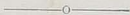


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THE CHRONICLE

OF

THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST
OF GUINEA.

VOL. I.

No. XCV.

THE CHRONICLE
OF THE
DISCOVERY
AND
CONQUEST OF GUINEA.

WRITTEN BY
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NOW FIRST DONE INTO ENGLISH
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THE LISBON GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, ETC.

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(CHAPTERS I—XL).

With an Introduction on the Life and Writings of the Chronicler.

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HIS MOST FAITHFUL MAJESTY

DOM CARLOS I^o,

KING OF PORTUGAL AND THE ALGARVES,

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EDITORS' PREFACE.

THE following translation of Azurara's *Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* is the first complete English version that has appeared of the chief contemporary authority for the life-work of Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator ; and we may remind members of the Hakluyt Society, and other readers, that we have but lately passed the fifth centenary of the Prince's birth (March 4th, 1394).

The first volume includes about half of the text, together with an Introduction on the Life and Writings of Azurara, which it is hoped will be found more exhaustive and accurate than any previous notice of the historian.

In the second volume (which is due for the year 1897) will be given the rest of the Chronicle, with

an Introduction on the Geographical Discoveries of the Portuguese, and Prince Henry's share in the same. It will also contain notes for the explanation of historical and other questions arising out of certain passages in the text of both volumes. To illustrate the condition of geographical knowledge in the period covered by the present instalment, we have included four reproductions of contemporary (or almost contemporary) maps: (1) Africa, according to the Laurentian Portolano of 1351 in the Medicean Library at Florence. This is the most remarkable of all the Portolani of the fourteenth century. Its outline of W. and S. Africa, and more particularly its suggestion of the bend of the Guinea Coast, is surprisingly near the truth, even as a guess, in a chart made one hundred and thirty-five years before the Cape of Good Hope was first rounded. (2) N.-W. Africa, the Canary Isles, etc., according to the design of the Venetian brethren Pizzigani, in 1367. (3) The same according to the Catalan Map of 1375 in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The interior of Africa is filled with fantastic pictures of native tribes; the boatload of men off Cape Bojador in the extreme S.-W. of the map probably represents the Catalan explorers of the year 1346, whose voyage in search of the "River of Gold" this map commemorates. (4) The same, with certain other parts of the world, according to Andrea Bianco in 1436. In the succeeding volume, we hope to offer some illustrations

of the cartography of Prince Henry's later years, as well as a likeness of the Prince himself, either from the Paris portrait (MSS. Port. 41, fol. 5 *bis*) or from the statue at Belem. We had expected to be able to furnish our readers with a copy of the portrait of the Prince from the important oil-painting on board preserved in a corridor of the extinct monastery adjoining the Church of S. Vicente de Fóra in Lisbon, but the photograph, which was taken by Senhor Camacho with the permission of His Eminence the Cardinal Patriarch, proved unsatisfactory, owing to the position of the picture and want of sufficient light.

We may add that a considerable part of the Paris manuscript of the *Chronicle of Guinea* has been collated for the present edition with the printed text as published by Santarem, and the result proves the accuracy of the latter.

We have to thank Senhor Jayme Batalha Reis, who has looked through the present version as far as the end of vol. i, and has kindly offered many suggestions. Among other Portuguese scholars who have been of service to us, we would especially mention Dr. Xavier da Cunha, of the Bibliotheca National, Lisbon; Senhor José Basto, of the Torre do Tombo, and General Brito Rebello. In a lesser degree we owe our acknowledgments to D. Carolina Michäelis de Vasconcellos and Dr. Theophilo Braga, the chief authorities on all that pertains to Portuguese literature, as well as to the

late Conselheiro J. P. de Oliveira Martins, whose untimely death robbed his country of her foremost man of letters.

C. R. B.

E. P.

October, 1896.





THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF AZURARA.

LIFE.

"Lidar sem descanso parece ter sido o moto d'Azurara".

VIEIRA DE MEYRELLES.



THE materials at hand for a study of the life and work of the second great Portuguese Chronicler are, considering the age in which he lived and the position he held, somewhat disappointing, and no

one of his countrymen has been at the pains to work them up satisfactorily. They naturally fall into three divisions—his own writings, documents directly relating to his life or merely signed by him in his official capacity, and the witness of historians. There exists but one contemporary description of Azurara, that by Mattheus de Pisano, author of the Latin history of the Capture of Ceuta, though this is supplemented by the contents of two letters addressed to the Chronicler by Affonso V and the Constable D. Pedro respectively, as well as by what can

be gleaned from documentary sources and from Azurara himself. In the next century—the 16th—some assistance may be derived from the traditions preserved by Barros, the historian of the Indies, as also from his critical judgments together with those of Damião de Goes, the famous Humanist and friend of Erasmus. These are all in a sense primary authorities, while the others who have discoursed of, or incidentally mentioned him are but secondary, namely, Nicolau Antonio, Jorge Cardoso, Barbosa Machado, João Pedro Ribeiro, the Viscount de Santarem, Alexandre Herculano, Vieira de Meyrelles, Innocencio da Silva, Sotero dos Reis, and Rodriguez d’Azevedo.

Gomes Eannes de Azurara, to give the modern spelling of his name, though he always signed himself simply “Gomes Eanes” or “Gomes Annes”,¹ was the son of João Eannes de Azurara, a Canon of Evora and Coimbra; but, beyond the fact of this paternity, we know nothing of his father, and only by conjecture is it possible to arrive at the name of his mother, as will hereafter appear. He is said to have come of a good family, on the ground of his admission into the Order of Christ.

As with several other Portuguese men of letters, the respective years of Azurara’s birth and death are unknown,² and two localities dispute the honour of

¹ In the *Chronica de Guiné*, ch. 97, he calls himself “Gomez Eanes de Zurara”.

² Barros, writing before 1552, says, “I know not how long he lived.”—*Asia*, Dec. 1, liv. ii, ch. 2.

having given him to the world; but there seems little doubt that this "bonus Grammaticus, nobilis Astrologus, et magnus Historiographus," as his friend Pisano calls him,¹ was born in the town of his name, in the Province of Minho, at the very commencement of the 15th century. In proof of this it should be stated that Azurara expressly declares in his *Chronica de Ceuta*, which was finished in 1450, that he had not passed "the three first ages of man" when he wrote it.²

The dispute as to his birthplace between the Azurara in Minho and the Azurara in Beira³ is not easy to settle, but tradition favours the former, and until the end of the last century no writer had ventured to doubt that the ancient town at the mouth of the River Ave, which received its first charter, or "foral", from the Count D. Henrique in 1102 or 1107, was the early home of the Chronicler.⁴ Such evidence as exists in favour of the latter place is

¹ "De Bello Septensi," p. 27 (in the *Ineditos de Historia Portuguesa*, vol. i, Lisbon, 1790).

² *Chronica de Ceuta*, ch. 23.

³ This place is in Beira Alta, twelve kilometres east of Vizeu, famous (*inter alia*) for the great picture of St. Peter as Pope, lately reproduced by the Arundel Society.

⁴ The first to mention Azurara's birthplace was Soares de Brito (born 1611, died 1669), who, in his *Theatrum Lusitaniæ Litterarium*, p. 547, says: "Gomes Anes de Azurara ex oppido, sicuti fertur, cognomine in Diocesi Portucalensi," voicing the tradition of his time (MS. V of the Lisbon National Library, dated 1645).

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The first who suggested Beira in place of Minho seems to have been Corrêa da Serra, editor of the *Ineditos*, *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 209.

slight, consisting only of inferences drawn from a document, dated August 23rd, 1454, in which Affonso V grants certain privileges to two inhabitants of Castello Branco, who were accustomed to collect the Chronicler's rents and bring them to Lisbon. From this it has been argued by such able critics as Vieira de Meyrelles and Rodriguez d'Azevedo that these rents must have issued out of family property situate at the Azurara in Beira, which happens to be in the district of Castello Branco, and hence that the Chronicler was a native of Beira rather than of Minho.¹ The conclusion seems far-fetched, to say the least, for it is just as likely that these two men were agents for a benefice, or "commenda", at Alcains, in the same district, which Azurara possessed at the time this grant was made.²

The early life of the Chronicler is almost a blank. Until the year 1450, in which he wrote his first serious Chronicle, though not, perhaps, his first book, we have little beyond the meagre information, supplied by Mattheus de Pisano,³ that he began to study

¹ Vide the articles on Azurara in the *Instituto de Coimbra*, vol. ix, p. 72, *et seq.*, by Vieira de Meyrelles, and in the *Diccionario Universal Portuguez*, vol. i, p. 2151, by R. d'Azevedo.

² Azurara is named in this document "Commander of Alcains and Granja de Ulmeiro".—*Chanc. de D. Affonso V*, liv. x, fol. 113, Torre do Tombo.

³ According to Azurara, Pisano was tutor (*mestre*) to Affonso V, and "a laurelled Bard, as well as one of the most sufficient Philosophers and Orators of his time in Christendom."—*Chronica de D. Pedro de Menezes*, ch. 1 (*Ineditos*, vol. ii).

late—"dum maturæ jam ætatis esset"—and that he had passed his youth without acquiring the rudiments of knowledge—"nullam litteram didicisset"¹—to which some later authorities have added—he spent his early years in the pursuit of arms, a statement likely enough to be true. It seems probable that he obtained a post in the Royal Library during the brief and luckless reign of D. Duarte (1433-1438), or shortly afterwards, as assistant to the Chronicler Fernão Lopes, whom he succeeded, for he was actually in charge of it early in the reign of Affonso V, in 1452, and finished the *Chronica de Guiné* in that place in 1453.

Tradition has it that he entered the Order of Christ as a young man, for he came to be Commander therein, a position only obtainable at that time by regular service in the Order, and by seniority; but the nature of these services, and the advancement which Azurara gained by them, cannot precisely be determined, because the early private records of the Order, together with the roll of its Knights, have been lost, those that exist only reaching back to the commencement of the 16th century.² This Order was founded by King Diniz in 1319, on the suppression of the Templars, and it inherited most, if not all, their houses and goods throughout Portugal. Its members were bound by the three monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and

¹ *De Bello Septensi*, p. 27.

² So says Corrêa da Serra—*Ineditos*, vol. ii, p. 207.

obedience, which prevailed in Azurara's time, although Commanders and Knights of the Order were at a later period allowed to marry, by grant of Pope Alexander VI.¹ The Commanders were bound to confess and communicate four times in the year, to recite daily the Hours of Our Lady, to have four Masses said annually for deceased members, and to fast on Fridays, as well as on the days ordained by the Church. Membership of the Order was an honour reserved for Nobles, Knights, and Squires, free from stain in their birth or other impediment; while the Statutes directed a number of enquiries to be made before a candidate was admitted, one being, was he born in lawful wedlock?—a question our Chronicler could possibly not have answered in the affirmative.² Besides this, aspirants were required to be knighted before their admission, and then to profess. A gift of one or more "Commendas", or benefices, followed in due course, but, to prevent the abuse of pluralities which thus crept in, Pope Pius V afterwards decreed that no Knight should hold more than one Commenda, and this he was to visit at least once in every three years. The Knights possessed many privileges, the most notable being that, in both civil and criminal cases, they were exempt from the jurisdiction of the Royal Courts, and subject only to those of their Order,

¹ *Vide* Ruy de Pina, *Chronica de D. Duarte*, ch. 8.

² Because Azurara is found to have been the son of a Canon, it does not necessarily follow that he was illegitimate, and, in fact, no letters of legitimation exist in respect of him.

which had all the old prerogatives of those of the Temple and Calatrava, together with such as had been granted it by name.¹

According to one authority, Azurara began his career as author in the reign of D. Duarte by compiling a detailed catalogue of the Miracles of the Holy Constable, Nun' Alvares Pereira.² The MS., which is said to have existed in the Carmo Convent in Lisbon as late as 1745, has disappeared, but the substance of this curious work may still be read in Santa Anna's *Chronica dos Carmelitas*, together with a number of contemporary popular songs about the Constable, extracted from MSS. left by Azurara.³

More than ten years now elapse without any mention of Azurara's name, and we hear of him for the first time, definitely, in 1450. On March 25th of that year he finished at Silves, in the Algarve, his *Chronicle of the Siege and Capture of Ceuta*, an event that took place in 1415, and formed the first of a long line of Portuguese expeditions, and the starting-point in their career of foreign conquest. Fernão Lopes, the Froissart of his country, and the father of Portuguese

¹ *Definições e Estatutos dos Cavalleiros e Freires da Ordem de N. S. Jesu Cristo com a historia da origem & principio della.* Lisbon, 1628.

² D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, however, is of opinion that this, and the popular songs hereafter referred to, are pious frauds, invented in the first half of the seventeenth century to form materials for the canonisation of Nun' Alvares.

³ *Chronica dos Carmelitas*, vol. i, pp. 469, 486. Lisbon, 1745

history, was still alive at the time Azurara wrote this work, but had become too old and weak to carry on his history of the reign of João I, to which it is a sequel. After paying a tribute to Lopes as a man of "rare knowledge and great authority",¹ Azurara tells us that Affonso V ordered him to continue the work, that the deeds of João I might not be forgotten; and this he did, culling his information from eye-witnesses as well as from documents, with that honesty and zeal which are his two most prominent features as an historian.² He began the *Chronicle*—which was printed once only, and that in the 17th century—thirty-four years after the capture of Ceuta, *i.e.*, in the autumn of 1449, and concluded it, as the last chapter states, on March 25th, 1450. It was, therefore, written in the short space of about seven months, which, says Innocencio, seems well-nigh incredible, considering how deliberately and circumspectly histories were compiled in those days.³ The narrative is, with a few exceptions, full and even minute.

¹ *Chronica de Ceuta*, ch. 2.

² Azurara's chief informants were D. Pedro, Regent in the minority of Affonso V, and D. Henrique, in whose house he stayed some days for the purpose by the king's orders; "for he knew more than anyone in Portugal about the matter" (*Chronica de Ceuta*, ch. 12). To this fact must be attributed the prominent place he gives D. Henrique in his narrative. The same circumstance is noticeable in the *Chronica de D. Duarte*, which was begun by Azurara and finished by Ruy de Pina, of which hereafter.

³ *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez*, vol. iii, p. 147.

We know not the precise date at which Azurara had begun to apply himself to the study of letters, and he makes no allusion whatsoever, in his writings, to his early life; but it is clear, from the *Chronica de Ceuta*, that his self-training had been lengthy, and his range of study wide.¹ In the Preface to this, his first literary essay still existing, he quotes from many books of the Old and New Testament, as well as from Aristotle, St. Gregory, St. Anselm, and Avicenna; while in the body of the work he compares the siege of Ceuta to that of Troy, talks of "Giovanni Boccaccio, a poet that was born at Florence", mentions the *Conde Lucanor*, and wanders off into philosophical musings that forcibly recall passages of the *Leal Conselheiro* of D. Duarte, and prove him to have been no tyro in the learning of the age. He was equally well versed in astrology, in which he believed firmly, as in history, and of the latter he says: "I that wrote this history have read most of the Chronicles and historical works."² To understand how this was possible, it must be remembered that the Portuguese Court, in the first half of the 15th century, was an important literary centre, and that João I and his sons, besides being themselves authors of books, possessed libraries among the most complete in Europe.³ The

¹ Pisano testifies of Azurara, "scientiæ cupiditate flagravit".—*De Bello Septensi*, p. 27.

² *Chronica de Ceuta*, ch. 38.

³ Vide Theophilo Braga, *Historia da Universidade de Coimbra*, Lisbon, 1892, vol. i, ch. 4, for the catalogues of these libraries and an account of the books they contained.

atmosphere of learning that he breathed made Azurara what he was, and it explains the ascendancy he gained, as a pure man of letters, over the mind of Affonso V.

Three years elapsed between the writing of his second and third books, and there can be little doubt that Azurara spent this period partly in the Royal Library and partly among the Archives, which were then housed in the Castle of S. Jorge in Lisbon, continuing his study of the history of his own and foreign countries in the chronicles and documents those places contained.

Some time in the year 1452 the King, who was then in Lisbon, charged him with the book which constitutes his chief title to fame, owing to the importance of its subject, and the historical fidelity and literary skill that distinguish its presentment, namely, the *Chronica de Guiné*, or, as it might be called, the *Life and Work of Prince Henry the Navigator*. From the subscript we find it was written in the Royal Library, and finished there on February 18th, 1453. Azurara sent it to the King, five days afterwards, with a letter which has fortunately been preserved, since it shows how friendly and even familiar were the relations subsisting between them, and how these were maintained by a regular correspondence. It appears that Affonso had urged Azurara to obtain all the information possible about the life and work of D. Henrique, and, this done, to write as best he could, "alleging a dictum of Tully, that it sufficeth not for a man to do a good thing,

but rather to do it well". Then the letter proceeds, addressing the King: "For it seemed to you that it would be wrong if some example of such a saintly and virtuous life were not to remain, not only for the sake of the Princes who after your time should possess these realms, but also for all others of the world who might become acquainted with his history, by reason of which his countrymen might have cause to know his sepulchre, and perpetuate Divine Sacrifices for the increase of his glory, and foreigners might keep his name before their eyes, to the great praise of his memory."¹

The following is a summary of the contents of the *Chronicle*:—

Azurara begins (Chapter 1) by some reflections on well-doing and gratitude, the conclusion to which he illustrates by quotations, and then goes on to tell the origin of his work, which lay in the King's desire that the great and very notable deeds of D. Henrique should be remembered, and that there should be an authorised memorial of him, even as there was in Spain of the Cid, and in Portugal itself of the Holy Constable, Nun' Alvarez Pereira.² The Chronicler justifies his task by summing up the profits that had

¹ This letter defines the scope of the book, which was not meant to be a general history of the Portuguese expeditions and discoveries. It is printed in Santarem's edition of the *Chronica de Guiné*, and precedes his Introduction.

² This charming old chronicle of the life of the noblest and most sympathetic figure in Portuguese annals was written anonymously, and first printed in 1526.

accrued from the Prince's efforts—firstly, the salvation of the souls of the captives taken by the Portuguese in their expeditions; secondly, the benefit which their services brought to their captors; and thirdly, the honour acquired by the fatherland in the conquest of such distant territories and numerous enemies.

Chapter II consists of a long and most eloquent invocation to D. Henrique, and a recital of his manifold good deeds to all sorts and conditions of men and his mighty accomplishments. Azurara presents them to us as in a panorama, and his simple, direct language reveals a true, though unconscious, artist in words.

Chapter III deals with the ancestry of D. Henrique, and Chapter IV describes the man himself, "constant in adversity and humble in prosperity", his appearance, habits, and manner of life, all with much force of diction.

In Chapter V we have an account of the early life of D. Henrique, of his prowess at the capture of Ceuta, and during its siege by the Moors, with his fruitless assault on Tangiers, which resulted in the captivity of the Holy Infant. His peopling of Madeira and other islands in "the great Ocean sea", and presence at the gathering that ended in the battle of Alfarrobeira are referred to, as also his governorship of the Order of Christ and the services he rendered to religion by the erection and endowment of churches and professorial chairs. The chapter ends with a description of the Town of the

Infant at Cape St. Vincent, "there where both the seas meet in combat, that is to say, the great Ocean sea with the Mediterranean sea", a place designed by the Prince to be a great mercantile centre, and a safe harbour for ships from East and West.

In Chapter VI, Azurara returns to his laudations of the Infant, whom he apostrophises thus: "I know that the seas and lands are full of your praises, for that you, by numberless voyages, have joined the East to the West, in order that the peoples might learn to exchange their riches"; and he winds up with some remarks on "distributive justice", the non-exercise of which had been attributed to D. Henrique as a fault by some of his contemporaries.

Chapter VII is occupied with a recital of the reasons that impelled the Infant to send out his expeditions. They were shortly as follows. First and foremost, pure zeal for knowledge; secondly, commercial considerations; thirdly, his desire to ascertain the extent of the Moorish power in Africa; fourthly, his wish to find some Christian King in those parts who would assist in warring down the Moors; and last but not least, his purpose to extend the Faith. To these reasons Azurara, quite characteristically, adds a sixth, which he calls the root from which they all proceeded—the influence of the heavenly bodies, and he essays to prove it by the Prince's horoscope.

The narrative of the expeditions really begins in Chapter VIII, which opens with an account of the reasons why no ship had hitherto dared to pass

Cape Bojador, some of them being at first sight as sensible as others are absurd. The fears of the mariners prevented for twelve years the realisation of their master's wish, and for so long the annual voyages were never carried beyond the terrible cape.

Chapter IX relates how at length, in 1434, Cape Bojador was doubled by Gil Eannes, a squire of D. Henrique, and how, on a second voyage with one Affonso Gonçalvez Baldaya, Eannes reached the Angra dos Ruivos, fifty leagues beyond it.

In the next Chapter (x) Baldaya passes one hundred and twenty leagues beyond Cape Bojador to the Rio d'Ouro, and a short way beyond; but failing to take any captives, as the Prince wished him to do, he loads his ship with the skins of sea-calves and returns to Portugal in 1436.

Chapter XI is a short one, and merely tells that for three years, *i.e.*, from 1437 to 1440, the voyages were interrupted by the affairs of the Kingdom, which required all the attention of D. Henrique. These affairs were the death of D. Duarte, and the struggle that followed between the Queen, supported by a small section of the nobles, and the Infant D. Pedro, backed by Lisbon and the people as a whole, over the question of the Regency and the education of the young King Affonso.

Chapters XII and XIII relate how Antam Gonçalvez took the first captives, and how Nuno Tristam went to Cape Branco.

In Chapter XIV Azurara dwells on the delight

D. Henrique must have felt at the sight of the captives, though he opines that they themselves received the greater benefit: "for, although their bodies might be in some subjection, it were a small thing in comparison with their souls, that would now possess true liberty for evermore."

Chapter xv contains an account of the embassy sent to the Holy Father by D. Henrique to obtain "a share of the treasures of Holy Church for the salvation of the souls of those who in the labours of this conquest should meet their end." The Pope, Eugenius IV, granted a plenary indulgence, on the usual conditions, to all who took part in the war against the Moors under the banner of the Order of Christ; and D. Pedro, the Regent, made D. Henrique a present of the King's fifth to defray the heavy expenses he had incurred by the expeditions.

In Chapter xvi Antam Gonçalvez obtains the Infant's leave for another voyage, and is charged to collect information about the Indies and the land of Prester John. He receives ten negroes, in exchange for two Moors whom he had previously taken, together with some gold dust, and then returns home.

In Chapter xvii Nuno Tristam goes as far as Arguim Island and makes some captures; this in the year 1443.

Chapter xviii begins the relation of the first expedition on a large scale, and the first that sprang from private enterprise—namely, that of Lançarote and his six caravels from Lagos. Azurara takes the

opportunity to insert here a short but interesting sketch of the change that had taken place in public opinion with reference to these voyages. In the beginning, they were decried by the great not a whit less than by the populace, but the assurance of commercial profit had now converted the dispraisers, and the voyage of Lançarote gave a tangible proof of it.

The next six Chapters (xix to xxiv) relate the doings of this expedition, which ended in the capture of two hundred and thirty-five natives.

Chapter xxv, which treats of the division of the captives at Lagos, is the most pathetic in the book, and one of the most powerful by virtue of the simple realism of the narrative.

Chapter xxvi gives a lucid summary of the after-lives of the captives, and their gradual but complete absorption into the mass of the people.

Chapter xxvii narrates the ill-fated expedition of Gonçalo de Cintra and his death near the Rio d'Ouro; while, in the next, Azurara refers the accident to the heavenly bodies, and draws a profitable lesson from it, which he divides into seven heads, for the benefit of posterity.

Chapter xxix contains a short notice of a voyage undertaken by Antam Gonçalves, Gomez Pirez, and Diego Affonso to the Rio d'Ouro, which had no result.

Chapter xxx deals with the voyage of Nuno Tristam, who passed the furthest point hitherto discovered, and reached a place he named Palmar. Azurara confesses himself unable to give more

details about this expedition, "because Nuno Tristam was already dead at the time King Affonso ordered this Chronicle to be written"—a statement which proves that he did not rely only on documents for the facts he related, but was careful to glean as much as possible from the actors therein.

Chapter xxxi tells how Dinis Dyaz sailed straight to Guinea without once shortening sail, and how he was the first to penetrate so far, and take captives in those parts. He pushed on to Cape Verde, and, though he brought back but little spoil, he was well received by the Infant, who preferred discoveries to mere commercial profits.

Chapters xxxii to xxxvi recite the expedition of Antam Gonçalvez, Garcia Homem and Diego Affonso to Cape Branco, Arguim Island and Cape Resgate, where, besides trafficking, they took on board a squire, Joham Fernandez, who had stayed full seven months at the Rio d'Ouro, among the natives, to acquire for the Infant a knowledge of the country and its products.

Azurara refers in Chapter xxxii to Affonso Cerveira, whose history of the Portuguese discoveries on the African coast, now lost, was used by him in the compilation of this Chronicle; and in the next chapter he employs one of those rhetorical periphrases of which his other works afford many an example, though they are rather scarce in this his masterpiece in point of style.

Chapters xxxvii to xlviij relate the doings of the first expedition from Lisbon, which was under the command of Gonçalo Pacheco, and penetrated to Guinea, or the land of the Negroes, the result being a large number of captives, seemingly the chief object it had in view.

Chapters xlix to lxvii contain the acts of the great expedition of fourteen sail which set out from Lagos in 1445, under the leadership of Lançarote, for the purpose of punishing the Moors on the Island of Tider and avenging Gonçalo de Cintra. In all twenty-six ships left Portugal that year, being the largest number that had perhaps ever sailed down the Western side of the Dark Continent at one time.

After accomplishing their object some returned home, but others, more bold, determined to explore further South, if perchance they might find the River of Nile and the Terrestrial Paradise. Arriving at the Senegal they thought they had found the Nile of the Negroes, and went no further. A curious description of the Nile, and its power according to astronomers, forms the subject of Chapters lxi and lxii, where Azurara has collected all the learning and speculation of the Ancients and Mediævals on the question.

Chapters lxviii to lxxv describe the doings of the remaining ships that left Portugal in 1445, and relate descents on the Canaries and the African coast, and the voyage of Zarco's caravel to Cape Mastos, the furthest point yet reached.

Chapters LXXVI and LXXVII contain valuable notes on the life of the peoples south of Cape Bojador, together with an account of the travels of Joham Fernandez, the first European to penetrate far into the interior of Africa.

In Chapter LXXVIII Azurara adds up the sum of the African voyages, and finds that up to 1446 fifty-one caravels had sailed to those parts, one of which had passed four hundred and fifty leagues beyond Cape Bojador.

Chapters LXXIX to LXXXII are taken up by a description of the Canary Islands, while Chapter LXXXIII deals with the discovery and peopling of the Madeiras and Azores.¹

Chapter LXXXIV tells how D. Henrique obtained from the Regent a charter, similar to the one he had previously secured in the case of Guinea, to the effect (*inter alia*) that no one was to go to the Canaries, either for war or merchandise, without his leave; and the following chapter (LXXXV) relates a descent on the Island of Palma.

In Chapter LXXXVI Azurara narrates in feeling terms the death of the gallant Nuno Tristam in Guinea-land.

In Chapter LXXXVII we read how Alvaro Fernandez sailed down the African coast past

¹ Azurara's laconism with reference to the history of the discovery of the Madeiras and Azores is really regrettable. In many respects his narrative needs to be supplemented from other sources.

Sierra Leone, and more than one hundred and ten leagues beyond Cape Verde.

Chapter LXXXVIII describes the voyage of another Lagos fleet of nine caravels to the Rio Grande, while the next five chapters (LXXXIX-XCIII) relate that of Gomez Pirez to the Rio d'Ouro in 1446.

Chapters xciv and xcv are devoted to the trafficking venture of the year 1447, the unhappy fate of the Scandinavian Vallarte, and an expedition to the fisheries off the Angra dos Ruyvos.

In Chapters xcvi and xcviI Azurara winds up his narrative, ending with the year 1448. The captives brought to Portugal down to that date by the various voyagers numbered, according to his estimate, 927, "the greater part of whom were turned into the true path of salvation"; and this he counts as the greatest of the Infant's glories, and the most valuable fruit of his lifelong efforts. He then announces his intention to write a second part of the Chronicle, dealing with the final portion of D. Henrique's work—a purpose which to our manifest loss he never carried out—and concludes by giving thanks to the Blessed Trinity on the completion of his task.

The *Chronica de Guiné* has many features in common with that of Ceuta, but on the whole it reveals a decided advance in power. The style, though at times rather rhetorical, is generally plain and facile, ever and anon rising to a true eloquence. While the narrative portions are vivid, picturesque, and often majestic in their very simplicity, other

chapters bristle with quotations, and show a more extensive range of reading and a knowledge truly encyclopædic. All the philosophy, the geography, the history, and even the astrology of the age is called into requisition to support an argument or illustrate a point.

But to return to our subject—the Life of the Chronicler.

On June 6th, 1454, Azurara received the reward of his past services, being appointed Keeper of the Royal Archives (Guarda Mór da Torre do Tombo), at the instance of, and in succession to, Fernão Lopes. It is probable that the office of Chief Chronicler (Chronista-Mór) was conferred on him at the same time and implied in the grant, though it is not verbally mentioned there, since in the document next referred to he is actually named Chronicler.¹ The King, in his letter of appointment, after reciting that Fernão Lopes is very old and weak, so that he cannot well serve his office, says he confides in Gomez Eanes de Zurara, Knight Commander of the Order of Christ, “by the long education (*criaçom*) we have given him and the service we are receiving and expect to receive at his hands”, and therefore grants him the post to hold

¹ The offices of Chief Chronicler, Keeper of the Royal Archives and Royal Librarian were, as a rule, held by the same individual and conferred at the same time, as in the case of Ruy de Pina, but Azurara had the position of Royal Librarian for at least two years before he obtained the others, namely from 1452, as already mentioned (p. v).

in the same manner, and with the same rights and profits as were enjoyed by his predecessor therein.¹

It is noticeable that Azurara had already obtained a "Commenda" belonging to the Order of Christ, and, although its name is not given here, we know from another source it was that of Alcains, a place situate in the Province of Beira (Baixa) and District of Castello Branco, the value of which in 1628 amounted to one hundred and four milreis.² The source referred to is a document, dated July 14th, 1452, which calls Azurara "Commander of Alcains" and "Author of the notable deeds of our realm", and mentions that he had already at that time charge of the Royal Library.³ He appears to have exercised this office with credit, though somewhat less strictly than would now be considered necessary, for Pisano says of him in this connection:— "hic bibliothecam Alfonsi quinti, cujus curam gessit, strenue disposuit atque ornavit, omnesque scripturas Regni prius confusas mirum in modum digessit, & ita digessit ut ea, quibus Regi & ceteris Regni proceribus opus est, confestim discernantur; viros enim eruditos summe coluit, atque nimio charitatis amore complexus est, quibus ut profecissent ex Regia bibliotheca libros, si parebant, libenter commodavit".⁴ But the Chronicler received yet

¹ *Chanc. de D. Affonso V*, liv. x, fl. 30. Torre do Tombo.

² *Definições e Estatutos dos Cavalleiros e Freires da Ordem de N. S. Jesu Christo*, etc., p. 242.

³ Liv. xii de *D. Affonso V*, fl. 62. Torre do Tombo.

⁴ *De Bello Septensi*, p. 26.

another advancement in the year 1454. From a document bearing date the 4th August it appears that he was then living in a house belonging to the King near the Palace in Lisbon which needed some repairs. Affonso V therefore granted him leave to lay out ten milreis upon it, and to make a cistern, with a proviso that he and his heirs might continue to inhabit the house and use it as their own, until the sum so expended should be repaid out of the Royal Treasury. In this licence Azurara is dubbed "Commander of Pinheiro Grande and Granja d'Ulmeiro, Our Chronicler, and Keeper of the Archives".¹ These two Commendas belonged to the Order of Christ, and were probably conferred upon him in this same year, though the deed of grant has not come down to us.

Pinheiro Grande is situate in the province of Estremadura and Archbishopric of Lisbon, and its ancient Commenda belonged to the Templars down to the year 1311, and from 1319 to the present century to the Order of Christ. In the Statutes of the latter Order, published in 1628, it is stated to have been worth 550 milreis for many years—"ha muitos annos".² Granja d'Ulmeiro is a small place in the Bishopric of Coimbra, and the same Statutes give the value of its Commenda, called of St. Gabriel, at 150 milreis, "in the year 1582".³

¹ *Estremadura*, liv. vii, fl. 255. Torre do Tombo.

² *Definições e Estatutos*, etc., p. 236.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 263. The situations of these Commendas are taken from *Portugal Antigo e Moderno*, Lisbon 1873, and following years.

Besides these two Commendas, Azurara still continued to hold that of Alcains, as we learn from the document already referred to, granting certain privileges to his agents in Castello Branco, and dated the 23rd of the same month and year. The revenue of these three Commendas, together with his official salary, must have sufficed to make of him a wealthy man, for it should be remembered that the purchasing power of the milreis was then nearly six times greater than at the present day. He seems, however, to have relinquished the benefice of Alcains shortly afterwards, for it does not appear again among his titles, and henceforth he is only credited with the other two.

In the above-mentioned document of privilege of August 23rd, 1454, after reciting the services rendered to Azurara by Guarcia Aires and Afomssso Guarcia—to employ the antique spelling—muleteers of Castello Branco, in collecting his rents and bringing them to Lisbon, the King grants them immunity from being forced into the service of either himself, the Infants, or the local authorities of the district in which they live. Their houses, cellars, and stables are not to be taken from them to lodge others against their will, and they are to enjoy this freedom as long as they continue to be of use to the Chronicler.¹

When next we hear of Azurara he is acting in his official capacity as Keeper of the Royal Archives.

¹ *Chanc. de D. Affonso V*, liv. x, fl. 113. Torre do Tombo.

It seems that the people of Miranda had lost the "foral" given them by King Diniz in 1324, and required a copy of it, which Azurara made and handed to them on the 16th February 1456.¹ This is the first of a series of certificates (certidões) signed by the Chronicler that has come down to us, and the issuing of these and similar documents appears to have been one of his chief duties as Royal Archivist.

But Azurara was too valuable a man to be allowed to spend his whole time and energy in the routine work of an office; and so we find that when the King had reigned twenty years or more, which would be in or about 1458, he commissioned him to relate the history of Ceuta under the Governorship of D. Pedro de Menezes, to whom the city had been entrusted on its capture.² The story runs, that for some time João I was unable to meet with anyone who would undertake the responsibility of guarding the new conquest, and, word of this having been brought to D. Pedro while he was playing at "Chóca", he at once hastened into the King's presence, and said he would engage to hold the city against the whole strength of Africa with the olive-wood crook he had just been wielding.³ Be this

¹ Gav. 15, Maço 13, No. 21. Torre do Tombo. Azurara is here described as "Commander of Pinheiro Grande and Granja d'Ulmeiro, our Chronicler and Keeper" (of the Records).

² *Chronica do Conde D. Pedro de Menezes*, ch. 1.

³ "Chóca" is an old-fashioned Portuguese game played with a stout staff and ball. The incident is referred to by Camoens in *Eclogue I*, in the lines beginning, "Emquanto do seguro azambugeyro", etc.

incident true or not, certain it is that D. Pedro de Menezes succeeded in maintaining Ceuta, despite all the efforts of the Moors to expel him; and his achievements, as chronicled by Azurara, form by themselves sufficient ground for Affonso's commission. But another reason, no doubt, influenced the King, and that was the supreme importance attached to the possession of the old city. Its position as the key of the Straits enabled the Portuguese to hinder the Moorish corsairs from raiding the Algarve, and, at the same time, to help the Christian cause by attacks on the last relic of Mohammedan power in the Peninsula, the kingdom of Grenada. Added to this, its conquest was hailed as the first step in the realisation of that cherished ideal, an African Empire: for, besides being a great trading centre and the sea-gate of Mauritania, it formed a wedge driven into the heart of the Infidel, and a fitting crown to the struggle of seven centuries, which, commencing on the morrow of the battle of the Guadalete, had ended by the establishment of the Cross in the land of the Crescent. The tide had turned at last and for ever, and the Gothic monarchy was avenged.

Azurara, who on previous occasions had proved himself a ready writer, compiled the *Chronica do Conde D. Pedro de Menezes* more slowly, owing doubtless to the fact that his new official duties kept him from devoting his whole time to the work, and the Chronicle was not finished until 1463.

In this very year of 1458 occurred the first African Expedition of Affonso V, with its result, the capture

of Alcacer. This event was probably the immediate cause of the writing of the Chronicle, because the record of his reign shows how the King cared more for African expansion than maritime expeditions, and how, like the old-time cavalier that he was, he preferred a land-war with the Moors to the seemingly theoretical, or at least distant, advantages to be gained by voyages of discovery. In 1460 D. Henrique died, leaving the fruit of his ceaseless endeavours to be plucked by other hands; since it was not until 1498, when Vasco da Gama cast anchor off Calicut, that the Infant's expeditions came to their legitimate conclusion, and a century of efforts received their reward.

But if Azurara possessed many of the higher qualities of an historian, he was by no means devoid of shortcomings; and two incidents, now to be related, form serious blots on his character as a Chronicler and a man.

In 1459 the Cortes met in Lisbon, and the Deputies of the People requested that a reform should be carried out in the Torre do Tombo, or Archive Office. They complained that the mass of old Registers which it was necessary to search in order to obtain copies of the documents existing there, together with the profitless prolixity of many of them, had long proved a source of great expense; and they therefore begged that such as were deemed of importance might be transcribed and the rest destroyed. This petition met with the King's approval, and Azurara charged himself with its

execution, a task which seemingly occupied the remainder of his life.¹ He acted with a zeal worthy of barbarous times, and the memory of the destruction to which he condemned documents of the highest historical importance has been preserved by tradition, and his proscription is still spoken of. He appears to have been unconscious of the harm he did, for he prefaces each of the new Registers compiled by him from the old with an account of his handiwork. True it is that Barros praises Azurara for these Registers, but in reality they are only "dry, imperfect abstracts", as one writer calls them, for they throw little light on the periods to which they relate, and were, besides, the cause of the loss of their originals. Fortunately, however, some records escaped the general destruction, for it happened that certain Municipalities had previously obtained transcripts of the most precious, while others that existed in duplicate in the Archives, unknown to anyone, came to light during the administration of another Guarda-Mór.² The authorities of the City of Oporto obtained leave from Affonso V,

¹ Particularly he "reformed" the Registers of the reigns of Pedro I, D. Fernando, João I, and D. Duarte; and J. P. Ribeiro, who gives a minute account of the state of these Registers and of Azurara's compilation, winds up thus: "Such is the state of the Chancery books of the early reigns down to that of Affonso V; some are still in their original condition, while others are reformed or rather destroyed, by Gomez Eannes de Zurara."—*Memorias Authenticas para a Historia do Real Archivo*, p. 171. Lisbon, 1819.

² *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes*, No. 1, Segunda serie, p. 34; and J. P. Ribeiro, *Memorias Authenticas*, etc., p. 21.

on the 23rd March 1447, to have copies made of all the documents in the Torre do Tombo which related to them in any way, and these were furnished on December 25th, 1453, when Lopes was still Keeper of the Archives.

But Azurara was guilty of a yet graver delinquency than his destruction of the old Registers, and a charge of forgery must be brought against him. A detailed account of this affair may be read in the judgment of the Casa de Supplicação, delivered on January 12th, 1479, from which it appears that a dispute had arisen between the Order of Christ and some inhabitants of Punhete over rights claimed by the former in the River Zezere, a tributary of the Tagus. The Order based its claim on certain documents, one being of the reign of D. Fernando, and said to have been extracted from the Torre do Tombo, in which that monarch purported to confer on the Order of Christ jurisdiction over the towns of Pombal, Soure, Castello Branco and others, to the practical exclusion of his own authority therein.¹ When a copy of this pretended grant was produced in support of the contention, Azurara's successor in the Archives, Affonso d'Obidos, received instructions to produce the Register of D. Fernando for the purpose of comparison, and to bring the scribes engaged in the Archive Office

¹ There is a reference to this claim of the Order in the *Definições e Estatutos*, etc., p. 201, and to its defeat.

with him; whereupon the grant was found at the end of the Register in a different writing from the rest of the book. Neither d'Obidos, nor the scribe who had copied out the Register, could say how it came there, or who had inserted it, and the latter declared that no such grant existed in the old books from which he had transcribed the present one. On further examination the pretended grant proved to be in the handwriting of "Gomez Eannes, Cleric",¹ a servant of Azurara, and it must have been fraudulently inserted in the Register after the latter had been bound up. On the discovery of this act of forgery, judgment was, of course, given against the Order, and it was fortunate for our Chronicler that the offence he had committed in its interests remained undiscovered until after his death.²

Curiously enough, in the same year Azurara was rewarded by a pension. The grant dated from Cintra, August 7th, 1459, runs as follows:—"Dom Affonso, etc., to all to whom this letter of ours shall come we make known that, considering the many services we have received and expect hereafter to receive from Gomez Eanes de Zurara, Commander

¹ This must have been an adopted son of the Chronicler, to whom he had lent his name.

² This forgery must be reckoned a very passable one, although the handwritings are obviously not the same, and the parchment differs in texture and colour from that of the rest of the book: The judgment of the Casa de Supplicação is printed *in extenso* by J. P. Ribeiro from liv. 1, "dos Direitos Reaes," fol. 216, in the Torre do Tombo.

of the Order of Christ, Our Chronicler and Keeper of our Archives, and wishing to do him favour, we are pleased to give him a pension of twelve white milreis from the 1st day of January next, which amount he has had of us up to the present time."¹

It would appear from the last line that this document is rather the confirmation of an old grant than the gift of something new, but it has been interpreted to mean that Azurara had been receiving the money from the King's privy purse, and was henceforth to have it out of the public treasury. There can be no dispute that the recipient merited the gift for his past literary services, which were an earnest of the work he was to accomplish in the future, and the value of the latter will presently appear.

We possess the copy of one certificate issued by the Chronicler in the following year, together with the record of another, their respective dates being June 27th and October 22nd, 1460. The former, dated from Lisbon, was granted in answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Nogueira, who felt uncertain about the dues they were bound to pay the Bishop of Coimbra;² the latter is mentioned by J. P. Ribeiro, but seems to have disappeared from the Torre do Tombo.

In 1461 there occurred an event, simple enough on its face, but one which Azurara's biographers

¹ *Chanc. de D. Affonso V*, liv. xxxi, fl. 76v°. Torre do Tombo. For the signification and value of these "white milreis", see Damião de Goes, *Chronica de D. Manoel*, ch. 1.

² *Estremadura*, liv. II, fl. 279. Torre do Tombo.

have regarded as the mystery of his life, or else employed as a weapon wherewith to smite their hero—his adoption by Maria Eannes. In the king's confirmation of this, dated from Evora, February 6th, 1461, we are told that "Maria Eannes, a Lisbon tanner—considering the love and friendship that Johane aães dazurara, erstwhile Canon of Evora and Coimbra, had always shown to her mother, Maria Vicente, as well as to herself and her husband, and the many good deeds she herself had received at his hands, being his godchild and friend, and considering that she had no children and was no longer of an age to have any, and also the love and friendship she had felt for Gomez Eannes dazurara, ever since his father's death, and the services he had rendered her—thereby adopted him as her son and heir to succeed to her real and personal property, including her country house at Valbom, in the Ribatejo, and a house she possessed in the Parish of S. Julião in Lisbon".¹ Such is the substance of this document, over the explanation of which some controversy has taken place, because of the social gulf that separated the parties to it. The true motive for the adoption, as hints Senhor Rodriguez d'Azevedo, would seem to have been the existence of some near relationship between Maria Eannes and the Chronicler which it was not expedient to disclose; but whether this opinion find acceptance or no, there is nothing to

¹ *Terçeyro dodiaanna del Rey Dom Affonso Quinto*, fol. 57. Torre do Tombo.

justify the old view which regarded the grant as a proof of Azurara's avarice and unscrupulousness: since, on the contrary, the preamble reveals a lively sense of gratitude in the donor for real benefits conferred by the donee. If, however, the above theory be worked out, the most plausible conclusion to arrive at is, either that Maria Eannes and Gomes Eannes de Azurara were brother and sister, both being children of the Canon and Maria Vicente, or that the Chronicler was half-brother to Maria Eannes, *i.e.*, had the same father but not the same mother. It seems at least a fair inference to draw from the wording that the Canon and Maria Vicente were of a similar age, and the same may be said of the other pair, because at this time the Chronicler would count nearly sixty years, and his benefactress could not be much less, seeing that all possibility of her bearing children had passed by. Either of these hypotheses would account for the name Eannes being common to the lady and Azurara. The Canon would then have left his property between his two children, and as Maria Eannes was childless, it would be natural for her to bequeath her share of her father's property to her brother. But be this as it may, we know from an independent source that Azurara had a sister, for she is mentioned in the letter which Affonso V wrote him whilst he was living in Africa and engaged on historical investigations. The fact, recorded by Pisano, that the Chronicler began his studies relatively late in life, unless it be ascribed to his adoption of a military career at first, seems to

show that he had passed his early years under a cloud, and that his father, from one cause or another, lacked the power to provide him with an education at the customary age. It is, however, impossible to proceed beyond conjectures, and since the matter cannot claim to be one of historical moment, we may leave it unsolved without much regret.

On June 14th, 1463, Azurara issued a certificate of documents in the Torre do Tombo relating to land of one D. Pedro de Castro,¹ while yet another proof of the influence he possessed with his royal master is afforded by two grants, dated respectively June 22nd and 23rd of the same year. By the first of these the office of Judge of Excise in the town of Almada was conferred on a certain Pero d'Almada, servant of Gomes Eannes, and the grant is expressed to be made at the latter's request. The second appoints the same individual Judge and Steward of the gold-diggers at Adiça, near that town.²

The *Chronica de D. Pedro de Menezes*, which had been commenced by Azurara in or about the year 1458, was finished on St. John the Baptist's Eve, June 23rd, 1463, at his Commenda of Pinheiro

¹ The original of this certificate belongs to the famous novelist, Senhor Eça de Queiroz, whose wife claims descent from this de Castro. Doubtless others of the Chronicler's certificates, the contents—or at least the dates—of which would fill up some of the gaps in his biography, are in private hands, without any record of their issue remaining, either in the Torre do Tombo or elsewhere, as in the present case. Brandão mentions one such in his *Monarchia Lusitana*, Quinta parte, p. 177. Lisbon, 1650.

² Liv. ix de *D. Affonso V*, fol. 94. Torre do Tombo.

Grande. It relates the history of Ceuta, from the capture of the city in 1415 until the death of D. Pedro de Menezes, the first governor, in 1437, and gives evidence of the author's progress in historical methods.¹ While it contains less moralising and more matter than any of his previous works, at the same time he appears surer of his own powers, and no longer feels the same need of supporting every remark by a citation. Of course this Chronicle has not as deep an interest for us as that of Guinea, but this is due to the subject, not to any shortcomings in the narrator, whose contemporaries were probably of a different opinion, for many of them looked askance at the voyages of discovery, though there were few that doubted the importance of the possession of Ceuta.

Azurara confesses that he felt at first somewhat diffident of putting pen to paper, so marvellous seemed the deeds he was called on to relate; and he would never have persevered with his task had he learnt them on hearsay evidence, or from the mouths of one or two witnesses; but he found their truth confirmed on a perusal of the official reports sent to the King from Ceuta, and this encouraged him to proceed. He appears to have been assisted in his task by D. Pedro himself during his lifetime,² and to have written out the book twice, while his impar-

¹ Affonso V ordered Pisano to write the *Chronicle* in Latin, as he had previously done with the Capture of Ceuta.—*Chronica do Conde D. Pedro de Menezes*, ch. 1. The MS. is now lost.

² *Ibid.*, ch. 64.

tiality and the care he took to arrive at the truth are everywhere visible.¹ Of course he cannot abstain altogether from citations, and these have an interest as showing the measure of his literary knowledge: witness his mention of Dante's *Divina Commedia*, Cinó da Pistoia and *The Book of Amadis*, which he ascribes to "Vasco Lobeira, who lived in the time of D. Fernando".²

For three years contemporary records are silent respecting the Chronicler, and it is not until 1466 that he comes before us again. On June 11th of that year, D. Pedro,³ King of Aragon, son of him who was Regent in the minority of Affonso V, and fell at Alfarrobeira, wrote Azurara a short but familiar autograph letter, which affords another proof of the intimate relations that existed between the Chronicler and the great personages of the age. In this letter, which is in response to one sent by Azurara, D. Pedro addresses him as "friend", refers to his "old kindness and sweet nature", and goes on to accept his offer to keep him informed of the progress of events in Portugal. He then takes

¹ *Chronica do Conde D. Pedro de Menezes*, chs. 2 and 3. The end of ch. 3 deserves perusal, for it shows how fully Azurara realized the difficulties of an historian's task.

² *Ibid.*, ch. 63. This is the first reference in all literature to the authorship of the famous romance.

³ D. Pedro, *filis*, was a distinguished poet, and to him the Marquis of Santillana addressed that famous letter which may be described as a history of poetry in the Peninsula. It is transcribed *in extenso* by Dr. Theophilo Braga, in his *Poetas Palacianos*, pp. 161-169. Porto, 1871.

the Chronicler into his confidence, and complains of the difficulties of his position as King of Aragon—difficulties which were aggravated by an illness that ended in his death less than a month after he had penned this epistle.¹

On July 27th, 1467, in answer to a petition of the inhabitants, Azurara issued a certificate² of the “foral” of Azere (Azár), *virtute officii*, and on the very next day he met with another piece of good fortune. From the deed of grant it appears that, some ninety years previously, a certain Gonçalo Estevez of Cintra had died, after having built a chapel in honour of St. Clare in the Church of St. Mary Magdalen, in Lisbon, where he desired to be buried, and had left his property with the condition annexed that masses should be regularly said there. This condition, the document goes on to declare, had been broken by his heirs for about seventy years, in spite of judgments obtained against them, and many had died excommunicate because of their neglect and disobedience. Finally, the goods had been declared forfeit to the Crown,

¹ The letter was first published in the *Panorama* for 1841, at p. 336. General Brito Rebello argues that the date 1406 is impossible, and should read 1466, or possibly 1460. The former has here been adopted. Other mistakes occur in the letter, as printed in the *Panorama*, besides that of date. Some of its expressions are ambiguous, and the subscript “From Aviz”, an evident addition to the original, may be put down to the copyist, who, knowing D. Pedro to be Master of Aviz, concluded that the letter was written from there, though the contents disprove it.

² Gav. 8, Maço 1, No. 17. Torre do Tombo.

and they were now granted out to Azurara, on condition that he should provide for the masses and generally carry out the instructions contained in the will of the founder.¹ A gift of this nature was considered an extraordinary grace in those days, and it affords clear evidence that the Chronicler stood high in the royal regard.

In August of this same year Azurara went to Africa, and, to explain the journey, some introductory remarks are needed. On returning from the fruitless African expedition of 1464, the King had written to him from Aveiro, with instructions to leave all his other occupations—which the Chronicler naïvely assures us were very important and profitable to his countrymen—and forthwith to collect and put in writing the deeds of D. Duarte de Menezes, late Captain of Alcacer.² This Duarte was the natural son of D. Pedro, the hero of Azurara's last book; and he had merited much from Affonso V for his long and faithful services at Alcacer, ending with the sacrifice he had made of his own life to save that of the King, during a reconnaissance against the Moors in the last-named year.

As before, Azurara hesitated to make a start on account of his "untutored style and small knowledge", and through fear of hostile criticism; indeed,

¹ *Decimo de Estremadura*, fol. 270. Torre do Tombo.

² *Chronica do Conde D. Duarte de Menezes (Ineditos*, vol. iii), ch. 1. It would almost seem as though Azurara accompanied the King in his first expedition in 1458, when Alcacer was taken. —*Ibid.*, ch. 34.

under the latter head he says, with a touch of bitterness, "there are so many watching me, that I have hardly put pen in hand before they begin to damn my work."¹ But his obligations to, and regard for, the King caused him to pluck up courage, and proceed with a task which occupied some three or four years of his time. In order to secure the best information possible, he considered that he ought to visit Africa, because some of the dwellers in and about Alcacer were the chief actors in the drama he was called upon to write, and would be likely to have a clearer recollection of events than the courtiers in Portugal; and also because he wished to view the district which had been the scene of the struggle, and learn the disposition of the land, the Moorish method of fighting, and the tactics employed against them by the Portuguese. He confesses that he would have gone to Ceuta before writing the *Chronica de D. Pedro*, but the King refused to give permission, considering that his services were more needed inside than outside the realm. Even after he had resolved on the present visit, the King detained him a whole year, until fully convinced how necessary it was, if his commands were to be satisfactorily carried out.² Finally, in August 1467, Azurara crossed the Straits to Alcacer, where he stayed for twelve months, occupied in studying the district and taking part in the various excursions into Moorish territory that were made by D.

¹ *Ibid.*, ch. 1.

² *Ibid.*, ch. 2.

Henrique, son of D. Duarte de Menezes, who, to satisfy him and aid his work, used even to change the plan of operations and go to some spot the Chronicler desired to inspect.¹ With an impartiality rare enough at that time, Azurara took care to obtain information from the Moors themselves, both from such as visited Alcacer and from those he met when accompanying D. Henrique to treat of matters with the inhabitants of the neighbouring places.²

The Chronicle, which is at once a life of D. Duarte de Menezes and a history of Alcacer, supplements that of his father D. Pedro de Menezes, and carries the history of the Portuguese in North Africa down to 1464. We have no record of when it was finished, but the year 1468 seems the probable date. It is, if not the most important, yet the longest, as it proved to be the last, of the Author's historical works, and cost him more labour than any of its predecessors; but, through some mischance, no complete MS. exists, all having many and great lacunæ, as will hereafter appear. It presents the peculiarities common to all Azurara's writings—the same fondness for quotations, and the same reliance on astrology as explicative of character. Among the more interesting of the former, besides those from the Classics and the Fathers, are his references to João Flamenó's gloss on Dante, Avicenna, Albertus Magnus, and the Marquis of Santillana. Speaking

¹ *Ibid.*, ch. 2.

² *Ibid.*, ch. 60.

of this Chronicle, Goes notes and condemns the "superfluous abundance and wealth of poetical and rhetorical words" that are employed here and elsewhere by its author.

During Azurara's stay at Alcacer the King addressed him an autograph letter dated November 22nd, 1467 (?), which affords a striking proof of Affonso's superior mind, as well as of the esteem in which he held men of letters. He begins by saying that he has received the Chronicler's letter,¹ and rejoices he is well, as he had feared the contrary, owing to his long silence, and proceeds:—

"It is not without reason that men of your profession should be prized and honoured; for, next after the Princes and Captains who achieve deeds worth remembering, they that record them, when those are dead, deserve much praise. . . . What would have become of the deeds of Rome if Livy had not written them; what of Alexander's without a Quintus Curtius; of those of Troy without a Homer; of Cæsar's without a Lucan? . . . Many are they that devote themselves to the exercise of arms, but few to the art of Oratory. Since, then, you are well instructed in this art, and nature has given you a large share of it, with much reason ought I and the chiefs of my Realm and the Captains thereof to consider any benefit bestowed on you as well employed."

Affonso then goes on to praise Azurara for having voluntarily exiled himself in his service, and says he would not have him stay in Africa any longer than he pleases, and winds up as follows:—

¹ Azurara seems to have corresponded frequently with Affonso V; cf. *Chronica de Guiné*, ch. 7.

"I count it as a service that you wish for news of my health, and, thanks be to God, I am well in body as in other respects, though on the sea of this world one is constantly buffeted by its waves, especially as we are all on that plank since the first shipwreck, so that no one is safe until he reaches the true haven that cannot be seen except after this life, to which may it please God to conduct us when He thinks it time, for He is sailor and pilot, and without Him no man may enter there. . . . I have not a painting of myself that I can send you now ; but, please God, you will see the original, some time, which will please you more."¹

Herculano truly says of this epistle: "Had it been from one brother to another, the language could not well have been more affable and affectionate";² but, more than this, it proves that Portugal was ahead of most European nations of that age in possessing a King who could value the pen as highly as the sword.

Henceforth little or nothing is known of the life of Azurara, except from the certificates he issued in the course of his official duties.

On May 25th, 1468, one of these documents was issued from the Torre do Tombo, and signed by a substitute, with the statement that the Chronicler was living at Alcacer, on the service and by command of the King. He probably returned to

¹ The letter is printed in the *Ineditos*, vol. iii, p. 3. According to Meyrelles, there are two copies of it in MS. No. 495 of the Coimbra University Library.—Vide *Instituto*, vol. ix.

² *Opusculos*, vol. v, p. 14. Lisbon, 1886.

Lisbon to finish the *Chronica de D. Duarte de Meneses* in the autumn of this year.

On October 22nd, 1470, Azurara gave a certificate of the Charter of Moreyra. In their petition for the same, the inhabitants allege that their copy is so written, and in such Latin, that they cannot understand it; and they further wish to know how much of the present money they must pay for the three *mealhas* mentioned in the original as payable for the carriage of bread and wine—a question which Azurara seems to have experienced some difficulty in answering.¹

On April 20th, 1471, he issued a similar certificate to the dwellers in S. João de Rey.² In this same year took place Affonso's third African campaign, which resulted in the capture of Tangier, Arzila and Anafe.

On September 5th, 1472, in answer to a petition of the inhabitants of Cascaes, the Chronicler handed them a copy of the Charter of Cintra, in which district Cascaes is situate,³ and on December 5th in the same year he issued copies of documents affecting the liberties of the Order of Christ and the *couto*, or "liberty", of Gordam.⁴

¹ Maço 7 de Foraes Antigos, No. 3. Torre do Tombo.

² Maço 3 de Foraes Antigos, No. 5. Torre do Tombo.

³ Maço 1 de Foraes Antigos, No. 11. Torre do Tombo.

⁴ Armario 17, Maço 6, No. 5. Torre do Tombo. It is worthy of note that the Eytor de Sousa, here referred to, is the same person that appears in the judgment of the Casa de Supplicação of January 19th, 1479, as representing the Order of Christ,

This latter is the last existing document signed by Azurara, though he appears to have given another certificate on August 17th, 1473, nearly a year after, relating to the forged grant of D. Fernando to the Order of Christ, as mentioned by João Pedro Ribeiro.¹

There is no evidence to show when the Chronicler died, and tradition on the point varies. The oldest authority who refers to it is Damião de Goes, and, according to him, Azurara lived some years after 1472.² He never married, and was succeeded in his post at the Torre do Tombo by Affonso Annes d'Obidos; but the charter of this man's appointment has been lost, and his first recorded certificate only bears date March 31st, 1475.³

We have now followed the life of Azurara step by step, and seen him honoured for his talents by his contemporaries, and rewarded for his services to King and country by numerous benefactions.⁴ We

¹ *Memorias Authenticas*, p. 21.

² *Chronica de D. Manoel*, quarta parte, ch. 38.

³ *Memorias Authenticas*, p. 21.

⁴ Padre José Bayam, in p. 5 of his Prologue to the *Chronica del Rey D. Pedro I* of Fernão Lopes (Lisbon, 1761), states that Azurara obtained the position of Disembargador da Casa do Cível, or Judge of Appeal of the Civil Court, on the authority of ch. 54 of Pina's *Chronica de D. Affonso V*, which mentions a certain Gomez Eanes as holding the office in question and being sent on an embassy to Africa; but João Pedro Ribeiro, in vol. iv, part 2, of his *Dissertações Chronologicas e Criticas*, Dissertação XVI, proves conclusively that Bayam is in error, and that the Judge had no connection with his namesake the Chronicler.

have also seen him on intimate terms with the Royal Family, and corresponding regularly with some of its members, as well as acquainted with the leaders of the explorations and the learned men of the time, and must conclude that this was chiefly due to his literary attainments and genial character. It is therefore pleasant to be able to record that, in our day, Portugal has marked her appreciation of him, as a man and a writer, by a statue, whilst recognising that his works form his greatest and most durable monument. In the Praça de Luiz de Camoës in Lisbon there rises a noble statue of the "Prince of Spanish Poets"¹, surrounded by eight of the most distinguished men of letters and action of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, his predecessors and contemporaries, and among them is a life-size figure of Gomez Eannes de Azurara.²

CRITICAL REMARKS.

Azurara belongs to the line of Portuguese Chroniclers who rendered illustrious the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a line that began with Fernão Lopes and culminated in Damião de Goes

¹ The word "Spanish" is here used, in its correct sense, to include all the peoples of the Peninsula. So the Archbishop of Braga bears the title "Primaz das Hespanhas", denoting his primacy over both Spain and Portugal.

² No portrait of Azurara exists, and his signatures form the only relic of him that we possess.

and João de Barros, both of whom were almost historians in the modern sense of the term, and at the same time masters of prose style. He is indeed the connecting link between the chronicler and the historian, between the Mediæval writers and those of the Renaissance ; for, while he possesses much of the sympathetic ingenuousness of Lopes, yet he cannot resist displaying his erudition and talents by quotations and philosophical reflections, as quaint as they are often unnecessary, proving that he wrote under the influence of that wave of foreign literature which had swept in with the new monarchy.

Three literary tendencies may be said to have prevailed in Portugal during the fifteenth century—firstly, a monomania for classical learning ; secondly, an increased taste for the mediæval Epics and prose Romances, due to the English influence that had entered with Queen Philippa, daughter of time-serving Lancaster, though it must be remembered that *Amadis de Gaula*, the most famous romance of the Middle Ages, was compiled in the preceding century and by a Portuguese hand ; and lastly, an admiration for Spanish poetry, which had made wonderful strides since the great Italians, Dante and Petrarch, had become known in the Peninsula. In philosophy, Aristotle, as expounded by Averroes, was the chief authority—Azurara calls him “ the Philosopher ”—and following him Egidius and Pedro Hispano, the Portuguese Pope and scholar, enjoyed the widest influence. Platonic philosophy was introduced at a much later period,

chiefly through the medium of Italian poetry, and it never took root.

To the reader of Azurara's writings, it often seems as though the author were overburdened by his knowledge, which was in truth very extensive, if at times somewhat superficial; and the Chronicles bear witness to the fact that Portugal had not remained foreign to the literary impulse of the Renaissance. Besides citations from many books of the Bible, the following classical writers appear in his pages:—Herodotus, Homer, Hesiod, Aristotle, Cæsar, Livy, Cicero, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Pliny, Lucan, the two Senecas, Vegetius, Ovid, Josephus and Ptolemy. Among early Christian and mediæva authors he mentions Orosius, St. Gregory, Isidore of Seville, Lucas of Tuy, the Arabic astronomer Alfragan, Gualter, Marco Polo, Roderick of Toledo, Egidius, St. Jerome, Albertus Magnus, St. Bernard, St. Chrysostom, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Augustine, and Peter Lombard; while he has heard the legend of the voyages of St. Brendam and knows the author of the *Amadis de Gaula*. He was acquainted with the Chronicles and Romances of the chief European nations,¹ and had studied the best Italian and Spanish authors. Added to this, he had mastered the geographical system of the Ancients,² together with their astrology, and his knowledge of the latter probably came from the

¹ *Chronica de D. Pedro de Menezes*, ch. 63, and *Chronica de Ceuta*, ch. 38.

² *Chronica de Guiné*, chs. 61 and 62.

famous *Opus Quadripartitum* of Ptolemy. Although he obtained his education in the time of D. Duarte, or early in the reign of Affonso V, an age which had ceased to believe in sidereal influences, as appears from the *Leal Conselheiro*, his writings show that he possessed a fervent faith in astrology as explaining the character and acts, as well as governing the destinies, of man.¹ Various opinions have been emitted about his style; for, while such a good judge as Goes condemns his "antiquated words and prolix reasoning, full of metaphors or figures that are out of place in the historical style", Barros speaks of his "clear style" that, together with his diligence, rendered him worthy of the office he held.² But perhaps the most perspicuous criticism thereon is that of Corrêa da Serra, who declares, with reference to the opinions just cited:—"Both may well be right, for the style of Gomes Eannes is not uniform, and seems the work of two different men. As a rule his narrative is simple, full of sound sense, and not without elegance; but, from time to time, he remembers the rude rhetoric he had learnt so late in life, and writes (if I may say so) in a falsetto style. The first was what nature had bestowed upon him, the last came from his immature studies. But these very defects are of interest now,

¹ *Chronica de Guiné*, chs. 7 and 28; *Chronica de Ceuta* chs. 34, 52, and 57; *Chronica de D. Duarte de Menezes*, ch. 34.

² *Chronica do Principe D. João*, ch. 6, and *Asia*, Dec. 1, liv. ch. 2.

for they give an idea of the learning and taste of that age."¹ And, in spite of all his pedantry, Azurara rises at times to a true eloquence, some of his pages being equal to the best in Portuguese prose. The grandeur of chapter ii of the *Chronica de Guiné*, and the heartfelt pity of Chapter xxv, which relates the division of the captives, prove conclusively that he could accommodate the style to the subject like all writers worthy the name. Had he lived a century later, he would have certainly been placed in the first rank of Portuguese prosists; while, as it is, his antiquated and at times inflated language has gone far to prevent him from being appreciated, or even read, by any save the studious.²

As an historian he had an unbounded respect for authority, on his own confession, and the speeches he puts in the mouths of his heroes remind the reader at times of Livy, and make it clear that he was writing under the immediate influence of classical models.³ The historical importance of his Chronicles is of the first order. They are contemporary with the events they relate, and contain the history of the Portuguese expeditions to and rule in Mauritania from the reign of João I down to that of Affonso V, and furnish a complete account of all the voyages of discovery along the African Coast,

¹ *Ineditos*, vol. ii, p. 210.

² Compare the remarks on Azurara's style by Sotero dos Reis in his *Curso da litteratura Portugueza e Brasileira*. Maranhão, 1866, vol. I, lição xiv.

³ Cf. *Chronica de Ceuta*, ch. 1.

due to the initiative of D. Henrique, until 1448. True, the *Chronica de Guiné* omits to mention some other voyages that were the result of private enterprise, for Azurara wrote it in the capacity of Chronicler to the King and as a panegyric of the Prince, and never intended to relate discoveries unconnected with his hero and with the land that gives his book its title. The *Chronica de Guiné* must, of course, always take rank as Azurara's masterpiece. It was the first book written by a European on the lands south of Cape Bojador, and it restores to us, in great part, the lost work of Cerveira entitled a *History of the Portuguese Conquests on the Coast of Africa*, on which it is founded, besides making up for the regrettable disappearance of the naval archives of the early period of modern discovery.

Azurara's credibility as a narrator is both unquestioned and unquestionable, for his position enabled him to get at the truth, and he took pains to record nothing but the truth, thereby proving himself a genuine disciple of his master, Fernão Lopes. He was moved, as a rule, neither by human respect nor by petty jealousies, and accuracy seems with him to have amounted to a passion.¹ So truthful was he that he preferred to leave the relation of facts incomplete rather than tell of them without having

¹ Many passages from his Chronicles might be cited to prove this, but the following will suffice: *Chronica de Ceuta*, chs. 1, 2, 12, 51, 83, 91, and 95; *Chronica de Guiné*, ch. 30; *Chronica de D. Pedro de Menezes*, ch. 1, and Bk. 11, ch. 18; *Chronica de D. Duarte de Menezes*, chs. 2 and 60.

received exact information from eye-witnesses. He was quite conscious of what he calls his "want of polish and small knowledge", and his humility is shown by the declaration that he only regarded the *Chronica de Guiné* as material for some future historian who would perpetuate the great deeds of D. Henrique in "a loftier and clearer style".¹

His attitude towards the Moors, those hereditary enemies of Portugal, was only what we should expect, for, while he is strictly impartial in distributing praise and blame to them equally with Christians, he leaves us in no doubt on which side his sympathies lay. In the *Chronica de Guiné*, for example, after descanting on the universal praise of the Infant's life and work, he admits that a discordant note in the general chorus was struck by the Moors whom the Prince had warred with and slain, or, to quote his own words, "Some other voices, very contrary to those I have until now described, sounded in my ears, for which I should have felt a great pity, had I not seen them to come from men outside our Law".²

It has been already noted that Azurara, though he wrote under the very shadow of the Palace, was anything but a flatterer of the great; indeed, he has been accused by some of insisting too much on the defects in his heroes.³ On the other hand,

¹ *Chronica de Guiné*, ch. 6.

² *Ibid.*, ch. 2.

³ The Azorean scholar, Dr. J. T. Soares de Sousa, calls Azurara "a clever courtier rather than a severe and impartial historian" (quoted by Dr. Theophilo Braga, in his *Historia da Universidade*

it must be confessed that he shows a marked partiality, if not a blind admiration, for D. Henrique in the *Chronica de Ceuta* as well as in the *Chronica de Guiné*. In the former he attributes to the Prince the chief part in the capture of the city, while in the latter he shows himself ever ready to defend him from his dispraisers, and to convict of foolishness out of their own mouths the opponents of the voyages of discovery. Nay, more, he even finds an explanation for D. Henrique's neglect to defend his brother Pedro from being done to death at Alfarrobeira, a neglect which is hard to explain satisfactorily and must remain a blot on the Prince's fair fame. But this bias may readily be accounted for by the fact that Azurara passed much of his time in close intimacy with D. Henrique, and drew a great part of the information for his Chronicles of Ceuta and Guinea from that source, besides which he can hardly be blamed for the love he felt and displayed for a great and good man, the initiator and hero of modern discovery.

Finally, while no serious critic would admit Azurara within the circle of great historians, few would dispute his title to be named a great Chronicler. That he was a laborious and truthful writer his pages make clear; that he could tell a simple story vividly—nay, dramatically—and that he

de Coimbra, vol. i, p. 138); but this is certainly unjust and even untrue. F. Manoel de Mello gives a fairer estimate in the witty phrase, "Chronista antigo, tão candido de penna, como de barba." —*Apologos Dialogaes*, p. 455, ed. Lisbon, 1721.

had at times flashes of inspiration, the *Chronica de Guiné* attests, though, even bearing this work in mind, it is easy to perceive his inferiority in the matter of style to Fernão Lopes, a point constantly insisted on by Portuguese critics. In a word, if, as Southey said, Lopes is "beyond all comparison the best Chronicler of any age or nation", it may well be that Azurara, "notwithstanding an occasional display of pedantry, is equal in merit to any Chronicler, except his unequalled predecessor".¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following is a list of Azurara's works in the order in which they were written:—

(a) "MILAGRES DO SANTO CONDESTABRE D. NUNO ALVRES PEREIRA."

This volume, of doubtful authenticity, which was never printed, has now been lost. Senhor Oliveira Martins was unable to find a trace of it when engaged on his recently-published life of the Holy Constable,² and suggests that it may have perished, along with so many other literary treasures, in 1755, during the Great Earthquake. Jorge Cardoso, in his *Agiologico Lusitano*,³ quotes a passage from

¹ *Quarterly Review*, May 1809, p. 288.

² *A Vida de Nun' Alvares*. Lisbon, 1893.

³ Tom. iii, p. 217, ed. Lisbon, 1666. Barbosa Machado mentions the MS. on the authority of Cardoso.—Vide *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, tom. ii, art. on Azurara.

Azurara's work, and Santa Anna gives the substance of it in his *Chronica dos Carmelitas*, expressly declaring that he had seen the original MS., which was then preserved among the Archives of the Carmo Convent.¹

(b) "CHRONICA DEL-REI D. JOAM I DE BOA-MEMORIA E DOS REYS DE PORTUGAL O DECIMO, Terceira parte em que se contém a tomada de Ceuta." Composta por Gomez Eannes D'Azurara Chronista Mór destes Reynos & impressa na linguagem antiga. Em Lisboa. Com todas as licenças necessarias. Á custa de Antonio Alvarez, Impressor del-rei N.S. 1644, pp. x-283 fol. Such is the full title of the *Chronica de Ceuta* as given in the one and only published edition.

Following the Chronicle come accounts of the death of King João and the translation of his body to Batalha, extracted from the *Chronica de D. Duarte*, as well as a copy, with translation, of the epitaph on his tomb, and then his will and a general Index. MSS. of this Chronicle exist in the Bibliotheca National in Lisbon, and in the Torre do Tombo. The former place contains a defective one, dating from the middle of the 16th century, as well as one of the second part of the same period apparently complete. The latter boasts a MS. (No. 366) of the 15th century, in large folio, written on paper in red and black, which derives importance from its

¹ *Chronica dos Carmelitas*, vol. i, pp. 469 and 486. Lisbon, 1745.

early date, and exhibits a text practically identical with that of the book described above; while of the others, one may be attributed to the 16th century and two to the 17th. The Oporto Municipal Library has an 18th-century MS. of this Chronicle.¹

(c) "CHRONICA DO DESCOBRIMENTO E CONQUISTA DE GUINÉ, escrita por mandado de El-Rei D. Affonso V. sob a direcção scientifica, e segundo as instrucções do illustre Infante D. Henrique pelo Chronista Gomez Eannes de Azurara; fielmente trasladada do Manuscrito original contemporaneo, que se conserva na Bibliotheca Real de Pariz, e dada pela primeira vez á luz per diligencia do Visconde de Carreira, Enviado Extraordinario e Ministro Plenipotenciario de S. Majestade Fidelissima na corte da França; precedida de uma Introducção e illustrada com algumas notas pelo Visconde de Santarem e seguida d'um Glossario das palavras e phrases antiquadas e obsoletas." Paris, 1841. Fol. pp. xxv-474, with frontispiece portrait of D. Henrique from this same MS.

The letter which Azurara addressed to King

¹ There doubtless exist many other MSS. of Azurara's Chronicles, besides those mentioned in this notice, both in public libraries and private collections. Most of those described here are in Lisbon, and neither the Royal Library at the Ajuda nor the rich collection at Evora appear to contain a single specimen. Gallardo states that D. Pedro Portocarrero y Guzman, Patriarch of the Indies, the catalogue of whose library was printed at Madrid in 1703, possessed a signed MS. of the *Chronica de Ceuta*.

Affonso V, when he forwarded the Chronicle, is printed in facsimile and precedes the Introduction.

There are three separate impressions of this Chronicle—one on parchment, of which the Bibliotheca National in Lisbon possesses a copy, another on large paper, both of these being folio size, and a third on small paper octavo size.

Two early MSS. of the Chronicle exist: one, very handsome and perfect, in the Paris National Library, from which the printed edition was made; and the other, bearing date 1506, in the Royal and National Library at Munich. The latter belonged to Valentim Fernandes, a German printer, established in Lisbon from the end of the 15th century to past the middle of the 16th, who owned many MSS. of great value, which have been studied by Schmeller in his *Ueber Valentī Fernandez Alemā und seine Sammlung von Nachrichten über die Entdeckungen und Besitzungen der Portugiesen in Afrika und Asien bis zum Jahre 1508*. The imprint of this essay is 1845.

The Munich MS. is an abridgment; many of the rhetorical passages, ch. i, and nearly the whole of chs. iii-vii, being omitted. Valentim Fernandes, who transcribed, if he did not compile, this summary, which he finished on November 14th, 1506, commences his chapters at the eighth of the Paris MS., and reduces the original number of chapters from ninety-seven to sixty-two.

The text of the Paris MS. seems to have been added to at some later time, and, at any rate, is not in the state in which Azurara left it in 1453, the

year the Chronicle was finished, because certain passages speak of D. Henrique as though already deceased, while he only died in 1460.¹ Innocencio thinks Azurara emended his work after the Prince's death, and inserted some reflections on his life and moral qualities, without continuing the narrative, or passing the limit he had at first marked out, namely 1448.

The history of the MS., and the discovery in 1837 by the Lusophile, Ferdinand Denis, of the Paris copy, together with a description thereof, is related by the Viscount de Santarem in his Introduction, and deserves perusal.² Fragments of the Chronicle were known to Barros, who incorporated them in his *Asia*, but Goes never saw it at all, and it would seem to have disappeared from Portugal in the 16th century.³ Frei Luiz de Sousa, the great Dominican prose writer, met with a MS. copy at Valencia, in the possession of the Duke of Calabria, one of whose ancestors, a King of Naples, had received it, he was informed, from D. Henrique himself.⁴ We know from another

¹ Cf. *Chronica de Guiné*, ch. 5.

² *Chronica de Guiné*, p. xii, and compare the art. on Azurara in the *Diccionario Universal Portuguez*, and Innocencio da Silva, *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez*, vol. ix, p. 245.

³ Barros, *Asia*, Dec. I, liv. ii, ch. 1, and Goes, *Chronica do Principe D. João*, ch. 6.

⁴ *Historia de S. Domingos*, p. 1, liv. vi, ch. 15. Santarem suggests that Affonso V sent it to his uncle, Affonso the Magnificent of Naples, by his ambassador, Martin Mendes de Berredo,

source that this MS. was still in Spain at the beginning of the last century, but how it reached its present resting-place, the National Library in Paris, remains a mystery.

(d) "CHRONICA DO CONDE D. PEDRO (DE MENEZES) Continuada aa tomada de Cepta, a qual mandou El-Rey D. Affonso V deste nome, e dos Reys de Portugal XII, escrepver." Such is the title of this Chronicle, which was published in Vol. II of the *Ineditos*, and runs from page 213 to the end. It is there preceded by an Introduction of six pages, dealing with the life and works of Azurara, from the pen of the erudite Abbade Corrêa da Serra.

There exists a valueless MS. of this Chronicle in the Bibliotheca National in Lisbon of the end of the 17th century, and another equally devoid of interest in the Academia das Sciencias. Mr. Quaritch recently offered one for sale,¹ which derives importance from having been copied from another of early date, and was kind enough to send it for our inspection. It is a small folio, beautifully written on paper, containing 164 leaves with thirty-one lines to the page, and was transcribed from a MS. on parchment of 233 folios in a single column, which had been itself finished in Lisbon on July 24th, 1470, by João Gonçalvez, the scribe who copied the Paris MS. of the *Chronica de*

between 1453 and 1457; but this cannot be reconciled with the fact that certain passages in the Chronicle appear to have been written after the death of D. Henrique.

¹ Catalogue No. 148, *Bibliotheca Hispana*, February 1895.

Guiné. The copy belonging to Mr. Quaritch has some marginal notes without value, and must, to judge from the writing, have been made in Portugal at the very beginning of the 17th century, or, as he says, about 1620. The text is the same as that printed in the *Ineditos*.

(e) "CHRONICA DO CONDE D. DUARTE DE MENEZES."

This was published for the first time in Vol. III of the *Ineditos*, and has there no separate title page, but the heading of the first chapter reads as follows:—"Comecasse a Historia, que fala dos feitos que fez o Illustre e muy nobre Cavaleiro Dom Duarte de Menezes, Conde que foi de Viana, Alferes Del-Rey e Capitão por elle na Villa Dalcacer em Affrica. A qual foi primeiramente ajuntada e escripta per Gomez Eanes de Zurara, professo Cavalleiro, e Comendador na Ordem de Christus, Chronista do mesmo Senhor Rey, e Guardador mór do Tombo de seus Regnos."

All the MSS. of this Chronicle are defective, and we know from the Royal Censor that they were in the same state as early as the reign of Dom Sebastião. In fact, more than a third of the work has disappeared, and is represented by lacunæ. The Bibliotheca National in Lisbon has three, the Torre do Tombo two, and the Bibliotheca da Academia Real das Sciencias one MS. of this Chronicle; all show the same gaps. The only MS. of value is one (No. 520) in the Torre do Tombo, dating from the end of the 15th century, written on parchment, with the

headings to the Chapters in red and black, and an illuminated title-page. It must be pronounced a fine specimen of caligraphy, and, though incomplete like the rest, is otherwise in good condition.

The Writings attributed to Azurara consist of the following :—

(f) A CHRONICLE OF D. DUARTE.

There seems to be little doubt that Azurara wrote some sort of a Chronicle of this King which has not been preserved. The Chronicle we possess goes under the name of Ruy de Pina, but, according to Goes, it was begun by Fernão Lopes, continued by Azurara, and only finished by Pina.¹ Barros is more explicit, for he not only states that Azurara compiled the Chronicle in question, but adds that it was appropriated by Ruy de Pina, who succeeded him in the post of Chronista Mór.² Azurara himself does not help us much to a solution of the problem. In the *Chronica de Guiné* he refers twice to it somewhat vaguely, but in another place mentions it quite clearly as his own work, though in the future tense.³ Again, in the *Chronica de Ceuta* there is a similar reference to it, also in the future tense.⁴ Unsatisfactory as this is, we must perforce be content with

¹ *Chronica de D. Manoel*, quarta parte, ch. 38.

² *Asia*, Dec. 1, liv. ii, ch. 2.

³ *Chronica de Guiné*, chs. 1, 5, and 68.

⁴ *Chronica de Ceuta*, ch. 21, and cf. *Chronica de D. Duarte de Menezes*, ch. 24.

it in default of any better information. It seems most unlikely that Affonso V would have employed the Chronicler on the lives of great nobles like Pedro and Duarte de Menezes, who, after all, were but private persons, without providing, in some way, for a history of his father to be written. All we can say is, that Azurara probably collected the material and possibly made a first draft—although it is noticeable that he nowhere speaks of the Chronicle as finished, but always as something that is to be done—then came Ruy de Pina and put it into shape, for the style is certainly his, and, while more smooth, is far less characteristic than the quaint rhetorical sentences of Azurara.

(g) A CHRONICLE OF KING AFFONSO V.

Both Barros and Goes agree that Azurara wrote a Chronicle of this monarch, and carried it down to the death of D. Pedro in the year 1449, and that it was finished by Ruy de Pina, under whose name it appears.¹ More than this, Barbosa Machado actually cites it, as though it existed in his day, thus—*Chronica del Rey D. Affonso V, até a morte do Infante D. Pedro; fol. MS.*² It is true that, in the *Chronica de D. Pedro de Menezes*, Azurara declares that, in spite of entreaties, the King would never allow him to write a history of his reign; but this

¹ *Asia*, Dec. 1, liv. ii, ch. 2, and *Chronica de D. Manoel*, quarta parte, ch. 38. Goes says, too, that Azurara related the taking of Arzilla, which happened in 1470.

² *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. ii, art. on Azurara.

was in 1463, and Affonso may well have entrusted him with the work in later years, and another passage of the same Chronicle seems to imply it,¹ though Pina, while confessing that he was not the first to receive a commission for the Chronicle of King Affonso, declares that he found it uncommenced.² If we examine carefully the first 124 Chapters of Pina's Chronicle, we shall at first sight conclude the ideas to belong to Azurara and the phraseology to savour of Pina. Such prominence is given to the acts and character of the Regent that the work might well have borne his name, and he is treated with a fervent veneration and a love which might naturally be expected from Azurara, who must have known him intimately, as he certainly knew his son, but which could hardly be looked for in a later writer. Again, D. Henrique's neglect of his brother, a neglect which made Alfarrobeira possible, is reprehended in terms that bring to mind the stern and impartial Azurara rather than his more smooth-tongued successor, while, curiously enough, the incident is not touched on in Chapter cxliv, undoubtedly the work of Pina, where the character of the Prince is summed up after his death and receives unmixed praise. On the other hand, it

¹ *Chronica de D. Pedro de Menezes*, chs. 1, 2, and parte II, ch. 26; and compare his references to the *Chronica Geral* in the *Chronica de D. Duarte de Menezes*, chs. 108, 111, 135, 142, and 145, as well as in the *Chronica de Guiné*, ch. 5.

² Prologue to the *Chronica de D. Affonso V* (*Ineditos*, vol. i, p. 202).

must be remembered that D. Henrique's behaviour to his brother Pedro at the last is referred to in the *Chronica de Guiné* as a proof of his loyalty under difficult circumstances, and this fact certainly tells against Azurara's authorship of the Chronicle under consideration, though hardly enough of itself to discredit the express statements of Barros and Goes. To sum up. While it is certain that Azurara never wrote a complete Chronicle of Affonso V, for the good reason that he predeceased the King, it is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to measure his share in the first part, with which alone he has been credited, although one cannot help inclining to the opinion that the Chronicle as it stands is substantially the work of Ruy de Pina.

(h) A ROMANCE OF CHIVALRY, in three MS. volumes, existing in the Lisbon National Library.

The title of the First Volume runs:—"Chronica do Invicto D. Duardos de Bertania, Principe de Ingalaterra, filho de Palmeiry, e da Princeza Polinarda, do qual se conta seus estremados feitos em armas, e purissimos amores, com outros de outros cavalleiros que em seu tempo concorrerão. Composta por Henrique Frusto, Chronista ingres, e tresladada em Portugues por Gomes Ennes de Zurara que fes a Chronica del Rey Dom AFonço Henriques de Portugal, achada de novo entre seus papeis."

There are three MS. copies of this volume which differ somewhat *inter se*, the earliest dating from the

second half of the 17th century. Two of these copies contain eighty chapters, the other but seventy-six. They are marked respectively $\frac{U}{100}$ $\frac{B}{108}$ $\frac{B}{107}$ in the Lisbon National Library.

The last, an 18th-century MS., though substantially the same work as the two former ones, bears a different title: "Chronica de Primaleão, Emperador de Grecia. — Primeira Parte. Em que se conta das façanhas que obrou o Principe D. Duardos, e os mais Princeses que com elle se criarão na Ilha Perigoza do Sabio Daliarte." Its composition is attributed to "Guilherme Frusto, Autor Hybernio", and the name of Azurara does not appear as translator, one "Simisberto Pachorro" being named as the copyist.

The Second Volume bears the title:—"Segūda parte da cronica do Principe Dom Duardos. Composta por Henrique Frusto e tresladada por Gomez Enes Dazurara, autores da primeira parte." It contains eighty-six chapters and is marked $\frac{U}{101}$. Underneath the title is written in a flowing hand—"Podesse encadernar esta segunda parte da Chronica do Principe Dom Duardos. Lx^a em Mesa. 21 de Outubro de 659", and signed with three names.

The Third Volume is headed:—"Terseira parte da Chronica do Principe Dom Duardos", composta por Henrique Frusto e tresladada por Gomez Ennes dazurara, Auctores da 1^a, e 2^a parte. It has thirty-five Chapters, and ends abruptly. Its mark is $\frac{U}{102}$.

All the MSS. described above are of rela-

tively recent date, written on paper and of folio size.¹ A certain want of connection appears between Parts I and II, but this is not so as regards Parts II and III. A very unpoetical Sonnet closes Chapter XI. of the last Part, and, since it is not referred to in the text and its language is modern, may possibly have been interpolated. From the form it cannot be earlier than 1526 or 1530, while a competent judge holds it to have been probably composed after 1550.

From a cursory examination of the Chronicle under consideration, it would seem to be neither (1) a translation from the English, nor yet (2) by the hand of Azurara, as alleged, but an original composition by some anonymous writer. The value of the first statement may be estimated by remembering how Cervantes declared he had copied *D. Quixote* from the Cide Hamete Benengeli; and, again, how João de Barros introduced his *Clarimundo* as a version from the Hungarian; in any case, no such early English or Irish Chronicler as Frusto or Frost (?) can be shown to have existed. The Cycle of the Round Table, and other British Romances of Chivalry, which were known in Portugal early in the 14th century, became more popular after the marriage of D. João I with D. Philippa of Lancaster, and this accounts for the ascription to an English origin; while Azurara's

¹ Dr. Theophilo Braga mentions another MS. of the whole Chronicle, in a single volume of 644 folios, as being in private hands. The name of the English (?) Chronicler is there spelt "Henrique Fauste".—*Amadis de Gaula*, p. 196 n. Porto, 1873.

knowledge of such books, as displayed in his various Chronicles, explains how this story of a mythical D. Duarte came to be fathered on him. The considerations that weigh most against Azurara's authorship of the MS. are those of date and style. It has been already proved that he died in or about the year 1473, so that, assuming the work to be his, it must have been written at least before that date, or even much earlier, say before 1454; since it cannot be presumed that he would have time for such an essay after his appointment as Chief Chronicler of Portugal and Royal Archivist. Perhaps he would have lacked the inclination as well, at least judging from the disdainful tone of his reference to the *Amadis de Gaula* in the *Chronica de D. Pedro de Menezes*. Now, the first of the Palmerin series—to which our MS. certainly belongs—the *Palmerin de Oliva*, was only printed in 1511; and though both it and its sequel, *Primaleon*, may have existed in MS. in the 15th century, contemporary literature has no record of the fact as in the case of *Amadis*, and there is nothing to favour the supposition. But, apart from this, a perusal of the first few chapters of Part I of the present MS., and especially the opening lines of Chapter I, will convince most readers, without further proof, that it is nothing else than a continuation of the *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* of Francisco de Moraes,¹ for it not only takes up

¹ But it is quite a distinct work from that of Diogo Fernandes, though the same period seems to have given them birth.

the story where Moraes had left off, but expressly refers to the *Palmeirim* on more than one occasion.¹ Now, the book of Moraes was only written about the year 1543, so that, as far as the dates go, they are enough of themselves to decide the question of Azurara's authorship in the negative. To come to the question of style—that of the MS. has nothing to correspond with the rhetorical expressions and the quotations, and none of the idioms, peculiar to Azurara; nor does it belong to the 15th century, but rather to the middle or latter part of the 16th, despite the slight archaic atmosphere, shown more especially in the orthography, that hangs about Part I, and ever and anon calls to mind the *Saudades* of Bernardim Ribeiro. The phrase “achada de novo entre seus papeis”, on the title-page of the Romance, evidences nothing, although it is alleged, as already mentioned, that Azurara left MSS. behind him which were explored in the last century by Padre José Pereira de Sant' Anna.²

EDGAR PRESTAGE.

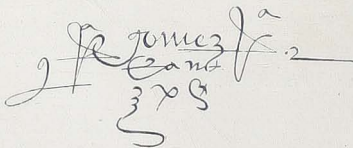
“CHILTERN”, BOWDON,

Day of Camoens' Death, 1895.

¹ *Vide* Part I, chs. 1, 4, 6, 17, and 37.

² Compare, on this question, the following studies:—*Opusculo acerca do Palmeirim de Inglaterra e do seu auctor*, by M. O. Mendes. Lisbon, 1860. *Discurso sobre el Palmeirim de Inglaterra y su verdadero autor*, by N. D. de Benjumea. Lisbon, 1875. *Versuch über den Ritterroman Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, by D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos. Halle, 1883.

NOTE.— The elegant signature of Azurara, with its flourishes and general ornateness, a woodcut of which appears below, was copied by my friend the Viscount de Castilho, son of the poet, from an original document in the Torre do Tombo. The writing, it will be observed, is clear and firm, a characteristic of all the Chronicler's signatures, which exist to the number of some half-dozen in the Torre.—E. P.



J. P. Azurara
3 x 9



AZURARA'S CHRONICLE
OF THE
DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF
GUINEA.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.



HERE beginneth the Chronicle in which are set down all the notable deeds that were achieved in the Conquest of Guinea, written by command of the most high and revered Prince and most virtuous Lord the Infant Don Henry, Duke of Viseu and Lord of Covilham, Ruler and Governor of the Chivalry of the Order of Jesus Christ. The which Chronicle was collected into this volume by command of the most high and excellent Prince, and most powerful Lord the King Don Affonso the Fifth of Portugal.

CHAPTER I.

Which is the Prologue, wherein the Author sheweth what will be his purpose in this Work.

WE are commonly taught by experience, that all well-doing requireth gratitude. And even though the benefactor doth not covet it for himself, yet he should desire it, that

the recipient may not suffer dishonour where the giver hath acquired virtuous merit. And such a special communion is there between these two acts, to wit, giving and thanking, that the first requireth the second by way of obligation. And did not the former* exist, it would not be possible for there to be gratitude in the world. Wherefore, Saint Thomas,† who was the most clear teacher¹ among the Doctors of Theology, saith in the second book of the second part of his work, in the 108th section, that every action returneth by nature to the cause from which it first proceeded. Therefore, since the giver is the chief cause of the benefit received by the other, it is requisite, by the ordinance of Nature, that the good he doth should come back to him in the shape of a fitting gratitude. And by this return we are enabled to understand the natural likeness between the works of Nature and those that give moral aid, for all things bring about a proper return, starting from a commencement and progressing till in the end they accomplish the recompence we speak of. And, in proof of this, Solomon saith in the book of Ecclesiastes, that the sun riseth over the earth, and, having encircled all things, returneth to where it first appeared. The rivers also proceed from the sea, and ceasing not their course, are continually returning to it. A like thing happeneth in the moral order, for all good that cometh from a generous will, doth run a straight course until it arrive at the fitting recipient, and then afterwards it returneth naturally to the place where the generosity allowed it to begin; and such a return bringeth about that sweet union between those that do good and those that receive it, of which Tully speaketh when he saith that no service is more necessary than

* *I.e.*, conferring of favours.

† *I.e.*, Aquinas. See note 1, in vol. ii. Throughout the present volume the numbers inserted in the text refer to historical and other notes which will be appended to vol. ii.

gratitude, in order that the good may return to him who gave it.

And in that the most high and excellent Prince and most mighty Lord, the King Don Affonso the Vth (who at the time of the writing of this book reigned in Portugal, by the grace of God, whose reign may God in his mercy increase in length and in virtues), in that he, I say, saw and knew the great and very notable deeds of the Lord Infant Don Henry, Duke of Viseu and Lord of Covilham, who was his highly-valued and beloved uncle, and in that the said deeds appeared to him so noteworthy among the many actions of Christian princes in this world—it seemed to him a wrong thing not to have some authentic memorial of the same before the minds of men. And this most of all because of the great services which the said Lord had ever rendered to past kings, and the great benefits which by his efforts the Prince's countrymen had received.

For these reasons the King bade me engage in this work with all diligence, for although great part of his other actions are scattered through the Chronicles of the Kings of his day, as, for instance, what he did when the King Don John, his father, went to take Ceuta,² and when on his own account he went with his brothers and many other great lords to raise the siege of the aforesaid town, and afterwards when in the reign and by the command of the King Don Edward of glorious memory, he attacked Tangier, where were done many very notable deeds, which are mentioned in his history, yet all that followeth was done by his ordinance* and mandate, not without great expense and trouble, all which is truly to be set down to his account. For though in all kingdoms men compile general Chronicles of their Kings, they do not fail

* *I.e.*, all that follows in this book was done by Henry's ordinance, etc.

also to write separately of the deeds of some of those Kings' vassals, wherever the greatness of the same is notable enough to warrant such especial mention—as was done in France in the case of Duke John, Lord of Lançam,³ and in Castille in the matter of the deeds of the Cid Ruy Diaz,⁴ and in our own kingdom in the story of the Count Nunalvarez Pereira.⁵ And with this Royal Princes ought to be not a little contented, for so much the more is their honour exalted as they have seigniory over greater and more excellent persons; for no Prince can be great, unless he rule over great men; nor rich, unless he rule over the wealthy. For this cause said the virtuous Roman Fabricius, that he would rather be lord over those who had gold, than have gold himself.

But because the said deeds were written by many and various persons, so the record of them is variously written, in many parts. And our Lord the King, considering that it was not convenient for the process of one only Conquest* that it should be recounted in many ways, although they all contribute to one result, ordered me to work at the writing and ordering of the history in this volume so that those who read might have the more perfect knowledge. And that we may return the benefit he conferred on us by gratitude to him from whom we received it, as I began to set forth at the commencement of this chapter, we will follow the example of that holy Prophet Moses, who, desiring not to let the people of Israel forget the good that God had shewn them, often commanded the receivers to write them upon their hearts, as in a book that should display to those who considered it what was written therein. Further, seeing that the remembrance of injuries is tender, and that the good deed is soon forgotten, those that came after† set up signs that should be lasting, on which

* Such as that of Guinea.

† *I.e.*, after Moses.

people might look and remember the benefits they had received in time past. And so likewise it is written of Joshua, that God bade him take twelve great stones from the midst of the river Jordan, and carry them to where the camp was pitched, after all had crossed. For this was done in order that they should be in remembrance of the wonderful miracle which God had wrought in presence of the people, when he parted the waters, so that those which came from above stood up in a heap and did not flow out towards the sides, while those which were below flowed on until the river was dry. But some, considering that even by such signs it was not always perfectly well known what had been done (just as we see that the Pillars of Hercules⁶ do not signify clearly to all who see them that they were placed there as a memorial of his Conquest of Spain), began the custom of writing what could not otherwise be long remembered. And in proof of this it is related in the book of Queen Esther, that King Ahasuerus kept a record of all the notable services that had been rendered to him, and that at certain times he caused this record to be read, that he might reward the authors of those services. So, too, the King Don Ramiro, desiring that the men of Spain should not allow themselves to forget the great aid that the blessed apostle Saint James had given them, when he delivered them from the power of the Moors, and promised to be our helper in all our battles with the Infidel, caused to be written the story of that event in the privileges that he granted the Church of Santiago,⁷ that is to say, in providing for the entertainment of the poor,—privileges which that Church now receives from every part of Spain where Christians then lived.

Now this care that the ancients showed ought to be a custom of to-day, and inasmuch as our memory is weaker than theirs was, and less mindful of the good that it receiveth, so much the more careful should we be to keep

ever before us the benefits bestowed on us by others, since we cannot afford to forget them without manifest injury to ourselves. And because we received of God great benefit in the deeds hereinafter recorded, in three ways—firstly, by the many souls that have been already saved, and yet will be saved, of the lineage of our captives; secondly, by the great benefits we all of us receive from the said actions; thirdly, by the great honour that our realm is now gaining in many parts by subjecting to itself so great a power of enemies, and so far from our own land—for all these reasons we will put this history in remembrance to the praise of God, and to the glorious memory of our aforesaid Lord, and to the honour of many good servants of his, and other worthy persons of our country who toiled manfully in the doing of the aforesaid actions. Finally, because our said Chronicle is especially dedicated to this Lord,* let us begin at once to speak of his habits and of his virtues, and of his appearance also, in accordance with the custom of various authors of credit whose chronicles we have seen.

CHAPTER II.

The Author's invocation.

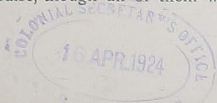
O THOU Prince little less than divine! I beseech thy sacred virtues to bear with all patience the shortcomings of my too daring pen, that would attempt so lofty a subject as is the recounting of thy virtuous deeds, worthy of so much glory. For the eternal duration of these thy actions, if the end of my attempt be profitable, will exalt thy fame and bring great honour to thy memory, giving a

* "This Lord," the "aforesaid Lord," and so on, is of course Henry.

useful lesson to all those princes that shall follow thine example. For of a certainty it is not without cause that I ask pardon of thy virtues, knowing my insufficiency to compass such a task, and that I have more just reason to expect blame for doing less than I ought, than for saying over much. Thy glory, thy praises, thy fame, so fill my ears and employ my eyes that I know not well where to begin. I hear the prayers of the innocent souls of those barbarous peoples, almost infinite in number, whose ancient race since the beginning of the world hath never seen the divine light, but who are now by thy genius, by thy infinite expense, and by thy great labours, brought into the true path of salvation, washed in the waters of baptism, anointed with the holy oil, and freed from that wretched abode of theirs, knowing at this present what darkness lay concealed under the semblance of light in the days of their ancestors. I will not say with what filial piety, as they contemplate the divine power, they are ever praying for a reward to thy great merits—for that is a matter which cannot be denied by him who hath well considered the sentences of St. Thomas and St. Gregory⁸ on the knowledge possessed by spirits concerning those who have been, or are, profitable to them in this world. I see those Garamantes,⁹ those Ethiopians, who live under the shadow of Mount Caucasus, black in colour, because of living just opposite to the full height of the sun's rays—for he, being in the head of Capricorn, shineth on them with wondrous heat, as is shown by his movements from the centre of his eccentric, or, in another way, by the nearness of these people to the torrid zone,—I see the Indians of the greater and the lesser India,¹⁰ all alike in colour, who call upon me to write of thy gifts of money and of raiment, of the passing of thy ships, and of thy hospitality—which those received who, either to visit the Apostle,¹¹ or to see the beauty of the world, came to the ends of our Spain. And those dwellers on

the Nile, whose multitudes possess the lands of that ancient and venerable city of Thebes,¹² they, too, astonish me, for I see them clothed in thy livery, and their bodies, that had never known a covering, now carrying robes of varied colours, while the necks of their women are adorned with jewels of gold and silver in rich workmanship. But what has caused this save the munificence of thine expenses and the labours of thy servitors, set in motion by thy beneficent will, by the which thou hast transported to the ends of the East things created in the West? Yet not even the prayers and the cries of these peoples, though they were many, were of such price as the acclamations I heard from the greatness of the Germans, from the courtesy of the French, from the valour of the English, and from the wisdom of the Italians,¹³ cries that were accompanied by others of divers nations and languages, all renowned by lineage and virtues. Oh thou, say these, who enterest the labyrinth of such great glory, why dost thou busy thyself only with the nations of the East? Speak to us, for we traverse the lands and encircle the circumference of the Earth, and know the Courts of Princes and the houses of great lords. Know that thou wilt not find another that can equal the excellency of the fame of this man, if thou judgest by a just weight of all that pertains to a great prince. With reason mayst thou call him a temple of all the virtues. But how plaintive do I find the people of our nation because I place the testimonies of some other race before theirs. For here in Portugal I meet with great lords, prelates, nobles, widowed ladies, Knights of the Orders of Chivalry, Masters and Doctors of the holy faith, with many graduates of every science, young scholars, companies of esquires, and men of noble breeding, with mechanics and an untold multitude of the people. And some of these shew me towns and castles; others villages and fields; others rich benefices; others great and wealthy farms; others

country houses and estates and liberties; others charters for pensions and for marriages; others gold and silver, money and cloth; others health in their bodies and deliverance from perils which they have gained by means of thee; others countless servants both male and female; while others there are that tell me of monasteries and churches that thou didst repair and rebuild, and of the great and rich ornaments that thou didst offer in many holy places. Others, again, pointed out to me the marks of the chains they bore in the captivity from which thou didst rescue them. What shall I say of the needy beggars that I see before me laden with alms? And of the great multitude of friars of every order that shew me the garments with which thou didst clothe their bodies, and the abundance of food with which thou didst satisfy their necessities? I had already made an end of this chapter, had I not descried the approach of a multitude of ships with tall sails laden from the islands thou didst people in the great Ocean Sea,¹⁴ which called on me to wait for them, as they longed to prove that they ought not to be omitted from this register. And they displayed before me their great cattle-stalls, the valleys full of sugar cane from which they carried store to distribute throughout the world: they brought also as witnesses to their great prosperity all the dwellers in the kingdom of the Algarve.¹⁵ Ask, said they, whether these people ever knew what it was to have abundance of bread until our Prince peopled the uninhabited isles, where no dwelling existed save that of wild beasts. Next they shewed me great rows of beehives full of swarms of bees, from which great cargoes of wax and honey are carried to our realm; and besides these, lofty houses towering to the sky, which have been and are being built with wood from those parts. But why should I mention the multitude of things that were told me in thy praise, though all of them were things that I could write



without injuring the truth? Let me tell how there now sounded in my ears some other voices very contrary to these I have recounted hitherto : voices for which I should have felt great compassion had I not discovered them to be the cries of those outside our law. For there addressed me countless souls of Moors, both on this side the Straits, and also beyond,¹⁶ of whom many had died by thy lance in the cruel war thou hast ever waged against them. And others presented themselves before me loaded with chains, their countenances pitiable to behold, men who were captured by thy ships through the strength of the bodies of thy vassals ; but in these I noticed that they complained not so much of the ill fortune that overtook them at the end as of their fate in earlier life, that is, of the seductive error in which that false schismatic Mohammed¹⁷ left them. And so I conclude my preface, begging that if thy great virtues, if the excellence of thy great and noble deeds, suffer any loss by my ignorance and rudeness, thy magnanimous greatness may vouchsafe to look on my fault with a propitious countenance.

CHAPTER III.

In which we recount the descent of the Infant Don Henry.

TWO reasons move me to speak in this chapter of the descent of this noble prince. First of all, because the long course of ages driveth out of the memory the very knowledge of past things, which would be altogether dimmed and hidden from our eyes were they not to be represented before us in writing. And since I have determined to write for the representing of this present time to those that come after, I ought not to pass by in silence the glory of so noble a descent as our Prince's, since this book must indeed be a work placed

by itself. For it may happen that those who read through this may not know anything of other writings.

But this digression must needs be brief, that I may not be drawn away far from my projected task.

And the second reason* is that we may not attribute the whole of such great virtues to one man only, but may rather give some part to his ancestors, for it is certain that nobility of lineage, being well observed by one that hath sprung from such a stock—for the sake, as often happeneth, of avoiding shame, or in some way of acquiring virtue—constraineth a man to shew courage, and strengtheneth his heart to endure greater toils.

Therefore you must know that the King Don John, who was the tenth King of Portugal, the same that was victor in the great battle of Aljubarrota and took the very noble city of Ceuta, in the land of Africa, was espoused to Donna Philippa, daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, and sister of the King Don Henry of England, by whom he had six lawful children, to wit, five princes, and one princess, who was afterwards Duchess of Burgundy.¹⁸ Some others, who died while still very young, I omit to mention. And of these children Prince Henry was the third, so that with the ancestry he had, both on his father's and his mother's side, the lineage of this royal prince embraced the most noble and lofty in Christendom. Now this same Prince Henry was also brother of the King Don Edward and uncle of the King Don Affonso, the kings who, after the death of the King Don John, reigned in Portugal. But this, as I said, I touch on briefly, because if I were to declare things more fully I should meet with many matters of which any single one duly followed up, as would be necessary, must needs cause so great a delay that I should be late in returning to my first commencement.

* *I.e.*, for undertaking Prince Henry's genealogy.

CHAPTER IV.

Which speaketh of the habits of the Infant Don Henry.

MESEEMETH I should be writing overmuch if I were to recount fully all the particulars that some histories are accustomed to relate about those Princes to whom they addressed their writings. For in writing of their deeds they commenced by telling of the actions of their youth, through their desire to exalt their virtues. And though it may be presumed that authors of such sufficiency would not do aught without a clear and sufficient reason, I shall for the present depart from their course, as I know that it would be a work but little needed in this place. Nor do I even purpose to make a long tale about the Infant's bodily presence, for many in this world have had features right well proportioned, and yet for their dishonest vices have got great harm to their fair fame. So, though it be nothing more, let it suffice what the philosopher¹⁹ saith concerning this, that personal beauty is not a perfect good.

Therefore, returning to my subject, let me say that this noble Prince was of a good height and stout frame, big and strong of limb, the hair of his head somewhat erect, with a colour naturally fair, but which by constant toil and exposure had become dark. His expression at first sight inspired fear in those who did not know him, and when wroth, though such times were rare, his countenance was harsh. Strength of heart and keenness of mind were in him to a very excellent degree, and beyond comparison he was ambitious of achieving great and lofty deeds. Neither luxury nor avarice ever found a home within his breast, for as to the former he was so temperate that all his life was passed in purest chastity, and as a virgin the earth received him at his death again to herself. And what can I say of his

greatness, except that it was pre-eminent among all the princes of the earth? He was indeed the uncrowned prince, whose court was full of more numerous and more noble vassals of his own rearing than any other. His palace was a school of hospitality for all the good and high-born of the realm, and still more for strangers; and the fame of it caused there to be a great increase in his expenses: for commonly there were to be found in his presence men from various nations so different from our own, that it was a marvel to well-nigh all our people: and none of that great multitude could go away without some guerdon from the Prince. All his days were passed in the greatest toil, for of a surety among all the nations of mankind there was no one man who was a sterner master to himself. It would be hard to tell how many nights he passed in the which his eyes knew no sleep; and his body was so transformed by the use of abstinence that it seemed as if Don Henry had made its nature to be different from that of other men. Such was the length of his toil and so rigorous was it, that as the poets have feigned that Atlas the giant held up the heavens upon his shoulders, for the great knowledge that was in him concerning the movements of the heavenly bodies, so the people of our kingdom had a proverb, that the great labours of this our Prince "conquered the heights of the mountains," that is to say, the matters that seemed impossible to other men, by his continual energy, were made to appear light and easy.

The Infant was a man of great wisdom and authority, very discreet and of good memory, but in some matters a little tardy, whether it were from the influence of phlegm in his nature, or from the choice of his will, directed to some certain end not known of men. His bearing was calm and dignified, his speech and address gentle. He was constant in adversity, humble in prosperity. Of a surety no Sovereign ever had a vassal of such station, or

even of one far lower than his, who held him in greater obedience and reverence than he showed to the kings who in his days reigned in Portugal, and especially to the King Don Affonso, in the commencement of his reign, as in his Chronicle²⁰ you may learn more at length. Never was hatred known in him, nor ill-will towards any, however great the wrong he might have done him; and so great was his benignity in this matter that wiseacres reproached him as wanting in distributive justice, though in all other matters he held the rightful mean.

And this they said because he left unpunished some of his servants who deserted him in the siege of Tangier, which was the most perilous affair in which he ever stood before or after,²¹ not only becoming reconciled to them, but even granting them honourable advancement over and above others who had served him well; the which, in the judgment of men, was far from their deserts. And this is the only shortcoming of his that I have to record. And because Tully commandeth²² that an author should reason, in the matter of his writing, as truly appeareth to him—in the sixth chapter of this work I shall declare myself more fully on this,* that I may approve myself a truthful writer.

The Infant drank wine only for a very small part of his life, and that in his youth, but afterwards he abstained entirely from it. He always shewed great devotion to the public affairs of these kingdoms, toiling greatly for their good advancement, and much he delighted in the trial of new essays for the profit of all, though with great expense of his own substance. And so he keenly enjoyed the labour of arms, and especially against the enemies of the holy faith, while he desired peace with all Christians. Thus he was loved by all alike, for he made himself useful to all and hindered no one. His answers were always

* *I.e.*, on this point of distributive justice.

gentle, and therewith he shewed great honour to the standing of every one who came to him, without any lessening of his own estate. A base or unchaste word was never heard to issue from his mouth.

He was very obedient to all the commands of Holy Church, and heard all its offices with great devotion; aye and caused the same to be celebrated in his chapel, with no less splendour and ceremony than they could have had in the College of any Cathedral Church. And so he held all sacred things in great reverence and treated the ministers of the same with honour, and bestowed on them favours and largess. Well-nigh one-half of the year he spent in fasting, and the hands of the poor never went away empty from his presence. Of a surety I know not how to find any prince so Catholic and religious, that I could say as much of him. His heart never knew what fear was, save the fear of sin; and since from chaste habits and virtuous actions spring great and lofty deeds, I will collect in this next chapter all the notable things which were performed by him for the service of God and the honour of the Kingdom.

CHAPTER V.

In which the Chronicler speaketh briefly of the notable matters which the Infant performed for the service of God and the honour of the Kingdom.

WHERE could this chapter begin better than in speaking of that most glorious conquest of the great city of Ceuta, of which famous victory the heavens felt the glory and the earth the benefit. For it seemeth to me a great glory, for the sacred college of the Celestial Virtues,²³ that all those holy sacrifices and blessed ceremonies should have been celebrated in praise of Christ our Lord in that city from

that day even until now, and by his grace ever shall be celebrated. And as to the profit of our world from this achievement, East and West alike are good witnesses thereof, since their peoples can now exchange their goods, without any great peril of merchandise—for of a surety no one can deny that Ceuta is the key of all the Mediterranean sea. In the which conquest the Prince was captain of a very great and powerful fleet, and like a brave knight fought and toiled in person on the day when it was taken from the Moors; and under his command were the Count of Barcellos, the King's bastard, and Don Fernando, Lord of Braganza, his nephew, and Gonçalo Vasquez Coutinho, a great and powerful noble, and many other lords and gentlemen with all their men-at-arms, and others who joined the said fleet from the three districts of the Beira, and the Tral-os-Montes and the Entre Douro-e-Minho.²⁴ Now the first Royal Captain who took possession by the walls of Ceuta was this same of whom I write, and his square banner was the first that entered the gates of the city, from whose shadow he was never far off himself. On that day the blows he dealt out were conspicuous beyond those of all other men, since for the space of five hours he never stopped fighting, and neither the heat, though it was very great, nor the amount of his toil, were able to make him retire and take any rest. And in this space of time, the Prince, with four who accompanied him, made a valiant stand. For as to the others who should have followed in his company, some were scattered through that vast city, and others were not able to join him by reason of a gate through which the Infant with the said four companions had passed together with the Moors, which gate was guarded by other Moors on the top of the wall. So for about two hours the Prince and his friends held another gate, which is beyond that one which stands between the two cities²⁵ in a turn of the wall under the shadow of the castle,

which gate is now called that of Fernandafonso. And to this had retired the greater part of the Moors who had fled out of the other town from the side of Almina just where the city was entered, but in the end, despite the great multitude of the enemy, they shut that gate. And whether their toil were idle or no could well be seen by those who had fallen and lay dead there, stretched out along that ground. In that city of Ceuta was the Infant knighted, together with his brothers, by his father's hand, with great honour, on the day of the consecration of the Cathedral Church. And the capture was on a Thursday, the 21st day of the month of August, in the year of Christ 1415. And immediately on the return of the King Don John to his kingdom, he made this honoured prince a duke, with the seignory thereof, in a place of the province of the Algarve.²⁶ And afterwards at the end of three years there came against Ceuta a great power of Moors, who were reckoned at a later time by the King's Ransomers of Captives to be 100,000 strong—for there were present the people of the Kings of Fez and of Granada and of Tunis and of Marocco and of Bugya,²⁷ with many engines of war and much artillery, with the which they thought to take the aforesaid city, encircling it by sea and land. Then the Infant was very diligent in succouring it with two of his brothers, that is to say the Infant Don John and the Count of Barcellos, who was afterwards Duke of Braganza, with many lords and gentlemen and with the aid of a great flotilla; and after killing many of the Moors and delivering the city, he repaired it and returned again very honourably to Portugal. Yet he was not well content with his victory, because the chance of taking the town of Gibraltar, for which he had made preparation, did not offer itself to him.²⁸ The chief reason of his being thus hindered was the roughness of the winter, which was just then beginning; for although the sea at that time is dangerous everywhere,

it is much more so at that very part because of the great currents that are there. He also fitted out a very great armada against the Canary Islands,²⁹ to shew the natives there the way of the holy faith.

Again, while the King Don Edward was reigning, by his order he passed over a third time into Africa, when he besieged the city of Tangier, and went for nineteen leagues with banners flying through the land of his enemies ; and then maintained the leaguer for two and twenty days, in which time were achieved many feats worthy of glorious remembrance, not without great slaughter of the enemy, as in the history of the kingdom you can learn more fully.

He governed Ceuta, by command of the kings, his father, brother and nephew,* for five and thirty years, with such prevision that the crown of the kingdom never suffered loss of honour through any default of his ; but at last, because of his great burdens, he left the said government to the King Don Affonso, at the beginning of his reign.³⁰ Moreover, from the time that Ceuta was taken he always kept armed ships at sea to guard against the infidels, who then made very great havoc upon the coasts both on this side the straits and beyond ; so that the fear of his vessels kept in security all the shores of our Spain and the greater part of the merchants who traded between East and West.³¹

Also he caused to be peopled in the great Sea of Ocean five islands, which embraced a goodly number of people at the time of the writing of this book, and especially Madeira;³² and from this isle, as well as the others, our country drew large supplies of wheat, sugar, wax, honey and wood, and many other things, from which not only our own people but also foreigners have gained and are gaining great profit. Also the Infant

* John, Edward and Affonso.

Don Henry was with the king Don Affonso his nephew, in that army he collected against the Infant Don Pedro, from which followed the battle of Alfarrobeira, where the aforesaid Don Pedro was killed and the Count of Avranches who was with him, and all their host defeated.³³ And there, if my understanding suffice for the matter, I may truly say that the loyalty of men of all times was as nothing in comparison of his. Further, although his services* did not occasion him such great labours as those I have mentioned, yet of a certainty the circumstances of the matter gave to them a lustre and a grandeur that exceeded all else: and of these I leave a fuller account to the general history of the Kingdom.

Don Henry also made very great benefactions to the Order of Christ, of which he was ruler and governor by the authority of the Holy Father, for he bestowed upon it all the spiritualities of the islands† and in the kingdom he made purchases of lands (from which he created new commanderies), as well as of houses and estates, which he annexed to the said Order. And in the Mother-Convent of the Order he built two very fair cloisters and one high choir, with many rich ornaments, which he presented for sacred uses.³⁴ And for that he had a great devotion to the Virgin Mary, he built in her honour a very devout house of prayer, one league from Lisbon, near the sea, at Restello, under the title of St. Mary of Belem. And in Pombal and in Soure, he built two very notable churches. Also, he bequeathed many noble houses to the City of Lisbon, being pleased to give his protection for the greater honour of the holy Scriptures; and he ordained a yearly grant of ten marks of silver to the Chair of Theology for ever. And in the same way he gave to his chapel of St. Mary of Victory seven marks of yearly revenue.³⁵ But I know not for the present if there is

* In this battle.

† In his jurisdiction.

to be an increase in these grants after his death, for, at the time that King Affonso ordered this book to be written he was yet alive, of an age little less than sixty years, so that I cannot make an end of his benefactions, for, as his mind was great and ever intent on noble actions, I am sure that his members may indeed grow weaker with the lapse of time, but his will can never be too poor both to undertake and to finish a multitude of good deeds, so long as his soul and body are united together. And this may well be understood by those that saw him ready to go to Ceuta³⁶ and almost embarked on shipboard with that intent—to end his life there, toiling in arms for the honour of the Kingdom and the exaltation of the Holy Faith. For in this cause he ever had a desire to finish his days: yet he desisted from carrying out his purpose for this time, because the King agreed with his Council in hindering the voyage, though he had previously given him leave. And though the chief cause of this be not known to most men, some wiseacres, who were not members of the Chief Council, perceived that the reason was as follows: the Lord King, like a man of great discretion, considering the great things to be performed at home, ordered him to remain, that he might give him, as his uncle and especial friend and most notable servant, the principal part in searching out the remedies for these troubles. But it mattereth not much, whether this was the cause of his remaining or whether it was some other reason outside our knowledge: let it suffice that by this action you may see what was the chief part of his life's purpose, and this is what I ought in reason to set forth after what I have said. And among those actions of the Prince's* there are many others of no little grandeur, with which another man, who had not attained to the excellency of this hero, might well be

* In home affairs.

content, but in this history I omit them, in order not to depart from what I promised at first to write of. Not that I would keep silence altogether concerning them, for in the general chronicle of the Kingdom I intend to touch on each in its own place. And because I began this chapter with the taking of a city,* I would fain end it with an account of that noble town which our Prince caused them to build on Cape St. Vincent, at the place where both seas meet, to wit, the great Ocean sea and the Mediterranean sea. But of the perfections of that town it is not possible to speak here at large, because when this book was written there were only the walls standing, though of great strength, with a few houses—yet work was going on in it continually. According to the common belief, the Infant purposed to make of it an especial mart town for merchants. And this was to the end that all ships that passed from the East to the West, should be able to take their bearings and to get provisions and pilots there, as at Cadiz—which last is very far from being as good a port as this, for here ships can get shelter against every wind (except one that we in this Kingdom call the cross-wind), and in the same way they can go out with every wind, whenever the seaman willeth it. Moreover, I have heard say that when this city was begun, the Genoese offered a great price for it; and they, as you know, are not men that spend their money without some certain hope of gain. And though some have called the said town by other names, I believe its proper one, according to the intention of its founder, was that of “the Infant’s town”, for he himself so named it, both by word of mouth and by writing.³⁷

* Ceuta.

CHAPTER VI.

In which the Author, who setteth in order this history, saith something of what he purposeth concerning the virtues of the Infant Don Henry.

SUCH were the virtues and habits of this great and glorious Prince, even as you have heard in the past few chapters, in which I have spoken as well as I was able, but certainly not as the matter deserved of me, for as St. Jerome layeth it down, small wits cannot handle great subjects. And if it be true, as Sallust saith, that great praise was given to those who performed the famous actions in the history of Athens, as far as the brilliant and glorious talents of her subtle authors were able by words to praise and exalt them, it was great boldness in me, who am only worthy to name myself a disciple of each one of these ancients, to undertake so high a charge.³⁸

But whereas it is said, that obedience is better than sacrifice, it seemeth to me that I do not deserve so great a blame, since I have only fulfilled what was commanded me. But I neither demand nor desire that my work should be placed before the public, for it is not of so precious a nature as to merit that it be preserved in a tower or temple, as the Athenians preserved the Minerva of Phidias, the figure to wit of the goddess Pallas, which for the excellency of its beauty was placed on high for the better view of all men, as saith the Philosopher in the sixth book of his *Ethics*, in the Chapter on Wisdom.³⁹ Rather I wish that this book of mine may be profitable as to its form, in order that in the future another work more adequate to the subject may be constructed out of it, and one that may suffice for the merits of so great a prince; for certainly shame will descend on all the masters, all the doctors, all the lawyers that have received instruction

through his beneficence, if among so many there should not be found one willing to perpetuate his admirable deeds in a loftier and nobler style.

But as it may happen that the recompense of gratitude, as I often perceive, may not be swift to follow or may very quickly cease altogether, let it please you to receive what in the past chapters of this work I have said of the Prince's habits and virtuous acts, and what more in the future I shall have to say—not according to that which the excellence of the work requireth, but according to the rudeness and ignorance of the Author. And these matters you may well believe are more truthfully written than easily collected together.

But before entering fully upon the substance of my history, I wish to say a little of my intention to amend somewhat in the things where aforetime I was found wanting, to the praise of this great and glorious duke. And thou, great Valerius,⁴⁰ who with such constant study, didst occupy thyself in gathering and putting together in a history the powers and virtues of the noble and excellent lords of thy city, of a surety I dare say that among so many renowned men, thou couldst not, in the highest degree, speak of another like him, for although thou wast able to assign certain grades of virtue to each one of thy heroes, yet thou wast not able to unite all these merits in one single body, as I am able to gather and join them together in the life of this Prince.

Where couldst thou find one so religious, one so catholic, one so prudent, one of so good counsel, one so temperate in all his actions. Where couldst thou light on such magnanimity, such frankness, such humanity, such courage, to support so great and so many toils as his?—for of a surety there was not a man of his time who would have dared to continue in the practice of such severity of life. Oh how often did the sun find him on its rising seated in

the same place where it had left him the day before, watching throughout the circle of the night season without taking any rest, surrounded by people of various nations, not without profit to every one of them that stood by. For he took no small delight in finding the means to profit all. Where could you find another human body that would endure the toil he underwent in arms, a toil that was but scantily diminished in the time of peace? Certainly I believe that if fortitude could be depicted, it would encounter its true form in his face and members, for he did not prove himself strong in some matters only, but in all. And what courage, what endurance, could be greater than that of the man who is victor over himself? Yet he endured hunger and thirst as well, a matter almost past belief.

But what Romulus, or Manlius Torquatus, or Horatius Coclés couldst thou prefer to the might of this Prince? Perchance thou wouldst bring hither thy Caesar, whom by thy words thou hast set up as a god, and an example of good morals and honest life: what then wilt thou do with Marcus Tullius and with Lucan, who in so many places confess that he corrupted himself by carnal desires and other vices, to the great diminishing of his praise?⁴¹ Who would not fear to compare himself with this our prince, seeing how that the Sovereign Pontiff, vicar-general of the Holy Church, and the Emperor of Germany, as well as the Kings of Castille and England, when informed of his great virtues, begged him to be captain of their armies?⁴² And to what shall we assign more justly the name of felicity and good fortune than to his virtues and habits, or to what empires and riches can be given greater honour than to his great and excellent deeds?

O fortunate prince, honour of our kingdom, what single thing was there in thy life which they who praise thee ought to pass by in silence: what moment of thy time was barren of good deeds or empty of praise? I consider how

thou didst welcome all, how thou didst listen to all ; how thou didst pass the greater part of thy days and nights among such great cares, that many might be profited. Wherefore I know that lands and seas are full of those that praise thee, for by thy continual voyagings thou hast joined the East with the West, in order that the nations might learn to exchange their riches. And in truth, though I have said many things about thee, many more remain for me to say.

But before I end this chapter I believe that it beseemeth me, of necessity, to show what I think about that matter on which I touched—to wit, distributive justice—so as not to pass it by without some declaration of my mind, as I promised before. And certainly that was a beautiful ordinance that Tully made upon this matter, for it standeth to reason that the verdict of the historian should have greater authority upon that matter of which he treateth than any other person, because he enquireth about the truth of things with greater care : Now this duty* will be either that of martial correction or of humanity and clemency. If it be an affair of correction or martial justice, it is impossible to excuse shortcomings, for we read in the histories of the Romans that the fathers slew their sons for such faults, and made other very bloody executions : but, contrariwise, on the side of clemency and humanity, this must needs be praised as a great virtue, since its third part, according to Seneca, lieth in reconciling familiars to oneself ; yet the extreme of both these two things is of doubtful merit, to wit, whether one should prefer discipline to clemency or clemency to discipline.⁴³

But under correction of him who better understandeth it, I say it appeareth to me that the better part of the matter should take precedence of the other part of less value, and

* Of shewing distributive justice.

considering the particular case and the circumstances of the time and how no correction could bring about amendment,* we ought to give praise rather than blame to the Infant for his conduct, inasmuch as it sheweth a liberal heart to offer kindness to those whom one might with good reason have denied.

And be this as it may, let not these matters, most excellent prince, seem serious unto thee, for it was not so much my intent to praise thy deeds as to praise thee. For the wicked do many deeds worthy of praise, but no man should be praised save he who is truly good in himself. Where is the man whose virtues are not offended by some accretion of vices? Certainly I am not one to write or say it of thee, O Prince, for one who hath a place prepared among the celestial thrones cannot receive offence from the deeds he did on earth, though to some they appear worthy of blame; for one may quote the saying of Saint Chrysostom, that there is nothing so holy, but that an evil-minded interpreter thereof can find something to asperse.⁴⁴

O how few there be, as said Seneca in his first tragedy,⁴⁵ who turn to good account the time of their life or ever think upon its brevity. But of a surety thou, O prince, wast never of the number of these men, since by thy glorious and lofty deeds and cruel sufferings, thou didst add to thyself, among many princes of most excellent dignity, an eternal and undying memory, and, what is of more value, a heavenly throne, as I piously believe. O fortunate Kings, who after his death shall possess the royal seat of his ancestors, I beg you always to keep the sepulchre of this great and noble duke in your especial remembrance, since the splendour of his virtues doth form a great part of your honour. For verily the exclamations and the praises which I tell you of him, were not invented by my own wit, but

* *I.e.*, on that occasion.

are as it were the living voices of his virtues and his great merits, which would be of great profit to every one of you, if you could keep them whole and sound in your thought, not desiring that I had related them more briefly, since it would be a trouble to find his like among the men of our time.

CHAPTER VII.

In which five reasons appear why the Lord Infant was moved to command the search for the lands of Guinea.

WE imagine that we know a matter when we are acquainted with the doer of it and the end for which he did it. And since in former chapters we have set forth the Lord Infant as the chief actor in these things, giving as clear an understanding of him as we could, it is meet that in this present chapter we should know his purpose in doing them. And you should note well that the noble spirit of this Prince, by a sort of natural constraint, was ever urging him both to begin and to carry out very great deeds. For which reason, after the taking of Ceuta he always kept ships well armed against the Infidel, both for war, and because he had also a wish to know the land that lay beyond the isles of Canary and that Cape called Bojador, for that up to his time, neither by writings, nor by the memory of man, was known with any certainty the nature of the land beyond that Cape. Some said indeed that Saint Brandan had passed that way; and there was another tale of two galleys rounding the Cape, which never returned.⁴⁶ But this doth not appear at all likely to be true, for it is not to be presumed that if the said galleys went there, some other ships would not have endeavoured to learn what voyage they had made. And because the said Lord Infant wished to know the truth of this,—since it seemed to him that if he or some other lord did not endeavour to gain that knowledge,

1
Duce
quest for
knowledge

Early voyage
St. Brandan
of the island

without
know the
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it

no mariners or merchants would ever dare to attempt it—
 (for it is clear that none of them ever trouble themselves to
 sail to a place where there is not a sure and certain hope of
 profit)—and seeing also that no other prince took any pains
 in this matter, he sent out his own ships against those
 parts, to have manifest certainty of them all. And to this
 he was stirred up by his zeal for the service of God and of
 the King Edward his Lord and brother, who then reigned.
 And this was the first reason of his action.

The second reason was that if there chanced to be in
 those lands some population of Christians, or some havens,
 into which it would be possible to sail without peril, many
 kinds of merchandise might be brought to this realm, which
 would find a ready market, and reasonably so, because no
 other people of these parts traded with them, nor yet
 people of any other that were known; and also the pro-
 ducts of this realm might be taken there, which traffic
 would bring great profit to our countrymen.

The third reason was that, as it was said that the power
 of the Moors in that land of Africa was very much greater
 than was commonly supposed,⁴⁷ and that there were no
 Christians among them, nor any other race of men; and
 because every wise man is obliged by natural prudence to
 wish for a knowledge of the power of his enemy; therefore
 the said Lord Infant exerted himself to cause this to be
 fully discovered, and to make it known determinately how
 far the power of those infidels extended.

The fourth reason was because during the one and thirty
 years that he had warred against the Moors, he had never
 found a Christian king, nor a lord outside this land, who
 for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ would aid him in the
 said war. Therefore he sought to know if there were in
 those parts any Christian princes, in whom the charity and
 the love of Christ was so ingrained that they would aid him
 against those enemies of the faith.

The fifth reason was his great desire to make increase in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and to bring to him all the souls that should be saved,—understanding that all the mystery of the Incarnation, Death, and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ was for this sole end—namely the salvation of lost souls—whom the said Lord Infant by his travail and spending would fain bring into the true path. For he perceived that no better offering could be made unto the Lord than this; for if God promised to return one hundred goods for one, we may justly believe that for such great benefits, that is to say for so many souls as were saved by the efforts of this Lord, he will have so many hundreds of guerdons in the kingdom of God, by which his spirit may be glorified after this life in the celestial realm. For I that wrote this history saw so many men and women of those parts turned to the holy faith, that even if the Infant had been a heathen, their prayers would have been enough to have obtained his salvation. And not only did I see the first captives, but their children and grandchildren as true Christians as if the Divine grace breathed in them and imparted to them a clear knowledge of itself.

But over and above these five reasons I have a sixth that would seem to be the root from which all the others proceeded: and this is the inclination of the heavenly wheels. For, as I wrote not many days ago in a letter I sent to the Lord King, that although it be written that the wise man shall be Lord of the stars, and that the courses of the planets (according to the true estimate of the holy doctors) cannot cause the good man to stumble; yet it is manifest that they are bodies ordained in the secret counsels of our Lord God and run by a fixed measure, appointed to different ends, which are revealed to men by his grace, through whose influence bodies of the lower order are inclined to certain passions. And if it be a fact, speaking as a Catholic, that the contrary predestinations of the

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the heate
Christians
to Salvation
of lost souls

To gain captives
with heaven
It cannot

6
Heavenly wheels
moved him
on

wheels of heaven can be avoided by natural judgment with the aid of a certain divine grace, much more does it stand to reason that those who are predestined to good fortune, by the help of this same grace, will not only follow their course but even add a far greater increase to themselves. But here I wish to tell you how by the constraint of the influence of nature this glorious Prince was inclined to those actions of his. And that was because his ascendent was Aries, which is the house of Mars and exaltation of the sun, and his lord in the XIth house, in company of the sun. And because the said Mars was in Aquarius, which is the house of Saturn, and in the mansion of hope, it signified that this Lord should toil at high and mighty conquests, especially in seeking out things that were hidden from other men and secret, according to the nature of Saturn, in whose house he is. And the fact of his being accompanied by the sun, as I said, and the sun being in the house of Jupiter, signified that all his traffick and his conquests would be loyally carried out, according to the good pleasure of his king and lord.⁴⁸

CHAPTER VIII.

Why ships had not hitherto dared to pass beyond Cape Bojador.

So the Infant, moved by these reasons, which you have already heard, began to make ready his ships and his people, as the needs of the case required; but this much you may learn, that although he sent out many times, not only ordinary men, but such as by their experience in great deeds of war were of foremost name in the profession of arms, yet there was not one who dared to pass that Cape of Bojador and learn about the land beyond it, as the Infant wished. And to say the truth this was not from

cowardice or want of good will, but from the novelty of the thing and the wide-spread and ancient rumour about this Cape, that had been cherished by the mariners of Spain from generation to generation. And although this proved to be deceitful, yet since the hazarding of this attempt seemed to threaten the last evil of all, there was great doubt as to who would be the first to risk his life in such a venture. How are we, men said, to pass the bounds that our fathers set up, or what profit can result to the Infant from the perdition of our souls as well as of our bodies—for of a truth by daring any further we shall become wilful murderers of ourselves? Have there not been in Spain other princes and lords as covetous perchance of this honour as the Infant? For certainly it cannot be presumed that among so many noble men who did such great and lofty deeds for the glory of their memory, there had not been one to dare this deed. But being satisfied of the peril, and seeing no hope of honour or profit, they left off the attempt. For, said the mariners, this much is clear, that beyond this Cape there is no race of men nor place of inhabitants: nor is the land less sandy than the deserts of Libya, where there is no water, no tree, no green herb—and the sea so shallow that a whole league from land it is only a fathom deep, while the currents are so terrible that no ship having once passed the Cape, will ever be able to return.⁴⁹

Therefore our forefathers never attempted to pass it: and of a surety their knowledge of the lands beyond was not a little dark, as they knew not how to set them down on the charts, by which man controls all the seas that can be navigated. Now what sort of a ship's captain would he be who, with such doubts placed before him by those to whom he might reasonably yield credence and authority, and with such certain prospect of death before his eyes, could venture the trial of such a bold feat as that? O thou

The traditional
fears

Tradition of
fear.

Tradition
fear.

The accounts
and the charts

classical
ideas.
more than
the
newledge
 Virgin Themis, saith our Author, who among the nine Muses of Mount Parnassus didst possess the especial right of searching out the secrets of Apollo's cave, I doubt whether thy fears were as great at putting thy feet on that sacred table where the divine revelations afflicted thee little less than death, as the terrors of these mariners of ours, threatened not only by fear but by its shadow, whose great deceit was the cause of very great expenses. For during twelve years the Infant continued steadily at this labour of his, ordering out his ships every year to those parts, not without great loss of revenue, and never finding any who dared to make that passage. Yet they did not return wholly without honour, for as an atonement for their failure to carry out more fully their Lord's wishes, some made descents upon the coasts of Granada and others voyaged along the Levant Seas, where they took great booty of the Infidels, with which they returned to the Kingdom very honourably.⁵⁰

CHAPTER IX.

How Gil Eannes, a native of Lagos, was the first who passed the Cape of Bojador, and how he returned thither again, and with him Affonso Gonçalvez Baldaya.

NOW the Infant always received home again with great patience those whom he had sent out, as Captains of his ships, in search of that land, never upbraiding them with their failure, but with gracious countenance listening to the story of the events of their voyage, giving them such rewards as he was wont to give to those who served him well, and then either sending them back to search again or despatching other picked men of his Household, with their ships well furnished, making more urgent his charge to

them, with promise of greater guerdons, if they added anything to the voyage that those before them had made, all to the intent that he might arrive at some comprehension of that difficulty. And at last, after twelve years, the Infant armed a "barcha" and gave it to Gil Eannes, one of his squires, whom he afterwards knighted and cared for right nobly. And he followed the course that others had taken; but touched by the self-same terror,⁵¹ he only went as far as the Canary Islands, where he took some captives and returned to the Kingdom. Now this was in the year of Jesus Christ 1433, and in the next year the Infant made ready the same vessel, and calling Gil Eannes apart, charged him earnestly to strain every nerve to pass that Cape, and even if he could do nothing else on that voyage, yet he should consider that to be enough. "You cannot find", said the Infant, "a peril so great that the hope of reward will not be greater, and in truth I wonder much at the notion you have all taken on so uncertain a matter—for even if these things that are reported had any authority, however small, I would not blame you, but you tell me only the opinions of four mariners, who come but from the Flanders trade or from some other ports that are very commonly sailed to, and know nothing of the needle or sailing-chart.⁵² Go forth, then, and heed none of their words, but make your voyage straightway, inasmuch as with the grace of God you cannot but gain from this journey honour and profit." The Infant was a man of very great authority, so that his admonitions, mild though they were, had much effect on the serious-minded. And so it appeared by the deed of this man, for he, after these words, resolved not to return to the presence of his Lord without assured tidings of that for which he was sent. And as he purposed, so he performed—for in that voyage he doubled the Cape, despising all danger, and found the lands beyond quite contrary to what he, like others, had expected. And although the matter was a

Important

quest for
the 4th

small one in itself, yet on account of its daring it was reckoned great—for if the first man who reached the Cape had passed it, there would not have been so much praise and thanks bestowed on him; but even as the danger of the affair put all others into the greater fear, so the accomplishing of it brought the greater honour to this man. But whether or no the success of Gil Eannes gained for him any genuine glory may be perceived by the words that the Infant spoke to him before his starting; and his experience on his return was very clear on this point, for he was exceeding well received, not without a profitable increase of honour and possessions. And then it was he related to the Infant how the whole matter had gone, telling him how he had ordered the boat to be put out and had gone in to the shore without finding either people or signs of habitation. And since, my lord, said Gil Eannes, I thought that I ought to bring some token of the land since I was on it, I gathered these herbs which I here present to your grace; the which we in this country call Roses of Saint Mary. Then, after he had finished giving an account of his voyage to that part, the Infant caused a "barinel" to be made ready, in which he sent out Affonso Gonçalvez Baldaya, his cupbearer, and Gil Eannes as well with his "barcha", ordering him to return there with his companion. And so in fact they did, passing fifty leagues beyond the Cape, where they found the land without dwellings, but shewing footmarks of men and camels. And then, either because they were so ordered, or from necessity, they returned with this intelligence, without doing aught else worth recording.⁶³

Handwritten notes in the left margin:
 Affonso
 Baldaya
 Phearer
 50 leagues
 year 1498



CHAPTER X.

How Affonso Gonçalvez Baldaya reached the Rio d'Ouro.

"AS you have found traces of men and camels", said the Infant to Baldaya, "it is evident that the inhabited region cannot be far off; or perchance they are people who cross with their merchandise to some seaport with a secure anchorage for ships to load in, for since there are people, they must of necessity depend upon what the sea brings them, and especially upon fish, however bestial they may be. Much more so the inland tribes. Therefore I intend to send you there again, in that same 'barinel', both that you may do me service and increase your honour, and to this end I order you to go as far as you can and try to gain an interpreter from among those people, capturing some one from whom you can obtain some tidings of the land—for according to my purpose, it will not be a small gain if we can get someone to give us news of this sort." The ship was soon ready to sail, and Affonso Gonçalvez departed with great desire to do the Infant's will. And sailing on their way they passed seventy leagues beyond where they had been before, a space of 120 leagues beyond the Cape of Bojador, and found an estuary, as of a river of some size, in the which were many good anchorages.⁵⁴ And the entering in of this water ran eight leagues within the land, and in this they anchored. And because among the things he had brought, Affonso Gonçalvez had two horses, which were given him by the Infant to mount two youths upon, he now had the horses put on shore, and before any one else disembarked, he ordered the youths to ride on those horses, and go up country as far as they could, looking about carefully on every side for villages, or people travelling by some path. And to cause them and their horses the less fatigue, he told them to take no arms of defence,

1436

great for knowledge

120 leagues beyond

Rio d'Ouro