

A QUESTION JAIME CORTESÃO NEVER DARED TO ASK:
MIGHT PRINCE HENRY 'THE NAVIGATOR'
HAVE BEEN GAY?¹

1. WHY JAIME CORTESÃO NEVER ASKED IT.

Prince Henry: a psychological conundrum

The recent publication of a new biography of Prince Henry 'the Navigator'² again brings this iconic figure of European Expansion to the fore, and invites renewed attention to Columbus' Portuguese precursor. In justifying his new biography Russell explains that among other things he wishes to get closer to the man and, in effect, find out what made him "tick." In many respects he manages to do this very well, certainly much better than anyone heretofore. Nonetheless, he fails to touch upon certain essential aspects of Henry's character or personality; and thus, in spite of all the new information about the Prince and his activities that his biography offers, including novel interpretations of much that is already known, the true character and essential personality of Henry still seem to elude him.³ As Sumption remarks in his recent review "...very little is known about him....Personal letters rarely survive....spouses and friends spoke their thoughts low and in private...[while] Sycophantic chroniclers covered great men with conventional praise, from which only cardboard figures emerge."⁴ In short, the Infante de Sagres remains to a considerable extent in a kind of psychological penumbra.⁵

¹ A previous version of this essay was published under the pseudonym of Daniel Mendes. Since then, positive comments from colleagues whom I respect have emboldened me to claim parentage. I especially benefited from the helpful comments and criticism of Prof. David Abulafia.

² Sir Peter Russell, Prince Henry 'the Navigator': a life (London and New Haven, 2000). The book has been favorably and competently reviewed by Jonathan Sumption, "Gold was the Lure," in The Spectator (5 August, 2000), and by J. M. Roberts, "No passage to India," Times Literary Supplement (July 14, 2000). On the other hand, the recent review of it by Richard L. Betz in Terrae Incognitae, vol. 33 (2001), 92-93, is far less satisfactory, to say the very least.

³ Russell, 3: "...we soon find ourselves confronted by an obstinately enigmatic personality who seems, chameleon-like, to present a range of different images according to the various contexts in which we come across him."

⁴ Sumption, 36.

⁵ See the exceptionally pertinent remarks of Alfredo Pinheiro Marques, "A Maldição da Memória e a Criação do Mito: o Infante D. Pedro e o Infante D. Henrique nos Descobrimentos," in Os Descobrimentos Portugueses no Século XV: II Simpósio de História Marítima (Lisbon, 1999), 125-126: "A verdade é que o Infante D. Henrique, nas suas acções e nas suas omissões, foi sempre uma personalidade muito enigmática e apagada...o que é extremamente estranho para alguém que detinha a segunda maior Casa Senhorial do país..." (125).

His reputed chastity

Specifically, Russell neglects to investigate the matter of Henry's sexuality, mentioning merely that he was generally reputed among his contemporaries as "chaste," a characterization that Russell never questions. This commonplace of Henrician historiography is based on several testimonies such as Zurara ("he spent his whole life in pure chastity, and went to his grave as a virgin").⁶ There is also the testimony of Alvise da Mosto ("He did not wish to marry because of his great chastity").⁷ While Duarte Pacheco Pereira (1508) says: "...he always lived so virtuously and chastely that he never knew a woman nor drank wine."⁸ It should be noted that none of these statements, even if they can be completely believed, can be taken to mean that he never engaged in any form of sexual activity; they all put his "chastity" only in the context of his relations with women. One might also note that later commentators were more ambiguous and possibly skeptical in their treatment of the topic. Ruy de Pina, for instance, says "[he was]...always chaste, and *according to what is believed* (italics ours), a virgin...,"⁹ while João de Barros writes "...*it is thought* (italics ours) that he was a virgin."¹⁰ There is little or no chance that his "chastity" was due to some physical defect since his father, D. João I, who certainly would have known, at least twice sought papal dispensations that would allow Henry to marry without any legal impediments.¹¹ But the result of his facile acceptance of a 15th century commonplace is that Russell never really gets to the bottom of what Henry was actually like. Aside from eating, sleeping and going to church, as his brother disapprovingly remarked,¹² what else did the man do? More to the point, in spite of his vaunted reputation for "chastity," did he have a sex life?

If we choose to accept what Freud long ago asserted, namely that a person's sexuality is a paradigm for his character in general,¹³ then we are faced in Henry's case with the conundrum of how a person seemingly so aggressive, determined and energetic in his actions and interests [in spite of what his brother said] could at the same time have

⁶ Gomes Anes de Zurara, Crónica de Guiné, ed. with Introduction by José de Bragança, (Porto, 1973), 22. Bragança however believes that this passage was a later interpolation, probably taken from Diogo Gomes (Zurara, xxxv).

⁷ Viagens de Luís de Cadamosto e Pedro de Sintra, ed. Académia Portuguesa da História (Lisbon, 1948), 4 & 84.

⁸ Duarte Pacheco Pereira, Esmeraldo de situ orbis, ed. Damião Peres, (Lisbon, 1988), 77.

⁹ Ruy de Pina, Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V, ed. M. Lopes de Almeida, (Porto, 1977), 793.

¹⁰ João de Barros, Ásia, Primeira Decada, 4th edition, ed. António Baião, (Coimbra, 1932), 60.

¹¹ See Monumenta Henricina (Coimbra, 1963), II, 353-354, for text of the bull of Martin V, *Apostolice sedis*, dated 26 October, 1419, in which Henry is given the right to marry any woman he might desire, irrespective of the degree of consanguinity between them. Henry would have been 25 years old at the time.

¹² Zurara, xxxvi: "...Que...nom vivaes em comer, dormir, ouvir missas e semelhante..."

¹³ A. de Mijolla, As Palavras de Freud (Lisbon, 1983), 47.

been such an utter sexual blank? This, in fact, does not "parse," as Vitorino Magalhães Godinho noted years ago.¹⁴ It would seem therefore that a closer look at Prince Henry's sexuality is in order if we wish to have more rounded picture of the man and a better understanding of the psychological well-springs for his actions.

Doubts about his chastity

We might begin by noting that Russell's ready acceptance of Henry's own explanation of his sex life (or lack thereof) has not always been the case in Portugal. Although the Henrician self-image of the chaste virgin obsessed only with astronomical science and geography that was already elaborated in the 15th century has, by and large, prevailed ever since, some inquiring minds in Portugal have, upon occasion, posed pointed and occasionally embarrassing questions. In 1965, for instance, V. M. Godinho observed that it is "highly improbable" that Henry remained a virgin throughout his life. Presumably Godinho suspected that, in reality, Henry had had relations with one or more women, possibly even fathering a bastard child.¹⁵

And it was very likely skepticism of this sort among Portuguese historians that fed the pesky rumor about a document, supposedly once glimpsed by Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos in the Vatican archives, in which Henry petitioned the Papacy to legitimize an illegitimate offspring. Claimed to have been seen by Gomes dos Santos, the document was later sought out by several investigators, but to no avail, leading to an ensuing suspicion that the document, if it ever existed, was later removed or stolen. And in that indecisive confusion the matter still rests.¹⁶

However, the most significant and revealing aspect of the affair is not, we submit, the ostensible question of whether or not Prince Henry ever actually sired a child or whether a document attesting to this ever existed in the Vatican archives but rather the evidence it provides that the Portuguese historical establishment has long been uneasy with the idea of a sexless national hero, an image all too suggestive of eccentricity or even abnormality. Indeed, one suspects that for many Portuguese historians it would be far better for Henry to have been the unchaste father of a bastard rather than someone who displayed no interest in women at all.

What none of these historians, however, who apparently [and quite rightly] have not been entirely satisfied with the "chastity" story, managed to perceive, or perhaps feared to mention if they did have an inkling of it, was that the most sensible and logical answer to the mystery of Prince Henry's sexuality is that he never displayed any interest in women for the simple reason that he was interested in men instead: in short, a closet gay who spent much of his life, as well as no small effort, in concealing the truth about his sex life. But such an idea has obviously been regarded as far too heretical even to consider, and, as far as I know, no Portuguese historian has ever mentioned homosexuality in the same breath as Prince Henry.¹⁷ Most certainly not Jaime Cortesão, who, although his view of Prince Henry underwent numerous

¹⁴ Vitorino M. Godinho, Documentos sobre a expansão portuguesa (Lisbon, 1965), III, 365-66: "...é fortemente improvável que o Infante se conservasse virgem toda a vida..."

¹⁵ See footnote 14.

¹⁶ The matter is more fully discussed in Duarte Leite, História dos Descobrimentos, Colectânea de Esparsos (Lisbon, 1962), II, 363-382.

¹⁷ Studies of homosexuality by Portuguese historians are rare. As far as the history of gays and "deviants" goes, only a few approaches [often related to inquisitorial studies] have appeared so far. See, for example, J. J. Alves Dias, "Para uma abordagem do sexo proibido em

transformations and developments,¹⁸ never mentions the possibility of any sexual "deviancy", and in all probability never entertained such a thought even for a split second. In fact, the only time that Jaime Cortesão ever spoke of sex in connection with Henry was in his youthful drama, O Infante de Sagres, in which he imagines Prince Henry apostrophizing the sea with sexual metaphors: "I shall lead Portugal to lay bare thy breast...Water, cruel virgin, I must forcibly rape thee...." All of this implies, of course, a heterosexual orientation.¹⁹

2. SO WE WILL ASK THE QUESTION FOR HIM.

Methodological concept of sigilo

Times, however, have changed since Cortesão's day, and topics once regarded as unmentionable have in recent years become much more open to investigation and discussion. So, while Portuguese historians may still hesitate when faced with the question of Henry's sexuality we shall take it upon ourselves to pose the question of whether or not Prince Henry might have been gay, asking some pertinent questions as well as proposing what we hope will be reasonable answers, all of which would surely have been far too disturbing for Cortesão to contemplate or discuss.

Still, it must be emphasized that in asking our questions and in seeking our answers we shall take special pains to use as our model the historical methodology of none other than Jaime Cortesão himself. In short, we shall attempt to put ourselves in Cortesão's place, asking the kind of questions that he might have asked had he dared to do so, and seek our answers in strict accordance with his own innovative historiographical tools and approaches. In this regard, we shall make particular use of his concept of sigilo (secrecy), which he defines as "a methodological problem to weigh the value of sources of information,"²⁰ while Luís de Albuquerque explains it more fully, telling us that "...Jaime Cortesão took it (his idea of secrecy/sigilo) to its furthest consequences, sometimes inferring positive consequences from the absence of testimony, or sometimes attempting to read the texts with redoubled attention to discovering what they omit, or, in his view, what they suggested in a sibylline and cryptographic manner."²¹ Adhering to this technique of Cortesão is only fair and proper, we think, not merely out of respect for the master historian that he was, but also to avoid introducing "foreign" techniques or assumptions into an admittedly touchy subject that

Portugal, no século XVI," in Inquisição: Comunicações apresentadas ao I Congresso Luso-Brasileiro sobre Inquisição (Lisbon, 1989), II, 151-159.

¹⁸ A useful overview of Cortesão's changing "takes" on Prince Henry is given by Manuel Filipe Canaveira, "Cavaleiro, Cientista, Mercador: Imagens do Infante," Oceanos, XVII (March, 1994): 66-72.

¹⁹ Jaime Cortesão, O Infante de Sagres, 4th ed. (Porto, 1960), 49: "Levarei Portugal a desnudar-te o seio...Água, virgem cruel, hei-de à força violar-te....".

²⁰ "...um problema de método para aquilatar o valor das fontes informativas...": Jaime Cortesão, "A Política do Sigilo nos Descobrimientos," vol. 20 das Obras Completas (Lisbon, 1997), 15. Cortesão's used this "method" primarily or exclusively to discover evidence for Portuguese priority in the discovery of lands outside Europe and related matters.

²¹ Dicionário de História de Portugal, III (Lisbon, 1968), 864.

might well raise patriotic hackles amongst the Portuguese. In short, we shall rely heavily upon the concept of sigilo to investigate Prince Henry's sex life and attempt as best we can to remain faithful to Cortesão's methodology.

3. REASONS TO SUSPECT PRINCE HENRY OF CONCEALMENT

Henry's use of secrecy

First off, we need to take a closer look at the admittedly incomplete picture of Prince Henry and his behavior already drawn by Cortesão himself. However incomplete, it is certainly not without relevance, and here we must pay especial attention to Cortesão's discovery that Prince Henry practiced what he termed the "policy of concealment" [*política de sigilo*] with regard to his geographical discoveries, especially his pioneering voyages to America. Using various hints that he managed to detect in and, as it were, conjure up out of the relevant documentation, Cortesão came to the conclusion that several of the maritime expeditions sent out by Prince Henry had in fact discovered land on the western edge of the Atlantic ocean, but that Henry, for "reasons of state," subsequently took great pains to conceal this information from the public eye.²² In this regard Cortesão's own researches make it amply clear that Henry was a enthusiastic devoté of secrecy and expert at hiding important information from prying eyes.

Now, let us go a bit further and ask: were these geographical discoveries the only "secrets" that Prince Henry had reason to conceal? Might not there have been other "secrets" in his life and in his affairs that he had good reason not to want the public to know? Might not there have been other things that possessed the potential to cause him far more grief than a rival Castilian voyage or two that might encroach upon his newly discovered lands? Indeed as Cortesão reminds us, "But in addition to the secrets revealed, might there not be others that have remained hidden? It seems to us that in the light of cultural history, *of the Portuguese style of life and its characteristic psychology*²³ (literally: the psychology of characters), it is possible to search for them."²⁴

Here we must agree with Cortesão and reply that indeed Henry may well have had other secrets to hide. If Henry were sexually "abnormal", specifically homosexual [and so far this is merely a working hypothesis], might he not have felt the need to conceal this information from the public for numerous reasons? Indeed, "sodomy" (as it was termed at the time) was almost universally regarded as a grievous sin punishable by death. As the contemporary (1449) royal law code puts it: "Above all others, the sin that seems the most disgusting, filthy and dishonest is that of sodomy; there is none to be found that is so abhorrent to God and the world, because not only is it an offense against the creator of nature who is God, but one can further say that all created nature, both celestial as well as human is mightily offended by it...And because one ought to be punished according to the quality of the crime, therefore we order and decree as a general law that any man who commits such a crime in any fashion whatsoever shall be burned and reduced to ashes, so that there can never be any memory of his body or

²² Primarily, according to Cortesão, to keep covetous Castilian rivals from encroaching upon what he had found (Cortesão, passim).

²³ Italics ours.

²⁴ As Cortesão himself says, "Mas para além dos segredos desvelados (he refers to Henry's discovery of the Azores) não haverá outros que tenham permanecido ocultos? Parece-nos que à luz da história cultural, da forma de vida dos Portugueses e da psicologia dos caracteres, é possível perscrutá-los." Cortesão, 55.

burial".²⁵ Although, in contrast to an ordinary subject, a royal prince guilty of such practices was not likely to be executed for such a crime nonetheless, for a figure as vain and desirous of future glory as Henry, such a reputation would surely have been unbearable: an irreparable stain upon his image that he would certainly have taken every care to avoid. Concealment therefore of any such tendency would have been essential, and there can be no doubt that Henry would never have rested in his efforts to keep his sexuality just that: a secret.²⁶

Now, as Cortesão liked to say, "there still remains a problem to be cleared up."²⁷ Specifically, how might Henry have gone about engineering such concealment? Here one is led to suspect that he would have followed two main courses of action, just as, according to Cortesão, he pursued two courses of action in his policy of covering up his sensational geographical discoveries.

(1) The first would be a campaign of disinformation that most likely would take the form of claiming himself to be chaste or non-sexual as an explanation for his obvious lack of interest in female companionship. And indeed this was just what he did. Whenever anything about his sex life came up "chastity" or "virginity" was the explanation that he or his agents offered. (2) The second would have been to remove via cover-up and/or concealment any evidence that might have revealed the true nature of his emotional attachments.²⁸

4. EVIDENCE OF HIS CONCEALMENT AND SOME INDICATION OF WHAT HE MAY HAVE BEEN ATTEMPTING TO CONCEAL.

Campaign of disinformation

The evidence for a campaign of disinformation is abundant. Most of it centers on his vaunted reputation for chastity, as well as his ostensive religiosity. Indeed, Henry's

²⁵ Ordenações do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V, 5 volumes (Coimbra, 1792), V, Title XVII, 53-54. This stricture and threat, however much it might be "pano de boca" as Oliveira Marques maintains, makes clear the extent of public, outward abhorrence at the time for gay sex. Not only was it despised but it did hold certain dangers. Best, obviously, for one intensely concerned about his reputation to do everything possible to conceal and cover up any such activity and make sure that word of it did not spread either then or via documentary evidence in the future.

²⁶ Russell, 6: "The Prince, always very conscious of the fact that he was a star turn, was obsessively preoccupied with the problem of making sure that his fame was transmitted to posterity in a form acceptable to him."

²⁷ Cortesão, 59: "Resta um problema a esclarecer."

²⁸ According to the Prince's horoscope, at the time of his birth Mars was in the eleventh House, that "of Secrets and Ambitions." Zurara took this to mean that Henry was predestined to uncover secrets previously hidden from men (Russell, 3). A better reading might have been that Henry would have secrets that would need to be concealed from men. In any case, although he was apparently able to cover up references to his intense male attachments in Portuguese sources, he could not prevent Antoine de La Sale from giving account of his extraordinary expressions of grief (reminiscent of that of the Emperor Hadrian with regard to Antinous) at the death of a male friend in the battle for Ceuta (Antoine de la Sale, Le Reconfort de Madame de Fresne, ed. by Ian Hill, (University of Exeter, 1979), 29-30. See also footnote 47.

possible seizing upon the excuse of "chastity" as a cover-up for homosexual inclinations would make him a worthy predecessor of his great-nephew, João II, whom Cortesão has shown to be a consummate master at spreading disinformation to put inquiring minds off the trail when it suited his purposes. But what is most curious about Henry's reputation for "chastity" is that it was already present, apparently, at puberty.²⁹ And this makes it difficult to view it as an option that he chose after an initial period of sexual experimentation---something to be expected in a "normal" young man---or as a life style that he subsequently decided to adopt. Rather it would appear to have been something "intrinsic" to his personality from the beginning, as it were. In short, he appears NEVER to have been sexually interested in women at any time in his life--early or late. And this, almost certainly, is the mark of a "genetic" homosexual. This disinterest in women he explicitly reveals in his parecer written on the eve of the expedition to Tangier.³⁰

Hints about what he was attempting to conceal; Zurara's Chronicle of Guiné

In addition to the aforementioned policy of disinformation about his sexuality via the claim of "chastity" there is also considerable evidence, apparent to anyone prepared to look for it, that he took considerable pains to conceal any embarrassing information about his libidinous inclinations.

In the first place, there is the oddly ambiguous piece of "advice" given him by his robustly heterosexual brother, King Duarte,³¹ to the effect that Henry should eschew "giving pleasure to men" beyond what he can do in a "virtuous manner" and further reminding him that "one should not displease God in order to please another creature." Though not crystal clear or explicit, this oblique warning might well refer to "deviant" sexual activities, delicately hinted at.³²

Secondly, for a man so eager to have a favorable image of himself spread far and wide, not only to contemporaries, but also to posterity, it is extremely odd that there is only one significant literary source about him that has survived. This is Gomes Eanes de Zurara's Chronicle of Guiné.³³ Now we know that in the 15th century Zurara was by no means the only source of information about Prince Henry. There was also another, apparently extensive, chronicle of his life and activities by a mysterious writer named Afonso Cerveira. This fact Zurara lets slip at several points in his own chronicle where he acknowledges that he was indebted for much of his information about Henry to Cerveira's prior work.³⁴ But surprisingly enough Cerveira's chronicle has completely disappeared, vanished without a trace other than the references made to it in Zurara's own history. Why would this be the case? Certainly it was not usual for important chronicles simply to disappear. Indeed for the lives and actions of other members of the family time we have multiple sources. But for Henry, mysteriously, there is only one: Zurara.

Equally significant, it is now universally accepted that Zurara's chronicle was written with the primary intention of painting a flattering portrait of Henry and his activities. It was commissioned by Henry's nephew, king Afonso V (1438-1481), shortly after Henry had given him crucial and decisive support in defeating the party opposed to

²⁹ Russell, 379, n.36.

³⁰ Mon.Henricina, V, 202.

³¹ Who fathered eight legitimate children during ten years of marriage plus a bastard son in addition.

³² Zurara, xxxvi.

³³ There are various editions of Zurara's chronicle. We have used that of José de Bragança: see footnote 6.

³⁴ Zurara, 353.

Afonso's accession to the throne, and after Henry had made a will bequeathing his vast properties upon his death to King Afonso's brother (the Infante Fernando, 1433-1470).³⁵ Put together by the royal scribe and librarian, Zurara's work was a "puff piece" intended to reward Henry's loyalty as well as carefully crafted to emphasize his virtues and exclude any of his defects: a payback in short.³⁶ In addition, it is probable that Henry himself vetted Zurara's account as it was written. To quote the pertinent observation of Cortesão: "(Zurara's chronicle)... was possibly subject to the censorship of the Infante (i.e., Prince Henry) who eliminated from it everything that he did not want revealed."³⁷

Hints of concealment in the Chronicle

Still even Zurara, when read closely, appears to have had certain reservations, even qualms, about what he was constrained to write. In this regard his panegyric to Henry, usually brushed aside as a stereotypical piece of rhetorical flattery to show off the author's knowledge of the classics, deserves more attention than is customarily given it.³⁸ That Zurara was under considerable pressure should be clear to any perceptive reader. Indeed, a close reading of it (Chapter VI of the Crónica) reveals several ambiguous passages amidst the constant stream of lavish praise. These convey an definite sense of Zurara's discomfort with regard to the mores of Prince Henry, an uneasy feeling that there were a number of things about the Prince, too delicate for him to mention, and that he could not openly state. For Zurara was keenly aware of his professional duty as an historian to be faithful to the truth, and having to skirt around these matters created embarrassing difficulties for him. He was forced by the circumstances in which he was placed to cover up the truth, but at the same time, to save his conscience about the duty of honesty that, as he says, is incumbent upon all historians,³⁹ he choose to solve the problem by offering indirect hints at the facts via classical references that only the culturally informed would detect.

This he did by adopting the device of addressing various rhetorical questions to an imagined interlocutor, Valerius Maximus (ca. 1-50 A.D.), a Roman author of the "Silver Age," who wrote a compilation of moral examples arranged by topics, including one on Chastity.⁴⁰ Although Valerius Maximus discusses several cases that involve homosexuality what is interesting is the personage that Zurara chooses for comparison

³⁵ Russell, 347-350.

³⁶ Filipe Nunes de Carvalho, "Historiografia Henriquina: *Um pretérito imperfeito*," Oceános, 17 (1994), 75: "É sabido que a *Crónica da Guiné*, destinada a glorificar a vida e os feitos do Infante D. Henrique, deveu-se a iniciativa do próprio D. Afonso V, grato pela opção de seu tio na conjuntura que culminou na batalha de Alfarrobeira. O carácter panegírico da *Crónica da Guiné*, natural quando se atenta no discurso encomiástico dos grandes heróis da nobreza que preside a todos os textos historiográficos de Zurara, torna-se ainda mais compreensível desde que se levem em linha de conta as condições específicas em que foi elaborada."

³⁷ Jaime Cortesão, "Do Sigilo Nacional Sobre os Descobrimentos," in A Expansão dos Portugueses no Período Henriquino, Obras Completas, V:4 (Lisbon, 1965), 276.

³⁸ Zurara, 35-41.

³⁹ Zurara, 39: "...a sentença do que ordena a história haja de haver maior autoridade acerca daquilo que escreve, que outra alguma, pois com maior cuidado inquire a verdade das cousas;..." And passim.

⁴⁰ Author of Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri IX; recent edition (Hildesheim & New York, 1976)

with Henry. From the many possible examples provided by Valerius he selects Caesar and makes specific reference to his reputed vices,⁴¹ while a bit later he goes on to quote Saint John Chrysostom (354-407), a fourth century Christian bishop and writer notorious for his incessant denunciations of homosexuality, to the effect that no saint is without his vices.⁴² Unless Zurara had homosexuality specifically in mind, it would seem odd for him to select just these two for comparison and comment from all the possible figures of Roman antiquity that were available to him.

Equally odd is the fact that so little other information about Prince Henry's life aside from Zurara has come down to us, unusual in the Portuguese context where all the other members of the royal generation have left writings as well as considerable quantities of items and clothing.⁴³ We do possess a very eloquent certainty, nevertheless: all the things belonging to Henry that might have afforded clues not only about his ambitious voyages to the New World but about his private life as well were carefully sequestered from indiscreet eyes and not even mentioned in the cartas de quitação that detail his post mortem inventory.⁴⁴ Significantly enough a great part of these effects were gathered up and disposed of in the same year that he died by Fernando de Castro, a fidalgo intimately related to the Prince and by João Fernandes da Silveira who carried out diplomatic missions for him in Italy. And it is pertinent to suppose that it was the Prince himself who indicated to these close associates that he wished all such items to be destroyed after his death.⁴⁵

5. CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE FOR HIS HOMOSEXUAL LIFESTYLE

Evidence of his strong male attachments

⁴¹ Zurara, 38; Caesar, a bi-sexual, was notorious for his relationship with the King of Bithynia and other men as well: see John Boswell, Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality (Chicago, 1980), 75.

⁴² Boswell, 131-132; 159; 160-161; 362-363; and especially 347: "Saint John Chrysostom probably wrote more about the subject of same-sex sexuality than any other pre-Freudian writer except Peter Damian." And Zurara, 40: "Qual foi o homem cujas virtudes, por alguma vizinhança de vícios, não fossem ofendidas? Certamente não sou eu aquele que isto saiba nem deva dizer de ti... não podem os seus feitos receber ofensa, por nenhuma cousa que faça na terra, posto que a alguns pareçam dignas de repreensão, que se lhe pode dizer aquele dito de S. Crisostimo, scilicet: que não ha aí cousa tão santa em que o mau interpretador não ache que travar."

⁴³ See Alfredo P. Marques, "...para o caso dos restantes membros da família de Avis, estas análises (i.e., psychological, moral and ethic) até são possíveis, pois eles deixaram textos escritos... para que hoje em dia... consigamos fazer a reconstituição do carácter e da maneira de pensar..." (125).

⁴⁴ Cf. Cortesão, 40.

⁴⁵ Cf. Cortesão, 41; also Russell, 355-358. In his Introduction to Vitorino Nemésio's biography of Prince Henry, Luis Filipe F. R. Thomaz pertinently observes that unlike his brothers, Henry left little or nothing written: "...dificultando assim que ao certo se lhe conheça o pensamento e se determinem com segurança os motivos que o nortearam, os escopos que o moveram e até os ideais por que pautou seu agir." (Vitorino Nemésio, "Vida e Obra do Infante D. Henrique," Obras Completas, vol. IX, xii).

As we have noted, Zurara's ambiguous panegyric hints at some "vices" in Henry's nature that he avoids describing. What might these "vices" be? In our search for clues to what Zurara might have been alluding to, we will first examine the circumstantial, and then consider the psychoanalytical evidence that is available to us.

While Prince Henry apparently had no desire for the company of women, and made unmistakably misogynistic comments about them,⁴⁶ it was far different with men. Indeed, it is clear that Henry was capable of strong attachments to members of his own sex. This is clear from Antoine de La Sale's account of his reaction to the death of a companion at arms in the battle for Ceuta that we have already mentioned.

"And we shall recount the sorrow, the sighs and the tears that day and night the noble Lord Henry expressed over the death of his good servant who had raised him with such loving care and most honorably....and in particular [we will speak] of the aforementioned Lord Henry who despite the insistence of his father, his brothers or anyone else did not put aside his deep mourning. And when anyone sought to comfort him, he replied, to the king, his brothers, and everyone else, "Ah sir! Ah! my brothers, Ah! all of you, my friends, how could any heart not be heavy at the loss of one so good, so loyal, so valiant, for such a good friend and servant as this one was to me, who day and night guided me. Whereupon his tears, cries, and profound affliction would begin anew, and he remained in that state several days, for never was seen such sorrow as this. And to show how much he loved him and was beholden to him, after the year of mourning he had observed for his mother the queen, he wore black for three months more, paying no attention to his beard or hair."⁴⁷

In fact his mourning finally appeared so excessive that he was reproved by his deceased friend's mother who told him: "Ha! Lord, what's all this? Where is your royal

⁴⁶ *Mon. Henricina*, V, 202: "...ça, çerto he que comer, beber, dormyr, cantar, vyr, ver, ouuyr, *companhia de molheres, casar*, (italics ours)... trazem cansaço e perdymento ..." In addition the letter that he wrote to his father detailing the events at the marriage of his brother Duarte to Eleanor [Leonor] of Aragon is revealing in the way he treats the episode of Leonor's fainting, i.e., with a kind of amused contempt for feminine frailty. See Russell's translation of the letter: Russell, 365-369.

⁴⁷ La Sale, 29-30. "Et dirons des grans regrés, des souppirs et pleurs que le bon seigneur Don Henry, jour et nuit, faisoit pour la mort de son bon serviteur, que sy chierement en tous honneurs le avoit nourry et conseillié...Espécialment dudit seigneur Don Henry que à prieres de pere, de freres, ne de quelzconques aultres, son grant dueil ne cessoit. Et quant resconfforter on le venoit, au roy et à tous disoit: "Ha! monsieur, ha! messieurs mes freres, ha! vous tous, mes amis, qui est le cuer humain que ne aroit tousjours mais dueil de avoir perdu ung sy bon, ung sy loyal, ung si preudomme, ung si vray ami e serviteur que cestui m'estoit, que jour et nuit me adreschoit,...Et lors recommenchoient ses pleurs, ses plains et son merueilleux dueil, où il fut plusieurs jours, que tel pitié n'estoit. Et pour monstrier que il l'amoit, et que tenu en estoit, après l'an passé le dueil que de la royne sa mere il portoit, il vault trois mois, san faire barbe ne cheveulx, le noir porter." I am deeply indebted to Prof. Jonathan Beck (University of Arizona) for his assistance in translating this passage to English.

virtue, your dignity and your youth, to thus weep and mourn like a woman? This is very improper of you."⁴⁸

Evidence of his interest in young men

But Henry's close attachments to the male sex were apparently not limited to those of his own age or older. Zurara, innocently enough, is highly revealing in this respect. Without seeming fully to understand the implications of what he writes, he tells us time after time that virtually all of Henry's slave raids down the coast of Africa were carried out by very young men, teenagers often, most of whom had been in intimate contact with Henry from childhood, and are almost always described as having been raised from a tender age in his "câmara."⁴⁹ Now "câmara" originally meant a bedroom⁵⁰ and may refer to such here. However, it could, by extension, also refer to that part of the household that dealt principally with the private life of the prince.⁵¹ King Duarte, the brother of Henry, in his Leal Conselheiro⁵² describes the noble residence as consisting of five main areas: first the "...hall, open to all those of his lordship; second, the waiting

⁴⁸ La Sale, 32. Henry subsequently created a foundation to pay for a "perpetual mass" to be said for the soul of his deceased friend.

⁴⁹ For example, Zurara, : "...um Antão Gonçalves seu guarda-roupa, homem assaz de nova idade;" (65); "...Afonso Guterres, um outro moço da câmara..." (66); "...Nuno Tristão, um cavaleiro mancebo assaz valente e ardido, que fora criado de moço pequeno na câmara do Infante..." (72); "...Gomes Vinagre, moço de boa geração, criado na câmara do Infante..." (75); "...um escudeiro, criado de moço pequeno na câmara do Infante..." (97); "...Gonçalo de Sintra...era um escudiero criado de moço pequeno em casa do Infante (creio que fora seu moço de estribeira)..." (129); "...dous moços da câmara do Infante, um que se chamava Lopo Caldeira, e outro Lopo d'Alvelos, e um moço de estribeira que havia nome Jorge..." (134); "...um moço da câmara do infante, que eu depois conheci nobre escudeiro..." (245); "[speaking of Nuno Tristão]...aquele que de tão pequena idade se criara em sua câmara..." (359); "...João Correia, e um Duarte d'Holanda, e Estevão d'Almeida, e Diogo Machado, homens fidalgos e mancebos, que o Infante criara em sua câmara..." (361); "...um moço da câmara do Infante, que se chamava Airas Tinoco..." (362); "...um nobre escudeiro, criado da câmara do infante de moço pequeno, o qual era um mancebo mui ardido...:" (369); "...quatro mancebos que foram criados na câmara do Infante..." (372); "...um moço da câmara do Infante que se chamava João Gorizo..." (376), etc., etc. (Italics all ours). Ivana Elbl, "Overseas Expansion, Nobility, and Social Mobility in the Age of Da Gama," Portuguese Studies Review, 6:2 (1997-98): 55-56, mentions that "...D. Henrique used such voyages...to provide...opportunities for the youngsters of his household to distinguish themselves...Antão Gonçalves...was sixteen years old when knighted...and became D. Henrique's escrivão da puridade, an altogether remarkable achievement." What other services he might have performed for Prince Henry before taking part in his African slaving expeditions she does not venture to say.

⁵⁰ António de Moraes Silva, Diccionario da Língua Portuguesa (Rio de Janeiro, 1890), I, 389.

⁵¹ See the discussion of câmaras (câmara de dormir; trescâmara; câmara de paramento; antecâmara; etc.) in A. H. de Oliveira Marques's classic work, A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa (Lisbon, 1964), 87-88.

⁵² Dom Duarte, Leal Conselheiro, ed. J. Piel (Lisbon, 1942), 303.

room or ante-chamber; third, the bedroom that is open to the most important members of the household or those who are closest to the lord; next, more intimate even than the bedroom was the *trescamara*, or dressing room, and finally, most intimate of all, the "oratory" (*oratorio*).⁵³ Interestingly enough entry into the more secluded room was secured from the less, so that one could go to the dressing room only from the bedroom and only from there to the *oratório*, the most private space of all.⁵⁴ Whichever is the exact meaning of *câmara* in Zurara, it is clear that all these young men were in extremely close contact with Henry from a very young age to the time that he sent them forth on slaving expeditions for him.⁵⁵ In short, Prince Henry lived in what was potentially a pedophilic paradise: a household entirely under his control filled with very young "chamber-boys" (*moços da câmara*) many of whom, the chronicle testifies, he "raised up from a very young age."⁵⁶ While one should not, I think, go so far as to flat out accuse him of pederasty still one has to doubt that he was a completely virtuous scoutmaster, at least of the traditional variety. Instead he resembles a kind of rich nautical Fagin (Christian version) surrounded by young bloods whom he takes under his wing and then sends out to sea, once they reach puberty, to capture slaves for him to sell, while also engaging in a bit of exploring down the Atlantic coast of Africa on the side. In fact the *Crónica de Guiné* is full of evidence for this, in almost every chapter. The details of his relationship with these boys before he sent them exploring are, of course, unknown to us, very possibly due to Henry's *politica de sigilo*, and Zurara's uneasy discretion.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, it is of interest to note that Sousa describes the ambiance of his ducal household as follows: "...[Henry had become] accustomed to abandon certain excessively decorous rules that were normally characteristic of an important feudal lord, and, as a bachelor without children, was habituated to the gay and spontaneous

⁵³ See José Custódio Vieira da Silva, "O conhecimento do Paço Medieval através das reflexões de D. Duarte," *Revista de Ciências Históricas* (Porto, 1994): 156-7.

⁵⁴ It might be noted that it is by no means impossible for secret sexual activity to take place in secluded spots of even quasi-public spaces of administrative courts, as the recent scandals regarding a President of the United States have demonstrated.

⁵⁵ João Silva de Sousa, *A Casa Senhorial do Infante D. Henrique* (Lisbon, 1991), 315: "Com os moços da câmara, de ordinário criados em sua Casa, eis que surgem os seus familiares, comensais e colaços...."

⁵⁶ E.g.: Zurara, 72: "...Nuno Tristão, um cavaleiro mancebo, assaz valente e ardido, que fora criado de moço pequeno na camara do Infante..." See also footnote 49.

⁵⁷ That "moços da câmara" could be in the most intimate contact with their "amos," sometimes even sleeping in the same room with them, is clear from what we know of García de Resende and D. João II. See Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, "García de Resende," in *Crítica e História*, I, (Lisbon, 1910), 35-37. Further it should be recalled that the use of African slaves (*mouros*) to satisfy homosexual desires was sufficiently common in court circles to be celebrated in poetic couplets of the time. See *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional* references in A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1964), 249, n.64. One of them specifically refers to a "mouro pastorinho" as an object for sexual gratification. Henry was assiduous in bringing such slaves (*mouros*) back from Africa for sale and doubtless also for menial services in his household: see Sousa, 213-214.

company of his servants. He was very attached to them and the number who lived with him was large."⁵⁸

His taste for fashionable and elegant dress

And while probative value cannot be given to what we know about his taste for elaborate and luxurious dress, it is certainly not incompatible with the idea that he may have been gay. As Sousa tells us, he was preoccupied with his exterior appearance that was far from modest, as well as that of his intimate servants whom he dressed in uniforms that were refined but showy in appearance.⁵⁹ These would certainly include the tight pants, or *calças*, like those of ballet dancers today, so characteristic of late medieval masculine attire.⁶⁰ Henry was very "up" on English and French fashion and insisted on luxury and elegance in the dress of his entourage. Silks and embroidered materials, usually imported, predominated. It is also possible that in 1449 he himself may have designed the new habits, using elegantly rich and luxurious materials, that were intended for the knights of the Order of Christ which he administrated.⁶¹

6. WHAT TYPE OF GAY MIGHT HE HAVE BEEN?

Now, to paraphrase Cortesão once more, "there remains a problem to be cleared up."⁶² In the face of so much circumstantial evidence to suggest that Prince Henry was homosexually inclined, it would be useful to determine what type of gay he might have been. Here we would suggest turning to Wilhelm Reich's classic work on Character Analysis in which he elaborates generic descriptions of various psychological types.⁶³

Henry's characterological profile: a Freudian approach

Considering Prince Henry's known behavior and physical characteristics it is amazing to find how perfectly he fits what Reich terms the "phallic-narcissistic type." Reich describes this type as appearing "self-assured...arrogant...often impressive in his bearing...predominantly an athletic type. His facial features usually exhibit hard and sharp masculine lines." As regards his psychological characteristics, Reich says: "In everyday life, the phallic-narcissistic character will usually anticipate any impending attack with an attack of his own...The most pronounced types tend to achieve leading positions in life...aggressive courage is one of the most outstanding traits of their character...[While] relationships with women are disturbed by the typical derogatory attitude toward the female sex." Reich also notes that this type demonstrates "less

⁵⁸ Sousa, 466: "...acostumado ao abandono de certas regras de excessivo decoro, usualmente característico de um importante senhor feudal, de abastada Casa, solteiro e sem filhos, habituado ao convívio alegre e espontâneo com seus criados. Era muito apegado a estes e largo era o número dos que com ele moravam."

⁵⁹ Russell, 25: "...Henry liked organizing displays of extravagant pageantry, dressing himself in expensive clothing and seeing that his retainers wore splendid liveries."

⁶⁰ See discussion of late medieval dress with illustrations in Oliveira Marques, A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa, 39-42.

⁶¹ Sousa, 467.

⁶² Cortesão, 59: "Resta um problema a esclarecer."

⁶³ Wilhelm Reich, Character Analysis, 3rd ed., trans. by Vincent Carfagno (New York, 1990), 215-218.

thoroughness with respect to details," as well as "...sudden vacillations from moods of manly self-confidence to moods of deep depression. Capacity for work is likewise severely disturbed." Later on: "We therefore find a tendency toward passive and active *fellatio* in the sexually active form of this character type, in addition to a *maternal attitude toward younger men* in the case of the male [italics ours]...."

Prince Henry fits this description in virtually every respect. Contemporaries described him as being robust and "very handsome" in appearance, with large limbs and a muscular, "beefy" body.⁶⁴ Psychologically he was without doubt a person of large vision and audacious schemes: energetic, a "doer," inclined to brush aside any and all obstacles in pursuit of his ends. His behavior at Ceuta was generally regarded as courageous, perhaps to a fault. As Russell tells us: "It was at Ceuta that Henry, in his very first battle, earned himself among his peers his lifelong reputation as an exceptionally brave but also impetuous and imprudent soldier who held the dangerous belief that, at least when fighting the infidel, brio and religious zealotry counted for more than careful strategic and tactical planning...."⁶⁵ Of his narcissistic vanity and hunger for fame there is ample evidence. Not only did he oversee, as has been noted, the composition of Zurara's laudatory account of his activities but arranged in his will to "secure his [yearning for] posthumous fame" by means of lavish bequests to the Church.⁶⁶ And again, as in Reich's prototype, Henry's attitude toward women, as we have seen, was deprecatory to the point of derogatory. He was also regarded as a procrastinator⁶⁷ and indifferent to details, a trait for which he was reprimanded by his brother, Duarte.⁶⁸ In addition, as with Reich's prototype, Henry's moods could vacillate from supreme confidence to that of deep depression, such as he suffered shortly after the disastrous failure to conquer Tangier. According to Russell, "Using the dubious excuse that he must remain in Morocco to see to the release of Fernando (the younger brother given as hostage to the Moors to guarantee Portuguese compliance with the terms of the treaty agreed between Henry and the Muslim leader), Henry took to his bed on his arrival in Ceuta and remained there for some weeks, putting it about that he was worn out by his crusading exertions....Henry remained in seclusion in Ceuta for several months...It is plain from his behavior that...he went through...a serious spiritual crisis during which he perhaps fell into one of those period of apathy toward the affairs of the world which Zurara implies sometimes over came this normally hyperactive and apparently self-confident man."⁶⁹ Henry also clearly revealed a maternal attitude toward the many teenagers whom he raised "in his chambers" and then sent out as explorers and slave raiders along the African coast.

⁶⁴ Zurara, 21: "...foi homem de carnadura grossa e de largos e fortes membros." Also the eyewitness description of Antoine de La Sale, 28: "...ledit seigneur Don Henry, iij^e filz du roy, josne, de xviiij á xx ans et de son aaige tresbel, de corps grant et puissant..."

⁶⁵ See Russell, 50.

⁶⁶ Russell, 351; see also footnote 26.

⁶⁷ Zurara, 23: "...em algumas cousas vagaroso."

⁶⁸ Zurara, xxxvii: "Que...nem ajaes as cousas por feitas antes que ho sejam, mas acabai-as perfeitamente.....não como vosso coração, de huma parte, com desejo de muito fazer. Quer ingolir antes que bem mastigue, e d'outra se faz isto por huma sutil parte de ociosidade, por que a vontade e entender com pratica hão por maior trabalho huma cousa perfeitamente acabar, que muitas englodadamente cuidar que acaba, em as quaes o mais fica por fazer..."

⁶⁹ Russell, 185.

His emblem and its unconscious meaning

Our analytic insight into Henry's character however need not be limited to the typology of Wilhelm Reich, for there are other indications, almost certainly unconscious to Henry, of his sexual proclivities that can be discovered if we make use of a Freudian approach. Indeed, however energetically Prince Henry may have attempted to conceal the true nature of his sexuality, he could have had no idea, with Freud's insights then long in the future, how revealing some of his unconscious elections and choices might prove to be. Paramount among such sources of insight would be his empresa (emblem or badge), something chosen by the person himself and regarded in the late medieval period as a symbol of his inner character. Intended to serve as the visible manifestation of his essential nature, it can also be analyzed to reveal unconscious aspects of the subject's personality.⁷⁰

In Prince Henry's case, the empresa he chose to symbolize himself consisted of twin "pyramids"---strangely narrow and elongated---that, in turn, are superimposed upon two conjoined circles colored (amusingly enough) black and dark blue. The whole is surrounded by a prickly shrubbery⁷¹ of the interlaced branches of an oak tree [or carrasqueira⁷²] which in turn are laden with numerous acorns or *boletas* (see illustration). To begin to fathom the unconscious symbolism of all this, we need first recall the age-old use of the acorn as a symbol for the glans penis,⁷³ which, in turn, would suggest that the surrounding shrubbery most likely represents the pubic area. This, in turn, can provide us with the necessary clues to understanding the "pyramids" and circles. In the sexually charged context of the acorns (penises), the "pyramids" are most logically read as a pair of erect phalluses placed against a background of bodily orifices, although whether these represent oral or anal apertures is uncertain; they could be either or both.⁷⁴ In any

⁷⁰ Reminiscent of the way in which the brothers Cortesão read ancient maps in order to tease out information about secret voyages from them.

⁷¹ See illustration. The prickly shrubbery is also suggestive of the "bristly" personality so often found in phallic-narcissistic types (Reich, 217). The often reproduced supposed portrait of him surrounded by his emblem comes from the Crónica dos Feitos de Guiné (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. Ms. 73391; Portugueses No. 42; Suplemento Francês No. 236).

⁷² Virginia Rau, "Les emblèmes et l'histoire des techniques au Portugal au cours des X^{ve} et X^{VI}e siècles," Melganges en l'Honneur de Fernand Braudel (Paris, 1973): 487-496 calls it an oak while Oliveira Marques identifies it as a "carrasqueira," a shrub related to the oak (Marques, 259).

⁷³ Indeed the Latin term for acorn is glans; the resemblance between an acorn and the head of the penis was well known in antiquity.

⁷⁴ Gustave Flaubert, Bouvard et Pécuchet, chap. IV: "Anciennement, les tours, les pyramides, les cierges, les bornes de routes, et même des arbres avaient la signification de phallus...." One "pyramid" and one circle might be read heterosexually, but the presence of the two "pyramids" make the homosexual meaning of the emblem unmistakable. There is an extended discussion of his emblem in O Rosto do Infante (Tomar, 1994?), 20-23, where the pyramids are described as "esguias." Interestingly enough, here the verbal legend is termed the "empresa" and the symbols the "divisa," while Oliveira Marques makes a clear distinction between the badge or image which he calls the "empresa" and the superimposed words (the "divisa"): A. H. de Oliveira Marques, Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV (Lisbon, 1987), 259.

case the unconscious symbolism of the whole carries an unmistakable implication of sexual penetration, including the practice of fellatio said by Reich to be typical of this character type. Henry's legend or divisa, talent de bien fere ["zeal to perform admirable deeds," or, perhaps more colloquially, "determination to make good"]⁷⁵ is inscribed over the pyramids. Thus, a Freudian reading of his badge (empresa) reveals him to be an aggressive, ambitious personality with an unconscious fixation on male genitalia and intercourse, either oral or anal; in short, the perfect incarnation of Reich's extroverted phallic-narcissistic homosexual.

7. REFASHIONING AND REHABILITATING AN ICON.

Henry as Portuguese national icon

Just as Salazar, years ago, made use of Prince Henry's image as the chaste⁷⁶ and virginal pioneer of empire to serve as a kind of historical "authenticator" for himself, so now we would like to suggest that gay organizations in Portugal might well make use of Prince Henry, the closeted queen,⁷⁷ as an authenticator for their community. Indeed what greater route to full inclusion and acceptance could this group find than to be able to claim Portugal's most famous son as one of their own? Instead of being viewed merely an "outed" homosexual, he can be renewed, rehabilitated and refurbished to serve new uses and new iconic purposes: as Portugal's most famous and possibly most distinguished gay.

8. CONCLUSION.

Our study then has pursued two objects. The first has been to show how Cortesão's brilliant and innovative concept of sigilo as an historical method can be enlarged and extended to fields far beyond those to which his particular interests led him to apply it; and secondly, to show how in doing so, it is possible to discover important evidence previously hidden from historians, either through inadvertence or more likely because it has been intentionally concealed. Most of this evidence has had to be elaborated indirectly, following the model of Jaime Cortesão's notable detective work with regard to Henry's geographical discoveries. But we have expanded the scope of his method to include psychoanalytic and other evidence in addition, and then demonstrated how, by applying his technique [política de sigilo] to a different historical question, it has

⁷⁵ Rau, 487-496, quoting Oliveira Martins, gets the meaning wrong, translating it as "wish to act with justice".

⁷⁶ Not only was Salazar unmarried, like Henry, and supposedly chaste and childless, but he also, like Henry, is said to have abstained, by and large, from drinking wine. This led the great Portuguese poet, Fernando Pessoa, to write one of his most amusing rhymes about Salazar: "Que o coitadinho/Do tiraninho/Não bebe vinho,/Nem até/Café." (Páginas de Pensamento Político-2; 1925-1935 (Lisbon, 1986), 84). Duarte Pacheco Pereira is the witness for Henry's abstinence from wine, (Pereira, 77): "...nunca conheceu mulher nem bebeu vinho..." although Pereira's testimony comes almost a half century after Henry's death.

⁷⁷ It might be pointed out that in spite of his inability to fulfill his ambition to become a king in Castile or Granada (Russell, 147-148), he did, in all likelihood, achieve the status of a "closet queen," although this was probably known only to him and some very close companions.

been possible to uncover the hidden character and personality of an iconic but heretofore enigmatic figure of world history, the Infante de Sagres.

Although it has not been possible, admittedly, for us to "catch" Prince Henry in a clearly documented act of gay sex, most likely for reasons explained by Jaime Cortesão's "política de sigilo," still all the circumstantial and psychoanalytic evidence that exists points in one direction only---to the conclusion that if Henry had any libido or sexuality at all [and it is impossible to believe that he did not] it must have been of an homo-erotic nature.

In conclusion, let us quote the Master: "Secret history is, by definition, the most difficult to study and clarify. It is also the most tempting, in that it requires a renovated mentality that makes a blank page of official chroniclers---scribes under the control of the narrow nationalistic interests of the State or of the need to personally glorify their masters⁷⁸---and that does not fear the cold and disdainful prudence of those who flee from all risks, even those of imagining and verifying audacious working hypotheses."⁷⁹ And further, "When history refuses to confront this type of problem it ceases to respond to the highest requirements of a science of man."⁸⁰

The foregoing article has attempted to confront precisely those risks of which Cortesão speaks, and thereby respond "to the highest requirements of a science of man" by "imagining and verifying," as far as possible, an "audacious working hypothesis": that Prince Henry 'the Navigator' was almost certainly---but in secret---a homosexual.

⁷⁸ The applicability of this passage to Zurara is unquestionable.

⁷⁹ Cortesão, 122.

⁸⁰ Cortesão, 74.