than 3 percent of output. In the early 21st century, economic growth had improved living standards dramatically, raised incomes, and reduced unemployment. In addition, since Portugal's accession to the EU, large inflows of structural funds, private capital, and direct [investment](#) have fostered and sustained development. Portugal was one of the countries hardest hit by the [euro-zone debt crisis](#) that erupted in 2009, however, and a raft of government measures proved ineffective at halting the country's economic meltdown. In 2011 the EU and the [International Monetary Fund](#) authorized a €78 billion (about \$116 billion) bailout package for Portugal, contingent on the adoption of strict austerity guidelines.

Agriculture, forestry, and fishing

Crop yields and animal productivity in Portugal are well below the EU average because of low agricultural investment, minimal mechanization, little use of fertilizers, and the fragmented land-tenure system. The main crops grown in Portugal are cereals (wheat, barley, corn [maize], and rice), potatoes, grapes (for wine), olives, and tomatoes. Since 1999, Portuguese farmers have planted genetically modified corn. Portugal is among the world's largest exporters of tomato paste and is a leading exporter of wines. [Port](#) and muscatel, both dessert wines, are among Portugal's most famous varieties of wine. In mainland Portugal, where there are nearly 50 demarcated wine regions, viticulture is a dominant activity; many people also work in the industry on the island of Madeira, where investment in vinification techniques has sustained the renown of Madeira wines. Newer crops include sunflowers, and Portugal also produces large quantities of fruits (oranges and apples). The country's agricultural exports help offset the cost of imported wheat and meat. Nearly one-third of Portugal's land area is used for agriculture.

Small farms predominate, particularly in the north, where they are too small and made up of too many dispersed holdings to allow integrated farming and rational crop rotation. In the south (except for the Algarve region) before 1975, intensive cultivation was prevented by the system of [latifúndios](#), or large estates, which were owned by absentee landlords who had no interest in making capital investment in machinery, fertilizers, and other items that would increase productivity. After the 1974 revolution, agrarian reforms were implemented south of the Tagus, where about 3.2 million acres (1.3 million hectares) of land in large holdings were expropriated (with compensation) and nationalized. The policy was aimed at, among other things, destroying the [latifúndio](#) system, changing the tenancy system, handing uncultivated land back to the people, abolishing quitrent (rent paid by peasants to use royal or state-owned land or property), increasing the irrigated area, introducing new crops, intensifying the output of fodder and cereals, and developing livestock. A large part of the nationalized land was turned over to collective and cooperative production units. The hasty transition, however, precipitated political tension and a decline in the agricultural output of the Alentejo region. The land redistribution policy was reversed after 1976, as succeeding governments sought to encourage modernization and higher productivity by a return to private ownership. Agricultural subsidies were made available, though not all farmers took advantage of them. The Alqueva Dam—criticized for its destruction of a significant amount of rock art and rare fauna and flora, including some one million trees—began operations in 2002 and provides irrigation to southern Portugal.

Sheep, pigs, and cattle are among the country's leading livestock. Beef cattle, dairying, and wool production contribute to Portugal's economy, though their relative importance varies by region.

About two-fifths of Portugal is wooded, and the majority of its forests are privately owned (among the highest proportions in Europe). Most of the mountainous areas are well suited to forestry, and the demand for forest products has prompted considerable reforestation efforts since the last quarter of the 19th century in areas where crop yields are low and where erosion tends to be severe. The pulp and paper industry contributes significantly to the economy. Portugal is a leading producer of cork, which has become a significant export. Eucalyptus plantations cover about one-seventh of forest land, and pine is also important.

Portugal's long coastline and the abundance of fish in the surrounding waters have favoured the development of the fishing industry. Among some 70 varieties are sardines, horse mackerel, and hake caught near the coasts, [tuna](#) from the Azores, scabbard fish from Madeira, and codfish from the North Atlantic, which together make a large contribution to food supplies. The fishing industry, facing intense international competition and disadvantaged by small, old boats, suffered a severe decline in the mid-1980s. With funds from the EU for new fishing vessels, a program for renovation, new EU agreements and bilateral accords, and the establishment of seaport training schools, the fishing industry revived in the 1990s, and its products are exported all over the world. The [Port of Leixões](#) in the north, Peniche and Setúbal in the west, and Portimão and Olhão in the Algarve are among the main fishery centres. Compared with other coastal European countries (e.g., [Norway](#) and [Denmark](#)), however, catches are relatively small, and the fishing industry is unable to meet domestic need; about one-fourth of the fish consumed in Portugal is imported, mainly from [Iceland](#) (stockfish), [Norway](#) (dried cod), and [Russia](#) (sardines). Oysters, sea bream, sea bass, and trout are reared in tidal estuaries.

Resources and power

Tungsten, tin, chromium, and other alloy metals are [mined](#) in commercial quantities, and most of the tungsten is exported. Ornamental and industrial rocks, especially marble, have become a substantial export. Coal mined at Moncorvo supplies the national steelworks. [Copper](#) is extracted at the extensive Neves Corvo mine, and since 1989 Portugal has exported large quantities of copper concentrates. Other products range from granite to mineral water, and the country has large uranium reserves.

Portugal imports about four-fifths of its energy supplies; it depends heavily on the importation of petroleum and petroleum products as well as [coal](#), which accounts for about 25 percent of the country's electricity production. (Domestic production of coal has increased since the mid-1980s, but the coal is of fairly low quality.) A natural gas pipeline from North Africa was completed in 1997. Nearly one-fifth of Portugal's electricity is provided by hydropower, and a smaller proportion comes from thermal energy.

In the early 21st century, Portugal increased its use of alternative energy sources. A large wind farm—the largest in Europe at the time it was built—opened in 2008 in northern Portugal, and one of the world's largest photovoltaic farms (which use solar panels to generate electricity) is near the town of Moura in southeastern Portugal. The country also has experimented with [wave-power](#) technology.

Manufacturing

About four-fifths of Portugal's industrial capacity is concentrated around Lisbon and Setúbal in the south and Porto, Braga, and Aveiro in the north. Lisbon and Setúbal support oil refining, chemical industries, cement processing, automobile manufacturing and assembly, electronics manufacture, wood-pulp and cork production, and fish and beverage processing. Light industry prevails in the north. Textiles, footwear, furniture, wine, and processed foods are produced in Porto. Aveiro is a centre for wood pulp and wood products, and Braga specializes in clothing, cutlery, and electronics. Fuel and energy production is important at Sines, a deepwater port about 90 miles (150 km) south of Lisbon, and [Coimbra](#) and Leira are notable for the production of plastic molds and machine tools.

In 1975 (after the revolution) Portugal's heavy industry, basic industries (e.g., cement and petrochemical processing, shipbuilding, generation of electricity), and even some light industries were nationalized. However, in the late 1980s these industries underwent [privatization](#), which has had far-reaching effects. Nearly all public enterprises were privatized, some in tranches, providing the central government with large revenues. Private domestic firms handle the traditional labour-intensive light industries and [construction](#), and subsidiaries of multinational corporations dominate the more technologically advanced industries such as electronics manufacture, automobile manufacture and assembly, and pharmaceutical production.

Finance

Portugal's [currency](#) was formerly the [escudo](#), which had replaced the real in 1911 after the overthrow of the monarchy the previous year. However, after meeting the EU's convergence criteria, Portugal adopted the [euro](#), the EU's single currency, in 1999. In 2002 the [euro](#) replaced the escudo as Portugal's sole currency.

Like the manufacturing sector, the banking and insurance industries were nationalized in the mid-1970s. Beginning in the 1980s, however, these sectors were liberalized and reprivatized. By the beginning of the 21st century, with full liberalization long established, financial markets had been extensively modernized and insurance companies and banks privatized. Caixa Geral de Depósitos, Portugal's largest bank, was an exception. New banks and brokerage houses were established and a wide range of financial instruments created. During the 1990s there was significant consolidation of the banking sector, and now only a handful of major groups dominate the market. Leading commercial banks, involved in securities, have established investment companies. Spanish banks are also important within Portugal. The Portuguese banking system was badly shaken by the euro-zone crisis, and in 2012 undercapitalized banks were forced to accept bailout funds that originated with the International Monetary Fund and the EU.

Portuguese bond and stock markets operate on a par with other European and world markets. Trading activity has expanded, and Portuguese bonds appear in globally recognized indices. In 2000 the Lisbon exchange merged with the exchange in Porto. The Lisbon exchange handles spot transactions, while Porto is a futures and options exchange. In 2001 the Lisbon exchange became a member of [Euronext](#), the first fully integrated cross-border equities market, which in 2006 merged with the New York Stock Exchange; the Lisbon exchange also formed an alliance with the Brazilian Securities, Commodities and Futures Exchange, a leading Latin American exchange.

Trade

For a relatively small country, Portugal has a large foreign trade. Total imports (primarily food and beverages, wheat, crude oil, machinery, automobiles, and raw materials) generally have far outpaced total exports. Among Portugal's chief exports are automobiles and transport components, machine tools, textiles, clothing, footwear, paper pulp, wine, cork, plastic molds, and tomato paste. EU countries are Portugal's principal trading partners, accounting for four-fifths of exports and three-fourths of imports. Major trading partners include Spain, [Germany](#), [France](#), [Italy](#), and the [United Kingdom](#). Trade with Portugal's former colonial possessions in Africa has declined to a small fraction of the total, but trade has increased with Latin America, especially Brazil. Brazil's size and historical and linguistic relationship have made it attractive for investments from major Portuguese companies. Portugal's trade deficit has traditionally been financed by emigrant worker remittances and income from tourism.

Services

The service sector is extremely important to Portugal's economy, accounting for more than three-fifths of total output. [Tourism](#) has surged to become a major industry, and millions of people visit Portugal annually. Notable tourist destinations include Lisbon, the Algarve, and the Douro valley. Visitors from France, Germany, Spain, and the United Kingdom make up the bulk of tourists.

Labour and taxation

Employment in Portugal is fairly diversified. More than half of all workers are employed in services, while one-eighth work in the primary sector, including agriculture and mining. Manufacturing, construction, and the public utilities employ about one-quarter of workers.

Workers have the right to be represented, and there are several hundred [trade unions](#) and two trade union federations. One federation, the [Intersindical](#), grew from communist roots. Formed in 1970 and reorganized in 1974, it has more than 100 affiliated organizations. The other major federation is the União Geral dos Trabalhadores (UGT; General Union of Workers), which developed out of the socialist movement. Although no official statistics exist, it is estimated that about 30 percent of workers belong to a union. The overall rate of unionization declined from the 1970s, when a system was implemented allowing workers to forgo payment of union membership dues.

Taxation, at about one-third to two-fifths of gross domestic product, is relatively low in comparison with that of many other western European countries. Individual income tax rates are progressive, varying considerably depending upon an individual's level of income. Corporate taxes and the value-added tax provide a significant source of revenue for the government. Consumption taxes account for about one-third of total tax revenue, compared with about one-tenth for corporate taxes and one-fifth for individual income taxes. Payroll and social security taxes constitute about one-third of total tax revenue.

Transportation and telecommunications

Several of Portugal's main roads date to ancient times. Transport and communications were seriously neglected for much of the 20th century, but, beginning late in the century, there was a concerted effort backed by massive funding from the EU to remedy the situation. As a result, the total road network has been extended. A four-lane *auto-estrada* (superhighway) connects Lisbon to Porto, the capital of the north. A motorway links Lisbon with Madrid, and there is a four-lane highway from Lisbon to the Algarve. Expressways reach the largest towns and extend to the border and ports. Secondary roads link the towns with almost every part of the interior. The 10.7-mile (17.2-km) [Vasco da Gama](#) Bridge, the second bridge in Lisbon to span the Tagus River, was completed early in 1998. However, the bridge has not totally relieved traffic congestion, prompting consideration of building either a new bridge or a tunnel to cross the Tagus.

The Portuguese railway system has been improved, and the enterprise Rede Ferroviária Nacional (REFER) was established in 1997 to manage it. In the 1990s and early 21st century, Lisbon's metro system was extended outside the city limits with the addition of several new stations. Among them was the Gare do Oriente, a main station located in the Parque das Nações (Park of Nations), on land east of the city centre, that was designed by renowned architect [Santiago Calatrava](#). Porto also has developed a light rail system, parts of which run underground. Lisbon's 25th of April Bridge, once Europe's longest suspension bridge, has been adapted to include a railway line.

Portugal's main international airport is Lisbon's Portela Airport. There are also international airports in [Faro](#) and Porto, and airports in Madeira and the Azores receive flights from international destinations. Small airports for domestic flights are located near several other cities. The country's flagship airline is TAP Portugal. There are several other Portuguese airlines, and the country is also served by numerous international carriers that provide both passenger and cargo services.

Portugal's ports have received considerable investment to improve and expand their ability to handle cargo and containers and to provide other services. Major Portuguese ports include Lisbon, the [Port of Leixões](#) (serving Porto), Setúbal, and Sines. The northern Douro is now navigable. River transport includes both pleasure cruisers and commercial barges.

Advances in technology and telecommunications have speeded the transformation of Portugal's finance and business sector. Historically, the extension of fixed telephone lines in Portugal was slow; as a result, many individuals have adopted cellular phones, making Portugal among Europe's early leaders (by the end of the first decade of the 21st century, the country had 1.4 mobile phone subscriptions per person) in per capita mobile phone use. The cellular phone market is intensely competitive. Portugal has implemented reforms in its telecommunications sector that favoured liberalization and privatization. Internet use grew dramatically in the late 1990s and early 21st century, though computer use in Portugal remained low compared with that of most other EU countries.

Ilídio Melo Peres do Amaral Walter C. Opello, Jr. Marion Kaplan Ed.

Government and society

Constitutional framework

Portugal has been a republic since the overthrow of King [Manuel II](#) and the house of [Bragança](#) in 1910. From 1910 to 1926, the era of Portugal's First Republic, a parliamentary [democracy](#) was established, though monarchists attempted to overthrow it, and factions quickly arose among republicans. In 1926 a bloodless military coup overthrew the republic, replacing it with an authoritarian government. In 1932 [António de Oliveira Salazar](#) established a corporative dictatorship—the so-called Estado Novo (New State)—that lasted until 1974, four years after Salazar's death. During the dictatorship, democratic-like institutions existed but were merely a facade, stacked with supporters of Salazar; political freedoms were suppressed, sometimes ruthlessly. Since the [Revolution of the Carnations](#) on April 25, 1974, Portugal has had a democratic republic. Its postrevolutionary constitution, first adopted in 1976 and modified several times since, established a semipresidential system whereby executive power was divided between a president and a prime minister. The constitution was revised in 1982, when ideological elements were minimized, and again in 1989, when the way was paved for privatization and a transition to a free-market economy.

Portugal's chief of state is the [president](#), who is directly elected by universal suffrage for a five-year term and may be elected to only two consecutive terms. The president is responsible for guaranteeing Portugal's independence and national unity. Presidential duties also include serving as chief commander of the armed forces, appointing and dismissing the prime minister (who must be able to command majority support in the legislature), appointing and dismissing other members of the government at the proposal of the prime minister, sending messages to parliament and convening or dissolving it as necessary, and setting the dates of elections after consultation with the Council of State.

The constitution designates the [Council of Ministers](#), the cabinet, as Portugal's chief policy-making body. The cabinet consists of the prime minister, who presides over its meetings, the ministers of government departments, and some secretaries of state (ministers without portfolios). The [prime minister](#) is simultaneously responsible to the president (regarding the overall functioning of governmental institutions) and to parliament (regarding the content of public policy). The prime minister directs, coordinates, and implements government policy. By tradition the prime minister is the head of the civil service.

The parliament comprises the unicameral [Assembly of the Republic](#), which has 230 deputies. Its duties include debating and voting upon legislation, authorizing the government to raise revenues, and approving the laws passed by the legislatures of the autonomous regions. The parliament may also dismiss the government by rejecting a vote of confidence requested by the government or by passing a motion of censure against the government.

Local government

Portugal has three tiers of government below the national level. The lowest tier comprises the parishes (*freguesias*), of which there are about 4,000. Each parish has a directly elected assembly (*assembleia de freguesia*), which appoints its own executive body, the parish board (*junta de freguesia*). The second tier consists of the municipalities (*concelhos*), which number some 300. Municipalities include rural and urban areas within their territorial limits. Each municipality has a municipal assembly (*assembleia municipal*), made up of the presidents of the boards of the constituent parishes and an equal number plus one of directly elected members; a municipal chamber (*câmara municipal*), which is the executive of the municipality; and a municipal council (*conselho municipal*), a consultative organ through which the views of social, cultural, professional, and economic organizations within the municipality are transmitted to the municipal chamber. Above the municipalities are 18 districts (*distritos*)—20 including Madeira and the Azores—each with an appointed civil governor.

The constitution of 1976 called for the establishment of administrative regions (*regiões administrativas*), and the government created plans to subdivide the country, but by the early 21st century such a scheme had yet to be implemented (and had been rejected in a national referendum in 1998). Nevertheless, to simplify the implementation and administration of EU programs, the government devised a system consisting of five regions for the mainland: North (Norte), Central (Centro), Lisbon and the Tagus Valley (Lisboa e Vale do Tejo), the Alentejo, and the Algarve. The archipelagoes of Madeira and the Azores are autonomous regions (*regiões autónomas*), a special status granted in the 1976 constitution, in recognition of their geographic, economic, social, and cultural uniqueness and their historical aspirations for greater independence. Each autonomous region has its own government (cabinet and president), legislature (regional assembly), and administration.

Justice

Portugal's judiciary is formally independent of the executive and legislative branches. The country is divided into several dozen judicial circuits, above which there are four regional districts. The highest judicial organ is the Supreme Tribunal of Justice. There is also a Constitutional Tribunal, which has 13 justices appointed by parliament and which rules on the constitutionality of laws. A jury system was introduced with the 1976 constitution.

The role of the military as the watchdog of the 1974 revolution and the subsequent transition to democracy was enshrined by the 1976 constitution in the [Council of the Revolution](#). A constitutional committee operated in conjunction with the Council of the Revolution, which determined the constitutionality of legislation. Revisions made to the constitution in 1982 abolished the Council of the Revolution and the constitutional committee and replaced them with a [Council of State](#) and the [Constitutional Tribunal](#). Members of the Council of State are the president of the republic (who presides over the council), the president of the parliament, the prime minister, the president of the Constitutional Tribunal, the attorney general, the presidents of the governments of the autonomous regions, certain former presidents of the republic, five persons appointed by the president, and five persons selected by the Assembly of the Republic.

Political process

All citizens at least age 18 are eligible to vote. Voters directly elect the president, who serves a five-year term, and members of the Assembly of the Republic. Elections to the Assembly of the Republic must occur at least once every four years; seats are apportioned to parties (voters cast ballots for party lists rather than for individual candidates) on the basis of proportional representation in multiseat constituencies. Although Portugal utilizes a proportional system, two parties are dominant: the centre-left Socialist Party (Partido Socialista) and the centre-right Social Democratic Party (Partido Social Democrata). There are also several minor parties, including the conservative Popular Party (Partido Popular) and communist and ecologist parties. Voters (including EU citizens living in Portugal) also elect deputies to the [European Parliament](#), the EU's legislative body. [Women](#), who were first granted the right to vote in Portugal in 1931 (though the franchise then was limited to women with university degrees or secondary-school qualifications), have made great strides in postrevolutionary Portugal, regularly constituting about one-quarter of the members of the Assembly of the Republic.

Security

The Portuguese military is commanded by the president, who also appoints the chiefs of staff. Formerly, military service was compulsory, but conscription was eliminated in the early 21st century. The armed forces consist of an army, an air force, and a navy. Before passage of the National Defense Law in 1982, the military had veto power over legislation affecting it, including expenditures and international agreements. Portugal was a founding member of the [North Atlantic Treaty Organization](#) in 1949, and it is also a member of the [Western European Union](#), which serves to coordinate European defense and security policies.

The Portuguese police are divided into four categories. The [Public Security Police](#) (Policia de Seguranca Pubblica; PSP) and the [Republican National Guard](#) (Guarda Nacional Republicana; GNR) are under the control of the Ministry of Internal Administration. The GNR includes the road police and has jurisdiction over rural areas. The PSP patrols urban areas and directs city traffic. The Fiscal Guard (Guarda Fiscal), which is stationed at frontier crossings and points of entry and is responsible for collecting import duties and investigating smuggling and other violations of border regulations, is under the supervision of the Ministry of Finance. There is also a judicial police force, the Policia Judiciaria. The crime rate in Portugal is low, and the decriminalization of virtually all [drugs](#) in 2001 made Portugal a test case for law-enforcement agencies around the world. With rates of addiction down and rehabilitation programs replacing incarceration, the Portuguese experiment was widely heralded as a bold response to a pressing public health issue.

Health and welfare

The Portuguese welfare system is composed of several types of institutions that insure workers against sickness, disability, and old age and provide for the payment of pensions and family allowances. Compulsory insurance is provided by employers in most sectors of business and industry; employees also pay into the fund. Trade-union provident funds and welfare funds for other employees provide assistance for most categories of workers, and there are voluntary mutual assistance associations and provident institutions for the military forces and civil servants. Many large companies maintain their own welfare and sickness benefit programs and pensions for their employees.

Portugal has both public and private hospitals. Major hospitals are generally located in the main district capitals, and other hospitals are found in smaller centres. There are also several hundred other health centres. Charity hospitals (*santas casas da misericórdia*), which were first founded in 1498 when the Irmandade da Misericórdia (Fraternity of Mercy) was formed in Lisbon by Leonor de Lencastre, the widow of King [John II](#), are funded by a national lottery and play an important social role, especially among the elderly. Special institutions include a cancer hospital and research unit in Lisbon, a school of tropical medicine, and a modern rehabilitation centre for people with disabilities near Lisbon. The health care system was long undermined by inefficiency, funding shortfalls, and a shortage of doctors, though, beginning in the 1990s, the government began to address the system's endemic problems. A major reform of the health care system was undertaken in 2002 with the goal of reducing costs and increasing efficiency. Key challenges for Portugal's national health service in the 21st century included balancing the needs of an aging populace with the costs associated with providing the necessary care.

Housing

Article 65 of Portugal's constitution proclaims that all citizens have a right to "a dwelling of adequate size satisfying standards of hygiene and comfort and preserving personal and family privacy." It further requires the government to establish housing policies that are "based on urban planning that secures the existence of an adequate network of transport and social facilities" and to create a "system of rents compatible with family incomes and of individual ownership of dwellings." Nevertheless, particularly in urban areas, Portugal has suffered from substandard housing and severe housing shortages. Dwelling size is small by European standards. However, the rate of home ownership is fairly high, some two-thirds of dwellings being owner-occupied (a marked increase from 1970, when only about half were owner-occupied), and comparatively few owner-occupied homes carry mortgages (though the proportion of mortgages has increased as home ownership has grown). In rural areas the situation was no better, and many places were not electrified until the 1990s. During the 1980s, [shantytowns](#) consisting of several hundred thousand dwellings (many of which were unsafe) were constructed on the outskirts of metropolitan areas, particularly Lisbon and Porto. The government began to address poor housing conditions in the 1990s, when it adopted measures to increase and improve the housing stock for less-affluent people. Overall, property values are high, and some of the most desirable apartments are those in residential blocks built in the riverside area east of Lisbon that was cleared in the late 1990s for the World's Fair (Expo '98).

Education

Early education for children age 3 to 6 is available for free, and schooling is compulsory between the ages of 6 and 18. Education has become a high priority of government funding, particularly since the late 1980s, when a study found that one-fifth of the population over age 15 was illiterate. By the beginning of the 21st century, the [literacy](#) rate exceeded 90 percent, and nearly every child was enrolled in school; however, failure rates remain high, and child labour, prevalent especially in the north, has not yet been eliminated. Private schools supplement the state schools, which provide free education for the majority of people. There are several public and private universities, including the long-established [University of Coimbra](#) (originally founded in Lisbon in 1290, relocated permanently to Coimbra in 1537), the [University of Lisbon](#) (founded 1911), the Technical [University of Lisbon](#) (founded 1930), the University of Porto (founded 1911), and the Portuguese Catholic University (founded in 1968 in Lisbon). There are also technical institutes, nursing and technical health schools, military academies, and several specialized schools for subjects such as the sciences and hotel management.

Cultural life

Portuguese culture is based on a past that dates from prehistoric times into the eras of Roman and Moorish invasion. All have left their traces in a rich legacy of archaeological remains, including prehistoric cave paintings at Escoural, the Roman township of Conimbriga, the Roman temple (known as the Temple of Diana) in [Évora](#), and the typical Moorish architecture of such southern towns as Olhão and Tavira. Throughout the centuries Portugal's arts have been enriched by foreign influences, including Flemish, French, and Italian. The voyages of the Portuguese explorers, such as [Ferdinand Magellan](#), who was the first to circumnavigate the globe, and [Vasco da Gama](#), who pioneered an eastern route to Asia around the [Cape of Good Hope](#) (the first European to sail around the cape was another Portuguese navigator, [Bartolomeu Dias](#), in 1488), opened the country to Asian influences, and the revelation of Brazil's wealth of gold and jewels fed the Baroque flame in decoration. There have been considerable efforts to conserve architecture and art across the country, especially religious artifacts, palaces, and the several distinctive styles of *casas portuguesas*, or modest homes. Preservation has led to the declaration of the city centres of [Évora](#), [Sintra](#), [Porto](#), and, in the Azores, [Angra do Heroísmo](#) as [UNESCO World Heritage sites](#).

Daily life and social customs

Despite certain affinities with the neighbouring Spaniards, the Portuguese have their own distinctive way of life. The geographic variety of the country has evoked different responses, but there is less regionalism than in Spain. Moreover, lifestyles have altered radically as rural populations have declined and cities and their suburbs have expanded. Urban centres provide a range of entertainment, and fairs and markets are highlights of social gatherings. A long tradition of dancing and singing continues among the Portuguese. Nearly every village has its own *terreiro*, or dance floor, usually constructed of concrete, though in some places it is still made of beaten earth. Each region has its own style of dances and songs; most traditional songs are of a slower rhythm than those in Spain. Small accordions and *gaitas*, or bagpipes, are among a considerable range of instruments that accompany dances, and Portuguese guitars (and sometimes violas) accompany the fado, a song form that epitomizes *saudade*—the yearning, romantic aspect of the Portuguese character. Regional dances, which include the *vira*, *chula*, *corridinho*, *tirana*, and *fandango*, often reflect the courting and matrimonial traditions of the area. Much has been done to preserve these and other folk expressions as tourist attractions. National dress is still seen in the northern Minho province at weddings and other festivals. Traditional garments such as the red and green stocking cap of the Alentejo cattleman still exist, and the *samarra* (a short jacket with a collar of [fox](#) fur) and *cifões* (the equestrian's leather chaps) survive. Rustic plows and wooden carts drawn by oxen or mules are still used by small farmers (though in the perennial battle against forest fires, shepherds who guard their flocks in forest areas have been supplied with mobile phones). The wearing of black for protracted periods of mourning is common, especially in the villages.

Access to supermarkets has transformed eating habits in cities and urban areas. In the countryside the staple diet is one of fish, vegetables, and fruit. Although Portugal's waters abound with fresh fish, the dried salted codfish known as *bacalhau*, now often imported, is considered the national dish. A seafood *stew* known as *cataplana* (for the hammered copper clamshell-style vessel in which it is cooked) is ubiquitous throughout the country. In many areas meat is seldom eaten, although the Alentejo region is known for its pork and Trás-os-Montes for cured meats. *Cozido a portuguesa*, a stew made with meats and vegetables, is a popular dish. Breads, cakes, and sweets—the last one a legacy of Moorish occupation—take a variety of forms, with many regional specialties. Portugal is well known for its wide variety of cheeses. Wine is the ubiquitous table beverage. In the north the wine of choice is often the red version of the so-called green wine, or *vinho verde*, usually preferred as a lightly sparkling white wine. Perhaps the most famous Portuguese export is the fortified wine called [port](#), named after the town of Porto, where it has been bottled for centuries. Distinguished mainly for notable vintages, port is also enjoyed as ruby, tawny, and dry white varieties.

Portugal has a wide variety of regional fairs, many of which are combined with religious festivals. Religious customs in this [Roman Catholic](#) country still include, in the north, the burning of the yule log in the atrium of the village church at Christmas so that the poor may warm themselves. Twice annually (May and October) large numbers of the faithful make a pilgrimage to the shrine of [Fátima](#), where three children reported that they had received messages from the Virgin Mary. All Saints' Day festivals (November 1), especially in Lisbon and Porto, draw large crowds. Among the secular holidays are

Liberty Day (April 25), which marks the [Revolution of the Carnations](#) of 1974 and is accompanied by parades and various cultural events; [Portugal Day](#) (June 10), which commemorates the death of 16th-century soldier-poet [Luís de Camões](#); and [Republic Day](#) (October 5), which celebrates the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the republic in 1910.

The arts

LITERATURE

The [Portuguese language](#) became synthesized in the 12th century, when a lyrical quality was outstanding in both poetry and prose. With *Os Lusíadas* (1572; *The Lusíads*), [Camões](#) first gave expression to the nation's epic genius, and the 20th-century poet [Fernando Pessoa](#), writing under numerous pseudonyms, introduced a Modernist European sensibility. Lyric poetry still flourishes. The tendency of fiction has been away from the romanticism of the 19th and early 20th centuries and toward realism. [José Maria Eça de Queirós](#), whose works include *Os Maias* (1888; *The Maias*) and *A cidade e as serras* (1901; *The City and the Mountains*), was an outstanding realist novelist. In the first half of the 20th century, [Aquilino Ribeiro](#) was an exceptional regional novelist whose writings include *Jardim das tormentas* (1913; "Garden of Torments") and *O homem que matou o Diabo* (1930; "The Man Who Killed the Devil"), while [José Maria Ferreira de Castro](#) was a notable realist and author of *A selva* (1930; *The Jungle*) and *Os emigrantes* (1928; "The Emigrants"). The novelist, essayist, and poet [Vitorino Nemésio](#) received acclaim for his novel *Mau tempo no canal* (1944; "Bad Weather in the Channel"; Eng. trans. *Stormy Isles: An Azorean Tale*).

Censorship under the Salazar regime considerably stifled meaningful literary production. With the revolution and the end of the dictatorship in 1974, literature flourished; among the notable figures of the postrevolutionary period were Neorealist poet and writer [Fernando Namora](#) (1919–89), poet and diarist [Miguel Torga](#) (1907–95)—both country doctors—and novelist [Vergílio Ferreira](#) (1916–96). Eduardo Lourenço was a leading essayist, and younger writers, such as Margarida Rebelo Pinto, gained popularity. Admired novelists in the late 20th and early 21st centuries included Almeida Faria, José Cardoso Pires, António Lobo Antunes, and [José Saramago](#), the last of whom won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1998. Among Saramago's many works are *Memorial do convento* (1982; "Memoirs of the Convent"; Eng. trans. *Baltasar and Blimunda*); *O ano da morte de Ricardo Reis* (1984; *The Year of the Death of Ricardo Reis*), a tribute to Fernando Pessoa; and *O homem duplicado* (2002; *The Double*). For further discussion, see [Portuguese literature](#).

ARCHITECTURE

Portugal boasts several scores of medieval castles, as well as the ruins of several villas and forts from the period of Roman occupation. Romanesque and Gothic influences have given Portugal some of its greatest cathedrals, and in the late 16th century a national style—[Arte Manuelina](#)—was synthesized by adapting several forms into a luxuriantly ornamented whole. Outstanding examples of Portuguese architecture include the ornate [Manueline](#)-style Jerónimos Monastery in Lisbon; the Sé (cathedral) of Lisbon, in the facade of which the remains of Roman construction may still be seen; the Palace of Justice in Lisbon, a fine, soaring example of austere modern architecture; the castle and church of the Convent of Christ in Tomar; the late Portuguese Gothic abbey of Santa Maria da Vitória in Batalha; the granite Tower of the Clerics in Porto; and Braga's Romanesque cathedral. Lisbon's Baixa neighbourhood, in Pombaline style (named for [Sebastião de Carvalho, marquês de Pombal](#), who rebuilt Lisbon after the 1755 earthquake), remains admirable today. As modern cities have expanded, there has been a revival of interest in traditional domestic and folk architecture, as is found in the hand-hewn stones of the Beiras, the low farms of the Alentejo, and the cottage chimneys in the Algarve.

Modern architecture has aroused considerable controversy. Some buildings with stark lines include the National Archives of Torre do Tombo, the Belém Cultural Centre, the grandiose Caixa Geral bank building, and the Expo '98 site in the Parque das Nações, which includes an oceanarium and a [railroad](#) station. Some contemporary architects have successfully blended classical Portuguese styles with modern functions; among these are Fernando Távora, Nuno Teotónio Pereira, and Álvaro Siza Vieira, who was responsible for the successful reshaping of Lisbon's Chiado area, a historic section of the city that suffered extensive fire damage in 1988.

VISUAL AND DECORATIVE ARTS

Sculpture found rich expression in the magnificent tombs of the 12th and 13th centuries, and late 18th-century Baroque wood sculptures, of which the crèches of [Joachim Machado de Castro](#) are the finest, also are outstanding. The Classical and Romantic traditions of Italy and France influenced Machado de Castro in the late 18th century and António Soares dos Reis a century later. A school of primitive painters headed by [Nuno Gonçalves](#) was prominent in the 15th century, and subsequently Flemish artists interpreted the native style, decorating palaces and convents and leaving a rich heritage of religious art. Notable among them is Josefa de Óbidos (Josefa de Ayala), known especially for her religious paintings in Óbidos and her still lifes. The 19th century saw another rebirth of national art with a late Romantic period. An era of naturalist realism that followed, dominated by António Silva Porto, José Malhoa, and Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro, gave way to the nonconformist imagery of the 20th century, such as that found in the work of José Almada Negreiros. [Maria Elena Vieira da Silva](#), who did much of her work in France, was arguably the country's finest abstract painter. Carlos Botelho is notable for his street scenes of Lisbon.

Among the decorative arts, the Portuguese glazed tiles ([azulejos](#)) are outstanding. Many 16th- and 17th-century buildings are faced with tiles, and the rooms and halls of palaces and mansions exhibit blue-and-white tiled panels or motifs in other

soft colours. Exceptionally fine examples are found in the Pátio da Carranca, the courtyard of the royal palace at Sintra; in the São Roque Church and the Fronteira Palace in Lisbon; and in the Quinta da Bacalhoa, a wine-making estate at Vila Fresca de Azeitão near Setúbal. A remarkable array of panels of decorative tiles from the 15th century onward are displayed in the National Tile Museum in Lisbon.

MUSIC

Liturgical forms such as [plain song](#) dominated early Portuguese music, but the secular tradition of [troubadour](#) singing became popular in the Middle Ages. Polyphonic music, employing multiple vocal parts in harmony, was developed in the 15th century. The Renaissance fostered a rich output of compositions for solo instruments and ensembles as well as for the voice. The modern revival of so-called academic music in Portugal was primarily the work of [Luís de Freitas Branco](#), whose Neoclassic tradition has been perpetuated by Joly Braga Santos. The Calouste [Gulbenkian Foundation](#) (founded by and named for the oil magnate) continues to inspire much of the country's musical life. Composers acquiring prestige both at home and abroad include António Victorino d'Almeida, Jorge Peixinho, Miguel Azguime, Pedro Amaral, and João Pedro Oliveira. Orchestras of note include the Orquestra Sinfónica Portuguesa and the Gulbenkian Orchestra. Porto has had its own symphony orchestra since 1962, when the Chamber Orchestra was set up by the Gulbenkian Foundation. Lisbon also has a metropolitan orchestra, and the National Theatre of São Carlos in Lisbon, which was built in the late 18th century, has its own orchestra and ballet company. Among notable pianists, Maria João Pires has won worldwide acclaim. Cultural centres such as the Belém Cultural Centre and the Culturgest, both in Lisbon, and commercial sponsorship have expanded opportunities for major concerts. Madredeus is among the most successful popular music groups. Singer Dulce Pontes is also widely admired, and [Carlos Paredes](#) is considered by many to have been Portugal's finest guitarist. Folk music and dancing and the traditional fado remain the country's fundamental forms of musical expression. When the renowned *fadista* (fado singer) [Amália Rodrigues da Piedade Rebordão](#) (known simply as Amália throughout the world) died in 1999, three days of national mourning were declared. Younger *fadistas* such as [Mariza](#), Katia Guerreiro, and Cristina Branco gained an international audience in the early 21st century.

THEATRE AND MOTION PICTURES

Along with a small but lively theatre, the Portuguese film industry, aided by subsidies and coproductions, has made its mark. Major filmmakers include João Botelho and João César Monteiro. [Manoel de Oliveira](#), who made his first film in 1931 and was considered one of the world's most innovative filmmakers, was still achieving critical successes and major awards into the early 21st century. His films include *Aniki-bóbó* (1942), *Francisca* (1981), *Os canibais* (1988; "The Cannibals"), *O convento* (1995; *The Convent*), and *Porto da minha infância* (2001; "Porto of My Childhood"). The actor [Joaquim de Almeida](#) gained an international following and appeared in many Hollywood films as well as in Maria de Medeiros's *Capitães de Abril* (2000; *Captains of April*), which chronicles the April 1974 revolution. There are performances of both serious plays and witty musicals at the National Theatre of Dona Maria II in Lisbon. State and Gulbenkian Foundation aid has given new life to the "little theatre" both in Lisbon and in the provinces. International opera, theatre, and ballet are prominent in regular seasons in the National Theatre of São Carlos, in Lisbon, and in other theatres.

Cultural institutions

Lisbon is home to the vast [Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and Museum](#)—considered by many to be Portugal's best museum, with its collections of sculptures, ceramics, and paintings from around the world—and its modern art centre. Lisbon also has other notable museums covering a broad range of art, including the National Art Museum; the National Museum of Coaches, which has a fine collection of antique vehicles; the National Museum of Ancient Art, which has excellent displays of Portuguese painting; the National Museum of Medieval Art; the National Museum of Contemporary Art; the National Tile Museum; the Maritime Museum, which has displays of royal galleons; the Museum School of Decorative Arts, which trains craftsmen in furniture restoration, bookbinding, the repair of ancient tapestries, and other fine handicrafts; and the Casa Fernando Pessoa, an arts centre honouring the great poet. Outstanding museums are also found throughout the country. Porto, for example, contains the Soares dos Reis National Museum, the National Museum of Modern Art, which is housed in a pink Art Deco mansion, and the Museum of St. Francis, which displays thousands of skulls from catacombs. The Machado de Castro National Museum in Coimbra houses a vast collection of sculpture, and there is a regional museum in Aveiro. The National Library and the Ajuda Library in Lisbon have fine collections, while the National Archives of Torre do Tombo contain valuable national documents. Outside Lisbon, the library of the [Mafra](#) Convent and that of the University of Coimbra have historical importance.

Sports and recreation

[Bullfighting](#) is a popular sport in south of Portugal and varies markedly from its Spanish counterpart. The Portuguese bullfighter, usually dressed in an 18th-century-style coat and tricornered hat, rides a horse and does not seek to kill the bull, the horns of which may be sheathed to protect the horse. The bullfighter is followed by young men called *forcados*, who confront the bull bare-handed.

Football (soccer), the most popular national sport, evokes intense emotion. The national team is among the world's finest, though it has often had disappointing results in the World Cup tournament. Portugal's most renowned player, **Eusebio** (originally from Mozambique), was one of the most prolific goal scorers in European football in the 1960s. In the 21st century his feats were rivaled by those of **Cristiano Ronaldo**, Portugal's biggest football star in a generation. As elsewhere in much of Europe, basketball has grown in popularity. In individual events Portugal's long-distance runners have proved exceptional, winning Olympic gold medals and world championships. **Rosa Mota** won the marathon at the 1988 Summer Games in Seoul, **South Korea**, a world championship title, and three European championships; and **Carlos Lopes** won the men's marathon at the Summer Games in Los Angeles (1984).

Portugal's long seacoast and mild climate make beachgoing a popular pastime, particularly in the Algarve. The country is also well known throughout the world for its many championship-level golf courses, especially in the south. In the 1990s Portuguese entrepreneurs began promoting Portugal as an ocean sports destination, drawing on a strong local tradition of sailing and surfboarding. As a result of this effort, the country has become a centre for **scuba diving**, with a number of attractive sites, including a dive over the wreckage of a British steamship that sank in 1847. Another favourite dive is **Pelo Negro**, a complex of shallow undersea canyons just beyond the beach at Leça da Palmeira. Skiing, particularly in the Estrela Mountains (which contain Portugal's highest peaks), is popular in winter. Visits to Portugal's many national parks are among the other popular recreational activities in the country.

Media and publishing

Before the revolution of 1974, all media in Portugal were censored. The 1976 constitution guaranteed **freedom of the press**. Readership of daily newspapers in Portugal is quite limited, particularly outside the urban centres. The nationalization of industry that began in 1974 encompassed the leading Lisbon newspapers, which had been owned by banks. Gradual reprivatization began in 1979. The daily *Diário de Notícias* (founded 1864) was long Portugal's most prestigious newspaper. With privatization, however, the position of *Diário* has been challenged. Leading dailies include *Público* (founded 1990) and *Correio da Manhã* (founded 1979), and one of the most widely read newspapers is the weekly *Expresso*. Despite Lisbon's prevalence in publishing, some regional daily newspapers, such as the *Jornal de Notícias* in Porto, enjoy wide circulation. The **English-language** *The Portugal News* is published weekly. Magazines of national and international news and review include the weekly *Visão*. In business and finance the magazine *Exame* and the newspaper *Semanário Económico* are leaders. Among the most widely read publications are *A Bola* (founded 1945), a daily sports paper, and *Maria*, a weekly magazine for women.

The broadcast media reach a much larger portion of the Portuguese population than do the print media. In 1975 all private radio broadcasting, except the church-owned Rádio Renascença, was nationalized. The reprivatization process has paralleled that of other industries. Radio broadcasting is dominated by two networks: Rádio Renascença, which offers both national and regional programming, and the state-run Radiodifusão Portuguesa (RDP), which has regional centres throughout the country and produces an international service (Radio Portugal). Ownership reform came much more slowly to television broadcasting, which since its inception had been limited to the state-owned Rádio e Televisão de Portugal (RTP). In 1991 two private companies—one (Sociedade Independente de Comunicação; SIC) financed by a publishing group and the other by the Roman Catholic Church—received television broadcasting licenses. Another private television company is Televisão Independente (TVI). A number of private satellite and cable companies offer access to premium channels and foreign broadcast networks for a monthly fee. The news agency Lusa provides extensive national and world coverage.

Jose Shercliff *Walter C. Opello, Jr.* *Marion Kaplan*

History

Pre-Roman, Roman, Germanic, and Muslim periods

The earliest human remains found in Portugal are **Neanderthal-type** bones from Furninhas. A distinct culture first emerged in the Mesolithic (Middle Stone Age) middens of the lower **Tagus valley**, dated about 5500 BCE. **Neolithic (New Stone Age) cultures** entered from **Andalusia**, leaving behind varied types of beehive huts and passage graves. Agriculture, pottery, and the working of soft metals followed by the same route. In the 1st millennium BCE, **Celtic** peoples entered the peninsula via the **Pyrenees**, and many groups were projected westward by natural pressure. Phoenician and later Carthaginian influence reached southern Portugal in the same period. By 500 BCE, **Iron Age** cultures predominated in the north. Celtic hilltop settlements (*castros*) retained their vitality after the Roman conquest.

After the **Second Punic War** (218–201 BCE), Rome dominated the eastern and southern seaboard of the Iberian Peninsula, and Celtic peoples who had partially absorbed the indigenous population occupied the west. A Celtic federation, the **Lusitani**, resisted **Roman** penetration under the brilliant leadership of **Viriathus**, born in **Lobriga** (**Lorica** the Roman name), the modern **Loriga** in Portugal; however, after **Viriathus** was assassinated about 140 BCE, Decius Junius Brutus led a Roman force northward through central Portugal, crossed the **Douro River**, and subdued the Gallaeci. **Julius Caesar** governed the territory for a time. In 25 BCE **Caesar Augustus** founded Augusta Emerita (**Mérida**) as the capital of Lusitania, which incorporated present-day central Portugal. **Gallaecia** (Galicia), to the north of the Douro, became a separate province under the Antonines. In Roman times the present-day districts of Beja and Évora formed a wheat belt. The valley of the Tagus was famous for its horses and farms, and there were important mines in the Alentejo. Notable Roman remains include the Temple of Diana at Évora and the site of Conimbriga (Condeixa). **Christianity** reached Lusitania in the 3rd century and **Galicia** in the 4th.

After 406 CE, foreign [invaders](#) forced their way into Gaul and crossed the Pyrenees. A Germanic tribe, the [Suebi](#), settled in southern Galicia, and their rulers resided at or near Bracara Augusta (Braga) and Portucale. The Suebi annexed Lusitania and for a time overran the rest of the peninsula, but the [Visigoths](#) subdued them and extinguished their monarchy in 469. There are no records until about 550, when the Suebic monarchy had been restored and was reconverted to [Catholicism](#) by [St. Martin of Braga](#). When [Muslim](#) forces invaded in 711, the only serious Gothic resistance was made at Mérida; upon its fall the northwest submitted. [Berber](#) troops were placed in central Portugal and Galicia. When 'Abd al-Rahmān I set up the [Umayyad](#) monarchy at Córdoba in 756, there was some resistance in the west; indeed, [Lisbon](#) was independent for a few years in the early 9th century. The restoration of the Christian sees of Galicia, the discovery of the supposed tomb of St. James, and the erection of his shrine at Santiago de Compostela (Santiago) were followed by the organization of the frontier territory of Portucale in 868 by Vimara Peres; [Coimbra](#) was annexed by the Christians but later was lost again.

The county and kingdom of Portugal to 1383

By the 10th century the county of Portugal (north of the Douro) was held by [Mumadona Dias](#) and her husband [Hermenegildo Gonçalves](#) and their descendants, one of whom was tutor and father-in-law to the Leonese ruler [Alfonso V](#). However, when this dynasty was overthrown by the Navarrese-Castilian house of [Sancho III Garcés](#) (Sancho the Great), the western county lost its autonomy. Sancho's son [Ferdinand I](#) of [Castile](#) reconquered Coimbra in 1064 but entrusted it to a Mozarabic governor. When the African [Almoravids](#) annexed Muslim [Spain](#), [Alfonso VI](#), who ruled Castile and León (1072–1109), provided for the defense of the west by calling on [Henry](#), brother of Duke Eudes (Odo) of Burgundy, whom he married to his illegitimate daughter [Teresa](#) and made count of Portugal. Thus, from 1095 Henry and Teresa (who used the title of queen) ruled Portugal and Coimbra. Upon [Alfonso VI](#)'s death, his realms passed to his daughter [Urraca](#), who was queen from 1109 to 1126, and her little son Alfonso (who became [Alfonso VII](#) upon Urraca's death). Henry of Portugal sought power but had achieved little when he died in 1112, leaving Teresa with an infant son, Afonso Henriques (later [Afonso I](#)). Teresa's intrigues with her Galician favourite, Fernando Peres of Trava, lost her the support of the Portuguese barons, and in 1128 followers of Afonso Henriques defeated her and drove her into exile. [Afonso Henriques](#) became count of Portugal, and, although he was at first obliged to submit to Alfonso VII, his cousin, Afonso began to use the title of king, according to tradition following on his victory over the Muslims at Ourique on July 25, 1139 (though this may be more legend than history). In 1143 Alfonso VII accepted his cousin's autonomy, but the title of king was formally conceded only in 1179, when Afonso Henriques placed Portugal under the direct protection of the Holy See, promising an annual tribute. Afonso had captured [Santarém](#) (March 1147) and [Lisbon](#) (October 1147), the latter with the aid of English, French, German, and Flemish Crusaders bound for Palestine. An English priest, Gilbert of Hastings, became the first bishop of the restored see of Lisbon.

Although the new Moroccan dynasty of the [Almohads](#) struck back (1179–84), the Portuguese frontier was firmly established on the Tagus when [Afonso I](#) died (December 6, 1185). The new military order, the [Templars](#)—including those of Calatrava (from c. 1156) and of Santiago (from c. 1170)—governed castles and territory on the frontier, and the [Cistercians](#) were responsible for the introduction of agriculture and architecture in central Portugal (Alcobaça).

THE KINGDOM AND THE RECONQUISTA

Although Afonso I granted charters to new settlements, it was his son [Sancho I](#) (reigned 1185–1211) who enfranchised many municipalities (*concelhos*), especially in eastern and central Portugal. The privileges of these communities were embodied in charters (*forais*), which attracted settlers from the more feudal north. Even Muslims were enfranchised, though many of them were enslaved. Assisted by transient Crusaders, Sancho captured Silves in the [Algarve](#) in 1189; however, the following year an Almohad army from Africa advanced to the Tagus, and, although Lisbon, Santarém, and [Tomar](#) stood firm, the Muslims recovered Silves in 1191, together with most of the land south of the Tagus. But peace was made before Sancho's death, and it was left to his son [Afonso II](#) (1211–23) to endeavour to strengthen the power of the throne at the expense of the church.

Although [Afonso II](#) was an unwarlike king, his followers were beside the Castilians at the great Christian victory in the [Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa](#) in 1212 and, again assisted by Crusaders, recovered Alcácer do Sal in 1217. Meanwhile, Afonso repudiated the bequests of large estates made by his father to his brothers and accepted those to his sisters only after a war with León and in a form, settled by the pope, that recognized Afonso's sovereignty. In the first year of his reign, Afonso called a meeting of the [Cortes](#) (parliament) at Coimbra, to which the nobility and prelates were summoned (representatives of the commoners were not to appear until 1254). Both estates obtained important concessions; in fact, the position of the church and the orders was now so strong that Afonso II and his successors were involved in recurrent conflicts with Rome. Afonso himself instituted (from 1220) *inquirições*, or royal commissions, to investigate the nature of holdings and to recover whatever had been illegally taken from the crown.

Little is known of the reign of his son [Sancho II](#) (1223–c. 1246), but the reconquest of the Alentejo was now completed, and much of the Algarve had also been retaken. When Sancho became king, he found the church in full ascendancy as a result of the agreement made before his father's death. At all events, his younger brother Afonso, who had become count of Boulogne through his marriage (1238) to [Matilde](#), daughter of Raynald I, Comte (count) de Dammartin, was granted a papal commission (1245) to take over the government, and Sancho was ordered to be deposed by papal bull. When Afonso

reached Lisbon (late 1245 or early 1246), he received the support of the church and of the inhabitants of Lisbon and other towns. After a civil war lasting two years, [Sancho II](#) retired to Toledo, dying there in January 1248.

On his arrival the count of Boulogne had already declared himself king as [Afonso III](#), and the death of Sancho without issue gave his usurpation the mantle of legality. He brought together the divided kingdom, completed the reconquest of the Algarve, transferred the capital from Coimbra to Lisbon, and, fortified by the support of the towns, summoned the Cortes at [Leiria](#), where in 1254 commoners representing the municipalities made their first appearance. [Afonso III](#)'s conquest of the Algarve aroused the jealousy of Castile. Campaigns were fought in 1250 and 1252, and peace was made only by means of a marriage pact. Although still the husband of Matilde of Boulogne, Afonso married [Beatriz](#), illegitimate daughter of [Alfonso X](#) of Castile, holding the disputed territory of the Algarve as a fief of Castile until the eldest son of the marriage should reach age seven, at which time the Algarve was to return to Portugal. This marriage led to a dispute with the Holy See, in which Afonso was placed under an interdict. Though beholden to Rome, Afonso refused to give way; in 1263 the bigamous marriage was legalized and his eldest son, [Dinis](#), legitimized. Shortly afterward Afonso launched *inquirições* that deprived the church of much property. The prelates protested these actions of the royal commissions, and most of them subsequently left the country. Although Afonso was excommunicated and threatened with deposition, he continued to defy the church until shortly before his death early in 1279.

The achievements of Afonso's reign—the completion of the [Reconquista](#), the assertion of royal power before the church, and the incorporation of the commoners in the Cortes—indicate important institutional advances. Under his son [Dinis](#) (1279–1325), Portugal came into closer touch with western Europe. The chartering of fairs and the increased use of minted money bear witness to the growth of commerce, and the planting of pine forests to hold back the advancing sand dunes near Leiria illustrates Dinis's interest in furthering shipbuilding and agriculture. Having already adopted various measures to stimulate foreign trade, Dinis in 1317 engaged a Genoese admiral, [Emmanuele Pessagno](#), to build up his navy. He founded the [University of Coimbra](#) (at first in Lisbon) in 1290 and was both a poet and a patron of literature. Yet he was especially famed as the *rei lavrador* (farmer king) for his interest in the land.

Despite Dinis's attachment to the arts of peace, Portugal was involved in strife several times during his reign. In 1297 the [Treaty of Alcañices](#) with Castile confirmed Portugal's possession of the Algarve and provided for an alliance between Portugal and Castile. The mother of Dinis's son, the future [Afonso IV](#) (1325–57), was Isabel, daughter of [Peter III](#) of Aragon. This remarkable woman, later canonized as [St. Elizabeth of Portugal](#) and popularly known as the Rainha Santa (the Holy Queen), successfully exercised her influence in pursuit of peace on several occasions.

DISPUTES WITH CASTILE

[Afonso IV](#) (the Brave) was also involved in various disputes with Castile. Isabel, who had retired to the convent of Santa Clara at Coimbra, continued to intervene in favour of peace. However, upon Isabel's death in 1336 war broke out, and peace terms were not made until 1340, when Afonso, leading a Portuguese army, joined [Alfonso XI](#) of Castile in the great victory over the Muslims on the Salado River in Andalusia. Afonso's son Peter was married (1336) to Constança (died 1345), daughter of the Castilian infante Juan Manuel. Soon after the marriage, however, Peter fell in love with her cousin [Inês de Castro](#), with whom he had several children. Afonso was persuaded to allow the assassination of Inês in 1355, and one of the earliest acts of [Peter I](#) as king was to take vengeance on her murderers. During his short reign (1357–67), Peter devoted himself to the dispensation of justice; his judgments, which he executed himself, were severe and often violent, and his iron rule was tempered only by fits of reveling.

[Ferdinand I](#) (1367–83), [Peter](#)'s son by Constança, inherited a wealthy throne almost free of external entanglements, but the dispute between [Peter](#), king of Castile and León, and Henry of Trastámara (later [Henry II](#)) over the Castilian throne was raging. On the murder of Peter in 1369, several Castilian towns offered Ferdinand their allegiance, which he was unwise enough to accept. Henry II duly invaded Portugal, and, by the [Peace of Alcoutim](#) (1371), Ferdinand was forced to renounce his claim and to promise to marry Henry's daughter; however, he instead took a Portuguese wife, [Leonor Teles](#), despite the fact that she was already married and against the wishes of the commoners of Lisbon. In 1372 Ferdinand made an alliance with the [English](#) through [John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster](#), who had married the elder daughter of Peter and claimed the Castilian throne. In 1372 Ferdinand provoked Henry II, who invaded Portugal and besieged Lisbon. Unable to resist, Ferdinand was forced to repudiate his alliance with John of Gaunt and to act as an ally of Castile, surrendering various castles and persons as hostages. It was only on the death of Henry in 1379 that Ferdinand dared to openly challenge Castile again. In 1380 the English connection was resumed, and in the following year John of Gaunt's brother [Edmund of Langley](#), earl of Cambridge (afterward [Edmund of Langley, 1st duke of York](#)), took a force to Portugal for the invasion of Castile and betrothed his son [Edward](#) to Ferdinand's only legitimate child, Beatriz. In mid-campaign Ferdinand came to terms with the enemy (August 1382), agreeing to marry Beatriz to a Castilian prince. She did, in effect, become the wife of [John I](#) of Castile, and, when Ferdinand died prematurely decrepit, Leonor became regent and Castile claimed the Portuguese crown.

Leonor had long been the paramour of the Galician [João Fernandes Andeiro](#), conde de Ourém, who had intrigued with both [England](#) and Castile and whose influence was much resented by Portuguese patriots. Opponents of Castile chose as their leader an illegitimate son of Peter I: [John](#), master of Aviz, who killed Ourém (December 1383) and, being assured of the support of the populace of Lisbon, assumed the title of defender of the realm. Leonor fled first to Alenquer and then to Santarém, and the king of Castile came to her aid; soon, however, he relegated her to a Spanish convent. Lisbon was besieged for five months (1384), but an outbreak of plague forced the Castilians to retire.

The house of Aviz, 1383–1580

The legitimate male line of Henry of Burgundy ended at Ferdinand's death, and, when the Cortes met at Coimbra in March–April 1385, John of Aviz was declared king (as [John I](#)) and became the founder of a new dynasty. This result was not unopposed, as many of the nobility and clergy still considered the queen of Castile the rightful heiress. However, popular feeling was strong, and John I had valuable and trusted allies in [Nuno Álvares Pereira](#), “the Holy Constable,” his military champion, and in João das Regras, his chancellor and jurist.

INDEPENDENCE ASSURED

A number of towns and castles still held out for Castile when in August 1385 [John I](#) of Castile and a considerable army made their appearance in central Portugal. Although much outnumbered, the Portuguese won the great [Battle of Aljubarrota](#) (August 14, 1385), in which the Castilian chivalry was dispersed and John of Castile himself barely escaped. The victory assured John I of his kingdom and made him a desirable ally. A small force of English archers had been present at Aljubarrota in support of the Portuguese. The [Treaty of Windsor](#), concluded on May 9, 1386, raised the Anglo-Portuguese connection to the status of a firm, binding, and permanent alliance between the two crowns. John of Gaunt duly went to the Iberian Peninsula in July 1386 and attempted an invasion of Castile in conjunction with John I. The invasion was not successful, but in 1387 the Portuguese king married John of Gaunt's daughter Philippa of Lancaster, who introduced various English practices into Portugal. The truce arranged with Castile in 1387 was prolonged at intervals until peace was finally concluded in 1411.

The victory of John I may be regarded as a triumph of the national spirit over the feudal attachment to established order. Because much of the older nobility sided with Castile, John rewarded his followers at their expense and the crown's. Meanwhile, commerce prospered, and the marriage of John's daughter Isabella to [Philip III](#) (the Good) of [Burgundy](#) was to be followed by the growth of close trading relations between Portugal and Philip's county of [Flanders](#). With the conclusion of peace with Castile, John found an outlet for the activities of his frontiersmen and of his own sons in the conquest of [Ceuta](#) (1415), from which the great age of Portuguese expansion may be dated.

In 1437, during the short reign of John's eldest son, [Edward](#) (Duarte; 1433–38), an unsuccessful attempt to conquer [Tangier](#) was made by John's third son, Prince [Henry the Navigator](#), and his younger brother Ferdinand (who was captured by the Moors and died, still unransomed, in 1443). Edward's son [Afonso V](#) (1438–81) was still a child when Edward died, and Edward's brother [Pedro, duke of Coimbra](#) (Dom Pedro), had himself made regent (1440) instead of the widow, Leonor of Aragon. However, Pedro's own regency was later challenged by the powerful [Bragança family](#), descended from Afonso, illegitimate son of John of Aviz, and Beatriz, daughter of Nuno Álvares Pereira. This family continued to set the young king against his uncle, who was forced to resign the regency, driven to take up arms, and killed at Alfarrobeira (May 1449). Afonso proved unable to resist the demands of the Braganças, who now became the wealthiest family in Portugal. Having married Joan, daughter of [Henry IV](#) of Castile, Afonso laid claim to the Castilian throne and became involved in a lengthy struggle with [Ferdinand](#) and [Isabella](#) in the region of Zamora and Toro, where he was defeated in 1476. He then sailed to France in a failed attempt to enlist the support of [Louis XI](#), and on his return he concluded with Castile the [Treaty of Alcáçovas](#) (1479), abandoning the claims of his wife. Afonso never recovered from his reverse, and during his last years his son John administered the kingdom.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE MONARCHY

[John II](#) (1481–95) was as cautious, firm, and jealous of royal power as his father had been openhanded and negligent. At his reign's first Cortes, John exacted a detailed oath of homage that displeased his greatest vassals. A suspicion of conspiracy enabled him to arrest [Fernando II](#), duke of Bragança, and many of his followers; the duke was sentenced to death and executed at Évora in 1484. As well as attacking the power of the nobility, John lessened the effects of the unfavourable treaty with Castile. Calculating and resolute, he later received the epithet “the Perfect Prince.”

Predeceased by his legitimate son, [John II](#) was succeeded by his cousin the duke of Beja, as [Manuel I](#) (1495–1521), known as “the Fortunate.” Manuel, who assumed the title of “Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of [India](#), Ethiopia, Arabia, and Persia,” inherited, because of the work of John II, a firmly established autocratic monarchy and a rapidly expanding overseas empire. Drawn toward Spain by the common need to defend their overseas interests as defined by the [Treaty of Tordesillas](#) (1494), Manuel nourished the hope that the whole peninsula could be united under the house of Aviz; to that end he married Isabella, eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. However, she died in 1498 while giving birth to a son, Miguel da Paz. This child, recognized as heir to Portugal, Castile, and Aragon, died in infancy. Manuel then married Isabella's sister Maria (died 1517) and eventually Eleanor, sister of the emperor [Charles V](#).

As a condition of his marriage to Isabella, Manuel was required to “purify” Portugal of [Jews](#). After Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492, John II had admitted many Jewish refugees; he had taxed the Jews heavily but was also to supply ships for them to leave Portugal. This was not done, however, and Manuel now ordered all Jews to leave within 10 months, by October 1497. On their assembly in Lisbon, every effort was made to secure their conversion by promises or by force. Some who resisted were allowed to go, but the rest were “converted” under promise that no inquiry would be made into their beliefs for 20 years. As “Christians,” they could not be forced to emigrate, and, indeed, they were prohibited from leaving Portugal. In April 1506 a large number of these “new Christians,” or [Marranos](#), were massacred in Lisbon during a riot, but Manuel afterward protected the Marranos and allowed many to emigrate to [Holland](#), where their experience with Portuguese trade was put at the service of the Dutch.

If Manuel failed to realize his dream of ruling Spain, his son [John III](#) (1521–57) lacked the power to resist Castilian influence. A pious, retiring man, he was ruled by his wife, [Catherine](#), sister of Emperor Charles V, and encouraged the

installation of the [Inquisition](#) (1536); the first *auto-da-fé* (“act of faith,” a public condemnation or punishment of so-called heretics during the Inquisition) was held in 1540. The [Society of Jesus](#) (the [Jesuits](#)), established in 1540, soon controlled education in Portugal. In 1529 the settlement by the [Treaty of Zaragoza](#) (Saragossa) of a dispute over the possession of the [Moluccas](#) (an island group part of present-day Indonesia) removed an obstacle to Portuguese-Spanish understanding, and the line dividing Portuguese and Spanish interests in the New World (established by the Treaty of Tordesillas) was matched by a similar line in the Pacific. Meanwhile, this dual theoretical division of new lands between the Portuguese and Spanish and the Reformation had come between Portugal and its English ally.

[John III](#) was succeeded by his grandson [Sebastian](#) (1557–78), then only three years old. As a child [Sebastian](#) became obsessed with the idea of a Crusade against [Morocco](#). Fanatically religious, he had no doubts of his own powers and listened only to flatterers. He visited [Ceuta](#) and [Tangier](#) in 1574 and began in 1576 to prepare a large expedition against [Larache](#); his forces departed in June 1578 and on August 4 were utterly destroyed by the Moors in the [Battle of the Three Kings](#) near Alcazarquivir (Ksar el-Kebir). Sebastian and some 8,000 of his forces were killed, some 15,000 were captured, and only a handful escaped.

Sebastian was succeeded by his great-uncle, Cardinal [Henry](#) (1578–80), a brother of John III. His age and celibacy made it certain that the Portuguese throne would soon pass from the direct line of Aviz. [Philip II](#) of Spain, nephew of John III and husband (by his first marriage) of John’s daughter Maria, had already made his preparations, and, when the cardinal-king died on January 31, 1580, Philip summoned the authorities to obey him. An army under the great [duke of Alba](#) entered Portugal in 1580; the resistance of [António, prior of Crato](#) (illegitimate son of John III’s brother Luís), acclaimed António I at Santarém, collapsed; and [Philip II](#) of Spain became Philip I of Portugal (1580–98).

MEDIEVAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Medieval Portugal comprised regions of considerable diversity. In the north the old aristocracy of Leonese descent owned large estates worked mainly by serfs. In the southern territory that had been reconquered from Muslim rule, there were many towns, often separated by districts almost barren and depopulated. Cistercian monks, who had reached Portugal by 1143, took the initiative in settling these areas; later kings such as [Sancho I](#) and [Afonso III](#) established *concelhos* (municipalities), granting them chartered privileges designed to attract settlers. Tax concessions were often given, and freedom was promised to serfs or to Christian captives after a year’s residence. In the south, however, the *concelhos* were burdened with defense duties. The *cavaleiros-vilãos* (villein knights) were obliged to horse and arm themselves; the *peões*, or less-substantial men, were required to serve as foot soldiers in defense of the country and perhaps also on a *fossado* (raid) into Muslim territory.

At court the king was advised by his *curia regis* (court or council), comprising the *majordomus curiae*, the head of the administration, the military chief or *signifer*, the *dapifer curiae* (steward of the household), the *chancellor* (an official whose origins in Portugal were Burgundian rather than Visigothic), and any members of the greater aristocracy, the *ricos-homens*, who might be at court. The *ricos-homens* also comprised the bishops and abbots and masters of the orders of knighthood; many held private civil or military authority. The lesser nobility were without such rights. Below them came various classes of free commoners, such as the *cavaleiros-vilãos* and the *malados*, men who had commended themselves to protectors. There were numerous serfs and slaves.

There had been several shifts in the social structure by the end of the medieval period. Many of the old aristocracy lost their position at the advent of the house of Aviz, and the new nobility, exemplified in the house of Bragança, was often of bureaucratic or ministerial origin. Representatives of the commoners, first attending the Cortes in 1254 on behalf of the *concelhos*, took an increasing part in politics. The Cortes were very frequently called during the reigns of John I, Edward, and [Afonso V](#), but the avenues of power had become wider by the 16th century, and John III’s proposal (1525) to call them only every 10 years aroused no opposition. Although the trade guilds were slow in developing, they took some part in determining local taxation in the 13th century. Trade increased, Portuguese merchants having had connections with the [Low Countries](#) from the time of Afonso Henriques and with England from the early 13th century. The political crisis of 1385 was followed by inflation and debasements; thereafter there was no national gold currency until 1435, when West African sources began to be tapped.

THE DISCOVERIES AND THE EMPIRE

CONQUEST AND [EXPLORATION](#)

The idea of expansion into [Africa](#) was a logical result of the completion of the [Reconquista](#) in the peninsula, and the conquest of [Ceuta](#) in North Africa (1415) probably provided the impulse toward further expansion. The simple idea of fighting the Muslims on their own soil was linked with more-complicated motives: the desire to explore in a scientific sense, the hope of finding a way to the rich spice trade of the Indies, and the impulse to spread the Christian faith. These purposes were gradually molded together into a national enterprise, though at first they represented the hopes and aspirations of one man, Prince [Henry](#). The third son of John I and Philippa of Lancaster, known rather inaccurately as “the Navigator” (he himself never went farther afield than Tangier), Henry became (1420) master of the [Order of Christ](#), which King Dinis had founded (1319). The resources of the order were used to draw together skilled geographers and navigators and to equip a series of expeditions that only gradually began to bear fruit.

The date of Prince Henry's earliest expedition was about 1418, visiting the island of Porto Santo; the first call at [Madeira](#) probably dates from 1419. An attempt was made to settle in the [Canary Islands](#), and between 1427 and 1431 the [Azores](#) were visited by Portuguese seamen. Both the Azores and Madeira were then uninhabited, and their [colonization](#) proceeded fairly rapidly from about 1445. Sugar was exported to Europe and gave the islands great economic importance. Meanwhile, Prince Henry's ships were probing the African coast, passing [Cape Bojador](#) in 1434 and [Rio de Oro](#) in 1436. The unsuccessful expedition against [Tangier](#) (1437) was followed by a break in the explorations, but in 1439 Prince Henry was authorized to colonize the Azores; from 1440, further expeditions equipped with a new and lighter ship, the [caravel](#), reached the Bay of Arguin (1443) and Cape Verde (1444) and by Henry's death (1460) had explored the coast as far south as Sierra Leone.

Under [Afonso V](#), three military expeditions were sent against [Morocco](#) (1458, 1463, and 1471); by the last of them, Tangier and Arzila were captured. The African explorations were not entirely neglected, but it remained for John II, with his sharp sense of the national interest, to found a fortress and trading post in the Gulf of Guinea at Elmina (São Jorge da Mina, 1481–82). [Diogo Cão](#) explored the mouth of the [Congo](#) in 1482 and then advanced to Cape Cross, 200 leagues southward (1486). The [Kongo kingdom](#) converted to Christianity and allied itself with the Portuguese; its first Christian king, [Afonso I](#) (c. 1506–43), made [M'banza Congo](#) (renamed São Salvador do Congo in 1534) a centre of Portuguese influence, but the [Kongo](#) kingdom fell into internal strife, and Portuguese interests were transferred to the neighbouring kingdom of [Angola](#). Paulo Dias de Novais founded [Luanda](#), the first European-style city in western Africa south of the Equator, in 1576. In 1488 [Bartolomeu Dias](#) rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached the East African coast, and the seaway to India lay open. Dias's return was followed in 1493 with the news that [Christopher Columbus](#) had, he thought, found the "Indies" by sailing across the Atlantic. Much as this news must have perturbed the Portuguese, Columbus brought no news of the spices or the cities of the East. John II ordered the preparation of an expedition to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope, though this sailed only after his death. John also contested the Spanish claim to all lands discovered west of the Atlantic, and, by the [Treaty of Tordesillas](#), Spain's rights were limited to what lay more than 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. Thus the territory that was to become [Brazil](#) was reserved for Portugal.

The Treaty of Tordesillas had also confirmed Portugal's right to the exploration of Africa and the seaway to [India](#). In July 1497 [Vasco da Gama](#) set sail with four ships on the first expedition to India. It reached Calicut ([Kozhikode](#)) on the southwestern coast of India the following spring, and the survivors made their way back to Lisbon in the autumn of 1499 with specimens of Oriental merchandise. A second fleet was prepared under [Pedro Álvares Cabral](#), who touched the Brazilian coast (April 22, 1500) and claimed it for Portugal.

CONTROL OF THE SEA TRADE

In 1505 [Francisco de Almeida](#) arrived as viceroy of India and supported the ruler of [Cochin](#) against the *zamorin* (Hindu ruler) of Calicut. The control of sea trade, the chief source of Portuguese wealth in the East, was assured by the defeat of Muslim naval forces off Diu in 1509. Almeida's successor, [Afonso de Albuquerque](#), conquered [Goa](#) (1510), which he made the seat of Portuguese power, and [Malacca](#) (1511); sent two expeditions to the Moluccas (1512 and 1514); and captured [Hormuz](#) in the Persian Gulf (1515). Soon after, Fernão Peres de Andrade reached [Guangzhou](#) (Canton) in [China](#); in 1542 Portuguese merchants were permitted to settle at Liampo ([Ningbo](#)), and in 1557 they founded the colony of [Macau](#) (Macao).

Albuquerque was responsible for this conception of a system of strongpoints that secured Portuguese domination of trade with the Orient for nearly a century. Goa soon became the chief port of western India; Hormuz controlled the Persian Gulf, and Malacca became the gateway from the [Indian Ocean](#) to the South China Sea, while a string of fortified trading posts secured the coast of East Africa and the gulf and shores of India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Farther east, less-fortified settlements were established with the consent of the native rulers from Bengal to China, and the trade of the principal Spice Islands was in Portuguese hands. The preservation of the whole system was entrusted to a governor, who sometimes held the rank of viceroy, at Goa; although Portuguese arms had both triumphs and reverses, their control of the Oriental trade remained substantial, if never complete, until the 17th century, when the Dutch, at war with the joint crown of Portugal and Spain and deprived of their traditional trade with Lisbon, began to seek spices from their source and effectively demolished the Portuguese monopoly.

Union of Spain and Portugal, 1580–1640

After [Philip II](#) of Spain had occupied Portugal in 1580, the island of [Terceira](#) in the Azores held out for António of Crato, who himself sought alliances in England and France. In 1582 a French expedition to establish him in the Azores was defeated, and in 1589 an English attempt upon Lisbon, led by [Sir Francis Drake](#) and Sir John Norris, failed dismally. António died in Paris in 1595, but the true symbol of Portuguese independence was not him but King [Sebastian](#) himself. The Portuguese people refused to believe that he was dead and nourished a messianic faith in his reappearance, of which four pretenders sought to avail themselves, the last as late as 1600 and as far afield as Venice.

Meanwhile, Philip arrived in Portugal and was accepted as King Philip I (1580–98) by the Cortes held at Tomar in 1581. Philip sought to preserve Portuguese autonomy, to consider the union as a personal one like that of Aragon and [Castile](#) under Ferdinand and Isabella, to appoint only Portuguese to the administration, to summon the Cortes frequently, and to be accompanied by a Portuguese council in Madrid. However, these undertakings were neglected by his successor, Philip II (III of Spain; 1598–1621), and completely violated by [Philip III](#) (IV of Spain; 1621–40).

Portuguese resentment against Spanish rule was exacerbated by the failure of these kings to visit Portugal, the appointment of Spaniards to Portuguese offices, the loss of trade as a consequence of Spain's foreign wars, and the levying of taxation to sustain these wars. In 1624 the Dutch seized Bahia in Brazil, only to be expelled by a joint Spanish and Portuguese expedition the following year. But in 1630 the Dutch occupied [Pernambuco](#) in northeastern Brazil and the adjoining sugar estates, which they held for a generation. The final straw was the plan formulated in 1640 by [Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimental, conde-duque de Olivares](#), to use Portuguese troops against the equally discontented Catalans. Two Portuguese insurrections, in 1634 and 1637, had failed to mount real threats, but in 1640 Spain's power was extended to the utmost by war with [France](#) and revolt in Catalonia. The French minister, [Armand-Jean du Plessis, cardinal et duc de Richelieu](#), already had agents in Lisbon, and a leader was found in John, duke of Bragança, a grandson of the duchess Catherine (niece of John III) whose claims had been overridden in 1580 by Philip II of Spain. Taking advantage of the unpopularity of the governor, [Margaret of Savoy](#), duchess of Mantua, and her secretary of state, [Miguel de Vasconcelos](#), the leaders of the party of independence carried through a nationalist revolution on December 1, 1640. Vasconcelos was almost the only victim; the Spanish garrisons were driven out, and on December 15 the duke of Bragança was crowned as [John IV](#) (1640–56).

The house of Bragança, 1640–1910

The success of the new regime was not finally assured until 1668, when Spain at last recognized Portuguese independence. Before that, faced with the threat of a Spanish invasion, John had sent missions to the courts of Europe in quest of alliances. France now refused a formal treaty. The Dutch, having seized northern Brazil, accepted a truce in Europe and proceeded to capture Angola from Portugal. In 1642 John negotiated a treaty with [Charles I of England](#), but this was made void by Charles's execution in 1649. Meanwhile, the Portuguese defeated the Spaniards at Montijo (May 26, 1644) and ward off several invasions. In 1654 they made a treaty with the English Commonwealth, obtaining aid in return for commercial concessions. The Dutch were finally expelled from Pernambuco in northern Brazil. By a secret article of the [Peace of the Pyrenees](#) (November 7, 1659), France promised Spain that it would provide no further assistance to Portugal, but in 1661 Portugal signed a treaty of alliance with the restored English monarchy. In 1662 [Charles II](#) of England married John's daughter [Catherine of Bragança](#) and, in return for a large dowry including the cession of Bombay and Tangier, provided arms and men for the war with Spain. The Portuguese defense was organized by the German soldier [Friedrich Hermann von Schönberg](#) (later duke of Schomberg); in June 1663 Sancho Manuel, conde de Vila Flor, defeated Don [Juan de Austria](#) at Ameixial, and in June 1665 von Schönberg won the important victory of Montes Claros. Peace was finally made by the [Treaty of Lisbon](#) early in 1668.

When [John IV](#) died, his second son, [Afonso VI](#) (1656–83), was only age 13. Afonso's mother, Luísa de Gusmão, acted as regent until June 1662, when he began to rule. Afonso himself was feeble-minded, but the country was capably governed by [Luiz de Vasconcelos e Sousa, conde de Castelo Melhor](#), until 1667. At that point, the French princess, [Maria Francesca of Savoy](#), who had married Afonso the previous year, entered into an intrigue with his more personable brother Peter, who later reigned as [Peter II](#). They contrived to dismiss Castelo Melhor and to have Maria Francesca's marriage to Afonso annulled. She at once married Peter (1668), who was declared regent. Afonso, though still king, was kept a virtual prisoner in the Azores and at [Sintra](#) until his death.

During the reign of [Peter II](#) (1683–1706), Portugal recovered from the strain of the Spanish wars and began to benefit from the discovery of gold and precious stones in Brazil. The first gold strike in [Minas Gerais](#) took place in 1693, and, in the last years of the 17th century, considerable wealth was extracted; however, it was not until 1728, when diamonds were discovered, that the mineral wealth of Brazil formed a very substantial part of the revenue of the Portuguese crown.

THE 18TH CENTURY

In the [War of the Spanish Succession](#) (1701–14), Portugal's recent friends England and France fought on opposing sides. Although Peter initially sought to remain neutral, Portugal joined the Anglo-Austrian [Grand Alliance](#) in 1703 and provided a base for the archduke [Charles](#) (later Emperor [Charles VI](#)) to conduct his war for the Spanish throne. Then on December 27, 1703, the English envoy, [John Methuen](#), concluded the [treaty](#) that bears his name, by which the exchange of port wine for English woollens became the basis for Anglo-Portuguese trade. Although the treaty of 1654 had secured great privileges for English merchants in Lisbon, neither it nor the treaties of 1642 and 1661, by which the traditional alliance was restored, had created trade. This was now done, and, with the wealth that soon poured into Lisbon from Brazil, the English merchants gained a commanding position in the trade of Portugal. The political treaties of 1703 proved less fruitful. The Portuguese general [António Luís de Sousa, marquês das Minas](#), entered Madrid in 1706, but French and Spanish forces were victorious at Almansa in 1707, and in 1711 the French admiral René Duguay-Trouin sacked [Rio de Janeiro](#). At the conclusion of the war, Portugal negotiated a peace treaty with France (April 1713), but peace with Spain was not concluded until 1715.

Portugal under Peter's son [John V](#) (1706–50) attained a degree of prosperity unknown since the restoration of independence from Spain. The tax of a royal fifth levied on the precious metals and stones of Brazil gave the monarchy an independent source of wealth. The [Cortes](#), which had met irregularly since 1640, was no longer summoned, and government was carried out by ministers appointed by the king. [John V](#) desired the absolute authority enjoyed by [Louis XIV](#) in France. John converted his wealth into papal and other dignities: the archbishop of Lisbon became a patriarch (1716); Pope [Benedict XIV](#) gave John the title "His Most Faithful Majesty" (1749); and royal academies, palaces, and libraries were inaugurated. But in his later years, his ministers proved inadequate, and the kingdom sank into stagnation.

On John's death, his son [Joseph](#) (1750–77) appointed as minister Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (later conde de Oeiras and [marquês de Pombal](#)), who soon gained a complete ascendancy over the king and endeavoured to replace the stagnant absolutism with a more active type of despotism that, with some qualifications, deserves the epithet "enlightened." Pombal's

full powers date from his efficient handling of the crisis caused by the disastrous Lisbon earthquake of November 1755, but even before this he had reformed the sugar and diamond trades, set up a national silk industry (1750), and formed one chartered company to control the sardine- and tunny-fishing industry of the Algarve and another to trade with northern Brazil. In 1756 he founded a board of trade with powers to limit the privileges enjoyed by the English merchants under the treaties of 1654 and 1661 and set up the [General Company for Wines of Alto Douro](#) to control the port wine trade. Industries for the manufacture of hats (1759), cutlery (1764), and other articles were established with varying success.

Pombal's methods were arbitrary and his enemies numerous. His reform of the wine industry provoked a riot in [Porto](#) (1757) that was savagely repressed. However, his principal victims were the [Jesuits](#), who were expelled in 1759 from all the Portuguese dominions, and the nobility, in particular José Mascarenhas, duque de Aveiro, and the [Távora](#) family (*see* [Conspiracy of the Távoras](#)), who were accused of an attack on the king (September 3, 1758), condemned, and executed (January 12, 1759). Having eliminated the Jesuits from the educational system, Pombal applied regalist principles in the reform of the University of Coimbra (1772) and the royal board of censorship (1768), which supervised the system of lower education from 1771.

While Pombal succeeded in modifying the ascendancy of the British merchants in Portugal, he invoked the English alliance in 1762 when Spain, prompted by the renewal of the Bourbon [Family Compact](#) with France, invaded Portugal. The Portuguese army was reformed by Wilhelm von Schaumburg-Lippe, and an English force was led by James O'Hara, 2nd Baron Tyrawley, and John Campbell, 4th earl of Loudoun. A peace treaty was signed in February 1763 at Fontainebleau. After Joseph's death on February 24, 1777, his daughter [Maria I](#) (1777–1816), who had married Joseph's brother and her uncle ([Peter III](#)), acceded to the throne; Pombal was dismissed (1777) and eventually found guilty on several charges. His successors made peace with Spain by the [Treaty of San Ildefonso](#) (1777).

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC WARS

After the death of [Peter III](#) in 1786 and her eldest son [Joseph](#) in 1788, [Maria I](#) suffered from melancholia. In 1792 her mental instability increased following news of the radical phases of the [French Revolution](#), and she ceased to reign. Her surviving son ruled in her name, formally became prince regent in 1799, and on her death became [John VI](#) (1816–26). In 1793 Portugal joined England and Spain against France, sending a naval division to assist the English Mediterranean fleet and an army to the Catalan front. The [Peace of Basel](#) (July 1795), by which Spain abandoned its allies, left Portugal still at war. Although subjected to pressure from the French Directory and from the Spanish minister, [Manuel de Godoy](#), Portugal remained unmolested until 1801, when Godoy sent an ultimatum and invaded the Alentejo. By the [Peace of Badajoz](#) (June 1801), Portugal lost the town of Olivenza and paid an indemnity.

From the [Peace of Amiens](#) (1802) until 1807, Portugal was once more immune from attack, though it was subjected to continuous pressure to break off the English connection. [Napoleon](#) sought to close all continental ports to British ships, but Portugal endeavoured to maintain neutrality. The secret Franco-Spanish [Treaty of Fontainebleau](#) (October 1807) provided for Portugal's eventual dismemberment by Napoleon I and Godoy. Already one of Napoleon's generals, [Andoche Junot](#), was hastening across Spain with a French army, and on November 27 the prince regent and the royal family and court embarked on a fleet lying in the Tagus River and were escorted by British vessels to Brazil; the court remained at Rio de Janeiro for 14 years. Junot declared the Braganças deposed, but his occupation of Portugal was challenged in August 1808 by the arrival of Sir Arthur Wellesley (later [duke of Wellington](#)) and 13,500 British troops in Mondego Bay. Winning the victories of Roliça (August 17) and Vimeiro (August 21), Wellington enabled his superiors to negotiate the [Convention of Sintra](#) (August 31), by which Junot was allowed to evacuate Portugal with his army.

A second French invasion (1808–09) led to Sir John Moore's death at La Coruña, Spain, in January 1809 and the reembarkation of the British forces. In February [William Carr \(later Viscount\) Beresford](#) was placed in command of the Portuguese army, and in March a French force under Marshal Nicolas-Jean de Dieu Soult advanced from Galicia and occupied Porto. Wellesley returned to Portugal in April, drove Soult from the north, and, after his victory of Talavera de la Reina in Spain (July), withdrew to Portugal.

The third French invasion followed in August 1810 when Marshal André Masséna with Marshal Michel Ney and Junot entered Beira province. Defeated by Wellington at Bussaco (September 27) near Coimbra, the French found themselves facing the entrenched [lines of Torres Vedras](#), north of Lisbon, where they wintered amid great privations. By the spring of 1811 they could only retreat, and on March 5 they began the evacuation of Portugal, harassed all the way by English and Portuguese attacks and crossing the frontier after a defeat at Sabugal (April 3).

Portugal and France made peace on May 30, 1814. Portugal was represented at the [Congress of Vienna](#), but it played little part in the settlement. The series of Anglo-Portuguese treaties concluded between the years 1809 and 1817, however, was important insofar as it extended many of the conditions of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance to Brazil and had an influence on the future of Africa. England's efforts to enlist Portuguese collaboration in suppressing the slave trade resulted in the treaty of January 22, 1815, and in the additional convention of 1817, by reason of which Portugal's claims to a considerable part of Africa were formally recognized.

CONSTITUTIONALISM

The Napoleonic campaigns caused great devastation in Portugal, and the absence of the royal family and the presence of a foreign commander (Beresford) combined with revolutionary agitation and the influence of Spanish liberalism to produce an atmosphere of discontent. On December 16, 1815, Brazil was raised to the rank of a kingdom united with Portugal, and [John](#)

VI, who took the throne in March 1816, showed no desire to return to Portugal. In 1817 Beresford suppressed a conspiracy in Lisbon, and the Masonic leader General Gomes Freire de Andrade was executed. Unrest increased, and, when Beresford himself went to Brazil (March 1820) to press John to return, a constitutionalist revolution began in Porto (August 24, 1820); the revolution soon spread throughout the country and led to the formation of a junta in Lisbon (October 4). On October 10, when Beresford returned to Portugal, he was not allowed to land, and British officers were expelled from the army. A constituent assembly was summoned that drew up a very liberal constitution, thus confronting John VI with an accomplished fact.

John's reluctance to return was at last overcome. Leaving his elder son Peter to govern Brazil, John landed at Lisbon on July 3, 1821. He swore to uphold the constitution, but his wife, Carlota Joaquina, and their second son, Michael, refused to take the oath and were sentenced to banishment, though this was not carried out. The Portuguese constitutionalists, not appreciating the determination of Brazil not to yield its status as a kingdom, sought to compel Pedro to return, but, rather than sacrifice the rule of the Braganças in Brazil, he declared Brazilian independence (September 7, 1822) and became emperor of Brazil as Pedro I. This enabled his brother Michael to appeal to absolutist forces in Portugal to overthrow the constitutionalists; an insurrection led by Michael almost succeeded (April 30, 1824), but, through the action of the foreign ministers, John VI was restored and Michael went into exile in Vienna (June 1824).

THE WAR OF THE TWO BROTHERS

John VI acknowledged the independence of Brazil in 1825, assuming pro forma the imperial title and then yielding it to Pedro. However, when John died (March 10, 1826), no provision had been made for the succession except that his daughter Maria Isabel was named regent. Pedro, as Peter IV of Portugal, issued from Brazil a charter providing for a parliamentary regime by the authorization of the monarchy and not based on the sovereignty of the people. He then made a conditional abdication (May 1826) of the Portuguese throne in favour of his seven-year-old daughter Maria da Glória provided that she marry her uncle Michael and swear to accept the charter. This compromise could not be effective. The absolutists had hoped that Pedro would resign all rights to the Portuguese crown, and the council of regency hesitated to publish the charter until General João Carlos de Saldanha (later duque de Saldanha) forced their hand. In 1827 Michael took the oath and was appointed regent; he landed in Lisbon in February 1828, and his supporters at once began to persecute the liberals. A form of the Cortes met in Lisbon and in July 1828 repudiated Pedro's claims and declared Michael the rightful king.

Only Terceira Island in the Azores sustained the liberal cause. In June 1829, however, a regency on behalf of Maria da Glória was established in Terceira, and in 1831 Pedro, having abdicated the Brazilian throne, went to Europe and began to raise money and an army for the conquest of Portugal. In February 1832 the expedition sailed to Terceira, and in July the liberals, led by Pedro, disembarked at Mindelo near Porto, which they soon occupied. However, the rest of the country stood by Michael, who besieged the liberals in Porto for a year (July 1832–July 1833). By then enthusiasm for Michael had waned, and António José de Sousa Manuel, duque de Terceira, and Captain (later Sir) Charles Napier, who had taken command of the liberal navy, made a successful landing in the Algarve (June 1833). Terceira advanced on Lisbon, which fell in July 1833, and Michael capitulated at Evora-Monte in May 1834.

FURTHER POLITICAL STRIFE

The War of the Two Brothers ended with the exile of Michael (June) and the death of Pedro (September 24, 1834). Maria da Glória became queen as Maria II (1834–53) at age 15. While Maria necessarily came under the influence of the successful generals of the civil war, her principal aim was to defend her father's charter (which had been granted by the crown) from those who demanded a "democratic" constitution like that of 1822. In September 1836 the latter, thenceforth called Septembrists, seized power. The chartist leaders rebelled and were exiled, but by 1842 the Septembrist front was no longer united, and António Bernardo da Costa Cabral restored the charter.

In 1846 the movement of Maria da Fonte, a popular rising against higher taxation to improve roads and reforms in public health in which almost all parties joined, put an end to Costa Cabral's government but left Portugal divided between the Septembrists, who held Porto, and Saldanha, now in Queen Maria's confidence, in Lisbon. Saldanha negotiated for the intervention of other members of the Quadruple Alliance (formed in April 1834 by England, France, Spain, and Portugal), and a combined British and Spanish force received the surrender of the Porto junta in June 1847 and ended the war with the Convention of Gramido (June 29, 1847). Saldanha governed until 1849, when Costa Cabral resumed office only to be overthrown in April 1851. Saldanha then held office again for five years (1851–56), and the period of peace finally allowed the country to settle down. This "Regeneration" ended civil strife and established party government.

Maria II was succeeded by Peter V (1853–61), her eldest son by her second husband, Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg. Peter, who married Stephanie of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen in 1858, showed promise of being a capable monarch but died of typhoid fever on November 11, 1861. His brother Louis (1861–89) seemed to have inherited a country that had recovered from the Napoleonic invasions and from civil wars, political strife, and pronunciamientos (military coups). But, although the main parties were now defined as Historicals (i.e., radicals) and Regenerators (moderates), the alternation of governments gradually ceased to reflect public feeling, and, in the last years of Louis's reign, republicanism began to gain ground.

Harold V. LivermoreEd.

OVERSEAS EMPIRE

Brazil's independence in 1822 left Portugal's overseas empire a largely African one, with scattered small holdings in Asia (in western India mainly Goa, Damão [now Daman], and Diu; [East Timor](#) in Indonesia; and [Macau](#) in South China). Beginning in 1836, Portugal pursued a policy of [African](#) territorial expansion and economic enhancement, concentrating first on Angola and later on [Mozambique](#) and Portuguese Guinea (now Guinea-Bissau). Portugal's role in the European partition of Africa in the late 19th century was limited by its long-standing economic dependence on Great Britain. A colonial movement gained momentum in Lisbon, and a Portuguese scheme known as the "[Rose-Coloured Map](#)," which laid claim to a colony stretching across Africa from Angola to Mozambique, was recognized by France and Germany in 1886. However, Britain challenged Portugal's claim to territory in central Africa (in what are now Malawi and Zimbabwe) and issued an ultimatum, dated January 11, 1890, demanding the immediate withdrawal of Portuguese forces from the disputed regions. The ultimatum implicitly threatened, in the short run, the use of British naval force and, in the long run, an end to the venerable Anglo-Portuguese alliance, which dated from the late 14th century. The Lisbon government, obliged to comply, subsequently resigned. The ultimatum crisis rocked Portuguese public opinion, heightening imperial fever in the capital and principal towns, compromising the monarchy of King [Charles I](#), and bolstering republicans.

Despite the failure of the central-corridor plan, Portugal retained a large African empire (about 8 percent of the continent). Two Anglo-Portuguese agreements—the 1891 boundary treaty and the so-called [Windsor Treaty](#) of October 14, 1899—safeguarded Portugal's sovereignty over its existing colonies and reaffirmed the ancient alliance.

THE RISE OF REPUBLICANISM

During the period from 1890 to 1910, the relatively stable politics of rotating governments under the constitutional monarchy disintegrated. Feuding monarchist parties and politicians agreed that Portugal faced severe economic, financial, and social problems, but they quarreled over solutions. The republicans increased their support in Lisbon and the larger towns as well as in the rural south. In 1906 [João Franco](#), a prominent politician with reformist plans for saving the monarchy, was appointed premier. Unable to unite the factious monarchists, he began to govern by decree. Franco boldly undertook to reform finance and administration but was accused of illegal money transfers to Charles. These scandals were followed by rumours of further intrigue, and on February 1, 1908, Charles and his heir, [Louis Philip](#), were assassinated in an open carriage in the streets of Lisbon. Whether the regicides were isolated fanatics or agents of a hidden organization such as the [Carbonária](#), a republican secret society, the killings were applauded by the republicans, who immediately began their preparations for a final attack on the monarchy.

Only age 18 at his accession, Charles's younger son, King [Manuel II](#) (1908–10), was ill-equipped to solidify the crumbling monarchist factions. In the general elections of August 1910, both Lisbon and Porto voted in favour of a republic. On October 3 the murder by an insane patient of a leading republican figure, the distinguished psychiatrist Miguel Bombarda, offered the pretext for a rising that had already been organized. Armed civilians, soldiers, and the men aboard some ships in the Tagus, under the leadership of António Machado Santos, a key Carbonária figure, began the republican revolution on October 4; the next morning, Portugal's First Republic was declared from the balcony of the Lisbon City Hall. Manuel escaped via his yacht to [Gibraltar](#) and then to England, where he remained in exile until his death in 1932.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The flow of wealth from Portugal's overseas territories and trading posts helped to sustain the court and capital but did little to improve the domestic economy, which remained largely rural. The favourable financial position of the late 15th century—derived from trade in slaves, gold, and spices—did not long survive into the 16th century, when the expenses of maintaining far-flung and unproductive foreign stations and the depredations of pirates quickly absorbed any surpluses. There were few native industries. Not only were manufactured goods such as cloth, tapestry, and metalware imported, but so were basic foodstuffs, salt meat, cured fish, and dairy produce. Agriculture was little regarded, and insufficient land was available for smallholdings. During the years of Spanish domination, the ports were closed to English merchants. By the time the ports were reopened, after 1640, the flow of trade had found new channels, and the Dutch and English had outstripped Portugal as colonial powers. The discovery of gold in [Brazil](#) at the end of the 17th century revived Portugal's economy, but gold production was in decline by 1750, while the diamond market was saturated. In the later 18th century a series of protectionist measures were introduced, many by Pombal. The [Methuen Treaty](#) (1703) with England had strengthened the port wine trade at the expense of Portuguese cloth; further attempts were later made to improve the export value of port wine. Support was also given for the production of woolen goods, linen, paper, porcelain, and cutlery and to the tunny and sardine fisheries. Pombal attempted to create an educated bourgeoisie, but the Portuguese textile industry could not withstand mechanized competition. After 1850 public works, railways, and ports were given priority, but it was not until the 20th century that any sustained attack upon Portugal's economic difficulties was undertaken.

The First Republic, 1910–26

The new regime formed a provisional government under the presidency of [Teófilo Braga](#), a well-known writer. A new electoral law was issued giving the vote only to a restricted number of adult males. The provisional government presided over the election of a constituent assembly, which opened on June 19, 1911. The constitution was passed by the assembly on August 20, and the provisional government surrendered its authority a few days later (August 24) to the new president,

Manuel José de Arriaga. Despite initial hopes that the republic would solve the massive problems inherited from the monarchy, Portugal soon became western Europe's most turbulent, unstable parliamentary regime.

Although a monarchist invasion led by Henrique de Paiva Couceiro in October 1911 was unsuccessful, the main danger to the new regime came from its internal divisions. For the moment, it was fairly united in support of abolishing the monarchy and disestablishing the **Roman Catholic Church**. The religious orders were expelled (October 8, 1910) and their property confiscated. New legislation banned the teaching of religion in schools and universities and annulled many religious holidays. Persecution of Catholics in the early years of the republic attracted international attention and brought the new political system into conflict with foreign diplomats, humanitarian organizations, and journalists. Indeed, though the government initiated advances in education, health, civic freedoms, and colonial development, positive results were overwhelmed by administrative instability, labour unrest, public violence, and military intervention in politics.

By 1912 the republicans were divided into **Evolutionists** (moderates), led by António José de Almeida; **Unionists** (centre party), led by Manuel de Brito Camacho; and **Democrats** (the leftist core of the original party), led by Afonso Costa. A number of prominent republicans had no specific party. The whirligig of republican political life offered little improvement on the monarchist regime, and in 1915 the army showed signs of restlessness. General **Pimenta de Castro** formed a military government and permitted the monarchists to reorganize, but a Democratic coup in May led to his arrest and consignment to the Azores, along with **Machado Santos**. Dominated by Costa's oratory, partisan press, and political machine, the Democrats' regime was in turn overthrown by another bloody military coup (December 1917), led by the former minister to Germany, Major **Sidónio Pais**.

The authoritarian, unstable "New Republic" of charismatic President Pais failed to pacify the feuding factions, and its collapse precipitated a brief civil war. Following Pais's assassination in Lisbon (December 14, 1918), republicans and monarchists fought a civil war (January 1919) in which the final armed effort to restore the monarchy failed, and political power was restored to the chastened Democrats. Four key tensions characterized the republic's troubled political system: (1) excessive factionalism, (2) the tendency of the factions to bear allegiance to personalities rather than to ideas, institutions, and the public interest, (3) disparity between the landholding patterns of the north (typified by *minifundias*—small subsistence farms) and the south (typified by *latifundias*—large estates worked by landless peasants), and (4) the concentration of **economic development** in Lisbon, at the expense of the provinces.

Though officially neutral, Portugal at the outbreak of **World War I** had proclaimed its adhesion to the English alliance (August 7, 1914) and on November 23 committed itself to military operations against **Germany**. On September 11 the first expedition left to reinforce the African colonies, and there was fighting in northern Mozambique, on the Tanganyika (now Tanzania) frontier, and in southern Angola, on the frontier of German South West Africa. In February 1916, in compliance with a request from Britain, Portugal seized German ships lying in Portuguese ports, and on March 9 Germany declared war on Portugal. A Portuguese expeditionary force under General Fernando Tamagnini de Abreu went to Flanders in 1917, and on April 9, 1918, the Germans mounted a major attack in the Battle of the Lys. Although the Allies won the war and Portugal's colonies were safeguarded, the 0.75 percent of the war indemnity paid by Germany to Portugal was scant compensation for the heavy costs incurred both in the field and at home, including the casualties of the African campaigns and the Western Front, the alienation of a portion of the army officer corps, crippling war debts to Britain, intense inflation, and a scarcity of food and fuel.

Former Evolutionist Almeida became the only president to complete his term during the First Republic, but the cycles of bankruptcy, corruption, public violence, and military insurrectionism continued. Finally, on May 28, 1926, the parliamentary republic was overthrown in a bloodless military coup that instituted what was to become western Europe's most long-lived authoritarian system.

The dictatorship, 1926–74

THE SALAZAR REGIME

The provisional military government was shortly taken over by General **António Óscar de Fragoso Carmona**, who favoured sweeping changes. In 1928, in the face of financial crisis, Carmona appointed **António de Oliveira Salazar** minister of finance with full powers over expenditure. A prominent professor of economics at the University of Coimbra, Salazar assembled a civilian elite of intellectuals and bureaucrats to steer the course of recovery. Budgetary surpluses became the hallmark of his regime, making possible large expenditures for social programs, rearmament, and infrastructure development. This progress, coupled with personal austerity and hard work, won Salazar the grudging collaboration of diverse parties and interest groups that included monarchists, conservative republicans, fascists, pseudofascists, nationalists, the church, business leaders, land barons, and the military establishment. As minister of colonies in 1930, he prepared the **Colonial Act**, assimilating the administration of the overseas territories to his system. In July 1932 Salazar became prime minister, a post he was to hold (along with other key ministries during crises) until 1968.

The new constitution of 1933 declared Portugal a "unitary, corporatist republic." Salazar's New State (**Estado Novo**) provided for a National Assembly, with deputies elected quadrennially as a bloc, and a Corporative Chamber comprising representatives of occupations. All seats in the assembly went to government supporters; the Corporative Chamber was not established until employers' and workers' syndicates were formed. The government regulated labour-management relations, banned strikes and lockouts, and monitored social welfare planning. Political parties were prohibited, and all eligible voters were encouraged to join the National Union, an approved loyalist movement. Ever mindful of the confusion that preceded it, the New State emphasized order over freedom and attempted to "neutralize" society through the use of censorship,

propaganda, and political imprisonment. On the other hand, it partially restored the pre-1910 privileges of the church in law, society, and education.

During the [Spanish Civil War](#) (1936–39), Salazar backed the Nationalists led by General [Francisco Franco](#), who triumphed and controlled all of Spain by the spring of 1939. In [World War II](#), Portugal maintained official neutrality (while quietly favouring Britain) until Britain invoked the ancient Anglo-Portuguese alliance to obtain bases in the Azores. Portugal joined the [North Atlantic Treaty Organization](#) (NATO) as a founding member in 1949 but did not gain admission to the [United Nations](#) until 1955.

Portugal's foreign and colonial policies met with increasing difficulty both at home and abroad beginning in the 1950s. In the presidential election of 1958, General Humberto Delgado generated political heat after challenging the regime's candidate, Admiral Américo Tomás. Internationally, the tensions of the Cold War gave Portugal's largely undeveloped overseas empire a new significance. The determination of the [Indian](#) government to annex Portuguese India led to a severing of diplomatic relations (August 1955) and to mass invasions of the Portuguese possessions by Indian passive resisters. Portugal disputed but effectively lost the enclaves of [Dadra and Nagar Haveli](#) to India (despite a ruling by the International Court of Justice in April 1960 favouring Portugal), and on December 19, 1961, India took over Goa, Diu, and Daman.

Salazar had made it clear that he did not favour decolonization, and, when in early 1961 Angola was the scene of disturbances, he reinforced the troops in the African territories and took over the Ministry of Defense. Nevertheless, colonial wars erupted in Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea between 1961 and 1964.

Despite its failure to rejuvenate agriculture and its reluctance to industrialize, perhaps the most important contribution of the New State was to the economy. Development plans, closely monitored by the demanding Salazar, were conservative but consistent. The government significantly reduced its debt, diminished its economic dependence on British investment, and tightly controlled foreign investment and did not openly encourage it until the mid-1960s, when expensive wars in Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea prompted a revision of the investment code. The government also supported industry, though not massively, and emphasized infrastructure development over health, education, and welfare. From about 1960 until the inflation surge and energy crisis of 1973, Portugal experienced economic growth at an annual rate of 5 to 7 percent, which constituted a boom for western Europe's poorest country.

THE NEW STATE AFTER SALAZAR

In September 1968 Salazar was incapacitated by a stroke. President Tomás invited [Marcello Caetano](#), one of the architects of the New State, to form a government, but Salazar was never informed of this transition. On July 27, 1970, he died. Although Caetano was more worldly and less reserved than his predecessor, he proved unable to reverse the tide of Portugal's African wars, to alleviate the economic woes of 1973–74, or to avert revolution.

Portugal since 1974

THE REVOLUTION OF THE CARNATIONS

Two developments galvanized the movement that was shortly to topple the dictatorship. The first occurred in mid-1973, when career army officers became alienated by a government measure commissioning militia officers for service in the colonial wars. The second incitement was the publication in February 1974 of the book [Portugal e o futuro](#) ("Portugal and the Future") by the colonial war hero General [António de Spínola](#), who argued that the wars in Africa could not be settled by force of arms and advocated negotiated autonomy for the colonies and an alternative to Caetano's leadership. Some 200 to 300 officers calling themselves the [Armed Forces Movement](#) (Movimento das Forças Armadas; MFA), led by Francisco da Costa Gomes and other officers, planned and implemented the coup of April 25, 1974, which came to be known as the Revolution of the Carnations.

The revolution encountered little resistance from the dictatorship's remaining loyalists and won initial support from an urban middle class vexed by economic and political uncertainty. The transition to a functioning, consolidating, pluralist Portuguese democracy mirrored, though in a nonviolent way, the political course of the French Revolution: an early moderate-conservative phase (May 1974–March 1975) followed by a middle radical-leftist phase (March–late November 1975) and a final moderate reaction (late November 1975–June 1976).

After exiling Caetano and Tomás, a subgroup of the MFA calling itself the [Junta of National Salvation](#) filled the political vacuum, installing Spínola as president and commencing negotiation with the African nationalist movements. Independence was granted to Portuguese Guinea (as Guinea-Bissau) almost immediately after the revolution. The new regime abolished such instruments of repression as censorship, the paramilitary forces, and the secret police. Spínola, who opposed rapid independence for the colonies without free referendums, resigned in September 1974, launched a counter coup attempt that failed (March 1975), and fled into exile.

By this time, radical MFA elements and their leftist civilian allies in the [Portuguese Communist Party](#) and other [Marxist-Leninist](#) groups had won virtual control over the government in Lisbon, sections of the armed forces, and the media. The MFA itself was restructured and a Council of the Revolution installed with the support of six political parties. An election for a national assembly in April 1975 drew 92 percent of eligible voters, a record in western European history. The [decolonization](#) of the Cape Verde Islands and Mozambique was effected in July 1975. Portugal's remaining African

territories achieved independence later the same year, thus ending a colonial involvement in Africa that had begun in 1415. However, in Angola full-scale, internationalized civil war followed Portugal's departure, and [Indonesia](#) forcibly annexed briefly independent East Timor, controlling the territory until 1999.

Political and social instability prevailed through most of 1975. More than half a million people fled to Portugal from the former African colonies, adding a refugee problem to the already volatile domestic situation; some 30 persons died in incidents of public violence, new political parties proliferated, and strikes were widespread. In 1975 the government also decided to nationalize banking, transport, heavy industries, and the media. In the Alentejo in southern Portugal, farmworkers expropriated latifundia and established communal farming. On November 25, 1975, moderate military elements crushed a radical leftist coup in the army and restored order.

THE 1976 CONSTITUTION AND SUBSEQUENT REFORMS

In April 1976 the Constituent Assembly approved a new constitution, which committed Portugal to socialism. Parliamentary elections held on April 25 produced no single majority party; the Socialists, the Popular Democrats (centre-right), the Social Democratic Centre Party (conservative), and the Communist Party (founded 1921) made the strongest showings, and the Socialist leader, [Mário Soares](#), formed a minority government. In June, General [António Ramalho Eanes](#), who had been instrumental in preventing a radical leftist military coup in November 1975, won more than three-fifths of the valid votes cast in the presidential election.

Soares's minority government resigned in December 1977, primarily because it was unable to enact an effective austerity program. A number of volatile coalition governments followed, until in 1980, in the general election scheduled by the constitution, a centre-right coalition, the [Democratic Alliance](#) (Aliança Democrática), swept into power. The new government swiftly moved to revise the character of the 1976 constitution. The Assembly of the Republic approved a series of reforms that included reducing the powers of the president and abolishing the Council of the Revolution, which had been given the power to determine the constitutionality of laws and gave the military effective veto power over legislation. These constitutional reforms completed Portugal's transition to full civilian rule. Both government policy and public sentiment, as reflected in numerous elections and polls, favoured reprivatization of the largely nationalized economy, a de-emphasis on communal agriculture, and entry into the [European Economic Community](#) (EEC; later succeeded by the [European Union](#) [EU]) as soon as possible.

The alliance faltered in 1982, propelling the country into yet another crisis. President Eanes called an early general election for April 1983, and the Socialists, led by Soares, scored an inconclusive victory. Because Portugal urgently needed a stable, broadly based government to tackle its severe economic problems, Soares formed a coalition government with the [Social Democrats](#) (formerly the Popular Democrats). It successfully implemented an 18-month emergency program and a four-year modernization plan in its quest for admission to the EEC.

The coalition, though precarious, lasted until June 13, 1985. It survived several internal crises caused predominantly by a division within the Social Democrats between a left wing favouring the coalition and a right wing that opposed the coalition's economic policies. In May 1985 [Aníbal Cavaco Silva](#), leader of the right wing, became head of the party. Almost immediately, Cavaco Silva questioned the viability of the coalition, voicing doubts especially on the subjects of labour and agrarian reform.

This crisis, which ended the coalition in June, had been intensified by nationwide strikes in the industrial and transport sectors led by communist unions and by demonstrations by parties on both the left and the right of the political spectrum calling for an end to the coalition government. Soares resigned, and in October 1985 the Social Democrats, campaigning on a platform advocating a free-market economy, became the largest single party in the Assembly of the Republic and were able to form a minority government with Cavaco Silva as prime minister. Portugal was admitted to the EEC on January 1, 1986, and on February 16 Soares became the country's first civilian president in 60 years. The parliamentary elections of 1987 marked another milestone as Cavaco Silva's Social Democrats won the first clear majority in the Assembly since the 1974 revolution. A renewal of this mandate four years later provided the continuity necessary for carrying out reforms.

Into the 21st century

STABILIZATION AND THE EUROPEAN FUTURE

By the end of the 20th century, Portugal's democracy had become solidified. With the military's withdrawal from politics and several revisions of the constitution, Portugal adopted what could be called a semipresidential system, which limited the president's powers by investing significant authority in the prime minister. Portugal developed a multiparty system in which two major parties (the Socialists and the Social Democrats) and several minor parties emerged. In 1995 Cavaco Silva left office, replaced by Socialist [António Guterres](#); the following year, Soares was succeeded as president by Socialist [Jorge Sampaio](#), the former mayor of Lisbon. In 1999 the government adopted the [euro](#), the EU's single currency—which fully replaced the escudo as Portugal's sole currency in 2002—and also returned Macau, its last overseas territory, to Chinese rule. Sampaio was reelected in 2001, but in 2002 Guterres's government was ousted by the Social Democrats, whose leader, [José Manuel Durão Barroso](#), formed a centre-right coalition government and promised to reduce taxes and spending and privatize some public services. Economic problems beset the new government, which in 2005 lost power to the Socialists, whose leader, [José Sócrates](#), became prime minister. In 2006 [Cavaco Silva](#) returned to politics with a successful run for the presidency, scoring a victory on the first ballot against a split Socialist ticket.

Douglas Lanphier Wheeler

Perhaps a reflection of the tremendous progress made by Portugal in establishing a successful democracy and in fully integrating itself into Europe, a Portuguese, Durão Barroso, was named president of the European Commission in 2004. Nevertheless, Portugal continued to experience several troubling problems. Despite economic growth during the 1990s, high unemployment persisted. Also of concern to political leaders were continued poverty in rural and urban areas, a growing gap between rich and poor, and administrative and labour inefficiency. Moreover, too large a share of Portugal's population over age 40 had little formal education, and Portugal remained among western Europe's poorest countries.

The protection of Portugal's historic heritage became a serious issue; Portugal's economy was partly dependent on tourism, but its fragile environment was endangered by the impact of tourism, urban sprawl, and a failure to limit and control air, water, and soil pollution brought on by growth and development. The increasing depopulation of interior rural areas, the result in part of urbanization and rural-urban migration, was an issue of major concern. Rural and provincial areas of Portugal experienced the steady loss of population to urban areas such as Greater Porto, Coimbra, and Lisbon. This movement further hampered agriculture, which faced stiff competition from other EU countries, and limited the availability of educational, health, and social services in rural areas. As Portugal increasingly evolved into an urban society, political leaders attempted to achieve a balance between growth and development (modernization) and the need to protect consumers, the public interest, and the rare but vulnerable environment.

By the beginning of the 21st century, Portugal had benefited from substantial improvements in health, communications, transportation, welfare, and education. The new pluralist democracy provided citizens with historically unprecedented civil liberties. Nevertheless, the country's empire had vanished, and Portugal was highly dependent on imports of energy, capital, and food. During the 1990s, as a partner in further European integration, Portugal was under great pressure to conform to rigorous EU standards, procedures, and rules. New layers of administration were established, and trade, travel, employment, and other barriers started to fall in 1993, when Portugal began preparing for full economic and monetary union with other EU members.

From 1988 through 2000, Portugal celebrated many historical feats. Notably, the government sponsored commemorations of Portuguese exploration, including the 500th anniversaries of Bartolomeu Dias's 1488 voyage that rounded the Cape of Good Hope and the founding of Brazil by [Pedro Álvares Cabral](#) in 1500. In 1998 Lisbon hosted the World's Fair (Expo '98), which also marked the 500th anniversary of the arrival of Vasco da Gama in Asia following his discovery of an all-water route from Europe. As the celebrations ended and the 21st century began, many wondered how the new Portugal would conceive of its national tradition and what effect European integration would have on the country's self-image and national identity.

SOVEREIGN DEBT CRISIS

Support for Sócrates and the Socialists eroded as Portugal weathered the global economic crisis throughout 2007–08, and in the 2009 parliamentary elections the ruling party held onto power but fell short of an absolute majority. Sócrates struggled to preserve his minority government as the Portuguese economy continued to spiral downward throughout 2010. As unemployment topped 10 percent, government efforts to stimulate the economy caused the budget deficit to skyrocket, and Portugal's sovereign debt rating was downgraded by investment agencies. In response the Socialists passed a series of austerity measures in November 2010 that cut public-sector wages and increased the sales and value-added tax rates. [Cavaco Silva](#) was reelected president by a comfortable margin in January 2011, an event that was widely interpreted as an endorsement of stability and continuity, though fewer than half of eligible voters participated in the polling. Portugal's economic problems persisted into 2011.

In March 2011 [Sócrates](#)'s proposal for a new round of spending cuts and tax increases (the fourth such austerity package in a year) was soundly rejected by the parliamentary opposition, prompting the prime minister's resignation and setting the stage for a snap election. In early May Sócrates's caretaker government and the EU and the [International Monetary Fund](#) came to an agreement in principle for a bailout of some 78 billion euros (about \$116 billion). The agreement was contingent, however, on acceptance by the entire EU, which was less than certain, largely because of the opposition to bailouts expressed by the True Finns party, which had gained prominence in recent elections in [Finland](#). In the June 2011 legislative election, the Socialists were defeated by the Social Democrats, who promptly secured a parliamentary majority by forming a coalition with the centre-right Social Democratic Centre–Popular Party (Centro Democrático Social–Partido Popular; CDS-PP). The new prime minister, Social Democrat leader [Pedro Passos Coelho](#), vowed to implement economic policies that would not only meet the austerity guidelines imposed by the EU and the IMF but exceed them. Portugal saw its [credit](#) rating downgraded to junk status in January 2012, and the government responded with increasingly harsh cuts. The announcement of an additional round of tax hikes and public-sector layoffs triggered a wave of protests in October 2012 as demonstrators, facing an unemployment rate that topped 15 percent, expressed their weariness of austerity. Although the harsh deficit-cutting measures made for a gloomy domestic consumer market, strong export growth fueled cautious optimism among international investors in early 2013.

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