

THE PORTUGUESE IN THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE AGE OF DISCOVERY
(1415 – 1499)

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BY

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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Alper Yavuz

ABSTRACT

The period that is considered to have started in the first quarter of the 15th century and to have ended in the second half of the 17th century is called the Age of Discovery. In the Age of Discovery, some European states explored the unknown lands of the world through overseas expeditions, established commercial and diplomatic relations with the indigenous peoples of the discovered lands, and waged wars. Although this is one of the most important topics of history, unfortunately, not having been shown sufficient interest and not conducted much study in our country. In our study to draw the attention it deserves, we addressed the military, commercial and diplomatic activities of Portugal, the state that started the Age of Discovery, in the 15th century. Although the Portuguese had important overseas activities that continued in the 16th century, especially in Asia and Brazil, it was considered appropriate to limit our work to only the 15th century in order to focus on a specific period. Since there is a lack of Turkish books in this field, various foreign sources have been used and resources have been translated from English to use in our thesis. In the first chapter, the introduction chapter, trade, technology, maps, previous voyages and the status of Portugal before the 15th century are explained. The second chapter discusses the Portuguese activity in Northwest Africa, and in particular their relations with the Moroccans. In chapter three, exploration and residential activities in the islands of the Atlantic Ocean is specified; chapter four depicts their exploration and trade activities and enslavement raids in Africa, especially in the Guinea region; chapter five depicts their passage to Asia and Vasco da Gama's expedition to India. The sixth and final chapter discusses the military, technological and commercial structures of the Portuguese state in the 15th century.

Keywords: Age of Discovery, Portuguese marine expeditions, Portuguese discoveries, history of overseas expansion, Henrique the Navigator, Vasco da Gama

ÖZET

Tarihte 15. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinde başladığı ve 17. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında sona erdiği kabul edilen döneme Keşifler Çağı denir. Keşifler Çağı'nda bazı Avrupa devletleri, denizaşırı seferler yaparak dünyanın bilinmeyen topraklarını keşfetmiş, keşfedilen toprakların yerli halklarıyla ticari ve diplomatik ilişkiler kurmuş, savaşlar yapmışlardır. Tarih biliminin en önemli konularından biri olmasına rağmen ne yazık ki ülkemizde yeterli ilgiyi görmemiş ve bugüne kadar üzerinde fazla çalışma yapılmamıştır. Konuya hak ettiği dikkat ve ilgiyi çekmek amacıyla yaptığımız bu çalışmamızda, Keşifler Çağı'nı başlatan devlet olan Portekiz'in 15. yüzyılda yaptığı askeri, ticari ve diplomatik faaliyetler ele alınmıştır. Portekizlilerin 16. yüzyılda da özellikle Asya'da ve Brezilya'da devam eden önemli denizaşırı faaliyetleri olmakla beraber, belirli bir döneme yoğunlaşmak adına çalışmamızı sadece 15. yüzyıl ile sınırlandırmak uygun görülmüştür. Bu alanda Türkçe kitap eksikliği olduğundan, çeşitli yabancı kaynaklar kullanılmış ve kaynaklar İngilizce dilinden çevrilerek tezimizde yararlanılmıştır. Giriş bölümü olan birinci bölümde, 15. yüzyıl öncesinde ticaret, teknoloji, haritalar, geçmiş yolculuklar ve Portekiz'in durumu verilmiştir. İkinci bölümde, Portekizlilerin Kuzeybatı Afrika'daki faaliyetleri ve özellikle Faslılar ile olan ilişkileri ele alınmıştır. Üçüncü bölümde, Atlas Okyanusu adalarındaki keşif ve iskan faaliyetleri; Dördüncü bölümde Gine bölgesi başta olmak üzere Afrika'da yaptıkları keşif ve ticaret faaliyetleri ile köleleştirme baskınları; Beşinci bölümde Asya'ya geçişleri ve Vasco da Gama'nın Hindistan seferi anlatılmıştır. Altıncı ve son bölümde ise 15. yüzyılda Portekiz devletinin askeri, teknolojik ve ticari yapılanmasından söz edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Keşifler Çağı, Portekiz deniz seferleri, Portekiz keşifleri, denizaşırı genişleme tarihi, Henrique the Navigator, Vasco da Gama

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1. INTRODUCTION (BEFORE 1415)

1.1. Trade Before the Fifteenth Century

Until the 15th century, there was long-distance trade across Europe and Asia that had been going on for thousands of years. Ancient civilizations built in fertile regions of China, Northern India, Mesopotamia, and Egypt established the Silk Road by connecting each other over time. Starting from China, this route would run across Asia, one would arrive in the north of the Black Sea and one would come to the Mediterranean via Iran and Mesopotamia, with the highest reaches even in the least important parts of Northwest Africa and Northwest Europe. The merchants and travelers who used these routes transported goods, religions, and technology. Therefore, it can be said that most of the world is known to humans before Portuguese overseas expeditions (Newitt, 2005, pp. 2-3).

The trade was carried out with camel caravans. Goods were low in volume and expensive in price as the capacity to be transported was limited. The most valuable products were the spices of India, Sri Lanka and Indonesia and Chinese silk. Other traded products included jewelry, porcelain, horses, elephants, aromatic wood, metal products, ivory and cotton. The caravan roads were supported by the sea. Ships moved goods from India and Indonesia to ports in East Africa and the Red Sea. In addition to the aforementioned commodities, the ships also transported items such as timber, stone, wine, salt and rice. Some luxury commercial goods were in demand in cities such as Istanbul and Cairo. They were also transported along river routes around the Black Sea to Poland, Russia, Venice, Genoa and Barcelona. Europeans could not be directly involved in trade due to their unfavourable geography and business situation. Although they purchased valuable goods such as spices, silks, and cotton dresses from Asia, they did not have the quality producers and production capacity to produce the

demanded goods in Asia. There was no great flow of production from Europe to other regions with the exception of such as the delivery of tin and lead from England to West Africa and the sale of Venice's glass beads on the East African coast. Due to their weak production capacity, Europeans had to pay for trade with the East in silver or gold since Roman times. With the constant delivery of silver and gold to the East, Europe suffered from famine and hunger, and economic growth was in a standstill. Having exhausted their own stocks of silver and gold, Europeans began to search for new resources (Newitt, 2005, pp. 3-4).

While other European states of the era acquired spices, luxury goods, and gold by trade through the Middle East and North Africa, Portugal was in a position to fight against the Muslim people. This struggle was not as direct as that of neighboring Spain, which had not completely removed Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula until the conquest of Granada in 1492, because the Portuguese completed their own reconquista in 1249. As the kingdom looked out on the Atlantic, it was far from the strength generated by the Ottoman Empire in the eastern Mediterranean. While Muslim merchants holding onto all of the Middle Eastern markets from Alexandria to Istanbul, Portuguese people were moving away from the maritime power and expertise of Christian Italian commercial intermediaries. They set up businesses in ports, sent Eastern goods to the rest of Europe, and profited from this trade. Muslims similarly seized caravan routes from Central Asia, North India and the Arabian Peninsula, and were transporting these goods to the port cities of North Africa by crossing the Great Sahara (Love, 2006, pp. 10-11).

Sources of spices, textiles and gold were known to Late Medieval Europeans, but their knowledge of the world's geography was insufficient and incomplete at the time. Silk came from China. China was known to have a high level of prosperity, an

enlightened government and a large population. Spices such as peppers and cinnamon were coming from India with precious stones and cotton dresses. Gold, ivory and slaves were from the West African Kingdoms in the Niger River delta via the Sahara. If the goal was to access these goods in larger quantities and at cheaper prices, the target should be to find a direct route to their sources. To achieve this goal, it was necessary to eliminate Muslim and Italian merchants who control trade on the land and in the Mediterranean. This quest would further fuel the enmity between Christianity and Islam. The hope of forging an alliance against Muslims with the legendary Christian ruler Prester John, who is said to be somewhere in the East, had always been an option (Love, 2006, p. 11).

The key to success for the Portuguese was the sea in their quest for prosperity and for Christian alliances against Muslims. But the expeditions were costly, dangerous, and would slow their rewards. Portugal was acquainted with the Atlantic Ocean because of its deep-sea fishing history for centuries. And because of the long wars with Muslims, a Crusader tradition had built in the country. The Portuguese aimed to launch a new battle against the Muslim barbaries of North Africa, whose commercial links have been monopolized by bringing gold from the Kingdoms in the Niger Delta via the Sahara. In other words, the goal was to take control of the North African coast and break that monopoly, give supremacy to Muslim caravans going off the land, and establish direct connections with West African monarchs from the sea. The spirit of commerce and profit and the religious struggle in the name of God were the main motivators of Portugal's early discoveries (Love, 2006, pp. 11-12).

1.2. Previous Voyages, Technology, Maps

In the past, maritime history stories were filled with myths and legends. Most of it was surreal. Besides, most of the sailors were illiterate, and people didn't enjoy

the scripts very much. Since mapping was primitive, it was difficult to make useful maps of the coastlines. Knowing the shortest way from one port to another was a trade secret and a state secret, which was so important that it could enrich a city and enlarge an empire. Few people went to the coast and wrote books about it. None of the sea maps prepared between the 4th and 14th centuries have survived to this day. Because of the widespread ignorance of that day, sailors were not able to communicate what they learned. Mediterranean maps were seen from the 1300s. These are called the first real maps by map historians, because they are the result of closely monitoring certain areas of the Earth in continuous, scientific methods. These maps, called as “portolano” meaning port, were easily taken anywhere thanks to their portability (Boorstin, 1996, p. 147).

Voyages were made in the Atlantic and the Pacific Ocean long before the Portuguese and Spanish. However, these voyages were not big enough to change world history. Although Carthaginian coins from the 4th century BC and Roman coins from later dates were found in Venezuela in the Azores, it is possible that they came by the ships thrown by storms in ancient times. Vikings made expeditions from Norway and Iceland to North America in the Early Middle Ages, but their settlements in Greenland were destroyed due to severe climate conditions and Eskimo attacks. Several Italian and Catalan galleys made courageous expeditions to the Atlantic Ocean in the 13th and 14th centuries. They probably saw the Azores and the Madeira Islands, and rediscovered the Canary Islands known to Roman geographers. However, these voyages were not systematic and they were not followed through. The Vivaldi brothers from Genoa set sail in 1291 with the intention of traveling south across Africa and reaching India, but vanished after crossing the Cape Nun on the coast of

Morocco. Some Chinese and Japanese ships like this could have inadvertently reached America by drifting through the storm (Boxer, 1969, p. 15).

In the Mediterranean, voyages were generally conducted along coastlines. After crossing the Strait of Gibraltar, new problems would emerge. As the Portuguese moved southwards from the African coast, they were safely moving away from the coasts where they traveled and going to places they didn't know, there was no source of information they could use, no one with experience. As the distance from the northern shores of the Mediterranean to the southern coast was not much in the widest sense, sailors paid little attention to latitude, and latitude measurements had not developed. But as they went to unfamiliar places, they found that latitude was the best way to tell the location of a ship. In the beginning, latitude was determined by looking at the Polar Star, they used other tools and techniques for measuring the height of the sun, since the star is invisible when traveling south. These latitude determination techniques were developed by Portuguese sailors in the 15th Century (Boorstin, 1996, p. 149).

The first real exploratory expedition began in the late 13th century with initiatives by some South Europeans in the Atlantic. These were the people who used the techniques they gained through their long experience in the Mediterranean. Despite the Vivaldi Brothers incident in 1291, throughout the 14th century and in the early 15th century other Genoese, Portuguese, Flemish and Spanish sailors often sailed into the Atlantic Ocean waters. As a result, the islands of Madeira, the Azores and the Canaries were discovered, obtained from their indigenous peoples and colonized until 1439. In fact, the Azores and the Canaries were already bases in some voyages to the Atlantic, such as later Columbus' expeditions. These early discoveries gave rise to an idea that there may be a sea route around Africa to the Asian continent,

reviving the minds of Europeans (Love, 2006, pp. 9-10). It was the Portuguese who gave these ideas. This small, impoverished country, with a long coast in the Atlantic Ocean in the western part of Europe, was separated from the eastern border of Spain by high mountains. Therefore, there was no possibility of expanding their boundaries in this direction. Because of the scarcity of arable land, they needed better farmland to feed their growing population. They also wanted to make economic profit from the trade. Thus, the Kingdom turned to the Atlantic to meet its needs. Fisheries have been supporting food resources that were inadequate for generations. Coastal cities in Europe, such as London, Bordeaux and Antwerp, had become regular ports for Portuguese ships to trade in salt, olive oil, mushrooms, grains, leather and fish. Seafaring was vital to the country's economic prosperity (Love, 2006, p. 10).

During the medieval era, between roughly 1240 and 1350, in what was referred to as the "Pax Tartarica" due to the peaceful environment provided by the Mongolian emperors in Central Asia and neighboring regions, Marco Polo and other travelers, many of whom are Italian, traveled to the Chinese Sea via the Black Sea coast. However, the impressions and notes shared by these European travelers about the beauties of Asia were not well-received or believed in their own country. Thus, their narratives had not given the Western world a clear idea about Asia. Prester John's made-up letter and Sir John Mandeville's fantastic travels were more popular among European readers than those of Marco Polo and Friar Odoric de Pordenone (Boxer, 1969, p. 16).

There is a map of Catalan Atlas, dated 1375. This is an atlas made for the King of Aragon by Abraham Cresque, a Jew who lived on the island of Palma de Majorca, a carpenter and cartographer of the King. In the late 14th century, Jews were killed in Aragon and were forced into immigration. Jews who took refuge in Portugal helped

them develop maps to guide them on their overseas voyages. They transformed cartography into international science under the auspices of princes and high bureaucracy while being driven away from one place. Thus, Jews brought Arab culture and knowledge to the Christian world. Catalan Atlas is a mappamundi, in that; it depicts the people from different ethnic groups around the world, and above the earth. The map did not show the north of Europe and Asia, or the south of Africa. And this is actually a sort of portolano map. Although it seems very primitive today, these and similar maps are the pioneers of a newly flourishing spirit of discovery (Boorstin, 1996, pp. 150-151).

As for the map mentioned above, some 14th Century Catalan and Majorcan maps made the routes ensued by the caravans moving from the West Sudan region and North Africa to Guinea along the Sahara, remarkably accurate. This geographic knowledge was learned from Jewish merchants who could freely travel on Muslim regions. However, European Christians had no knowledge of the West African coast that lies below Guinea Bay. Many Medieval maps, inherited from Ptolemaios, portrayed the Indian Ocean as an inland sea surrounded by land. It was the first time that a regular and permanent sea connection between the four big continents could be established only after the Portuguese people had moved down the West African coast, visited the Cape, crossed the Indian Ocean and began their commercial activities in the East Indies and the South China Sea (Boxer, 1969, p. 17).

The desire to reach Asia was very important in Portuguese travels. The riches of the continent were known to the Late Medieval Europeans. The Mongol conquests brought freedom in the East, both in terms of religious and commercial aspects. Some of the ideas about the Near East came from Nestorians who came to Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries. In the 1400s, Asia was visited by Niccolo Conti of Venice.

The East was mapped by the Catalans as early as 1375. It was recognized that it could be accessed by sea. Enlightened people had long known that the earth was round, and some concluded that Asia could be reached by sailing west (Scammell, 2004, p. 48).

Because there are very few people even among cultured Europeans who read and write in Greek, the geographical texts written by Ptolemy in ancient times were only translated into Latin and then widely read and evaluated. Palla Strozzi, who came from a wealthy merchant family in 1400, took Ptolemy's works from Istanbul to Florence. This famous geography work was translated from Greek into Latin by Manuel Chrysoloras and his students. In the early 15th century, translated copies of Latin began to circulate from hand to hand in Europe (Boorstin, 1996, pp. 152-153).

The known ideas were bolstered by the rediscovery of the works of great geographers of the ancient age in the 15th century. Even though the Geography of Ptolemy, known since 1410, portrays the Indian Ocean as surrounded by land, it had made the world smaller and Asia closer to Europe. Aristotle supported the possibility of an ocean crossing from the west to Asia, while Strabon said India was bound for the Atlantic. Ancient knowledge was supported by contemporary knowledge. At the beginning of the 1400s, Cardinal d'Ailly stated that Morocco was separated from the East by a vast ocean, and Asia was accessible through a long voyage to the East. In 1474, the Italian cosmograph Toscanelli informed the Portuguese that a large Chinese city was located 9.000 km west of Lisbon at the same latitude. Strengthened his ideas by reading Marco Polo, the Bible, Mandeville and others, Colombus was convinced that a westward transition to Asia could be possible by observed the floating unclaimed objects transported up to Madeira (Scammell, 2004, p. 48).

Nicolo de Conti, the merchant who left Venice in 1419, traveled for twenty-five years. During this process, he saw and wrote interesting things such as Arab

deserts, precious stone deposits on the west coast of India, the tomb of St. Thomas near Madras, cinnamon forests in Sri Lanka, gold in Sumatra, camphor, pepper production and cannibalism, people with tattoos in Burma, elephants, pythons and rhinos. Conti, who spent a lot of time in the East, had abandoned his belief in Christianity. When he returned to Venice in 1444, Pope Eugenius IV sent him a letter ordering him to write about of all his experience and to give it to Pope Secretary Poggio Braccolini for the forgiveness of the sins he had committed. The result was an interesting work, and by mid-15th century, the mappae mundi masters held hands with Conti's claims. Then, they added this new information to the map of Ptolemy and paved the way to India. Even after making maps showing that India could be reached by sea from around Africa, the old Ptolemy maps continued to circulate and were still used as a resource. Atlas publishers were attempting to give their products an authentic look using Ptolemy's name (Boorstin, 1996, p. 155).

It is unclear when and how ideas come to Portugal, and how they affect Prince Henrique. During their raids in Morocco, the Portuguese had not learned anything about North Africa's relationship with the East through the Levant. Marco Polo's writing has been known since the early 1400s. Niccolo Conti's works were narrated by a group of Florentine merchants in Lisbon. This important resource may be known to Henrique. Later, the traveler Pero Tafur from Castile brought the attention of King Joao II (1481-95). As early as 1459, the Portuguese were in contact with Toscanelli, and in the 1480s they knew from Arab sources that East Africa could be accessed from the west by sea. However, when Portuguese expeditions started, there was nothing to show that Prince Henrique knew of Ptolemy, neither of the great Arab geographers nor d'Ailly's works. The main reason Portugal was interested in Asia was that while they started sending the sugar produced on the Atlantic islands to the

Mediterranean, spices imported from the Middle East underpins the richness and splendor of Venice. However, if Portugal were to enter into this trade, it would be difficult to challenge Venice in its own waters, given its geographical location and weak resources. Starting in the mid-1400s, Portugal continued to seek a direct maritime route to the East. The attempt to find an easier and shorter path remained the main target of explorers for centuries (Scammell, 2004, p. 49).

1.3. Status of Portugal

By the 15th century, Portugal was a relatively isolated and insignificant country. The fact that Portugal was a world power was established in the late 15th century. Although historians regard the rise of this sea empire as the sign of the Western Civilization's march towards world sovereignty, Portugal was in fact still a Late Medieval state rather than a Renaissance state at the time. The first century of Portuguese expansion was more like a Medieval Crusade battle than a Renaissance revolution (Nicolle, 2012, p. 3).

Portuguese became the official language in the country in the late 13th century. Its independence had been years away from being acknowledged by its powerful neighbor, Castile. The fight against Castilian sovereignty was ongoing while fighting against Muslims. Anti-Islamic fighting took place both at sea and on land. Muslim fleets attacked Lisbon several times in the 12th century. In 1189, Portuguese ships attacked Algarve in cooperation with the naval forces of Frisia and Denmark. The Norsemen slaughtered up to 6,000 Muslim prisoners here. In 1217, Portuguese King Afonso II persuaded a large German fleet to attack Alcacer do Sol together. Silves was captured in 1249, a few years after the Algarve was conquered. The completion of the Portuguese Reconquista did not mean the complete destruction of the Islamic influence in Portugal. In navigation, geographic knowledge and mapmaking, the

southern Andalusia had advanced considerably and this knowledge continued to exist among the remaining Muslim and Jewish communities (Nicolle, 2012, p. 3).

By the middle of the 13th century, the Portuguese state was pretty much the same as it is today. In 1249, the Moors took Algarve to establish their current political landscape. Since the north of the country was a highland, agriculture was done on the hillside plains. In this region, the land consisted of small farms and fields. In the north, which were safe for years and not subject to outside aggression, residents left high-profile fortresses and strengthened towns and settled in coastal cities such as Porto and Coimbra. It was not the case in Central and South Portugal. There were large plains in the Tagus valley. There was a rough terrain up to the southern Evora forests. A Castilian style society had formed in these lands, which had battled the Moors for many years. The powerful military orders, the church and the aristocracy, controlled villagers who were agricultural workers. There was no other city outside Evora. There were a few towns south of Lisbon. Just to the south of Algarve were a few fishing ports, such as the former Moor capital of Silves and Lagos. The country's economy and social power were extremely limited. In the northern villages, people were content with what they were growing on small land. The remaining small amounts were being sold in local markets. Internal connections were only provided by rivers. The only products they could export were small amounts of fruit, wine and salt, which had been produced from coastal areas such as Aveiro and Setubal. Portugal was also affected by the plague epidemic in the second half of the 14th century. Large population declines were observed in large areas. Agriculture was as unfeasible as it was in the past; migratory became widespread. People of all classes left their land and moved to towns and cities (Newitt, 2005, pp. 7-8).

When agricultural lands were abandoned and cities faced with unemployment, the dynasty introduced social arrangements. The law enacted in 1375 made it possible to lease unclaimed land to unemployed farmers. However, this regulation did not have much impact. At the end of the 14th century, the country was experiencing food shortages and importing wheat from North Africa. By the 15th century, most of Portugal's population lived on the coast. The sea was the only source of income for the poor farmers and villagers. Portugal became a place for the fisherman and merchants, sea began to take an important place in the culture of the country. Residents of the coastal areas have started building private boats for fishing and shipping. Herring and cod fishing had become widespread. They made great discoveries about the North Atlantic waters while also fishing (Newitt, 2005, pp. 8-9).

Up until the 14th century, Portugal had a small role in Atlantic navigation, despite the ownership of the maritime heritage of Muslim Andalusian and North African sailors. North Africans had previously beaten Viking fleets several times in the sea, occasionally visited the Canary Islands and knew about Cape Verde, Madeira, and the Azores. There were fishing fleets at the Tangiers and Ceuta. The maritime of Muslims in Northwest Africa grew even more in the 14th and 15th centuries. The Atlantic ports of Morocco increased its importance. The ships were going to the very top of Wadi Sus, now Agadir, and trading regularly. But they had no reason to go further, because the Sahara caravan roads provided the necessary connections. The shores south of Wadi Draa were considered very dangerous. The expeditions to the south of Nul-Lamta, Azuqqi, in the eastern part of Cape Juby, were also dangerous and unprofitable (Nicolle, 2012, pp. 3-4).

By the 15th century, educated Europeans began to realize that the world was round. Portugal's Islamic origin geography knowledge included the information that it

was possible to circumvent Africa. The idea that India's wealth could be achieved from the south was not new; in 1291, the Genoa Vivaldi brothers made a failed attempt. There was also the attraction of the Malian gold that Muslim merchants had brought over the Sahara for centuries. They believed they could achieve this by sailing south (Nicolle, 2012, p. 4).

In the Late Middle Ages, only Lisbon and Porto were European-class cities in Portugal. Lisbon, an old Moor city built on the slopes of two steep hills, had been developed as an administrative and commercial centre thanks to its port and the fertile lands of the Tagus valley. Traders and ship owners began meeting in Lisbon. From the early 13th century onward, an Italian community emerged in the city. Merchants in the city gained commercial privileges such as cutting the trees in the forests, tax discount in shipbuilding and maritime guarantees from the King. Portuguese ship owners and merchants have become common in countries such as Flanders, England, Hansa and France. The Portuguese dynasty played an active role in this commercial expansion by purchasing ships and supporting actions at sea. Agreements were made with Genoese and Venetian admirals, who were recruited by the Portuguese navy and used for naval operations aimed at protecting the interests of the country (Newitt, 2005, p. 9).

After the Black Death, a decline in the country's rural population caused a drop in land revenues. Therefore, the status and the wealth needed to protect it have become dependent on getting a share of the church and dynasty's resources. Churches and powerful military orders began to get closer and closer to the dynasty. The small noblemen, the *fidalgos*, no longer expected to inherit their land in order to acquire wealth. They began to regard the spoils of war as a source of profit. The raids on enemy lands and ships were a legitimate source of income for the military class and

the King. The King would take one fifth of all the loot received. If looting and ransom could be achieved in the conquered areas, it would be considered an honorable business (Newitt, 2005, p. 12).

Their experience with trading in the rough northern seas would contribute to Portugal's future expansion as to building of heavy ships as well as the cannonball used at sea in the Indian Ocean, where they gained an advantage over other competitors. However, before they reached India, they had to move forward in West Africa and establish the trade centers necessary to establish and maintain regular trade connections over large distances. In the Middle Ages of West Africa, Islam had yet to extend beyond Senegal and Guinea-Bissau. And yet many of the West African coastal peoples beyond this region have developed civilizations, even though their trade connections are inland. East Africa had long been connected to a wider world, and trade in the region had been held by Muslim merchants for centuries. Over time, Muslim merchants advanced southwards and in the 13th century established a settlement in the area of Mozambique at the port south of Sofala. Since then, Muslims had settled far and away in the Zambezi valley and as far south as the island of Bazaruto. In the Indian Ocean, the trade network was largely in the hands of Muslim Arab, Persian and Arabian Africans, Muslim communities along the Indian coast, Malays and Indonesian peoples. The Portuguese characterized all these as "Moor" and regarded them as the enemy (Nicolle, 2012, pp. 4-5).

During the last 250 years of the middle Ages, Western Europe had a great demand for gold. Minting gold coins became widespread in Europe after Florence minted its own gold coins in 1252 and Venice in 1280. Until 1383, Portugal, which had no gold coin, was one of the few European countries in that situation (Boxer, 1969, p. 19).

In the 14th century, the Christian Ethiopian Kingdom revived, overrunning its little Muslim neighbors and Muslims began defending. Although the Prester John stories about this powerful Kingdom were false, they had a profound influence on the Portuguese explorers. Even before the Portuguese had reached the Indian Ocean, some unknown people were debated in Europe, especially with the discovery of the still primitive Canary Islands' settlers despite at the nearby of Europe. Then, the people from sub-Saharan Africa were introduced. Many Europeans had regarded a pastoral lifestyle that was resembled Adam and Eve at the newly discovered primitive people (Nicolle, 2012, p. 5).



2. THE PORTUGUESE IN NORTHWEST AFRICA

2.1. Reasons for the Overseas Expansion of Portugal

The European discovery that began in the 1400s cannot be explained by a single simple reason, which triggered and sustained its conquest and colonialism. But human motivations, from economic necessity to idealistic enthusiasm, are in the process at various times and in various combinations. In the past, it was argued that the advancement of the Turkish people in the Middle East prevented the Eastern spices from flowing westwards from the Red Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean, forcing Europeans to directly access the source of these luxuries. However, when the Portuguese expeditions began in the mid-1400s, imports of spices from the Middle East increased and prices dropped in Venice, the main supplier of Europe. The Ottomans failed to conquer the Levant until the early 16th century, when the Portuguese regularly set sail for Asia. The Turkish administration facilitated trade rather than hindered it by imposing order and lowering taxes (Scammell, 2004, p. 43).

Older opinions give all the credit to Prince Henrique of Portugal, who really inspired some of the first expeditions to the Atlantic Ocean and the African coast and was nicknamed the Navigator, although he himself never set sail. In Renaissance Portugal, the history books praised Europe's fashion state for exaggerating the successes of the managers and depicting Henrique as being driven by rational curiosity. The prince was particularly important in ensuring that voyages continue even if there is no going back. However, his geography was average and his intellectual interests were limited. His mind was too preoccupied with the ideas of religion, honor and chastity. He understood that he had to reward his loyal servants, like the heroes in knight literature. He turned the pagans into Christianity, punished the infidels, called on friendly Christians. Despite all this, he was responsible for a

quarter of the expeditions, which were known to have been sent to the African coast before his death (Scammell, 2004, p. 43).

The European continent had barely reached the level of economic development required to offset the cost of overseas enlargement in the 1400s. But the wealth accumulated through commercial and financial skills and kept under control had long been present in cities such as Florence, Genoa and Venice. For centuries, sailor republics had expanded their fleet, including Venice providing 250 ships for the Crusade in 1204. Their leaders had fought wars that require much greater resources and capital than the first overseas expeditions. The Mediterranean people's wealth and talents were revealed during their ocean adventures. But many of the pioneering voyages were from relatively primitive countries such as Portugal and Spain. They were sailing with small ships at low cost and financing them locally. Even as late as 1499-1505, the expeditions that started from Andalusia did not receive money from major international financiers (Scammell, 2004, pp. 43-44).

Another claim is that Europe's population in the 1400s was much greater than the continent could support. Overseas initiatives were therefore the result of an urgent search for land and food. As the Ottomans advanced to the west, it became more difficult for Christian Europe to access Eastern Mediterranean resources. However, the first voyages of the 15th century took place during a period when the European population was stagnant and rapidly declining. A visitor to Portugal in the mid-1400s said that much of the country suffered from the plague and was deserted. It was difficult to persuade settlers to settle in the new land. King Afonso V said about Cape Verde that "It is so far from our Kingdom that no one wants to go and live there unless exceptional freedoms and privileges are granted". So Portugal had to relocate people to some of the Atlantic islands, such as foreigners, convicts, lepers, those

forced to convert to Catholicism. But it wasn't the case in Portugal. Everywhere except the gold-rich Spanish Indies, migrants, especially those who would go to hand-held jobs, fell short (Scammell, 2004, p. 44).

The Iberian monarchies already had to regularly seek supplies from their European neighbors. Other than that, there are not many indications of an urgent search for food. North Africa, the first victim of Portugal, was a grain producer. However, in Morocco, Portuguese people were more interested in the loot than in food. It was rare for overseas lands to become a supplier of essential foodstuffs. Some wheat was produced on the Portuguese islands in the Atlantic Ocean, but sugar and wine were mostly produced. In the years that followed, Brazil and the Caribbean became sugar producers and large-scale tobacco growers were formed in parts of the United States. But the aim was to meet the demands of the wealthy and growing number of European minorities who could afford such luxury consumer products rather than those who were malnourished or starving (Scammell, 2004, pp. 44-45).

Alternatively, it is argued that the driving force behind the start of Europe's overseas expansion was the quest for gold and silver, which would have been required to address the shortage of gold affecting the continent at the end of the middle Ages. Indeed, Europe's precious mineral stocks had proven themselves in the Levant trade. The Genoese and Catalans also took an interest in the Levant and sought to reach out to the gold-producing areas of Niger both from the land and the sea. Moreover, these were largely solved problems before Portugal's overseas ventures. But these were the problems faced by advanced business communities dealing with commerce. Since 1440, Venice had tightly linked its trade to North Africa, where gold is present. European silver production began to expand in the middle of the 15th century, and people in need of challenging and distant searches, such as the Genoese, continued to

search the Sahara. Portuguese people were happy to find gold, but there is little evidence in their behavior that this is their first goal. In the 1430s, Prince Henrique tried to protect the Canary Islands. Maybe he was aiming for the island to be a base for African gold. 30 years after Ceuta was conquered, its citizens tried to get into the Sahara. It is doubtful whether such economic determinants influence the emergence of Portugal's enlargement. However, when taken in its entirety, it is regarded as a country that is overpopulated, malnourished and economically depressed relative to the geography in which it is located appears. However, this country seeks slaves, tries to increase the production of luxuries such as sugar, and imports spices (Scammell, 2004, p. 45).

With the emergence of Portuguese caravel in the 1400s, sailors took advantage of the wind and were able to travel wherever they wanted; leading to the claim that European overseas expansion had begun. Meanwhile, the improvements in navigation techniques, particularly with the observation of the sun and stars, had now allowed sailors to hold their positions when they are off-shore, thus opening up to the oceans. But in the Middle Ages, Scandinavian ships were also able to sail upwind and would routinely travel to and from Iceland, Greenland and North America. And they were passing through extremely difficult and dangerous waters. As contemporary calculations indicated, the caravels were not in a situation to cope with long-lasting winds. Therefore, the first ocean voyages were not the result of an appropriate revolution in the design and construction of ships. The pioneering Portuguese expeditions were carried out using the means available. As the navigations progressed, the construction and equipment of the ships were modified to adapt to the conditions encountered (Scammell, 2004, pp. 45-46).

The Portuguese discoveries advanced a lot before there was clear evidence that the Iberian sailors were traveling with heavenly observations. Good captains were determining the compass course indicated by their maps and predicting their progress by calculating speed and drift. The ships exploring the West African coast, with their crews, could see the land, sail during the day and anchor at night. So they were unaware of the compass and the map, as claimed. But as the voyages progressed, better things were needed. To develop new techniques, Portugal had benefited from scientific learning like the rest of Western Europe and from Iberia's rich Jewish-Arab mathematical and cosmographical heritage. It has been known since the 1100s that the location on land could be determined by observation of the skies. It was thought that in the 13th century, such methods could be used at sea. In the 1480s, Portuguese astronomers solved the problem of determining the latitude in the southern hemisphere where the polar star was not visible. But even later in 1500 there was not still a general sense of what was the best way. Both the new and old methods remained to be used for calculations (Scammell, 2004, p. 46).

It is clear that Iberia is geographically well positioned to lead Europe's overseas expansion. No part of the continent is physically close to Africa. Portugal had the advantage of favorable winds. Along the southwestern coast, winds are usually directed towards the Atlantic islands and Brazil along the West African coast. Moreover, the European continent had had an interest in trade with North Africa since ancient times. The Venetians and the Genoese had been trading there for a long time. Since the 13th century, there had been an increasing interest in the pursuit of direct access to the resources of this Niger gold in markets on the Mediterranean coast of Africa. Sometimes the travelers were on the great Sahara caravan routes. In the early 1300s, the Catalans were looking for the Golden River. In 1341, the Genoese

rediscovered Canary Islands in search of spices, undoubtedly desiring to undermine the Venice's position in the Levant (Scammell, 2004, pp. 46-47).

In the Age of Discoveries, Portugal questions about overseas expansion were raised. The Mediterranean people, who were previously engaged in this kind of overseas enterprises, had failed, and why the Iberians were successful, what were the motives that prompted the country's executives to expand Portugal overseas, whether these managers adhered to a fixed plan, whether they updated their goals and methods according to changing circumstances, the size and nature of the information on North Africa, India and the Far East learned from Arab, Jewish, Catalan and Italian cartographers and merchants, and how the Portuguese evaluated this information are the first of such questions. Historians disagree with the answers to these questions. The age of discovery is based on a mix of religious, economic, strategic, and political factors. It can be said that there are four basic motives that motivate Portuguese executives and statesmen: A religious struggle against Muslims, a desire to access Guinean gold, a quest to find Prester John and access the spices of the East. An important factor in making the discoveries is that during the 15th century, Portugal was a Kingdom free from the turmoil. Other countries of Western Europe were busy during this century with civil wars such as the Century Wars and the War of the Roses. They were also concerned about the Ottoman progress in the Balkans. Castile and Aragon had been through a turbulent period before Ferdinand and Isabella. These internal upheavals prevented the Spanish to compete effectively with the Portuguese for a long time (Boxer, 1969, p. 18).

Europeans believed that the legendary Prester John was the ruler of a powerful country in the Indies. The term Indies was often used for well-known parts of Ethiopia, East Africa and Asia. Near or Minor India means the north of the India sub-

continent, Far or Greater India refers to the Malabar and Coromandel coastline in the south, and Central India refers to the Ethiopian region (Boxer, 1969, p. 19).

Another motivation for the discoveries of the Portuguese were the Papal bulls announced during the reign of Prince Henrique and his successors. The two most important bulls are the “Dum Diversas” dated June 18, 1452 and the “Romanus Pontifex” dated January 8, 1455. In the first said bull, the pope granted the King of Portugal wide powers to attack Muslims, pagans and other Christians who were hostile, to conquer, subdue them, to conquer their property and land, and to enslave their people. Some modern authorities claim that this bull was issued only for Portugal’s military operations in Morocco, but there is no such limitation in the bull. Pagans and other hostile societies mean black African natives, probably living in the vicinity of Senegal and Gambia, with whom the Portuguese had already established contact. The second such decree is perfectly admissible as the official declaration of the Portuguese imperialism. The bull describes and praises the exploratory, conquest and colonialism movements made since the beginning of Prince Henrique’s era. For the last twenty-five years, it is said that Prince Henrique had sent his ships south to explore the West African coast, to reach Guinea, the tip of the Senegal River, and many black slaves had been brought to Portugal and they had been baptized and made Catholic. Reflecting the spirit of the Age of Discoveries, they were like guides in how Europeans would behave towards the New World. These bulls provided a religious sanctioning power to the Portuguese and other Europeans who would follow them, against all peoples beyond the Christian world (Boxer, 1969, pp. 20-23).

Economic as well as religious motivations are important in terms of Prince Henrique’s sending his ships south of the Cape Nun. These sea voyages were extremely costly. The Prince provided for the livelihood of many knights and

landowners, and was hosting foreign visitors. His income from soaping and fishing was not enough to cover all his expenses and he even died in debt. One of Henrique's captains, Diogo Gomes, said that the purpose of his efforts was to reach the golden-conquered land on the south of the Sahara during the Ceuta's conquered period and "to do business and support the nobles in the prince's palace." Gold powder was first obtained in 1442 with the bargains made with native peoples such as the Touareg. From this date until the death of Prince Henrique, it is not clear how much gold was brought to Portugal from West Africa. In 1457, the Lisbon mint was minting pure gold coins called "Cruzado". These gold coins were minted without loss of value until 1536 (Boxer, 1969, p. 24).

The identities of the leaders involved in early discoveries are unknown except in a few cases. There were Italians and Flemish as well as Portuguese. One of the experiences they gained on voyages was learning the North Atlantic wind system. In addition, a new type of caravel was invented that could move closer to the wind than other European ships. The use of this caravel made expeditions much easier. One of the many experiences that was gained was the pioneering role in the establishment of modern European maritime science. By the end of the 15th century, the best sailors could accurately calculate their positions in the sea and navigate the excellent routes along the West African coast. Their basic belongings were the mariner's compass, the astrolabe and the quadrant, probably taken from the Chinese by Arab and Mediterranean sailors. They also had some maps of the sea based on latitudes calculated from observations carried out on the shore and at sea. The map, dated 1502, called Cantino planisphere, was copied from the original Portuguese one by an Italian spy. Particularly, the West African coast, situated north of the Congo River, was represented accurately (Boxer, 1969, pp. 27-28).

2.2. The Ceuta Expedition (1415) and the Beginning of the Age of Discovery

2.2.1. Commercial relations with Muslims before the invasion of Ceuta

Some historians note the Aljubarrota War of 1385, when the Avis dynasty ruled for Portugal's overseas expansion (Newitt, 2005, p. 1). By the early 15th century, the institutions of the Portuguese state had not yet transformed into a new era state. The administration was under the personal control of the ruler, many of the towns and cities in the country were controlled by churches, military orders and nobility, usury was common in the economy, and the armed forces were soldiers of the service of nobility (Newitt, 2005, p. 2). It is suggested that King Joao I may have considered invading North Africa 1409 or earlier. It is possible that Kings before him also had such an opinion. Because the Portuguese were in constant conflict with the Muslims; Preparations for the attack on Ceuta continued in 1412 (Diffie & Winus, 1977, p. 46).

The King's own ships were also engaged in piracy. Pirates were taking prisoners for ransom. In a decree of 1388, a decision was made to divide the prisoners seized on land and at sea between the King, admiral and sailors of the royal navy. Among Christians and Muslims, the subject of ransom was well-arranged even as early as the 12th and 13th centuries, and there were civil servants who were appointed to the ransom negotiations. These officers, called "Alfaqueque," were dealing with ransom and prisoner exchange. Some Franciscans were designated to negotiate with Muslims, and a special Franciscan monastery was built in Portugal (Diffie & Winus, 1977, p. 47).

The trade between Europe and Africa had been going on for a long time. European merchants bought grains, textiles, leather, sugar, and gold from Northwest Africa in exchange for items such as copper, wood and polish. Italians, Aragonese,

and Catalan were active in trade with Africa and were seen in the cities of Ceuta, Tanca, Sale, Safi, and other African provinces. The Portuguese and the Spanish have enacted strict laws that from time to time restrict trade with Muslims and prohibit the sale of arms and food. Although it does not have a significant effect, the church had frequently opposed to trade with Muslims (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 47).

When the news spread throughout Europe that Joao I was preparing the navy for the Ceuta expedition, it caused unease and caused curiosity as to the reason why he had assembled such a large fleet. The ruler of Granada sent in an envoy to investigate the purpose of the act. He had told Joao I that Granadan merchants were afraid that their commercial relations with Portugal might suffer. The Portuguese regarded trade with Granada as both important for its economic value and a political advantage in competing with Castile. There were also Muslims living in Portugal who deal in trade. Trade with Muslims had been going on since the days of the previous kings. The Moroccans purchased the fruits from Algarve and paid with gold. Moroccan coins were widely circulated in Portugal. In the sources, Fernao Lopes, Gomes Eanes da Zurara, also refer to this trade (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 47-48).

In 1414, Joao I took measures in preparation for the attack on Ceuta, forbidding the people from transporting bread, hazelnuts, fruit and other food items, as well as iron, steel and arms to the lands of the Moors via Portuguese vessels or by foreign ships. North Africa, which was normally a producer of bread stuffs, was suffering from grain shortage at that time. Thanks to the information they gathered about the region through commerce, the Portuguese people were aware of the drought and could make a strategic move (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 48).

2.2.2. Reasons for the invasion decision and preparations

Organizing an expedition to Morocco was not a new idea. In the 14th century, the Portuguese kings received some papal bulls that would keep their ideas of the crusade alive. The King's main purpose was to receive religious wealth tax. Trade in Portugal would flourish, nobility would seek advantages on the land, and soldiers would have the opportunity to win a trophy. The country was going back economically with a shortage of gold, silver and cereals (Newitt, 2005, p. 18). The deep-rooted trade relationship between Portugal and Northwest Africa, and the enduring hostility were effective in Ceuta's decision to occupy it. It was thought that owning a port in the Strait of Gibraltar would increase the defense power against Muslims and provide easier access to the Sahara trade coming from inside Africa. In addition, the three sons of Joao I, Duarte, Pedro and Henrique wanted to show their presence on the battlefield. However, Joao I was a serious king who would not be traveling overseas only for this reason. Joao I offered to wage a joint war against Granada. In doing so, he was somehow involved in Castile's work. Castile rejected this offer because they wanted to conquer Granada themselves for a long time and did not want to involve Portugal into this issue (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 48-49).

So Joao I again focused on the African plan. Strong political and strategic reasons made it easier for him to make decisions and provided a solid ground for the occupation. Some time ago, the Andalusians traveled to the Canary Islands in 1393. In 1400, the Castilians invaded and looted Tetuan. In fact, Joao I feared that his country would lose its present African connections and that the future conquests in the region would become difficult due to similar actions by his rivals. If Portugal had obtained a solid presence in North Africa before consolidating its presence in the Canary Islands of Castile, it would have had the advantage to advance more easily in Muslim lands

and to gain an advantage over competing states such as Castile and Aragon (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 49).

There was no consensus among the Portuguese public on the policy to be pursued. Some considered an incursion into Africa appropriate, while others supported a new war against Castile. The elderly and the young were divided. The elderly, who were mostly merchant-class, knew the economic benefits of peace with Castile. Those who opposed peace and wanted war were the young people who had no hope but to earn an income by fighting. They regarded the young and inexperienced King of Castile as an opportunity and thought that the land of Castile was suitable for occupation and looting. They wanted to learn the art of war and prove themselves. If the King did not offer young people a way out of which they wanted to go but sent them to fight abroad, they might have used their weapons against their own country in response (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 50-51).

Although overseas expansion was thought to suit the interests of merchants and ship owners, in this regard the merchants had favored peace due to the economic advantage. But there was one exception. A representative of the traders' class, royal financial affairs officer Joao Afonso advised the princes that Ceuta is a big, beautiful, rich city and that if they wanted to prove themselves, they should take over it. The King did not take the invasion of Ceuta seriously. Joao Afonso then encouraged the princes to beg their father. Shortly after, preparations for the attack began. Joao Afonso was portrayed as one of the key figures in Portugal's overseas expansion for fostering the Ceuta attack. Moreover, the merchant class was seen to agree with the princes and nobles who fought (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 51).

2.2.3. Invasion of Ceuta and its aftermath

The details are not clear about when the first decision was made. However, it is noted that the King had said during the war that he had been preparing on this issue for six years. From this, it is concluded that the preparations for the expedition started in 1409 and to a large extent that it was the King's idea. Given the fact that that Duarte, the King's son, who was 18 years old in 1409, and Henrique who was 15 years old, it makes little sense that the princes were efficient in his decision to occupy (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 51-52). Some sources indicate that discussions and preparations on the council took three years. By 1415, the decision was entirely supported by the princes. National consensus was reached on the issue (Newitt, 2005, p. 18).

The decision to attack Ceuta was long discussed by the King and his advisers. According to Zurara, the King first thought and decided whether this attack would be “in the service of God”. Then it was time for considering economic situation. There was not enough money in the government's treasury for such an operation, and the King did not know where to find it. There would have been a need for a large fleet, maybe arms and military supplements from abroad. Even if they had finally won, over time, the situation could turn around and turn out to be detrimental. Because Granada would have lost an ally and be vulnerable to Castile. Thus, Portuguese could unintentionally strengthen Castile. He was afraid of revenge for their defeat in the Battle of Aljubarrota. And it had to be retained after the city was conquered. The Muslims would get their revenge and try to get back what they lost. Although the magnificence of conquering the city was great, the King was desperate to know that it would be difficult to retain it (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 52-53).

Ceuta is defined as the place where merchants, officers, and sailors live. Outside the city, there were reinforced walls and towers. Between the walls and the city, there were woodlands and large gardens. It was one of Africa's most beautiful cities for the people coming from other parts of the world. Zurara refers to the city as "the key to the Mediterranean" (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 53).

The reasons for Ceuta's for being conquered and retained are as follows: Establishing a Portuguese base in the region in order to protect the Iberian Peninsula from an invasion of Africa, to protect the Algarve shores from raids, to provide security to Italian ships bound for Flanders and England, to secure Portuguese trade in the Mediterranean, to carry out attacks on Muslim merchants in the Mediterranean and to take over Morocco in the future, to prevent Castile from invading Morocco and to establish a centre in the Sahara trade routes. One of the well-thought-out geopolitical moves mentioned here is that King Joao and his advisers worked on this issue in detail (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 53). It was also known that Ceuta was importing exotic commodities from trans-Saharan caravans and trans-Middle Eastern caravans. It was for this reason that it had already drawn the attention of Venetians and the Genoese. Wheat was produced abundantly in Morocco, but it was a product that Portugal had to import. That is why Ceuta was also regarded as a place to supply wheat. In particular, the merchants in Lisbon backed this expedition for their benefit. Another explanation is that the expedition to Ceuta was regarded as an extension of a long-standing tradition of reconquest in the Iberian Peninsula. Although Portugal completely avoided the invasion in the mid-thirteenth century, some parts of the peninsula were still occupied by the Muslims. Memories of the conflict with the Moors in the fourteenth century were still fresh in 1415. The Muslim Kingdom of Granada was

continuing its existence there. All this led to the strong support of the expedition of Ceuta by the Portuguese nobles (Disney, 2009, pp. 1-2).

For the expedition, it was convened in the port of Lagos, at southwest of the Algarve, in late July 1415. The total number was about 20,000, and was led by Joao I. But the three eldest sons of the King, Duarte, Pedro and Henrique, were in command. It is exceptional that so many male members of the Royal Family simultaneously participate in such a dangerous undertaking. Most of the soldiers participating in the expedition were from Portugal, but there were also British, French, German and other foreign mercenaries. The fleet, which consists of more than 200 vessels, moved to North Africa in August. But when they reached the Ceuta, they found that the town's governor had already prepared the defense. That's why the Portuguese had temporarily retreated. The governor of Ceuta dismissed most of his men, believing the threat had passed. A few days later, the fleet returned to the front of Ceuta and has taken the defenders by surprise. Many of the Moroccan escaped and had exercises little resistance. Finally, on August 22nd, the Portuguese raided the largely abandoned city, looting it. Looters have largely destroyed the crops in the warehouses. They opened the bags of black pepper and cinnamon and spread them into the streets, releasing their pungent odor into the air (Disney, 2009, p. 4). They then quickly turned the main mosque into a church. On August 25, King Joao I and his three sons, Duarte, Pedro and Henrique, became knights (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 54).

After the city was conquered, the question of whether it should be kept or abandoned began to be debated. The King assembled a council to discuss the matter. In the debates, the council was divided. One side advocated leaving the city, saying it would be expensive to retain. Another party suggested that after completely looting the city, they should return to Portugal and to regard it as plunder, not as a conquest.

The choice of leaving the city could not have been regarded as a “Service to God”, since the Muslims were soon to return and regain control of the city on account of their vengeance. Meanwhile, the supporters of retaining the city suggested that Ceuta could be used as a place of exile. Those who were exiled would work in the honor of the King and in the service of God. In the end, it was decided to retain the city. Joao Pedro de Menezes, the Count of Viana, was elected governor. A 2700-man garrison, several ships, food and ammunition were left in the city. The fleet sailed to Portugal on September 2. A Episcopacy was established in Ceuta on September 6, 1420, as per the order of the Kingdom under the “Romanus Pontifex” order issued by Pope Martin V on April 4, 1418 (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 55).

Ceuta was hard to be retained. A garrison of 2700 men had to be kept in the city and looked after for the defense. That was a heavy military expense. In order to find manpower, the dynasty had to offer incentives and awards to fidalgos on a continuous basis. Instead of becoming a city of commerce and art, Ceuta became a place where the armed garrison constantly raided countryside to find foodstuffs, where pirates were chasing prey on the coast. Although it did not provide much incentive for traders and artisans, it did provide an opportunity for the military class to make a war (Newitt, 2005, p. 19). The Muslims then did not react quickly to regain the city due to their division, but they gathered their strength and besieged the city in 1418 and 1419. Prince Henrique was sent by the King to Ceuta for support. They couldn’t get the city, but Muslims deprived the Portuguese of many advantages. The Sahara did not fall under Portuguese control. The Portuguese had to either find a way to expand in North Africa, or find other ways to get behind the Muslims. To keep the city was to devour the resources of the royal treasure. Trying to expand into North Africa when the economy was in a difficult position and without sufficient resources would also not be

easy. Having failed to reap the huge benefits expected from Ceuta's occupation, Portuguese people were disappointed and went in search of alternative policies in Africa (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 55).

In the end, Portugal decided to pursue a bilateral policy of both progressing along the African coast in the Atlantic and doing business and retaining Ceuta. The public's preference influenced the decision. This policy was supported by the merchants who wanted to continue trading, high-status people, pirates, adventurers curious about the coast of Africa, the young warriors who wanted to prove themselves, the bigots who wanted to fight with infidels on their lands, and others. The Kingdom's view was to expand and improve the country. The minority opposed enlargement. Prince Henrique was the most prominent person who consistently advocated and supported this bilateral policy of advancing in the north from the land and in the west from the sea (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 55-56). While the policy of invading Morocco is linked to the voyages of discovery in the Atlantic Ocean, the two policies were independent and in many respects, contradictory. These two policies had been carried out together for over a century and a half. Dignitaries of the period were unable to provide unity on the issues of supporting naval expeditions or having a voice in trade. Those who were leading the country did not have a single vision in mind (Newitt, 2005, p. 18).

With Ceuta's conquest, Portuguese people began to gather information about the regions where gold is obtained, such as Upper Niger and Senegal. By reaching these lands through the sea, they realized that they could change the direction of Western Sudan and Berber Muslims' trade with camel caravans (Boxer, 1969, p. 19).

2.3. Crossing the Cape Bojador (1434)

When the expeditions started in 1419, the southernmost end of the Atlantic was the Cape Bojador, just below the 27 North latitudes. There were heavy waves, currents on the northern side, holes near the shores, and frequent fog off the coast. For this reason, it was thought that those who went to what Arab geographers called the “Green Sea of Darkness” would not be able to return. After 10 or 15 failed attempts over the years, Prince Henrique’s ships finally arrived in 1434. This discovery was actually breaking through a psychological barrier for the future discoveries along the coast of West Africa. After passing the feared Cape, other developments quickly followed (Boxer, 1969, p. 25).

At the time, Cape Bojador was considered the most advanced point of the West African seas. According to Zurara, Henrique had sent ships to the area for 12 years, but nobody had been able to cross the Cape. These men were not ordinary sailors, but rather prominent military figures. Still, there was no one who dared to cross the Cape. It was not because of cowardice, but rather because of the rumors that were passed down through generations by sailors. People didn’t want to risk their lives both because of danger and because they didn’t see the hope of a profit. Because sailors told that there were no human races or settlements beyond the Cape, that Libya was a desert with no soil, without water, without trees, that the sea was very shallow and the currents were horrible, so the vessels going there could not return. Although they did not cross the Cape, they did not return empty-handed. Some went up to the shores of Granada, some went to the Levant to generate large sums of booty from the infidels. Thus, they made an honorable return to the Kingdom (Zurara, 2010, pp. 30-32). Gil Eanes from Lagos was the one who finally managed to get the job done. Gil Eanes first went only to the Canary Islands for fear, took a few prisoners and returned back

in 1433. The following year, Henrique told him to take it easy and to go on its voyage, believing it would succeed. Eanes finally passed the cape and was honored for his success. The passing of Cape Bojador removed the ever-growing psychological barrier of each failure. Over the course of 12 years and 15 voyages, the efforts were successful. Although the psychological barrier was overcome, the area was still physically difficult for the ships. There were rock bulges off the shore (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 68-69).

After returning, Gil Eanes was sent back to the region this time with Afonso Gonçalves Baldaia. Eanes and Baldaia found no houses in the area, but found traces of humans and camels. Today, this is Garnet Bay (Angra dos Ruivos). Because Henrique felt that residential areas would not be far away, on the third expedition in 1436, he asked Baldaia to get as far away as possible and to capture and bring in some of the people who knew about the area. Baldaia reached a point seventy leagues from where he was before, a hundred and twenty leagues from Cape Bojador, where he found a river-like tip. It was called Piedra de Galea. They anchored in this place, which is suitable for anchoring. Baldaia brought the two horses he brought with him to land, and before anyone got off the ship, ordered two young men to ride them. He ordered the young men to look all over the horses carefully and go as far as they could. He asked them not to take defensive weapons so as not to burden the horses and themselves too much, but to take spears and swords and attack only when they have to. Hector Homem and Diego Lopez d'Almeida were the names of these brave young men. Neither was older than seventeen. They set off bravely, and advanced seven leagues along the course of the river. Here, they saw 19 men gathered unarmed and attacked as soon as they saw them. These men, despite outnumbering, refrained from retaliating against the young, retreated to a rocky area where they defended

themselves. One of the teenagers was injured in the foot during the war. They returned to the ship at the sunset. They arrived the ship by morning and rested. When it was light in the morning, Baldaia had the boat ready. After he boarded the boat with some of his men, he sent the young men ashore on horseback, sailing across the river to the point where yesterday's war was took place. They couldn't find anyone because the natives went. They realized no further progress would help and decided to return to the ship. Baldaia, who saw up to five thousand sea lions on a shore at the river's entrance, ordered his men to hunt as many of them as possible. He loaded their skins onto the ship. Because it was so easy to kill them, the men committed a massive slaughter on these animals. Baldaia was not content with this because he had not yet taken any prisoners. So they went through a fifty- sea leagues area, into a port with a rock that was remotely like a galley, so they called it the "Port of Galley". They went ashore from here, found some nets, and took them aboard. The ropes of these nets were made from a kind of bark. Eventually, Afonso Gonçalves Baldaia returned to Portugal without knowing where the men whom they saw were from or how they had lived (Zurara, 2010, pp. 36-38).

For Portuguese people, sailing on the Moroccan shores before 1433 mean obtaining benefits. Various products such as wheat, barley, cattle, horse, honey, beeswax, indigo, date, Arab gum, varnish and grapes could be obtained from the inner valleys around the Moroccan coasts, Ceuta, Tangiers, Larache, Sale, Messa and Cape Nun. There was trade between Christians and Muslims in these regions. This is reflected in the many documents of that time and resources such as Gomes Eanes de Zurara, Duarte Pacheco Pereira, Valentim Fernandes, Damiao de Gois and Leo Africanus. Portuguese people must have traded and profited as they advance along the coast (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 70).

2.4. An Attempt to Invade Tangiers (1437)

During the continuation of coastal voyages, the attack on Tangiers was on the agenda. Joint operations against Granada with Castile were cancelled. Allegations on the Canary Islands were suspended because of confrontation by Castile. But domestic pressure persisted. Young nobles wanted to increase their property. The traders were looking for more trading opportunities. There was competition with Castile in foreign policy. The “Crusader” spirit against Muslims was still present in the country. Because of all these pressures, King Duarte was unable to exercise passive rule. Portugal, a disillusioned country in the Canaries, once again turned its face to Morocco and the Tangiers became the target. The capture of the Tangiers would advance Ceuta and facilitate progress into the interior. Many of the young nobles would have had a chance to prove themselves. Particularly, Fernando, the fifth son of Joao I, not having major properties, requested King Duarte’s permission to leave the country to participate in the tournaments (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 71).

However, many important figures opposed the Tangiers’ expedition, including Prince Pedro, Prince Joao and the King’s illegitimate stepbrother, Afonso, and the Count of Barcelos. They argued that the expeditions in Morocco were too costly, required too much manpower and resources for Portugal to sustain, and even God would not be happy about it. While the bourgeoisie of Lisbon, Porto and Algarve supported the expansionist policy, many other cities opposed it (Disney, 2009, p. 5).

In 1436, King Duarte issued a decree from Pope Eugenius IV to attack Tangiers or to take advantage of a future incident. Among the King’s reasons for the attack was the council’s support. That actually wasn’t true because there were very few advocates of invasion. Duarte granted formal approval to the expedition in 1437 and appointed Henrique. However, the success achieved in Ceuta could not be

repeated in Tangiers. This time, the strength they were acting on was insufficient. Although Henrique had made sets by piles outside the walls of Tangiers, it was soon surrounded by Moroccan forces, which joined from the inside in the town and cut off Portuguese access to the sea; After five weeks of defense, they had no choice but to discuss the terms. They were finally allowed to return to their ships safely. However, he had to promise to return Ceuta in return, leaving Prince Fernando as a hostage in the hands of the Moroccans (Disney, 2009, pp. 5-6).

After the defeat in the Tangiers, Duarte consulted those at the palace court about what should be done. There was a disagreement among consultants. Among the nobles, powerful people demanded that Ceuta be held and Fernando be left to his fate. Representatives from Lisbon, Porto and Algarve also supported the recommendation, arguing it would serve their economic interests. Prince Pedro and other town representatives disagreed, arguing that Morocco should be abandoned, not just Ceuta. The church officials representing the Archbishop of Braga stated that the Ceuta, which was conquered under the auspices of the Vatican, could not be delivered without the Pope's permission (Disney, 2009, p. 6).

Ceuta had been importing gold from land for a long time from Sub-Saharan Africa, and was famous for golden Ceuta coin. The capture of Ceuta enabled Portugal to access gold from West Africa, imported by the Sahara caravans. This is a significant economic gain, considering that Portugal had had difficulty in acquiring gold since the middle of the thirteenth century. In 1436, King Duarte launched a new gold coin, called “escudo”, as part of a major monetary reform program. Even though Escudo was a low quality coin of only eighteen carats, it boosted trade and increased Duarte's prestige (Disney, 2009, p. 14).

King Duarte died on September 19, 1438. His successor King Afonso V was only six years old. A power struggle had begun for substitution within the royal family. The contenders were the grandchildren of an illegitimate son of Joao I, and the King's uncle, Pedro, the mother of the King, who was backed by powerful dukes in Braganza. Pedro won the battle and became the deputy King. The queen stepped aside and left the administration to him (Newitt, 2005, pp. 22-23). No firm steps had been taken to win Fernando back. Ceuta continued to be held. Fernando was detained for 11 years and died in 1448. After the Tangiers' defeat, Portugal's advance on the coast paused for a while and then continued on. This progress was supported by Henrique and Pedro (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 72-73).

2.5. Conquest of Alcacer-Seguer (1458)

Twenty years had passed since the defeat in Tangiers in 1437. The Muslim pressure on Ceuta was not over. On February 26, 1456, Afonso V ordered the seizure of the assets of Davy Maalom, a Jewish man living in Lagos. Because he had allegedly sent a letter to the people of Safi warning them that the Portuguese had sent a caravel in order to investigate the fortifications. According to the King, it was a treachery upon themselves. It is inferred that the King planned to take over a city in Africa. The candidate cities in Morocco for capture were Safi, Tanca and Alcacer-Seguer. At last, Alcacer-Seguer was chosen. King Afonso V left Setubal for Sagres in September 1458. He met Henrique here, waiting for him. They then waited for the fleets from Porto and Mondego in Lagos. They set sail on October 17. The fleet, which consisted of 220 ships and 25.000 soldiers, stated by Rui de Pina, arrived in front of Alcacer on October 21st and seized the city two days later. Thus, the Portuguese people gained a good position to move south (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 109-110).

2.6. Conquest of Arzila (1471)

Arzila, the city of Morocco, was captured in the attack in 1470-71, in which Prince Joao was also present. This was a big expedition of 30.000 soldiers and 400 ships. Many prisoners were taken and looted. Among the detainees were two wives and a son of Wattasid leader Mohammed Sheikh, whose treasure was mostly captured by the Portuguese. The capture of Arzila sparked fear among the Moroccan. The people of Tangiers escaped and left their city to the Portuguese. Azemmour, Safi, and Larache in southern Morocco are also under Portuguese control. Consequently, Portugal conquered almost the entire southern coast of the Strait of Gibraltar. Following these developments, Muhammad Sheikh agreed to sign a peace treaty with the Portuguese and gave Arzila and Tangiers to the Portuguese in 1471. After this agreement, the Portuguese influence in Morocco continued to exist and grow for over forty years. In the 1470s, young Prince Joao took charge of Portuguese military operations in North Africa. Through Safi, Azemmour and other Atlantic coastal ports of Morocco, the Portuguese were able to access wheat, horse and textile products they needed for the West African market (Disney, 2009, p. 7).

3. THE PORTUGUESE ON THE ATLANTIC OCEAN ISLANDS

3.1. Madeira Islands

The Madeira archipelago consists of Madeira, Porto Santo and three smaller islands. They are situated off the coast of Morocco, about 1.000 km southwest of Lisbon and 500 km from the northern Canary Islands. The Madeira Islands appear on a portolan map dated 1370 with their Italian names. The Madeira, consisting of Madeira, Porto Santo and Desertas islands, had been known to sailors since Roman times. However, the islands had never been settled before. The slave-traffickers had little interest because there was no settlement (Newitt, 2005, p. 20). It was a temporary break for a while by the Castilians who occupied the Canary Islands. According to Zurara, Joao Gonçalves Zarco and Tristao Vaz Teixeira, who were authorized to set sail as a pirate in Henrique's service, were swept to Porto Santo, one of the Madeira Islands, in 1419 by storm. After staying on the island for a few days, they returned to Portugal to inform Henrique. Later, he and his future father-in-law, Bartolomeu Peleştrello, returned to the islands. The islands were divided between Zarco and Teixeira. The first settlement request came from these two captains at his service, not from Henrique. Henrique did not have any rights on the islands during this period (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 57-58). The first settlements in Madeira began to be established in 1424. Observing the success of settlements on the islands, Henrique obtained privileges over the Madeira in 1433. Since then, Henrique had divided Madeira into two captaincies, giving it to the leaders of the first settlements. Peleştrello was appointed as the captain of Porto Santo. They were given the responsibility of organizing and generating social infrastructure. Additional privileges, such as collecting taxes, donating land to the church and sects, were left to the Order of Christ, the director of which was Henrique. The production of wheat, wine and

sugar cane in Madeira soon brought profit. The population of the islands had rapidly increased (Newitt, 2005, p. 21). The captains kept a limited amount of land for themselves while renting the vacant land to the settlers. They were putting taxes on land, water mills, windmills, wine presses, bread ovens and fishing. In return for these revenue sources, they were responsible for the administration and defense of the islands (Newitt, 2005, p. 39).

Madeira and Porto Santo are volcanic islands, but their climate and vegetation are very different. The island of Madeira is extremely mountainous. Their rugged peak reaches almost 2.000 meters. The coast is surrounded by deep valleys and rising coastal reefs with no beaches or sheltered anchorages. However, it is rich in soil and it gets a lot of rain. The word Madeira, meaning “lumber,” appears to be a sign that the Portuguese first visited the island and it was densely covered with forests. The island of Porto Santo is dry with few trees. It is mostly flat and had a long sandy beach on the south coast. Both islands were deserted before the colonization, so their flora and fauna remained intact. The local pigeons, abundant on the island, were so fearless that they could be caught by hand. But the untouched island ecosystems had always been vulnerable to external intruders. The rapid spread of plants and animals brought to the islands and later efforts by settlers to resemble their islands in their homeland had begun to plague the domestic plants and animal ecosystem. Today, not all plants and animal varieties in the islands before 1420 are known. It is clear that many species have disappeared since the Portuguese invasion. Porto Santo’s first captain, Bartolomeu Pelestrelo, arrived on the island in 1420 and allegedly released a single pregnant rabbit. This rabbit’s grandchildren had multiplied so much that in a few years that they had invaded the entire island and destroyed the crops. All attempts to end the plague on the island had failed. The settlers were temporarily left hungry on the

island. Over time, they abandoned agriculture and started cattle farming. During that time, on the island of Madeira, trees were cut indiscriminately in order to both serve as timber and make room for agriculture. Early settlers preferred local badger and cedar trees, which were used for making crates, tables, and much other furniture. They could also access the resins of the dragon's tree, which provided red paint for the textile industry. Madeira's wood timbers for construction were imported in large amounts to Portugal and Spain in the fifteenth century. But because the abundance of trees interfered with the island settlers, they were clearing the land by burning them. Sometimes their fires got out of control and destroyed vast areas of the forests. Over time, local trees had been depleted and few have remained today (Disney, 2009, pp. 85-86).

On June 1, 1439, Pedro, the regent of the child King Afonso V, granted Henrique a five-year customs duty grant on Madeira's products. On May 8, 1440, Henrique handed over part of Madeira to Tristao Vaz Teixeira with broad economic privileges, without prejudice to the decision of death and limb removal (Diffie & Winus, 1977, pp. 76-77).

Prince Henrique had never visited Madeira personally as the administration of the islands was assumed by captains. In the 1440s, Henrique formed three captaincies: Funchal for South Madeira, Machico for northern Madeira, and Porto Santo. Zarco, Teixeira and Perestrelo were appointed as the respective captains. Their authorities and rights were stated in the regulations. It was a new institution generated specifically to address the needs of the Madeira archipelago, so that the ruler was not in the remote, he was running his territory from where he lived. This method worked pretty well on the islands. It was therefore also used in other places in the generation of Portuguese colonies. When a colony took root, more political institutions became

necessary. In particular, some form of municipal government was needed for local representation. Funchal and Machico villas were built in Madeira in 1455. Starting at the end of the fifteenth century, other municipalities were formed with their own elected officials, seals and flags, by quickly settling in Madeira. There were settlers with large amounts of unencumbered land grants, and those who were given small lands, which needed to be cleaned and sown within a certain period of time. The distinction between these two groups was clearly made. The time limit was first determined to be ten years, but was later reduced to five years by Henrique. Most of the arable land was soon owned and land grants were gradually abolished starting in the 1460s (Disney, 2009, pp. 86-87).

Cleaning the area was not an easy task, given Madeira's steep terrain and dense forest canopy. But over time, the soil had turned out to be fertile. Pioneering farmers planted fruits like wheat and grapes, growing cattle and pigs. Wheat production dominated from the 1430s until the late 1460s. The Madeira wheat was exported to Portugal and the feitorias in West Africa. Madeira's famous terraces and levadas were introduced during this period. The levadas formed a complex network of channels and tunnels. Built by great effort, the plates used high areas to bring rainwater to coastal agricultural areas. In the late 1460s, Madeira stopped exporting cereals and became a region with a wheat deficit, which remained the same after that (Disney, 2009, p. 87).

The main reason for Madeira's reduction in wheat production was the rapid development of sugar planting. With rich volcanic soil, plenty of fresh water, plenty of timber, and a warm lower tropical climate in low areas, the main island proved itself well suited to grow sugar. Madeira was the first place outside the Mediterranean basin where Europeans successfully raised sugarcane. Sugarcane was probably brought to

the island by Tristao Vaz Teixeira's Genoese son-in-law shortly after settlement began. His planting was strongly encouraged by Prince Henrique. Henrique sent experts to the island, supplied variations of the sugarcane from Sicily and sent them to the island. In 1452, for the first time, he licensed a person to build a sugar mill on the island. Sugarcane was widely cultivated in Madeira. The Madeira's reed fields were smaller than the later Brazilian fields. Over time, however, the successful growers bought the land for their neighbors and expanded their own land. A third of the yield was paid to the land manager initially. This payment was reduced to one quarter by Prince Fernando and one fifth by King Manuel. At first, simple hand presses were used to engrave the cane. More expensive and technically detailed water mills were used starting in the 1460s. Over time, a plantation system had been developed. Land and mill ownership was confined to a few owners. Sugar exports remained at the top of the list from the 1490s until the first years of the sixteenth century. Although Flanders was the main target in the European market, sugar was also exported to Italy, England, France, Chios, Istanbul and Portugal (Disney, 2009, pp. 87-88).

Madeira's population increased quite rapidly in the first years of settlement. By the middle of the fifteenth century, the population had been three to four thousand. By 1500, it had reached twenty thousand. The elites of the island were sugar producers and merchants. The elite class formed on the island was called Esmeraldo. The Esmeraldos descended from Jennin Esmerandt, a Fleming who came to Madeira in 1484. Jennin Esmerandt previously lived in Lisbon and represented a Bruges-based company there. He and his descendants leased large plots of land to become major sugar producers in Ponta do Sol, in the southwest Madeira (Disney, 2009, p. 88).

The efficiency of Madeira's volcanic soil had resulted in a large yield. The capital was provided by the Genoese. In the 1450s, there were four towns on the

islands. Cadamosto estimates that the adult male population in Madeira was around 800 in the 1450s. The islands exported wheat, sugar and a vegetable dye called dragon blood, to Portugal, and began growing grapes. Over time, it had produced 3.000 tons of wheat annually. Wheat was a valuable commodity in the Sahara trade. Madeira had also become a market and sugar for slaves. So it became the first sugar colony island in history. And by the end of the century sugar had become the primary product. There were about 80 sugar mills on the island. Sugar producers paid Order of Christ 30.000 cruzado as tax annually (Newitt, 2005, pp. 39-40).

3.2. Canary Islands

Canary Islands are the largest of the east Atlantic archipelago. The Fuerteventura and Lanzarote islands, which are closest to Africa, are only 100 kilometers from the western shores of Morocco. This group of islands was known in ancient times, but its contact was cut off in early Middle Ages. Perhaps rediscovered in the late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century, the Canaries appear on European maps dating back to 1339. Soon after their rediscovery, there were voyages to the islands. In most of these, details are ambiguous or questionable. People from many different nationalities, probably such as the Genoese, the Majorcans, the Castilians and the Portuguese, had participated in these voyages. The first known Portuguese voyage to the islands was made in 1334-35, probably under the guidance of the Genoese who served the Portuguese (Disney, 2009, p. 100). The rediscovery of the Canary Islands had generated a rift between Portugal and Castile. The bull of Pope Clement VI in 1344 authorized the grandson of Afonso and French admiral Don Luis de la Cerda to Christianize the islands, but Portugal and Castile, claiming that they had not been able to acquire property, continued their disagreements in the process (Hart, 2003, p. 13).

Unlike other Atlantic islands, the Canary Islands had already been settled before the Europeans arrived. The Canary Islands' natives are called "Guanche". The Guanche people are thought to be composed of several ethnically diverse populations. The knowledge about Guanches is limited because they had disappeared a long time ago. It is known that they come from the same ancestry as the Moors of the pre-Islamic period in North Africa, having a Neolithic culture, and growing goats and pigs. They didn't have maritime skills, and they were cut off from the mainland African long ago. The reason the Europeans invaded the Canaries was primarily to capture and enslave these natives. The first significant settlement in the archipelago was established by Castile in Lanzarote in 1402. Portugal's attempts to conquer the Canaries started in the mid-1420s. The person who launched the initiative was Prince Henrique, who was determined to take over the Canaries (Disney, 2009, p. 100).

When they began to settle in the Madeira Islands, Portuguese people started to show interest in the Canary Islands as well. In 1402, Jean de Bettencourt of France established a settlement on the islands. From 1402 to 1418, Jean de Bettencourt held Lanzarote, Fuerteventura and Hierro, the islands. In November 1418, Bettencourt sold the islands in his possession to the Count of Niebla. On August 29, 1420, Juan gave Alfonso de las Casas the right to take over Canary Islands, which were beyond the control of other Christians. De las Casas handed over the islands to their heirs on November 15, 1421. This privilege offered to De las Casas generated a double sense of rule over the islands. On June 8, 1422, the count of Niebla granted tax exemptions to the Spanish people of its own islands under the title of "Lord of the Canaries - Senor de las Canarias." But there were still islands that belonged to no one. In 1424, the Portuguese invaded the island of Gran Canaria under the command of Fernando de Castro. This operation included about 2500 soldiers and 120 horses. Faced with strong

resistance, Castro abandoned the island and returned to Portugal. The Castilians protested Portugal immediately (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 58-59). The Portuguese made two expeditions to the Canaries, in 1425 and 1427. All three expeditions failed (Newitt, 2005, p. 20).

As successor to the Visigoths, the Castilians were claiming rights in North-West Africa. In 1291, Castile and Aragon shared rights in Soria and planned future conquests. In the 14th century, Portugal did not make any claims in this part of Africa. The agreements between Portugal and Castile, dated neither 1373 nor 1411, contained any provisions related to the region. When Portugal seized Ceuta in 1415, Castile did not object, but the Castilians protested Portugal's efforts to capture Gran Canaria. Because they claim that even though they had not yet been occupied, the right over all islands belonged to them (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 59).

In this period, the Portuguese began exploring the Northwest African coasts. In 1426, Gonçalo Velho set sail for Terra Alta, located close to Cape Bojador. Other Portuguese ships were searching the same area. It is possible that the shores opposite Gran Canaria were known both by Portuguese and Spanish residents. It is not clear which expeditions were made by Portugal in the years between the capture of Ceuta in 1415 and the takeover of the Cape Bojador in 1434, due to insufficient information. The general problem Portugal struggled with before the explorations on the African coast were its disputes with Castile about the Canaries and Morocco (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 59-60). Having made another unsuccessful voyage to the Canaries in 1434, the Portuguese asked the Papacy to recognize their claims on these islands in 1436. However, the Papacy said, Portugal would only recognize its sovereignty for the islands that were not currently under the sovereignty of a Christian prince (Newitt, 2005, p. 21).

By 1433, the country had policy against Granada and Morocco on its agenda. Joao I convened a council at Santarem. One of the counts suggested an alliance with Castile to take over Granada. In Castile, the civil war was under way, and now was a good time to act. A marriage could have been established with them. Thus, Portugal would control both the Canary Islands and the Kingdom of Castile. There was no need to attack Morocco because it would have no benefit. Another count shared the idea that an attack on Morocco would not help. As the fleet was prepared for Morocco, the farmers in the field, the workers at their jobs, the merchants and the ships would leave their jobs, which would have sparked a public outcry against the King. But he said he was positive about Granada and that there could be action. Another count argued that Castile should be assisted in the purchase of Granada without waiting for any profit. Thus, the world would have regarded Portugal join the “service of God” in this operation not for the sake of material gain. According to the general situation that arose after the disputes, the counts supported Granada’s conquest, Joao I and Prince Henrique supported both the Granada and Moroccan operations. After this council, it is striking that Prince Henrique is the biggest supporter of Portugal’s expansionist policy (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 62-64).

But with the death of Joao I on August 14, 1433, the situation in the country changed. Helping Castile and launching attacks on Morocco for the conquest of Granada was postponed. The new King, Duarte, and his brother Prince Henrique, the chief supporter of expansionist politics, turned their faces to sea voyages along the coast and the Canary Islands. On March 25, 1430, the Count of Niebla, having right in the islands, sold his rights to Guillen de las Casas, the son of Alfonso de las Casas. This brought to a close the double-headed empire that had been continuing for many years on the islands. Guillen occupied the islands, carried prisoners. Henrique

intervened and ordered the prisoners to be rescued and brought to Portugal. He then took over the island of Lanzarote. Castile continued to claim rights over all islands. After the death of Joao I, Henrique sent a request to King Juan II of Castile to occupy the islands. But the King refused. Henrique, who got a refusal, applied to the pope. The pope, unaware of Castile's claims over the islands, responded positively to Henrique's request (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 64).

The Castilians strongly opposed this, receiving a document from the pope, called as 'Dudum Cum Ad Nos', on July 31, 1436, as a counter move. It asked King Duarte of Portugal to obey the decree dated 1434 that no Christian leader had sovereignty over the islands. In addition, upon receiving the order of the Romani Pontificis on November 6, 1436, the Castilians converted the advantage in their favor. The documents, dated 1434 and 1436, were the first documents in which Papacy intervened in the Portuguese-Castilian rivalry (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 64-65).

On September 26, 1433, King Duarte entrusted Henrique with broad rights. Madeira, Porto Santo and Deserta were transferred to Henrique along with all rights, income and jurisdiction except death and limb-cutting. The Order of Christ, of which he was the leader, took over all spiritual affairs of the islands in question (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 65-66).

Portugal's efforts in the Canaries subsequently failed. Although this failure was partly due to the resistance of the Guanche people, the real reason was the Castilians. Henrique kept up with his struggle over Castilians on the islands until his death in 1460 because the islands had strategic importance on the Upper Guinea seaway. However, long ocean voyages became possible with the building of ships and maritime developments. The Portuguese settlements in Madeira and the Azores were strong, and the Canary Islands were regarded as strategically less significant. With the

Treaty of Alcaçovas in 1479, the Portuguese agreed to establish Castilian sovereignty over all Canary Islands. However, the Portuguese interest in the islands continued for a while. After totally subduing the Guanche resistance on the islands in the 1490s, the Castilians began to require manpower for settlements. In those years, Madeira had already become crowded, and the Azores were being filled up rapidly. Brazil had not been discovered yet. This is why the Portuguese migrants headed to the Canary Islands. Before long, there were many Portuguese immigrants on the islands. At Tenerife, Portuguese people got so crowded that they became the majority after a while and they influenced the establishment of the sugar industry. Portuguese migration to the Canaries is the first example of offshore migration that occurred outside the possession of the Portuguese state (Disney, 2009, p. 101).

3.3. The Azores

The the Azores are made up of nine volcanic islands. The closest to Europe is Santa Maria, roughly at the latitude of southern Portugal, 800 kilometers northwest of Madeira. The islands are in three clusters. At the farthest east are Santa Maria and São Miguel, with its central group comprising of Terceira, Graciosa, Sao Jorge, Pico and Faial, and in the northwest about 250 km , are Flores and Corvo islands. The land area of all archipelago is 2333 square kilometers, three times the Madeira islands. There is some vague cartographic evidence showing that the Azores were known in the middle of the fourteenth century, but these are far from certain. The Portuguese reportedly discovered the seven islands closest to Europe in 1427 by the captains at the service of Prince Henrique. However, the islands of Corvo and Flores were not found nearly until about a quarter century later (Disney, 2009, p. 92).

The discovery of the Azores raises the question of how 15th-century sailors were able to reach a region hundreds of miles from land. During those dates, ships

were usually cruising along the coasts, anchoring at nights where the water was not well known. The Canary Islands are closer to the coast, so it's easy to explore. Because the Madeira Islands are 400 miles from the mainland, it takes a long way to get there. According to Valentim Fernandes, Castilians used to take a break in the Madeiras on their way back from the Canaries. The seasonal winds were the most important factor in going and returning to the islands. For the exploration of the Azores, sailors must have sailed and returned at least 745 miles from the Portuguese coast. The strong winds from the west and north made it difficult to make direct expeditions from Portugal to the west. But it was easier to go back. It was becoming possible to sail to the Azores from time to time as the wind changed and started to blow from the east (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 60-61).

The map dated 1439, drawn by Valsequa, correctly sorts the Azores, which had been discovered by that date. On the map, it contains a note stating that it was found by Diego de Silves, the guide of the Portuguese King. Since maps can be changed over time and annotations can be added afterwards, the Valsequa map is not a definite source of discovery for the Azores. Many different dates have been proposed. The islands of Corvo and Flores were not discovered until 1452. There is a note in Martin Behaim's sphere of 1492 that the islands were explored by two ships in 1431 and by 16 ships in 1432. Diogo Gomes mentions that Henrique had caused to make two expeditions to the islands, but no date is given. Accordingly, the captain made a 300- sea leagues voyage to the west of the Cape Finisterre to discover the islands of Santa Maria, Sao Miguel, Terceira, Fayal and Pico. The captain is not identified. The second expedition was conducted under the command of Gonçalo Velho to transport pets to the islands. The the Azores were never mentioned when Duarte handed over the Madeira Islands to Henrique on September 26, 1433. There are no dates of

discovery on any official document. For this reason, any date from 1427 to 1431 can be accepted. On September 2, 1439, Henrique's brother, Pedro, acting as the regent of the infant King Afonso V, granted Henrique the right to colonize seven of the Azores (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 61-62).

In 1439, when the Azores were given to Henrique and Order of Christ, Pedro and the duke of Braganza received some grants over the archipelago. Pedro struggled a lot to promote Sao Miguel's settlement, while Henrique turned his islands into captainships. They didn't restrict settlements to people of Portuguese origin only. Anyone who accepted the terms of the dynasty could leave. Henrique gave two of his captainships to the Flanders. While settlements in the islands had previously been slow, economic developments progressed successfully after the death of Henrique in 1460. The the Azores initially produced vegetable dyes, wood and fish. By the end of the century, there was also the production of wheat and cattle. They could not develop a slave-based plantation economy like Madeira because the islands' climate was no longer suitable for large-scale sugar or wine production (Newitt, 2005, p. 40).

Pedro, desiring to revitalize the economy of the Azores, received an exemption from his nephew, Afonso V, from importation tax on the islands from Portugal on April 20, 1447. Settlers were also allowed to return home after a six-year exile. There were few attempts towards the people on the islands in the 1430s. Tax exemptions were granted to promote colonization of the islands. There were no settlements in most of the islands yet (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 90).

The origin of the Azores settlers was diverse. Most of the early arrivals came from Algarve in southern Portugal. The others were from regions like Lisbon, Minho and Madeira. There were also a large number of non-Portuguese Dutch, Castilians, Genoese, French and German settlers. In the early years, Flemish settlers were

particularly present in Terceira, Sao Jorge and Faial. Prince Henrique appointed Jacome de Bruges, a Flemish, as captain of Terceira in 1450. Another external factor was the African slaves brought for manual labor. But Africans never had been much in number, and they often resided on wealthier islands. The challenges the Azores settlers face are similar to those encountered in Madeira. Both archipelagos were deserted, so there was no manpower. In both cases, settlers had to cope with frequent tree canopies and steep land. But the Azores were different from the Madeira. Since the Azores were on the way of the western winds, they were windy and moist. They were further from the Madeira than the Continental Europe. The seas around the Azores were unpredictable and dangerous, so even the communication between the islands was difficult. Geographically, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions were frequent. Despite these difficulties, the Azores settlers managed to develop their own economy in the fifteenth century. First, they exported orchids, which were naturally found on the islands and were used to obtain red paint. Soon they began planting the ancient world crops. The moist climate and fertile lands of the Azores had good agricultural potential, especially in flat and low areas (Disney, 2009, p. 93).

The main source of the Azores' agriculture was wheat. It was raised on all islands. Soon it was produced for both export and local consumption. With a largely flat terrain, Terceira and Sao Miguel were the largest and most successful manufacturers. They made most of the grain exports. On the contrary, the Santa Maria's soil structure and the steep, stony slopes of Pico and Corvo were not suitable for growing wheat. And Sao Jorge, large but mountainous, could not produce enough grain to feed its own population. At the beginning, wheat was planted every year in the Azores and the productivity was very high. The Azores' wheat was famous. During the 1470s, it was regularly exported to Portuguese cities, Madeira, the Canary

Islands, Morocco and Portuguese settlements in West Africa. Vineyards and orchards were generated on the slopes of Pico, but they were used for domestic consumption. The people of Corvo and Sao Jorge were usually raising cattle. Meanwhile, sugarcane fields were planted in Santa Maria and Sao Miguel. However, sugar could not become the main product on the Azores because the local climate was not suitable. Extracted from the leaves of the ancient *Tinctoria*, an ancient world shrub called indigo, blue paint was brought to the Azores from the other countries before the mid-fifteenth century. It was then widely used in the textile industries of England, Flanders, Italy and Spain. Like wheat, indigo was produced at several islands. It was particularly common in Sao Miguel. With the participation of the Azores in international trade, a small but rich group of commercial elites emerged, especially on the islands of Terceira, Sao Miguel and Faial. These elites included the Portuguese, as well as the Flemish, the Spanish and the Genoese. One of the most successful is the Genoese merchant Lucas di Cassana. He started his business life at Seville. In the 1480s, he moved to the Azores where he founded a company and managed with his brother Francisco. When he died, he was one of the richest businessmen in the Azores (Disney, 2009, pp. 94-95).

Although they hadn't import slaves and hadn't participated much in the West African trade, the inhabitants of the Azores played a role in the 15th century expansion. Most of the practical knowledge of Atlantic seafaring had been learnt from the Azores' fishermen. They were the ones who discovered the wind systems of the Atlantic, saw the shores of Greenland and Newfoundland, and requested dynasties to explore the islands in the western ocean. There are records related to them which mention traveling in the Atlantic in the 1450s. There were six island donations made to the explorers between 1462 and 1475. The famous the Azores family, Corte Reals,

played a significant role in the discovery. Joao Vaz Corte Real, a household member of Fernando in the 1470s, was appointed as the captain of Terceira and made one or two expeditions (Newitt, 2005, p. 45).



4. THE PORTUGUESE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

4.1. The Discovery of Guinea and the First Slaves

Beyond Bojador, explorations were disrupted by the Tangiers defeat in 1437. The following year, King Duarte died and there were debates about who would be King instead. Prince Pedro, the second son of Joao I, came to power and took over. When the internal turmoil ended, the discoveries resumed. According to Zurara, Prince Henrique's reason for sending his ships to Guinea is as follows: First, to learn about the lands beyond Cape Bojador. He did it "to serve God and the King." The second is to find the goods and products that could be useful to the public and to bring them to Portugal, and the third was to discover how far the Moors have reached and to learn more about their powers. The fourth was to find Christians who can be allies against those who are hostile to Catholic faith. The fifth was to spread the Sacred Faith and to save their souls. Zurara explains the origins of all these causes with astrology. Henrique's ascending was Aries, the home of Mars. Mars was in Aquarius, the home of Sagittarius. These astrological signs amounted to such things as Henrique would explore mysterious things, make bold conquests, and work faithfully in the service of the King (Zurara, 2010, pp. 27-30). Duarte Pacheco Pereira describes Henrique's purpose as "discovering Ethiopia and serving God." According to Joao de Barros, the purpose is similar, "Spiritual responsibilities to fight against the infidels and his responsibilities as he was the leader of Order of Christ" (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 74-76).

The Regent Pedro, in fact, is said to be the driving force behind the expansion of the 1440s. Successful captains were rewarded with money by both Pedro and Henrique. It had even been claimed that Pedro should be regarded instead of Henrique as the pioneer of discovery. The captains sailing to Guinea during Pedro's regency

began seriously mapping the winds, currents, river basins and the places to anchor. In addition, more areas on the African coast were discovered and exploited commercially during this period (Newitt, 2005, p. 25).

An expedition was organized with two caravels in 1440. This is the first time the type of caravel ship had been mentioned here. This time it didn't work out. In 1441, a young man named Antao Gonçalves was appointed as the captain of a small navio type ship and was sent to the region. He was ordered to bring only oil and seal skin. However, he wanted to get into the prince's favor by doing more (Diffie & Winus, 1977, p. 77). He raided a village on the coast and captured some important Arabs. He then exchanged them for ransom of ten black slaves and a little bit of gold dust (Newitt, 2005, p. 23). He caught two natives in Rio d'Ouro. These were the first prisoners to be brought to Portugal from beyond Bojador. Nuno Tristao, a gentleman of Prince Henrique's households in Rio d'Ouro, joined Antao Gonçalves. Tristao was ordered to go as far as possible from Porto da Gale. Tristao and Gonçalves together found a group of natives, attacked them, killed four, and captured the rest. One of the prisoners was a nobleman named Adahu. Gonçalves returned to Portugal. Tristao headed south as ordered. In this way, he reached the Cape Blanco in 1441, which was the southernmost point attainable by discoveries until that date (Diffie & Winus, 1977, p. 77). When he returned to Portugal, Gonçalves was given the directorship of Tomar and an Order of Christ knight suit as the prize. Such overseas military services were also rewarded in Portugal with rank, office and status (Newitt, 2005, p. 23).

In fact, these first prisoners were not from Sub-Saharan Africa, but rather from one branch of the Moor in the desert regions. The return of the ships to Portugal and the coming of the slaves brought great happiness. It was the first gain of heavy spending. Although the number of works was small, the hope was great. In the future,

they would be able to have many captives like these and “to give their souls endless freedom.” The effect of conquering the first African slaves was even greater than the influence of crossing over Cape Bojador. Henrique received the right to make an expedition to Guinea from his brother Pedro. In October 1443, the pope enacted a bull confirming his rights. It is worth noting that the Portuguese use the term Guinea at this point, which extends beyond Cape Catarina and the islands of Sao Tome and Annobom from the Cape and Arguim Bay to the south. Gonçalves was sent back to Africa. He was accompanied by the nobleman Adahu, who had been taken prisoner before, in order to demand ransom. Adahu escaped and returned to his people. The other two prisoners were replaced by ten black men and women from various tribes. They obtained even a small amount of gold. They also brought three ostrich eggs to Prince Henrique on their return. When the news spread in the country, people became interested in participating in these expeditions for reasons such as asserting themselves, profiting, and serving the upper class (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 78-79).

The development of the slave trade helped to meet the cost of the expeditions to and from the western coast of Africa after 1442. The slaves were first seized in raids on Touareg camps in the coastal areas of the Sahara, and later on in black villages in the Senegal region. These raids were often carried out against unarmed family groups or vulnerable villages. The Portuguese had previously attacked the Guanches in the Canary Islands, but they were accused by the Papacy for enslaving the people who had already converted to Christianity. Within a few years of meeting the black indigenous peoples of Senegal, Gambia and Upper Guinea, the Portuguese realized that slaves could be more easily achieved by negotiating with local leaders and merchants. There were Africans who were always ready to sell to European

merchants, among their own peers, the prisoners of wars and the victims of witchcraft (Boxer, 1969, pp. 24-25).

4.2. Slave Raids (1443-1447)

Entry into the slave trade was one of Portugal's most important activities in the 1440s. Henrique also had three papal bulls that entrusted him with strict authority on all the expeditions made down the West African coast. The first of these bulls, announced by the Pope in December 1442, granted a great assurance to the Order of Christ knights, monks and all other Christians who entered the fight against Muslims. The papacy regarded the Portuguese activities conducted on the Moroccan and Guinean coasts under the command of Henrique as a continuation of Christianity's struggle with Islam. The second, more important bull was announced by the Portuguese Crown in October 1443. Accordingly, all expeditions for commercial or military purposes to be made to the south of Cape Bojador were offered to the prince's personal monopoly. This charitable donation was made to Henrique's nephew, King Afonso V (r. 1438-1481). Ultimately, the three key documents made Portuguese maritime expansion a state enterprise, financed and organized by the royalty (Love, 2006, p. 16).

In the early 1440s, Henrique's men began slave raids on African lands and were exchanging for gold dust. The swaps were first made in Rio d'Ouro on the western coast and then on Arguim along the Mauritania. From those dates, gold and slaves became the primary appeal in West Africa for Portuguese (Disney, 2009, p. 45). During the 1440s, most of the voyages were made by ship owners and pirates based in Algarve. But there was a great demand for slaves in Madeira. One of the Madeira captains, Joao Goncalves Zarco, was one of the leading slavers of the 1440s. Every raid was being carried out further south. Thanks to successive coastal raids, the

Portuguese had increased their knowledge of the West African coasts. As successful raids were carried out on the coast, the indigenous peoples moved to the coastal villages inland and started to become more careful (Newitt, 2005, p. 24).

After 1442, the appeal of gold prevailed in the Portuguese progress in West Africa. Gold was being extracted from the Bambuk, usually on the Upper Senegal river side, from the lobby on the Upper Niger side, in Mali, and on the Upper Volta side. It was then transported in powder from the Kingdoms of Mali and Ghana to Timbuktu. Here, it was taken by Arab and Moorish merchants and then taken by camel caravans across the Sahara to Muslim countries in North Africa. Among the ports of these countries, Jewish, Genoese and Venetian merchants traded (Boxer, 1969, p. 28).

In 1443, Nuno Tristao set sail on the islands of the Gulf of Arguim, far from Cape Blanco. The natives arrived on one of the islands, carrying twenty-five wooden boats. The rowers would sit with their legs apart, and they would use their legs like shovels. Surprised sailors first likened them to birds. They came close, realizing they were natives, and captured fourteen (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 79). The discovery of Arguim is an important advance. Although it was a barren and sandy island of no commercial value, it had a safe anchorage and was easy to defend. Arguim was also close to rich fishing areas, which provided a suitable base for enslavement activities. Its commercial significance was resulting from its proximity to Wadan, a town about 350 kilometers away, in the inner part of Mauritania. It was the intersection of desert caravans passing through Wadan, West Africa and the Maghreb. Through this route, Arab and Sanhaja traders would bring horses, dresses and other goods to the south. They were exchanging the goods here with African slaves and with gold dust, which had been extracted from the mid- and upper-levels of the Volta River, known as

Ghana now. Sometimes they would visit the shores near Arguim to get salt. They contacted the Portuguese people in this region and the two sides started to establish commercial relations. The Arabs and Sanhajas were willing to buy horses from the Portuguese because it was cheaper than the caravans. They were also interested in cotton fabrics and wheat. They paid for it with gold (Disney, 2009, pp. 45-46).

For years, the Portuguese had led slave raids by using their own ships as floating bases and by throwing anchor at suitable shores. It was always popular to use ships as bases, but the real bases were the commercial centers called “feitoria”. The first feitoria was established in Arguim in 1445 with the aim of establishing a connection between Western Sudan and the trans-Saharan trade. Ten years later, a fortress was built in this region where the Portuguese sold horses, dresses, brass and corn and received gold dust, slaves and ivory in return. The Arguim fortress is the first example of the safe fortress chain the Portuguese built on the African and Asian shores in the following years. The expeditions started to result in profit as gold, slave and ivory began to reach Portugal. The merchants and ship owners in Lisbon and Porto who shown little interest in expeditions at first were now eager to travel to West Africa (Boxer, 1969, p. 25).

Trade expanded in 1448 when the prince ordered the construction of a castle and a depot on the newly discovered Arguim Island (now Mauritania). In this coastal area, the Portuguese merchants were getting slave and gold dust from Arab merchants by giving them food resources like corn. Arguim is the first European trading center to be established overseas. It was also the first of these trading locations called feitoria. These were established along the coast of sub-Saharan Africa and the most famous of them is Sao Jorge da Mina (1482), which is situated in Ghana today. In the early 16th century, as many as 150,000 black slaves were brought to Lisbon. These were

purchased from Muslim merchants and local chiefs in exchange for wheat, textiles, metal products, horses, leather and glass beads. Local chiefs were seizing and selling their own indigenous people from the raids on inland villages (Love, 2006, pp. 15-16).

In addition to the discoveries, which marked the beginning of early commercial activities, the Portuguese individuals began single attacks on Muslim villages on the Moroccan coasts and rapid raids on the Sahara's hinterlands. It is not difficult to understand the reasons for this strategy change. The Portuguese merchants who financed Henrique's expeditions believed it would be better to establish normal business relations with people on the Atlantic coast of Africa than to attack them. Indeed, slaves and other commodities were negotiated with Muslim and black African merchants more easily and cheaper than to resort to arms. In addition, it was not as difficult to fight the people on the coast of Morocco, with its sparsely populated deserts, as it was to fight the crowded indigenous people of Guinea. These natives were capable of easily repulsing the small forces that the Portuguese brought ashore. Trade was also regarded as a means to increase the spread of Portugal in Muslim territory, because it was regarded as the official duty as Order of Christ's Great Master to Christianize native peoples and fight against Islam. In 1448, the Prince issued an instruction to ban military operations anywhere in Guinea. The armed forces would be used for personal defense only. This peaceful trade policy was republished in 1455 with the addition of Portuguese sailors to purchase slaves from Arab and domestic merchants rather than using force. Later, trade networks were discovered and linked with West Africa, connecting caravan trade along the Sahara. In 1457, enough precious metals were brought from Africa to Lisbon to mint Portugal's first gold coin. These new coins called "Cruzado" are like the evidence of a mixed relationship

between religious and secular motivations that affect early expeditions (Love, 2006, pp. 17-18).

Realizing Arguim's commercial potential, Henrique had established a feitoria on the island of Arguim. Prior to the establishment of this feitoria, coastal raids and the method of obtaining slaves were widespread. Over time, slave raids in and around Arguim had started to yield insufficient results, making prisoners easily available through peaceful trade from the conquest. This is why there was a significant shift from the slave domination method to the slave trade in the 1440s. From the mid-fifteenth to the end, most of the trade at Arguim was profitable. There were times when a single horse was sold to twenty-five or thirty slaves. Altogether, about a thousand slaves passed through the Arguim feitoria every year. This is seen to be a remarkable increase compared to the year when coastal raids relocated around only 250 slaves on average. Most of the fifteenth-century slaves became workers or housemaids in places like Lisbon, Algarve, Madeira. Only a few slaves were sold to foreign clients in the Mediterranean. Overall, the size of the slave trade remained rather modest. There was no indication that in the years ahead, enslavement would turn into a huge industry (Disney, 2009, p. 46).

Due to Henrique's exclusive rights, only those who had been sent or licensed by Henrique could go to the area. There were no detailed coastal maps because they had never been in any Christian area before. Inland areas were better known than the coast. It's not clear how this happened, because they may have seen some maps of the interior in those years. As more and more people reached the newly discovered shores, Henrique requested that maps of the area be made. However, none of the maps ordered by Henrique have survived to this day (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 79-80).

Henrique took his monopoly rights on trade and exploration in West Africa first. A few days later, Pedro began donating land to Sagres and Sao Vicente in Algarve, Portugal. Henrique began to spend its days in Algarve. He had the right to build town here. He built a villa here in 1443 or later. As the slaves were brought to the port of Lagos in Algarve, the people surrounding this port were the first to request a license from Henrique. According to Zurara, Lanzarote was the tax collector for Lagos, and was the first person to request a license from Henrique. Lanzarote sailed with his friends on six caravels in 1444. They went beyond Cape Blanco to the island of Heron (Ilha das Garpas). They rested and ate here. They were trying to catch slaves. They killed a lot of natives and took 165 prisoners. They continued to take prisoners at Cape Blanco, and the total number reached 235. Their ships returned to the port of Lagos full of prisoners and landed on August 8, 1444. The next day, Lanzarote visited Henrique to present one fifth of the prisoners. According to Zurara, some of the prisoners were white, some were mixed, some were black and their faces were ugly. Their situation was sad, their voices sorrowful. The crowd had gathered to see them. There on a large horse, Prince Henrique kept 46 of the prisoners for himself. Some of the rest were sold as slaves. The families were separated and sent to different places. Some prisoners converted to Christianity. Some were released and married to the Portuguese. Some were taken by the ladies of good families and treated kindly. They were better off than the land of the “damned souls” they once lived in. They used to live “like animals” without knowing bread or wine. Now, they were “dressed, nourished, loved, and in the way of Faith” (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 80-82).

In another expedition in 1444, Henrique sent Gonçalo de Sintra with a caravel. The instructions were to set sail directly to Guinea. However, he went to Cape Blanco and the Naar Island beyond it. He and his seven men were killed by the natives while

attempting to capture a prisoner here. Henrique sent Antao Gonçalves, Gomes Pires and Diogo Afonso in the same year, but none of them succeeded. Nuno Tristao, who sailed in 1444, first went to Blanco Cape, the island of Heron, and to the south of Arguim. But since the natives had fled to other areas, Tristao reported that he could not find prisoners there, and that he wanted to move on until the natives reach their land. The point reached by Tristao is assumed to be around the Senegal River. He reached the southernmost point that had been travelled up to that date and actually reached the land of the natives. He had to return due to the bad weather. Dinis Dias then reached a high Cape they named Cape Verde and reached Ilha, now a Goree island, a small island which they named Palma (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 82-83).

In 1445, Gonçalo Pacheco from Lisbon asked Henrique for a license to send three caravels to the region. The three ships that sailed Arguim and Tider caught as many as sixty-seventy natives there. Then, they decided to go to the land of the natives whom Dinis Dias had captured last year. About 80 sea leagues ahead, they came to a place of green fields and cattle. However, they were unable to land because they found many enemies there. On their way back, they took another prisoner on the islands of Arguim and Tider. However, they lost a large number of men in the war with the natives “eating the dead Christians who remained on the beach” (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 83).

One of the captains of Madeira, Joao Gonçalves Zarco, sent his nephew Alvaro Fernandes to the area in 1445 with a caravel. He was instructed to go as far as possible on the land of the natives and bring information without any profit. Fernandes and his men set sail for the Senegal River. Besides Cape Verde, they saw six boats and the natives inside. They attacked, but it was very difficult to catch them because they could swim and dive like “cormorants.” They only caught two of them. Since their

expectations were not met, they continued their voyage and found scrawny palm trees, so they came to a place called the pole Cape. Here again they attempted to capture the native, but failed. They then returned to Lisbon via Madeira. This expedition is the one reached at the furthest point in 1445 (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 83-84).

In August 1445, twenty-six ships sailed simultaneously from Lagos, Lisbon and Madeira. Lanzarote was in charge of these ships, which didn't act as a single fleet. Henrique's clerk was on one of the ships to keep records. News of this expedition spread throughout Portugal, and people were eager to take part in them. Tristao Vaz Teixeira, the captain of Madeira, was among the fleet's attendees. Joao Gonçaves Zarco from Madeira also sent two caravels. Fourteen of the ships were from Lagos. They set out on August 10 with the goal of capturing the Cape Blanco. They then gathered on the island of Heron. More than 20 natives were killed and a hundred were seized in the attack on the islands and the nearby mainland. Lanzarote deemed the mission complete and set the crew free, but he said he was not satisfied. Gomes Pires of Lisbon, commanding a caravan of the King, wanted to go further, because he knew Henrique had a great desire to gather information about the land of the natives. Rodrigo de Travassos, Lourenfo Dias and Vicente Dias were all three members of the team. Together, they crossed a turning point that was marked by two palm trees, considered by Dinis Dias to be the land of the natives. However, they were unable to succeed. They were surprised to discover that the Senegal River sweetened the ocean water miles away. It was also surprising to see elephants "big enough to feed 2500 people" that their tusks were cutted off despite of their ten dobras value in the Mediterranean. They were dragged to Cape Verde by the northern wind. They saw a caravel sent by Joao Gonçaves Zarco coming before them. They couldn't land because he had a lot of toxic arrows and they were hostile. They tried to return to

Senegal, but failed. Lourenfo Dias returned to Lagos. Gomes Pires came back over Rio d'Ouro. He bought a black man here. He established a friendly relationship with the merchant and promised to take more slaves and gold from him in the future. Lanzarote's ships spent most of their time looking for slaves. Lanzarote and his men, who said they would not leave without captivity, captured 57 natives in the islands of Arguim Gulf, killed some of them, and then others escaped (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 84-85).

Rodrigo Eanes and Dinis Dias set sail for Cape Verde. They saw here that the natives were not caught easily, that they were cautious and strong in wars, and that they poisoned their arrows with dangerous grass. They killed a few people and returned straight to Lisbon through the Arguim Islands before being captured. They were greeted with gratitude by the Prince. Two of the ships returning home encountered a third ship. They decided to raid the Canaries for slaves. Two people from Canary Islands who had been to Portugal and were well treated by Henrique, raided Palma with the help of the ruler of Gomera. They chased the natives up the mountain tops, taking seventeen. Some Portuguese people fell off the cliff. Since the number of the prisoners was few, they, in a treacherous manner, took twenty-one of their Gomerian associates to Portugal as prisoners. Henrique got angry and dressed the Canaries in a noble fashion and sent them back home (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 85-86).

Alvaro Gornelas raided the Canary Islands in 1445 or 1446. Two prisoners were caught at the first of these raids. These were later sold in Madeira to buy supplies. He returned to Lisbon due to bad weather. His cousin Joao, who owned the caravel, retook the ship and together, carried out a second raid on the Canaries. With the help of Gomerian natives, they captured twenty natives in Palma and killed ten of

them. Alvaro stayed at Gomera. After a difficult voyage with limited supplies, Joao arrived at Tavira in Algarve (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 86).

In 1445 or 1446, Nuno Tristao landed with twenty-two men, sixty sea leagues from Cape Verde. Twenty of them, including Tristao, were killed with poisoned arrows. Five young crewmen, not even sailors, managed to reach Lagos in two months. In 1446, Alvaro Fernandes was re-sent by Joao Gonçalves Zarco. The instruction was to go as far as possible and find something for Henrique. Fernandes reached and continued to reach the Cape of Masts. He had some meetings with the natives. He was wounded in a clash with a poisoned arrow and returned from the death. This region is probably beyond Senegal, but behind Geba. The discoveries had reached their farthest point. Upon his return, the regent Prince Pedro and Prince Henrique awarded him with 100 coins (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 86-87).

A fleet consisting of nine caravels setting sail in 1446 first stopped in Madeira to supply. They then proceeded and failed in an attempt to capture new prisoners in Palma. Three of the caravels returned to Portugal. The rest of the caravels reached sixty sea leagues beyond Cape Verde. There were fields of many crops such as wood cotton and rice in the area. They got into a fight with the natives who threw poisoned arrows here. The natives killed five men of the crew, three of whom were foreigners. In a little effort on their way home, they seized forty-eight Moorish. In 1446, Gomes Pires set sail with two caravels, one by Henrique and the other by himself. In one of the caravels, Henrique sent his clerk Joao Gorizo to write down the expenses. Like all the ships the Prince sent, they first stopped by Madeira. Then, they went to Rio d'Ouro. They spent 20 days trying to trade with the local merchants and buy slaves, but they got nothing. Then they made two raids and caught eight Moors at the first and twenty-one men, women and children at the first raid. They returned to their caravels

and continued on. Six sea leagues away, they took thirty-one prisoners, usually elderly men, women and children. And when they had 79 people in all, since the ships were overloaded, they threw the salt they had brought with them to trade with the natives and to salt the skin of the seals into the sea. Later, they returned to Lagos (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 87-88).

These actions occurred between 1445 and 1446, and Portuguese ships crossed the southern coast of the Sahara and crossed over into the land of the natives. In these lands, unlike the nomads and fishermen on the shores of the Sahara, they found a dense population of agriculture. There were also powerful kingdoms in this land and the people armed well. They were capable of resisting the slave raids by a group of men who had left the caravel. So the practice of suppressing slavery began to be abandoned. It was understood that it would be more efficient to seize slaves through trading rather than force (Newitt, 2005, p. 24).

In these years, all of the activities carried out from Algarve were not only related to the slave trade on the African coast. In 1446, Tavira, bordering Castile, filed a complaint at the palace in Lisbon. This meant that some of the ships which started out with the excuse that they were going over the Moors instead went from river to river and port to port on the banks of Algarve and Castile and seized the cargo from Brittany and Galicia sailed for Castile. For this reason, other foreign ships were afraid to enter Algarve ports (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 88).

The Portuguese people had constantly and systematically worked to steer the gold trade to the coast. Their ambassadors had influence up to Timbuktu. The Portuguese failed to establish any feitoria in the interior. They were getting the gold from native brokers because they couldn't mine them. The Portuguese caravels

prevailed over the Moorish camel caravels for about 100 years, beginning in 1450 (Boxer, 1969, p. 29).

Between 1450 and 1500, the Portuguese captured around 150.000 black slaves. These were usually the result of inter-tribal conflicts. The growth of the slave trade worsened the current environment of violence and mistrust. The most profitable trade with the Portuguese was with the African tribal chiefs and leaders, many of whom were eager partners in the slave trade. In Upper Guinea, a region between the Senegal River and the Cape of Palmas, the Portuguese merchants and deported criminals called “degredados” entered the interior through rivers. Many of them had settled in natives’ villages. They and their hybrid grandchildren mediated the trade in gold, ivory and slaves between the natives and the whites. Some of them had become totally native, taking off their clothes, getting tattoos on their bodies, speaking local languages, even attending fetishist rituals and celebrations. They are called “tangos-maos” or “lançados” (Boxer, 1969, p. 31).

The Portuguese Kings were not against this racial meddling, but they were against the lançados’ evasion of the Kingdom’s taxes on overseas trade. But in West Africa, the judging power of the Portuguese Kingdom only covered the walls of the feitoras and the fortresses of Mina and Axim. It did not have a judicial system that included the outlying regions. Therefore, even if they did illegal work, Lançados could not be punished. Thanks to Lançados, Portuguese remained the lingua-franca of the coastal areas of the Upper Guinea region for centuries. The relations between the people in this part of West Africa and the Portuguese were generally friendly and armed conflicts were rare. Because African chiefs were active in the slave trade, and the Lançados were the intermediaries (Boxer, 1969, pp. 31-32).

On February 3, 1446, Henrique received another privilege from the King. Accordingly, it was forbidden to go into war beyond Bojador, to move goods without a license obtained from Henrique, or to bring goods or slaves from these lands without paying taxes to Henrique. The purpose of this monopoly is to compensate Henrique for its considerable expenses. The same bans were applied to the Canary Islands. Henrique had the power to confiscate the vessels and cargo of intruders (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 88).

When Gomes Pires was unable to establish commercial relations with the natives of Rio d'Ouro, Henrique decided to go on a voyage to Messa, in the Sus district of Morocco, in 1447. This is described by Valentin Fernandes as “a very large town, where the Moor, nomads and Genoese traded, where gold, wax, bovine leather, goat skin, varnish and indigo were brought up from above the river.” Duarte Pacheco Pereira defines the Sus region as an area “fertile, well-irrigated, containing barley, wheat, sugar and cattle, producing gold, silver, copper, lead, textile, and trading with Sudan”. The 1447 invasion under the command of Diogo Gil was for business purposes. In the same year, the second expedition was to Rio d'Ouro. Fat and seal skins were obtained. In 1447, another expedition was made to Guinea. News of the discoveries was spreading around the world. A nobleman named Vallarte came from the united crown of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. He stayed at Prince Pedro's palace for some time, and asked for a caravel to go to Africa. He was given a diplomatic task by Pedro to make a deal with the King of the region. They believed that the King was a Christian and that there were Christians in the area. Pedro agreed with the local King to take advantage of him as an ally in the battle against the Moors. Fernao d'Afonso of Order of Christ and two interpreters were also sent with Vallarte. They went beyond Cape Verde to an uncertain point. There, they tried to establish

contact with the Mandinga emperor Bor-Mali, whose country stretched from the Gambia River to the upper parts of Senegal and Niger in the north. They read King Afonso's letter to the local chiefs. But they were attacked, Vallarte was killed or captured. The Caravels returned to Portugal (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 89-90).

4.3. King Afonso V's Takeover of the Management

In 1449, Pedro was defeated and killed in the Battle of Alfarobeira by the Braganza group, which regained its dominance in the Portuguese monarchy. Henrique remained out of the conflict and did not intervene, fearing losing his titles, powers and commercial monopolies (Newitt, 2005, p. 25). After taking over the country, King Afonso V renewed Henrique's privileges on February 25, 1449. On March 10, the King re-approved the previous grant given to Henrique in 1439. In the same year, he also handed a monopoly on the region from Cape Cantin to Cape Bojador. In July 1450, he was appointed captain of the Ceuta for Henrique, the governor of Ceuta since 1416. Although the monopoly of the African coast was in Henrique, the King sent his own ships to the area. In 1452, Henrique sent Luis Fernandes and his brother Joao to Morocco and Guinea for business. In 1453, the King sent Cid de Souza and Nuno Antonio de Gois to trade beyond Cape Blanco. For Portugal, African trade and expansion to the south were important, but also political and economic relations with France, the England and Flanders were important. Foreign merchants also remained crucial for Portugal's commercial policies. In 1450 and 1451, British merchants received guarantees in Portuguese waters. The British founded a trade center in Faro. Luca Cassano from Genoa is located in Terceira in the Azores, and from there financed some expeditions to the Atlantic. In 1452, Afonso V granted the French the right to have a consul in Lisbon. In addition, the Germans and Venetians also obtained commercial privileges in Portugal (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 91-92).

Henrique was still interested in the Canaries. In 1446, Henrique received a privilege from Afonso V over the Canary Islands. According to this, the ships that would go there would pay taxes to him. In 1448, Henrique bought an island called Lanzarote from a French named Maciot. He sent two caravels with his servants, Alvaro Dornelas and Antao Gonçalves to the island. Henrique appointed Gonçalves as a captain and was himself named “the master of the island.” This title was not valid because the island was under Spanish sovereignty (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 92). As in the Canary Islands, the Castilians linked the conquests in Africa to the fact that they had been captured by the Visigoths, whom they considered ancestors of the region in the past (Hart, 2003, p. 13). Juan II, the King of Castile, protested Henrique’s invasion of the island by his man Juan Inigues de Atabe. Before 1451, Atabe had twice visited the Portuguese palace, where he vehemently challenged the claims of the Portuguese King. In 1451, two Castile caravels under the command of the Atabe were captured by the Henrique’s navy with twenty-five armed men. The remaining vessels sailing from Sevilla that year were seized by a Portuguese fleet of five caravels sent by Henrique to the island of Lanzarote. These five caravels travelled around all islands and found and looted all the ships that had arrived from Seville. Atabe, who headed back to Lisbon in 1452, staged another protest but had not achieved any success. Juan II complained that Canary merchants, who were dependent on Afonso V and Castile, had been robbed. The Spanish protests continued. In 1454, Juan II threatened to take action. The same year, the Castilians cast Antao Gonçalves out of Lanzarote. In April or May 1454, Juan II sent an embassy to Portugal to discuss the issue. However, Afonso V and Henrique asked Juan II to recognize that the islands belonged to Portugal and to withdraw his claims (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 93).

On June 7, 1454, Afonso V handed over the spiritual and judicial affairs of Guinea, Nubia and Ethiopia and informed that the decision would be sent to the pope for approval. On January 8, 1455, Pope Nicholas V acknowledged by a bull of Romanus Pontifex that Portugal owned the southern African coast of Bojador. This acceptance was based on the discoveries continued by Portugal (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 94). With this bull, the powers granted by Pope Nicholas V through a bull called Dum Diversas, to Afonso V, who granted the right to conquer and enslave the lands of the pagans on June 18, 1452 (Hart, 2003, p. 13). The privileges of Order of Christ were approved by the Pope in 1456. All Christians were prohibited from trading with Muslims in this region, and from wandering, doing business, and fishing without permission from the King of Portugal. Juan II's death in Castile in 1454 and Enrique IV's ascending the throne had provided Portugal with an advantage in African competition. Enrique IV remained even indifferent to his country's claims on the Canaries. In 1455, two Portuguese counts were granted Gran Canaria, Tenerife and Palma as donations. They sold their rights to Henrique's nephew, Fernando. Upon the order of Afonso V, one of the counts requested and received the approval of Pope Pius II for donation. Thus, the negligence of Enrique IV left Guinea to Portugal. Portugal's rights in Africa were further strengthened by Inter Caetera bull issued by Pope Calixtus III on 13 March 1456. This edict gave Order of Christ all his power, sovereignty and spiritual jurisdiction in the areas reserved for Portugal (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 94-95).

4.4. Expansion in Guinea

4.4.1. Cadamosto and Usodimare

Alvise da Cadamosto (1432-1488) is a Venetian nobleman and merchant who came to Portugal in 1454 and who took part in the discoveries. He had experience in

trading in the Mediterranean. He made a voyage to Flanders before coming to Portugal. On August 8, he left Venice with a Flanders galley for England. The adverse winds forced ships to stop at Cape St. Vincent in Algarve (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 96). At the time, Prince Henrique was also in this area. He spent most of his time in Raposera, near Lagos, southwest Portugal. He had hired some Venetians here to encourage the Venetians to invest in African cruises. One of them, Alvise da Cadamosto, explains the reason for this, as Henrique's knowledge that Venetians are more skilled in trade than any other nation (Newitt, 2005, p. 28). Cadamosto was curious about Henrique's activities and asked about the conditions to go to Guinea. He was offered two options. The first was to acquire a caravel, loading his property and paying a quarter of the proceeds to Henrique. The second was to pay half of the proceeds to Henrique. Cadamosto, who had accepted the terms, left his vessel and landed in Portugal. He boarded the caravel owned by Vicente Dias on March 22, 1455, and reached Madeira on March 28. In Madeira, there were eight hundred people, including several hundred horsemen. He inferred from the high quality of Madeira's products and the scale of its exports that rich people lived here. He visited the Canaries, islands of Gomera and Hierro. He saw Palma, Gran Canaria and Tenerife. He arrived at Wadan within 350 miles of the Cape of Blanco. Arabs were sending caravans here from African natives' countries. There were camels carrying rice and silver from the Moor's soil to Timbuktu. Cadamosto bought Malagueta peppers from nomadic merchants (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 96-98).

Cadamosto points out that Henrique had set up a trading centre on the island of Arguim. He says that no one, except those having licenses, could trade with Arabs here. Various goods were traded at Arguim. In particular, slave and gold were exchanged for wheat, which was found rarely. Caravels from Portugal came and went

to the center in Arguim every year. The natives who lived on the coast knew no Christians other than Portuguese. Arguim remained important in trading until the early 16th Century (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 98). In fact, the center in Arguim was open to participate in the Sahara gold trade. In the 1450s, however, those hopes were weakened and the most lucrative trade became slave trade. The slaves were taken from local government in the Senegal, Gambia and Rio Grande regions. Portuguese and Italian ships were going as far as they could in rivers. Successful business was dependent on establishing good communication with African local authorities. It was not possible to build forts, slave raids and conquests as in the past (Newitt, 2005, p. 29).

Many Italians like Cadamosto had started investing in West Africa expeditions. Henrique allowed merchants to sail with the license which was only obtained from him. Those who didn't follow the rules were punished mercilessly. In 1454, a Genoese who was trading with Guinea was caught in a Castilen caravel and was fined. A Castilian pirate named De Prado was burned alive for trafficking arms with the Moors (Newitt, 2005, p. 28).

The Arabs brought many Moorish horses to the natives' country and exchanged them for slaves. They usually gave them a horse and took fifteen slaves. They also traded the Moorish silk and silver from Granada and Tunisia for slaves and gold. The Portuguese receive about 1.000 slaves from Arguim each year, Cadamosto says. Before the terms of trading were regulated, Portuguese caravels would go ashore at nights, raiding, enslaving people and taking them home. After a while, the situation changed and trade dominated in peace. 1448 can be considered as the year of transition from the method of raid and plunder to the legitimate trade. It is said that Cadamosto talked about the salt trade for gold in the inner parts of Africa. He didn't

see it like Herodotus, but only heard. The merchants were making alternatives. The other side would disappear until they gave him what he wanted. This was in progress until a party accepted the swap and received the goods. In an environment where there is no mutual language and no one trusts each other, one can say that this is a useful method. The gold accumulated in the financial empire was divided into three. One of it was going to Cairo by caravels. The second and third parts had gone to Timbuktu and had been divided again. Some of those divided were going to the Tunisian and Mediterranean shores, while others were going to Oran, Fez, Sari and Messa. Cadamosto said the Greeks and other Christians bought the gold from the Moorish. Gold was the best that could be obtained from their lands (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 98-99).

Cadamosto was surprised by the appearance of the people at Senegal and beyond, the place which he called “Lower Ethiopia”. The people beyond the river are said to possess extremely black, tall and shapely bodies. Here the country is green, fertile and rich in trees. Whereas in the north, people are hybrid, thin and short. Their country is desert and poor. Like Zurara and others, Cadamosto thought the Senegal River was a branch of the Nile. He erroneously says it crossed all of Ethiopia, passed through Cairo and watered Egypt. In this green, rich land, the people of Jalof (Wolof) lived in poverty in straw huts. The King of the region carried had his own people committing robberies and sold slaves to Christians and Arabs in exchange for horses (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 99-100).

Cadamosto had set sail south beyond Senegal and had arrived on the land of a tribal chief named Budomel. Here, some Portuguese people informed him about the trade opportunity with Budomel. Cadamosto then landed, concluding that he was a person to be trusted. He gave him the horses that he had brought for trading. He was

invited to the King's house about 25 miles away. He was promised a hundred slaves for seven horses and other property, which cost him 300 ducats. Cadamosto, travelling inland with Budomel, found the King. There was not much of a rich-looking environment, but there was a glittering ceremony around the King where there were huts made of plants with the wives, slaves and people of the King. His people approached the King only naked, as if prostrating themselves, and threw earth over their backs and heads. They were caught and enslaved in any crime. The King gave him a black girl of twelve or thirteen. Cadamosto talked about Christianity with Budomel, a Muslim. Budomel found that both religions were good. Believing that Christians knew a lot, he asked Cadamosto that he had many wives and how to satisfy all. Cadamosto doesn't say about how he answered that question. There was a lack of goods and gold in the local markets and the poor look was dominating. People wondered if his whiteness was paint. They came to him and touched him. They spit and rubbed his skin to see if the paint would come out. They were surprised a lot to find out that he was really white. The Europeans' ability to navigate into the water seemed evil to natives due to the fact that they did not know maritime, compass, or map (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 100-101).

Cadamosto, who sailed south, saw two ships. One of the ships belonged to Antoniotto Usodimare, a Genoese trader (1416-1462), the other to one of Henrique's servants. The three ships moved together and arrived at Cape Verde the next day. They dropped anchor on three deserted islands, which did not have fresh water a little beyond Cape Verde. The next day, they always traveled to see the land, and saw many large and beautiful trees along the shore. Cadamosto says that although he had traveled to many parts of the Levant and the West, he had not seen a more beautiful country than it. Further down, there were people living without a ruler. Because they

were people like in neighboring countries who did not want their wives and children to be enslaved and sold by a King. They were able to escape and remain free from the men of the Kings in the surrounding area because they lived often in the woods and used poisoned arrows. They sailed south and came into a big river. It was a mere sixty miles away from Cape Verde. On every ship were black translators from Portugal who had been sold to the first Portuguese by Senegalese chiefs and knew Portuguese well. Cadamosto sent a translator to land. Shortly after the translator landed, he was killed by the natives. They proceeded southward on account of this ungracious reception. Up the river, “the more beautiful” (probably the Gambia River), they saw natives were surprised by ships full of white men, something that their ancestors had never seen. The natives were all around here. They killed many of them by fighting. After the war, they asked the natives why they fought. The natives thought that Christians ate human flesh, that they bought black slaves to eat. The captains of the ships wanted to continue the voyage, but the sailors rebelled and returned to Portugal (Diffie & Winius, 1977, 101-102).

Some of Cadamosto’s statements on astronomy and maritime affairs show that they did not use astrolabe or quadrants. It is said that they did not see the North Star more than once when they were at the tip of the river, that it looked very low on the sea, that it looked like a spear above the horizon, and that the air should be very clear to see it. Cairo do Sul, composed of six bright stars in the shape of a cross lying sideways, also appeared. Cadamosto drew the stars but didn’t mention their position in degrees. Usodimare wrote a letter to her creditors in Genoa. He did not mention Cadamosto in the letter and stated that he was alone. He states that he had taken forty slaves, as well as elephant tusks, parrots and a small musk which was used for making perfume from an African noble. He states that it was only 300 sea leagues far away

from the lands of Prester John. This inaccurate information was actually a geographical error of other people of this period. Usodimare's letter tells her creditors to wait another six months and mentions that his insurance had expired. His mentioning of marine insurance demonstrates that this was an application in Portugal in the mid-15th century (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 102-103).

In 1456, Cadamosto and Usodimare set off from Lagos in early May, accompanied by another caravel sent by Henrique. They crossed the Canary Islands and Cape Blanco due to positive winds and water streams. The next day they were caught in a storm blowing from the southwest. They wandered around for two nights and waited for three days to see that the wind would last. On the third day, they saw land. The islands they saw correspond to the description of Cape Verde. There was no settlement on the islands. To the south, Cadamosto reached the Gambia River once again. He went up about sixty miles from here and established a trading relationship with the local King Batimanpa. He took a few slaves and a small amount of gold from him. Staying there for a few days, they traded with natives, buying items such as cotton yarn, fabric, parrots, leather and fruit at a very low price. The natives killed an elephant and gave it to Cadamosto. He cooked the elephant in order to be able to say, "I ate an animal that nobody in my country tried to eat," but he did not find its taste very good. He salted one of its legs, trunk, hair, and some of the meat and took it to Prince Henrique. He welcomed them with interest, as "it was the first gift from the lands discovered at his own initiative". Cadamosto also details about the birds, fish, snakes and similar animals encountered along the African coast. By leaving the Gambia and sailing south along a dangerous coastline, Casamansa was reached only "by sailing in the daytime and anchoring at night." Then he arrived at a Cape he called the Red Cape. Later on, Sao Domingos and Rio de Santa Ana were reached.

Here, they found about thirty natives in boats made out of tree logs, “one of which was almost as big as his caravels, but not so high.” The natives approached Cadamosto’s caravel. Efforts to find a common language had failed. Then they decided to return to Portugal “when the northern star was very low”. This is the end of Cadamosto’s second voyage. On their return, they found the islands of Bijagos, where the natives lived. This is the first known attribution to Bijagos archipelago, known in the 15th Century as Ilhas of Baum (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 103-105).

Some believe that Cadamosto was the first to see the Cape Verde Islands. However, they regard it as odd that no one on the islands had claimed any rights or requested a grant. It should be noted that at this point he was a merchant on a trade route with some revenue generated to help his return to Venice. In Cadamosto’s narrative, we see continuity of the trade on the Guinea coast. A letter from Afonso V, dated 1456, was about buying clothes for exchange from Odeana in Portugal to Safi in Morocco and then to Guinea. As the letter illustrates, the Portuguese were trading with Muslims and regular trade was established with Guinea (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 106).

4.4.2. Cape Verde Islands

The first official document on the Cape Verde Islands is dated December 3, 1460. According this document, Afonso V gave his brother Fernando the discovered islands of Cape Verde. A royal letter dated September 19, 1462, links the discovery of the islands to Antonio de Noli. Diogo Gomes is said in his memoirs to connect the explorations of the islands to with Noli. According to Gomes, two caravels were used for sightseeing the islands on the Gambia River, while returning to Portugal from far shore. Gomes, who says he first went to the islands, doesn’t specify a date. In his narratives, he first recounts Henrique’s death in 1460, and then describes the voyages

he claims to have discovered the Cape Verde Islands. The grant to Noli in September 1462 could be considered a powerful indicator that Gomes and Noli explored the islands that year. Seven other Cape Verde islands in the west were discovered by Diogo Afonso, a gentleman of the households of Fernando, brother of Afonso V, as noted in royal letters dated 19 September 1462 and 28 October 1462. The King granted Fernando the right to govern the islands (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 106-107).

Just as Madeira and the Azores, Cape Verdes are volcanic with basalt domination in their geological structures. But the climate conditions are quite different. Five of the islands were so dry that they were never permanently settled until the early nineteenth century. They were surrounded by goats and cattles, having been apart from their herds and became wild. Three of these arid islands, Maio, Sal and Boavista had rich salt deposits. The remaining five islands, Santiago, Fogo, Brava, Santo Antao and Sao Nicolau had been exposed to better rainfall and had enough agricultural potential. But in the fifteenth century, only the islands of Santiago and Fogo were occupied. Prince Fernando supported the first colonialists in Santiago, the largest of the islands. In 1462, he divided this island into two capitals, establishing Ribeira Grande in the south and Alcatrazes in the north. His intention was to place the peasants to be brought here from Portugal, as well as in Madeira and the Azores. It quickly became apparent, however, that the conditions in Santiago were not suitable for the cultivation of wheat, grapes and olives, the traditional products of Portuguese agriculture. And distance was becoming a problem. The distance between Cape Verdes and Portugal was more than double the distance between the Azores and Portugal (Disney, 2009, pp. 101-102).

Meanwhile, the colonization movement was started by Antonio de Noli and Diogo Afonso in the Cape Verde Islands in 1463-64. To promote this, the King

granted Fernando the privileges related to the settlers on the islands on June 12, 1466. According to this, residents of the islands could trade in Guinea except Arguim and could sell their goods and slaves on Cape Verdes, provided that they pay 25 percent as tax. They were also allowed to export to Portugal certain products with tax exemption (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 145).

Cape Verde Islands were deserted when they were discovered and were far from Portugal. Unlike Madeira and Porto Santo, settlement there was difficult. At the same time, a large community formed in Santiago, the largest island in 1466. This community had demanded the right to trade directly in the Guinea Rivers. Located in the Ribeira Grande in Santiago, this settlement is the first of Portuguese overseas communities that evolved independently, desiring to live without intervention from Lisbon (Newitt, 2005, p. 29).

The communities of Madeira and the Azores developed under the auspices of the royal princes, and they traded largely in Portugal. However, the situation is not the same for Cape Verdes. A total of twelve islands in two different groups were identified by the ships returning from Senegal and were included in early maps, dated such as 1413. This fact reinforces the idea that pirate expeditions were limited to Guinea in the 14th century. However, the first explanations about the islands date back to the 1450s. Their systematic discovery by Diogo Gomes and Antonio de Noli dates back to 1460. At first glance, these islands looked just as attractive as Madeira and the Azores. Cadamosto landed from Boavista in 1457 and recorded the rich variety of birds, fish, turtles and salt deposits on the islands. The Cape Verde islands were of volcanic origin like Madeira, even, there was an active volcano at Fogo Island. But it was different from other archipelagos. Its rainfall was uneven as it was at the same latitude as the Sahara. It was beneficial for agriculture when it rained in

the islands. However, when it did not rain for many years or when it was rare, all crops were left to die. The largest island, Santiago, was given by Henrique to Antonio de Noli. Later, the authority over the islands was transferred to Fernando, the brother of the King, who inherited Henrique's overseas interests in 1462. But the Portuguese were not keen on settling these islands. For four years Antonio de Noli and his family members gathered cotton in a small settlement in Ribeira Grande, Santiago, and exchanged it for slaves. However, because the islands were far from Portugal, people did not want to live there unless they were given a great deal of privileges and rights. In 1466, the King gave the settlers in Santiago special commercial rights. Thus, they were allowed to trade with the Guinea Rivers without applying for a license or paying taxes to Portugal. But the King used to hold a quarter of the trade. In the 15th century, only two of the islands were permanently settled. Santiago was divided into two captains. Diogo Afonso became the captain of Fogo and began to organize his lands. A small number of settlers came from Portugal or other European countries. Donations were made to those who imported slaves to work on the land. So there had been a mixed population of mostly black slave origin, with some white and some hybrid. Cotton, sugar and cattle were grown on the islands. After a while, it became clear that the future of the islands would depend on the trade to be made with Africa, not with Portugal. At first, raw cotton was exported to Guinea. Then, they started to make clothes. Salt, which was removed from the mines in Sal and Maio, was also sold in Africa. Sugar used to be transformed into rum to export to Africa. In return, the islanders imported ivory, musk and Malaguetta pepper. The real imports were slaves. The Cape Verde islanders did their own trade both through the Guinea Rivers, and by the vessels licensed from Portugal. The islands had become a commercial base and a warehouse. Ships could be repaired and built. The opportunity to get to the mainland

quickly in a few days was an advantage for the islanders who did not want to travel to Portugal for a long time. The second generation of Mesticos born of Portuguese men and slave women had closer ties with Africa than Europe. They were engaged in the trade in Guinea, but knew little about Portugal, and had very little contact with Portugal (Newitt, 2005, pp. 40-42).

It was not possible to repeat the occupation and exploitation styles applied in Madeira, the Azores and the Canary Islands in the Cape Verde Islands. A different strategy was needed. In 1466, Prince Fernando convened to give trade rights to Santiago's settlers, known as the *morador*, in West Africa. The Royalty consented and the *moradors* were given the privilege to trade freely on the entire coast of Upper Guinea, except for *feitoria* in Arguim. They were also granted considerable tax exceptions. Thanks to these distinguished privileges, some Portuguese settlers had preferred Santiago. However, due to abuses, they were forced to tighten the rules soon after the dynasty. In 1472, these privileges were only required to be at least four years of officially verified *morador*. They could now sell the products produced only in Cape Verde Islands in West Africa. They were also prohibited from doing business in the east or inside of Sierra Leone. They could only employ the slaves they obtained on the island of Santiago and not sell them anywhere else. This restriction application on slaves was subsequently abandoned due to difficult supervision (Disney, 2009, pp. 102-103).

At the end of the fifteenth century, the slaves from Upper Guinea were regularly exported from Santiago to Portugal, Castile, Madeira, and the Canaries. The international slave trade empowered the economy of Cape Verde from the end of the fifteenth century. Santiago *moradors* purchased products such as ivory, wax, millet and rice from the Upper Guinean shores. However, their primary goal was to acquire

slaves. In return, they sold African customers cotton, cotton fabrics and horses that were grown in Cape Verde. A complementary trading chain was formed between the Cape Verde and Portugal, Madeira, the Azores, the Canaries and Spain. They bought and sold items such as slaves, pelts, tallow, European clothing, building materials, religious objects, wheat, olive oil and wine. Thanks to these commercial interactions, cotton that was growing in nature in Santiago was the main product of the island before the Portuguese came. There was high demand for cotton in Upper Guinea. This is why the agricultural settlement spread from Santiago to Fogo in the late fifteenth century. Soil and climate were favorable in Fogo. Cheap slave labor was immediate to be found and foreign markets were nearby. At first, cattle and goats were left stranded on the islands and allowed to roam freely. In Brava, Santo Antao and Sao Nicolau, owners followed orders regarding animal grazing. The costs were low on the islands and the need for manpower was low. Only a few paid workers came in every year. Horse farming was done for the Upper Guinea market in Santiago. Because in West Africa, horses were in demand for prestige, and sometimes for use in wars; But it was hard to raise a horse because of a tsetse fly. The horses were being raised in Santiago and transported to the mainland of Africa. The horse-trading peaked at Santiago in the late fifteenth century. Prices fell due to excess supply, and thus lost at almost at the same speed (Disney, 2009, pp. 103-104).

Prior to Gold Coast's discovery, the Portuguese dynasty and its affiliates sponsored and undertook much of the exploration in Africa, but the use of discoveries was largely left to individual Portuguese entrepreneurs or settlers operating under a license. Cape Verde Islands, especially Santiago, which had a good natural harbor, was recognized as a safe base for trading on Upper Guinea and residents were given the freedom to trade on the coast. The southern coasts of the Gambia were influenced

by merchants, and the political organization was run by Princes of the Malian Empire. The northern parts of the Gambia were under the authority of the Wolof Empire, with commercial ties to Mali. This generated a favorable environment for the trade of goods such as gold, slave, chewing, ivory, paint and pepper. Cape Verde islanders had begun to establish a number of commercial settlements on the mainland. These were on the north and shore of the Gambia. To the south of the Gambia, however, there were rivers, such as Casamance, Geba, Nunez, Scarcies and Rokelle, through which little boats could have entered for thirty to fifty kilometers. The exceptional situation of the Gambia, which can be sailed around 240 kilometers from the ocean, enabled Portugal to have direct access to Cantor's main trading center (Fage, 2008, pp. 506-507).

Settling in Cape Verde or another region of Africa was not tempting to Portuguese citizens, because there was no land shortage in Portugal. So the state needed to encourage settlement by giving the islanders the freedom to trade with the mainland. Most of the first settlers, especially at the mainland, were adventurers, slave traders, political exiles and outlaws. Some of them were not even Portuguese; most of them had nothing to do with the interests of the Portuguese government. As they advanced in Upper Guinea, these men did not obey the authority of Santiago and came into the sphere of influence of various African authorities. They settled in new places, took African wives, made various deals; made agreements with local African executives and traders. New populations occurred, of which *lançados* were European merchants who lived in the African community. The *Grumetes* were generally their slaves, and their appearance seemed to be more African than European (Fage, 2008, p. 507).

4.5. The End of the Reign of Prince Henrique

The discoveries reached Sierra Leone during the last years of Henrique's life. According to Cadamosto, after Henrique's death, the King prepared two caravels with the Pedro de Sintra captain before sending them out to explore new locations. Sintra made two voyages. In one of them, Soeiro da Costa was accompanying him. The first time must be in January 1460, the second in July or August 1461. Henrique died on November 13, 1460. The most distant place to this date is on the shores of Sierra Leone or a little further south. It is not possible to determine the exact point with the available information. Henrique's claim that his ships reached down in Angola and southwestern Africa, claimed by Jaime Cortesao did not receive support from leading Portuguese historians; As Damiao Peres said, the most remote point of exploration in Africa during the life of Prince Henrique is considered to be Sierra Leone (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 110-111).

On August 22, 1460, shortly before he died, Henrique donated two of the Azores, Terceira and Graciosa, to his nephew Fernando. King Afonso approved it on September 2nd. Fernando was chief heir to Henrique. After Henrique's death, the King gave Fernando the Madeiras and the Azores, as well as Cape Verde's Santiago, Fogo, Maio, Boa Vista and Sal. There is no statement in Henrique's will to order further exploration or to recommend a search for Prester John and India. In 1462, Fernando received seven newly discovered Cape Verde islands with a royal decree dated September 19. Two captains were established on the island of Santiago. The southern side was handed over to Antonio de Noli. Since the north side was the one discovered as one of seven islands, Diogo was given to Afonso. They could establish colonies of European settlers as captains in Noli and Afonso, Santiago. Then the other

colonists came. This was the first European colony to be established in a tropical area. After twenty years in the rainy tropical zone, Portuguese people traded goods of European origin on the African coast, such as cotton clothing, beads, paint, soap, and horse, metal and salt. In return, they obtained slaves, ivory, malagueta pepper, beeswax, leather and small quantities of gold. This part of the coast had never supplied the Portuguese with large amounts of gold. The natives from this part of Africa were in fact very poor and had no means of trading. As slaves, they became the most valuable commodity. The slave trade between African natives was a normal situation. Some of the slavery trade that had been done by Muslim merchants for centuries was directed by Christian merchants. Christians justified their actions by claiming that they saved the souls of enslaved people (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 111-112).

Until his death in 1460, Prince Henrique was privileged in the West African trade, but that doesn't mean he set aside all the trade. He usually empowered merchants and adventurers in exchange for a share of the profits to travel. It is unclear how trade took place in the decade following the death of Prince Henrique (Boxer, 1969, p. 29).

When Henrique died in November 1460, his rights returned to his dynasty. On August 22, 1460, his nephew, Prince Fernando, took Terceira and Graciosa from the Azores. On December 3, shortly after Henrique's death, the King gave Fernando the Azores, the Madeiras, and Cape Verdes with their income, taxation, and trial powers. On September 19, 1462, West Cape Verdes was given to Fernando. Trade and navigation continued along the African coast. In 1461, Soeiro Mendes was appointed as the captain of the trading center in Arguim. In Morocco, Afonso considered more territory than advancing explorations. On November 7, 1463, he left with his brother

Fernando. Some of their ships sank as a result of the storm. They went to Ceuta instead of Tangier, which was their target. His plans went wrong. Two attacks failed in the fall of 1463. The third attack on January 19, 1464, also was not successful (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 144-145).

4.5.1. About Henrique

Attempts to reach Southern Sahara states by sea had to be continuous and systematic in order to be successful. Also, royal sponsorship was necessary for ships, men and money. The duty of Portuguese ruler Joao I (r. 1385-1433) was given to his third son, Prince Henrique (1394-1460), who had previous experience on the Ceuta flight. Henrique is historically known as “Navigator,” because he spent his life funding sailors and helping them explore the coast of Africa in South Atlas. However, his personal experience at sea was limited to three naval expeditions to Muslim castles: 1415 Ceuta, 1437 Tangiers and 1458 Alcacer-Seguer (Love, 2006, p. 12).

Zurara explains that Henrique had great wisdom, authority, a good memory and common sense. His stance was calm and dignified, and his speech was kind. Even in the great mistakes made to himself, he did not hold grudges or show malice. He was fair and caring. He drank wine in his youth, but then he gave up completely and stayed away. He showed commitment to public affairs and enjoyed working for the benefit of all, even if it meant spending on his own money. He wished to be in peace with all Christians and fought against the enemies of divine faith. So he was loved by everybody, because he made himself useful to everyone. He listened to the complaints and demeanor of all those who applied to him, and always gave gentle answers. Not a bad word came out of her tip. He obeyed all the commands of the Holy Church, and fulfilled all his duties with devotion. He protected the sacred relics with respect, treated the administrators in his presence with dignity, and bestowed them with grace

and blessings. He spent almost half the year fasting, taking care of the poor. He was a deep Catholic and religious man. He was afraid of committing a sin, and worked for the honor of the Kingdom at God's service (Zurara, 2010, pp. 13-15).

Although he starred in the early expeditions and justifiably referred to as the father of the Age of Discoveries, Henrique was a Medieval man. His worldview was shaped by his knighthood ideas and the anti-Muslim fighting spirit. In 1420, at the age of 26, the prince was appointed Master of Order of Christ. Sponsored by the Pope, this group of knights led Henrique to lead a simple and ascetic life. However, the resources assisted him greatly in his exploration attempts as the Great Master had the primary goal of the order to pull the pagans into Christianity (there was a red cross in the sails of ships and shields of soldiers) (Love, 2006, pp. 12-13). He had done a great service to Order of Christ, of which he was the director, entrusted the spiritual affairs of the islands and acquired land in the Kingdom and generated new entities of governance. He donated houses and properties to the Order. He built two beautiful monasteries with rich decorations. He had great loyalty to the Virgin Mary, so he commissioned a prayer area in Restello, just a short distance from Lisbon, called St. Mary of Belem, close to the sea. He built two churches in Pombal and Soure. He ordered an annual donation of ten pieces of silver to the Chair of Theology. Likewise, He also allocated a sum from the annual income to the St. Mary chapel (Zurara, 2010, p. 19).

Henrique was not the only source of motivation for exploration: transforming the religion of the people and finding Christian alliances against Islam. He also hoped to make new discoveries that would bring profit for Portugal. The Prince was eager to explore the lands beyond the Canaries and Cape Bojador and to find out what was happening further south. He also probably had the desire to reach that "Golden

River” that he had learned from the Moorish in Ceuta before. That's why his first discoveries were aimed at reaching this conclusion. Portuguese sailors and royal sponsors aim to find a sea route from the African continent to India later on. Henrique's interest in exploration had a narrower point of view, and religion was a motivation with gain and simple curiosity (Love, 2006, p. 13).

Since the prince was appointed governor of Ceuta, he always had ships at his command for the defense of the city. He had the interest in exploration since the conquest of Ceuta. In 1418, he started to sponsor small-scale expeditions. This year, two of his captains rediscovered the Madeira Islands, where Genoese sailors found the Madeira Islands in the previous century, and Henrique ordered the colonization of the area. In addition to being a strategic base for future discoveries, the islands were also intended to contribute to the Portuguese economy in terms of sugar production. In 1419, Henrique returned to Lisbon, where his father's palace was located. He was rewarded for his actions and earned respect. Among these awards was the Governorship of Algarve and Portugal's southernmost region (Love, 2006, p. 13).

According to some sources, at the Cape St. Vincent tip of the rocky Capes of Sagres, Henrique built himself a small palace, and during his time this was the centre which brought together sailors, astronomers, shipbuilders and tool makers. In Sagres, the prince and his team learned what Muslims could gather about the trans-Saharan trade from Italian merchants. And most of them worked on maps made by talented Jewish map makers in the 14th century and before. Although Christians and Muslims were not well-liked and were subjected to periodic cruelty on both sides, Jewish merchants and philosophers were able to travel freely between two dominant powers in the Mediterranean because of their importance in trade and science. Information gathered from the sailors' experiences, travelers and local captives interviewed about

their localities was gradually added to the information sources. All these people, places and routes had expanded Portugal's geographical horizons (Love, 2006, pp. 13-14).

After the battle of Aljubarrota, the dynasty brought under its control the Order of Christ, who had great influence and power in the country. The order was controlling wide lands and 22 towns in the center of Portugal from its headquarters in Algarve. In 1420, Henrique became the head of the order. In Ceuta, Madeira and the Azores, they took action to acquire religious monopolies in favor of the order. To that end, they began heavily advocating for Order of Christ's interests. He was one of the main protagonists of the Ceuta attack and later, the retention policy of the city. Since he was the King's third son, he had little hope of ascending the throne. However, like other nobles in that period, he tried to increase his wealth by gaining sovereignty for the lands, lords, commercial monopolies and churches, and to increase his power and influence in the country in order to support the large household (Newitt, 2005, p. 22).

Henrique had a world view defending the traditional Crusade and reconquista ideas. It represented the interests of the nobles who sought to earn income by conquering. When Duarte took over in 1433, Henrique partnered with young prince Fernao to convince the new gains in Morocco. In this way they launched the Tangiers attack, but without the proper support of the royal council, the operation failed and the city was not conquered. Moreover, Fernao was captured by the Moroccans who wanted Ceuta back (Newitt, 2005, p. 22).

A few years after the Alfarobeira political revolution, the King or Henrique himself appointed a historian to record his achievements in West Africa. The historian appointed to that job was Gomes Eanes de Zurara, who previously wrote about the capture of Ceuta. Zurara was a knight of Order of Christ and was one of Henrique's

men. He inherited the historical narrating of Dom Pedro, which was left unfinished, but started to write by Cerveira, and adapted it for his own purposes by telling the story of Portuguese expeditions until 1448. This is how he came up with one of the most important history books of the late middle ages. He ingrained Henrique's image in the minds of both current and future generations. Pedro's role in history had been reduced and Henrique's legendary status had been reduced. The book is very detailed. It portrays Henrique as an idealistic and visionary hero who provides religion, knighthood and motivation. The book is also the only record of early commercial contacts with Africa from that period. Zurara's book is unrivaled and unquestioned as it does not have any alternative. Zurara was right to portray Henrique as a knight and a man who devotes himself to religious ideas. Because it is true that Henrique is the leader of the political group that was trying to further the expeditions in Morocco. Thanks to Zurara's intelligence, Henrique had a conservative and traditional character and had been transformed into a saint and wise man. He was deemed to have gathered scholars, established a nautical school in Sagres, sought sea routes in India, and dedicated his life to God, his country and science. This was how the fiction was constructed (Newitt, 2005, p. 26).

Henrique played a significant role in Portugal's accomplishments between 1415 and 1460. That is why many had regarded him as the sole authority in Portugal's overseas expansion history. He was dubbed as "the navigator" and became a saintly figure. He was indeed the most important person of the period, but not the only one. He was portrayed, during his youth, who settled in Sagres, built Villa do Infante, gathered knowledgeable scholars around him, established a cosmography, astronomy and nautical school, designed new types of ships and observation instruments, established the first astronomical observatory in Europe and planned a search for

India. However, there is no evidence to suggest that these are true. The authors such as Charles Raymond Beazley, Luciano Pereira da Silva and Jaime Cortesao praise Henrique's level of knowledge. However, he was not approved by his contemporaries as a person of high knowledge. Cadamosto, Zurara, Mateu de Pisano, Diogo Gomes, and even after a generation such as Duarte Pacheco Pereira and Rui de Pina are stated to have failed to achieve his high level of culture (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 113-114).

Even at the *Cronica de Guine*, where Henrique is exaggeratedly praised by Zurara, there is no expression of his love of books. Other works by Zurara do not contain any such information. No contemporary man, in terms of astronomical instruments, astrolabe, quadrants or compasses, ever talks about Henrique as the maker of such tools. This was all known before. All these references began at least seventy years after his death. He was neither a geographer nor a mathematician. He did not develop new maritime methods. Even if he had read scientific books, there is no such information in the record. There is no confirmation that he had read Strabo, Idrisi and Ptolemy. Some of the writers and works he allegedly read were written after him, and some of them were not even copies in Portugal at the time. He might have only read the copy of Marco Polo's book, said to have been brought from Venice by his brother Pedro in 1428. Duarte's library had a copy of Marco Polo's book, but it is uncertain whether it is the same copy (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 114-115).

Zurara does not talk about Sagres School. The first person mentioning a school is the 17th century is the British historian Samuel Purchas. Joao refers to Barros. However, Barros da Jacome refers to Mallorca and says nothing of the school. The legend grew in the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1836, the Portuguese government erected a sign in Sagres and wrote "The Great Prince Henrique set up a palace, a

famous cosmological school, an astronomy observatory and a naval arsenal.” In 1868, British historian Henrique Major stated that he accepted the belief that it was a school, but only had doubts. Marquis de Souza Holstein states that in 1877 he rejected school but it could have been a scientific academy. In 1894, he opposed the Brito Rebello academy claim, Henrique’s mathematics knowledge, and any marine activities. Since then, doubts had increased and discussions continued (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 115-116).

Henrique is said to have gathered scholars around him. However, this is difficult to verify on reliable sources. The first scientist mentioned was Jafuda Cresques (Jacome from Mallorca), son of Abraham Cresques, who made the Catalan Map in 1375. He was later converted to Christianity and called Jaime Ribas. Duarte Pacheco Pereira noted in Esmeraldo that Henrique brought Master Jacome, an expert in making nautical maps from the island of Mallorca. This island was the first place where marine maps were made. They convinced the master to come to Portugal with a lot of gifts and awards. He taught them how to make maps of the maritime sector. Fifty years later, Joao de Barros also transplanted Jaime’s assets, but it is clear that he copied from Pereira. According to Barros, the master is knowledgeable in maritime art and had made nautical maps and appliances. He taught the Portuguese this art. Neither author indicates when Jaime came to Portugal. There’s no other story about it, and Zurara doesn’t mention it. It’s not in the official records either. There’s no evidence that there are Portuguese scientists or technicians loyal to the prince. If people such as Master Jaime had brought new technical developments to Portugal, Henrique’s sailors would have applied different techniques. The prince’s men, however, were using the Genoese, Catalan and Flemish compasses to navigate their routes. They hadn’t special Portuguese compasses or magnetic needles (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 116-117).

The other individuals said to have been with Henrique were Morales, Patricio de Conti, and Friar Egidio. Morales is a legendary figure from the story of Robert Machim and Ana de Arfet. Conti is a Venetian consular in Lagos, and received his salary from Henrique. Cadamosto is the only source that mentioned him. It has no connection to Nicolo de Conti, who travelled east. The only source that says that Egidio, assumed to be a professor of mathematics at Bologna, worked with Henrique is a book written by Friar Santa Maria long after Henrique's time, in 1697. According to the records, Henrique had five consultants. According to Jaime Cortesao, these were Jews who worked on astrology and had acquainted with medicine. Some say the astrologists were advising Henrique on astronomy and maritime affairs. One of these five consultants lived in Evora, the second in Santarem, the third in Leiria and the fourth in Porto. The location of the fifth one is unknown. It is said that the documents claimed that they were astrologists but did not confirm that they were advising Henrique on the maritime subject (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 117-118).

In the Age of Discovery, there had been changes in the kinds of ships that are used for long voyages. Zurara doesn't give any information about the ships used during the Henrique era. Even though he says that after 1441, the caravel is the main ship used in explorations, he does not describe its structures and explain the advantages. Cadamosto points out the superior position of the caravel and says it's the best among all sailboats. There is no information about the ships used on the expeditions before the crossing of Cape Bojador in 1434. According to Zurara, a small type of barcha and barinel were used between 1434 and 1441. There is always talking of caravels after 1441, except for the fustas. No other ship is mentioned between 1448 and 1460. The caravel is thought to have originated from the Arabs' two- or three-mast, Latin sailboat caravels. Because they were light and fragile, they could easily

sail near the shore. Only a few pictures of the caravel had survived. Their appearance and exact size are not exact. They had no construction plans. Because the masters of the day were acting more experimentally rather than scientifically (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 118-119).

The caravel was not invented in an instant, it was evolved. Those types of ships were known before 1415. The ships of northern Spain and France were able to sail in the high seas. From Sagres to Gibraltar, the caravel ships were known. They were used by both Portuguese and Spanish people. It would not be right to claim that this was a Portuguese ship since caravels were also seen in Castile during the same period. There is no evidence that Henrique was the one who invented the caravel. By the end of the 15th century, caravels and explorers were identified. They were always together. In the 16th century, caravels were still there, but they were enlarged in size, volumes increased to carry bigger loads. They were like a combination of caravel and nau. They were nearly the same with caravels in terms of sailing quality and to the nau in terms of load capacity (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 119).

The argument that sailors made at sea, observing the Pole Star, was based on the remarks of Nikolaus Lanckmann von Valckenstein, who went from Lisbon to Pisa in 1450, in a Portuguese fleet. Since he was not a sailor, he did not observe how the sailors navigated. Even if he observed, he didn't record it. Sailors sailed for centuries with nothing but compasses. After 1300, there were sea maps and direction lines. In 1460, Diogo Gomes referred to using an astrolabe on land and at sea. In 1456, Cadamosto talks about the North Star, the South Cross, the compass and the sea map but does not mention the astrolabe (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 120).

Henrique is described by Zurara as a prince with strong physique, energetic character, curious about the world and eager to have a crowded household. The cost of

the expense was greater than the discoveries. That explains why he strives for a steady income. He was a communicative person who welcomed both Portuguese and foreign visitors. However, there is no evidence that he speaks to them about scientific issues. He aspired to set foot in North Africa, to get Granada from Muslims, to get involved in the dynastic affairs of Castile, to conquer the Canaries, and to explore and trade on the African coast. He kept making new demands from the King and the pope. He was the second richest person in Portugal after the King. The Madeira, the Azores and the Cape Verdes were conquered, and monopolies were acquired in the production of paints and soap, river fishing, tuna fishing, Atlantic and African coastal fishing, coral gathering and so on. He was the duke of Vizeu and the director of Order of Christ. Discoveries on the African coast were more interesting than other leading figures in Portugal. His brother, regent Prince Pedro, always encouraged progress in Africa, supported Henrique. As a teenager, he had more knowledge of world issues than Henrique, with extensive travels. Henrique did not have to invent ships, train sailors, and train guides, for he found these at his command. What he did was use this potential for his country, with a focus on state affairs (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 121-122).

The Prince's last sea operations are the scope of three new bulls of the papal Kingdom published in 1452, 1455 and 1456. These had been defined by historians as the contracts of Portuguese imperialism. According to these bulls, the Portuguese Crown was granted a distinguished monopoly on exploration, trade and fishing. Not only for the places explored until that day, but also for the regions to be discovered in the future, all the way to the East Indies. The monopoly included the Pope giving the Portuguese permission to attack Muslims and Pagans, enslave them, take their property and land or trade with them, if appropriate, on behalf of the Prophet Jesus.

Thus, the Portuguese kings had permission to build monasteries and churches, provide priests to perform religious ceremonies in them, and conduct religious trials in all regions that had been controlled so far and would be controlled in the future, from West Africa to India. It was strictly forbidden for all other European nations to interfere in Portugal's monopoly on exploration, trade and conquest (Love, 2006, p. 18).

One characteristic of these three bulls is that known Prince Henrique's central role in exploration and dissemination since 1419. He had been blessed as a pillar of Christianity and protector of faith so that the Pope would lead Christianity to unknown lands and persuade Muslims to join his religion. He was praised for his sponsorship in the colonization of Madeira and the Azores and the discovery of Guinea Gulf. It is also the first document from 1455 that clearly mentions the prince's intention to travel across Africa to find a route leading directly to India. Henrique, however, did not live long enough to enjoy the glory of it, and when he died in 1460, he was barely able to pay his debts. Though he generated massive profits from a vast array of sources, Order of Christ, a monopoly on soap production and fishing, and all business activities on the West African coast, the money was barely sufficient to cover the large dynasty and expeditions. Both were spending enormous amounts. This is probably one of the biggest ironies in history (Love, 2006, p. 19).

4.6. Fernao Gomes and His Discoveries (1469-74)

By 1469, the Portuguese had seized two ports on the Moroccan coast, established successful settlements in Madeira and Porto Santo, and settled in the Azores and Cape Verdes. They had established trade in the Senegal, Gambia and Rio Grande rivers, and a permanent trade station in Arguim on the Sahara coast. Portuguese and Italians traveled to the territories of the major Niger area states inland.

The trade in gold, ivory, Malaguetta pepper, musk and slaves flourished. In 1457, Afonso V minted a new gold coin cruzado, which had the same value as the Venetian ducat. Members of the royal family strengthened their monopoly, offered privileges and seized control of new settlements. They established an exploitation system by licensing Portuguese and Italian merchants. Portugal's claims in the Canaries were still controversial. However, other island groups had broad rights and privileges. The Guinea trade was secured by Papal bulls. Despite all these successes, the West African trade and island settlements remained insignificant to the interests of the royal family and nobility. Fernao Gomes' initiatives became a key factor in the interest for discoveries and expansion, and the continuation of developments (Newitt, 2005, pp. 29-30).

Progress continued along the Gulf of Guinea. However, the conditions for the Cape Verde islands and beyond were much more difficult. There were variable winds and intense fog that held ships in this area. Other dangers included shallow shores, heavy waves, sudden onset of heavy rain and storms. Such harsh conditions forced the Portuguese, but they did not stop. The only source of information is Joao de Barros, since the agreement between Fernao Gomes and the Kingdom could not be found. According to Barros, at the time the Guinea trade was peaceful, without the initially armed attacks. The natives initially acted brutally because of their aggressive and barbaric nature. However, they were "tamed" after seeing "the benefits of soul liberation." Thus, when the Portuguese ships arrived at the ports of Africa, many indigenous peoples came to trade and exchange with "souls waiting for salvation under captivity" (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 145-146).

When trade relations got under way, the King was busy with government affairs and did not want to deal with the trade himself. This is why in November 1469,

they made a five-year contract with Fernao Gomes, one of the most prominent names in Lisbon, as 200.000 coins per year. One of the terms of the contract was that every year for these five years, they had to discover a total of 500 new locations on the coast from 100 sea leagues. Discoveries would begin with Pedro de Sintra and Sierra Leone, left by Soeiro da Costa. Gomes could not do business in two places, as those who discovered the islands on the shores opposite the Cape Verde and Prince Joao had the right to do business in Arguim. On 11 June 1473, the contract was extended for another year. Gomes fulfilled his obligations and, until the end of the contract, he returned from the Gulf of Guinea to the south and discovered beyond the equator to Cape Catarina (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 146-147). In 1473, the Portuguese dynasty's state income was reportedly around 47 million coins. The amount paid by Gomes was four thousandths of the royal income. Gomes's lease did not close trade in the upper Guinea Rivers; the place was open to Santiago residents. Gomes took over the commercial rights at Arguim, which had been leased to others, for 100.000 coins. The dynasty kept its monopoly on musk and Malaguetta peppers and bought the ivory from Gomes for very low prices (Newitt, 2005, p. 35).

Gomes had different dealings than Henrique. Instead of licensing every merchant that came along, Gomes was organizing huge annual merchant fleet, around 20 vessels. One or two of these ships would be used for exploration along the coast, while the others would trade in the West African rivers. Gomes hired the best guides available. Gomes' attempts may have been funded by the Genoese because he allowed Genoese merchants to travel with their fleet. At some point on the coast, a commercial station near Rio de Cestos was named Resgate do Genovese because it was the Genoese who first set foot there. The contract came into force in 1470. The system worked extremely efficiently (Newitt, 2005, pp. 35-36).

The first expedition organized by Fernao Gomes was a one made by Joao de Santarem and Pero Escobar. These men discovered the scene in January 1471, from a place called the Gold Coast to Cape Three Points. An anonymous map dated 1471 shows the discoveries that date back to Rio do Lago. Sao Tome and Principe were also discovered probably around 1471-1475. Fernao do Po, one of the captains of Fernao Gomes, sailed the Gulf of Biafra to the Gulf of Guinea and discovered the island of Formosa, after which it was named after itself. Lopo Gonçaves led all the way to Cape Lopez. Rui de Sequeira continued on to Cape Catarina. There were no other exploratory records along the coast until the time of Joao II. In 1474, Prince Joao was granted the right to a lifetime of Guinea trade and the fishing of Guinean seas both in Mina and Arguim (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 147-148).

Researching Lower Guinea in 1471, Fernao Gomes's men discovered that it was possible to obtain significant amounts of gold in today's coastal villages of Ivory Coast and various coastal villages in Ghana. In the last three years of his contract, Gomes had made substantial gains from this discovery, and there is a growing belief that there was a gold mine nearby. For this reason, the Portuguese called the Mining Coast in the part of Lower Guinea that would later be called Gold Coast. The gold and slaves obtained from this region played a major role in increasing Gomes' wealth. In fact, even on the crest of his personal coat of arms there were three black African figures adorned with gold (Disney, 2009, pp. 56-57).

Gomes' ships traveled eastward 500 kilometers from Sao Jorge da Mina and reached the Bay of Benin in an uncertain time. They discovered five "Slave River" along the eastern edge of the Gulf through the Niger Delta, between equatorial forests and swamps in this region. This land, inhabited by the people of Ijo and Itsekiri, was

later renamed by the Europeans Slave Coast. Although part of present-day Nigeria, the inner parts of this region were occupied by the Kingdom of Benin at the end of the fifteenth century. This Kingdom was one of the most important countries in Lower Guinea. The ruler of Benin was called “oba.” Its residents were Edo-speaking citizens. They had little interest in the sea, since they were completely land-oriented. When they arrived at Slave Coast, the Portuguese realized immediately the potential of source of Benin pepper. In the period of King Manuel, the Benin pepper was traded profitably until it was later banned. Slave trade was more important and longer-lasting, because there was already an established inner-slave trade that the Portuguese could benefit from. Some slaves from Slave Coast were sold by the Portuguese to African buyers in exchange for gold at Sao Jorge da Mina. Some were shipped to the domestic markets in Lisbon, Portugal. When they first arrived at Slave Coast, the Portuguese traded with Ijos in Seaside Rivers and swamps. In the mid-1480s, they obtained a permit to do business in Benin from the oba. A feitoria was then founded in Gwato on the Osse River. Gwato, a town of about 2000 people, was a river port for Benin. Slave and Benin pepper were exported through the new feitoria. The pepper was taken to the monopoly of the royal family. Over time, however, the feitoria appeared difficult to defend. Because the town of Gwato was inland, it wasn’t safe enough. Twenty years after its foundation, feitoria was closed. They then left it to private merchants based in Sao Tome to do business on the mainland. At the time, the main slave market was situated on the recently conquered Islands of Sao Tome and Principe (Disney, 2009, pp. 61-62).

Thanks to Gomes’ initiatives, hundreds of new seaside coastlines were mapped. Trade ships had started to open new markets for gold and slaves. His success brought wealth and knighthood to Gomes. In 1473, after its contract was extended for

another year, also bought the right to trade in Malaguetta pepper from the King in exchange for 100.000 coins; This peaceful and profitable period of trade, however, was short-lived. Because in May 1475, Afonso V took action for the throne of Castile; then came the era of war. Castilians' vessels were organized to raid Portuguese vessels, to loot island settlements and to deprive the Guinean trade from the Portuguese (Newitt, 2005, p. 36).

4.7. Sao Tome and Principe Islands

It would be useful to mention Sao Tome and Principe here. On the eastern end of the Gulf of Guinea, about 4000 kilometers from Cape Verdes, there are Sao Tome, Principe, Ano Bom and Fernando Po, now known as Bioko. When the Portuguese came, only Fernando Po island was inhabited. These islands were discovered by the travelers at the service of Fernao Gomes, who is a contracted party, probably in the 1470s. The islands were lush green and beautiful places with rainfall, many fast-flowing streams and rich in clay soil and dense forests. The oca tree, one of the world's largest trees, was growing in its forests. The first Portuguese settlement in this island group was established in Sao Tome in 1486. But it wasn't easy to settle. In 1490, Joao II sent a group of children from Jewish families to the settlement. They had fled from Castile to Portugal as refugees. Portugal was forced by their elders to take them from their families and baptize them. Most of the children died quickly when they reached Sao Tome, where malaria and other tropical diseases were common. Apparently no Portuguese wanted to live in Sao Tome, because of its distance. So both Joao II and later Manuel I ordered that every new settler on the island be given a female African slave and encouraged to give birth. They would also be given slaves to work. Sao Tome and Principe were not close to the ocean's main

shipping routes, and the islands were never regarded as a major destination for visitors, except for the slaves trade vessels in Africa (Disney, 2009, pp. 110-111).

The Sao Tome's sugar fields were in dry flat land on the north and northeast ends of the island. From here, they spread and over time they covered a third of the island. These sugar fields were first called roça and later fazenda. They were usually positioned to provide access to rivers and coastal roads for transportation. To form a roça, the forest had to be burned clean and the ash used as fertilizer. Later, buying a mill and machine was necessary to process the cane. Such an organization required significant capital expenditure and the services of qualified workers. The Sao Tome roças were quite large agricultural businesses. It took about 150 to 300 slaves for each. A typical Sao Tome roça consisted of a large house for the master and his family, the so-called casa grande, plus a village for the slaves called senzala. The large house was European in design and was constructed of wood from local trees. Sometimes it could have a veranda and a chapel. There used to be a tower nearby to facilitate control of the planting business and to stand guard against external threats. The roça that was built on the island of Principe looked like this, but on a smaller scale. The conditions were good at Sao Tome in the early years. The slaves lived in their own hut as families. On Saturdays or Sundays, they were allowed to grow their own food crops such as sweet potatoes and corn, with pork which they get from common local pigs. The economic significance of Sao Tome was that it was a bonded warehouse in the slave trade. Between 1485 and 1500, a series of trade and financial privileges were offered to the island's moradores by dynasty. Thus, the Sao Tomers became more active in the slave trade (Disney, 2009, pp. 112-113).

4.8. Portugal - Castile Rivalry (1474- 1481)

4.8.1. The war period (1475-79)

Since 1474, the Portuguese-Castile rivalry had increased in both local and African trade. Their intermarriage had led them back to conflict. Joan, the sister of King Afonso of Portugal, married King Enrique IV of Castile in 1455, entrenching a Portuguese queen at the throne of Castile. Juana was born from this marriage, but he was suspicious of Enrique IV. Beltran de la Cueva was suspected of having had a daughter. There was civil war during the reign of Enrique IV. Isabella, the sister of Enrique, who married Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469, sued the throne of Castile. In 1473, Afonso V and Enrique IV agreed that Afonso should marry his nephew Juana. Ferdinand and Isabella objected. When Enrique IV died in December 1474, Isabella was immediately proclaimed queen of Castile. In early 1475, Afonso V prepared to invade Castile to protect Juana's throne. He sent a delegation to France to negotiate an alliance with Louis XI. In May 1475, Afonso V entered Castile and married Juana in Placencia. They called themselves the kings and queens of Castile, Leon, and Portugal. Because this marriage was unethical, the pope never gave his consent (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 148-149).

On August 19, 1475, Isabella sent a letter to her nobles, officials and other subjects informing them that her predecessors had “conquered Africa and Guinea” and that they had collected taxes on all goods from that country with Portugal's “consent of her brother King Enrique IV” to demonstrate that she regained the right to Castile on the African coast, which had been in the backyard since her brother Enrique enlisted. After the letter, she assigned tax officers. She had banned the use of the ports of Africa and Guinea without the special permission of these officers. She said illegal goods, products and loot seized in the sea would be distributed among

households and sailors. The Andalusian sailors of South Castile were unhappy with this decision, based on controlling trade on the African coast. When news of reconnaissance reached the Andalusian sailors in Africa, some took the courage to set sail. In exchange for old clothes, brass items and copper, they got good amounts of gold. There was so much excitement around that everyone wanted to go to Africa. Portugal and Castile thus entered a several-year challenge (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 149-150).

In 1475, the trade competition between the two countries turned into a military conflict. Queen Isabella announced that the seizures of the Portuguese ships will be awarded substantial rewards. In light of the danger of Castile, Fernao Gomes had informed Infante Joao, whose trade rights in Guinea were transferred by the King in 1473, that he could not continue to pay for his contract. The prince cancelled the payment. However, he asked Gomes to set sail from Lisbon in the winter of 1475 and personally command the twenty-vessel fleet bound for Mina. At the time, the Castilians were planning to send a fleet to Mina. For this reason, the Portuguese wanted to act first (Newitt, 2005, p. 37).

The war between the two countries started in 1475 with border raids. The Battle of Toro was carried out in March 1476. Afonso V and Prince Joao struggled against Ferdinand of Aragon. Although both sides claimed to have won, Afonso V and Joao had to leave Castile and lose their claims on the throne of Castile. Afonso V left for France to seek help from Louis XI. He temporarily entrusted the country to Joao (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 150).

The Castilians had difficulty raising money and finding ships, and set sail too late to travel to Guinea, thus changing the purpose of their expedition and ambushing Portuguese caravels. But they failed. Then they sent their fleet to the Cape Verde

islands. A group of Castilian ships made successful attempts to enslave West Africa. One of the ships even brought an elephant (Newitt, 2005, p. 37). In 1476, the Castilians made two or three voyages from Puerto de Santa Maria and Palos to Guinea. It is also known that there are one or two occasions by people who ignore the bans imposed by the Crown. The history writer Alonso de Palencia is said to have mentioned two expeditions: one with two caravels and one with three caravels. This time, slaves were brought in. Some of them were noblemen. Ferdinand intervened to send them home. Carlos de Valera, son of Mosen Diego, sailed from Biscay in 1476 with about thirty caravels and three nau, and then returned seven months later in early 1477. This time Valera raided thirteen islands off the coast of Guinea and captured Captain Antonio de Noli in Santiago, one of the Cape Verde Islands. He also brought about 400 slaves. On December 6, 1476, the Catholic Kings published arrangements on the maritime system that their people would follow in trade with Guinea. In 1477, there were three or four expeditions with an unknown number of ships (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 150-151). In 1478, the Castilians flew with a fleet of thirty-five ships, commanded by Pedro de Covides. This time it did not go as planned, and the Portuguese seized the entire flotilla and large amount of gold on their way back from Mina. The Portuguese had exchanged the hostages of this Castile fleet by the Portuguese and the Portuguese hostages of the Castilians during the Toro War (Newitt, 2005, p. 37).

Castilian statesmen did not give up after this failure and had a fleet of twenty caravels prepared in 1479. The ships were to sail in June. There is no information about the outcomes of the expedition. So far, Ferdinand and Isabella had made individual contracts with each of those who were going to make the expedition. Some Spanish sailors left for the gold-mined parts of Africa in 1480, after the 1479

Alcaçovas Treaty. Portugal was reluctant to accept Castile's overseas trade efforts. On April 6, 1480, a royal decree was issued, ordering Portuguese sailors to seize Spanish ships without further orders and to throw the hostages into the sea. The Castilian ship, Mondanina, seized on January 6, 1480, was carrying French Eustache de la Fosse. He wrote about what happened to him later. He mentioned the captain Diogo Cao, who took over his ship and was later to become one of Africa's leading explorers. Negotiations on the Alcaçovas Treaty took place amid the competition that was dominated by Castilians on land and Portuguese at sea (Diffie & Winius, 1977, 151-152).

The Portuguese had won this first colonial battle. It's actually not surprising. They were much better organized than the Castilians, and were able to raise money to prepare and support their fleet. They were run centrally by Gomes and Joao. On the Castile side, the command system was divided, organizations were inadequate, and competition between ports and their noble masters was very high (Newitt, 2005, p. 37).

4.8.2. Alcaçovas-Toledo treaty (1479-80)

The Alcaçovas Treaty was signed by the two countries on September 4, 1479. Approved by Queen Isabella on 27 September and by both Castile and Portugal in 1480, In fact, there were two separate agreements. The first, known as the Las Terparias de Moura Treaty, regulated the marriage relations between the two countries' royal families. The other regulated Portugal and Castile's claims in the Atlantic and in Africa. Regions had been shared with this agreement. With the Azores, Madeiras, Cape Verdes, and every piece of land to be discovered and discovered in the south of Guinea beyond the Canaries, Portugal was given the lands that would reside in Castile. Castile would agree to forbid its own citizens or foreigners from

their territories to Portuguese overseas territories without a Portuguese license. Thus, the right to go to Guinea was left to Portugal (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 152). Castilians generally did not accept the powers of past papal orders and continued to claim rights in Guinea until this treaty in 1479. Territorial donations or papal edits are not seen as permanent laws and are not always seen by the constituent states as a remedy. However, both Portugal and Castile pressured other countries, such as France and the England, to follow their papal orders when the world began to divide by papal bulls, or in other words, when the situation turned to their advantage (Hart, 2003, p. 14).

The Treaty of Alcaçovas was ratified with Aeterni Patris, a papal bull of 21 June 1481. After the signing of the agreement and its ratification by the pope, Portugal was ready to resume the exploration. The last time, in 1475, Rui de Sequeira had reached Cape Catarina just below the equator. Meanwhile, on August 28, 1481, King Afonso V died and Joao II succeeded him (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 153).

4.9. Sao Jorge da Mina (1482) and Discoveries of Diogo Cao

Prompted by the Alcaçovas treaty, Joao II wasted no time in taking action. On December 12, 1481, a fleet of ten caravels commanded by Diogo de Azambuja left Lisbon with about five hundred soldiers and a hundred workers. Among the participants was Christopher Columbus, who arrived in Portugal in 1476 (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 154).

The Elmina region was chosen for several reasons. First of all, it was a central place. Second, the land was in good condition. All the forts built by Europeans on the Gold Coast are built on small rock outcrops. These are the points that provide good foundation and building materials. Elmina is well positioned because of the small Banja River, which pours out just east of the rock offset into the sea. It also formed a

border between the two Akan provinces, Komenda and Fetu, so that the Portuguese had a favourable area in this border region to create their own political power (Fage, 2008, p. 512). After a location for the castle was chosen, Azambuja asked for a meeting with Nana Kwamena Ansah, King of Eguafo, what the Portuguese called “Caramansa”, known locally as “omanhene”. Eguafo was one of the few small Kingdoms found in that area, where at the time Twi-Fanti speakers lived. After the royal flag was opened under a large tree, the meeting between Azambuja and Ansah started. Azambuja, dressed in his most beautiful clothes, sat in a throne-like chair and his men gathered around him. Omanhene Ansah came to them through a street with Portuguese soldiers. The Portuguese were carrying guns, but they hid them. The Ansah was only dressed in a waist-draped garment, a rich gold ornament the Portuguese looked at with curiosity and attention. After the greeting, Azambuja explained the main lines of Christian belief to the locals. He told Ansah that the Portuguese King would be his spiritual brother and ally, and he tried to encourage him to accept his baptism. Azambuja then said he brought with him a large quantity of valuable commodities and sought permission to build “a big building” to store those goods. Once the building was built, the Portuguese King would regularly supply goods to Ansah. Ansah suspected the intentions of Azambuja and his men, but gave them permission. The official transfer of land ownership, however, failed. This was because Omanhene did not have the right to authorize such a transfer under the laws and customs of his country. Azambuja and his men immediately began the construction of the castle. Despite local unrest and signs of anger, the main building was completed within weeks. A few gifts and implicit threats prompted the public to comply. At the end of 1482, with sea connections and auxiliary buildings for the castle

completed, Portuguese now had the infrastructure needed to siphon Guinea gold from Mina Coast (Disney, 2009, pp. 57-58).

King Joao II, nicknamed the Perfect Prince, was an avid and forward-thinking imperialist. He demanded people, animals, vegetables, fruits or minerals, all African products. He imported gold, slave, spice and ivory, exporting horses, carpets, English and Irish textiles, copper, brass kitchenware, beads and bracelets. These were monopolized by the Kingdom. Private merchants were able to import relatively less valuable items such as parrots, seals, monkeys, cotton and raffia textiles, in exchange for the licence. The Kingdom then relaxed the rules on slave and ivory imports, giving certain people preferential treatment, but the gold trade remained state monopoly. But this monopoly was not as strict as it seemed on paper. Because the crews who worked on the ships were doing secret trade in their names without telling the royal officers, and it was not possible to prevent it. The trade in West Africa was conducted by ships that previously prepared in Lagos and other ports in Algarve. In the late 15th century, Casa began to operate through Lisbon with the establishment of Mina. It was an official warehouse and office on the ground floor of the royal palace near the Tagus River. The King himself was able to monitor the loading and unloading of vessels (Boxer, 1969, p. 30).

Gold from Sao Jorge da Mina by Portugal came from within Ghana, partly from the alluvial deposits in Ashanti and partly from the mines in the middle and upper parts of the Volta River. Portuguese people had never been able to establish direct commercial contact in these areas. Their attempts at this were met with fierce resistance from both African local monarchs and African traders who supplied the gold. For this reason, the gold trade in Mina remained a fixed operation for the Portuguese only in the castle. The gold was brought to Sao Jorge da Mina by African

merchants and again they took over the distribution of Portuguese goods to the inland. The gold of Mina had a distinct effect on the Portuguese palace and on some churches and monasteries. Gold-plated daggers, arches and spurs grew, as did the crucifixes and holy relics decorated with rich jewelry. Mina gold formed the basis for the stability of the Portuguese currency. Gold cruzado, first launched in 1457, had ensured a high purity for 80 years. It also helped fund expeditions and overseas military initiatives (Disney, 2009, pp. 58-59).

In the second half of the 15th century, through their solid feitoria in Arguim and other feitoria in the Senegambian coastal region, the Portuguese were able to direct a significant portion of the trans-Saharan trade with their own ships and institutions. This was compounded in 1482 when Dom Joao II ordered the construction of the castle of Sao Jorge da Mina. This fortress's contribution to the trade soon surpassed Arguim's. In this way, they were not only involved in the gold trade of western Sudan, but also in possession of those extracted from the Gold Coast. This castle was supported by constructing a smaller castle at Axim about two decades later (Boxer, 1969, p. 29).

Building a castle in Mina was risky. It could have ended in disaster, like in Morocco. The garrison could have been stranded on a malaria-infected shore 2 thousand miles from Portugal. Traders could refuse to come to the castle as they did in Ceuta. From the beginning, however, the center in Mina was a great success. Peaceful relations with neighbouring chiefs were maintained. The garrison got along well with the indigenous population and the number of gold traders began to increase. In the mid-1480s, 12 ships a year sailed from Lisbon to Mina. Estimates suggest that between 1487-1489, 8 thousand ounces of gold came to Lisbon. That number would rise to 22,500 ounces between 1494 and 1496. Part of the success of the center in

Mina was due to the ability of the royal's men to provide market place for merchants to sell. Linen and cotton fabric were brought from North Africa, rice products and wristbands from Europe, but soon Portuguese realized that the market required local productions. Slaves, cori beads, nzimbu seashells and Congolese fabric were required. Soon Portuguese ships acquired these objects off the coast, and in the process, they discovered new markets, new trading opportunities. In this rapidly growing trade environment, decisions were made such as opening a new feitoria to the Niger delta and establishing settlements on the Gulf of Guinea islands (Newitt, 2005, pp. 43-44).

A descendant of a family that fought in the war of independence in 1385, Diogo Cao was the first explorer to raise the Portuguese flag south of Cape Catarina. Cao was one of the escuderos of the royal family and had previously commanded ships to West Africa. They probably had astrolabes on their ships and charts made in Lisbon to calculate the angles of the sun. The ships contained two carved limestone columns bearing the royal holding inscriptions. These pillars, called Padrao, were planted as signs of important positions on the shores and meant that they were under Portuguese rule (Newitt, 2005, pp. 46-47). Cao served off the coast of Africa during the previous war with Castile and captured the Spanish ship Mondanina in 1480. The ships left Portugal in the spring of 1482. Upon reaching the coast of Africa, Sao Jorge stopped by Mina to provide supplies. He found a very large river called Rio Poderoso and later called Zaire. He planted the Sao Jorge padrao on the left bank of the river in what is called the Ponta do Padrao. Then he reached Cape Santa Maria. He planted his second padrao here and named the area Santo Agostinho. From a point slightly further south, he began his voyage back in September 1483. He arrived in Lisbon in April 1484. Cao had sent men inland to contact a powerful chief. When they did not return, he took some locals from the Congo region hostage and brought them to Portugal. He

promised to take the prisoners back to their hometown. Joao II was very pleased with the news he received from Cao and assigned him to nobility. The Portuguese left in Africa could learn the language of it and learn about the country's traditions. The black people who were brought in could also learn Portuguese to inform the King (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 155).

It is not known exactly what Cao said to the King upon his return. The King explained to the public that this expedition brought the Portuguese to the Arabian Gulf. Cao had misled the King. There could be many reasons for this. He might have been looking to justify his decision to return, win rewards or commanding echelons. He could have believed he was near the end of Africa. Or it is possible that he told the King that he had returned because he had run out of supplies (Newitt, 2005, p. 47).

On 11 December 1485, Portugal's papal envoy, Vasco Fernandes Lucena, wrote to Pope VIII. He informed Innocent that Portuguese ships traveled as far as Cape Prasso at the beginning of the "Arabian Gulf." The Portuguese thought they were approaching the Arabian Sea because of earlier false or incomplete maps. This appears in the maps of Andre Bianco's 1436 and Fra Mauro's 1459 dated maps. Mauro's map, in particular, was drawn under Portuguese orders, with the information obtained from the expeditions that had been carried out by then. Other Europeans who learned geographical information from the Portuguese also had such misconceptions. Cao's discoveries were shown on the map of Cristoforo Soligo, dated 1485-1490. Reports of Diogo Cao's actions provide extensive information, but the date, number and content of the voyages are not clear. The sources with accurate information on Cao's travels, are the maps drawn by padraos and Soligo discovered in the 19th century (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 155-156).

Diogo Cao left Lisbon in the autumn of 1485 for his second expedition. He took the hostages he had previously brought from the Congo back to their homeland. He stopped by the Congo to return them. On his first voyage he erected another padrao on January 18, 1486, beyond the Cape of Santa Maria in Monte Negro, the point where he planted the padraos. At the further south he erected another padrao at Cape Cross. The furthest point he reached was Walvis Bay. On his return, he visited the King of the Congo again. There had been some statements made by Martin Behaim in his famous *Liber Chronicarum* dated 1492 that he accompanied Cao on his voyage, compiled by Hartman Schedel, published in Nuremberg in 1493. It is written that Joao sent ships to the south of Ethiopia, and the captains were Diogo Cao and Martin Behaim. Schedel tells us that Behaim accompanied the expedition to determine the latitudes according to the Ptolemaic system. There is no need to call for help from abroad to calculate the latitudes determined by land. If the calculation of latitude from the sea is meant, then there is also no description of how this can be done at that time. The dates 1484 on the sphere and 1483 on the *Chronicarum* also do not correspond to the information that Cao's first voyage was in 1482 and the second in 1485. Behaim arrived in Portugal from Nuremberg in 1484 and was interested in trade in Portugal until his death in 1507 (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 156-159).

By the late 1480s, most of the villages on the Atlantic coast were at peace with the Portuguese and were doing a lot of business. Drawing attention to the interior, Joao II decided to build a fortress on an island on the Loukkos River, fifteen kilometers from Al-Arish. The castle, called Graciosa, was a bold step, as it would be positioned beyond the direct reach of marine-borne resources. Materials were prepared on site in July 1489 and construction was started. The Wattasids, who received this news, assembled an army and arrived at the construction site. The

Portuguese resisted the attack and managed to remove the Moroccans. The site of the castle, however, was swampy and susceptible to malaria. Since the river was dry in the summer, it became impossible to provide materials and reinforcements. For this reason, Portuguese others soon gave up the project, demolished the construction and left the area (Disney, 2009, p. 8).

4.10. Bartolomeu Dias (1487-88) and Cape of Good Hope

In 1487, Joao II started an effort in three parts. His plan was to move into Africa, to send new sea routes and contact the Mediterranean and the East through the Levant. Until 1487, many Portuguese traveled a long way inside Africa. They had seen the Sahara region as difficult and dangerous. They also found that the old caravel routes were easier to reach from Morocco and the Mediterranean than the Atlantic coast. The presence of tropical forests and settlements in the Senegal and Gambian rivers region generated both natural and human obstacles. According to reports by Joao Afonso Aveiro from Benin 1485-1486, an emperor named Ogane had a high influence on the peoples of Africa, just as the pope had on Europeans. His approval was taken when the low-level monarchs were elected. Ogane was a real manager, whose Beninese leaders were bound in a spiritual way. Determined to learn more about the region, Joao II sent ambassadors to Takrur and Mossi inside Timbuktu. He also sent a number of African natives previously brought to Portugal to go ashore and gather information (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 159-160).

Bartolomeu Dias sailed in August 1487 and returned in December 1488. It went beyond the last padrao erected by Diogo Cao on December 4, 1487. It crossed the Gulf of Walvis on December 8 and the Gulf of Hottentot on December 23. According to Barros, after being dragged for thirteen days due to the weather conditions, he began to feel the air was noticeably cooler. Returning to the north, they

came into a gulf called Bahia dos Vaqueiros. Probably this is the Gulf of Mossel on Africa's southeastern coast. Taking a break for a few days in Bahia dos Vaqueiros to buy water and supplies, Dias discovered that locals from the region had strange hair like Guinea, but their interpreters did not speak any language they knew. The natives were sometimes acting hostile. They killed a native in the shootout. After sailing east for several days, Cape Seal, Cape Recife and Algoa Bay crossed the city. To the east they reached a point called Rio do Infante. After a few more days along the coast, they turned from the area where the African coast had turned to the northeast, at the request of the crew. Returning to the West, Dias reached False Bay on May 16 and the great Cape looking over here gave it the name of Cape of Good Hope. On July 24, he made his way north, then entered Angra das Voltas again and stood there. Then, according to Barros, he dropped by three places. They were Principe Island, Rio do Resgate and Mina. He returned to Lisbon in December 1488. Columbus was also located in Lisbon to witness its return (Diffie & Winus, 1977, pp. 160-161).

It was a great success. A transition from the long sought-after Atlantic to the Indian Ocean was discovered. Dias' expedition had no log, date or diary. There is an account written only 60 years later by Joao de Barros. There is no information about his return. The King only gave him a pension from the Casa de Guine income. Compared to Diogo Cao, this is a very modest award. Although this was the most important discovery to date, Joao II had not shown due attention to Dias' success. In this period, a long nine-year hiatus from exploration was observed (Diffie & Winus, 1977, pp. 161-162).

At the time, the Jalof State ruled Western Africa in the Senegal region. The Portuguese had been visiting the country since 1444. It was a political formation that brought together many different states. Their King was called "burba". The

administrators of the member states elected a burba by forming an election board. These monarchs used to send annual taxes and gifts to the elected burba, but they were effectively autonomous. To avoid interference in their internal affairs, they usually chose a weak burba (Levtzion, 2008, pp. 456-457). Joao II was determined to explore within Africa. Like the fortress of Sao Jorge da Mina, they had plans to build a castle in the tip of the Senegal River. It was believed that the Senegal River was still the arm of the Nile, and through this castle, they could secure the area and reach over Prester John's land. They could get involved in trade within Africa and gather information about the East. In the 1480s, Prince Bemoin ruled the empire in the name of his brother Burba Birao. He moved the government's headquarters from its traditional position in the inner city to a point closer to the shore and aimed to intensify trade with the Portuguese. He exchanged gifts with Joao II and agreed to buy missionaries. Those who opposed this policy among African princes rebelled in 1489, killing Burba Birao. Bemoin asked his Portuguese allies for help. Joao II said he would help the King but only if they convert to Christianity. He sent missionaries and guards to the area. In reaction to this move, Bemoin sent a hundred slaves with his nephew to Joao II to continue his aids. Escaping his enemies, Bemoin sought refuge at the base in Arguim and left it with his twenty-five men for Portugal. He was greeted with a great ceremony here. After receiving his education in Christianity, he was baptized as Joao on December 3, 1489, after which she was granted the title of knighthood and his emblem. Subsequently, Bemoin, along with his men, the ammunition and the supplies to build a fortress, returned to Senegal with a fleet of twenty-five caravels, commanded by Pedro Vaz da Cunha. Shortly after Bemoin's reaching his territory, Cunha accused him and killed him for treason. Cunha later returned to Portugal without building the planned castle (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 162). Bemoin's

initiative was a bold move to secure trade with Portuguese people in the name of burba. His failure, however, led to the dissolution of the Jolof Empire. The rulers of the more coastal vassal states acquired wealth and power through trade and became stronger than their masters, burba (Levtzion, 2008, p. 457).

In 1491, King Joao II sent envoys, priests and artisans to establish commercial and diplomatic ties with the King of Congo. Portuguese people were welcomed warmer in the Congo than in Benin. Nzinga Nkuwu, King of Congo, was made and baptized as a Catholic named Joao I. His son and successor Nzinga Mvemba had also been firmly anchored in Catholicism (Disney, 2009, p. 66).

It is clear that India is not Joao II's priority. The Congo provided more effective revenue expectations than the South African and Indian voyages. They had the opportunity to seize the gold trade like Mina did. In the same year, the political future of Portugal changed when Afonso, the only legitimate son of the King, fell off the horse. His aim was to arrange a marriage to his son, uniting Portugal, Castile, and Aragon. With Afonso's death, both these plans failed and the question of legacy emerged. The closest male heir was the queen's brother, Manuel. His ascension would be a victory for the Braganza group. Joao II did not want to allow this and began to protect his own interests. He tried to legitimise and support the nomination of his illegitimate son, Jorge. Jorge was the head of the Order of Santiago as a step in this direction. However, some nobles and the queen who supported Manuel had strongly rejected Jorge's ascension. The palace and the council were divided in domestic politics after foreign policy. The following year, some incidents occurred in neighboring Castile. The long-standing war with Granada finally ended, and the Muslim city was conquered by the Spanish. Queen Isabella then decided to expel the Jews from Castile. Portugal was immediately affected by these developments. Tens of

thousands of Jewish refugees from Castile left Portugal. Early the following year, Joao II obtained news from his the Azores officer that Colombus, who set sail westward with a contract from Isabella for a new land, had returned to Castile claiming he had reached Japan. Columbus arrived in Lisbon in March 1493 and met with the King. Joao II requested the lands he discovered from Columbus in the name of Portugal. To defend his claim on this land, Francisco built a fleet under Almeida. It soon became clear, however, that this would be a risk. In May 1493, the Spanish ordered an Inter Caetera bull from Pope Alexander VI of Aragon, in order to guarantee that Castile's sovereignty would be recognized over newly discovered lands (Newitt, 2005, pp. 51-52).

4.11. Paiva and Covilha, the Ambassadors Sent to the East (1487-88)

While Joao II struggled to get into Africa and Dias roamed the African coast, some other Portuguese were to be sent to the East via the Mediterranean and Red Sea. Friar Antonio and Pero de Montarroio from Lisbon were chosen to take up the post. They first went to Jerusalem. Many people from Prester John's country were thought to have come here to be pilgrims. However, travelers did not go further as they did not know Arabic and dared not go further with the people they met in Jerusalem. Two envoys were elected the year the Bartolomeu Dias began his voyage. These are Afonso de Paiva and Pero de Covilha. It is unclear why Paiva was chosen. Covilha, on the other hand, grew up in the house of Ponce de Leon in Castile and was an adventurer who had participated in conflicts on the streets of Sevilla. He fought in the Toro War and was a war veteran in Castile. He was with Afonso V in King Louis XI's palace, visiting the palace of Ferdinand and Isabella as Portugal's secret agents, twice located in North Africa, where he learned Arabic and got used himself to wearing desert outfits (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 163).

On May 7, 1487, the two envoys left Santarem with 400 cruzados, a portion of it paid cash and a portion loan from the Bartolomeu Marchioni; they were given instructions about the route. Traveling across Valencia, Barcelona, Naples and Rhodes, they arrived in Alexandria disguised as merchants. Here, they continued the route through Cairo and arrived at Aden in the summer of 1488, after leaving Portugal. There, they left. Afonso de Paiva would go to Ethiopia and Pero de Covilha to India. Paiva died before she could complete her mission. Covilha sailed to Cannanore and then to Calicut and Goa. Then, he returned in the late 1490 or early 1491, where he learned that Paiva had died. Two Jews from Cairo brought letters from Joao II to Covilha. The letters requested that he return if he had completed the task, or continue if he had not. One of the Jews is Rabbi Abraham, and the other Jose de Lamego. Covilha sent Lamego back to Portugal in a letter explaining that Calicut is a centre from which spices such as cinnamon, pepper, and clove can be obtained. The greatest significance of Covilha's letter was that of the "Guinea Sea" from Sofala in eastern Africa to India. Covilha went to Aden with Rabbi Abraham. The rabbi stayed and Covilha moved to Ethiopia. He lived there for the rest of his life, got married, got property. He was prevented from leaving the country by the ruler of Ethiopia (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 163-164).

It is unclear whether Covilha's report of 1490-91 had reached Portugal or not, and there are contradictions in this regard. If so, Dom Joao II would have received a first-hand report on the spice trade in the Indian Ocean. That could explain why, seven years later, Vasco da Gama was sent to Calicut, India's most important bonded warehouse, in the spice trade. On the other hand, Gama and his men were surprised at the high level of civilization reached by Swahili city states such as Mozambique, Mombasa and Malindi. If Covilha's report reached in Lisbon, the Portuguese would

need to know enough about these places. Similarly, when Gama arrived in Calicut, he could not distinguish between the Hindu temples and the Christian churches. Covilha made this distinction and reported after visiting commercial ports in Malabar. Finally, in exchange for the spice he received from the ruler of Calicut, Gama offered his the most worthless gifts and the most inappropriate commodities, such as clothes, brass kitchenware and beads. Covilha reported that these could only be purchased in gold and silver (Boxer, 1969, p. 34).

The first period in which the Portuguese began to take a serious interest in the spice trade in Asia was in the 1480s, whether or not Covilha's report had reached the King of Portugal. Until then, they had been content with what they bought from Venetians, like the rest of Europe. The Venetians also bought the goods from the Muslim merchants of Mamluk Sultanate in Egypt and Syria. There is insufficient information on the price of these spices in the second half of the 15th century, and it is unknown exactly when and why Dom Joao II is planning to break the Venice-Mamluk spice trade monopoly. However, it is certain that it manages to break it. The instructions given to Pero de Covilha in 1487 and to Vasco da Gama in 1497 are clear evidence of this. After he was convinced that there could be a sea route to India, the King naturally thought that the Asian spice trade could be diverted from land routes to the Atlantic. This was roughly the same path as the Guinea gold trade that was directed to the caravels of St. George da Mina from Sahara's camels (Boxer, 1969, pp. 34-35).

If Joao II received the letter from Cairo, he should be happy to do so. The King had learned from Covilha's input that the sea route to India was open. However, it is questionable whether Covilha's letter had reached the King. According to Caspar Correia, the ships had already sailed to India before Lamego arrived in Portugal.

Fernao Lopes de Castanheda, on the other hand, says that he is unaware whether the King received the letter from Covilha. A year after Covilha left Portugal, an Ethiopian priest called Lucas Marcos arrived in Portugal from Rome. Joao II gave him letters telling him that he very much wanted to be allies with Prester John and how he discovered Africa. This shows that Joao II wants to build close ties with Ethiopia. In 1492, Rui de Souza left the Pinda base at today's Santo Antonio do Zaire and headed inland to negotiate an alliance. Several priests and soldiers were left to convert the religion of the locals and to search for Prester John. They advanced about 200 miles inside the Congo (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 164-165).

It should be noted that many Portuguese people became Muslim for many years and learned Arabic in that period, traveling easily on the Muslim lands of North Africa. In the 15th century, Christians and Muslims were closer to each other than they were thought. There was a safe pilgrimage from Italy to Jerusalem and Cairo. Jewish, Muslim and Christian merchants were able to move freely between Portugal, Spain and North Africa. Portuguese ships were being chartered by Muslim merchants. Muslim mercenaries were recruited by Iberian monarchs for wars. It is also important that Covilha's voyage was financed by Florentine Marchioni bank. Marchioni was founded in Lisbon in 1413. As trade with African countries grew, they invested heavily in various businesses, including sugar production and the slave trade in Benin. Eventually, they became one of the key financiers behind the Portuguese expansion. Italian and German banks also opened offices in Lisbon, such as Bardi in 1471 and Fuggers in 1485 (Newitt, 2005, p. 50).

4.12. Christopher Columbus in Portugal

Columbus first arrived in Portugal in May 1476. On his way to England, when he went into a sea clash on Portugal's southern coast, his boat sank, swam to the coast

and reached the port of Lagos. He went from Lagos to Lisbon, where his brother Bartolomeu lives. Columbus arrived in Portugal at the age of twenty-five and had some navigational expeditions in the Mediterranean. In Lisbon, they co-generated maps and were involved in bookmaking. He is thought to have met many influential books in this business. He learned Portuguese and Spanish in Portugal. Spanish became the main language in which he spoke and wrote in Portuguese. He also wrote articles in the Latin commercial language, which later became popular in the Mediterranean and Atlantic (Diffie & Winus, 1977, p. 167). Columbus was trained like a Portuguese sailor and had family connections with Portugal. However, like some other Portuguese sailors, when he did not have a chance in Portugal, he decided to seek opportunities in Castile (Hart, 2003, p. 14).

Columbus was allegedly bound for Bristol and Iceland in 1477, but he never made such a statement. He went to Madeira to buy sugar and was here for a while. He returned to Genoa in 1479. He later came to Portugal. They had close relations with the leading Italian merchants. These merchants familiarized him with Portugal. Its business partners included members such as Spinola, Paola di Negro, Centurione, Jeronimo de Medicis, who were doing business in Madeira, where Columbus was present earlier. In 1479 or 1480, he married Felipa Pelestrelo e Monis, the daughter of Bartolomeu Pelestrelo, the noblest Italian captain of the island of Porto Santo. Gil Aires Monis from Algarve is a descendant of Mother Felipa who fought in Ceuta. Columbus made good connections in Portugal and went to Porto Santo in 1480. Here, he learned about Portugal's sea routes. In 1482, Diogo de Azambuja accompanied Sao Jorge and Mina on the Guinea coast. His son Ferdinand Columbus says that his father first began to think in Portugal that, if such a south sail was available, it would have

been possible to sail to the west. It is also alleged that his mother-in-law gave him maps and notes of his father-in-law Pelestrelo (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 168).

While in Portugal, Columbus ran into a letter written by Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli to parliament member Fernao Martins of Afonso V on 24 June 1474. A map was attached to the letter. Toscanelli wrote that the King wanted an explanation that even the least informed could understand. Toscanelli had initially considered making a earth globe, but then decided to map and send the desired route to the King. He said that this map was drawn by him, showing the coasts and islands and the number of miles to go to reach a land of spices and precious stones. The authenticity of the letter or map is questionable since it cannot be found originally. Toscanelli had no great influence in Portugal and was rejected by Joao II. In the Atlantic, Portugal already had information and did not need Toscanelli's consideration. But Columbus relied on Toscanelli's ideas. In 1483 or 1484, he petitioned King Joao II to finance himself when he wanted to go west. Joao II offered Columbus' offer to his advisers but it was rejected. Thus, Columbus switched from Portugal to Spain in late 1484 or early 1485. Meanwhile, despite the dismissal of Columbus, in June 1484 Fernao Domingues do Arco was promised the captain of an island he would explore in the west (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 168-169). According to some authors, the King might had actually sent expeditions to the West, or at least allowed them to do so. If so, the ships were either lost or returned before they reached land. In 1484, when Columbus placed his plan before King Joao II, the Portuguese council rejected Columbus either because they didn't had confidence in him or because they had definitive proof that the real road to India passed through Africa (Livermore, 2008, p. 423). According to Portuguese historian Joao de Barros who wrote in the 1550s, the King considers Colombus a chattering and arrogant person, and he thinks his words

are absurd, so they reject him. Columbus moved to Castile, where another royal council rejected the petition, leaving it in the presence of Ferdinand and Isabella, whom he had contacted through his Portuguese wife (Hart, 2003, p. 15).

At this time, Fernao Dulmo, captain and knight on the island of Terceira, proposed on an expedition to the west. He hoped to find the big islands or the mainland, and he would pay for it himself. Under the deal he made with the state, he was to be the captain of the territory that he would explore with all his income and rights, including death sentences and jurisdiction. Dulmo took Madeira's Joao Afonso do Estreito as his second officer. They agreed on sharing expenses. They set March 1487 as the time to leave Terceira. Each would command a caravel. For the first forty days, Dulmo would be in charge, followed by Afonso for six months. Afonso would be captains of the lands to be discovered during his time in command of the expedition. Nothing else is known about this expedition. Maybe it wasn't organized as planned. In June 1487, Dulmo was still in Terceira. It is likely that these plans remained project before they became realistic (Diffie & Winus, 1977, pp. 169-170).

After returning from the first voyage, when the storm dragged him to Santa Maria on the Azores, the Columbus' crew was convicted without being allowed to sail for a short time. He arrived in Lisbon on March 4, 1493. King Joao II was surprised to hear about the location of newly discovered lands from Columbus. He believed that this land belonged to him and made the council members believe it. Joao II said he violated the 1479 Alcaçovas Treaty in Columbus and trespassed on Portuguese lands. Columbus was aware of the existence and significance of the treaty because he referred in his diaries to the "convention between Kings". The King accused Columbus of poaching on his own lands. However, Joao II suspected because the natives brought in by Columbus were different from the blacks in Guinea. The King

was deeply saddened by the news that the natives brought in looked like those in India, where they did not have black and interesting hair, as Guinea did, and instead bothered to work very hard. Joao II allowed Columbus to return to Castile and set up a fleet under the command of Francisco de Almeida, to explore Columbus's visited lands. Castile protested against the initiative. They asked Joao II not to send a fleet on the basis of existing deals concerning the lands to be discovered without making any determination, and the ambassadors invited him to do so. Thus, negotiations began that would take the two countries to the Tordesillas Treaty (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 171-172). Columbus had a seafaring education in Portugal and set sail for the New World on behalf of Castile, affecting relations between the two countries.

4.13. Treaty of Tordesillas (1494)

In the negotiations that started, Joao II demanded the land south of the east-west line that had been pulled out of the Canaries and left the Spanish only to the north of it. Ambassador Rui de Sandi was sent to Barcelona, where Ferdinand and Isabella are located. Prior to his arrival in Barcelona, Spanish ambassador Lope de Herrera was sent to Portugal to inform that Castilian had claimed its right in the whole ocean, both north and south of the Canaries, except for the region now declared "down to Guinea below the Canaries" in Alcaçovas. In the Alcaçovas Treaty, the Spanish people who lost everything except the Canaries were now claiming their rights over an endless ocean. Land belonging to the two countries had to be reclaimed. Embassies were sent and received for a while. Castile referred its claims to the Pope, the international authority. Because the Alcaçovas Treaty was approved by the Pope, only the Pope would approve the new deal (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 172).

The first news of the Columbus discovery arrived in Rome on April 11, 1493, a week before Columbus arrived in Barcelona, from Lisbon. Bernardino de Carvajal

was the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See since 1484. Carvajal contacted the Vatican in time to allow Castile to seize its discovered lands. On May 3, the first bull of *Inter Caetera* was published by Alexander VI. Portugal's previous rights were protected by the phrase "that no Christian prince should be denied any rights." However, neither country was satisfied by the bull, as no specific border had been drawn. The second bull, *Eximiae Devotionis*, reinforced the Spanish claim. The third bull, also called *Inter Caetera*, made a fundamental shift in the division of the region. It drew a line to the one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verdes and imposed a restriction on Castile that was not present in the other two bulls. It is a matter of curiosity who caused this change that was not in favor of Castile's interests. One possibility is that Portugal's envoy to the Vatican, Pedro da Silva, might have challenged the uncertain circumstances of the first edicts and proposed the third. In an effort to make their claims more reliable, on September 26th 1493 the Spanish came up with a fourth bull, *Dudum Siquidem*. This corroborated *Inter Caetera* on May 4, and extended its scope to cover the lands Castile would find in its expeditions to the west, excluding other states, and underscoring that Portugal would not be able to navigate, fishery and explore without Castile's license. This bull even revoked land donations previously granted to Portugal by the Holy See. Portugal was now restricted only in areas between the African coast and the the Azores and Cape Verdes. But Joao II did not intend to give up easily and, making it clear in negotiations that he would go to war to stand behind his claims, forced Castile to sign the Treaty of Tordesillas on June 7, 1494. With this agreement, a boundary line had been established within 370 leagues of the Cape Verdes. This gave Portugal the chance to claim its rights in Brazil, which had not yet been discovered. Both countries were to hand over land within each other's borders. The line was to be set up by a commission of guides, astrologers and

sailors of the two nations. The commission was to sail west with two caravels in ten months. Defining limits was postponed, and then abandoned because longitude detection methods are inadequate. The two countries discussed the issue until 1777 (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 173-174). Once the boundaries determined by the Pope were attained, Portugal and Castile allowed crossing each other's regions. By signing into the Treaty of Madrid in 1495, they approved the terms, including the amendments to the Inter Caetara bull (Hart, 2003, p. 16).

The Alcaçovas and Tordesillas treaties are essential for the formation of modern world order. The diplomats negotiating the Tordesillas Treaty were only interested in the Atlantic Ocean and the islands in ocean, but the treaty was naming over unconquered and unexplored lands and peoples. From this treaty, states were claiming sovereignty and right, not only on land and people, but also on the ocean for the first time. The oceans of the world had become political fields to fight, to control, to tax. International law had to improve its scope (Newitt, 2005, p. 53).

5. THE PORTUGUESE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

5.1. Vasco da Gama's Expedition to India (1497-99)

5.1.1. Trade with India in previous years

In 1497, the year that the first Portuguese fleet to the Indian Ocean left Tejo, the throne was occupied by Dom Manuel I, the successor of Dom Joao II in 1495. Competition with Castile looked a little calmer now than it did in 1385, but was not completely forgotten. There was a war in 1475-76. It was no coincidence that Genoese Christopher Columbus applied to Castile and Aragon after being rejected by the Portuguese palace. Only five years ago, in 1492, Columbus discovered a land which stretched westward, and there was still the possibility of a dispute between the Spanish and the Portuguese over maritime property. But the mood in Portugal certainly did not emphasize competition with its eastern neighbors, but competition with another former competitor: Islam and the "Moorish" (Subrahmanyam, 2012, p. 40).

Vasco da Gama arrived at the port of Calicut in southwest India on May 27, 1498. It undoubtedly comes as a turning point in the history of India and Europe. In order to fully understand the importance of the arrival of Gama, it is necessary to know that this is the result of a 200-year dream and a 75-year sustained effort. This dream was shared by almost all the countries of the Mediterranean except the Venetians, and the main effort was made by Portugal (Panikkar, 1959, p. 22).

Since Saladin took Jerusalem back from the Crusaders in 1187, Muslims had become a strong barrier between Asia and Europe in Egypt. With the victory of Saladin, a Muslim domination began along the coast of Syria and Egypt and in key areas. The Crusades did not change that and Egypt and the significant coastline remained in Muslim hands (Panikkar, 1959, p. 22).

The spice trade with the East could only come from Indian ports through areas ruled by Muslims. Pepper was as important in those times as precious stones, people were putting their lives on the pepper, fighting or even dying. Spices were becoming increasingly necessary for European cuisine, but could not be brought directly from India and Indonesia, and had to travel through Iran and Egypt. Thus, indispensable trade emerged and this was one of the most important factors promoting the expansion of Europe in the fifteenth century. In the past, Italian merchants were given the chance to switch directly to India by the Mongol administration in Iran. In this way, Europeans learned where spices are produced and at what cost. As a result of the hostility of the Islamic administration that later started in the region and the relentless wars in the Eastern Mediterranean, merchants had to pull their hands on the Indian market, and as a result, they began to think of a new route to the origin of spices (Panikkar, 1959, p. 22).

A new factor, competition between Venice and Genoa had been added to this desire. With a combination of diplomatic skills, adventurous souls and visionary policies, Venetians had long had a strong influence in Cairo and had made themselves monopolistic traders of Eastern trade in Europe. The Venetians were able to resist any difficulty and maintain their superiority in the Red Sea trade. In the 13th and 14th centuries there was an important point in Venice - Genoa competition. Venice was a commercial state in which the government mechanism operated not for the benefit of merchants but for the welfare of the state. Although 200 merchant families established a trade republic in the Eastern Mediterranean, policy, appointments, war and commercial laws were completely governed by the state. There were no private fleets, no private monopolies, the state navy and state monopolies; the economy was managed directly by the state (Panikkar, 1959, p. 23).

In Genoa, it was not the case. Large families and groups had taken over the republic's government mechanisms and started manipulating it for private gain. When a group took power, it exiled or fired its rivals. This individualism of the Genoese had led them to work in palaces as consultants and experts, to develop wonderful commercial techniques, and to take responsibility for ocean exploration. Thus, they were able to break the monopoly owned by Venice (Panikkar, 1959, p. 23).

In the last decade of the thirteenth century, the Genoese proposed to Argun, the Ilkhanate ruler in Iran, a plan to divert the spice trade from Malabar to the Persian Gulf and then to the ports of Northern Levanten by land under the auspices of the Paleologoses. The idea was that the Genoese would build a fleet in the Persian Gulf to close the Red Sea to Indian trade. The offer didn't come true, but Genoa never missed India. The only answer to Genoa, to the power of Islam and to the monopoly of Venice seemed to be a road that covered the entire seabed. Hudson reportedly describes previous efforts by European travelers to explore that route. The most interesting was the Ugolino de Vivaldo expedition, which took place in 1291 in order to explore an ocean route from Genoa to the African coast through Gibraltar and then to India. Finally, the Genoese through Spain and Portugal managed to break up the Venetian monopoly and Muslim blockade both by crossing the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean and by reaching the Pacific across the Americas (Panikkar, 1959, p. 23).

The Iberian Peninsula, and in particular Portugal, had in a sense been the heir to the Genoese tradition. In 1317, Manoel Pessanha, a Genoese nobleman, became the admiral of the Portuguese fleet and took on providing experienced sailors to command the King's galleys. Pessanha appears to be an extraordinarily gifted man, for the King gave him large properties in 1319, including in the town of Odemara. Most of the

captains of Pessanha were Genoese nobles just like he was. Over a century of experience, the Portuguese had not only fully absorbed the spirit of Genoa's seafaring adventure, but had also taken on the unfinished mission of finding an alternative route to the East. Portugal was in a good geographical position to continue this work. There was no better-positioned port in Europe than Lisbon for exploration, mapping, and navigation of the western coast of Africa. In the fourteenth century, Lisbon became a bonded warehouse where the trade of ivory and date fruits of Africa moved to Europe (Panikkar, 1959, p. 24).

Portugal thus became the heir to the Genoa expedition. They were also the defenders of Christianity against Islam in the fifteenth century. The spirit of the Crusade on the Iberian Peninsula was always alive and strong, because they were close to Muslims. Islam was a more distant threat to Western European countries. The Iberians were crucified by necessity because Muslim Kingdoms still existed in the peninsula. For a religious and patriotic Iberian, fighting against Muslims was a task. Islam was an enemy that had to be fought everywhere (Panikkar, 1959, p. 24).

Bartolomeu Dias's discovery and his pass to the Cape of Good Hope, and if he reached the King, Pero de Covilha's report had been encouraging for further actions. However, there is an eight-year period between the return of Dias from his expedition and the opening of Vasco da Gama to India. This delay is a matter of curiosity. However, in this period the country was struggling with many problems. There were many subjects that took the King's time. There were violent clashes with the Moors in 1487 and 1488. In 1489, the King sent two squadrons to build a castle on the island of Graciosa, but failed. In 1490, he sent another fleet to Morocco. In July 1491, the King's son, Afonso, fell from horse to his death. In 1492, Jews, expelled from Spain, arrived in Portugal. If Covilha's report was not received on time this could be

considered a reason for the delay. Another reason is the death of Joao II in 1495 and his replacement by Manuel I (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 175).

5.1.2. Preparation process

As with most of his predecessors, Manuel's priority was to establish a dynasty association with Castile. As such, he began negotiations with Isabella of Castile. However, the issue of marriage brought up again the issue of Jews who were driven from Castile and sheltered in Portugal. The large Jewish community in Portugal was important to the country's trade and provided valuable services, especially in the development of knowledge of geography and maritime affairs. Manuel was busy with these subjects between 1495 and 1496. Jews from Castile were given time to leave the country. Portuguese Jews were also offered to convert to Christianity or to take their children from their families and raise them as Christians. In parallel, two thousand Jewish children were sent to Sao Tome to help settle the island. During the months of turmoil, many Jews tried to cross into North Africa. The others stayed under the pretext of changing religion. Until late 1496, the climate remained calm. Manuel, meanwhile, returned the lands and titles of the Braganza duke family, making them a dominant group again in the palace. Its foreign policy had been shifted again to the Moroccan and Castile problems. During this time, the idea of traveling to India was given very little priority and most of the people close to the King rejected it. Manuel was unable to allocate funds for his voyage to India. He could only raise funds for two ships. Three of them were backed by the Marchioni bank for Berrio. Finally, with the addition of a supply ship, the four ships were entrusted to Vasco da Gama, a knight of Order of Christ, who, along with about 200 other men, was a low-level figure in the palace. A low priority this time, the appointment of a lower-level fidalgo to the command and the very small amount of diplomatic gifts and merchandise carried in

the post suggest that this is a small gesture to silence a small but high-talking problematic group in the palace (Newitt, 2005, pp. 53-54).

Some believe that the voyage of Dias was not encouraging but discouraging as Portugal was a poor and weak country for long sea adventures. King Manuel I also convened a council before Gama's expedition, according to Barros. This council raised different views. Most people said India should not be discovered. However, the majority was not able to say and the voyage preparations had continued. Although some claimed that they used secret sailing to the Atlantic to collect information on oceanic currents, wind patterns, and maritime conditions, which were claimed to have made it to the America before Columbus, there is no logic and evidence for these clandestine voyages (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 176).

5.1.3. About Vasco da Gama

On the Portuguese coast, 60 miles south of Lisbon, there is the small coastal town of Sines. Here in this quiet fishing village was a small, modest house. Although its owner was considered a nobleman, the house was neither big nor elegant. In the 1460s, Vasco da Gama was born in this house. The exact date of birth is suspicious. Many historians believe that he was born between 1460 and 1469. Vasco's father was Estevão da Gama, a sailor and officer worthy of the Portuguese crown. Her mother is Izabel Sodré. His family was of British descent. "Sodré" was actually the Portuguese misspelling of the English name "Sudley." Izabel did not know that the little boy whose arms he was embracing was a great adventure in his destiny. Vasco had two older brothers, Paulo and Ayres. She also had a sister, Thereza (Koestler-Grack, 2006, pp. 8-9).

The sandy soil made farming difficult in Sines. For hundreds of years, the villagers had lived off as fishermen. Vasco, born on the beach, learned of a sailor's

life at an early age. He quickly became a strong swimmer. His father and brothers taught him how to row, guide the boat, and use the sail. He learned the right way to attract heavy fishing nets. Vasco found sea life adventurous. He often gazed at the distant horizon, navigating south, to Mediterranean ports or Morocco, even to the exotic shores and islands of West Africa. From time to time, Vasco and his siblings gathered around the sailors. They listened to men telling the fantastic stories of the ocean. Children with wide eyes heard stories about bad storms and shipwrecks, wild sea creatures and mysterious landings to unknown shores (Koestler-Grack, 2006, pp. 10-11).

There was no formal education in Sines, a simple fishing town, and Vasco studied at Evora, a hillside community 70 miles northeast of Sines. This city had a different lifestyle. Visitors from abroad generally passed through here. Vasco met with many cultures and listened to new ideas and ideas. He had also studied marine, mathematics, and astronomy in her educational life (Koestler-Grack, 2006, pp. 11-12).

Little is known about Vasco da Gama's past and career. His parents came from Sines in Baixo Alentejo, which is associated with Order of Santiago. Therefore, Vasco da Gama himself could be said to be associated with this order. When he was young, he participated in various military operations and worked for some time in North Africa (Disney, 2009, p. 119). He was known to command a small naval operation in 1492. That's when King Joao II sent him to Setubal to take over French ships in retaliation for his raids on Portuguese shipping ships. Da Gama must have impressed the authorities with his success in this post that Duke of Beja and Manuel, who became King later, considered him a candidate for important Indian mission. According to some historians, although Vasco and Gama's father, Estevao, considered appointing Gama, it was up to Vasco because his father died. At that time, the crew

consisted of tough, bullying men, and the crew was only under strict discipline and respect for their captain. Vasco da Gama had been described by his men as a tough but honest man. He would not only need to manage his crew, but he would also need the ability to communicate with foreign cultures. His time in Evora helped improve his ability to communicate with foreigners (Koestler-Grack, 2006, pp. 18-19).

Overall, there is no outstanding service on Gama's record. There is insufficient evidence of any maritime capability or experience level. It is unclear whether he was chosen by Joao II or by Manuel II for the Indian mission. It is unknown why he was assigned this important task. It is thought that it may be the result of the conflict between the rival groups at the palace (Disney, 2009, p. 120). Manuel allowed one of Gama's brothers to take with him. Vasco chose to take Paulo, whom he loved and respected. But first he had to grant a royal pardon to Paulo. Years ago, Paulo attacked and injured a judge in Setubal during an argument. Paulo was an outlaw. The King promised to forgive Paulo if his Indian mission was successful (Koestler-Grack, 2006, pp. 19-20).

5.1.4. Expedition to India (1497-99)

Dias reported that progress in the turbulent waters off Cape of Good Hope was difficult and dangerous. Therefore, Gama ordered low-rise ships with flat decks and broad hulls to take precautions. In the past, the ship's decks were deep curved, so there was a greater risk of immersion and swaying. Da Gama thought his new flat-base ships would be more balanced than the previous ships. The carpenters prepared three ships for the voyage. Da Gama chose Sao Gabriel as his flagship and appointed Gonçalo Alvares, an experienced sailor, as his captain. Pero d'Alenquer accompanied Dias on Cape of Good Hope and became the guide of the flagship. The guide was the most important person on the ship and bore the greatest responsibility of maritime.

The captains often won their status with the advantage of their surnames, their social status or as rewards of some great works, rather than fame as a skilled sailor. Paulo da Gama was appointed captain of the second ship, Sao Rafael. The third and smallest ship, Berrio, was commanded by Nicolau Coelho (Koestler-Grack, 2006, pp. 23-24).

Da Gama chose between 140 and 170 crew members to operate the ships. He chose only the most valuable sailors to explore. He revised each man's land and sea behavior to make his decision. During the voyage, the ships would stop at ports where Portuguese is not spoken. Therefore, Gama had picked three interpreters for the post. One of these translators, Martin Affonso, was familiar with various African tribes and would help communicate with villagers along the African coast. Fernão Martins and João Nunes spoke Arabic. They were able to translate the Muslim language in India. Along with sailors and sailors, Gama recruits, artillery, carpenters, sailing and rope producers. There were also cooks, cabin crew, and even a surgeon (Koestler-Grack, 2006, pp. 26-27). At Da Gama's request, the fleet also carried about ten convicts. These men committed serious crimes and were sentenced to death. Da Gama wanted them for risky missions. At various stops on unknown lands, he could had sent one of these men ashore to find food and water, locate villages, or collect other useful information. In this land, he had the intention of leaving some men to help him return. For the returnees, the King promised forgiveness for their services (Koestler-Grack, 2006, pp. 27-28). Since the Indian flight could last up to three years, Da Gama had to stock up on food for the whole voyage. They poured ships with salted pork and beef, lentils, beans, plums, onions and honey. The ships had sacks of salt, sugar and flour lined on their shelves. The crew brought in gunpowder, crossbows, ropes and extra sails (Koestler-Grack, 2006, p. 28).

Vasco da Gama, a royal nobleman of the king's household, was in command of this expedition. Vasco's younger brother, Paul da Gama, carried out the flagship San Gabriel, and his sister ship San Raphael, which carried 20 weapons, was built six years ago by Bartholomeu Diaz, the greatest Portuguese explorer. The third ship was a fast caravel, and the fourth was a freighter commanded by ammunition officer Gonsalo Nunes. On the pillar of the captain-general's ship, there was a large cross-bearing flag and it was carrying cannon (Panikkar, 1959, p. 28).

During da Gama's voyage, the Portuguese knew the seas all the way to the Cape. As far as the eastern coast of Africa is concerned, the voyage to Mozambique did not present a great challenge. As we crossed the Indian Ocean, the captain-general was led by an Indian pilot who was subordinated to the King of Milindi. The Indian Ocean, including all African coasts, is reportedly discovered centuries ago by Indian sailors. Indian ships often visited East African ports and definitely knew Madagascar. It is not clear whether they turned their Cape and headed to the west coast. Hudson talks about Covilham being told of a transition to the western seas. He explains this even more by referring to the maps of Fra Mauro. Fra Mauro marks the southern Cape under the name Diab, and suggests that in about 1420, an Indian ship was driven here by storm, going 2,000 miles west in forty days without touching the land. Fra Mauro also spoke with a reliable person who said that she crossed Sofala from India to Garbin on the western coast of Africa. Thus, the Indian Ocean was a well-known mapped sea with a well known route and as a maritime achievement; Vasco da Gama's arrival in Calicut was the big dream come true as the act crowning seventy years of success (Panikkar, 1959, p. 28).

The arrival of the cannon carrying ship San Gabriel in the Indian Ocean is revolutionary. Arming of Portuguese ships was an unexpected and new situation in the

Indian seas. So they gained an advantage over their Indian rivals. The Ottomans was the only non-European force that improved marine artillery, but when the Portuguese arrived in Calicut, the Ottomans did not have their navy in the Indian Ocean. When the Sultan realized this threat, Portugal was already in the ocean and was always able to reinforce its navy, while the Ottomans focused more on the Eastern Mediterranean (Panikkar, 1959, p. 29).

The Indian Ocean had a heavy trade network since ancient times. Indian ships sailed to Red Sea ports via the Oman Sea and established cultural and commercial ties with Egypt and other near Eastern countries. To the east, Indian sailors had traveled as far as Borneo. Indian colonies existed in Indonesia, Cambodia and Malaya. A long tradition of marine life was part of the Indian Peninsula (Panikkar, 1959, p. 29).

Although Arabs and Indians were active in the ocean, the notion of sovereignty over the sea was absent from the Asian side, except for the narrow straits. Although Asian countries were strong at sea, they did not claim rights in the high seas. The Indian monarchs, who had powerful armies, used it only to protect the coasts, to suppress piracy and to transport soldiers during wartime. So, on a large scale, the naval wars were unknown in India before the Portuguese came. Therefore, the Indian ships were not equipped to fight in the far seas (Panikkar, 1959, p. 29-30).

By the end of the fifteenth century, the Indian Peninsula was under the control of some powerful and stable states. The most important of these is the Vijayanagar Empire. We learn that it was the strongest state in time, its power and resources from the Italian traveler Nicolo Conti, who visited the country in 1420, and from the narratives of the Iranian ambassador Abdur Rezzak, who visited the country in 1443. By the time the Portuguese arrived in the Indian seas, this empire led by Narasimha Raya had the undisputed superiority over its region. It must be remembered that the

Vijayanagar emperors agree with the Portuguese people regarding the spirit of combating Muslims. Just as the presence of Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula and Gibraltar threatened Portuguese, the existence of neighboring Muslim sultanates threatened Vijayanagar. They had to protect the Hindu existence and religion against them. For both Portugal and Vijayanagar, Muslims were a common enemy and this would be important in establishing Portuguese authority in Goa in the future (Panikkar, 1959, p. 31).

To the north of Vijayanagar was the Adilshahi Sultanate of Bijapur. It was founded in 1490 by Yusuf Adil Khan who fled to India and entered the service of Bahmini King. He was rumored by some sources to be the son of Ottoman Sultan Murat. To the north of Bijapur was the Gujarat Sultanate of Ahmedabad. Founded by Zafer Khan in 1401, this state was very rich through its trade, controlling important ports in Cambay, Chaul and Surat. The Gujarati people became one of the most powerful states in India during the rule of Mahmut Begara who took power in the year 1458 (Panikkar, 1959, p. 31).

The coastal area separated from Vijayanagar by the West Gats at the tip of the Indian Peninsula was the only area where small princes ruled independently. This region, known as Malabar or Kerala, stretching from Mangalore to Cape Comorin, was a land of spices in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea for ships carrying spices, textiles, and other goods for two thousand years. The chief monarch of this region was the Zamorin (title) headquartered in Calicut. Zamorin was a powerful ruler, although his country was small. Calicut had been the principal centre of the spice trade for centuries. Not only were peppers, cardamom and other products from the Malabar Coast, but also spices from the Pacific Islands traveled through Calicut as they travelled to Europe. It was the monsoon direction that gave particular importance to

Calicut. It was in an ideal location to harness the monsoon winds from the Red Sea to the shores of India and from India to the Arab coast (Panikkar, 1959, pp. 32-33).

The merchants of Calicut had warehouses in Cairo, Alexandria, and Fez even in the west. There had been a close alliance between the Zamorines and the class of merchants controlling the spice trade for at least four centuries. A special relationship developed between the Hindu ruler and Muslims, who are not attached to the Muslim states in the north and do not pose a threat to the Hindu authority, as the families that are generally interested in this trade are Arab. Arab merchants on the coast had ties to Egypt, Arabia and the Persian Gulf. Zamorin was well aware of the Portuguese policy. With the knowledge he had received from Muslim merchants, he knew that his authority would be shaken when the Portuguese navy arrives. Zamorin also had a fleet strong enough to extend its authority over the western coast of India. Vasco da Gama, who was a friend of Muslims and ruler of the seas, was in the capital of this King (Panikkar, 1959, p. 33).

The first voyage was just an exploratory one, but Gama limited himself with a trade permit from Zamorin. His refusal to pay the customs duty, however, was a precursor to the grievances ahead. And Gama speaks in astonishment of the presence of the Moorish in the city and of the influence they had in the palace. Bull of Nicholas V was based on the assumption that the Indian people were Christians. Da Gama mistook a Hindu temple in Calicut for a church. The presence of Muslims, their effectiveness in trade, and their influence on Zamorin was an unpleasant surprise, contradicting the expectations of the Portuguese (Panikkar, 1959, pp. 33-34).

The ships sailed from Tagus on July 8, 1497. In the early days of his voyage, Gama began to think about how to approach Cape of Good Hope in the best and most accurate way. Before him, Dias travelled southern from the shores of Angola and

Namibia in the clutches of southeastern trade waters and the Benguela stream. Gama decided to follow the coastal route to Sierra Leone. He then bravely confronted the traditional methods and headed for the sea in the west-southwest direction. He kept his distance for three months without seeing the land. The most important written source of the voyage is a journal written on Sao Rafael ship by a man named Alvaro Velho. The log does not clearly identify which route the fleet is following. The strong winds must have dragged him a few hundred kilometers off the coast of Brazil before Gama returned to the south. And then somewhere between thirty and thirty-five degrees south, they came out of this wind. At this point, Gama was able to use the winds that had become available to return to the east. This is how the city came to Saint Helena Bay in the Western Cape. Here they stopped for a few days to explore the environment, made minor repairs and contacted local Khoisan residents. When left the Saint Helena Bay, Gama returned to the viewing method from the shore. First of all, they made their way to the southwest coast of Africa before turning the Cape of Good Hope. After turning along the Cape, he advanced along the southeastern shores of the continent. Meanwhile, he stood at some points and landed. His first landing was in Mossel Bay, which Dias visited a decade ago. He met the Khoikhoi here. It took up to ten days before Dias erected the final verse beyond the Mossel Bay. From this point on, he had entered unknown areas. On January 10, 1498, the Inharrime River, presumably in southern Mozambique, moved cautiously. Contacted Bantu people. Unlike the Khoikhoi, these people were engaged in agriculture and had a social class system. Gama and his men arrived at the Quelimane River after six weeks. The ships were worn out now and required repairs. Also, scurvy among the crew was beginning to appear and drinking water was running low. They were encouraged to see some native Bantu wearing familiar-style hats in Quelimane when expectations ran out. One

of them suggested that he was familiar with ships like the Portuguese, suggesting that they actually reached the limits of the Indian Ocean trade zone. A week after leaving Quelimane, the fleet reached the southernmost city of Swahili on the East African coast (Disney, 2009, pp. 120-121).

Upon arrival in Mozambique, the Portuguese fleet advanced to India using the navigational knowledge accumulated by Asian sailors over the centuries. They arrived in less than three months from Mozambique to Calicut. Almost half of this time was spent at rest stops in Mozambique, Mombasa and Malindi. Gama received a local guide from Malindi to guide it in the Oman Sea. Contrary to once-commonly accepted opinion, this person is not the famous Arabian sailor of the fifteenth century, Ahmet bin Majid, but an unidentified Gujarati. Under his guidance, the ships arrived on the coast of Kerala, near Calicut, under heavy rain on May 18, 1498. Gama and his men stayed in Calicut for three months. During that time, they gathered information, negotiated with the ruler, and bought a small shipment of spices. They began their voyage back to Portugal in August. But the northeast monsoon was not finished yet, so the sea conditions were unfavorable. For three months, the ships struggled to return to East Africa via the Arabian Sea, fighting successive winds and storms. The crew was devastated by scurvy, with only seven or eight men left to work on each ship. They took a short break in Malindi, leaving Sao Rafael and burning it. They transferred the crew to other ships. They returned to Cape of Good Hope in March 1499 and started their voyage to the Atlantic. Vasco da Gama's brother Paulo died here. Vasco and his remaining men arrived in Tagus, Lisbon, on August 29, 1499, aboard a Sao Gabriel ship and were greeted with joy (Disney, 2009, pp. 121-122).

Vasco da Gama traveled and returned in Africa, traveled longer around the equator than the world, traveled for 90 days off the land, and completed the first

voyage, known for sure, that was made by sea between the West and the East. While what it does is very glamorous, most of the voyage details are vague. The only eyewitness account is an anonymous account or journal held by one of the participants in the voyage described as Alvaro Velho. Other information derives from letters written by Italian merchants in Portugal, letters written by King Manuel I to announce the discovery, and from 16th-century historians. No details are to be agreed. Details such as when the voyage was first planned, why Vasco da Gama was selected, where the ships were built, what their names were, what kinds of crew members were, how many people were killed during the voyage, are not clearly known (Diffie & Winus, 1977, pp. 176-177).

Vasco da Gama was instructed to find his way to India, visit the spice markets of the East, and contact and make deals with the Christian rulers who are supposed to live there. He was carrying a small number of commodities, but those were products that were compatible with the simple economic structure of West Africa, not in accordance with the sophisticated societies of the East. He was instructed to send letters to Prester John and Samorin from Calicut, but he was not sufficiently informed of the Eastern customs. He was therefore not properly prepared. In the West, Kings gave their servants gifts. In the East, the tradition was that visitors brought gifts to the ruler (Diffie & Winus, 1977, pp. 177-178).

Two of his four ships were newly built naus for the expedition. One was a caravel, the other a nau as a supply ship. The ships were built with almost a century of exploration and maritime experiences by Portuguese shipbuilders and sailors. The number of crews is estimated to be as high as 170. Only 55 of them had returned. The other ship captains were Gama's brother Paulo, Nicolau Coelho and Gonalo Nunes. His guidance included some of Portugal's most experienced men, including Pero de

Alenquer, Pero Escobar, Joao de Coimbra and Afonso Gonçalves. His diary author concludes that he left Restelo on the eighth day of July 1497. Sao Jorge was going to Mina and Bartolomeu Dias was accompanying them. The ships left their course on July 27 and reunited in Santiago, in the Cape Verde Islands, where they waited for a week. Sailed from Santiago on August 3 to enjoy a ninety-day sightseeing. The writer also notes that they had left Santiago in the east direction. This route would take them to Africa's well-known shores. On August 18th, Vasco da Gama's Sao Gabriel sailed south, and was involved in a minor accident about 200 yards beyond Santiago. On August 22nd, they sailed southwest and saw 800 boats at sea who looked like fishing. After a while, Gama's guides carried her south and then east to the Gulf of Santa Helena, 100 miles north of Cape of Good Hope (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 178-179).

They rested for eight days to get water, wood and all kinds of stuff in the bay. Then, they set sail and pass Cape on November 22 before reaching Angra de Sao Braz on November 25. Here the cargo ship's cargo was divided among the other ships, the ship was shattered and a padrao was erected. The natives also destroyed this padrao before Gama was far from land. Sailors sail again on December 6, heading north along the eastern coast of Africa. Both the winds and the currents were against them. They still did not reach the so-called Natal point until December 25. On January 11, 1498, they went ashore in South Mozambique, where they called it the "land of the good people" and the "River of Copper" because they ran short of water. On January 24th or 25th, they reached the "Good Omen River" (Rio dos Bans Sinais) probably in Quelimane and planted another padrao. They could not access Sofala, which is set to become one of the future centers of gold trade, due to the west coast penetration of the coast from Inharrime to Cape Quelimane. The crew's condition began to deteriorate, most of them with their hands and feet swollen and unable to eat. After a month, they

set out on Mozambique Island on March 2 to regain their health. Vasco da Gama got some good news here. They said that there were guides who would lead the way in the Indian Ocean in Melinde, just up the coast. Here, they met the first Muslim merchants dominating trade in the Indian Ocean. They set out on March 11 with a guide. Adverse currents, stagnant and winds slowed their ships for some time and managed to sail north on March 27th. They made their way to the north for a day and a half before arriving in Melinde. The ruler was Muslim, but friendly and became a firm ally of the Portuguese. It is stated that, some sources suggest they met the guide Ahmet bin Majid here. While some historians believe that he was the most well-known guide and the maritime authority of its time, this suggestion is not based on documents. With the help of southwest monsoon winds, they moved on northeastern way. They sighted India on May 18, 1498 and anchored Capocate harbor on May 20, few hundred miles north of Calicut (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 179-180).

The day after they arrived at Capocate, they sent men ashore. These men were greeted on land by two Moors from Tunisia, one of them asked in Castilian: “The devil take you! What brought you here?” The answer was, “Christians and spices.” Another group of Moors welcomed the captain with a lot of rubies and emeralds. Portuguese people were surprised to find that their language can be spoken far away from Portugal. The men were found badly dressed; the women were ugly and small. But more importantly, they had gold bracelets and precious stone rings, even on their toes. Da Gama was asked to come to Calicut to see Samorin. The voyage to the city was by boat and land, and the Portuguese were surrounded by thousands of curious people “all of whom came to see them.” And they came down the road to what they thought was a Christian church, and inside it was a little picture that they said represented the Virgin Mary. The Portuguese were so anti-Muslim that they

worshipped them as Christians without fear of Hindu depictions. The Portuguese assumed that the sculptures and worshippers of the Portuguese are Christians, since the so-called “saints”, with their protruding teeth and some arms, looked strange, but lacked the statues and paintings of Muslims. The crowd was so intense that the Portuguese could hardly move. They arrived at the palace and came to the door of the room where Samorin waited for them. There was a brawl and some men were injured. Once inside, they were horrified at the sight of velvets, fine cotton suits, large gold cups, silver pitchers and jeweler worn by Samorin. They moved to a separate room, where da Gama explained the Portuguese quest for a long way to India. He said that their goal was to find Christians like themselves, rather than gold and silver, because gold and silver were “too much in Portugal for those in India not to be needed” (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 181-182).

The following day, on Tuesday, May 29, da Gama prepared gifts for Samorin, which remained rather insignificant compared to the wealth he saw the previous day. The locals laughed at him, and Samorin’s men refused to offer such poor things to the ruler. Da Gama waited all day and night and then left the palace. However, on 30 May, he was again taken to the palace, which was packed with gunmen. He’s been kept here again, and not much respect. Samorin, who eventually received the gifts, ridiculed him about the gifts but was satisfied with the content of the letters he brought. When the Portuguese tried to return to their ships, there was a constant quarrel with the Indians. It was like they were trapped. The Indians also wanted Gama’s fleet to approach the coast, but the Portuguese were afraid the ships would be captured. Da Gama and his men were actually prisoners. The Indians also ordered Gama to bring its goods to land for sale. The merchants he sent were there for eight days, underestimating the goods instead of buying them. They were accused of being

thieves who came to steal. However, the public relations were good. The Portuguese were able to land freely. Sometimes the hungry natives attacked the ships and stole the food. The Portuguese sold their goods for cheap, for cloves, cinnamon and precious stones. After spending three months in India, they decided to return in mid-August (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 182-183).

The Portuguese men went to Samorin to ask for permission to leave and demanded that the King send a gift. But Samorin “showed his evil face” captured some of the Portuguese and banned them from approaching Portuguese ships. “We were sorry that a Christian King treated us so badly,” the blogger says. The mistreatment was blamed on the Moorish at the palace, which sought to discredit the Portuguese. When the situation improved a week later and people began to sail again, “six good people” and 12 others were taken prisoner on August 19th. Then, negotiations began between Indians on the shore and Portuguese to exchange men. Addressing the Portuguese King, Samorin sent a letter to be transported with Diogo Dias, in which he offered cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper and precious stones, in exchange for requesting gold, silver, coral and red fabric. On August 29, leading hostages were released, but others were arrested. Finally, Vasco da Gama, who had brought all his men back, set sail on August 30 and had a brief clash with Samorin’s ships. Among those accompanying him on his return was a Moorish named Moncaide, who served the Portuguese very well and thus would be endangered if he stayed in Calicut (Diffie & Winius, 1977, p. 183).

The voyage to home was terribly difficult. As they left Calicut, they advanced northward in the weak winds. The northeast monsoon season had not yet arrived. On September 10, Vasco da Gama sent one last message to Samorin. On September 15, he planted another padrao on the S. Mary Islands. In Angediva, one person who works

at the service of Yusuf Adil Khan, the Turkish ruler of Bijapur in Western India, who claimed to be a Christian who imitated Muslim took part in the meeting. When the suspected Portuguese whipped him, he confessed to being a spy for Adil Khan, who was preparing to build a fleet to attack the Portuguese. The spy was actually a Polish Jew who had been adventurous in the East for years. He converted to Christianity, named Caspar da Gama, and Vasco da Gama became his godfather. He called as Caspar da India and became very useful to Portuguese people. The Portuguese relaxed in Angediva until October 5, and they continued their dreadful voyage. The winds were either backwards or none. Fresh food and water are down. The scurvy is beginning to appear again. The diary author reiterates his gums growing and the expression of bodies swelling to death, saying, “Thirty men died, equal numbers had died before.” The rest were in very poor condition. The guides also decided to push Gama to return to India, but fortunately they found the favorable wind. They saw the first land in Africa on January 2, 1499, with the arrival of the northeast winds. They continued their voyage and reached the friendly Muslim town of Melindi on February 7th. Melindi had white houses like Portuguese towns, and the land was lush with orange groves. They were greeted by the sultan with water, sheep, poultry, eggs, oranges and other fruits. They were at sea for almost ninety days. Vasco da Gama offered the ruler the best gifts he could and five days later they set sail again. There were few men left on the ships. Sao Rafael's ship goods were transported to Sao Gabriel and Berrio and were burned. They crossed Zanzibar, the rich trading center of the Arabs and the Persians, then Sofala, where the gold was coming from, and stopped on the island of Mozambique to erect the last padrao. They reached Sao Braz on March 3, where they hunted sea lions and penguins for their ships. The writer said that they were all fresh and healthy, and they turned around and made their way into the

Atlantic. Twenty-seven days later, they approached the Cape Verdes and caught in the calm winds. The diary ends at this point. The author may be dead or the copy of the account may be missing. At last, they reached Santiago on the Cape Verdes. Vasco da Gama wanted to take his dying brother Paulo to the Azores to save his life. Berrio's captain, Nicolau Coelho, reached Portugal's Cascais on July 10. Vasco da Gama was not in Lisbon until the end of August or the beginning of September (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 183-184).

The news of the return of the expedition sparked a great excitement and action. There were doubts until Sao Gabriel came back because they brought so little to prove that they were in the East. The rich Italian merchant Sernigi promptly spread the news to his hometown. The day after Nicolau Coelho returned, Happy King Manuel sent a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella acknowledging that the eastern search was a success. India was discovered to be a country with large populations and a business of spices and precious stones. They brought cinnamon, cloves, ginger, small coconut and pepper, along with other spices, trees and precious stones, to a small extent. Returning from the Azores, Vasco da Gama was welcomed with honor by the King. A few but valuable stones, porcelain, silk and spices were laid out before the royal family. "Very little amount and very little value things came," Sernigi says. But at least King understood the great importance of Gama's voyage. His current title was, "King of Portugal and Algarve, Lord of Guinea", he added "and King of Conquest, Maritime Affairs and Trade in Ethiopia, Arabia, Iran and India." The Portuguese Kings had never used a special title such as "King" or "emperor" on these eastern countries, even though this was suggested to them by their governors. The Pope was informed of the return of Vasco da Gama. Manuel stated that Samorin, like other Indian administrators, was "Christian." It would have taken some time before the

Portuguese, who had been fighting for centuries with Muslims in Portugal and Africa, learned that not all other non-Muslims were Christians. Great opportunities for the Christian conquests in the East were laid before the pope and many strengthening grants to Portugal for the Atlantic islands were repeated for the East (Diffie & Winius, 1977, pp. 185-186).

By the end of the sixteenth century, Portuguese were the only European nation in permanent connection with West Africa. In the early years of the coastal exploration, there were sailors and merchants from the ports of Castile. Also, Portuguese service had a large number of Italians. After Columbus' 1492 voyage, Castile's attempts turned towards the America. Since 1480, French and British merchants did occasional expeditions to Guinea. However, these attempts were not supported by their own governments and were not able to cope with the progress Portugal was making with its state power. After Vasco da Gama's 1497-1499 expedition, Africa was pushed into the background, with India as the main target. Because Africa had less resources and its people were less organized. Interest in Africa had been concentrated only in those areas that are capable of producing commodities that are sufficiently valuable for trade, or in areas where a certain political organization may be making Portugal its will (Fage, 2008, pp. 503-504).

A speech by the Portuguese envoy Vasco Fernandes de Lucena to the Pope in December 1485 shows that, even before Bartholomeu Dias' expedition and Pero de Covilha's expedition, Dom Joao II believed that a certain sea route would be opened for India in the very near future. In this conversation, the envoy informs the Pope that Portuguese explorer ships will soon enter the Indian Ocean and come into contact with Prester John and other Christian Kings believed to be present in this remote land (*obscurissima fama*). There is no mention of spices, but it is quite natural. If Dom Joao

II was planning to attack the Venice-Mamluk monopoly at the time, it would be foolish to announce it publicly in Rome before the Pope. Dom Joao II's interest in Prester John and Asian spices was followed by Dom Manuel I, and continued by him. In July 1497, Vasco da Gama embarked on his famous voyage and accompanied by letters of spices, gold, and pearls to be delivered to Prester John and the Calicut race. He was ordered to show these goods to the people of the region along the coast of Africa. They were thus hoping that these people would recognize the valuable goods and demonstrate through sign language or interpreters their whereabouts (Boxer, 1969, p. 35).

Vasco da Gama's expedition was a result of the merger of nautical science with endurance. It was the longest distance voyage ever recorded. Gama's arrival from Lisbon to Calicut took more than ten months and it took about eleven months to return. A tremendous commitment and patience was shown for this voyage, which eclipsed all the pre-discovery voyages of the past. Europe and Asia were connected by the sea. The results of the expedition were very important for all Portuguese, especially King Manuel. During the voyage, Vasco da Gama was not only King Manuel's admiral, but also his ambassador abroad to represent him. They were also expected to gather as much information as possible. Gama and his colleagues needed to be mentally and culturally adequate for these tasks. Even though Portuguese people knew the cultures on the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean and West Africa at the end of the fifteenth century, they did not know or know the great civilizations located in the east of Cape of Good Hope. Gama and his men tried to understand the Indian society that they encountered in Kerala and determine how they should behave towards them. In doing so, they had an image of India, largely taken from medieval

legends. Therefore, misunderstandings between the two groups were inevitable (Disney, 2009, p. 122).

Gama had communication problems in Africa. He brought along a few people who were familiar with the known parts of the continent, who he hoped would be used to communicate with other Africans. He instructed one of those people who lived in the Gulf of Saint Helena, the Kingdom of Congo, to try to talk to Khoisan. He then asked the same man to communicate with a Bantu in the Inharrime River, but neither attempt was successful. The parties had trouble getting along with each other. From Gama's point of view, the setbacks in Africa were not serious, but they were disappointing. True diplomacy did not occur until the fleet reached the Indian Ocean trade zone. In this region, Gama boarded a few who knew Arabic fluently to serve as interpreters. When it reached the Swahili coast, Gama used its Arabic-speaking interpreters to communicate with the heads of the port cities it visited. So he started playing the role of ambassador. Gifts were exchanged and hostages were taken, but Gama was cautiously waiting on the flagship. Relations in Mozambique and Mombasa were strained. Portuguese were regarded as unwelcome Christian intruders. There was a false belief among Gama and his men that the populations of towns in the region were equally divided between Christians and Muslims, and that Muslims are politically dominated. For that reason, tensions increased even more. However, in Malindi, the ruler welcomed the Portuguese. Because he saw them as divine allies that he could use against his enemy, Mombasa; Along with Gama, the Malindi ruler sent an envoy to Lisbon, and friendship relations between Malindi and Portugal improved. Meanwhile, Gama believed he was being treated deceptively in Mozambique and Mombasa. For this reason, he acted more cautiously in Calicut. In Calicut, he first decided to introduce himself as Manuel's ambassador. But to take the role, he had to

leave the ship and land. He landed and on May 28, 1498, made an exaggerated statement to local ruler samorin about the wealth and power of Manuel. He told the local ruler that Manuel saw him as a friend and earned his trust. However, Gama did not bring any gifts as the locals would have wanted. That's why he had trouble. Later, Gama was granted a trade permit. But it came with very few products that could be marketed, and it had no experience in the local market. Tension rose in the following days between Muslim merchants and Portuguese people who dominated Calicut's spice market. Local authorities had suspected Gama of attempting to evade port controls. Therefore, requests for an interview with samorin had started to be rejected. Gama then took hostages and responded. In late August 1498, while returning to Portugal, he took some of the hostages with him (Disney, 2009, pp. 123-124).

In Gama's fleet, there were at least three Arabic speakers, a language widely known on the coast of Kerala. There were a few people who understood Italian and Spanish in Calicut. Thus, unlike Khoisan, Khoikhoi and some Bantu, it was possible from the beginning to communicate verbally with the people of Calicut. However, because the language of the samorin palace was Malayalam, Gama's diplomatic efforts were hindered by linguistic difficulties. In order to communicate, it was necessary to translate Portuguese, Arabic and Malayalam using the services of the local Arabic-Malayalam interpreters not trusted by the Portuguese. The fact that a short vocabulary added to Alvaro Velho's *roteiro* is true indicates that some members of the expedition had acquired some Malayalam knowledge during their three-month stay. It is doubtful, however, that in such a short time someone had learned enough words to converse in a meaningful way. Furthermore, Gama had trouble because he was not familiar with established procedures in the palace of samorin. In fact, he was sometimes not as insensitive to local customs as he was supposed to be. For example,

by learning to put his hands together in the traditional Hindu prayers, he quickly adopted a few principles of Indian etiquette (Disney, 2009, p. 124).

Though Gama received sufficient business intelligence during its three-month stay in Calicut, it was unable to fully understand local political and cultural landscapes. When they came to Kerala, Portuguese people thought that Muslims and Christians were in the city, and they regarded the Hindus they met as Eastern Christians, which led them to the misconception that most of the Calicut people were Christians. When they returned to Portugal, they declared that almost all of Asia was ruled by Christian princes, with the only exception being Muslim Bengal. Portuguese later learned from reliable sources that most Indians were neither Christians, nor Muslims, nor Jews. So they tagged them as gentios, which is non-beliefs. This misunderstanding may sound surprising. Because thanks to the narratives of travelers such as Marco Polo (1254-1324) and Nicolo di Conti (1395-1469), India's paganistic civilization was already known in the West. If the report by Pero de Covilha sent from Cairo reached Lisbon, it should have warned Portuguese authorities about the religious beliefs here. The explanation for this misunderstanding is that Gama and his men may be deliberately misled by some people they had been in contact with in East Africa and Asia. Despite these misunderstandings, the Gama expedition uncovered some aspects specific to Indian society, such as the existence of caste differences, the spread of vegetarianism, and provided information about its traditions. Many of Calicut-based Hindus also thought that the Portuguese were, in the beginning, another foreign Muslim group. They had difficulty identifying and classifying them. They were surprised by why they were wearing different dresses and why many didn't speak Arabic. Both sides had much to learn about the other (Disney, 2009, pp. 124-125).

In late 1498 or early 1499, Columbus wrote a letter to sponsors Ferdinand and Isabella of the island of Hispaniola (now Haiti) to describe the results of his third voyage. In it, he praised the Portuguese and their Kings who had discovered West African coasts, noting that they had achieved this despite the high cost of money and manpower. He talked about the time they entered Guinea, the money and human expenses they spent on discovering these lands, the conquests of Ceuta, Tangiers, Aveilla and Alcazar, and their clash with Muslims, all of which he said they had done in the name of God and in order to increase God's sovereignty. Columbus intended to inspire and motivate the Spanish monarchs to support his expeditions, especially his own. While Columbus wrote these to Ferdinand and Isabella, Portuguese captain Vasco da Gama had already turned the Cape of Good Hope to capture the riches of Asia (Love, 2006, p. 9).

Vasco da Gama's 1497-99 expeditions are famous. Although we do not know certainly of the motivations behind the first Portuguese expeditions, after the death of Prince Henrique (1460) they focused mainly on Prester John and Guinea gold. During Dom Joao II era, Asian spices were added to motivations. Having reached Calicut, two Tunisians who speak Spanish approach the first man from Gama's team and ask: "which devil brought you here?" the man answers: "we are here to look for Christians and spices." In July 1499, when Gama's first ship returned to Tagus, he wrote a letter to King Manuel, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, announcing that the explorers had reached their destination, finding large quantities of cloves, cinnamon and other spices, and precious stones such as rubies. He also said that in an exaggerated manner, they found land containing gold mines. He states that he took control of the spice trade in the Indian Ocean from Muslims with the help of newly discovered Indian "Christians." Thus, the Venice-Muslim trade monopoly on

spices and Asian luxury products would be replaced by the Portuguese monopoly by sea around Cape of Good Hope. A few weeks later, in an article written to the cardinal-protector of Portugal in Rome, the King asked the cardinal to re-approve the Pope's edicts allowing the newly discovered lands to dominate the Kingdom of Portugal. In this letter sent to Rome on 28 August 1499, King Manuel described himself as "inter alia", the lord of Guinea and of conquest and exploration, and of the trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Iran and India." The style of King Manuel's letters to the Spanish ruler and to the Papacy, coupled with his hasty attitude as to the Indian Ocean sovereign, when there are no Portuguese ships in the region, shows us two things. First, he decided to establish Portuguese control with weapons in the Asian spice trade. The second is that he's thinking of helping the fellow Indian "Christians" (not strict Roman Catholics). The belief that the Portuguese spice monopoly earned is that Christian allies could be found on the land surrounding the Indian Ocean helped King Manuel to dispel some of his advisers and to transport his small Kingdom to Monsoon Asia (Boxer, 1969, pp. 36-37).

During the period of Manuel I (1496-1521), gold worth 170,000 dobras and even some years more were imported only from Sao Jorge da Mina. While slaves and gold were the main thing Portuguese sought in Senegambia and Guinea, other West African products, such as the types of pepper, malagueta, monkeys and parrots, also became a lucrative market in Portugal (Boxer, 1969, p. 29).

In 1497, Vasco da Gama visited the Cape of Good Hope, sailed across the Indian Ocean and reached the port of Calicut on India's Malabar Coast. This new phase focused on establishing trade networks in Asia rather than exploring unknown lands. There were two things at the center of success. First, there was a sea-power vacuum in this region when China withdrew after 1433. If the Chinese continued

Zheng He's seven expeditions in 1405, perhaps the Portuguese would have been moving to Europe from Africa's periphery instead of the Portuguese trying to find a sea route to India. Ming sea power was growing at this time, and China was Asia's dominant naval power. But suddenly they had to step out of international communication and remain within their own boundaries, and this topic was closed and no other Kingdom of Asia continued. In Egypt, Iran, and Vijayanagar in southern India was not even completely sailing. Even in wealthy and strategic locations, such as Hormuz in the Persian Gulf and Malacca at the tip of the Malay Peninsula, there were no ships to sail in the ocean. However, their trade was completely dependent on the sea (Love, 2006, pp. 21-22).

The second condition for Portugal's success was the geographical integrity and trade unity of the Asian seas. These formed an interdependent and integrated region, despite such diverse cultures from eastern Africa to Japan. This union, however, also made Asia very vulnerable to a sea power that would reign. The Portuguese here combined naval forces with pragmatism and cruelty. They quickly disposed of all regional naval forces, taking control of them in the Asian trade. They established a maritime empire that was secured by military ships and feitorias built in strategic locations from Mozambique to China. As a result, within a decade of its arrival, and much of the subsequent 16th century, Portugal remained the dominant force in the Asian seas (Love, 2006, p. 22).

The Portuguese were peaceful and interested only in trade and not in conquest. In July 1497, when Vasco da Gama sailed from Lisbon, he received maps with him, reports from other explorers such as Bartolomeu Dias, and reports from King Manuel I (r. 1495-1521), in addition to letters, goods such as gold, pearls, wool textiles, bronze products, and iron and kitchenware were given to be exchanged for spices in

India. In fact, before leaving, according to 16th century historian Gaspar Correa, Gama asked the King to hand over a few sentenced criminals and offered to leave them at countries along the way. Because if they survived, the criminals could learn the language and the geographical features of that place, which could be a huge advantage in returning; It was clearly a commercial task, not a duty to discover and claim the unknown lands for the Portuguese Crown (Love, 2006, pp. 22-23).

In South India, Gama had found a developed, wealthy and cosmopolitan culture. They had rich Asian goods. As a leading trading hub, it was possible to find peppers, cloves, ginger, cinnamon, gemstones, gold jewelry, and silk and cotton textiles in Calicut markets. By comparison, the goods brought in by the Portuguese were poor in quality and workmanship and not received much attention from domestic merchants. Two Tunisian merchants who speak Spanish and Italian were assigned to Gama as interpreters by local authorities. With their help, some goods were exchanged for the pepper load. In 1499, the fleet returned to Europe, almost half of its crew lost through illness and accidents (Love, 2006, p. 23).

Despite these losses, Gama eliminated the suspicions of whether there was a sea route to Asia or whether it was profitable. With the success of his captain, King Manuel was named “The Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and the Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Iran and India”. The economic benefit of the expedition encouraged the Portuguese to embark on new expeditions, regardless of the dangers at sea. They wanted to take advantage of the Indian trade they had just found. Muslim Arabs were stationed in all ports and made them love themselves, so they were very strong, and dominated maritime trade from East Africa to India and the Malacca Strait. It wouldn't be long before the newly arrived Christians made threats. The sincere greeting for Gama by the Calicut judge was extinguished when the Muslim public did

not want the Portuguese. The public consider them as people who had come to spy on, conquer, and plunder. Furthermore, the low-quality gifts Gama gave to the Hindu prince were considered a humiliation, further worsening the relationship. As a result, when the fleet returned to the country in 1499, a distrust occurred between himself and the royal family (Love, 2006, p. 24).

Hindus, Nestorian Christians and other ethnic and religious groups had also joined the movement to move goods in Asian waters. The Arab and minority Muslims had peaceful trade control in the region, they married local women, they spread Islam to the region, and they collaborated with local merchants and established good relations with local administrators. Local princes did not intervene much in trade, as they themselves profited from trade through some family relationships and small partnerships. Some historians argue that: There was no reason to believe that, despite their hostile reception, the Portuguese had not joined this mixed merchant group, and their only problem was that their European goods were not in demand among the Asian buyers. But that's irrational. In 1498, Portuguese understood from Gama that the only way to break the trade supremacy of Arabs in the region was to be to brute force rather than peaceful competition, otherwise they would face off with exclusion (Love, 2006, pp. 24-25).

According to data from Joao de Barros, Lopez de Castanheda, Pedro Barretto de Rezende, and Manuel Faria y Sousa, Vasco da Gama's ships and officers are described below.

Sao Gabriel, flag ship. Vasco da Gama first captain, Pero d'Alenquer guide, Gonçalo Alvares master, Diogo Dias clerk. Sao Raphael, Paulo da Gama captain, Joao de Coimbra guide, Joao de Sa clerk. Berrio, Nicolau Coelho captain, Pero Escolar guide, Alvaro de Braga clerk. Captain of the cargo vessel was Gonçalo Nunes. Correa,

and the anonymous author of another work, calls Berrio as Sao Miguel, and make Sao Raphael the flagship. L. Figueiredo de Falcao, on the other hand, replaces Sao Miguel with Sao Raphael. The vessel, commonly known as Berrio, must later be Christianized under the name Sao Miguel (Ravenstein, 2010, p. 157).

Berrio-type ships were the type of ships that were used in Portugal from the 13th to the 16th century, and were frequently used to explore the African coast after the barrel-type ships drew on shovels were abandoned. They usually didn't exceed 200 tons and had three or four masts. Berrio was only a 50-tons ship named after its former owner and guide (Ravenstein, 2010, pp. 157-158).

The supply ship is said to be 110 tons in some sources, 200 tons in some sources. This ship, called the *caravela redonda*, had square sails on the main and front masts. This ship was purchased from Ayres Correa, a ship-owner from Lisbon (Ravenstein, 2010, p. 158).

Sao Gabriel and Sao Raphael were built specifically for the voyage. In the last year of King Joao's reign, the timber from these two ships was cut from the dynasty's forests in Leiria and Alcacer. When the ships were built, the King Fernando Lourenço ordered the ships to be equipped by. The Mines family man was one of the pioneers of his time (Ravenstein, 2010, p. 159). The authorities vary greatly in the tonnage of these two ships. Sernigi says that each one is 90 tons and therefore partially supports Correa, who says the three ships were built in the same size and model, including Berrio. D. Pacheco Pereira says that the biggest of these is not more than 100 tons, while J. de Barros gives a number between 100 and 120 tons; Castanheda specifies 120 tons to flagship and 100 tons to Sao Raphael (Ravenstein, 2010, pp. 160-161). Not only was the quantity of goods transported on the ships insufficient, but it also proved that they were not completely in line with the Indian market. It is understood

that it contains cotton, sugar, olive oil, honey and coral beads. Among the souvenirs were unimportant items such as washbasins, red caps, silk jackets, pants, hats, Moorish hats, glass beads, small round bells, tin rings and bracelets, which were suitable for swap on the Guinea coast but not appreciated by the rich merchants of Calicut. All this is evident in the letters of D. Manuel and Signor Sernigi (Ravenstein, 2010, p. 166).

The scientific apparatus of the expedition was, as you can safely imagine, the best available at the time. The scholar D. Diogo Ortiz de Vilhegas supplied Da Gama with maps and books, almost naturally, including a copy of Ptolemy and copies of information on the East gathered in Lisbon in previous years. Among the reports sent home by Pero de Covilha was undoubtedly found a place along with the information provided by Lucas Marcos, a priest from Ethiopia who visited Lisbon in 1490 (Ravenstein, 2010, pp. 166-167).

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Astronomical tools were supplied by astronomer Zacut. Among these tools were a large wooden astrolabe, smaller metal astrolabes and quadrants. Also, a copy of Zacut's work, *Almanach perpetuum celestium motuum aijus radix est*, dated 1473, was in the ship. This copy was translated by Jose Vizinho and published in Leiria in

1496. Zacut's astronomical charts allowed Vasco to calculate latitudes by observing the height of the sun (Ravenstein, 2010, pp. 167-168).

Of course, there was enough compass, drilling bullets, hourglass, and probably also a *catena a poppa*, that is, a rope to determine the ship's movement and a *toleta de marteloia*, the graphic alternative to our modern traverse charts. Both had been used by Italians for a long time. It is also possible that Vasco was given an eccentric compass and a variation compass to determine the time of the rise of water in the ports he visited. This device was a combination of a magnetic needle and a sundial and was invented by Peurbach around 1460. We would think that Vasco would have a variation compass for Cabo das Agulhas, or "Needle Cape," because the needle there would have to point north, the Cape would have been named after the needle pointing out the place. It was so shown on Cantino's Map and that would be possible only after a true observation (Ravenstein, 2010, pp. 168-169).

Finally, attention must be drawn to the *Padraos* or stone columns on ships, three of which are dedicated to S. Raphael, S. Gabriel and S. Maria in the clear desire of the King. Barros and Castanheda said these columns resemble those erected by Cao and Dias during D. Joao II period. In a series of drawings Manuel wanted to had commissioned to celebrate the discovery of India, *Padrao* would be depicted in Cape of Good Hope, on which there would be a note to indicate history, a Cross, a royal emblem and a pelican (Ravenstein, 2010, p. 169).

Vasco da Gama's navy officers and men were handpicked. Many had been to the Cape with Bartholomeu Dias. Authorities vary widely in the number of men aboard. Sernigi says there were 118 people onboard, 55 died during the voyage and only 63 returned. Galvao says there are 120 other people, as well as the men in the warehouse. Castanheda and Goes raise the number to 148, only 55 return and many

are in poor health. Faria y Sousa and San Ramon say there were 160 people, and the second one adds that 93 of them died during the voyage, so King Manuel's letter of 20th February 1504 confirmed that less than half died. According to Barros, there were 170 men, including soldiers and sailors. Correa raises the number to 260 because he says there are 80 officers and men on each of the three ships, including servants, as well as six convicts and two priests. He says nothing about the supply ship. Only 150 of them are said to be alive when Vasco da Gama reaches Rio de Misericordia (Ravenstein, 2010, p. 173).

Correa is undoubtedly exaggerating, but the numbers of the Sernigi are also wrong. The most logical is the number 170 issued by Barros. Accordingly, there were 70 people on the flagship, 50 on S. Raphael, 30 on the caravel and 20 on the supply ship. The flag ship carried 1 captain, 1 master, 1 guide, 1 assistant guide, 20 skilled sailors, 10 ordinary sailors, 2 boys, 1 artillery chief, 8 artillery, 4 trumpet players, 1 clerk, 1 warehouse attendant, 1 juror, 1 barber - surgeon, 2 interpreters, 1 priest, roper, carpenter, tin plainer, copper, armorer and cook, 6 craftsmen and 10 servants. Some of these servants may be black slaves. Degredados are also included in total. There is no record of whether special gentlemen voluntarily participated in the expedition (Ravenstein, 2010, p. 174).

The navigators of the expedition were Vasco da Gama, the chief captain of S. Gabriel; his brother Paulo da Gama, who commands S. Raphael; Nicolau Coelho, the captain of S. Miguel – Berrio; Gonalo Nunes or Gonalo Gomes, the captain of supply ship; S. Gabriel's guide, Pero d'Alenquer, S. Raphael's guide, Joao de Coimbra, and Pero Escolar, Berrio's guide. Bartholomeu Dias' brother Diogo Dias was a clerk in S. Gabriel. The interpreters were Fernao Martins, an African slave who could speak Arabic with Martim Affonso who lived in the Congo. And there were

natives who later boarded the ship in the east. One of them, Gaspar da Gama, is the Moorish who had joined Vasco on the Island of Anjediva. He was forty years old and spoke Venetian well. King Manuel's letter describes him as a Jewish citizen of Alexandria. There is a person named Monçaide who came to Vasco's ship in Calicut. This man was a Tunisian and speak Castilian. He accompanied Vasco and was baptized on his return to Portugal. Correa says that he was originally from Seville and that he was kidnapped and converted to Muslims when he was five, and that his real name was Alonso Perez. Another important person was Malemo Canaqua, who guided Vasco from Melinde to Calicut. This man was a Gujarati native, and Malemo meant to be a teacher. Vasco da Gama is said to have taken the eighteen Moors with him. It has written in the "diary" which he freed six of them and sent one of them to Zamorin with a letter on his hand (Ravenstein, 2010, pp. 175-181).

6. THE STRUCTURE OF STATE IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY PORTUGAL

6.1. Military

A new aristocracy emerged in Portugal in the 11th and 12th centuries. According to this, people were classified by their roles in the reconquista, and foreigners could be involved. Higher-ranking ricos-homens families were usually of foreign origin, while beneath them were ingenui, old and free families. The others were cavalry, cavaleiro riders; terrestrial escudeiros and infantry, infanções. By the 14th century, the aristocracy was distinguished by clear lines, with residents living near the royal palace and those living in their own little rural hometown usually seen in northwest Portugal (Nicolle, 2012, p. 10).

Until military reform at the end of the 14th century, the conscription system was based on an old system that had a strong effect of Andalusian. People, who own land, possess horses, weapons, and ammunition had to serve as cavaleiros-vilaos, or peasant cavalry. Some urban merchants were also included in this category (Nicolle, 2012, p. 10).

The Portuguese armed forces, which fought in Aljubarrota in 1385 and in Ceuta in 1415, were essentially a group of armed men and nobles who led them. The great nobles took contias from the dynasty. Contias means the income or the land tied to them at birth. That meant that they were dedicated to military service as vassallos del rey. They had to provide a certain number of spearmen. In fact, the men of the great nobles were special armies who worked independently of the dynasty. These troops, if needed, would then enter the royal army and serve under the orders of their foreman, sent to raids and piracy expeditions if needed. In return, they expected to cover expenses, make payments, offer financial rewards and offer more jobs. In addition to Vassallos del Rey and his spear troops, some of the soldiers were supplied from the towns. The most important of these is the archery class “besteiros” who use

crossbows. Founded in the 14th century, this group was particularly chosen among artisans and they had the financial privileges to keep themselves ready for war, educated and equipped at all times. They chose their own leader. They spread across the country and were even tasked with defending African forts in the 15th century. There were also tax payers called *aquintados*. They were responsible for the care of soldiers on horseback or foot. This group was not popular and there were a lot of complaints about abuse. The King sometimes seized these men's horses without paying their fee (Newitt, 2005, pp. 13-14).

Crusader spirit on the earliest Portuguese overseas expeditions, appealed to foreign volunteers who were motivated by religion. For example, two gentlemen from southwestern France, who had served the King greatly during the previous war, wanted to participate in the Ceuta attack in 1415. Other foreign volunteers included nobility and adventurous merchants from Germany and England. These merchants also included a German gentleman who fought alongside Ruy Gonçaves in the siege of Ceuta (Nicolle, 2012, pp. 17-18).

There were military orders that played a major role in the domestic affairs of the country. These were Santiago, Avis, Christ, and Hospital. These four important knight orders were put under the royal control in the 15th century. Members of the dynasty are being appointed to orders' mastership. Orders protected border and coastal castles and ammunition, and supplying troops when army was to be assembled. The knights of Christ and Santiago in particular supplied manpower. The commanders of the expedition, captains of the islands and commanders of overseas castles were chosen from among the knights of the orders. But the orders didn't like to be held responsible for overseas service, and they were often against it. The ideology of all these feudal armies was still on knighthood and the crusade. Those who were

members of the orders could gain great wealth from the knighthood, and could receive awards such as command, town and fortress. He was making a living by war, helping to build a successful career. The household was paying the military's fees for lack of funds, from revenues such as confiscation, ransom and looting. The search for looting, ransom and slaves is becoming widespread as nobles had to constantly reward their people (Newitt, 2005, pp. 13-14).

When it comes to the Military Orders, the Crown followed a much more complicated set of tactics. There was a division in the papacy, with the Portuguese following the Pope in Rome, and the Castilians following the Pope in Avignon. This allowed orders' Portuguese branches to get rid of the Castile chain. The Order of Christ was a whole Portuguese order. But the Santiago and Avis orders had become more "nationalized" in the process. Members of the royal family were given the Masters of these Orders, as a way to keep them in the Kingdom. This tactic was primarily preferred during the reign of the Avis Dynasty, which ruled from 1385 until 1580. Dom Joao I, the founder of the dynasty, was appointed Lord of Avis. His son Infante Dom Henrique was the master of the Jesus order, his brother Dom Joao was the master of the Avis order, and his younger brother Dom Fernando was the master of the of Santiago. Later, the ruler Dom Manuel tried to have the Pope nominate him for the mastery of all three orders, but failed to achieve (Subrahmanyam, 2012, p. 37).

The Portuguese people alongside clergy (clero) and nobles (nobreza) in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were described simply as povo (the people). The best among them, cidadaos or homens-bons, would often be called cavaleiros vilaos, but that would not make them noble. They were members of service classes, craftsmen and merchants. Apparently, they were men who seemed to have mostly supported Dom Joao I in his proposal for the throne in 1383-85. Assoldados and

jornaleiros (headworkers), who worked for artisans or were housemaids, cattle feeder, and agricultural workers, had lower status but many more in count. These members of Gente miuda or Gente baixa — “little people” — were granted only limited mobility. Their status was therefore much weaker than that of the homens-bons or the doutors (law, medicine or religion), or indeed of the lavradores, the peasant (Subrahmanyam, 2012, p. 37).

Like other European kings, the Portuguese King generally relied on professional soldiers. These were the Royal Guards of 200 men and many more Military Orders. The dynasty sought to exercise control over these religious events, and in 1420, the pope allowed Prince Henrique to become the director of the Order of Christ. Twenty-three years later, the order took a major step in the creation of the Portuguese overseas empire by obtaining spiritual rule and jurisdiction over all the lands, islands and coasts that were conquered and will be conquered (Nicolle, 2012, p. 12).

In the early overseas conquests of Portugal, colonial units were never used. It is said that Gonçalo Velho Cabral left several Moorish of unknown origin in the deserted the Azores in May 1444 and ordered them to explore the area. Cabral came back next spring with several European settlers. Because Madeira and the Azores are uninhabited, a mixture was not possible between settlers and locals. In Africa, meanwhile, mixed-blood communities soon emerged. They were called “mulatto” in the meant of hybrids. The West African mulatto community mediated between Portuguese and Africans (Nicolle, 2012, p. 18).

At first, Henrique had little public support for his ideas of discovery because the business was not seen as profitable. However, this attitude changed rapidly when the revenue began pouring into Portugal, and the aristocrats saw this as a chance to

gain and earn honour. The Algarve region and the port of Lagos were the first to benefit from exploratory activities. According to Zurara, the residents of this region were the first to ask permission from Henrique to go to the land where the slaves were brought (Nicolle, 2012, p. 20).

The first victims of the slave raids were both Muslims and black Africans. The religious factor continued to matter in slavery. Portuguese forces, which conquered various coastal areas in Morocco in the 15th century, considered themselves as Crusaders (Nicolle, 2012, pp. 20-21).

In those centuries, there were personal motivations. Among the strongest of these motivations was the desire to win a reputation for military service or knighthood which was pervasive among the Portuguese military elites. Zurara explains the fleet that was brought together in 1415 to attack Ceuta. According to this, Henrique had made great uniforms for all his captains. The lords dressed their men in the colors of their families. All the ships were equipped with the grand banners of the knights of Order of Christ and small flags in the colors of Henrique. People watched in amazement, as they were adorned with new and golden ornaments. Moreover, contrary to popular belief, high-ranking individuals wore wooly uniforms while lower-ranking workers wore silk clothing (Nicolle, 2012, p. 22).

In the Portuguese conquests, the habit of calling the men who deserve the most on the battlefield of the middle Ages a knight continued. This opportunity motivated many volunteers. Proving his services to the palace, took *doaços*, meaning donation, and obtained land grants in locations close to overseas police stations. The inhabitants of this land, also called *Mouros de paz*, were paying their taxes to the commander of the nearest fortress. However, this system was not very successful because the people

who sought an award usually wanted to buy land from Portugal or in peace-dominated lands (Nicolle, 2012, p. 22).

The military force of the nobles was supported by the King's personal guards, individual warlords, mercenaries and allies. The veteran and talented mercenary class held an important place in the Portuguese army at the time. Many Portuguese troops had served abroad for other countries. Even the Muslim rulers of North Africa had Portuguese mercenaries. In the continuity of such an army, recruitment and labor problems could arise, as well as logistics problems in terms of nutrition and salary provision. In the 14th and 15th centuries there was a royal arsenal in Lisbon that housed military hardware. Military clans were also expected to keep their weapons in their forts. Casa da Ceuta was generated to coordinate the ships and expeditions with the advancement of the African expeditions and the conquests in Morocco, and an effort was made to make the Dynasty more effective in the slave trade. Thus, the earliest institutions of the empire emerged to support the feudal army of Dynasty (Newitt, 2005, pp. 14-15).

From the mid-15th century, low and medium ranked leaders of the Portuguese expeditions and the resulting overseas outposts were *fidalgos* coming from old knights class. The *Fidalgos* were enthusiastic and brave men who wanted to prove themselves (Nicolle, 2012, p. 13). During the 15th century, a divide occurred between territorial nobles based on land and those called the royal nobles or the *Nobreza de servico*. The term *fidalgo*, which corresponds to a Castilian *hidalgo* and is in fashion since the end of the thirteenth century, was initially used to describe a much larger class of people, often nothing more than rural nobles accelerating upward. However, in the fifteenth century it became to be used with other titles, such as the *cavaleiros-fidalgos*, *escudeiros-fidalgos*, etc. Later, we learn much of Portugal's expansion in Asia from

nobreza de servico, nobility of nobles who actually joined the palace or were the King's representatives in the states (Subrahmanyam, 2012, p. 37).

The real basis of the Portuguese military force came from the integration of naval power and artillery. The most successful military operations in Portugal in the 15th century were the onshore attacks on coastal towns, villages and settlements in Morocco. In the beginning, ships traditionally approach the shore and bring soldiers ashore. But in the middle of the century, ships were carrying both artillery and used to attack onshore targets. The Portuguese developed the traditional Mediterranean caravel for their voyage to the African coast and the islands, which now had at least one cannon. Small weapons were even mounted on long boats used to get ashore. Artillery insertion had addressed the problem of moving heavy weapons onshore. Because the enormous iron cannon of the 15th century could be moved very slowly and with difficulty, it was useless in almost any military operation except prolonged sieges. But a ship could easily become a floating battery, maneuver easily, defend itself from counterattacks and allow the largest cannons of time to be assembled. It is argued that in the 15th century, the Iberians were the leaders in the use and development of the artillery. It was the cannons that led to the succession of Moroccan coastal towns. In Iberia, as in other European armies, widespread use of firearms had helped to abandon the former feudal armies. Guns needed expertise and care. They were supposed to be supported by ammunition. They must have been assembled in ships and forts. Moreover, since the forts of Morocco could be attacked at any moment, men had to be in charge of the guns at any time. All this increased the need for professional and sustained powers (Newitt, 2005, pp. 15-16).

The completion of the Portuguese reconquista, the peace with Castilians and the end of Portugal's participation in the Hundred Years' War generated a crisis for

the knights who were nourished from military service. In part as a result, a foreign war was needed to occupy the class of soldiers, and the target was Ceuta. Many young men of high status joined the pirates and began hunting Muslim ships and seeking rewards. Over time, they generated a pool of manpower that could become a skilled navigational crew, a skilled long-distance expedition (Nicolle, 2012, p. 13).

In the chain of command, the men of the leading Vassallos del Rey or men of the military orders formed special armies, while many of the castles in Portugal were controlled by Order of Christ, or noble families entitled to appoint commanders. Aquantiados and besteiros had the right to choose their commander. It wasn't easy to recruit all these different troops into one army. During the war, Kings appointed a *fronteiriomor*, a prince, and took command in some parts of the country. But the question of who should lead the armed forces came back to attention in early times of Estado da India. It was partly resolved by nomination of a governor. Fleet commanders claimed they still had independent authority (Newitt, 2005, p. 16).

In the 15th century, the Crusading spirit decreased as Portuguese outposts spread to the coast of West Africa. But soon after they returned to South Africa, the Portuguese faced fierce Muslim resistance. This had led to the revival of Islam's antagonism, to increased prestige and prosperity in the Order of Christ military order, and to the militarization of Portugal's expedition and trade fleets. Many leaders and captains participated in the order and their ships left Lisbon with the order's flag. While medieval military orders retained their existence, Portuguese overseas territories had established so-called captains, and an overseas management system had been developed (Nicolle, 2012, p. 13).

Little is known about Portuguese military training. In *Livro da Ensinança de Bem Cavalagar Todo Sela*, written by King Duarte in 1438, it is explained how to use

a lance on horseback in four different ways. However, they state that the ability to launch a spear on a horse should be first learned on foot. It was essentially a Moor-Andalusia tactic, requiring a different saddle. King Duarte's recommendations on the use of the sword also include the effects of Islamic procedure rather than the techniques seen elsewhere in Western Europe. The King advises Portuguese cavalry that they should be skilled in all riding techniques and that they should be more nimble than Moroccan horses (Nicolle, 2012, p. 23).

It is argued that the first real national navy in Western Europe was composed of the Portuguese royal ships of the late middle Ages. The formation of the Portuguese navy began when the galleys were actually the most influential warships. They were used previously for coastal raids and rarely attacked commercial vessels. In 1381, France's ally, Castile, worried more about Portuguese galleys than British ships on the English Channel. In the late 14th century, Portuguese ships often visited British ports. They could be arrested to serve the British dynasty. They carried horses and men to England. The Portuguese ships influenced the British allies in size and strength. After the adoption of the cannons during maritime wars, heavy weapons were installed on the front boards of battle galleys, which already had the advantage of maneuverability. What could not be changed was the limited range of galleys. Once the Portuguese capitalized on the seas and took control of the ports, they began to use them in the Indian Ocean (Nicolle, 2012, pp. 37-38).

Although the caravel was the most famous ship for early Portuguese and Spanish sea exploration, it was a small ship suitable for exploration, but it did not had the capability of transporting soldiers, supplies and horses needed for overseas regions (Nicolle, 2012, p. 38).

On ships with a large number of men, the loss rate could reach dire amounts on voyages up to nine months like India. The conditions of housing on the ship were poor, with the amount of space allocated to each soldier being scarce and insufficient, nearly as for ships carrying slaves (Nicolle, 2012, p. 38).

Ships usually sail with a large number of live chickens, sheep and even cows, but this was soon eaten, as was the case with fresh fruit. Other food was often bad, dried fish or salty meat had to be thrown overboard when they decayed. Dried biscuits, the essential nutrient for long-distance sailors for centuries, could be over a year old even before sailing and could soon decay during a long tropical voyage. Nuts, dried fruits, and other protected vegetables, and Flemish cheese, on the other hand, were better able to withstand. The poor conditions demoralized and led to a despair of suicide among some new recruits, especially among the *degredados* and those without marine experience. As men left the hope of surviving the voyage, this exacerbated already poor health conditions (Nicolle, 2012, p. 38).

Portugal was one of the least industrialized countries in Western Medieval Europe, so most of its weapons and armour were imported. Only in the southern regions under the influence of the former Muslims were trade and artistry. But over time, they evolved. A 15th-century document on Evora mentions armorers, spear and shield makers, archers and gunsmiths. It is remarkable that almost all the blacksmiths are Jewish. By the middle of the 15th century, almost the newly colonized Madeira had its own arms industry. Cadamosto, a Venetian traveler, explained that the most beautiful badges and springs were made on this island and exported to the mainland by ship (Nicolle, 2012, p. 39).

Until the end of the 15th century, Portuguese weapons and armour remained slightly different and old-fashioned in the eyes of northern Europeans. From that time

on, they began to feel a very strong Italian influence because they were importing a lot of products from them (Nicolle, 2012, p. 39).

6.2. Technology

Progress was made in the use of gunpowder and firearms in the Iberian Peninsula in the 14th and 15th centuries. Hand weapons, called *Tiros do fogo*, were used in 1437 Tangiers expedition. King Afonso V is known for modernizing Portugal's arsenal of firearms. He brought talented craftsmen from Flanders and Germany. These masters poured modern bronze balls that were much longer in range and much higher in accuracy than the old balls. The importance of light cannons and hand-held weapons was evident in the Moroccan invasion in 1470. Over time, the importance of handheld weapons had increased. The only advantages of Portugal's small and isolated colonial outposts were its technological superiority (Nicolle, 2012, p. 41).

The success of Portugal's long-distance voyage during the fifteenth century owed much to the modern advances in maritime technology, especially in ship design and maritime art. In general, these progresses were gradual, as problems arose, and practical solutions were sought and found, often through trial and error (Disney, 2009, p. 39).

First, the demand for more and better ships was prompted by expansion into Morocco. To transport people and materials to North Africa, it required several ships that could pass through the reefs and shallow areas. Then the need arose for longer ocean voyages and resulted in a need for boats that can sail reliably against adverse winds and reverse currents. Under these circumstances, fifteenth-century Portuguese sailors increasingly rely on a type of ship called *caravela Latina*, a Latin sailboat. *Caravela Latina* was a small ship, usually about twenty to eighty tons, developed from

a traditional Portuguese fishing boat. Each had one to three masts, each carrying a single triangular sail, but sometimes also carried oars, with about twenty-five crewmen on board. Caravela Latina had quite a cargo capacity, but it was highly maneuverable. It performed well on both the seaside and in ocean waters, and the wind could be much closer than the other contemporary, square-rigged barge. Caravela Latina made it more practical to explore unknown shores while easing the sailor's fear of not being able to turn against the wind. In 1441, Nuno Tristao reached Cape Branco with a Caravela Latina. From that moment on, this had become the preferred type of ship for all expeditions throughout the next half century (Disney, 2009, pp. 39-40).

Portuguese sailors equipped with versatile caravela Latina had developed a procedure to return to their country on a courageous new route from the Atlantic African coastal voyage. Instead of struggling along the coast, they made their way northwest, in the middle of the ocean. Later, after reaching the respective higher latitudes, they took the west winds behind them and sailed the northeast to get to Lisbon. This procedure is known as *volta do mar*. Sometimes it involved being away from land for weeks, but sailing over time in waters that were becoming familiar with the winds and currents that are usually predictable. Also, it was possible to seek shelter in Canaries, Madeira or the Azores if necessary (Disney, 2009, p. 40).

Fifteenth-century Portuguese sailors had also improved the tradition of keeping careful records of what they observed in their expeditions. From the period of Prince Henrique, they generated recordings on a regular basis, written instructions describing routes, compass directions, distances and topography of the coastline, all based on experimental evidence. No Henrique period records seem to have come to this day; but a perfect example of the widely similar next study is *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*

from Duarte Pacheco Pereira (1505-08). At least from the early 1440s, the Portuguese also made portolan maps. Portuguese map makers of that period worked in a cartographic tradition that was developed in Italy in the late middle Ages and later addressed in Catalonia and Majorca. Prince Henrique was said to have hired a Majorcan mapmaker named Jacome, and Jacome may have brought the art of mapping to Portugal. However, sometimes the claims that this man was the son of Abraham Cresques, the producer of the famous Catalan Atlas in 1375, can be safely dismissed. In practice, portolan maps were very limited to long-distance travelers, because they did not take into account the curvature or magnetic change of the world. Their shortcomings were less of an issue in the north-south than in the east-west, while they were clearly unsuitable for plotting routes. Therefore, from Henrique's time, it makes sense to assume that many long-distance travelers are mainly dependent on their logbooks. Indeed, it is clear that many of the current maps of the expansion period are designed solely to decorate the rich people's homes and not for any practical use (Disney, 2009, pp. 40-41).

The adoption of marine tools was similarly slow and gradual. During the long voyages of the early fifteenth century, the sailors predicted their location mainly by dead calculations. They also made rough observations of Polaris, but without tools. Portuguese sailors had very little scientific equipment; even the magnetic compass, known in Southern Europe since the twelfth century or earlier, was probably not consulted on Prince Henrique's first ships. Over the years, however, instruments had gradually become more and more regular. By about 1460, most Portuguese sailors travelling to Atlantic Africa used quadrant regularly. This allowed them to determine their latitude, what Luis de Albuquerque called the height distance method. The quadrantine and traveler, as a known celestial body, usually measure the height of the

Polaris; And then he was checking the results according to his registry and his maps. Because a ship in the sea was an unstable platform, they preferred to make observations on land, if possible. There was no way to reliably determine longitude before the eighteenth century. Therefore, once the latitude involved was reached, the captains would sail directly to the east or west hoping to arrive near their destination (Disney, 2009, p. 41).

In the early 15th century, Portuguese sailors had trouble finding the winds and currents that would allow them to go in any direction they wanted. In the sailing age, ships struggled against these two forces of nature. Even in a sea which is surrounded by land like the Mediterranean, it was nearly impossible to go directly from one port to another. These challenges suffice to explain the dangers and fears that the Portuguese previously experienced when crossing Cape Juby and Cape Bojador. And then, somehow, the sailors learned to stick to a course rather than to be thrown around in harsh conditions. They learned this when they watched by avoiding the dangerous winds in the Gulf of Guinea far from Africa in the south of the Cape Verde Islands. Strong western winds in the west and south of the African continent could have carried the ships to Cape of Good Hope and the Indian Ocean (Love, 2006, pp. 20-21).

As a ship moved south, it became difficult to observe Polaris. Finally, off the coast of Lower Guinea, about five degrees north, Polaris was becoming completely invisible. However, long before the discoveries had made that headway; most travelers had begun to recognize that more accurate calculations could be achieved by observing the sun's meridian height. The sunscreen should be done in daylight, where calculations can be made. But the procedure was challenging because it required the use of deviation tables. Moreover, glare was a serious problem for anyone who tried to "determine" the sun with a quadrant. However, during the 1480s Cao and Dias, basic

problems with sun monitoring were overcome. The glare was prevented by the use of a sailor's astrolabe rather than a quadrant. This was possible because the astrolabe, originally used in medieval astrology, had an aiming apparatus that was not available in quadrants. Then there was a set of deviations from the Joao II to allow sailors to accurately determine their latitude and make the necessary mathematical adjustments. These charts were based on the work of Abraham Zacut, a Jewish astronomer from Salamanca, published in Portugal in 1496, translating Hebrew *Almanach Perpetuum* into Latin in the 1470s. But the person in charge was a younger man, a Portuguese Jew, and Jose Vizinho who was sent by Joao II to Guinea in 1485 to make field observations was probably former student of Zacut. Until then, in the southern sky, Portuguese people had found a whole new world of celestial objects, some of which were previously unknown to Europe, which could be easily used for celestial navigation. In the early sixteenth century, the rules were formulated to determine one's latitude by observing the South Cross (Disney, 2009, pp. 41-42).

Improvement and organization in the way long-distance travel is planned had also helped to expand the boundaries of what can be achieved at sea. In Dias' time, the large exploration voyages sponsored by the dynasty consist of not one but several vessels, including a spendable warehouse ship. In 1487, in addition to two Latin sailboats, Dias was given a third ship, equipped only to carry the materials. This third ship, perhaps, was in a *caravela redonda*, a much larger, recently launched version of a mixed triangle and square sail and previous caravels. *Caravela redonda* was a new compromise between maneuverability and the need to sail for long distances in front of the wind. In addition, it had significantly more cargo capacity than *caravela Latina* and could have been heavier armed. Therefore, this type of sailboat represented an important step in the transition from the age of long-distance exploration to the long-

distance trade and maritime empire. It was an exciting predictor of the future (Disney, 2009, p. 42).

6.3. Trade

Most of the Portuguese goods were of foreign origin. Wheat came from Morocco, the Atlantic islands and Northern Europe. Dresses and textile goods were imported from England, Ireland, France and Flanders, and in addition, some Portuguese-made garments were used. Brass kitchenware and glass beads used to come from Germany, Flanders and Italy, while oyster shells used to come from the Canaries. Most of the products from West Africa were sent from Portugal to other countries. Malagueta peppers were sent to Flanders. Most of the slaves were sent to Spain and Italy before the discovery of America moved the slave trade to the other side of the Atlantic. Perhaps the most important consequence was the procurement of cruzados minted from large amounts of Guinea gold entering Lisbon as well as goods needed by Portugal. This gold, originating in West Africa, kept the Portuguese economy afloat. Some gold coins in Northern Europe had been called “Portuguese” for centuries, even if they are minted in places such as Zwolle and Hamburg (Boxer, 1969, pp. 30-31).

Gold was at the forefront of Portugal’s demands for Africa, because the amount of gold in the country was insufficient to meet the needs of its population. And Asian goods, such as spices, drugs, sugar and silk, are in high demand in Europe, and producers did not want to receive European goods in return. Portuguese interest in acquiring African slaves steadily increased in the fifteenth century. In the beginning, slaves were used to support the labour force in Portugal, especially in the small populated southern regions recently conquered by Muslims. Later, the Portuguese realized that they could grow their sugar on the Atlantic Islands themselves, instead of

spending less gold already to buy Asian sugar. Sugar plantations were established in Madeira, the Azores and Cape Verde. Africa was a resource that provided a large amount of labor that growers needed. As the Portuguese settled in Fernando Po, Sao Tome and the other islands in the Gulf of Guinea, they realized that the islands were well suited for tropical plantation agriculture due to their volcanic soil and abundant precipitation (Fage, 2008, pp. 505-506).

There is an abundance of documentation on some of the leading Lisbon-based Italians of the fifteenth century. The activities of Bartolomeo di Jacopo di ser Vanni, for example, in the nobles and even Infante Dom Henrique, where he served as a commercial representative, independent merchant and banker. After Atlantic islands have been settled, many Italians had involved sugar exports and trades, including the Spinola and Lomellini families. Again, the Perestrelo family, who would later play a key role in the early Portuguese activity in the Indian Ocean, settled in Porto Santo in Madeira and then traded to Portugal. Likewise, from the early fourteenth century, when Dom Dinis invited a Genoese, Manuel Pessagno, to come to Portugal to command their pirate galleys, the Italians played an important role in the Portuguese maritime ventures as sailors and master sailors; Trade, reward and nautical skills all rolled into one package. However, it is very easy to focus on the activities of Marchionni, Perestrelas, Cadamostos and the other Italians, because their careers had been well documented both in Portugal and in Italy. A much more difficult question is the place for Portuguese merchants in the well-being of the first Lisbon itself and, secondly, the Atlantic network established since about 1420 (Subrahmanyam, 2012, pp. 42-43).

To begin with, it's a question of which social groups they belong. Lisbon, no doubt, housed a core of Muslim inhabitants in its *mouraria* (Moorish street) until the

late fifteenth century. After the conquest of the city by Christians in 1170, the community had received a letter-patent (*carta de foral*), specifying the rights and obligations in the country. However, both this foral and a later text of about 1400 clearly state that Muslims are not entirely regarded as citizens and that they will be subject to certain capitulation fees (*libras de cabeça*) and professional taxes (*d'izimas do trabalho*). However, fairly broad freedoms were allowed: They had mosques and an imam, a school (*madrasah*), bathroom (*hamam*) and even a separate cemetery until at least the middle of the fifteenth century (Subrahmanyam, 2012, p. 43).

Some of these privileges were violated in the second half of the 15th century, while others, like the mosque, remained intact until 1496. The majority of the Muslim settlers in Lisbon were craftsmen, not merchants. It turns out that many of them are potters; others are blacksmiths, glassmakers, carpenters, etc. Their position in Lisbon is clearly summarized by the German traveler Popplau, who wrote about 1484: “There are heretics around this city and the capital, and they even occupy part of it; After the city was conquered by Christians, they stayed in the castle for seven years, but soon after the winners and the losers made an agreement, so that the losers could had a place to live and build their own buildings, and they survived, without harassing anyone’s homes.” (Subrahmanyam, 2012, pp. 43-44).

The same cannot be said for Jews with other minority communities. Although many Jews were craftsmen like Muslims, they included literary men, physicians and surgeons, and merchants. Their number increased at the end of the fourteenth century, when the atrocities in Sevilla and other Spanish cities (1391) brought them to Portugal’s more tolerant climates. Important fifteenth-century families such as Negros (or Ibn Yahia) controlled vineyards and other agricultural lands in addition to doing business in Lisbon and acting as income-farming (*rendeiros*) under Dom Afonso V

and its successors. Other Jewish merchants participated in overseas trade with the Atlantic islands and North Africa, including terras de mouros (parts of the Maghreb controlled by Portugal, Marinids and later by Muslim dissidents of the Wattasids). You could find them not only in the south of Iberia, but also in other large hubs of Portugal's intra-European network: In Brugge, members of large Portuguese-Jewish bankers' families like Abravanel, Latam and Palacano worked as intermediaries between the Portuguese King and other private entities (Subrahmanyam, 2021, p. 44).

A significant institution of Portugal in the fifteenth century was the feitorias. Medieval cities with many residents of both Europe and Asia developed internal regulation systems for these foreign communities that occasionally gave them social and legal autonomy. In the Mediterranean and the lower countries, different nations had a consular system. In the Bruges medieval times, for example, the Venetians and the Genoese had their own consulates. However, this consular authority should be separated from feitoria, which receives its legitimacy and payment from an external authority rather than from the merchant community it belongs to. Feitoria were more like the Italian system fondacos. The Fondacos were distant representatives of a trading company or bank, receiving a fixed fee and carrying out instructions from their manager. The difference is that fondacos generally move in the private area while feitorias are paid by the public treasury and are civil servants (Subrahmanyam, 2012, p. 49).

Dom Joao II's policies directly contradict those of his father. His decisive turn on Castile and the execution of the Duke of Braganca were two early signs of his impatience with regional nobles. Again, in regard to enlargement south, North Africa did not opt for costly ventures, rather chose the Atlantic route. In 1481, in the beginning of 1482, under the command of Diogo de Azambuja, which built a castle in

Sao Jorge da Mina, sent an eleven-ship navy. Once this was taken under control, Arguim, Uadam, Cantor, Sierra Leone and Axem feitoria, together with their chain of incomes doubled in the next few years. For the supervision of this network, the dynasty established Casa da Guine, and Casa da Mina. Each had its own feitoria based in Lisbon, which controlled the transfer of gold, which was brought from West Africa, to Casa da Moeda, in other words, the mint, under strict protection (Subrahmanyam, 2012, pp. 51-52).

Dom Joao was more interested in trade than in military conquests, so men like Ferdinand van Olmen and Christopher Columbus approached him and offered to go to India. Joao accepted Olmen's offer, and the result was poor, he rejected Columbus. Columbus was not rejected by concentrating on North Africa; Joao had other plans at the time. He sent envoys by land from the Mediterranean to East Africa and India. Dias turned around Cape of Good Hope in 1488. Even though the road to India was open, the internal opposition in Portugal did not allow it for up to ten years (Subrahmanyam, 2012, p. 52).

6.4. The Situation in Morocco

Portuguese nobles were hoping that expanding to Morocco would bring them gains in both honors and unexpected wealth in the war. Those who continue to serve in garrisons, had sought the same benefits by participating in the eternal "small war," raids and ambushes in which brave actions were carried out and convicts, cattle or other awards were received. The "small war" gave the young nobles an opportunity to create their service records and thus request doaco and mercy from the dynasty. The Portuguese fortresses in northern Morocco were surrounded by a number of racketeering villages, some of which were given as doaco by Joao I or their successor. At the same time, it became an accepted practice of giving one fifth of the liabilities of

Muslims, the so-called *mouros de paz*, to the respective castle commanders. More *doacos* were later deployed by Afonso V after the expansion in the 1470s. But in the long term, the prospects for creating key sites from villages that were paying passively for extortion beyond the immediate vicinity of the forts were unrealistic. According to this, most noblemen had to seek something for North African services either in Portugal itself or elsewhere in the empire. Only a few prominent families, notably Meneses, Coutinhos, Noronhas and Mascarenhas, had managed to acquire important shares and rights in Morocco. Over the generations, these four families had effectively monopolized major commands. However, there was a cluster of *fidalgos* around each of the fortress commanders eager to move forward. These ambitious young men, known as *Fronteiros*, spent only a few years in Morocco (Disney, 2009, pp. 14-15).

The infantry of Portuguese Moroccan garrisons, consisting of adventurers, crooks, the poor and exiles, were lucky that they often won a lot from their experience. Each of the major properties in Portugal, however, had also amassed a community of *Moradors*, permanent settlers and long-term civilian residents. Antonio Dias Farinha points out that people who interested in Morocco are not only royalty, nobility and upper bourgeoisie, but also small traders, artisans, fishermen and others of comparatively low status, some of which are permanently settled. In addition, each *praça* included a number of resident clergy, retired garrison units, slaves, Muslim prisoners, and a few Portuguese women. There was also a small but important *judiaria* (Disney, 2009, p. 15).

Ceuta, under Portuguese occupation, was sometimes neglected as an economically stagnant garrison town, isolated from its hinterland, and had little use for its conquistadors. However, such judgments are very negative. Indeed, after 1415, Ceuta was less prosperous than before and some of the business activities were shifted

to other centers still held by Muslims. However, both Ceuta and Tangiers continued to pull the caravan business. Portuguese traded with offshore caravan merchants, usually through Jewish intermediaries, when they could. They also bought local Moroccan products; wheat, textile, cattle, horse, fruit and vegetables regularly (Disney, 2009, p. 15).

A hope that North Morocco would bring significant relief to Portugal's chronic grain shortage soon faded. In North Morocco, wheat was indeed produced, but the region had a large population to feed, and thus export capacity was very limited. On top of that, the Portuguese had not controlled northern Morocco enough to meet even the grain needs of their local conquests, Ceuta, Tangier, Al-Ksar as-Saghir and Asilah. Garrisons and moradors had to be obtained from Portugal or Andalusia in general. Morocco definitely produced some extra wheat. But most came from the southwest, where the Portuguese only began to enter at the end of the fifteenth century. Here, they established short-lived sovereignty over most of the fertile lands between the Bou Regreg and Tensift rivers and developed a highly evolving regional grain trade over several decades (Disney, 2009, p. 16).

Southern Moroccan wheat was sent to Algarve, Lisbon and Madeira, as well as to the Portuguese feitoria on Arguim off Mauritania. It's mostly from semi-nomadic groups fighting each other over agriculture and grazing rights. This meant unpredictable harvesting and occasional famine; but it also allowed some form of loose monarchy in rather large production areas, in direct cooperation with tribal leaders (Disney, 2009, p. 16).

6.5. Papal Bulls About Portugal

After the capture of Ceuta in 1415, the Portuguese slavery activities were approved by the papacy. In early April 4, 1418, Pope Martin V issued a bull to the

Christian Kings and princes, calling on them to support Joao I in his fight against the Saracens and other enemies of Messiah. On September 8, 1436, Pope Eugene IV issued *Rex Regum* bull, which he declared that all newly conquered lands will belong to Portugal. In the early 1450s, as Muslim armies attacked Constantinople, Cyprus, Rhodes and Hungary were under siege, Pope Nicholas issued two important bulls: One of them, *Dum Diversas* (June 18, 1452), mentions the Portuguese conquest and authorizes the King of Portugal to start wars against infidels and enslave them. The *Romanus Pontifex* (January 8, 1454) praised the conquests and discoveries of Portugal and more specifically, provides monopoly to Prince Henrique and Afonso V and his successors who their permission needed for anyone who wants to fish and do business in these conquered sites (Hart, 2003, p. 18).

On February 16, 1456, Pope Calixtus III issued a bull that no longer addresses the other rulers of Europe, but instead refers directly to Portugal to maintain the monasteries in Ceuta. Afonso, on August 31, 1471, issued a law prohibiting the seizure of ships and trade in Guinea; The Treaty of Toledo (March 6, 1480) affirmed that Africa was the territory of Portugal and that the Canary Islands were in Spain; A month later, Afonso V ordered Portuguese captains who met foreigners in the seas around Guinea to seize their ships and throw the men overboard. Columbus changed this short-lived monopoly and Pope Alexander VI, native of Valencia, issued five bulls restricting Portuguese power in expansion and discovery, in particular by including *Dudem siquidem* (September 25, 1493), which allows Spanish people to sail west and make claims in parts of India, yet to be discovered by Portugal. To counter this, Portugal signed the Tordesillas Treaty of 7 June 1494 (Hart, 2003, p. 19).

CONCLUSION

Although there are varied opinions as to the beginning of the Age of Discovery, the most acceptable, and we think the most reasonable, year was 1415, when the Portuguese captured Ceuta. After failing to obtain the advantages they had hoped for in this conquest, the Portuguese continued to advance along the southern coast of Morocco. Sailing along the West African coast, they discovered unknown parts of the continent, traded with natives, and had conflicts. In the process, they initially obtained slaves through armed raids, and later, through purchases from local tribal chiefs and merchants. And so they sowed the first seeds of colonialism.

They occupied the Atlantic islands of Madeira and the Azores, which are still belongs to Portugal, and they had conflicts over the Canary Islands with their neighbors, the Spanish. The confrontation with Castile continued throughout the century. First, the war between them was over with the Treaty of Alcaçovas-Toledo. Afterwards, with the Treaty of Tordesillas, the world was divided between the two countries.

In the late part of the century, the Portuguese turned Cape of Good Hope under the leadership of Dias and arrived in India with Gama a few years later. This was the longest sea voyage ever made until that time. In India, they found a civilization which was much more developed and richer than they expected. The goods they brought with them for trading were insufficient in the eyes of the locals. Nevertheless, this important navigation is aimed at exploration and trade rather than a conquest, and it is the first sign of the future effects Portugal would have on India.

Nicknamed the Navigator, Prince Henrique was no doubt one of the most significant figures of the first century of the Age of Discovery. There are different views and comments about this important historical personality. While in the past all

the successes of the era were attributed to him and his impact was exaggerated, recent studies have shown that he was not actually playing as big a role as thought. It is doubtful that the Sagres school, which was claimed to have given science education and training sailors, actually exists. Although it had an impact on most sea voyages up to the time of his death in 1460, Prince Henrique had in fact a late medieval knight mindset, and it was not true that he was a man of great interest in science, of advanced vision and culture.

Although religious factors are among the reasons for the Portuguese efforts, the most important factor is undoubtedly the economic reasons. The trade in gold, slave and spice had always been a strong motivator for the Portuguese, who are smaller and less available than in other European countries. In this process, they benefited from the Pope's bulls and privileges against Castile and managed to gain competitive supremacy. Although the leadership and superiority of Portugal stood out in the first century of the Discovery Age, this advantage decreased in the early 16th century, and the Spanish would take over the flag.

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