

SURVEY ARTICLE

Chronicle-Composition in Medieval Portugal**A General Outline***Tiago João Queimada e Silva*

In literate societies in the medieval era the use of historiography was essential for the ideological consolidation of the economic and political hegemony of the dominant social groups. Almost invariably historiographical texts hid more or less explicit ideological/political programs. As Bernard Guenée once put it, in a world where the past was the best justification for the present, it is natural that history was the best argument for propaganda, the best ideological support of power.¹ In this way, historiographical production can often be regarded as a cultural reflection of social contradictions or, in the case of the subject of this paper, of political struggles among the ruling social strata. These are groups that hold power over literary production; who have the means and the know-how to write history; who have ‘power over future memory, the power to perpetuate’² When we approach medieval Portuguese chronicles,³ one cannot fail to see a reflection of the relations and disputes between the landed aristocracy, the increasingly centralized monarchical power, the episcopal elite and monastic institutions. However, this appropriation of history for political purposes was not carried out homogeneously through the centuries, nor did the ruling classes perceive at all times the advantages that historiography could bring as a means of political legitimization.⁴ Of all the historiographical literary genres, the chronicle was the most widely used in medieval Portugal, especially after the 1383–85 revolution. In this paper, I will present a sketch of the development of chronicle-composition in medieval Portugal, highlighting the above-mentioned problematic. Nevertheless, my exposition will be invested with a rather general character, given the wideness and inherent complexity of the subject. The purpose of this study is merely to present a coherent survey of the key landmarks in medieval Portuguese chronistic prose and relate them succinctly with the historical contexts from the late-thirteenth century to the early-sixteenth century. However, before entering the realm of medieval chronicles

¹ Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et Culture historique dans l’Occident médiéval*, Aubier-Montaigne: Paris 1980, 333. Guenée’s study ‘Le Poids de l’Histoire’ (332–356 of the book referenced above) is still of paramount importance for an understanding of the relations between history, political power and strategies of political legitimization during the Middle Ages.

² Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, translated by Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman, Columbia University Press: New York 1992 (originally 1977), 183–184; see also James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory*, Blackwell: Oxford and Cambridge, MA 1992; E. J. Hobsbawm, ‘The social function of the past: some questions’, *Past and Present* 55 (1972), 3–17.

³ By this, I mean the chronicles that were written in the vernacular tongue and were produced on Portuguese territory.

⁴ Guenée 1980, 333.

written in Galician-Portuguese, I think it is appropriate to present a brief introduction regarding the origins of Portuguese historiography. I chose chronology as the main criterion for the organization of this exposition.

The Origins of Portuguese Historiography

The first known Portuguese historiographical sources are a series of annals dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They were recompiled and continued in the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, an institution with close ties to the emergent Portuguese royalty.⁵ After being initially grouped together by Pierre David under the general denomination of *Annales Portugaleses Veteres*, further textual archaeology led to distinctions between several different inner sections that were compiled in disparate centers of literacy.⁶ The oldest of these are the *Anais de Santo Tirso*, which were written around 1079 in Santo Tirso de Riba de Ave Monastery (near Porto). Concerned mostly with the war against the Muslims, they are interspersed with praise of the deeds and deaths of members of the Maia family, who were patrons of the monastery, as well as descriptions of the conquests of Ferdinand I of Leon and Castile.⁷ These annals were followed by the *Anais de Grijó*, which were produced in São Salvador de Grijó Monastery (near Vila Nova de Gaia) around 1111, under the protection of the Grijó family.⁸

These annals exist in two versions – one brief and one extended – and were copied in the mid-twelfth century by the Augustinian canons of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, who also produced two continuations of the same annals: first, the *Anais de Santa Cruz I*, compiled in 1169, which was primarily concerned with preserving the memory of the most significant events of the reign of D. Afonso Henriques, the first Portuguese king. Second, the *Annales Domni Alfonsi Portugallensium Regis* – or

⁵ Coimbra was at the time the unofficial capital of the new kingdom, as it was the city where the royal court stayed more often. See Carla Serapicos Silvério, 'A imagem da realeza na analística medieval portuguesa dos séculos XI e XII', in *Actas do 2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães*, 3, Universidade do Minho/Câmara Municipal: Guimarães 1997, 35–40, at 37; José Mattoso, *D. Afonso Henriques*, Temas & Debates: Lisbon 2007, 70–71; *idem*, 'Cluny, crúzios e cistercienses na formação de Portugal', in *Portugal Medieval. Novas Interpretações*, 2nd ed., Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda: Lisbon 1992, 101–121, at 109–115; António Resende de Oliveira, 'A Cultura em Coimbra antes da Fundação da Universidade', in João Gouveia Monteiro ed., *Universidade de Coimbra*, Serviço de Documentação e Publicações da Universidade de Coimbra: Coimbra 2003, 36–39.

⁶ Pierre David, *Études Historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VIe au XIIIe siècle*, Livraria Portugália Editora: Lisbon 1947, 257–340.

⁷ Ferdinand I was known for his supportive policies towards the *infações*, who were noble families from the intermediary layers of the aristocracy in the north of Portugal, such as the Maia family, which vied for regional influence against the counts of *Portucale*.

⁸ David 1947, 257–340; Luís Krus, *A produção do passado nas comunidades letradas do Entre Minho e Mondego nos séculos XI e XII – as origens da analística portuguesa*, Provas de Agregação, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade de Lisboa: Lisbon 1998; *Id.*, 'Historiografia Medieval', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa*, Caminho: Lisbon 1993, 312–315, at 312 (hereafter Krus 1993a); José Mattoso, 'Anais', in *Ibid.*, 50–51; *Id.*, 'O mosteiro de Santo Tirso e a cultura medieval portuguesa', in *Religião e Cultura na Idade Média Portuguesa*, 2nd ed., Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda: Lisbon 1997, 443–471; Armando de Sousa Pereira, *Representações da Guerra no Portugal da Reconquista (séculos XI–XIII)*, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar: Lisbon 2003, 15–32; Silvério 1997; *Annales D. Alfonsi Portugallensium Regis*, M. B. Walter ed., in *Alfons I von Portugal: Studien zu Geschichte und Sage des Begründers der Portugiesische Unbhägigkeit*, Fretz und Wasmuth Verlag: Zürich 1966, 151–161.

Anais de Santa Cruz II – written around 1185 and which extolled the life and deeds of D. Afonso Henriques, already assuming the form of a proto-chronicle.⁹

Besides the aforementioned annals, there is also the so-called *Chronicon Laurbanense* – or *Anais de Lorvão* –, compiled in São Mamede do Lorvão Monastery (near Coimbra) around 1117. Written in an epoch when its status was thrown into question, these annals preserve the memory of the distant past of the monastery in relation to the Portuguese county while it was still a part of the Leonese kingdom. Precisely due to the obsolescence of their contents, these annals were not appropriated nor continued by subsequent medieval historians.¹⁰

At this time, monastic institutions fulfilled the task of building ideological discourses that sought to justify the politico-economic status of their patrons, who controlled the centres of aristocratic or royal power¹¹. The monastery of Santo Tirso de Riba de Ave fulfilled this role in relation to the Maia family; the monastery of São Salvador de Grijó for the Grijó family, and the Santa Cruz de Coimbra Monastery for the Portuguese royal family. After D. Afonso Henriques transferred his court to Coimbra in 1131, this city became the political centre of the kingdom and contemporaneously Santa Cruz Monastery was founded by a group of Augustinian canons regular, with the king's support. Thus, at the dawn of the Portuguese monarchy, the canons regular of Santa Cruz Monastery not only acted as ideological upholders of the political programme of Afonso Henriques, but also contributed to equipping the nascent monarchy with an administrative apparatus. They also provided the court with an intellectual elite that executed the administrative and bureaucratic functions befitting a political entity that aimed to be autonomous.¹² Consequently, Santa Cruz Monastery asserted itself as the premier cultural institution of the fledgling Portuguese kingdom, thanks to the dynamism, diversity and constant renovation of the clerical elite of Coimbra. This group was entrusted with the ideological duty of legitimizing royal power and the military expansion into the southern territories. Therefore, it is no surprise that the first Portuguese monarch is the main protagonist of Santa Cruz's profuse historiographical publications.¹³ On the other hand, this process took place when, in a wider European context, history began to be more consistently appropriated by centres of political power, having monastic institutions as intermediaries.¹⁴

However, during the twelfth century, these were not the only manifestations of cultural activity in the Portuguese kingdom. Throughout this century several hagiographic narratives were produced, mostly but not exclusively in Santa Cruz de Coimbra. The oldest of these is the *Vita Sancti Geraldi*, a biography of Gerald of

⁹ David 1947; Krus 1998, 12–15; Krus 1993a, 312; Mattoso, 1993, 50–51; Id. 2007, 373–374; Pereira 2003, 33–44, 60–71; Silvério 1997; *Annales D. Alfonsi*; Oliveira 2003.

¹⁰ Krus 1998, 9–10; Krus 1993a, 312; Mário Gouveia, *O limiar da tradição no moçarabismo conimbricense: os 'Anais de Lorvão' e a memória monástica do território de fronteira (séc. IX–XII)*, Master's thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa 2008, available at <http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA8\gouveia8011.html> (accessed 24/11/2012); Mattoso 1993, 51; *Chronicon Laurbanense*, A. Herculano ed. (Portvgaliae Monvmenta Historica, Scriptorum 1), Academia Scientiarum: Lisbon 1856, 20.

¹¹ José Mattoso, 'A nobreza medieval portuguesa. As correntes monásticas dos séculos XI e XII', in *Portugal Medieval. Novas Interpretações*, 2nd ed., Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda: Lisbon 1992, 197–198.

¹² Silvério 1997, 37; Mattoso 2007, 70–71; Id. 1992.

¹³ Oliveira 2003.

¹⁴ Guenée 1980, 332–336.

Moissac, the Archbishop of Braga, which was composed between 1112 and 1128 by Archdeacon Bernardo (who was nominated Bishop of Coimbra in 1128). Both of these men were of French origin, therefore denoting the strong influence from beyond the Pyrenees in the birth of hagiography within Portuguese territory.¹⁵ In this work, Bernard praises the reforms led by Archbishop Gerald; namely his efforts at introducing the Roman liturgy and ecclesiastical costumes, which by that time triggered the opposition of the clergy that supported Mozarab liturgical tradition. The righteousness of Gerald's reforms is demonstrated by his sanctity and the miracles that God performed through him, thus supposedly conveying divine sanction for his reforms in Braga.¹⁶

Nevertheless, Santa Cruz Monastery was the most productive literary centre in this genre, as also happened with the annals. First, we have the *Vita Martini Sauriensis*, compiled between 1147 and 1150 by Salvado, a Santa Cruz Monastery canon. It is a hagiography of the life and martyrdom of Martinho, a cleric performing pastoral work in Soure, near what was the dangerous and unstable southern border of the kingdom at the time. In this narrative, written at the request of Mendo Árias, who was Martinho's brother and successor at the head of Soure's parish, Martinho's exemplary poverty and pastoral activity are exalted. Secondly, the canons regular of Santa Cruz Monastery also produced the *Vita Tellonis* (written by Pedro Alfarde in 1155) and the *Vita Theotonii* (composed by an anonymous hagiographer in 1162), both of which give accounts of the lives of the founders of the monastery, who served as models for the spirituality of the canons regular (especially in the case of Saint Theotonius), while the texts themselves were used as a testimony of the monastery's rightful privileges.¹⁷ Besides the monastery of Santa Cruz, the Episcopal See of Lisbon, through the hand of its cantor, Master Estêvão, was also responsible for the production of one hagiographical text: the *Miracula S. Vincentii*, compiled between 1173 and 1185, which deals with the transfer of the relics of St. Vincent of Saragossa to the Cathedral of Lisbon and the miracles that surrounded it.¹⁸

As we noticed when addressing the annals of Santa Cruz, this monastic institution was quite attentive to the major events of the Portuguese *Reconquista*,¹⁹

¹⁵ José Mattoso, 'Le Portugal de 950 à 1550', in Guy Philippart ed., *Hagiographies*, 2 (Corpus Christianorum), Brepols: Turnhout 1996, 83–102, at 83–85; *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz: Vida de D. Telo, Vida de D. Teotónio, Vida de Martinho de Soure*, A. A. Nascimento ed., Edições Colibri: Lisbon 1998, 13; *Vita Sancti Geraldii archiepiscopi Bracarensis*, in A. Herculano, ed. (Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, Scriptores 1), Academia Scientiarum: Lisbon 1856, 53–59. Concerning the influences from beyond the Pyrenees in western Iberian clerical culture, José Mattoso (1996, 83) adds: 'celles-ci se sont exercées aussi dans d'autres domaines, notamment la liturgie (par l'introduction du rituel romain), le droit canon, les coutumes monastiques et plusieurs autres institutions ecclésiastiques. Avant cette période, le genre hagiographique se limitait probablement à la rédaction de Passiones dans le sens de la tradition hispanique, étroitement liées à leur fonction liturgique'.

¹⁶ Mattoso 1996, 85.

¹⁷ *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz*; Aires A. Nascimento, 'Vida de D. Telo', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 661–663; Id., 'Vida de S. Teotónio', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 669–671; Mattoso 1996, 85–86.

¹⁸ S. Vicente de Lisboa e seus milagres medievais, A. A. Nascimento & S. A. Gomes eds., Edições Didaskalia: Lisbon 1988; Isabel Rosa Dias, 'Uma tradição portuguesa sobre S. Vicente', in *Figura: Actas do IIº Colóquio da Secção Portuguesa da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval*, Universidade do Algarve: Faro 2001, 233–246; Id., *Culto e Memória Textual de S. Vicente em Portugal*, Ph.D. diss., Universidade do Algarve 2003, 93–99.

¹⁹ I am aware of the polysemic (and, to some degree, controversial) nature of the term *Reconquista*. It is not my intention to meddle in the discussion on the appropriateness of the usage of this word when referring to the conflict between Christians and Muslims in the medieval Iberian Peninsula, from Pelagius' rebellion in Asturias at the beginning of the eighth century until the conquest of Granada by the Spanish Catholic Monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand. In this sense, I clarify beforehand that I use the term not only due to its conventionality and

since military activity against the Muslims was the prime source of political legitimacy for the monastery's patron, D. Afonso Henriques. In this context, a canon regular of Coimbra produced a detailed account of the conquest of Santarém (1147), generally called *De Expugnatione Scallabis*, which is a narrative that manifests many literary specificities and contains many significant historical details.²⁰ The Augustinian canons regular of the monastery of São Vicente de Fora (Lisbon) also devoted some lines to the events of the *Reconquista*. In this case the subject was the conquest of Lisbon (1147), which framed the foundation of São Vicente de Fora, the main subject of the *Indiculum Foundationis Monasterii Beati Vincentii Vlixbone*, composed before 1173.²¹

The First Portuguese Chronicle

The first attempts by the royal court of establishing its own historical perspective on the kingdom's past took place after the era when the Portuguese cultural manifestations were mainly dominated by troubadour poetry produced in the northern aristocratic centres. What emerged was directed against the hegemonic goals of Castile-Leon and the increasing hostility of the Portuguese nobility and episcopal clergy towards royal power. This was accomplished through the compilation of the *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa*, presumably around 1270 in a milieu ideologically near to

general acceptance, but also because I think this designation has some usefulness, insofar as it permits, with one single word, a designation of the whole process of expansion of the Portuguese kingdom as far as the Algarve in 1249 and of the other Iberian Christian political entities until the conquest of Granada in 1492. On the other hand, it may also refer to an ideology of political legitimization, created during the Middle Ages, which provided for the politico-economic domination of the Christian aristocracy and royalty with a firm ideological and historical basis. In other words, it is a specific ideology, generally associated with the myth of the Visigothic Kingdom's continuity, which justified the southwards expansion of the northern Christian political formations, making use of the argument of the recovery of territories previously belonging to Christians, illegitimately subdued by the Muslims. Summing up, I use the term *Reconquista* in this paper to designate the expansionist war waged by the Iberian Christians of the north – in this case, of the Portuguese monarchy – against the Muslims in the south, a historical phenomenon that practically overlaps the medieval epoch, as a chronological period, in the Iberian Peninsula. On this, see Francisco García Fitz, *La Reconquista*, Editorial Universidad de Granada: Granada 2010; Id., 'La Reconquista: un estado de la cuestión', *Clio & Crimen* 6 (2009), 142–215; Id., 'En el Nombre de Dios. La Ideología de la Guerra en la Península Ibérica Medieval. Siglos XI–XIII', *Revista de História das Ideias* 30 (2009), 137–152; Martín F. Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista: Una construcción historiográfica (siglos XVI–XIX)*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México/Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Marcial Pons Historia: Madrid 2011; Id., *La Reconquista en la historiografía española contemporánea*, Sílex ediciones, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México/Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas: Madrid 2013; Id., 'La "Reconquista": una aspiración peninsular? Estudio comparativo entre dos tradiciones historiográficas', *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre | BUCEMA* [En ligne], n. s. 2 (2008), available at <http://cem.revues.org/index9702.html> (accessed 14/08/2013); Manuel González Jiménez, 'Sobre la Ideología de Reconquista: Realidades y Tópicos', in *Memoria, Mito y Realidad en la Historia Medieval*, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos del Gobierno de la Rioja: Logroño 2003, 151–170; José Antonio Maravall, *El Concepto de España en la Edad Media*, 2nd ed., Instituto de Estudios Políticos: Madrid 1964, 249–337; *Organización Social del Espacio en la España Medieval: La Corona de Castilla en los siglos VIII a XV*, J. A. García de Cortázar et al eds., Ariel: Barcelona 1985, 12–15; Stéphane Boissellier, 'Réflexions sur l'idéologie portugaise de la Reconquête: XII–XIV siècles', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 30 (1994), 139–165.

²⁰ Aires A. Nascimento, 'O júbilo da vitória: celebração da tomada de Santarém aos mouros (A.D. 1147)', in *Actes del X Congrés Internacional de l'Associació Hispànica de Literatura Medieval*, 3, Rafael Alemany et al. eds., Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana: Alacant 2005, 1217–1232; Pereira 2003, 55–60; Id., 'A conquista de Santarém na tradição historiográfica portuguesa', in *Actas do 2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães*, 5, Universidade do Minho/Câmara Municipal: Guimarães 1997, 298–320; Mattoso 2007, 237–239; Luís Maria da Câmara Pina, 'Da personalidade militar de D. Afonso Henriques', *Alexandre Herculano à luz do nosso tempo*, Academia Portuguesa da História: Lisbon 1977, 283–321.

²¹ *Indiculum Foundationis Monasterii Beati Vincentii Vlixbone*, A. A. Nascimento ed., in *A conquista de Lisboa aos mouros. Relato de um cruzado*, 2nd ed., Nova Vega: Lisbon 2007, 178–201.

the court of King Afonso III. It conveys an apologetic discourse towards the Portuguese monarchy, through the description of Afonso Henriques as a hero, who defeats his enemies both within and beyond the Portuguese territory; namely, the supporters of his mother and the Galician nobleman Fernão Peres de Trava, the monarchs of Castile and Leon and, ultimately, the Papacy. In this narrative, the first Portuguese king is depicted as a transgressor, a trickster, who breaks the social norms and sacrifices himself for the praiseworthy aim of keeping his father's legacy and safeguarding the political autonomy of his kingdom. Considering that it was already written in the Galician-Portuguese language, this chronicle represents the birth of the chronistic genre in Portugal. This first attempt by the Portuguese court at establishing a royal perspective on the monarchy's past was carried out concomitantly with Alfonso X's historiographical production in Castille, that is, with the compilation of the *Estoria de España*. In fact, one critical version of the *Estoria de España*, the *Crónica de Veinte Reyes* (1282–1284), incorporated the *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa* as a source for the history of the Portuguese kings. Nonetheless, the *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa* was completely independent from the *Estoria de España* and from the chronicle on which Alfonso X himself mainly relied, the *Historia de rebus Hispaniae* (1240–1243/1246–1247), compiled by the Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. José Carlos Miranda, however, argued that Lucas de Tuy's *Chronicon Mundi* (1230–1239) was an influence on the composition of the *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa*. Notwithstanding this argument, the incipient historiographical effort of the Portuguese royalty seems rather modest, especially if compared to the contemporary situation in Castile. Furthermore, the nobility rapidly regained cultural hegemony²² (through the compilation of the extensive genealogical record known as *Livro Velho de Linhagens*), even though the *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa* was actualized around 1340, possibly in Santa Cruz Monastery, where the text was preserved in the textual fragment commonly known as *IV^a Crónica Breve de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*.²³

²² Analogously, in Castile by the end of the thirteenth century, after the triumph of Sancho IV, supported by the Castilian nobility, over his father Alfonso X's, the aristocracy also imposed its views on the field of historiography. This is testified by the amplified version of the *Estoria de España* sponsored by Sancho IV in 1289, the *Versión Amplificada de la Estoria de España*, where Alfonso's X original pro-monarchical ideological discourse is softened. It is adapted to the political interests of the nobility which backed Sancho IV. Thus, political tenets present in the primitive version of the *Estoria de España*, such as the apology of a centralized monarchical power, the myth of the continuity between the Spanish Visigothic kingdom and the kingdom of Castile-Leon, the principle of the indivisibility of the realm and the historical legitimacy of Castilian hegemony at an Iberian level, are attenuated in the amplified version of the *Estoria de España*. On the other hand, the Castilian-Leonese nobility gains a leading role in the overall narrative. On this subject, see Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, 'Variación en el modelo historiográfico alfonsí en el siglo XIII. Las versiones de la *Estoria de España*', in Georges Martin ed., *La historia alfonsí: el modelo y sus destinos (siglos XIII–XV)* (Collection de la Casa de Velázquez 68), Casa de Velázquez: Madrid 2000, 41–74, at 61–65.

²³ Filipe Alves Moreira, *Afonso Henriques e a Primeira Crónica Portuguesa*, Estratégias Criativas: Porto 2008; Id., 'A Historiografia Régia Portuguesa Anterior ao Conde de Barcelos', in *O Contexto Hispânico da Historiografia Portuguesa nos Séculos XIII e XIV (homenagem a Diego Catalán)* (Cadernos de Literatura Medieval), Imprensa da Universidade: Coimbra 2010, 33–51 (hereafter Moreira 2010a); José Carlos Miranda, 'Na génese da Primeira Crónica Portuguesa', *Medievalista* 6 (2009) (hereafter Miranda 2009a), available at <http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/> (accessed 25.11.2012); José Mattoso, 'A Primeira Crónica Portuguesa', *Medievalista* 6 (2009), available at <http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/> (accessed 25.11.2012); António Resende de Oliveira & José Carlos Miranda, 'Da *História Compostelana* à *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa*: o discurso historiográfico sobre a formação do reino de Portugal', in Esther Corral Díaz ed., *In Marsupii Peregrinorum. Circulación de textos e imágenes alrededor del camino de Santiago en la Edad Media*, Edizioni del Galluzzo: Florence 2010, 295–324; Maria do Rosário Ferreira, 'Afonso Henriques: Do Valor Fundacional da Desobediência', *Cahiers d'Études Hispaniques Médiévales* 34 (2011), 55–70; Diego

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Portuguese interest in this specific historiographical genre continued to be expressed by the completion of several translations of foreign chronicles. Although the ideological consolidation of royal power through history was not a political priority for D. Dinis (1279–1325), this king ordered the translation of the works of Ahmad al-Razi, an Arabic geographer and historian from tenth century Córdoba. This enterprise materialized in the *Crónica do Mouro Rasis*, written before 1315 by Gil Peres, who was a cleric in the retinue of the Portuguese nobleman Pero Anes de Portel, and assisted by Master *Maomé*.²⁴

During the fourteenth century, the centres of power in Western Europe gradually became conscious of the usefulness of history in the assertion of their political claims.²⁵ In Portugal, the aristocratic courts fully realized the importance of historiography in the ideological sustenance of their political programmes, especially in an epoch marked by rising antagonism between the nobility and the monarchy. The noble Portuguese lineages continued to prevail in the field of historiographical production until the beginning of the fifteenth century. Thus, between 1295 and 1312, some unknown aristocratic milieu(s) in northern Portugal (or southern Galicia) sponsored the translation of an interpolated version of the Navarran *Liber Regum* and of the *Crónica de Castilla*. These were texts that were later adjoined together with a partial translation of the *Versión Amplificada de la Estoria de España* and the *Crónica Particular de S. Fernando*. Nowadays, this group of concatenated translations form codex 8817 of the National Library of Spain.²⁶

All of these texts were used by D. Pedro, Count of Barcelos, in his *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, which was much influenced by the historiographical production of Alfonso X of Castile-Leon. This chronicle was preserved in two different versions – the original and an altered version produced around forty years later²⁷ – and marks the end of the initial phase of Portuguese chronicle-composition, when the nobility still assumed the leading role in historiographical production. Using the model established by Alfonso X, D. Pedro undertook the diligent task of compiling

Catalán, *De Alfonso al Conde de Barcelos. Cuatro estúdios sobre el nacimiento de la historiografía romance en Castilla y Portugal*, Gredos: Madrid 1962, 223 and 281; *Crónica general de España de 1344*, D. Catalán & M. S. de Andres eds., Gredos: Madrid, 1971, XLI; Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, 'De la historiografía fernandina a la alfonsí', *Alcanate* 3 (2002–3), 93–133; *Livros Velhos de Linhagens*, J. Piel & J. Mattoso eds. (Portvgaliae Monvmenta Historica, n. s. 1), Academia das Ciências: Lisbon 1980; *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, vol. 1, *Introdução*, L. F. L. Cintra ed., Academia Portuguesa de História: Lisbon 1951, CDLXXVI–CDLXXXIII.

²⁴ Teresa Amado, 'Crónica do Mouro Rasis', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 188–189; Krus 1993a; Id., 'Crónica' in *Dicionário da Literatura*, 173–176, at 173 (hereafter Krus 1993b); Id., 'Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 189–190 (hereafter Krus 1993c); *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, D. Catalán & M. S. de Andres eds., Gredos: Madrid 1975.

²⁵ Guenée 1980, 335–336.

²⁶ *La Traducccion Gallega de la Crónica General y de la Crónica de Castilla*, vol. 1, R. Lorenzo ed., Instituto de Estudios Orensanos 'Padre Feijoo': Ourense 1975; Ramón Lorenzo, 'Crónica Geral e Crónica de Castela', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 190–192; Krus 1993b, 173, Krus 1993c, 189–190 and Krus 1993a, 313; *Crónica Geral*, vol. 1, CCCLXI–CCCLXII; Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra, 'Uma tradução galego-portuguesa desconhecida do Liber Regum', *Bulletin Hispanique* 52 (1950) 27–40; Catalán 1962, 313–356; *Crónica general*, XLV–XLIX; José Carlos Miranda, 'A introdução à versão galego-portuguesa da Crónica de Castela (A2a): Fontes e Estratégias', in *Seminário Medieval 2007–2008*, Estratégias Criativas: Porto 2009, 61–97; Moreira 2010a.

²⁷ Only a Castilian translation of the original version was preserved, through two fragments (mss. *M* and *E*), see *Crónica general*. The second version was preserved and continued in several manuscripts, in Castilian and Portuguese. It was critically edited by Cintra, *Crónica Geral*, vols. 1–4.

the history of the Iberian Peninsula until his own day, interpreting it from an aristocratic viewpoint, which emphasized the role of the nobility in the construction of the Iberian Christian polities and the preservation of their autonomy. It also conceived the kingly office as being dependent upon the acquiescence of the noble class. According to D. Pedro, the king was not divinely appointed, but a mere *primus inter pares*, whose power is non-existent without the support of the warrior aristocracy. Even though the specific history of the Portuguese kingdom gains a more conspicuous place than it did in Alfonso X's narrative (D. Pedro borrows the narrative of the Portuguese kings from the *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa*, adding other sources for the history of the Portuguese kingdom), D. Pedro's perspective is still Iberian.²⁸ In other words, Portuguese history and its protagonists (nobles and kings) do not exist in isolation but as a part of an Iberian whole. There is the ever-present idea of a historical and genealogical Iberian community. In the second version of the *Crónica de 1344*, written at the end of the fourteenth century, the structure of the text is completely adapted to the paradigm previously established by Alfonso X's *Estoria de España*. This is, especially the case in the initial parts, where the genealogical inclination of D. Pedro was notorious. It is no coincidence that the Count of Barcelos is also the author of the most famous genealogical treaty of medieval Portugal, the *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*.²⁹

During the fourteenth century, the religious military orders were also actively producing historiographical narratives. A prior of the Portuguese branch of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem patronised a new version of the genealogical work of the Count of Barcelos in 1380-83, for example.³⁰ It is also assumed that a *scriptorium* of the Order of Santiago was responsible for the composition of a non-extant chronicle that narrated the deeds of its most historically prominent Grand-Master, the *Crónica*

²⁸ Since we only possess the fragment extant in the *IVª Crónica Breve*, it is impossible to be sure if the *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa* encompassed only Portuguese history or if, conversely, it dealt with the whole Iberian Peninsula. Filipe Alves Moreira and José Carlos Miranda, however, sustain that it most likely encompassed Hispanic history. See Miranda 2009a, 7; *idem*, 'Historiografia e Genealogia na Cultura Portuguesa anterior ao Conde D. Pedro de Barcelos', in *O Contexto Hispânico da Historiografia Portuguesa nos Séculos XIII e XIV (homenagem a Diego Catalán)* (Cadernos de Literatura Medieval), Imprensa da Universidade: Coimbra 2010, 53-80, at 65-66; Moreira 2008, 92-97; *idem* 2010a, 42-44; *idem*, 'Os Reis de Portugal na Versão Crítica da Estoria de España e na Crónica de Castela', in *Actas XIII Congreso AHLM, Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval: Valladolid, 2010, 1427-1437*, at 1433.

²⁹ *Crónica Geral*, vols. 1-4; Krus 1993b 173, Krus 1993c, 189-190, and Krus 1993a, 313; *Crónica general*; Isabel de Barros Dias, *Metamorfoses de Babel: a historiografia ibérica (sécs. XIII-XIV), construções e estratégias textuais*, F. C. G.: Lisbon 2003, 93-118; *idem*, 'Cronística afonsina modelada em português: um caso de recepção activa', *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia*, 67: 227 (2007), 899-928; Maria do Rosário Ferreira, 'Entre Linhagens e imagens: a escrita do conde de Barcelos', available at www.seminariomedieval.com (accessed 13.08.2013); *idem*, 'O Liber regum e a representação aristocrática da Espanha na obra do Conde D. Pedro de Barcelos', *e-Spania* 9 (2010), available at <http://e-spania.revues.org/19675> (accessed 13.08.2013); *idem*, 'D. Pedro de Barcelos e a representação do passado ibérico', in *O Contexto Hispânico da Historiografia Portuguesa nos Séculos XIII e XIV (homenagem a Diego Catalán)* (Cadernos de Literatura Medieval), Imprensa da Universidade: Coimbra 2010, 81-106; *idem*, 'A estratégia genealógica de D. Pedro, Conde de Barcelos, e as refundições do Livro de Linhagens', *e-Spania* 11 (2011), available at <http://e-spania.revues.org/20273> (accessed 13.08.2013); António Resende de Oliveira, 'O genealogista e as suas linhagens: D. Pedro, Conde de Barcelos', *e-Spania* 11 (2011), available at <http://e-spania.revues.org/20374> (accessed 13.08.2013); *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, 2 vols, J. Piel & J. Mattoso eds., (Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, n. s. 2), Academia das Ciências: Lisbon 1980; *Primera Crónica General*, 3rd. reprint, vol. 2, R. Menéndez Pidal ed., Gredos: Madrid 1977.

³⁰ António José Saraiva, 'O autor da narrativa da batalha do Salado e a refundição do Livro do Conde D. Pedro', *Boletim de Filologia* 22 (1971), 1-16; *Livro de Linhagens*, vol. 1, 243; *Narrativas dos Livros de Linhagens*, J. Mattoso ed. and org., Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda: Lisbon 1983, 130.

do Mestre D. Paio Peres Correia, fragments of which we know of through later texts.³¹ Considering the relevance given to the history of the conquest of the Algarve and the fact that the Grand-Master D. Paio Peres Correia himself was originally Portuguese, one should not dismiss the possibility of the *Crónica do Mestre D. Paio Peres Correia* being written by a scholar connected with the Portuguese branch of the Order of Santiago. This was a time, after all, when the Order experienced a phase of material decline in Portugal and therefore sought prestige in its own past.³² On the other hand, the Augustinian canons regular of the monastery of S. Vicente de Fora carried out a free translation of the previously mentioned *Indiculum Foundationis* during the fourteenth century. This is a Latin text that, as we already saw, recalled the events that led to the foundation of the monastery of S. Vicente and the conquest of Lisbon in 1147. This amplified translation is usually named *Crónica da Tomada de Lisboa aos Mouros e da Fundação do Mosteiro de S. Vicente*.³³

The Fifteenth-Century Royal Chronicles

The next big step concerning the development of Portuguese medieval chronicle-writing was taken with the completion of the *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*, which was composed under the auspices of the *Infante* D. Duarte, son of D. João I, the founder of the Avis dynasty. For the first time we recognise a process of geographical particularization in the narrative, now reduced to the specific history of the Portuguese kingdom, contrasting with the previous main compilations, which encompassed general Iberian history.³⁴ This work used the *Crónica de 1344* as its basic structural source, around which several different sources of various chronologies and origins were gathered, both lay and clerical. The *Crónica de 1419* signalizes a further stage in the mythification of the foundational process of the Portuguese kingdom, while legitimizing the political programme of the recently enthroned Avis dynasty. On the other hand, it also bears testimony to important lost Portuguese chronicles, such as the *Cronica del-rei dom Affonso*, composed before 1419 possibly in a monastic centre ideologically close to royal power. This chronicle represented a milestone in the creation the mystified image of D. Afonso Henriques, as well as a missing link

³¹ See, for example, the *Crónica de 1419* and the *Crónica da Conquista do Algarve*, a manuscript presumably copied at the end of the seventeenth century, which was found and edited by Friar Joaquim de Santo Agostinho at the end of the eighteenth century. See 'Crónica da Conquista do Algarve (Texto de 1792). Comentários e Notas.', J. P. Machado ed., *Anais do Município* 7 (1979); 'Crónica da Conquista do Algarve. Edições restituída e crítica, anotadas, pelo Prof. Fernando Venâncio Peixoto da Fonseca', F. V. P. da Fonseca ed., *Boletim de Trabalhos Históricos* 38 (1987), 206–240; 'Crónica da Conquista do Algarve', F. V. P. da Fonseca ed., *Boletim de Trabalhos Históricos* 39 (1988), 81–109. It is quite probable however, that the manuscript found by Friar Joaquim was merely a partially modified excerpt of the account of the conquest of the Algarve in the *Crónica de 1419*, which, in turn, came from the *Crónica do Mestre D. Paio Peres Correia*. See Filipe Alves Moreira, *A Crónica de Portugal de 1419: Fontes, Estratégias e Posteridade*, Faculdade de Letras do Porto: Porto 2010, 203–223 (hereafter Moreira 2010b).

³² Krus 1993b, 173, Krus 1993a, 313; Id 'Crónica da Conquista do Algarve' (hereafter Krus 1993d), in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 176; Juan Bautista Avalor-Arce, 'Sobre una crónica medieval perdida', in *Temas Hispánicos Medievales. Literatura y Historia*, Editorial Gredos: Madrid 1974, 13–63.

³³ *Crónica da Tomada de Lisboa*, F. V. P. da Fonseca ed., [s. n.]: Lisbon 1995; Moreira 2010b, 151–162; J. Mendes, 'Crónica da Tomada de Lisboa aos Mouros e da Fundação do Mosteiro de S. Vicente', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 177–179; Isabel Rosa Dias, 'De como o mosteiro de S. Vicente foi refundado', in Cristina Almeida Ribeiro & Margarida Madureira eds., *O Género do Texto Medieval, Actas do 1º Colóquio da Secção Portuguesa da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval*, Cosmos: Lisbon 1997, 139–144.

³⁴ See footnote 28.

between the clerical historiographical tradition and the royal historiography of the fifteenth century, of which the main protagonist was the renowned royal chronicler Fernão Lopes, who is regarded as the most probable material author of the *Crónica de 1419*, under the aegis of D. Duarte.³⁵

The Portuguese court pioneered a trend that became visible throughout Western Europe during the fifteenth century: the nomination of official chroniclers for the task of writing the histories of kingdoms (or other forms of polities) and their royal families.³⁶ This underlines the importance that the Avis dynasty gave to political legitimization through historiographical texts. This is due to the fact that it rose to power through a dynastic and revolutionary crisis in 1383–85. It, therefore, required strong ideological resources for political legitimization. The work of the first official royal chronicler, Fernão Lopes, during the 1430's and 1440's, is still considered by many as a kind of 'golden age' of Portuguese medieval historiography.³⁷ Fernão Lopes depicted in the *Crónica de D. Pedro*, *Crónica de D. Fernando* and, particularly, in the first two parts of the *Crónica de D. João I*, the troubled yet stimulating times of the 1383–85 revolution, when D. João I's right to kingship was upheld by the lower social classes, culminating with his election as king. The work was anchored in a traditional method of compilation but also incorporated new methodologies (such as the use and transcription of official documents). The work also made use of a variety of Portuguese and Castilian sources and was imbued with an innovative critical spirit and a refined literate and rhetorical talent. Thus, Lopes' prime motive was the historical legitimization of the dynasty enthroned during the revolution (a task he had already commenced with the *Crónica de 1419*), at a time when royal courts throughout Western Europe fully realized the ideological utility of employing an official historiography as part of the strategy of political legitimization.³⁸

³⁵ Moreira 2010b; Artur de Magalhães Basto, *Estudos. Cronistas e crónicas antigas. Fernão Lopes e a 'Crónica de 1419'*, Imprensa da Universidade: Coimbra 1960; *Crónica de Cinco Reis de Portugal*, A. de M. Basto ed., Livraria Civilização: Porto 1945; *Crónicas dos sete primeiros reis de Portugal*, 3 vols., C. da S. Tarouca ed., Academia Portuguesa de Historia: Lisbon 1952–1953; *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*, A. A. Calado ed., Universidade de Aveiro: Aveiro 1998; Krus 1993b, 173–174; Krus 1993a, 314; *idem* 'Crónica de Portugal de 1419', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 185–186 (hereafter Krus 1993e); Isabel Rosa Dias, 'A crónica del rei dom affonso, fonte perdida da Crónica de 1419', in *Anais, VII EIEM – Encontro Internacional de Estudos Medievais (2–6 de Julho, 2007), Idade Média: permanência, atualização, residualidade*, Roberto Pontes & Elizabeth Martins eds., UFC Abrem: Fortaleza 2008, 552–562.

³⁶ Even though Guenée 1980, 337–346, sustains that the French royal court was the first to appoint an official royal chronicler, in 1437, the truth is that the Portuguese royal court preceded its French counterpart by three years. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that while the French court nominated a cleric for the office (Jean Chartier, a monk of Saint-Denis), the Portuguese king chose the head of the royal archives, Fernão Lopes, as the new royal historiographer, that is, a lay bureaucrat inextricably and directly dependent on the monarch. While the office of royal chronicler in Portugal was continuously occupied throughout the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries - and in fact the royal chroniclers were prolific in their production, especially Fernão Lopes, Gomes Eanes de Zurara and Rui de Pina - the same cannot be said about the French court, where the king's policy towards historiography did not have, in Bernard Guenée's (1980, 344–345) words, 'ni rigueur ni continuité'. All this helps to put the high importance given to historiography by the kings of the Avis dynasty in a wider context. See also Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *Cronistas do Século XV posteriores a Fernão Lopes*, 2nd ed., Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa/Ministério da Educação e Cultura: Lisbon 1989.

³⁷ Fernão Lopes was nominated official royal chronicler in 1434.

³⁸ *Crónica de D. Pedro de Fernão Lopes*, G. Machi ed., Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda: Lisbon 2007; *Crónica de D. Fernando de Fernão Lopes*, G. Machi ed., 2nd ed., Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda: Lisbon 2004; *Crónica de D. João I*, 2 vols., Lopes ed., Livraria Civilização: Barcelos 1990; João Gouveia Monteiro, *Fernão Lopes: Texto e Contexto*, Livraria Minerva: Coimbra 1988; Maria Ângela Beirante, *As Estruturas Sociais em Fernão Lopes*, Livros Horizonte: Lisbon 1984; António José Saraiva, *O Crepúsculo da Idade Média em Portugal*, 3rd ed., Gradiva: Lisbon 1993, 166–205; Luís de Sousa Rebelo, *A Concepção do Poder em*

For the accomplishment of two of the previously mentioned chronicles - the *Crónica de D. Fernando* and the *Crónica de D. João I* - Fernão Lopes made use of a composition commonly entitled *Crónica do Condestável*. This was the last great historiographical endeavour by the Portuguese medieval aristocracy, which, after the rise of the Avis dynasty, was weakened at both a political and cultural level. It is a biographical chronicle of D. Nuno Álvares Pereira, the *Condestável* of Portugal (the highest royal military rank at the time). The work was composed at some point between 1431 and 1440 by an anonymous chronicler, who nevertheless seemed to be relatively close to D. Nuno Álvares Pereira and was possibly a member of a religious military order.³⁹

Fernão Lopes' successor in the post of royal chronicler was Gomes Eanes de Zurara. He is considered the first chronicler of the so-called Portuguese Expansion, since all the works attributed to him deal with the Portuguese conquests in the Maghreb and the exploration of the West African coast. In 1449–50 he compiled the *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*, probably using some material previously assembled by Fernão Lopes, given that this text constitutes the third part of the chronicle of D. João I. In 1452–53, Zurara composed the *Crónica dos Feitos da Guiné*, dedicated to the Portuguese naval exploration of the Atlantic coast of Africa under the leadership of the *Infante* D. Henrique, to whom Zurara dedicates an utterly encomiastic portrait. Lastly, between 1458 and 1468, Zurara wrote his last known chronicles, the *Crónica do Conde D. Pedro de Meneses*, a biographical account of the warlike deeds of the governor of Ceuta from its conquest in 1415 up to 1437, and the *Crónica do Conde D. Duarte de Meneses*, devoted to the son of D. Pedro de Meneses, captain of the northern African stronghold of Alcácer-Ceguer until his death in 1464. All of these chronicles were written at the behest of King D. Afonso V and, therefore, continue the tradition initiated by Fernão Lopes of a historiography strongly compromised with the political programme of the Portuguese royalty. However, to attain this objective, Zurara had to employ a different discourse than that of Fernão Lopes. While the latter transformed the lower social classes into historical agents in order to justify the election of the usurper D. João I, Zurara praised the programme of military expansion undertaken by this king and his immediate successors to the throne. To accomplish this, he portrayed and lauded the heroic deeds of the kings and their agents in northern and western Africa, with the chivalresque ideal serving as a backdrop.⁴⁰

Fernão Lopes, Livros Horizonte: Lisbon 1983; Krus 1993b, 173–174; Krus 1993e, 185–186; Krus 1993a, 314; Teresa Amado, 'Crónica de D. Fernando', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 179–80; *idem*, 'Crónica de D. João', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 180–182; *idem*, 'Crónica de D. Pedro', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*; *idem* 'Fernão Lopes', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 271–273; Guenée 1980, 337–346.

³⁹ D. Nuno Álvares Pereira. *Crónica do Condestável de Portugal*, A. M. de Faria, Academia Portuguesa de História/Quidnovi: Lisbon 2010; Teresa Amado, 'Crónica do Condestável', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 186–188; Krus 1993b, 174; Krus 1993a, 314; Saraiva 1993, 205–216; Guenée 1980, 337–346.

⁴⁰ It is believed that Zurara also compiled the now lost chronicles of D. Afonso V and his father, D. Duarte. These were texts that were most likely utilised by his later successor as royal chronicler, Rui de Pina. Krus 1993b, 174; Krus 1993a, 314; R. Costa Gomes, 'Zurara, Gomes Eanes de', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 687–690; *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta por El-Rei D. João I composta por Gomes Eanes de Zurara*, F. M. E. Pereira ed., Academia das Ciências de Lisboa: Lisbon 1915; *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*, R. Brasil ed., Publicações Europa-América: Mem Martins 1992; Albano Figueiredo, 'A ideia de historiografia e sua materialização genológica em Gomes Eanes de Zurara', in *O Género do Texto Medieval, Actas do 1º Colóquio da Secção Portuguesa da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval*, C. Almeida Ribeiro & M. Madureira, Edições Cosmos: Lisbon 1997, 217–225; Rui Loureiro, 'A visão do mouro nas crónicas de Zurara', *Mare Liberum* 3 (1991), 193–209; Serrão 1989, 27–41; *Crónica dos Feitos da Guiné de Gomes Eanes de Zurara*, T. de S. Soares ed., Publicações Alfa: Lisbon 1989; *Crónica do Descobrimento e Conquista de Guiné*, V. da

The Fifteenth-Century 'Unofficial' Chronicles

The fifteenth century was a most fruitful period for Portuguese historiography and the official royal chroniclers were not the only ones to produce texts in this genre at the time. There were others who, although connected to the royal family to some degree, did not ascend to the office of royal chronicler but composed chronicles depicting the feats and lives of members of the royal family. First, there was Mateus Pisano, an Italian summoned to the Portuguese court around 1446 to be the preceptor of the young D. Afonso V. In 1460, he wrote a Latin account of the conquest of Ceuta, named *De Bello Septensi*, which is basically a translation of Zurara's *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*. With this work, D. Afonso V most likely intended to propagandise at a European level the glory and political relevance of the Portuguese military operations in northern Africa. It has also been surmised that Mateus Pisano wrote a lost Latin chronicle dedicated to D. Pedro de Meneses, mentioned by Zurara as a source in his biography of the count.⁴¹

At the same time, Friar João Álvares composed the *Crónica do Infante Santo*, which depicts the life and martyrdom of the *Infante* D. Fernando. He was a younger son of D. João I and was captured in a failed attempt to conquer Tangier in 1437 and died in captivity in 1443, in Arzila. Friar João Álvares had accompanied D. Fernando from a young age, and continued to be his companion during the dire years of his imprisonment. After being rescued in 1448, João Álvares, who was already a member of the religious military Order of Avis, was entrusted by the *Infante* D. Henrique with the task of writing the chronicle of the virtues and death of his brother D. Fernando, a task fulfilled between 1451 and 1460.⁴²

The Portuguese monastic communities also partook in this general effort of historiographical activity. Between 1450 and 1470, the canons regular of Santa Cruz de Coimbra compiled two brief chronicles, the *I* and *II* *Crónicas Breves de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, focused on the development of the Portuguese kingdom since its origins in connection with the history of the monastery and its priors. In 1476, they also composed the *Passio Sanctorum Martirum Quinque Fratrum*, the legend of a group of Franciscan friars martyred in Morocco at the beginning of the thirteenth century, whose relics were piously kept in Santa Cruz de Coimbra. On the other hand, around 1470, the Franciscans produced the *Crónica da Ordem dos Frades Menores*, a translation from Castilian of what was originally a Latin chronicle which recounted the origins of the Franciscan order up until 1285. Lastly, between 1490 and 1525, Dominican friars wrote the *Crónica da Fundação do Mosteiro de Jesus de Aveiro*, an account of the early history of the monastery of Jesus de Aveiro, focusing especially on

Carreira ed., J. P. Aillaud: Paris 1841; *Crónica do Conde D. Pedro de Meneses*, M. T. Brocardo ed., Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica: Lisbon 1997; *Crónica do Conde D. Duarte de Meneses*, L. King ed., Universidade Nova de Lisboa/Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas: Lisbon 1978; *Crónica do Conde D. Duarte de Meneses de Gomes Eanes de Zurara. Estudo histórico-cultural e edição semidiplomática*, F. Adriano ed., Ph.D. diss., Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro 2007.

⁴¹ Serrão 1989, 38–41; *Livro da Guerra de Ceuta escrito por Mestre Mateus de Pisano em 1460*, R. C. Pinto ed., Academia das Ciências de Lisboa: Lisbon 1915.

⁴² Krus 1993b, 174; Krus 1993a, 314; Adelino de Almeida Calado, 'João Álvares, Frei', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 332; *Frei João Álvares. Obras*, A. A. Calado ed., Universidade de Coimbra: Coimbra 1960; Serrão 1989, 42–47; Mattoso 1996, 95–96.

the life of a daughter of D. Afonso V, Princess Joana, who professed in the monastery and was therein revered as a saint.⁴³

The Twilight of Medieval Historiography

During the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century – and, I could argue, from medieval to modern historiography – the office of royal chronicler was occupied by Rui de Pina, whose profuse activity is manifested in the notable amount of chronicles that circulate in his name. After ascending to the office of royal chronicler in 1497 (though his activity as such had begun in 1490), by 1504 he had already composed the chronicles of D. Afonso V and D. João II. Between this date and his death in 1522, Pina was responsible for the compilation of the *Crónica de D. Duarte*, as well as the chronicles of all the kings of the first Portuguese dynasty from D. Sancho I until D. Afonso IV – using the *Crónica de 1419* as his main source – counting no less than nine royal chronicles under his jurisdiction.⁴⁴ All of these texts reflect a stage in royal historiography when the ‘official’ and exemplary character of the narratives was strongly emphasized and a highly encomiastic discourse towards the Portuguese monarchs was ever present. The main beneficiary of this discursive strategy was D. João II, a contemporary and protector of Rui de Pina, whose image after the latter’s literary activity is condensed in the epithet of *Príncipe Perfeito*, the Perfect Prince.⁴⁵

Simultaneously, even though he was not the official royal chronicler, Duarte Galvão was entrusted by D. Manuel I, the successor to D. João II, with the assignment of compiling the individual chronicle of D. Afonso Henriques. Galvão fulfilled his duty in 1505 and his chronicle consists of two versions: an original, extant in one manuscript,⁴⁶ and the so-called *vulgate*, transmitted by several richly ornamented manuscripts of the sixteenth century. Having the *Crónica de 1419* as its main source, Galvão’s chronicle reaches a higher level when it comes to the glorification and mystification of the image of the founder king of Portugal, while at the same time establishing a link between the wars against the Muslims in the origins of the Portuguese monarchy and D. Manuel’s contemporary project of maritime expansion.

⁴³ Krus 1993b, 174–175; Krus 1993a, 314; *idem*, ‘Crónicas Breves de Santa Cruz’, in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 194; Basto 1960, 279–292; *Crónica Geral*, vol. 1, CCCLIII–CCCLIV; *Crónicas Breves e Memórias Avulsas de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, F. V. P da Fonseca ed., Lisbon, 2000; *Crónica da Ordem dos Frades Menores (1209–1285)*, 2 vols., J. J. Nunes ed., Imprensa da Universidade: Coimbra 1918; M. J. V. B. Marques da Silva, ‘Crónica da Fundação do Mosteiro de Jesus de Aveiro’, in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 176–177; *Crónica da fundação do mosteiro de Jesus de Aveiro, e Memorial da infanta santa Joana filha del rei dom Afonso V*, A. G. da R. Madahil ed., Gráficas de Coimbra: Aveiro 1939; Mattoso 1996, 96.

⁴⁴ The dependence of Rui de Pina on the *Crónica de 1419* motivated a long-lasting controversy regarding his supposed appropriation of Fernão Lopes’s lost chronicles. On this subject, see Moreira 2010b, 27–65; Basto 1960, 359–480.

⁴⁵ Krus 1993b, 175; Krus 1993a, 314; R. Costa Gomes, ‘Rui de Pina’, in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 597–598; Serrão 1989, 54–70; Rui de Pina, *Crónicas de Rui de Pina*, Lello e Irmão: Porto 1977. This edition of Pina’s chronicles is entirely based on the editions previously published in the eighteenth century. Therefore, they are not completely reliable and a critical edition of Pina’s works is sorely needed. His chronicles are available in manuscript form from the sixteenth century at the Portuguese National Archive of Torre do Tombo (ANTT). See, for instance, manuscripts Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 27 of the Fundo Crónicas.

⁴⁶ Manuscript 290 in the Fundo Alcobaça of the National Library of Portugal. See Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra, ‘Sobre o códice Alcobaçense 290 (antigo 316) da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa (autógrafo de Duarte Galvão?)’, in *Lindley Cintra: homenagem ao homem, ao mestre e ao cidadão*, Isabel Hub Faria ed., Edições Cosmo, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa: Lisbon 1999, 269–288; Moreira 2010b, 259–276.

Thus, the work transforms D. Manuel's political programme into a divine plan already initiated by D. Afonso Henriques.⁴⁷

In the sixteenth century, this historiographical tradition was appropriated in a renewed form by the several summaries of chronicles. This was a literary genre that had a wide circulation among late-medieval/early modern literate circles but still remains little studied by contemporary historians and philologists. The pertinence of these texts lies in the fact that they summarize the contents of the most influential chronicles up to that point and symbolize the twilight of medieval chronicle-composition in Portugal, since, by the same time, historiography began to tread new paths, with new typologies, discourses, themes, ideologies and methodologies.⁴⁸

General Observations

Attempting to make a general sketch of the development of medieval Portuguese chronistic historiography from a socio-historical perspective, we could say that it was born under the auspices of the royal court in the second half of the thirteenth century. This took place within the context of acute tension between the self-imposing royal power and the tenacious resistance of the aristocracy and the upper layers of the clergy. Nevertheless, by that time the royal court did not consider historiography as a priority in the assertion of its power, given that the aristocracy predominated in the cultural field throughout the entire fourteenth century. This cultural domination was manifest not only through the compilation of genealogical records but also through the production of chronicles, the most important of which is the *Crónica de 1344*.

However, this cycle was to be broken by the revolution of 1383–1385. The elevation of the Avis dynasty to the throne led to renewed interest from the Portuguese royalty in literary culture as a whole and in chronicles in particular. The political machinery of the monarchy was strengthened and the royalty gained the upper hand over the traditional aristocracy. Naturally, this was to be reflected in the cultural sphere and it is amidst this general background that we should interpret the works of Fernão Lopes and Gomes Eanes de Zurara.

Nonetheless, there were still some points of opposition to the growing power of the centralized monarchic state, until D. João II gave the last blow to aristocratic resistance at the end of the fifteenth century.⁴⁹ Subsequently, the march towards a centralized monarchy was irreversible. In this conjuncture the highly propagandistic chronicles of Rui de Pina and Duarte Galvão were produced, which elevated the virtues of kingship to the highest peaks of glory.

⁴⁷ Duarte Galvão, *Crónica de El-Rei D. Afonso Henriques*, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda: Lisbon 1995; José Mattoso, 'Duarte Galvão', in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval*, 225–226; Albano Figueiredo, 'Uma perspectiva tardo-medieval do tempo da fundação: a *Crónica de El-Rei D. Afonso Henriques* de D. Duarte de Galvão', in Paulo Meneses ed., *Sobre o Tempo. Secção Portuguesa da AHLM. Actas do Colóquio*, Universidade dos Açores: Ponta Delgada 2001, 189–200; Moreira 2010b, 259–313; Krus 1993b, 175; Krus 1993a, 314; Tiago João Queimada e Silva, *As metamorfoses de um guerreiro: Afonso Henriques na cronística medieval*, Master's thesis, Universidade de Coimbra 2011, 130–146.

⁴⁸ Moreira 2010b, 346–423; *idem*, 'Os Sumários de Crónicas portuguesas: textos, contextos, paratextos', inedited talk presented to the *Colloque International 'Paratextes et Stratégies de Pouvoir dans la Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Âge'*, Lyon, ENS, 20–21 October 2011; Krus 1993a, 314.

⁴⁹ Manuela Mendonça, 'D. João II e o seu tempo', in *História de Portugal*, vol. 4: *Portugal Medieval (II). Os Descobrimentos (I)*, João Medina ed., Ediclube: Amadora 2004, 451–477.

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