

PORTUGAL AND IRELAND: MEDIAVAL BUSINESS CONNECTIONS IN THE ATLANTIC¹

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Studying abroad any subject on the Portuguese history has always been very difficult, indeed, as the information generally covers the whole Peninsula or even Central Europe². In such cases, Portuguese events and situation aren't much more than a chapter or some short lines of it. The Portuguese History first written in English, as far as I am supposed to know, was published by Columbia University Press (USA), some years ago, written by Prof. Oliveira Marques³. Since then, my favourite hobby has always been to try small essays on some of the subjects he covered to extend the knowledge to my public, in USA and English universities to which I have been working since 1985, and mostly based upon Middle Ages in Portugal⁴. Till now, this hasn't been much than a small and humble contribution to divulge the Culture of my own country which was generally considered by everyone a part of Spain, a province of something that is named Iberia, Hispania, Spanish Peninsula or so. No one can deny the strength of the Spanish institutions and traditions in Portugal; neither diminish the

¹Tendo sido, em tempos, convidado para participar na Semana de Portugal levada a cabo pela nossa Embaixada na Irlanda, tive a oportunidade de apresentar duas conferências uma no Trinity College e outra na Universidade de Cork. É esta última, precisamente, a que dedico com amizade e admiração à Prof. Doutora Laura Pires, com quem tive a honra de trabalhar, há anos atrás, na Comissão Coordenadora do Conselho Pedagógico, na Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, onde prossigo a leccionação, no âmbito da História Medieval.

²Exception to David BIRMINGHAM, *A Concise History of Portugal*, Canterbury, University of Kent, Cambridge University Press, 1997; *The Finest Castles in Portugal*, Lisbon, Verbo, 1986; Marion KEPLAR, *The Portuguese. The land and its people*, New York, Penguin Books USA, 1991; and the best of all: A. H. de Oliveira MARQUES, *Portuguese History*, second edition, 2 Vols., Columbia University Press, New York, 1976. On the Portuguese Art, see Robert C. SMITH, *The Art of Portugal, 1500-1800*, London, 1968 and W. C. WATSON, *Portuguese Architecture*, 7.th edition, London, 1997.

³ Vide our note [3].

⁴ We've been working, since 1985, with several European and American Universities, for Master degree and Ph.D. Courses, on Middle Age Portuguese History and Culture, supervised by Case Western University, Cleveland; Elderhostel Courses Centre, Boston/London; Ireland and the United Kingdom.

preponderant role of Portugal, concerning its identity, culture History and traditions⁵. In many occasions, much stronger, innovator and pioneer, if compared with our neighbour countries, in the Peninsula and even out of it⁶.

It's time, I'm sure, to start to separate both countries, so close since ever, but so profoundly different at the same time, and carry on the emphatic announcement of our priority in the Atlantic, North and South. Many political reasons had given rise to it: the Hundred Years war⁷, Aragon's concerns in Italy⁸, the never-ending conquest of Granada⁹ and, above all, the Portuguese policy to enlarge its domains, in an invincible and remarkable adventure against the disbelievers in North Africa and the pagans in the West coast of this old but incognito Continent¹⁰.

The celebrations of the Portuguese Conquests and Expansion Overseas, along the 15.th and 16.th cents., can drive us now to the 6.th Henry, the Navigator's birth Centennial, the best

⁵ We must pay attention the way Prof. OLIVEIRA MARQUES gave us information about the Portuguese evolution in his book referred above.

⁶ Vide Edgar PRESTAGE, *The Portuguese Pioneers*, repr. New York, Barnes and Nobles, 1967.

⁷ Vide Robin NIELLANDS, *The Hundred Years War*, New York, Routledge, 2001.

⁸ Vide *Mediterranean Studies. The journal of the Mediterranean Association*, edited by Richard W. CLEMENT (University of Kansas, USA), Benjamin F. TAGGIE (University of Massachusetts, USA), and Robert E. BJORK (Arizona State University, USA), Vol. 1: *Iberian and the Mediterranean* (1989); Vol. 3: *Spain and the Mediterranean* (1992); Vol. 8: (with works about the Atlantic seafaring and the Iberian Peninsula in antiquity, etc.), May 2000; Michael GRANT, *Dawn and Mediterranean World of Middle Ages. Study in Honour of Robert I. Burns S. J.*, Vol. I, edited by Larry J. SIMON, New York, 1995; David ABULAFIA, *Mediterranean Encounters, Economic, Religious and Political, 1000-1500*, University of Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

⁹ Vide *The Formation of al-Andalus*, Part 1: *History and society*, edited by Manuela MARÍN, 1998; Part 2: *Language, religion, culture and the sciences*, edited by Maribel FIERRO & Julio SAMSÓ, 1998; Henry Charles LEA, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their conversion and expulsion*, edited by Haskell House, New Jersey, 1988.

¹⁰ Vide *An Expanding World. The European Impact on World History. 1450-1800*, edited by J. R. RUSSELL-WOOD, 1977; A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média*, second edition, Lisbon, Presença, 1992 and "Bretanha e Portugal no século XV", *Arquipélago. História*, second edition, Lisbon, Presença, 1995; Edgar PRESTAGE, *The Portuguese Pioneers*, repr. New York, Barnes and Nobles, 1967; P. E. RUSSEL, *Portugal, Spain and the African Atlantic, 1343-1490. Chivalry and Crusade from John of Gaunt to Henry the Navigator*, Aldershot and Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, 1995; G. V. SCAMMELL, *The World Encompassed: The first European Maritime Empires, c. 800-1650*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1973; John THORNTON, *Africa and Africans in the making of the Atlantic World. 1400-1680*, Millersville University of Pennsylvania, 1992; J. F. A. de AJAYI, Ian ESPIE and Michael CROWDER, *History of West Africa*, I, 2.nd edition, London, Longmans, 1976, repr. 1979; BALLONG-WEN-MEWUDA (Joseph Bato'ora), *São Jorge da Mina, 1482-1637. La vie d'un comptoir portugais en Afrique occidentale*, Vols. I-II, Lisbon-Paris, Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian – Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações das Descobertas Portuguesas, 1993; Paulina, RUFO YSERN, *La expansión peninsular por la costa africana. El enfrentamiento entre Portugal y Castilla (1475-1480)*, in *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu Dias e a sua Época. Actas*, Vol. III. *Economia e Comércio Marítimo*, Porto, Universidade do Porto – Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1989; Maria Emilia Madeira SANTOS, *Viagens de Exploração Terrestre dos Portugueses em África*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, 1978; Luís Filipe THOMAZ, *Le Portugal et l'Afrique au XVè siècle: les débuts de l'expansion*, in *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, Vol. XXVI, Lisbon-Paris, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1989.

and most appropriate occasion to pay homage to the Portuguese men and women who built a new country and enlarged it towards the other four continents, along all seas and oceans¹¹.

In fact, when the Portuguese arrived in Algarve in 1249, the *Crusade* ended and the nobles had interrupted their traditional occupation, which was the war and its constant training¹². Bourgeoisie, priests and nobles gathered, then, to find new markets and activities¹³. In 1415, Prince Henry and the Royal Family took advantage in the conquest of Ceuta, in North Africa, this time in the Muslim territory¹⁴. The fights went on side by side with the purpose to increase the navigation along the whole African coast line¹⁵.

¹¹ About Prince Henry: C. Raymond BEAZLEY, *Prince Henry the Navigator: The Hero of Portugal and of Modern Discovery, 1394-1460 AD*, New York and G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1895, repr. London and Harlem, Frank Cass and Co, 1968; Richard Henry MAJOR, *The Life of prince Henry of Portugal, Surnamed the Navigator*, repr. London, Frank Cass and Co, 1967; *Prince Henry the Navigator and Portuguese Maritime Enterprise: Catalogue of an Exhibition of the British Museum*, September-October 1960, London, Trustees of British Museum, 1960; António Joaquim Dias DINIS, *Estudos Henriquinos*, Vol. I, Coimbra, Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis, 1960; P. E. RUSSEL, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, Canning House Seventh Annual Lecture, London, The Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Councils, 1960; Jaime CORTESÃO, *A Expansão dos Portugueses no Período Henriquino*, "Obras Completas de Jaime Cortesão", Vol. VIII, Lisbon, Portugalíia, 1966; and the most recent *Prince Henry 'The Navigator'. A Life*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2000; John URE, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, London, Constable, 1977; João Silva de SOUSA, *A Casa Senhorial do Infante D. Henrique*, Lisboa, Livros Horizonte, 1991; *A Casa Henriquina e o Almoarifado de Viseu (1433-1434)*, in *Actas do Congresso O Infante D. Henrique. Viseu e os Descobrimientos*, Viseu, Câmara Municipal de Viseu, May, 27th to 29.th 1993 and *1394-1494: Do Infante a Tordesilhas*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1999.

¹² Vide Malcolm BARBER, *Crusaders and Heretics. 12th to 14.th Centuries*, 1995; Roger COLLINS, *Convivencia. Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*, edited by V. B. Mann and J. D. Dodds, New York, 1992; Giles CONSTABLE, *Culture and Spirituality in Medieval Europe*, 1996; *Cluny from the 10th to the 12th Centuries*, Princeton, New Jersey, USA, 2000; *The Crusades and Medieval Warfare*, edited by Macgregor KNOX and Williamson MURRAY, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001; T. F. MADDEN, *A Concise History of the Crusades*, Lanham, 1999; Peter W. EDBURY, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders. From Jerusalem to Cyprus*, 1999; John EDWARDS, *Religion and Society in Spain, c. 1492*, 1996; Bernard HAMILTON, *The Crusades. Sutton Pocket Histories*, UK, Sutton Publishing, USA, National Book Network Inc., 2001; *The Military Orders. Welfare and Warfare*, edited by Helen NICHOLSON, 1998.

¹³ P. E. RUSSEL, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, Canning House Seventh Annual Lecture, London, The Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Councils, 1960; *Portugal, Spain and the African Atlantic, 1343-1490. Chivalry and Crusade from John of Gaunt to Henry the Navigator*, 1995 and *Prince Henry 'The Navigator'. A Life*, 2000. Vide also Vitorino Magalhães GODINHO, *Os Descobrimientos e a Economia Mundial*, Vols. I & II, Lisbon, Arcádia, 1963-1965 e 1965-1971; *A Economia dos Descobrimientos Henriquinos*, Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1962.

¹⁴ Vide Gomes Eanes de ZURARA, *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta por El-Rei D. João I*, edited by Francisco Maria Esteves PEREIRA, Lisboa, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1915; *A Expansão Quatrocentista*, edited by A. H. de Oliveira MARQUES, in *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*, dir. by Joel SERRÃO & A. H. de Oliveira MARQUES, Vol. II., Lisboa, Estampa, 1998.

¹⁵ There's an English translation of Gomes Eanes de ZURARA's *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, translated by C. Raymond BEAZLEY & Edgar PRESTAGE, 2 Vols., Halluyt Society, Series I, 95 and 100, London, The Hakluyt Society, 1896-9. Luis de ALBUQUERQUE, *Navegadores, Viajantes e Aventureiros Portugueses. Séculos XV e XVI*, 2.nd edition, Lisbon, Caminho, 1992; Charles-Andrés JULIEN, *Les Voyages de Découverte et les Premiers Établissements (Xve-Xve siècles)*, in *Histoire de l'Expansion et de la Colonisation Française*, 1, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1948; Paulina RUFO YSERN, *ibidem*; Luis Filipe THOMAZ, *ibidem*; G.V. SCAMMELL, *The World Encompassed: The First European Maritime Empires, c. 800-1650*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1973; John THORNTON, *Africa and Africans in the making of the Atlantic World. 1400-1680*, Millersville University of Pennsylvania, 1992.

Establishing an area in the Cape of Sagres and in Lagos, Algarve, this new locations functioned as a school, roofless and without walls. It means that the celebrated School of Sagres never existed in terms of a building. Yet, it could always count on the presence, preparation and experience of national and foreign experts, Christians, Jews and Muslims¹⁶. Maps and studies continued till Prince's death, in 1460¹⁷. His household, with over 800 men, and the administration of the Order of Christ, a religious and military institution which succeeded the extinguished Knights Templar, were in charge, with the spread of the Catholicism, to increase the economy, and to conquer new lands, to exchange cultures and different and new attitudes in the world¹⁸.

After Ceuta, the Portuguese did not quit anymore. Twenty voyages prepared the passage beyond Cape Bojadour; in addition, forty more took us to Guinea. Till Henry, the Navigator died, twenty more, at least, had been needed to get Sierra Leone or, even, Liberia (1460)¹⁹. During these years, we could put into practice the Muslim legacy in this intricate

¹⁶ *Jewish Intellectual History in the Middle Ages*, edited by Joseph DAN, 1.st edition, London, Praeger, 1994; Y. Tzvi LANGERMANN, *The Jews and the Sciences in the Middle Ages*, 1999; Richard LORCH, *Arabic Mathematics Sciences. Instruments, Text and Transmission*, 1995. Francis, MADDISON, *Medieval Scientific Instruments and the Development of Navigational Instruments in the XVth and XVIth centuries*, in *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. XXIV, Coimbra, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1969.

¹⁷ *Vide* Leo BAMMEL & R. A. SKELTON, *History of Cartography*, London, C. A., Watts and Co., 1964; Luís de ALBUQUERQUE, *Curso de História da Náutica*, Coimbra, Livraria Almedina, 1972 & *Os Guias Náuticos de Munique e Évora*, Lisbon, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1965; Joaquim BENSÁUDE, *L'Astronomie Nautique au Portugal à l'Époque des Grands Découvertes*, Bern, 1912; Armando CORTESÃO, *History of Portuguese Cartography*, Vols. I-II, Coimbra, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1971 & *The Nautical Chart of 1424 and the early Discovery and Cartographical Representation of America. A Study on the History of early Navigation and Cartography*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1954; Francis MADDISON, *Medieval Scientific Instruments and the Development of Navigational Instruments...*, *supra*.

¹⁸ In fact, we had had the possibility to enlist 886 men and women, Christians, Jews and Muslims, among several foreign people too. Indeed, the number of his household's members must be consider much higher, as documents are missing and references also. Henry was the first lay Master of the Order of Christ since 1420, which had given a great impulse in the discoveries. His heir, Dom Fernando, inherited the administration of this military and religious Order, since Henry died, in 1460. *Vide The Knights Templar. A New History*, U.K., Sutton Publishing, USA, National Book Network Inc., Sept. 2001; João Silva de SOUSA, *A Casa Senhorial do Infante D. Henrique*, *supra*; and *Henry of Aviz, the first lay Grand-Master of the Order of Christ*, in *Cadernos Históricos*, VII, Lagos, Comissão Municipal dos Descobrimentos, 1996.

¹⁹ *Vide* Jaime CORTESÃO, *Os Descobrimentos Portugueses*, Vols. I-II, 4.th edition, Lisbon, Horizonte, 1984 & *A Expansão dos Portugueses no Período Henriquino*, "Obras Completas" de Jaime Cortesão, Vol. V, Lisbon, Portugália, 1965; Fernando Bandeira FERREIRA, *As Viagens de Descobrimento de Iniciativa Particular no tempo de D. Henrique*, "Cadernos da Seara Nova. Secção de Estudos Históricos", Lisbon, Seara Nova, 1946; Luís Filipe OLIVEIRA, *A expansão quatrocentista portuguesa: um processo de recomposição social da nobreza, in 1383-1385 e a Crise Geral dos Séculos XIV/XV. Jornadas de História Medieval*, Lisbon, June, 20-22 1985. Actas, Lisbon, História e Crítica, 1985; Damião PERES, *História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, Porto, Portucalense Editora, 1943-1946; P. E. RUSSEL, *Portugal, Spain and the African Atlantic, 1343-1490...supra*; Gomes Eanes de ZURARA, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, *supra*.

field and the Jewish experience in several sciences they developed in the Continent. The maps added to log-books were the best pictures and descriptions of the ports and islands we visited and discovered, then. Different new devices were in the hands of the marines and merchants who could never forget their existence, neither dispense them²⁰. The *caravel* was the new vessel we reinvented and adapted to navigate even along the navigable African rivers²¹. Piracy was Prince Henry's monopoly, as well as many other sorts of activities and rights with which he could finance his difficult various operations²³.

Portugal must always be considered a pioneer state, opening new markets to Europe, establishing the liaison of this Continent with Africa, Asia and America.

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What were we doing in North Europe able to continue improving fishing activity, to find other market places to deliver the most recent offers we had by 1/5 of the usual cost, since then? Did we quit there with the Papacy's bulls defining our monopolies in the middle and South Atlantic? In fact, we had been able to operate in both areas at the same time, *owners* of the Atlantic and responsible for the intensive connections we started to establish, afterwards.

²⁰ Vide Allan CHAPMAN, *Astronomical Instruments and Their Uses*, 1996; Edward S. KENNEDY, *Astronomy and Astrology in the Medieval Islamic World*, 1998; Francis MADDISON, *Medieval Scientific Instruments...supra*.

²¹ Vide Abel Fontoura da COSTA, *A Marinharia dos Descobrimentos*, 3.rd edition, Lisbon, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1970; Carlos Viegas Gago COUTINHO, *A Náutica dos Descobrimentos. Os Descobrimentos Marítimos vistos por um Navegador. Colectânea de artigos, conferências e trabalhos inéditos*, edited by Moura BRAZ, 2.nd edition, Vols. I-II, Lisbon, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1969; Rosalina Branca da Silva CUNHA, *Subsídios para o estudo da Marinha de guerra na 1.^a dinastia*, in *Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa*, tomo XX, 2.^a série, n.º 1 (1954), Lisbon, 1955; Henrique Quirino da FONSECA, *A Caravela Portuguesa e a Prioridade Técnica das Navegações Portuguesas*, 2.nd edition, 1.st & 2.nd parts, Lisbon, Ministério da Marinha, 1978 & *Os Navios do Infante D. Henrique*, Lisbon, Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do Quinto Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1958; Henrique Lopes de MENDONÇA, *Estudos sobre Navios Portugueses nos Séculos XV e XVI*, in *Centenário do Descobrimento da América...*, *supra*; José de Vasconcelos e MENESES, *Armadas Portuguesas de meados do século XV a meados do século XVI. Alimentação e abastecimento*, Lisbon, Resistência, 1980; David JACOBY, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean*, 1997; Richard W. UNGER, *Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic. 1400-1800*, 1998; Martin Malcolm ELBL, *The Portuguese Caravel and European Shipbuilding Phases of Development and Diversity*, in *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. XXXIII (1985), Lisbon, Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1985.

²² Vide Maria Emília Cordeiro Ferreira, "Pirataria (corso)", in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, edited by Joel Serrão, Vol. V, Lisbon, Iniciativas Editoriais, 1974, pp.95-99; Luís Adão da FONSECA, *Navegación y Corso en el Mediterráneo Occidental. Los Portugueses a mediados del siglo XV*. Cuadernos de Trabajos de Historia, 8, Pamplona, Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, AS, 1978; Vitorino Magalhães GODINHO, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial, supra* & *A Economia dos descobrimentos Henriquinos, supra*; João Silva de SOUSA, *A Casa Senhorial do infante D. Henrique, supra*.

Therefore, with the enlargement of the commerce and the industry that until the 15.th century happened to be subordinated to North Europe and to the Mediterranean most developed countries, the particular tasks of the Portuguese merchant and artisan increased obviously, too.

In Portugal, the maritime free and foreign commerce extended itself, and the nautical technics improved also, with the knowledge of a large sum of much more experimented marines in the North. The traders' role put together with the one of the merchant-king and of the nobles, priests and soldiers permitted us to drive in both directions: towards the North, as well.

Consequently, these different and several contributions turned Portugal not only into a simple exporter of stuff, but also into a mediator between Europe, Africa and the Madeira, Canary and Azorean Isles. This and various other reasons, very actively exploited, made Portugal the strongest *engine* of the new worldwide Economy, with a large progress and vivid and industrious development.

Owing to all we've shortly emphasized, after taking castles in Morocco, some maritime markets had been finally established in the continental Portuguese urban centres, but mainly in the Southernmost area, our Algarve, giving some priority in all these actions to Lagos, which should be forgotten after Henry died and when our king Dom João II had transferred it to the queen's, his wife, possession.

A different scenery is performed by shipbuilding yards, men and women, specialized as tinsmith's, barrel-makers, caulkers, rope and sail-makers, tailors, bakers and many market-places commenced receiving and exhibiting new and exotic traffic: pearls, plumes, gems of different qualities and karats, fruits of all kinds as well as spice: cinnamon, pepper, nutmeg and clove, which have too much to do with the development of the navy and the mercantile one. Both mixed up, because of the lack of security in the Ocean. And so, as simple as that, the Portuguese Century started taking place in various directions with different sorts of people, not only native ones but a great deal of foreign too. Under the Portuguese leadership, we all drove in both directions: towards the North, also.

With a remarkable facility, Portugal made use of its knowledge to get Scandinavia, England and Ireland, taking always into good account not precisely an impact of cultures but a reciprocity, that owed too much to the Sea: mariners, merchants and fishermen²³.

²³ Vide A. H. de Oliveira MARQUES, *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média*, second edition, Lisbon, Presença, 1992 and « Bretanha e Portugal no século XV », *Arquipélago. História*, second edition, Lisbon, Presença, 1995.

Indeed, the development of the productive activities that took place during the 12.th and the 13.th centuries gave an enormous contribution to the success of the commerce and the handicraft, themselves.

At the beginning, both were very incipient and somehow disconnected, owing to a real deep delay no one can deny. Actually, Industry was just the textiles and these existed, above all, in England, Flanders and Italy. As to the rest, we must consider it nothing but workmanship and everyone used to make whatever they wanted and needed, with a very poor quality and technique.

As one yielded a bad crop, when he could find something to dispose and spare, to change goods directly was the rule. For instance, if something needed an agricultural implement, one could exchange it by something else, like a head of cattle, whatever, which, eventually, interested to the seller. As simple as this, which was the instruction, everywhere, all the time.

Nevertheless, with the excitement caused by the development of the agriculture and its consequent handicraft and commerce, the excess or remnant appeared everywhere, compelling and even coercing people to sell them, and, generally, as soon as possible, as the most part of the goods became rotten quickly, caused by the lack and unfavourable guarantee, terms of sales and the indispensable warehousing. Even manufacturing, transport and stock conditions weren't the most appropriate. So, salt, wine, textiles, wool, fruits (even dried and preserved ones, like raisins, figs, chestnuts, almonds and hazel-nuts...), meat (beef, pork, lamb...) and fish (whiting, corvine, tunny, sardines...), fresh water ones, soap (black and white ones), coral, leathers, game (rabbit, partridge, wild duck, hare, pigeon, turtle-dove...), olive oil, dairies, hemp and linen... might be sold and carried to their destiny without hesitating. There was even a royal duty or monopoly, among so many similar others, which ought to be accepted by everyone – nobles, priests and commoners –, concerning the consumption and the sale of the wine and grapes. Both the grapes and wine had to be sold, in advance, by the king of Portugal, according to the geographical areas they were produced (the crop, manufacturing and conditions to store), but they could generally correspond to periods from October to December for the grapes and from January to April for the wine (red and white): this was the period of *relego*, when the *relegueiro* should pay attention to the throne's interests.

During the 13.th and the 14.th centuries, to invest money was already a very common practice, which could help the commerce to extend itself. In our home trade, there was the itinerant one, made by those who had the capacity to sell in his own shop or renting one where it was available. The most part of the warehouses to stock and tents or stalls in markets belonged to very wealthy people and to the Crown.

They were, above all, mule-drivers and grocer's, very poor people, who conveyed the goods on mule back, because the draught and pack horses were extremely expensive for them. They should be free of paying taxes, if they carried their belongings on their own back or in baskets and panniers, as fish women and mongers used to do, like the *marceiros*, haberdasher's or junk-dealers, and fruit-sellers.

It is common to have access to documents and various sources of information from the Royal Chancellery, in our archives, describing bills of privileges, releasing those from the compulsory feeding horses and allowing them to carry the goods on mule back; exempting also them to pay local and royal taxes as well; permitting to carry long knives, day and night, for their own protection, from vagabonds, quarrellers and robbers²⁴.

These are also common expressions and situations ruled by the Portuguese *foros* and the Castilian *fueros*, also found in our very numerous *Cartas de Foral* or *Forais*. It is the same to say bills of rights and privileges.

And this was the way by which the Throne started to try to increase the commerce, mainly in the 15.th century, when we can notice the existence of a larger number of documents delivered to singular people who never acted alone, for a question of protection and security²⁵.

The transit goods, free commodities were mostly row cloth, cotton and unbleached one, dowlas, linen and woollen, linsey-woolsey, arras, common and mixed cloth, threads,

²⁴ Vide João Silva de SOUSA, *Dos privilégios outorgados por D. Afonso III (1252-1273)*, in *Atlântida*, Angra do Heroísmo, 1980; *Tutorias e Curadorias*, in *Revista Arquipélago*, Série de Ciências Humanas, II, Ponta Delgada, Instituto Universitário dos Açores, January 1980; "Das autorizações de Porte de Armas e de deslocação em besta muar, em meados do Século XV. Algumas notas para o seu estudo", in *Estudos de História de Portugal. Homenagem a A. H. de Oliveira Marques*, I. Sécs. X-XV, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1982; *Equiparação e Manutenção de Privilégios em meados do século XV*, in *Revista Arquipélago*, Série de Ciências Humanas, IV, Ponta Delgada, Universidade dos Açores, January, 1982; "Segurança e Cartas de Seguro no Século XV", in *Arqueologia de Estado*, I, Lisbon, História e Crítica, 1988; *Das Isenções do Pagamento de Impostos e das Prestações de Serviços Rêgios e Concelhios (1449-1451)*, in *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, n.er 5, Lisboa, U.N.L., 1992.

²⁵ Vide Jean DENUCÉ, "Privilèges commerciaux accordés par les rois de Portugal aux Flamands et aux Allemands (XVe et XVIe siècles)", in *Archivo Historico* Portuguez, dir. by Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, Vol. VII, Lisboa, 1909, pp. 310-319 and 377-392; Vítor RIBEIRO, *Privilégios de Estrangeiros em Portugal (ingleses, franceses, alemães, flamengos e italianos)*. Memória apresentada à Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, Coimbra, 1917; Virginia RAU, "Privilégios e Legislação portuguesa referente a mercadores estrangeiros (séculos XV e XVI)", in *Estudos de História*, Vol. I, Oporto, Editorial Verbo, 1968, pp. 131-173 and Hermann KELLENBENZ, *Die Fremde Chauffeuse auf der iberischen Halbinsel vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Vienn, Böhlau Verlag, 1970. A. H de Oliveira MARQUES quotes a long bibliography on this subject, in his book *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval Portuguesa*, third edition, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, Imprensa Universitária, 1988, pp. 78-79.

needles and pins, netting, square needles and fishing lines, among many other things²⁶ and, all the other mentioned above carried on boats along the river Douro which established an easier connexion between Spain and Portugal and all over the Atlantic. And, then, from Portugal to the British Isles, at a leap, we could get important markets, like England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland which had always been the best purchasers and the oldest clients we had ever had in Europe²⁷.

Inside towns and villages, at least, in the most powerful ones, there were market-places able to exhibit goods and draw a large public. They were special targets for a big diversity of immunities, specially those which just took place for five or some more few days, once or twice a year²⁸.

Vendors raised stalls where they used to put up for sale everything that was commonly needed and mostly required. But, near the market or anywhere else inside the town, near the walls or far from them, in the courtyard of the town hall or at any other place, like the church yard or not too far from it, one had better possibilities to make and sell his goods, during the period of the *Fair*, if he had his own house located precisely there. Each *building* admitted and permitted several objectives and functions to the people: it was their home, the place to mass production and the warehouse, and also the local area to sell the handicraft and the fruits of the earth.

But, at the same time, Portugal started to take part, little by little, in the restrict but active trade, laying hold of all possible procedures to guarantee safe and sound movements. The targets were other small countries. The Portuguese markets could make use of both different but unique ways: by land and by sea, as, fortunately, we've always had a very long

²⁶ Prince Henry had five privileged merchants for retail trade. *Vide* Lisbon, IAN/TT., *Chanc. de D. Afonso V*, l.º 2, fl. 54; l. 15, fl. 102v; l. 27, fl. 88v; l. 34, fl. 114v. In *Monumenta Henricina*, Vol. IV, Coimbra, 1962, pp. 323-324; Vol. VIII, Coimbra, 1965, pp. 263-264; Vol. VIII, Coimbra, 1967, pp. 57-58; vol. X, Coimbra, 1969, p. 92 and Vol. XII, Coimbra, 1971, pp. 94-95. *Apud* João Silva de SOUSA, *A Casa Senhorial do Infante D. Henrique*, Lisboa, Livros Horizonte, 1991, pp. 400, 405, 425, 430 and 436.

²⁷ *Vide* A. H. de Oliveira MARQUES, *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média*, second edition, Lisbon, Presença, 1992 and "Bretanha e Portugal no século XV", *Arquipélago. História*, second edition, Lisbon, Presença, 1995; Steven A. EPSTEIN, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528*, The University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

²⁸ *Vide* Virgínia RAU, *Feiras Medievais Portuguesas. Subsídios para o seu estudo*, Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1982; M.B. AMZALAK, *As feiras em Portugal*, Lisboa, 1933; *Mercados Comerciais*, Lisboa, 1922; Luis García de VALDEAVELLANO, *El Mercado. Apuntes para su estudio en León y Castilla en la Edad Media*, in *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, tomo VIII, pp.201-405; Filippo CARLI, *Il mercato nell'alto Medio Evo*, Padua, 1934; *Il mercato nell'età del comune*, Padua, 1935; João Silva de SOUSA, *As Feiras em Portugal na Idade Média*, in *Feiras. A Escola e os Descobrimentos*, Lisboa, Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1999, pp. 7-33.

coast-line (848 Km/527 miles) and soon we should plan to possess a very strong and developed shipbuilding industry.

And it was the maritime foreign trade the one to which we've paid our best attention to enlarge more solidly. This fact can be easily explained, owing to the growth and expansion of the European commerce, specially the one which, rounding the Iberian Peninsula, was made between Italy and Flanders. It promoted the development of the Portuguese mercantile affairs, even and mainly the ones overseas, since Portugal, owing to its privileged and favoured geographical situation, occupied a distinct place in that course. Besides, the lighterage and general transport ship overseas, compared to the portorage, was faster, more secure and allowed a maximum load. So, a great deal of foreign merchants visited regularly our shores and began staying and living in the main towns and in the Islands, establishing important and active colonies of sugar cane, textiles, coral, marble, general fishing activity, and other important kinds of industries. Substantially favoured by the king, new laws were signed and published to hierarchize them and their productions in a constant and permanent transformation.

We must mention the first foreign colonies that had been established by Venetians, Pisans, Florentines, Sicilians, English, Welsh, Irish, Castilians and Catalonians, Marseilles, Genoese, among others, since 1317 on²⁹, who made our intervention in Africa compulsory to obtain raw-material enough and by the lowest price, to be able then to place and stand the cleared goods abroad where they were exactly needed. *Goods train* were delivered to the North and the first agreements came very soon and in a large number.

The admiral Manuel Pezagno, accepted many years before to start his new functions he had been appointed to, permanently with 20 men, precisely from Genoa with him, with a deep knowledge about the ocean affairs³⁰.

²⁹ Vide Propero PERGALLO, *Cenni intorno alla Colonia italiana in Portugallo nei secoli XIV, XV e XVI*, Genoa, 1907; A. H. de Oliveira MARQUES, *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV*, in *Nova História de Portugal*, edited by Joel SERRÃO & A. H. de Oliveira MARQUES, Vol. IV, Lisboa, Presença, 1987, pp. 40-44, 151, 156, 179, 195 & 333. Vide also Jean DENUCHÉ, *Privilèges commerciaux accordés par les rois de Portugal aux Flamands et aux Allemands (XV.è et XVI.è siècles)*, in *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, edited by Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, Vol. VII, Lisbon, 1909, pp. 310-319 & 377-392; Vitor RIBEIRO, *Privilégios aos Estrangeiros em Portugal (Ingleses, Franceses e Italianos)*. *Memória apresentada à Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*, Coimbra, 1917 and Steven A. EPSTEIN, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528*, the University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

³⁰ Letter from February, the 1.st 1317. Lisbon, IAN/TT., *Gaveta 3*, m.^o 7, n.^o 7; *Chanc. de D. Dinis*, l.^o 3, fl. 108. Edited in *Descobrimientos Portugueses. Documentos para a sua História*, by João Martins da Silva MARQUES, Vol. I, Lisbon, Instituto para a Alta Cultura, 1944, pp. 27-31. Vide also Lisbon, IAN/TT., *Chanc. de D. Dinis*, l.^o 3, fl. 109, doc. dating from February, the 5.th 1317, edited *ibidem*, Vol. I, pp. 30-31. Vide Vitorino NEMÉSIO, *Almirantado e Portos de "Quatrocentos"*, Lisbon, Universidade de Lisboa, 1961.

With those very experimented men, others came soon, connected with the long distant commerce. So, it is explained the existence in Portugal of several surnames translating all these people in the country, signing papers which gave a strong contribution for an easier knowledge of the presence of our country and our people all over the world as we've described before³¹.

The English, Welsh and Irish came soon, mainly with the Alliance signed by Dom Fernando (1372/1373/1380) and, then, re-established or confirmed with the marriage of Dom João I to Philipa of Lancaster (1386, in Windsor). Then, their number increased. They had their own consul or deputy, since 1440; they were traders, mercenary soldiers, technicians and counsellors of important people in the Crown.

The Flemish had also built an important colony, as well as the German, French and Spanish³².

They were all native from countries not too far both from the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, as we can see easily, who set a value on a group of products, bought by people from the North Europe and, at the same time, by the Muslims from Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania and so.

They were privileged with the possible free choice of residence, security of all them and also of their real estates, even against war vulgar risks; they had to pay the taxes, as the Portuguese people had to, and they were also allowed to have a representative of their owns, of their own choice, appointed by and among their owns and an insurance able to compensate in case of damage, total or partial loss and casualties. They had also safe-conducts to run all the country and the exemption of paying local taxes and of the common military service.

Lisbon had become a strong wide gateway to start business relations with the whole known an civilized world. And, in fact, the part that was already untouchable and incognito started being considered found or discovered by us, from then on.

³¹ Vide A. H. de Oliveira MARQUES, *ibidem*, p. 41. Domenico GIOFFRÈ, "Génova, Relações entre Portugal e", in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, edited by Joel SERRÃO, Vol. II, Lisboa, Iniciativas Editoriais, 1974, pp. 338-339; and, for instance, Virginia RAU, *Uma família de mercadores italianos em Portugal, no séc. XV: os Lomellini*, Lisboa, 1956. Vide ainda *Descobrimentos Portugueses. Documentos para a sua História*, Vol. I, pp. 115-116 and Supl. to Vol. I, pp. 156-157.

³²A. H. de Oliveira MARQUES, *ibidem*, pp.43-45.

In the 14.th and 15.th centuries, it was throughout Lisbon that the biggest and the most important traffic started. No other Portuguese city could be compared with the most active and populated European towns and, inside it, several groups of foreign people, as we've already noticed, had established a mercantile institution with so many departments or *Casas* (in the plural) able to rule the commerce and to register all incomes and profits. Each *Casa* could count on officers specialized in all sorts of goods, and those new and different ones that entered the country everyday, all day, transforming the city in a very active one with hundreds of various boats, coming from all parts of the world. German and Italian maps registered pictures, seeming reproductions of Lisbon daily routine, its inhabitants, workers and modern offices required by this new way of European life³³. Institutions, rules and civil servants were on this different stage establishing the liaison of the North with the South. But, for the first time, a real connexion along a new line, from East, America and Africa joined in Lisbon and driving towards the North with much more quantities of spice, gems, wine, sugar, cotton, tobacco, tea, silk, slaves, introducing what was requested in England, Wales and Ireland.

We all know that the proximity of the North Europe to the South was a real situation, coming back to the 8.th century, after the Normands, in their voyages westwards, having destroyed the Coast of Ireland, Scotland and England³⁴. This was the result of the Scandinavian expansion dating from the 5.th century on, which would get Iberia in the 9.th, trying to reach the whole area controlled by Islam, from Saragoza to Gebe al-Tariq³⁵. Waterford, in Ireland, had been one of their targets which resisted the most its people could. We can remain this area as located in the very direction of the commerce of the Portuguese wines, towards Netherlands, Germany and the Baltic, with Danzig and Gdansk³⁶. But the wines were not the only priority of their owns... of our owns... as will see a bit later.

³³ Vide illuminated reproduction of Lisbon, in Duarte Galvão, *Crónica de D. Afonso Henriques* (16.th century), in Museu dos Condes de Castro Guimarães' s Library, Cascais; Lisbon in the 16.th century: description of the City, picture in Giorgius Braunius Agrippinensis's *Ciuitates Orbis Terrarum* (1593); Lisbon in the ends of the 16.th century, by A. C. Saunders, *A social history of black slaves and freedmen in Portugal, 1441-1555*, Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 143; Lisbon Port, in Tagus basin (16.th century), by Hans Stadein (1592); Ribeira Velha Market, on a tile panel from the early 18.th century, in Museu da Cidade, Lisbon.

³⁴ It's a very interesting book the one written by Nicholas HOWE, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England*, University of Notre Dame Press, 2001.

³⁵ Vide A. H. de Oliveira MARQUES, *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média*, 2.nd edition, Lisbon, Presença, 1993, pp. 25 on.

³⁶ Vide *Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry IV*, Vol. III. A D. 1402-1405, London, 1929, pp. 209-210, referred by A. H. de Oliveira MARQUES, *Hansa e Portugal...*, p. 82.

At the end of the 12.th century, the Portuguese vessels had already arrived at the British Isles, reaching Dublin, Dundalk, Wexford, Harbour, Youghal Bay and the port of Cork, for sure³⁷. They were fishermen who organized themselves, as always, in small active fishing groups, living in communities along the Coast.

On the 20.th October 1353, Edward III of England made a commercial treaty, for 50 years, with citizens, traders and maritime communities of the Portuguese towns and villages, and Lisbon and Oporto, in particular, represented by Afonso Martins Alho, their deputy³⁸.

It is rather curious the way the document ends, allowing "the fishermen of the referred maritime communities and towns to be able to come and fish, free and safely, in the harbours of England and Britain (including Ireland for sure), and in all other places and ports, wherever they wished, paying just the rights and duties to the landlords of the area"³⁹.

Consequently, the privileges were given to both of the sides. If the Portuguese received them here, they could act free in the same terms. Exactly as it happened in England and Ireland when the Portuguese arrived there.

So that this commerce with North Europe could enlarge, a great deal of artisans started to operate, working in Lisbon, Setúbal and Lagos in the construction of all sorts of vessels. This situation drew a large public: several professions commenced to make possible the acquisition of a larger quantity of bossed, cut and clasp nails, ropery, sails, among so many others...⁴⁰

The naval activity, where the foreigners were very numerous, active and interested, included ship owners, gun makers, chatterers and an intensive contact system, in Portugal and abroad. From Ireland, we received side-planks, that is planking or wooden fence, a sort of timber able to be moulded, to sheathe the curve outside of the boats, its hulls⁴¹. This can

³⁷ Vide A. H. de Oliveira MARQUES, *História de Portugal*, Vol. I. *Das Origens às Revoluções Liberais*, 6.th edition, Lisbon, Palas Editores, 1976, pp. 133 on.

³⁸ Vide Thomas RYMER, *Foedera, convenciones, litterae et cuiuscumque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges...*, Londini, J. TONSON, 19 Vols., 1727 on, translated in *Quadro Elementar das relações políticas e diplomaticas de Portugal com as diversas potencias do mundo, desde o principio da Monarchia ate aos nossos dias*, edited by VISCONDE DE SANTARÉM, Vol. XIV, Paris-lisbon, 1850, pp. 43 on, and *Descobrimientos Portugueses. Documentos para a sua História*, Vol. I, pp. 94-97.

³⁹ Vide *Descobrimientos Portugueses. Documentos para a sua História*, Vol. I, p.97.

⁴⁰ Apud A. H. de Oliveira MARQUES, *Para a História dos Seguros em Portugal. Notas e Documentos*, Lisbon, 1977, pp. 20-25

⁴¹ In a letter of royal confirmation of old customs still in use in the king's warehouse, in Oporto, Portugal, dating from August, the 18.th 1410, someone numbered a lot of goods, such as cloths from several countries, feather mantles, furs, precious metals and gems: gold, silver... and side-planks from Ireland, among many other things. Lisbon, IAN/TT., *Gaveta 11*, m. 10, n.er 4; *Chanc. de D. Manuel I*, l.º 29, fl. 42v; *Chanc. de D. João III*, l. 11, fl. 108 and *Além-Douro*, l.º 1, fl. 58v.; Vide *Descobrimientos Portugueses. Documentos para a sua História*, Vol. I, pp. 225. Vide p. 65, too.

be considered one of the best acquisitions, import, from Ireland as in Portugal, our forests had nothing alike. When Prince Henry was given the monopoly of the woods in Ribatejo, no one could find a timber able to do that with such resistance and malleability. The vessels could be considered ready now, able to navigate along all sorts of mild or even wild and revolted waters.

The Portuguese Royal Chancellery continued registering documents, indentures, official contracts, connected with the Irish raw material, permuted with salt and wine, first, and then, through the English agreements with us, they had the possibility to have the first intensive and free contacts with all sorts of products brought by us from Africa and the Red Sea local areas, when, first, Prince Henry, his staff and, above all, Dom João II, "established the bridge", they waited for.

In Portugal, one could make common clothing, dowlas, weak woollen cloth as the woollen manufactures weren't very developed either.

On the 28.th April 1386, Richard II of England exempted from all taxes a Portuguese merchant who transported bundles of material, woollen, linen, whatever, from Valenciennes to London. He reached Dublin, too⁴².

To Ireland, merchants went from OPorto as well as from other places in its neighbourhood, such as: Viana do Castelo, Ponte de Lima and Vila do Conde, bringing from Dublin and other port of calls big quantities of material for clothing, of a very good quality: which they used to write in cash and stock books as *Hirllandas*, still registered in local archives in Britain and Ireland. They went through, carrying salt, once or twice a year and, when they planned to come back, they generally brought long and heavy pieces of material for clothing of very rare qualities and colours⁴³.

Clothing was the ordinary name one used to give to all kinds and sorts of material. From England, it, generally, arrived at Portugal a very expensive one, and of a superb quality, similar to those woven with gold or silver threads, like those from China and Japan, we started bringing since the mid 16.th century: the scarlet material ? At least, if it was not exactly the same, the quality and the similitude were so close indeed.

⁴² Vide Ana Maria Pereira FERREIRA, *A Importação e o Comércio Têxtil em Portugal no Século XV (1385-1481)*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1983, p. 73.

⁴³ Lisbon, IAN/TT., *Chanc. de D. Afonso V*, l. 13, fl. 114. Vide Joaquim Veríssimo SERRÃO, *História de Portugal*, Vol. II, 3.rd edition, Lisbon, Verbo, pp. 287-288.

The cloths from England and Ireland, about 1400, took the place, little by little, of the previous ones from France and the North Flemish area. The English market reached the largest development, and a letter dating October, 15.th 1430⁴⁴ specified London, Bristol, England, Wales, Scotland, Cornwall, Dartmouth and Ireland⁴⁵. In 1444, brimmed boats, caravels and all sorts of vessels used to leave from Dundalk, Dublin, Wexford and Cork ports, very frequently⁴⁶. There were fibrous tissues, row clothing or unbleached cotton, linen and woollen material, inside their holds⁴⁷. Starting from there, they used to arrive at England and, then, they opened a passage towards the ports of Hull, Tenby, Dartmouth, Bristol, London, Guildford, Southampton and Portsmouth, as we also had been to La Bretagne⁴⁸.

Princesses D. Catarina and D. Joana, Dom João I's grand-daughters, in the middle of the XV century had been given thin linen clothing from Ireland⁴⁹. Among several kinds of mantles that those ladies made use of, then, on misty and rainy days, under heavy falls of snow and during pageantry and circumstantial occasions, the countess of Barcelos, Dona Beatriz, Dom João I's daughter-in-law had one crimson brocade, another made of black velvet, and a long one made of a beautiful and very rare Irish piece of material⁵⁰.

To finish with, we believe this can mean that all over the 14.th and 15.th centuries, Portugal and Ireland, both countries, developed diplomatic and commercial contacts in order to increase a trade that could change the one along the Mediterranean and put Northern European ports in touch with West African continent, with Lisbon in the middle of this new circuit. Pictures representing Lisbon port and the city can show a tremendous movement never seen before. That wasn't but the very beginning of a new Portuguese era, but it was also a new and Modern Age for all who believed in our recent Empire that was enlarging and coming into the world, with the authority of Rome and the compulsory acceptance of all the Christian European Nations, where Portugal and Ireland are included and all driven by Henry,

⁴³ Lisbon, IAN/TT., *Chanc. de D. Afonso V*, l. 13, fl. 114. Vide Joaquim Veríssimo SERRÃO, *História de Portugal*, Vol. II, 3.rd edition, Lisbon, Verbo, pp. 287-288.

⁴⁴ Lisbon, IAN/TT., *Chanc. de D. Afonso V*, l. 25, fl. 10v.

⁴⁵ Vide E. M. CARUS-WILSON, *The Overseas Trade of Bristol*, in *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, edited by Eileen POWER & M. M. POSTAN, 2.nd edition, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1951.

⁴⁶ Lisbon, IAN/TT., *Extras*, fl. 21v.

⁴⁷ Lisbon, IAN/TT., *Extras*, fls. 21v, 62v-65 and 102.

⁴⁸ Vide A. H. de Oliveira MARQUES, *Bretanha e Portugal no século XV*, in *Arquipélago. Série de Ciências Humanas. In Memoriam Maria Olímpia Rocha Gil*, Vol. I. *Estudos Gerais*, Ponta Delgada, Universidade dos Açores, 1995.

⁴⁹ Lisbon, IAN/TT., *Extras*, fls. 21v, 62v-65 and 102.

⁵⁰ Vide A. H. de Oliveira MARQUES, *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa*, 4.th edition, Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1981, p. 52.

the Navigator's household and the H.M. the King of Portugal who committed his authority to a substitute: his son, brother and uncle, Prince Henry; and to an institution: the religious and military Order of Christ, leading a new *Crusade* and an immense and numerous group of soldiers, merchants, nobles and priests all together with the same purpose: the commerce and the consequent incomes and profits. The picture we've been able to consider from then on was the representation of all levels and professional men in the Portuguese society, mixture up, causing a very uncommon scene of plenty different people too much similar, now. So were their goals.