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Author(s): Raymond Beazley

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the highest point is 587 feet above sea. These islands were sighted at 10 p.m. about 12 miles distant.

This was a very satisfactory landfall. It proved that, in these latitudes, it is quite possible to see land at a distance of 12 miles by *moonlight*, although such land may not be of any great extent or height. It was very satisfactory to know that our chronometers had behaved so well, notwithstanding the varying temperatures, etc., through which they had passed.

PRINCE HENRY OF PORTUGAL AND THE PROGRESS OF EXPLORATION.

By Prof. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, D. Litt.

I. A MINIMIZING school, which has found little to admire in the life and work of Christopher Columbus, has also dealt in its own fashion with Prince Henry of Portugal. Somewhat light-heartedly, perhaps, it has denied that the Infant had "ever formed any plans for the extension of ocean navigation beyond a point long previously reached by the Genoese, or ever thought of the route round Africa as a practical route to India." The picturesque title of the Navigator, in this view, is merely calculated to mislead, and the work of the so-called Navigator has practically no more concern with the development of nautical enterprise, for its own sake, than with that of geographic knowledge and science.*

In this paper I wish to call attention to certain evidence bearing upon this question—the at least incidental connection of Dom Henrique and his movement with exploration and with science—and the reader can judge whether the verdict just quoted completely satisfies the requirements of the case.

Now, the European expansion oversea led by Dom Henrique at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of Modern History—between the battle of Agincourt and the accession of Edward IV.—is of course more than a simple enterprise of discovery. It has its crusading, proselytizing, trading, and colonizing aspects also. As a mainly Portuguese undertaking, it is bound up with the political and social advancement of that people. As a human undertaking, it is concerned with practical objects. But is it quite destitute of exploring purpose and scientific result?

We could not perhaps find a more suggestive answer to this question than is given us by Djogo Gomes of Cintra, that body-servant, naval commander, and diplomatic agent of Prince Henry, who attended him in his last illness, and whose crude Latin so well expresses the practical man, who had taken part in the actions he records.

In the few words of introduction with which he brings us to the *Finding of the Azores, Inventio insularum de Açores*, Gomes has the temerity to differ, it would seem, from some modern criticism. "The Lord Infant Henry, *desiring to know the outer parts of the Western Ocean, whether they would find islands or mainland beyond the description of Ptolemy (i.e. beyond the furthest limits of ancient knowledge) sent out caravels to search for lands.*" † The same suggestion of general exploring

* See E. J. Payne, in 'Cambridge Modern History,' vol. 1 (1902), pp. 12, 13, a weak passage, as it seems to me, in an often admirable article.

† ". . . Cupiens scire partes extraneas Oceani occidentis, si invenirent insulas a terram firmam ultra descriptionem Tolomei, misit caravelas ad quaerendum terras," Gomes, 'De inventione Guineae, De insulis primo inventis in mari oceano,' etc., edited by Dr. Schmeller in the *Abhandlungen* of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Class I., vol. 4, part iii. (a), p. 40.

and scientific interest, would also appear to be contained in the record kept by the same Diogo Gomes of Dom Henrique's action in 1416, at the very beginning of his career, when he sent Gonzalo Velho along the African coast beyond the Canaries to find out the reason of the strong ocean currents thereabouts.*

Much the same is the suggestion of our other chief narrative-authority, the *Guinea Chronicle*. For does not Azurara, at the opening of his work, lay down with some emphasis that the wish to know the lands beyond the Isles of Canary and that cape called Bojador, not hitherto known with any certainty, not touched by mariners or merchants, and not coveted by any other prince, was the first reason of the Infant's movement, the first of the five causes of his search for Guinea? † And is not the same spirit frequently illustrated in other passages of the same history? "We have no greater honour," exclaims one leader in the Bay of Arguin, "than in being five hundred leagues from our country in unknown lands, increasing our past victories with new adventures." ‡ The discoverer of Cape Verde brings home a booty by no means as large as had been gained before, but the Prince considers it very great indeed, since it came from "that land." § When one of Dom Henrique's favourite lieutenants, João Gonsalves Zarco, the Captain Donatory of Funchal, is fitting out a vessel to accompany the Lagos Armada of 1445, but with views beyond the narrow material profit which satisfied many of the venturers, his instructions to the nephew whom he puts in command are, first and last, discovery. He would have the world know that for the service of his lord alone he is having that voyage made; the commander he sends out is therefore to have regard to no other profit save only to see and know any new thing he could. || "And he was not to hinder himself by making raids in the land of the Moors" (the Sahara coast), but to take his way straight to the land of the Negroes (the coast beyond the Senegal), and thenceforward to lengthen his voyage as much as he could, and endeavour to bring some such novelty to the Infant as would delight him. ¶

And again, when the same captain sails next year for Guinea (1446), it is with the renewed injunctions of his uncle to make his way still further onward, to the utmost of his power, and by the novelty of his prize to show what will he had to serve the lord who brought him up.**

A special reward, partly paid by Dom Henrique himself, partly by his brother, the Regent Pedro, had been set aside at this time for the greatest advance in exploration—for the caravel that went furthest—and this prize, "with many other guerdons from the Infant," is bestowed upon Zarco's nephew, when he reports his success, not in gold or slaves, but in discovery—110 leagues beyond Cape Verde. ††

So much for the official history of Gomes Eannes de Azurara, one who knew

* "Ultra insulas Canarias per littora maris desiderans scire causam tam magni maris currentis," Gomes, ed Schmeller, p. 19.

† "Voontade de saber a terra . . . allem das ilhas de Canarya e de huã cabo, que se chama de Bojador . . . a primeira razom de seu movimento, . . . cinco razooes . . . de . . . buscar as terras de Guynea," Azurara, 'Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista de Guiné,' ch. vii. pp. 44-46, edited by Carreira and Santarem, Paris, 1841.

‡ Azurara, 'Guiné' [hereafter quoted as A. 'G.'], ch. xlv. p. 214.

§ A. 'G.,' ch. xxxi. pp. 160-1.

|| "Veer e saber qualquer cousa nova que podesse" (A. 'G.,' ch. lxxv. p. 352).

¶ A. 'G.,' ch. lxxv. pp. 352-3.

** *Ibid.*, ch. lxxxvii. p. 406.

†† *Ibid.*, ch. lxxxvii. pp. 410-411.

Prince Henry well, who collected material on some occasions from the Infant's own conversation ("because he knew more than any one in Portugal about the matter"),* and whose commission to write the *Guinea Chronicle*, as an authentic memorial of the character and work of the uncle of Affonso V., was given him by a sovereign famous for a dislike of lying annals.† It is a history with many imperfections—rhetoric, hyperbole, misapprehension; the writer is a man of limited intelligence, essentially small-minded, struggling with a heavy weight of pedantry. But I do not think he can be rated as a dishonest chronicler, and however much one may deplore the loss of Affonso Cerveira's original, one cannot slight the record founded upon and so largely reproducing that original.‡

And to Gomes and Azurara we may add another first-hand witness—Alvise



THE PORTRAIT OF PRINCE HENRY, FROM THE CONTEMPORARY PICTURE BY NUNO GONCALVES, LATELY IN THE MONASTERY OF S. VICENTE DE FÓRA, LISBON.

Ca da Mosto, the Venetian whose two voyages in the Prince's service, in 1455–6, resulting in the first discovery of the Cape Verde islands and in valuable work on the African mainland coast, are perhaps the chief exploring enterprises of the Infant's latest years. Now to Ca da Mosto, rightly enough, the crusading side of Henrique's movement is the beginning of everything, but none the less "Henrich di Portogallo," marvellously ambitious of discovery, and especially of

* Azurara's instructions from King Affonso, in reference to the 'Chronicle of Ceuta.' See Azurara's 'Chronicle of Ceuta,' ch. xii., and his 'Guinea,' Eng. trans., Hak. Soc., vol. 1, p. viii.

† Is not the reply to the historian's question, "How am I to tell the story of your reign?"—"Tell the truth," a saying of Affonso V.?

‡ 'Primeiro livro que fez Affonso Cerveira, pello qual prosseguimos esta estorya,' A. 'G.,' ch. lxxxiv. pp. 392–3. "The Author," so often quoted in the *Chronicle of Guinea* (e.g. chaps. x., xxxii., xxxiv., xxxvi., lvi., lxiii., lxxviii., lxxvi., lxxxvi.), is regularly Cerveira.

discovering the unknown beyond Cape Nun, is here set forth as the initiator of navigation "in our time," on the southern side of the ocean, to the land of the Blacks of Lower Ethiopia.* Just the same, we may notice, is the language of the Prince himself in one of his later charters (December 26, 1458) wherein he claims that within the memory of man no record had been given to Christendom of the seas, lands, and peoples beyond Cape Nun, towards the Noon Day.†

The general sense of a successful search for new truths, of deliverance from old and cramping misconceptions, now felt by the Infant's pioneers, is also well expressed, in reference to Tropical Africa, by Diogo Gomes, who had seen much of the world, but never the like of this. For with all due respect to Ptolemy, the most illustrious, it was now seen that what he had written about the southern zone, uninhabitable from the excessive heat, was as false as his statements about the northern zone, uninhabitable from excessive cold. Even the equatorial line was found inhabited by black men, incredibly numerous; and all that southern part of which Ptolemy had spoken so disparagingly was seen to be full of trees, large and lofty beyond belief, and of fruits differing from those of Europe.‡ It might not have fared so strangely with geographical science, and especially with the science of map making, if such a protest of a practical seaman had been more effective against the revived superstitions of the old classical geography. Human knowledge would hardly have suffered if the honest work of the later Middle Ages had been allowed to have free course, untouched by the contempt of scholars who could only see merit when expressed in good latinity.

II. But the advances of Prince Henry are not usually, I think, mere haphazard ventures into the Unknown, voyages of discovery with no idea of what was to be discovered. We do not know how the Infant's conceptions and ambitions are developed; whether he begins with nothing but vague hopes of finding the Western Nile and the Gold Land of the Blacks; or exactly when and wherefore he embarks on greater designs. But we do know that by 1442, eighteen years before his death, the discovery of Prester John and the reaching of the Indies are definitely included in his plans.

That Dom Henrique, even before the rediscovery of the Madeira group, in 1418-20, aimed at something more than the seas and coasts immediately beyond Cape Bojador and the Canaries; that he planned the exploration of the south at least as far as *Guinea*; and that *Guinea* in this sense is to be understood of the Negroland of the western Sudan, to the south of the desert, is made clear by two crucial passages of Azurara.§ The looser application of the name to the Moorland of the western Sahara, north of the Senegal, though admitted by the chronicler in other places, is expressly repudiated here. || In this restricted, definite, and

* See Ca da Mosto in Ramusio, 'Navigazioni et Viaggi' (edition of 1563), vol. 1, p. 96, D-F; more fully in Temporal, pp. 7-11 of C. Schefer's edition, Paris, 1895.

† Charter of Dec. 26, 1458 (in the MS. Collection of Pedro Alvares, vol. 3, f. 29, v.), "des a memoria dos homẽs se nom avia algũa noticia na Christandade dos mares, terras, e gentes alem do Cabo de Nam contra o meio dia." We notice here practically the same phrases with which the Papal summary of the Infant's work and policy begins (Bull of Jan. 8, 1454; see below, p. 709).

‡ Gomes, ed. Schmeller, p. 23. Gomes here certainly seems to refer (by his allusion to the "equinoctial line") to later advances of the Portuguese (up to about 1470-5) as well as to those effected before 1460.

§ A. 'G.', ch. xxxi. p. 158; ch. lxxxiii. pp. 385-6.

|| "Screvemollo assy em comuõ, mas nom porque a terra seja toda hũa," A. 'G.', p. 158. The ordinary incorrect usage to which Azurara here refers, making "Guinea" commence far north of the Senegal, at some point on the Sahara coast, sometimes as

historic sense *Guinea* means to the Portuguese a populous and fertile region, with valuable trade, rich deposits of gold, and perhaps a waterway leading to the heart of Africa and the kingdom of Prester John—and the Prince's eagerness to reach this country is not left in any doubt. What store he set on knowing something of Negroland and especially of the Nile—how constantly he toiled to send his ships to the land of the Negroes—is a familiar theme of the Infant's captains and so of Azurara's narrative.*

It was very soon after the capture of Ceuta, Diogo Gomes suggests, that Dom Henrique's new knowledge of the caravan routes crossing the desert from the Barbary coast, and especially from Tunis, to Timbuktu and the Gambia, "for Arabian gold," inspired him to try and reach those lands by oversea routes. †

The first negro captives brought from the Rio do Ouro in 1441 are especially valued because they can give news of lands much further distant than their own; ‡ and from these and other prisoners carried off from the Sahara coast between 1441 and 1445 the Prince seems to have gained some pretty exact information as to certain parts of the African coast, especially near the mouth of the Senegal. And thus "when our men saw the first palms and lofty trees, they understood that they were close to the Nile, where it floweth into the western sea, and is called the Çanaga." For the Infant had told them that in little more than 20 leagues from those trees they should look for the same river, for so he had learnt from some of his Moorish prisoners. §

III. But Dom Henrique, if not at the beginning of this movement, yet certainly by the time the first African slaves and gold-dust had reached Portugal, had formed designs reaching beyond the Senegal and the Guinea of the Western Sudan—not merely to Negroland, but much further yet; || in his own words, he now desired to "have knowledge also of the Indies and of the land of Prester John." ¶

By the discovery of the Priest-king, the Christian potentate whom tradition

far up as the tract between Capes Nun and Bojador, seems to find a measure of support in various State documents of this time, e.g. a charter of Affonso V. to the Order of Christ, dated June 7, 1454 (see 'Arquivo dos Açores,' vol. 1, p. 13), and a charter of Dom Henrique to the same Order, dated Dec. 26, 1458, from My Town, i.e. the Villa do Iffante, near Sagres (MS. Collection of Pedro Alvarez, vol. 3, ff. 17-18), as well as the Charter of Sept. 15, 1448, by which Affonso V. puts the whole "Guinea" trade under Prince Henry's control. Azurara is apparently the first Christian writer to move "Guinea" definitely down to the Senegal and restrict it to Negroland proper—in this reverting to the Arab usage which placed "Bilad Ghana" at the mouth of that Senegal in which so many Muhammadans believed they had found the lower course of the supposed Western or Negro Nile, forking off from the Nile of Egypt in Central Africa, and flowing through the Black Men's countries to the western ocean. See also F. Kunstmann, 'Handelsverbindungen der Portugiesen mit Timbuktu,' pp. 206-9.

* A. 'G.,' ch. lix. p. 271; ch. lxxxvi. p. 400; the "ryo do Nillo" here referred to is of course the supposititious Nile of the Negroes (see previous note).

† Gomes, ed. Schmeller, p. 19, speaking especially of the expedition of 1416 under Gonçalo Velho, which resulted in the discovery of "Terra Alta," surely the cliffs of Penha Grande, 492 feet high, 62 miles beyond Cape Bojador, one of the most remarkable points on all the north-west coast of Africa. See 'Africa Pilot,' Part I. p. 197 (7th edition, 1907).

‡ A. 'G.,' ch. xvi. p. 94.

§ A. 'G.,' ch. lx. p. 278.

|| "Aa terra dos Negroes e . . . muyto mais avante," A. 'G.,' ch. lxxxvi. p. 400.

¶ A. 'G.,' ch. xvi. p. 94, "nom soamente daquella terra . . . mas ainda das Indyas e da terra de preste Joham."

had so long made the upholder of the Faith in the midst of heathendom,* one chief ambition of the Infant's would be satisfied. For here he would have what he sought in vain to find during all the years he warred against the Moors—the Christian king or lord outside “this land,” the ruler “in those parts” † of Africa, who for the love of Christ would aid him in his struggle against the enemies of the Church. Long after the Prince's death, this purpose continues to be a main incentive to Portuguese progress around, to Portuguese penetration of, Africa.

The expedition under Bartholomeu Dias which at last discloses the Cape route, and that on which Covilhão and Payva explore the coasts of the Indian ocean, in preparation for the direct oversea intercourse of the next age between Europe and India, are both commissioned, not only to ascertain the extent of the African obstruction and the maritime route (if any) from Lisbon to Malabar, but also to find the Prester and his country. The opening of intercourse between the Portuguese and that Abyssinia which realized to the sixteenth century the kingdom of Prester John is regarded at the time as a matter of first-class importance; and though its political and ecclesiastical value is exaggerated, and disappointment awaits most of the hopes and projects founded upon it, yet it has a definite place in history. Portuguese volunteers save Abyssinia from the fate of Nubia; the Abyssinian alliance against the Muhammadan powers several times proves useful to the Catholic empire-builders of the East; and through Abyssinian friendship Portuguese explorers are enabled to give Europe its earliest real knowledge of the Blue Nile, and of some at least of those Nile sources which to the classical poet were for ever hidden by the decrees of fate from the peoples of the Earth.‡

IV. And beyond or beside the land of Prester John lay those Indies which formed the ultimate goal of Dom Henrique's explorations, at least from the time that his men brought back the first useful merchandise from Guinea, and his vessels reached the Rio do Ouro and Cape Blanco. Azurara's hyperbole, indeed, which celebrates the Navigator Prince as joining Orient and Occident by continual voyaging, as transporting to the extremities of the East the creations of Western industry, does not scruple to picture the people of the Greater and the Lesser India welcoming his ships (which never passed beyond Sierra Leone), praising his generosity, and even experiencing his hospitality.§

When Diogo Gomes starts upon his “first voyage” (“no long time after” || the attempt of 1446 to open intercourse with the supposititious Christian monarch at Cape Verde), the ultimate hope of reaching India is kept in mind, and the Prince provides his servant with an Indian guide or interpreter against this possibility.¶ And though none of the Infant's captains even saw the Promised

* On the history of the Prester John tradition, its original location among the Tartar Christians of the Kerait tribe near Lake Baikal, and its gradual transference to Africa and Abyssinia, I beg to refer to a note in my ‘Carpini and Rubruquis’ (Hakluyt Society, 1903), pp. 278–80.

† A. ‘G.’ ch. vii. p. 47.

‡ Lucan, ‘Pharsalia,’ book x. ll. 282–3, 296: “Non fabula mendax Ausa loqui de fonte tuo est” . . . “Nec licuit populis parvum te, Nile, videre.”

§ A. ‘G.’ ch. ii. pp. 10–11. “Indyos maiores e menores . . . requerem que screva tantas dadas . . . passagees de navyos, gasalhado de pessoa quanto de ty receberom aquellas que . . . chegarom a as fins de nossa Espanha.” Among all the confusion of the various Indies in Mediæval nomenclature, “Greater India” can usually be recognized as restricted to the “India proper” of the modern world.

|| “Post non multum tempus” (Gomes, ed. Schmeller, p. 25).

¶ “Jacobum Indium quem . . . Infans nobiscum misit . . . si intrassemus Indiam” (Gomes, Schm., p. 29).

Land from afar, like Bartholomeu Dias,* Pacheco Pereira rightly sees in that exploration of Guinea to which Dom Henrique was impelled by "Divine revelation"—"by a new mystery of God, and not by other temporal means"—the cause of the discovery of India by the men of the next generation.†

But it is fortunately in the highest class of authorities—in contemporary documents of State, and especially in Papal Bulls—that we have the clearest and fullest statement of the Prince's discovering ambitions, and the most precise definition of the India-ward policy of his movement. Thus Nicolas V., in a Bull of January, 1454, ‡ issued six years before the Infant's death, tells us how the people of the west were formerly quite ignorant of the ocean to the south and east; how it had never been the custom, or at least not within the memory of man, to navigate that ocean; how these facts had come to the notice of the aforesaid Infant of Portugal; how he believed that he would render the highest service to God if by his enterprize that sea should be made navigable, as far as the Indians who were said to worship the name of Christ; § how his purpose was to form alliance with these Christians of India, if he could reach them, against the Saracens and other enemies of the Faith; how for five and twenty years he had not ceased constantly to explore the ocean and its coasts towards the south and the Antarctic Pole, in very swift ships called caravels, || with the greatest labour, danger, and expense; and how his men had come at last to Guinea and to the mouth of a certain great river commonly supposed to be the Nile.¶

The earlier part of this rehearsal (which we have found the Prince himself repeating, to some extent, in 1458) reads like an echo of a Portuguese State charter of October 22, 1443, issued by the Regent Dom Pedro in the name of King Affonso V. to Prince Henry. Here we are told how the latter, understanding that he would thereby do service to God "and to us," ordered his ships to explore the lands beyond Cape Bojador, because hitherto there was no one in Christendom who knew anything about them, even whether they were inhabited or no; nor were they marked in charts or maps except at the pleasure of the map-maker. Further, we are informed that Dom Henrique had made fully fourteen attempts to carry out this purpose of his, and had now (by the autumn of 1443) found out something. Wherefore no one was to go to these regions beyond Bojador without his licence.** But not a word, here, about the Indies;

* "Via terra da India, mas nã entrou nella, como Mouses na terra de promissam," says Galvano of Barth. Dias ('Descobrimentos,' Hakluyt Society edition, p. 77).

† 'Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis,' Book I., chaps. 22, 33. "Jazendo o Infante huma noyte em sua cama lhe veo em Revelasam como faria muito servico a nosso Senhor descobrir as . . . Ethiopias" (see p. 19 in Lisbon Geog. Soc.'s *Boletim*, January, 1904; p. 37 in Basto's edition, 1892), "por elle [Dom Henrique] descobrir esta terra foe causa de descobrir a outra Guinee . . . & ha India" (p. 58 in Basto's edition).

‡ The Bull 'Romanus Pontifex,' issued by Nicolas V., at Rome, Jan. 8, 1454, in order to secure D. Henrique a fair field and to forbid interference with the Portuguese (*Coll. de Bullas*, maço 7, No. 29; 'Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional . . . ácerca das Navegações e Conquistas Portuguezas,' Lisbon, 1892, pp. 14-20; 'Bullarium patronatus Portugallie Regum,' ed. Levy Maria Jordão, Lisbon, 1868, vol. 1, pp. 31-4).

§ "Usque ad Indos qui Christi nomen colere dicuntur" ('Alguns Documentos,' p. 15; 'Bullarium,' p. 31).

|| "In velocissimis navibus, caravellis nuncupatis, ad perquirendum mare et provincias maritimas versus meridionales partes et polum antarcticum annis singulis fere mittere non cessavit" ('Alguns Documentos,' p. 16; 'Bullarium,' p. 32).

¶ "Ad Guineam provinciam . . . et ad ostium cujusdam magni fluminis Nili communiter reputati" ('Alguns Documentos,' p. 16; 'Bullarium,' p. 32).

** 'Chanc. of Affonso V.,' liv. xxiv. f. 61; 'Alguns Documentos,' pp. 8-9.

we must go to the *Guinea Chronicle* to see how the Infant's plans were already developing from the coasting of the Sahara into an Oriental scheme which anticipates Albuquerque and in a sense Napoleon.

Once more, Calixtus III., in March, 1456, not only repeats the language of Nicolas, word for word, but concedes to the Order of Christ the spiritual jurisdiction in all the lands acquired or to be acquired by the Portuguese explorers beyond Cape Nun, throughout all Guinea, and "beyond that southern region, as far as the Indians." *

And again, Sixtus IV., twenty years after the death of Dom Henrique, but still within the life and reign of the Infant's nephew, Affonso V., by a Bull of June, 1481, with some abbreviations repeats the statements, and with some exceptions confirms the grants of Nicolas and Calixtus.†

V. That Dom Henrique not only advanced the movement of European expansion towards Asia, by achieving the first steps in the circumnavigation of Africa, but also did something, by his discovery (or recovery) and by his colonization of the Atlantic islands, to initiate that westward outspreading of our race which brought America to light, is obvious. That the ambitions of his later years reached even beyond these islands, and attempted a still deeper penetration of the *Sea of Darkness*, is possible and even probable.

But there is nothing, I venture to think, on which any very solid structure can be built. Neither the Andrea Bianco of 1448, with its *Isola Otinticha*, or *Genuine Island*, in the south-west; nor the western voyages of Diogo de Teive and Pedro Velasco in 1452, of Fernandes de Tavira in 1462; nor the Atlantic explorations planned in 1457; nor Galvano's tale of the island of Seven Cities discovered by a Portuguese ship about this time;—carry me with the least assurance to the New World of America, or indeed any great way beyond Flores and Corvo.‡

* "A capitibus de Boiador et de Nam usque per totam Guineam et ultra illam meridionalem plagam usque ad Indos," 'Alguns Documentos,' p. 21, from the bull *Inter Caetera*, issued by Calixtus III. at Rome, March 13, 1456 ('Livro dos Mestrados,' fl. 165, and Gaveta 7a, maço 13, No. 7; 'Alguns Documentos,' pp. 20–22; 'Bullarium,' I., 36–7).

† The 'Eterni Regis Clementia,' issued by Sixtus IV. at Rome, June 21, 1481 ('Coll. de Bullas,' maço 29, No. 6, inserta; 'Alguns Documentos,' pp. 47–55, esp. pp. 47–8; 'Bullarium,' I. 47–52, esp. p. 47).

‡ The Andrea Bianco map of 1448, it will be remembered, depicts in the extreme south-west corner of its space a land with broken coast, of considerable extent from east to west (its southerly extension is not shown, being interrupted by the rim of the chart itself); upon this land is an inscription in the Venetian dialect, variously deciphered by various students, but in which the words *Isola otinticha* certainly stand first, and *longa a ponente* 1500 [or 500] *mia* conclude. Understanding by this "Genuine island distant 1500 miles to the west," some have thought they could recognize here an indication of the north-east projection of South America, distant in reality about 1520 miles south-west of Cape Verde. But, though ably advocated by Mr. H. Y. Oldham and Senhor J. B. Reis, this interpretation has not been generally accepted. See Carlo Errera in *Memorie della Soc. Geog. italiana*, 5, Part I., pp. 202–225 (Rome, 1895, 'Della Carta di A. Bianco del 1448'); *Journal of the Roy. Geog. Soc.*, Oct., 1894, p. 364; March, 1895, pp. 221–239; Feb. 1897, pp. 185–219, art. by J. Batalha Reis. On the voyage of Teive and Velasco in 1452, more than 150 leagues west of Fayal, which apparently resulted simply in the discovery of Flores and Corvo, see the charter of Affonso V. of Jan. 28, 1475, bestowing Flores on F. Telles (original in 'Livro das Ilhas,' f. 5, v.; printed in 'Arquivo dos Açores,' vol. 1, pp. 21–25, esp. p. 24.—"Flores que pouco ha que achara Diogo de Teive"); 'Arch. d. Açores,' I. 249–51; also the Charter of Affonso V. of Jan. 20, 1453, bestowing Corvo on the Duke of Braganza, but not mentioning the discoverers ('Místicos,' liv. III., f. 69; 'Arch. d. Açores,' I., 9–10; A. C.

I find it easier to believe that the *Mar de Baga* of the 1436 Bianco commemorates the finding, or re-discovery, of the Sargasso sea in the time, and perhaps by the seamen, of Henry of Portugal.* Men who had reached the Azores would be within reach of the Weedy Tract, whose northern border comes fairly near the Western Islands, and which was perhaps touched (a large *perhaps*), centuries before Christ, by Phœnician or Carthaginian mariners.†

But as to anything further, such as the north-eastern extremity of the South American continent, which has been evolved by some from the *Isola Otinticha* of Bianco, the difficulties seem, after all that has been written, as insuperable as ever—the practical silence of Portuguese records, of Portuguese historians, of the Portuguese Government, of the whole world. Not even during the fierce and detailed controversy between Spain and Portugal as to that division of Colonial Empire which followed the events of 1492, can we find any evidence produced in support of a pre-Columbian discovery of lands so far over the ocean. Neither before Colon's start—nor during his long negotiations with the Portuguese Government (sixteen years spent, as Christopher said, in trying to make King John understand the idea of a western route to the Indies)—nor, after his return, in the shaping of the Tordesillas treaty of 1494—nor in the controversies of the sixteenth century—do we come upon any serious and definite claim of the finding of Brazil, or the West Indies, in the days of Henry the Navigator.‡ The Portuguese ship, which, in Galvano, is carried out of Gibraltar straits, by stress of weather, about 1447, and which, after driving 1500 miles to the west, arrives at an island—finds there seven cities and people who inquire in “our language” if the Moors still occupy Spain, whence they had fled “on the fall of D. Rodrigo.” Though Galvano tells us how Dom Pedro the Regent had this noted in the archives of Portugal,§ the narrative will hardly carry more conviction than David Ingram's discovery of Welsh-speaking folk in the interior of North America in the spacious days of Queen Elizabeth.

VI. And this brings us to the question of Dom Henrique's scientific interests and work, and of the part played in the exploration movement of his life by geographical learning and science. Leaving on one side, for the present, the thorny subject of the Infant's alleged promotion of practical and theoretical geography

de Souza, ‘*Provas da Historia genealogica da Casa real Portugueza*,’ vol. 3, p. 500). On the voyage of “Guomcallo Fernamdes, morador em Tavira,” who claimed to have seen an island—“ouve vista de huã ilha”—north-west of Madeira and the Canaries, see Affonso V.'s charter of October 29, 1462 (‘*Misticos*,’ liv. II. f. 155; ‘*Alguns Documentos*,’ p. 32). On the Atlantic plans of D. Fernando, Henrique's heir, in 1457, see a charter of Nov. 17, 1457 (‘*Chanc. Aff. V.*,’ liv. I. f. 118 v.; ‘*Alguns Documentos*,’ p. 22). On Galvano's story, see his ‘*Descobrimentos*,’ p. 72 (Hakluyt Soc. edition, 1862). And on all these items see also *Geog. Journal*, Feb. 1897, pp. 200–201.

* The Portuguese “baga” “berry,” applied to the “Sargasso vesicles,” occurring here in an Italian map, by itself seems to establish a case for a Portuguese discovery. See Reis in *Geog. Journal*, Feb. 1897, p. 200.

† See Rufus Festus Avienus, ‘*Ora maritima*,’ ll. 113–129, and the Pseudo-Aristotle, *Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*, § 136, ed. Apelt.

‡ It may be worth notice that this Bianco of 1448 appears to be, after the Valsecca of 1439, perhaps the earliest map-register of Prince Henry's discoveries along the African mainland, giving twenty-seven names beyond Bojador (*Buyedor*), e.g. Rio do Ouro, Porto do Cavalleiro (*Pro Chavalero*), the rock of Galé (*Pedra de Gala*), Cape Blanco, Cape Verde, Cape St. Anne, and Cape Roxo (*Roso*).

§ And how the vessel brought home sand from the island, which was found to contain a good quantity of gold—“boa cãtidade douro”—Galvano (ref. as before, p. 72).

by a School, Institute, or University connected with his court, we can find unimpeachable testimony to the general grasp of geographical principles, to the knowledge of maps and instruments, and to the fresh cartographical work of the Portuguese pioneers of this time. Thus we find the Prince combating the superstitious fears which had so long delayed the passage of Cape Bojador, and dismissing the bogey of the terrible and unsurmountable promontory as only fit for men coming from the Flanders trade or other well-known ports, who knew nothing of compass-needle or sailing chart.* Azurara, again, from his personal knowledge compares the absurd inaccuracies and fancied dangers of older maps, with their irresistible currents, far-stretching shallows, and unpeopled shores of sandy desert, with the less imaginative, but more serviceable navigating-charts prepared by the Infant's orders—"that you may understand the delusion of our forefathers, who were affrighted to pass that cape." † From the *Chronicle of Guinea* we also learn how the whole of the Portuguese advance up to Cape Verde, nearly 1400 miles beyond Bojador, along the coast of the "Great Sea," with all the indentations of that coast, had been added by the Prince to the navigating-chart—the standard map which guided his explorers. ‡ Once more, Ca da Mosto the Venetian, exploring and prospecting in the Portuguese service beyond Cape Verde, marks a river, probably the Joal of modern geographers, under the name of *Rio de Barbacins*, in the chart which he kept; "It is so noted in the sailing chart made of this country." § And in his rediscovery of the Cape Verde islands, Diogo Gomes is careful to record how he had with him a quadrant; how he observed the latitude of Santiago; and how he found this observation better than the indication of his chart. For although upon the latter one saw one's way of sailing, yet if an error had been committed, it was impossible to come back to one's starting point and rectify the same. ||

Observations of astronomical and climatic change are also to be found scattered over the memoirs of Prince Henry's explorers and historians. ¶ The *Chronicle of Guinea*, small as is the attention it pays to such matters, deigns to notice that, in the gulf of Arguin (roughly in 20° N. lat.), "there is a difference in the length of days" from ours—while moon and stars and climate varied also. For "you must understand that in that country there is no rain as here in Portugal, nor is the lower sky overclouded as we see it; and besides the brightness of the moon, the stars of themselves give so much light that it is easy for one man to recognize another." ** Ca da Mosto, again, treats us to a detailed record of such

* A. 'G.,' ch. ix. p. 57.

† *I.e.* Bojador. A. 'G.,' ch. lxxvi. pp. 359–60. Note Azurara's definite statement on p. 360 as to the "cartas do marear, que o Ifante mandou fazer," and cf. the charter of King Affonso V., of Oct. 22, 1443, which refers to the same—"Ifante Dom Anrrique . . . mandou . . . fazer carta de marear" for the coasts beyond Bojador ('Chanc. Aff. V.,' liv. XXIV. fol. 61; 'Alguns Documentos,' pp. 8–9).

‡ A. 'G.,' ch. lxxviii. p. 372, "nosso principe mandou acrecentar na carta de marcar . . ."

§ Ca da Mosto in Ramusio, 'Navigationi et Viaggi,' edition of 1563, vol. 1, p. 106 A.; in Temporal, ed. Ch. Schefer, p. 131.

|| Gomes, ed. Schmeller, p. 33.

¶ Prince Henry's personal devotion to astronomy is referred to by his servant, Ca da Mosto, in 'Ramusio,' vol. 1, p. 96 E., "studii suoi nelle scientie del li corsi de cieli, e di astrologia." See also in Temporal (Schefer), p. 8. The language of Gaspar Fructuoso, in the next century, 'Saudades de Terra,' ch. i., confirms this testimony, but is not by itself, of course, of great weight ("para . . . gosar da vista e curso das estrelas e orbes celestes, escolheu para sua habitacão huma montanha no cabo de S. Vicente").

** A. 'G.,' ch. xix. p. 113; ch. xl. p. 198.

matters at the mouth of the Gambia, his furthest point. The North Star, sunk to less than one lance-length above the sea; the Southern Chariot, or Southern Cross, raised about the same distance over the water; the absence of twilight, the sudden appearance and disappearance of the sun, explained by the flatness of the earth in these regions—are survivals of unscientific language and of primitive modes of thought.* Yet in themselves these remarks, like Ca da Mosto's rude drawing of the Southern Cross, point to something of a scientific spirit and of scientific interest, in the minds of the fifteenth-century explorers; they are not behind Marco Polo's scientific statements in accuracy or preception; they are very similar to the language of the Columbian age.

Few things in connection with Prince Henry's movement are more interesting, but few are more obscure, than the tradition of his educational work, especially for the furtherance of geographical science, to which so many have referred. The question has been made still more difficult by the rhetorical exaggerations of eighteenth and nineteenth century writers. Not content with repeating from the genuine authorities the genuine statements of contemporaries as to the Infant's town, the *Villa do Iffante*, which he founded near Cape St. Vincent—not content with reproducing the well-grounded tradition of foreign instruction in the art of navigation procured by the Prince for his officers, some have indulged in strongly and strangely coloured pictures of a geographical college, or even a University of Sagres, established by Henrique in His Town.

But the *Chronicle of Guinea* and the narrative of Gomes, while bearing ample testimony to the foundation of the *Villa do Iffante*, to the strength of its walls, to the excellence of its port, to the early attempt of the Genoese to secure it for their own commerce, to the close of the Prince's life at this spot, say not a word of any school or institute of geographical study, or nautical training, founded by the Infant, either at His Town or anywhere else. † And this while both Henrique's Will and the narrative of Azurara expressly mention his benefactions to Theology and Bible-study in Lisbon. ‡ From all the remaining authorities of the first order we likewise gather nothing as to the Infant's "School of Geography;" though we do gather clearly enough that he resided in His Town during part at least of his later life. The six last charters of the Infant (of August 22 and September 18-19, 1460) are given at *Minha Villa*, § and his will, executed in the same *Villa*

* Ca da Mosto in 'Ramusio,' i. 107 B-C; in Temporal, ed. Schefer, pp. 146-7.

† See A. 'G.,' ch. v. pp. 33-35; Gomes (Schmeller), p. 31.

‡ See A. 'G.,' ch. v. p. 31; 'Arquivo dos Açores,' vol. 1, p. 334; Prince Henry's will, "Testamento do Infante D. Henrique," is given in full, e.g. in the 'Arquivo dos Açores,' 1, 331-6; and in the Marquez de Souza Holstein's 'A Escola de Sagres e as Tradições do Infante Dom Henrique,' pp. 81-6 (*Conferencias . . . na Acad. Real das Sciencias de Lisboa*, 1877).

§ These are (1) 'Misticos,' liv. II., fol. 65, and liv. III. fol. 56; abstract in 'Alguns Documentos,' 26; giving the islands of Jesus Christ (Terceira) and Graciosa to his heir D. Fernando, Aug. 22, 1460; (2) 'Livro das Escripturas da Ordem de Christo,' vol. 3, f. 7 v.; abstract in 'Alguns Documentos,' 26; giving the Order of Christ the spiritualities of the Madeira group, Sept. 18, 1460; (3) the same, f. 10; abstract in 'Alguns Documentos,' 26; providing for a Mass for his soul in the islands of St. Michael and St. Mary, which he had given to the Order of Christ, Sept. 18, 1460; (4) the same, f. 10 v.; abstract in 'Alguns Documentos,' p. 27; providing for a similar Mass in the islands of Jesus Christ and Graciosa, which he had given to D. Fernando, Sept. 18, 1460; (5) the same, fol. 11; abstract in 'Alguns Documentos,' p. 27; giving to King Afonso V. the temporalities of the Cape Verde islands, and their spiritualities to the Order of Christ, Sept. 18, 1460; (6) the same, f. 35 v., giving his reasons for founding *His Town*, the exact position of the town at the point called Terça Nabal,

do Iffante on October 13 of the same year, repeats almost verbatim what we have already heard from the *Guinea Chronicle*, with certain explanations and definitions—as for instance why the Infant had founded his city in that place; how it stood, not on Cape Sagres proper, but on a headland lying a little to the westward; and how it had been established with the permission of the king, and had been presented by its founder to his sovereign. But in all this there is not one word of the School of Sagres.

The first hint of such a thing is to be found in an important secondary authority, writing almost half a century after Dom Henrique's death (1460–1505); nor can this be said to carry one far in the direction of a formal Academy in the Infant's town. Thus far, however, it does carry us. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Duarte Pacheco Pereira, whose birth is almost coincident with Dom Henrique's death; whose family was intimately connected with the Infant's explorations; and who must have had many opportunities of gaining information for his *Esmeraldo* from contemporaries and servants of the Prince's, records how the latter, by dint of presents and rewards, attracted from Mallorca one Mestre Jacome, a skilled draughtsman of navigating-charts. In Mallorca, adds Pacheco, with an inaccuracy which shows a real knowledge of the subject, navigating-charts were first made; * Mestre Jacome's work was to teach the Portuguese the same science; and from the maps made under his direction the men of the next age, Pacheco himself and his fellows—men like Diogo Cão and Bartholomeu Dias—learnt their geography.†

A few years later in the sixteenth century we have the evidence of João de Barros, the historian of Portuguese Asia, and of Pedro Nunes, the no less eminent mathematician. From the latter we have the general statement, practically deducible, in all its parts, from Azurara, from Diogo Gomes, and from Ca da Mosto, that the Prince's mariners were well taught and provided with instruments and rules of astrology ‡ and geometry, which all map-makers should know. From the "Livy of Portugal," on the other hand, we gain a slightly amplified repetition of Pereira's statement, informing us that Mestre Jacome was skilled in the making of instruments as well as maps; and implying that he taught the Infant's officers the use of such nautical instruments, as well as the construction, revision, and reading of charts.§

In the nineteenth century the Viscount of Juromenha added to this meagre information by discovering the existence of a certain Master Peter, apparently a colleague of Master Jacome—a cartographic artist who worked for Dom Henrique, illuminating his maps with the colours, inscriptions, and pictorial designs, thought necessary or ornamental.||

slightly west of Sagres, etc., Sept. 19, 1460. *Minha Villa do Iffante* is here distinguished from *Minha Villa de Thomar*. This charter has never yet been published, except for some short extracts given by Souza Holstein, 'Escola de Sagres,' p. 24; it is printed at the end of this article. With the four preceding, it is now re-catalogued in the Lisbon National Library, Codex No. 737.

* "Na qual ilha primeiramente se fizeram as ditas cartas," 'Esmeraldo,' Bk. I. chap. 33 (end); p. 58 of Basto's edition.

† 'Esmeraldo,' *ibid.*

‡ Including our "astronomy": on D. Henrique's study of this, see *ante*, p. 712, note ¶.

§ See João de Barros, 'Asia,' Decade I., Bk. I., ch. xvi. (vol. 1, p. 133, edition of 1778).

|| From a document noticed by Juromenha at Batalha. See his commentary on Rackzynski, 'Les Arts en Portugal,' p. 205; also Oliveira Martins, 'Os Filhos de D. João I.,' p. 73 (Lisbon, 1891).

But we are still far from the School of Sagres, though we are perhaps in a position to formulate a more modest and indefinite belief. For though the primary authorities are silent upon the precise point at issue, they furnish, as we have seen, plain and ample testimony of Dom Henrique's study of at least some older geographical work, and his maintenance (with constant correction and amplification) of something like a standard-chart, embodying the discoveries of his captains. They prove, also, that those captains—taking with them their Portolani and their instruments, entering new discoveries upon their handy-maps, deleting proved errors from the same, and taking astronomical observations—furnished the Infant with something better than the rough calculations of the old-fashioned itinerary, and were not wholly untrained for the higher side of their work. While from the best authorities of the second rank we gather that an eminent Catalan cartographer was actually employed by the Portuguese leader to instruct his officers in scientific geography, and that it remained a matter of tradition that those officers were highly efficient in scientific navigation.

It appears therefore impossible to deny (putting aside the imaginative literature of certain worthies of the eighteenth century, and of other times sufficiently far removed from Dom Henrique) that something in the nature of geographical instruction, especially for the charting of coasts and the taking of observations, was founded and maintained by the Infant, to the no small advantage of his whole work of exploration, trade, conquest, and settlement.

But there is no evidence to localize such instruction, or to formalize it as some have done. In the last years of the Infant's life, when and when alone he seems to have been regularly settled at His Town, by Cape St. Vincent, it may have centred in the *Villa do Iffante*. Before this time it may have found a home rather in Lagos or Lisbon than in the new town near Sagres; the title of *Minha Villa* is also applied by the Prince himself, though of course in a more general sense, to other places where he possessed special rights, such as Lagos and Thomar.*

Nor can any one speak with confidence of a formal school of navigation, still less of a geographical academy or institute, least of all, of a university of Dom Henrique's foundation; teachers and learners there seem to have been, but it is an abuse of language to say that the evidence points necessarily to anything more than informal instruction.

* The Infant's possessions and powers were extensive, to speak only of Portuguese towns and districts, and it is largely with revenues derived from these that he maintained his movement of Catholic and national expansion. The evidence relating to this is still in great measure unpublished, but abundant material exists in the *Arquivo Nacional*. From various charters of King John I., Edward, and Affonso V., we see that Dom Henrique, among other grants and privileges, received Visen, from which he took his ducal title and where he controlled the local fair ('Misticos,' liv. II., f. 35; liv. III., f. 182 v; 'Chanc. Aff. V.,' liv. XXIV., f. 22 v; liv. XIX., f. 36 v); Covilham, from which he took a baronial title ('Misticos,' liv. III., f. 130 v); Cascaes ('Chanc. João I.,' liv. I., f. 90 v); Balea[I] and the Berlengas ('Misticos,' liv. IV., f. 22); Gouvea ('Misticos,' liv. III., f. 129); Lafaens, Besteiros, etc. ('Misticos,' liv. II., f. 31 r), rights of control over the fairs in Thomar, Pombal, and Tarouca ('Chanc. João I.,' liv. IV., f. 19; 'Chanc. Aff. V.,' liv. XXXV., f. 100 v; 'Chanc. Duarte,' liv. I., f. 162 v). These are all in the home kingdom, and all of them he could call *My Towns* or *My Lands* in some sense at least; as to the grants of islands and regions discovered by his seamen, I need only refer to those of the Madeira group ('Chanc. Duarte,' liv. I., f. 18 v, printed in 'Alguns Documentos,' p. 2) and of the trans-Bojador regions and their trade ('Chanc. Aff. V.,' liv. XXIV. f. 61, printed in 'Alguns Documentos,' p. 8). I examined all these charters last year.

CHARTER OF SEPTEMBER 19, 1460.

(Hitherto unpublished.)

'Giving the Infant's reasons for founding his town, the exact position of the town, at the point called Terça Nabal, slightly west of Sagres,' etc.

Eu O Ifante Dom Anrique Regedor e Governador da ordem de nosso sn̄r Jesu Christo Duque de Viseu & sn̄r de Covilhã faço saber aos que esta minha carta virem que esguardando como ao Cabo de Sagres vinhão & vem muytas carracas naos gales & outros navios pousar por nō acharem tempo de viagem onde aquecia estarem por muitos dias sem acharem nenhuã consolaçom de mantimentos & outras cousas necessarias, nem isso mesmo da augua quasi nada, tendo a povoraçom a hua legoa & mea donde jasião e como tambem estando elles assi ali, algũs falecião da vida presente, e os lançavão per essas barrocas e praías e movido de piedade estendendo quanto serviço nello faria a Deos & a El Rey meu sn̄r & bem em consolaçom aos que ao dito cabo de Sagres viessem pousar; mandei edificar hua villa no outro Cabo que ante do dito Cabo de Sagres estaa aos que vem de ponente pera levante que se chamava Terçanabal. Aa qual pus nome Villa do Ifante. E em reverencia de miuha snora Santa Maria mandei em ella fazer hũa sua capella. E fora da dita villa acima do porto onde se desembarcão os que das ditas carracas, naos, gales, & navios saem, mandei fazer hũa egreja aa honrra da s̄ra santa Catherina onde ã ella & no seu cimiterio ao presente, depois que assi foi feita som lançados e soterrados muytos dos dõs ditos navios que assi ali veerom pousar. E hora e depois de a dita villa assi ser feita, os que ao dito cabo vem pousar, achão consolaçom de mantimentos, em abastança e augas e outras cousas de que assi ante p̄r o que dito he, erão carecidos e minguidos. A qual villa eu fiz per autoridade del Rey Dom Afonso meu sn̄r e sobrinho que Deos mantenha e lha offereci e fiz serviço della que per meu falecimento lhe ficasse e a seus successores, sem nunca delles ser fora nem de sua coroa. E esguardando eu os muitos bees que recebi da ordem de christos, de que assi sou governador e serviço dos cavaleiros e freires della, e com desejo de nella fazer acrecentamentos, lhe dei e dou pera todo sempre a spiritualidade da dita Villa do Ifante na melhor maneira que lha eu posso dar, e como aa dita ordem he outorgado per nosso sn̄r o santo padre pio 2 e melhor si melhor for outorgada per o dito snor santo padre, e per os outros seus successores alem do que ja assi tem outorgado. E roguo e encomendo aos que forem vigayros ou capellães soldadados da dita ordem nas egrejas da dita villa, que lhes praza a cada hũs, na egreja de que assi tiverem cargo, dizerem cada somana ao sabado hũa missa de Santa Maria e a comemoraçõ seja de Santo Spũ com seu responso e a oraçom fidelium Deus. Disendo ante do começo da dita missa alta voz cõ o rosto pera os que a ella estiverem que diguão o Pater Noster e Ave Maria por minha alma e dos da Ordem, e daquelles por que teudo sou rogar. E desi va por sua missa em diante. E roguo e encomendo aos mestres e governadores que depois de my forem da dita ordem, que ã galardom de acrecentamento e bem que em ella fiz, lhes prasa averem por bem por sempre mandarem assi dizer as ditas missas como dito he. E por certidõ de esto mãdei fazer esta minha carta assinada per my, e sellada do sello de minhas armas. A qual mandei poer na torre do cartorio do convento da minha villa de Thomar. Feita em a minha Villa de Villa do Ifante xix. dias de Setembro. Johão de Moraes a fez. Anno do nacimiento de nosso Sn̄r. Jesu Christo de mil CCCCLX. annos. E na obrigaçõ que os vigairos ou capellães soldadados das ditas egrejas ouverẽ teer cargo, se obrigarẽ de as cantar lhes declarẽ obrigãdoos que sempre ao sabado seja teudos dizer as ditas missas como suso faz mẽço.