

CAMOENS

HIS LIFE AND HIS LUSIADS

A COMMENTARY

BY

RICHARD F BURTON

(TRANSLATOR OF THE LUSIADS)

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOLUME I.

LONDON

BERNARD QUARITCH,

15 PICCADILLY, W

1881

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

GERALD MASSEY TO RICHARD F. BURTON.

"Englished by Richard Burton" And well done,
As it was well worth doing, for this is one
Of those old Poets, who are always new,
That share eternity with all that's true,
And of their own abounding spirit do give
Substance to Earth's dead Shadows, and make men live
Who in action merely did but flit and pass,
Now fixed for ever in thought's reflecting-glass
This is the Poet of weary wanderers
In perilous lands, and wide-sea Voyagers,
And climbers fall'n and broken on the stans
A man of men, a master of affairs,
Whose own life-story is, in touching truth,
Poem more potent than all feigned truth
His Epic trails a glory in the wake
Of *Gama, Raleigh, Frobisher, and Drake*
The poem of Discovery's sacred to
Discoverers, and then deeds of daring-do,
Is fitly rendered, in *The Traveller's land*,
By one o' the foremost of the fearless band

GERALD MASSEY

P R E F A C E .

CONTRARY to custom I have begun with my translation of the Poem, and have ended with what usually comes first, the Commentary “Camoens his Life and his Lusiads,” an Introduction now converted to a postscript, is necessary for the full comprehension of an Epic upwards of three centuries old, and the following synopsis of the Portuguese Odyssey shows its *raison d'être* —

Canto I	The Voyage, in	stanzas	106,	lines	848
„ II	„ „	„	113,	„	904
„ III	Historical	„	143,	„	1144
„ IV	„ „	„	104,	„	832
„ V	The Voyage and geographical		100,	„	800
„ VI	„ „	„	99,	„	792
„ VII	Geographico-historical	„	87,	„	696
„ VIII	Historical	„	99,	„	792
„ IX	Romantic	„	95,	„	760
„ X	Geographico-ethnographico- historical	„	156,	„	1248
	Totals		1,102		8,816

The text of the Poem is immediately followed by the 79 *Estancias despresadas*, or Rejected stanzas, omitted by Camoens, which were printed from manuscripts after

his death Of these 632 lines many were “despised for special reasons, and not a few deserve translation they have been presented to the public for the first time

My Commentary falls naturally into five Chapters, viz —

- Chap I Biographical, with three Sections § 1 Essay on the Life of Camoens, § 2 Camoens the Man, and § 3 Camoens the Poet
- Chap II Bibliographical, with five Sections § 1 On translating *The Lusjads*, § 2 English translators, with specimens, § 3 Notices of English translators, § 4 Minor, partial and miscellaneous English translations, and, § 5 The present version
- Chap III Historical and Chronological: with four sections § 1 Portugal before the reign of D Joam II, § 2 D.D Joam III and Manoel, § 3 The reign of D Joam III: and, § 4 The Annals of his Country till the death of Camoens
- Chap IV Geographical, with four sections § 1. Preliminary, § 2 The Voyage of Da Gama, § 3. The Travels and Campaigns of Camoens in the nearer East, and, § 4 In the further East I make no apology for the length of this topographical essay; the subject has been much neglected by modern commentators.
- Chap V Annotative I have here placed explanatory and philological details which illustrate the text.

The Appendix consists of three tables borrowed from various sources. No 1 Editions of the works of Camoens, § 2 Tables of Translations of the *Obras* (works), especially *The Lusiads*, and, § 3 Contents of *The Lusiads*, which may serve as an index of subjects.

I venture to draw the attention of my readers to "The Reviewer Reviewed," the Postscript ending vol. II. The chastisement therein administered to certain critics is severe, but they have drawn it down upon themselves.

In conclusion I have to thank Messrs. WYMAN & SONS for the care and trouble they have taken in printing the Commentary.

RICHARD F. BURTON.

TRIESFE, Dec. 1, 1880

CHAPTER I.

(BIOGRAPHICAL.)

§ I ESSAY ON THE LIFE OF CAMOENS.

THE "Epic Life" of Luis de Camoens is, I have said, one of the most romantic and adventurous of an age of adventure and romance. Opening with the fairest and brightest promise, exposed in manhood to the extremes of vicissitude, to intense enjoyment and "terrible abysses"; lapsing about middle age into the weariness of baffled hope; and ending, comparatively early, in the deepest glooms of disappointment, distress, and destitution, the Student, the Soldier, the Traveller, the Patriot, the Poet, the mighty Man of Genius, thus crowded into a single career the efforts, the purposes, the events of half-a-dozen. Moreover, I have observed that the writings of this same Epic Life bore the "effluence from noble deeds, like a breeze that wafteth health from salubrious places." Considered in such light the Portuguese may be looked upon as unique. never was such a spirit so maltreated by Fortune.

The Poet's biography has not been neglected,—after a fashion. Hardly an edition or a translation of The

Biographical.

house Register), was examined (in A. D. 1643) by the Arch-biographer and Commentator-in-Chief, Manoel de Faria y Sousa.¹ Contemporary authorities (Corrêa, &c.) threw it back to A. D. 1517. The noble and accredited family of Caamaños (Camanos, Camanhos, Camoës), was called, they say, after the Camão-bird, the Porphyryon or Porphyrio of Aristophanes, Pliny, Juvenal, and "Theagenes and Chariclea." This Phœnicopter (flamingo) become a phœnix, was the hereditary duenna of the house, whose scutcheon shows a kind of dragon rising from Promethean rocks. The Camoens who produced warriors and bards, suggesting hereditary genius,² date from the days of the semi-mythical Don Pelayo, they distinguished themselves in the wars of the twelfth century, they owned seventeen parishes called "The *Camoairas*", and their castled house stood near Cape Finisterre of Galicia, the Promontorium Nerium (of the Neru), or Artabrum (of the Artabri). Thus our Poet was originally of Gallego strain, and Fanshawe says truly.—

SPAIN *gave me noble Birth* Coimbra, *Arts,*
LISBON, *a high-plac't loue, and Courtly parts;*

¹ "F. y S" noticed in chap. 1. § 3 He found that the poet was twenty-five years old in 1550, and consequently was born at the end of 1524, or in early 1525.

² Vasco Fernandez (Pires) de Camoens was one of the best poets of the fourteenth century; and to him are attributed the two "Gallego" Sonnets (ccxc. and ccxc1.) printed among those of our Poet.

the English literati, must now be our guide. His "Life," modestly termed *Ensaio biographico*, has been condensed in these pages, and nothing material has, it is hoped, been omitted. My compendium will thus note all the novelties, and will serve as an *aide-mémoire* to those who, not unfamiliar with the subject, honour me by reading my translation.

Neither the birth-year nor the death-year of Camoens is yet determined. Despite the claims of many rivals, Lisbon gave birth to her son in 1524, when his kinsman and hero, Vasco da Gama, died, or in 1525: the month and the day are still unknown. In one document he is called Luis Vaaz (or Vaz), after his father, such was then the general custom of Europe. The former date has been accepted since the *Cartorio* or *Registo da Casa da India* (the India-

to this great edition. The *Ensaio* (vol. 1) settles sundry disputed points; and the terminal notes are especially valuable. The text "of The Lusiacs" (vol. vi. p. 9) is from the so-called Second Edition of 1572: my version has carefully followed its punctuation, both in the accepted and in the "rejected" stanzas.

It is regrettable that the fine volumes have not more finish. The pages all want headings; indices are deficient, the lists of contents are meagre, and the tables are scattered about the work. References are neglected, for instance, the notes upon the Redondilhas (vol. iv.) give no numeral directions to the text. The thing of all things wanted, a Concordance of Camoens, is absent; and vol. vii. will, I hear, return to subjects before treated. This is, perhaps, inevitable in a work which has occupied a score of years; but such flaws prevent its being final; and, at least, call for a reprint with revision.

house Register), was examined (in A. D. 1643) by the Arch-biographer and Commentator-in-Chief, Manoel de Faria y Sousa.¹ Contemporary authorities (Corrêa, &c.) threw it back to A. D. 1517. The noble and accredited family of Caamaños (Camanos, Camanhos, Camoës), was called, they say, after the Camão-bird, the Porphyryon or Porphyrio of Aristophanes, Pliny, Juvenal, and "Theagenes and Chariclea." This Phœnicopter (flamingo) become a phœnix, was the hereditary duenna of the house, whose scutcheon shows a kind of dragon rising from Promethean rocks. The Camoens who produced warriors and bards, suggesting hereditary genius,² date from the days of the semi-mythical Don Pelayo, they distinguished themselves in the wars of the twelfth century, they owned seventeen parishes called "The *Camoairas*", and their castled house stood near Cape Finisterre of Galicia, the Promontorium Nerium (of the Neri), or Artabrum (of the Artabri). Thus our Poet was originally of Gallego strain, and Fanshawe says truly.—

SPAINÉ *gave me noble Birth* Coimbra, *Arts,*
LISBON, *a high-plac't loue, and Courtly parts;*

¹ "F. y S" noticed in chap. i. § 3 He found that the poet was twenty-five years old in 1550, and consequently was born at the end of 1524, or in early 1525.

² Vasco Fernandez (Pires) de Camoens was one of the best poets of the fourteenth century; and to him are attributed the two "Gallego" Sonnets (ccxc. and ccxc1.) printed among those of our Poet.

ending with a quaint allusion to the Poet's sorrows.—

*My Country (Nothing—yes) Immortal Praise
(So did I, Her) Beasts cannot browse on Bays*

I subjoin for purposes of comparison the dates of the great neo-Latin Poets and Poems who followed the *Conteurs* of Le gaye Saber.—

1. Poema del Cid Campeador, attributed to the twelfth century Provençal (of Provence or Provincia Romanorum) was the first Romance-language grammatically studied, and its influence is shown in these once-oral ballads, celebrating the exploits of D. Ruy (Rodrigo) Diaz de Bivar (near Burgos); the "Lord Champion," who took Valentia from the Moors. The hero is a chivalrous and picturesque figure, and the unknown welder of the fragments has produced a national poem which admirably reflects Spanish and mediæval feeling ¹
2. Dante, nat. 1265, ob. 1321. The Editio Princeps of "La Commedia" (Divina in Edit of A D 1516), was printed by Joh. Numeister of Foligno (?) in 1472. An argument precedes each canto.
3. Petrarch, nat. 1304, laurelled April 8, 1341; ob. 1374, Edit. Princ. Sonnets, &c. 1470; "Vindelinus" (de Spira), Venice. It need hardly be noticed that the poet of the *Rime*, Chaucer, and Boccaccio were contemporaries.
4. Ariosto, nat. 1474, printed "Orlando Furioso" 1516; ob. 1533
5. Luis de Camoens, nat. 1524 (?), the birth-year of lucky

¹ A fragment of 3,744 lines fragmentarily translated by Frere, Lockhart, Southey, and Dennis. The last version of "Myo" (my) "Cid" by John Ormsby, is also incomplete, no one can say why. The metre of "Hiawatha" would well suit the recitative and the more prosaic parts.

Ronsard, who hated Rabelais: began "The Lucrads" in 1543 (?), printed Edit Prin in 1572, and ob 1579-1580
 6 Tasso, nat. March 11, 1544, finished the *Gerusalemme Liberata* in 1575 (Edit. Prin. 4°, Bellini, Ferrara, 1581), imprisoned 1580, ob. April 25, 1595 After his death began the reign of false taste, culminating in Metastasio (1698-1780)¹

Luis de Camoens was the last scion of a cadet branch of the Camaños who, in his time, had seen better days. His father, Simam Vaaz, was an *escudeiro* (esquire) or *Cavalleiro fidalgo*, a "Knight-gentleman," that is of noble blood but untitled, like most of the proudest Portuguese and Polish families In 1550, when he became surety for his son at the India-house, he lodged in the Lisbon *Mouraria*, the Ghetto for Moslems and Gypsies He then retired to Coimbra,² whence he was sent (June 15,

¹ The "Fadn," Chaucer, nat 1340-1345 (not 1328), ob Oct. 25, 1400, thus was contemporary with the Protagonist and Theologic father of Luther, John Wyclif, or Wycliffe, whose monumental work was finished in 1380, and printed in 1731. Jur supposes that our poet may have been read by Camoens, comparing the Isle of Venus with the Assembly of Fowles —

"The bylder oak, and eke the hardie ashe," &c.

But the forest is a poetical *lieu commun*, from which derivation cannot be argued Our admirable Spenser, poetic sire of Milton, whose style in sweetness, picturesqueness, and polish so much resembles Camoens, especially in the Episodes, was born in 1552, published in 1590, the three first books of the "Faerie Queene," and the second three in 1596 ("Hamlet" having appeared in the meantime), and died Jan. 16, 1599.

² On the hilly right bank of the Mondego River, which rises in

1553) under arrest for trial at the Capital, the charge being that he had forcibly entered the Convent of the Sisters of St Anne (Franciscans). In 1556 he was again at Coimbra, and in 1563 he was Procurator for the Dominican College, S Thomas. The mother of the "Arch-poet," Anna de Sá de Macedo, outlived him. Being "very old and poor," she received in 1582, as Juromenha proves, a pension of six crowns (6\$ 765 reis), increased to 15\$000 by Philip II. of Spain (1585). Camoens, like Cicero, never mentions his parents. Hence some have erroneously concluded that he was an orphan, and others that his father was drowned at Goa. He may have done filial devoir in poems now lost or missing.

The suckling "Apollo Portuguese," as he is called on the medal of Talbot, Baro de Dillon,¹ is supposed to have written a fine pedantic Sonnet (No XXI.) between his eleventh and fifteenth years. An "honourable poor student," he entered Coimbra, where his paternal uncle, Prior Bento de Camoens, was the first Chancellor of the

the Seira d'Estrella, and debouches at Bualcos, Lower Beira. Important under the Romans, the Goths, and the Moors, "Combrua" became the Capital of the first Portuguese King, D Afonso Henriques (1140-85). Here D Diniz (Denys or Dionysius) transferred, in 1308, the "Schools" (University) of Lisbon, founded in 1284-90. D Afonso IV. (1325-57) restored them to "Ulysséa," and in 1537, shortly before Camoens matriculated, definitively established them at Coimbra. Finally, in 1772, the great Marquis de Pombal personally presided over the re-organization of the Portuguese University.

¹ Adam vol. ii, title-page and p. 5. A detailed account of the medal, dated 1782, is given by Jul. 1. 433.

reformed University Many make him matriculate in his twelfth year Adamson prefers his fourteenth, and the Bishop of Viseu, followed by Juromenha (125), his fifteenth=1539. The schools were then famous for *belles lettres*, the best principals and professors were invited from Spain, France, and Germany, and even Britain, at that time brought so low in literature, contributed (1547) George Buchanan Coimbraians love to dwell upon the fact that students of the two chief colleges, Santo Agostinho and Sam Joam Baptista, held it a disgrace to converse in any language but Greek and Latin

Biography in those days was still a babe, frail and feeble as we find her in Modern Persia and Arabia Camoens does not appear to have been a conspicuous figure at the Portuguese Oxford-cum-Cambridge in his ardent imagination, poetical æstus, and lust for travel and adventure, the staid "Dons" and inveterate Classicists must have seen little beyond "lawlessness" and "eccentricity" Yet he never forgot the

Doces, e claras agoas do Mondego, &c
(Mondego's waters, sweet and chrysal-clear)

Sonnet cxxiii.

And he has immortalised the pretty little stream in scores of lines. The position of his uncle who, in 1539, became General of the Order of the Holy Cross, must have suggested the Church; but the Poet gives the best of objections to the ecclesiastical profession (Jur. i. 17). He was unwilling to swell the number of priestly drones,

who regarded more the goods of life than the cure of souls —

Of other care they little reckoning make
Than how to scramble at the sheazers' feast.

(*Lycidas*)

The grand old Jesuit of the Loyola and Xavier type was, even then, passing away to appear no more.

Aged eighteen or nineteen (1542-43) in the *wressse sans vin* of young poets, from Homer to Victor Hugo, Camoens exchanged Coimbra for Lisbon (Mondego Sonnets cx1 and cxxxiii). His birth admitted him into courtly society¹ His genius won for him such powerful friends as the Duke of Bragança and his brother Dom Constantino, the Duke of Aveiro, the Marquesses of Villa Real and Cascaes, the Counts of Redondo and Sortelha, the young Antonio de Noronha, and, chiefest of all, the literary Count of Vimioso, D. Manuel de Portugal,—his "Mæcenas" (Ode vi) There is no reason for assuming with a modern biographer, that any "slight rankled in his proud spirit, and embittered his feelings against nobles and courtiers": he loved many of the former; but the latter were "antipathetic" to his nature as to that of Dante Gil Vicente, the "Plautus of Portugal" was dead. It is uncertain whether the amiable Sá de Miranda who, like philanthropic John Howard, hated only his own son, ever met Camoens,

¹ Where Mickle (Life, p. cxv) and Adam. (i. 65) translate *à cõrte* by "at Court" we should understand "in the Capital" in the Brazil Rio de Janeiro is *a Cõrte* in Luso-India, Goa.

but Bernardim Ribeiro, despite his retired life at Cúria, became our Poet's firm friend and "Ennius"¹

Like many other courts, that of D. Joam, "the Pious," was by no means a safe place for hot youth. Gil Vicente called it a dangerous sea wherein many fished. Sá de Miranda held it an economic error to congregate all the scions of the aristocracy in one city. Not the least of many perils arose from the bevy of brilliant dames and damsels who formed Catherine of Austria's entourage —

Bellas estrellas, e hum sol no meo

(Fair stars that circled round a central sun)

Sonnet ccciv.

D. Maria, the Princess, and D. Leonor de Noronha wrote and translated Latin, D. Francisca de Aragam was a "pearl of perfection", the two Sigéas, Angela and Luiza, were as famous for Greek and Hebrew. Joanna Vaz was a star of the first magnitude in classics, and Paula Vicente, daughter of "Plautus," was the best of ballet-mistresses. Such were the Cintrian Naiads "sung by the Poet" (Canto iii. 56), who was far better affected towards maids of honour than was the father of Gulliver.

Here "Liso" or "Niso," had anagrams of "Luis,"²

¹ Chapter 1 § 3, Sá de Miranda was born in 1495 and died in 1558 his plays were printed in 1595.

² It was the taste of an Age which produced Jan Cul (Calvin) Alcofrabas Nasier, alias Rabelaisus (Rabelais); Long se desavoie (Louise de Savoye), and Nature quite (Jean Turquet). Presently it fell into contempt; and was finally expelled by Addison in the *Spectator*.

saw and loved "Natercia," a similar poetic perversion of Caterina. The first who notices the affair is Pedro de Mariz who, in the biographical sketch (A D 1613) prefixed to his Edition of *The Lusiads*, calls the subject only a *Dama do Paço* (Dame of the Palace). In the manuscript title of Eclogue xv, discovered by Faria y Sousa, she is entitled D. Catherina, *Dama da Rainha* (of the Queen). Her identity is still doubtful, there being two of the same name and surname. Adamson, Camillo Castello Branco, and many others, make her the daughter of D. Alvaio de Sousa, Conde de Castanheira, the powerful minister of D. Joam III. She married Ruy P. de M. Borges and died young (Sonn. xix and cxxx), in 1551. Juromenha and Theophilo Braga decide that *the* Caterina was daughter of D. Antonio de Lima, the *Mórdomo-mór* (chief Steward) to the Infante D. Duarte. The question has not been set at rest by the following acrostics, "Luis" and "Caterjna de Atajde," first printed by Juromenha (132) —

MOTE

Lume desta vida
 Vêja-me esse lume
 Já que se presume
 Sem o ver perdida

VOLTA.

Concedei luz tal
 A quem vos cegaste,
 Toda me tiraste
 Essa só me val,
 Ração he querida
 Já vir do alto cume
 Norte de tal lume
 A alma taõ perdida

Desatando hide
 Esta treva oscura
 A uroia onde pura
 Toda luz reside
 A y que atada a vida
 Já com esse lume
 Deixa o seu queixume
 Estima-se por perdida?

MOTTO.

Light that be Life to me
 View me this kindly light,
 I see with clearest sight
 Sans Light I lost shall be

COMMENT.

Come send such Light to shine,
 Aid him thou smotest blind,
 Thy Love nought left in mind
 Except that Light of thine,
 Reason, Love! fain would send
 In ruth from lofty height,—
 North-pole of lovely Light,—
 Aid a lost Soul to tend.

Deign loose, till all untied,
 Each knot of gloom obscure,
 Aurora! where the pure
 True heavenly lights abide:
 Ah! why thus bound should life
 Immersed in this thy light,
 Dumb with despair of Sprite
 End, lost in gloom profound?

The first meeting is said to have taken place in a church and on a Good Friday (Sonnet lxxvii). Perhaps the Poet may only repeat Petrarch and Laura in the Church of Sainte Claire of Avignon (April 6, 1327):—

Era 'l giorno ch'al sol si scoloraro, &c.

('Twas on the blessed morning when the sun, &c.)

MACGREGOR, Sonnet iii.

Juromenha would also rely on Sonnet ccciii. But in Sonnet cxlvii. Camoens reproaches Natercia with ill-faith

suggesting a marriage. However that may be, the maiden Caterina became the Poet's Beatrice, Fiammetta (Maria d'Aquino ?), Laura, Catherine de Vaucel, Sofronia (Eleanor of Este ?), Ginevra (Malatesta), and Theodora, the happiness and agony of his life (Canzon 1, Elegy III). She was still about the Palace in 1556; and she died there, probably when the *grand poète malheureux* was returning from China, or had reached Goa after his fourth exile (1558). Her epitaph was written by Pedro de Andrade Caminha,¹ and her lover's poetry has raised her among the immortals. The blow wrung from the bereaved a cry as bitter as aught of Job.—

SONNET CCCXXXIX.

*O dia em que nasci moura e pereça,*²

(The Poet, probably writing from India, curses the hour of his birth)

Die an eternal death my natal Day,
 May Time the hapless date unknow, unlearn,
 May it ne'er return, and if it need return,
 May black eclipse the bright sun overlay :

May all his splendours fail Sol's brightest ray,
 Earth ! show relapse to Chaos' reign forlorn,
 Æther ! rain blood, all monster-births be born
 And may the mother cast her child away.

¹ Given in Jur. i. 34, and praising the *Fermosissima e rara Caterina*.

² This masterpiece was first edited from a MS. of Luiz Franco by Jur. (i. 128, and vol of Sonnets, p. 170). He reads, however, the first line —

O dia, hora em que nasci moura e pereça,

Then shall the peoples in amazed distress
 With cheeks all tears and bosoms hollow'd
 Expect a shattered world e'etsoons to sight

For race¹ on similar fancies lay no stress ;
 This was the day that brought to light a Life
 The most unhappiest Life e'er brought to light¹

Wooing and winning *Damas do Paço* had, in those days, especial dangers the dungeon and, in two cases, death were the penalties. Niso was too young, too enamoured and, perhaps, too childishly proud of his conquest to be prudent,¹ and—*miserum est deprenti* It is debated whether he fought a duel about his *dame souveraine*, or was detected in a stolen interview. At any rate he was sent out of harm's way to the Ribatejo or Upper Tagus. Banishment number one ! The majority fix upon Santarem as his exile-place Juromenha prefers Punhete (*Pugna Tagi*) now Constancia, the fair townlet seen from the railway-bridge at the Zezere-Tagus confluence, where, he says, the legend still lingers Fresh from college, Camoens could not fail to compare his fate with that of a brother victim of Love.—

¹ There is a curious similarity between the imprecation and that of the Turkish poet, Fazlî, which begins—

Fall, fall, O Dome of Heaven on high ;
 Die in your azure vault, O Light !
 Ye four-fold Elements parted lie
 Knot of the Pleiads fly from sight ! &c.

² Almeno (Camoens) confesses want of caution in Eclogue iii.

O Sulmonense Ovidio desterrado, &c
(The banisht Ovid of Sulmonian strain, &c)

Elegy III

In this pretty Pontus he also wrote Eclogues (especially No v), a Comedy (No 1. ?), Sonnets (lxxvii and cxxiii), and Canzons (vii viii¹ and xv) in laud of his Lesbia, and here, possibly, he began The Lusíads. But apparently he leant no prudence His banishment ended about 1546, he repeated his offence, whatever it may have been, and Natercia's powerful family procured his second exile,—this time to a surer place, African Ceita, or Ceuta (Elegy II Canzon xii) The ship was attacked by Moorish pirates, "Sallee (Salá) rovers," in the Gibraltar Straits (the autobiographical Canzon xi.), and the tradition is that Camoens there lost his right eye² by a splinter Whereupon, as his Rimas (lyrics) show, fair dames diverted themselves by dubbing the disfigured one *Diabo* and *Cara sem olhos* (eye-less face). Their sisters of Germany treated the gallant Frauenlob very differently.

It is not known what rank Camoens held during his three years in Africa (1546-49), probably none. He fought gallantly against the *Almogarravias* (Razzias) of the Maroccans, and doubtless witnessed the lion-hunts which he describes so vividly (Canto iv 34) His second elegy is addressed to a noble confidant, gene-

¹ These are so similar in theme that F. y S. believes the Poet to have recast No 1. into No. 11.

² Fanshaw and others blind his left eye.

rally held to be D. Antonio de Noronha, also banished from Lisbon by his father for some love-affair. This brave youth was speared in ambush at Ceuta by the Moors (1553), and his death is pathetically deplored by the glorious Luis (Sonnets xii. and ccxvix Eclogue i. &c &c) Juromenha (l. 51) objects with reason that D. Antonio, born in 1546 and killed at the age of twenty-two, was hardly old enough for such confidences

Camoens, who had now "baptized his sword" and "washed his spear," could charge the white shield of a *cavalleiro donzel* (maiden knight), with a Phœnix rising from its ashes After the Campaign he returned (1549) poor as a poet to Lisbon. Alluding to his hard life the "wicked Garçam," who died in prison under despotic Pombal, says .—

Witeth not Lusiad Epicks he, who daily gaily dines
Off Flanders-cloth, with dainty dish be-plead, and fine old wines.

Necessity and, doubtless, "sweet Honor" and the hope of seeing service, persuaded the *escudeiro de 25 annos* (squire of twenty-five) to take the shilling (=2\$400) and to enlist for India in 1550. He was delayed for three years in Lisbon the cause, till lately unknown, is explained by a *Carta de perdão* or Official pardon (Jur. i. 166). During the festival of Corpus Christi, the Poet had drawn in defence of two masks, whom he recognised as his friends, and in the street-brawl had wounded one Gonçalo Borges, a servant of the Palace. His confinement in the Tronco-jail did not last long; the hurt in

the neck was of little consequence, and the swordsman was pardoned the more readily as he had volunteered for the East.

On a Palm Sunday (March 24, 1553), eleven days after leaving jail, Camoens, then nearing his thirtieth year, embarked from Lisbon,—his third exile. The Captain-General, Fernam Alvares Cabral, with whom our Poet had probably campaigned in Africa, gave him a passage on board the *Capitaina* (flag-ship) "Sam Bento," lost with her Commander on the return voyage.¹ Of the five keel composing the squadron, one was burnt in port. the passage was long and stormy, and the mid-winter months between March and September enabled the Poet to lay in a store of nautical experience, and to conceive "Adamastor"

As is generally the case, Camoens landed with pleasure in India. He had bidden a fierce and classical farewell² to his fatherland, where "Sins worth three days of Purgatory had cost him three thousand (*i e* eight years and eight days) of biting tongues, envy, hatred, and malice." He was well received by the splendid Queen-City, Goa, a member of his family having been favourably known to the Colony. He wrote home (*Carta* No. 1) that he was "more venerated than Mercian bulls, and was leading a life tranquil as the cell of a friar-preacher"—was this ironical? After the passing excitement of being

¹ The loss is alluded to in the "Rejected Stanzas," and elsewhere

² Noticed in chap. 1. § 2.

second in a duel, he became utterly tired of Goa and the Goanese, describing her as *a mãe dos vilões ruíjs, e madrasta de homões honrados* (the fond mother of villains, and the stepmother of honest men) He also sang of his arrival —

*A essa desejada, e longa terra,
De todo o pobre honrado sepultura.*
(To this desired and far distant land,
Of every honoured Poor the sepulture)

Elegy 1

About six weeks after landing, he joined the expedition sent (Nov 1553), by D Afonso de Noronha to aid the Cochín Rajah who had been plundered by him of Pimenta. He relates the capture of the Island with charming simplicity, ending —

Fomos tomar-lha, e succedeo-nos bem
(We went to take her, and we did right well ¹)

On return, Camoens accompanied (Feb 1554) the son of the same Viceroy, D Fernando de Menezes, with an Armada of 1,200 men to the "Strait of Mecca" or mouth of the Red Sea This expedition coasted along N Eastern Africa, the "dry, hard, and sterile mounts," Felix and Guardafui,² ran up the Eastern shore of Arabia, landed at Dofar where the Arabs were defeated

¹ Elegy 1 translated for the first time, but perverted from *Terza Rima* to alternate rhymed Alexandrines, by Mr. R. F. Duff, "The Lusiad of Camoens" (pp. xxxi-xxxvii). See chap. II. § 3

² Canzon x which is full of pathos, or rather nostalgia. The Poet's wanderings in W. Asia are noticed with more detail in the Geographical Chapter (No. iv. § 3)

in force, and captured the important harbour of Maskat Here, according to Juromenha, the Poet remained with the experienced Captain Manoel de Vasconcellos. It is however, generally believed that he passed the cool season¹ (N East Monsoon) between October and May 1554-5 at Hormuz Island in the Persian Gulf, where D Fernando lay awaiting the galleons of Basrah (Bussorah).

The Poet returned with the Armada to "Goa the Golden," where Francisco Barreto had become Governor-General by a death-vacancy. This official (June 16, 1555—Sept 8, 1558) is favourably spoken of by his contemporaries, he was loved by the lieges; and he died fighting in a manner, says Joam dos Santos, of which no man need be ashamed. Yet there was undoubtedly bad blood between the Governor and the Poet, and it is supposed to have arisen during the festivities that followed the appointment. The scenes of drunkenness and of low debauchery made Camoens pen his first Satire, a diversion by which many an "Anglo-Indian Officer" has, since those days, come to notable grief. Caricature and epigram are dangerous diversions in the confined air of a Garrison-colony.

It is doubtful whether the famous *Disparates na India*, ("Follies in," or "Vagaries of," India²) was written on

¹ The Indo-Portuguese apply *inverno* (winter) to the S West monsoon, our summer, June—October. The rains, however, do not extend to the Persian Gulf.

² See chap 1 § 3. Adam. (1 131-37) has printed the offending lines.

this or on a subsequent occasion Severim and Faria y Sousa, followed by most biographers, consider it the cause of Camoens' exile, number four and last Juro-menha (1 71) believes that it was composed after his return from Macáo. Possibly the Poet must not be charged with the skit called *Jogo de Canas* (the cane-sport)¹ But he certainly produced the "marvellous Redondillas" (1) and the Zion-Sonnets (cxciv. ccxxxvii ccxxxviii and ccxxxix) which under the Allegory of Babel (Babylon) and Siam (Zion), contrast Goa with Lisbon, Paradise with its Antipodes. In another satirical piece (*O Labirinto*) he complains loudly of the dreary world around him. In fact he lashed Vice with the "Scourge of Juvenal and the bitterness of Byron", and he did not spare the disorderly sex feminine of Goanese gentility (*fidalgua*)² What more was wanted to infuriate petty colonial tetchiness and official self-sufficiency?

In March, 1556, Camoens was ordered to China, where the Portuguese community had become considerable. The city of Liampó alone contained some 1,200 souls, who were "safe as if they lived between Sanctarem and Lisbon", and who continued so till

¹ This tilting with bamboos, the Arab's *La'ab el J'isid* (palm-bianch play) is the whole tactic of Oriental Cavalry. It is still kept up in Madeira and the Cape Verds. Jur. prints this *Satyra do Torneo* in pp 244-8, vol v

² The *Foro de Fidalgo*, or patent of gentle birth, not the title, constitutes, or rather constituted, nobility in Portugal; where, as in England, titles have lately been lavished with a careless hand, and the "middle-class noble" has become an institution

1542, when their piracies and manifold villanies compelled the Chinese to cast them out. The Poet was appointed *Provedor dos defuntos e ausentes*, or "commissary for (the effects of) the defunct and absent," a better post, by the by, than that conferred upon him, who

—was set to gauge
Beel-bu11els for his bread, half-famish'd Buins

Most biographers consider this the *desterro* (expatriation) *par excellence* to which Camoens often alludes¹ Juromenha holds the terms to have been used in the sense figurative, and shrewdly observes that so lucrative an appointment, which allowed the Poet to raise himself from the slough of poverty, was the strangest of punishments. But we have seen the ill-feeling between him and Barreto. Love is myopic, Hate is lynx-eyed; the enemy never sleeps, and happy the man whose friends do him one benefit to a dozen injuries worked by his foes. The way in which the episode ended tells its own tale.

After a voyage of 30-40 days, Camoens reached Lampacao, then a Portuguese station, here he may have met *en route* for Goa Fernan' Mendes Pinto,² the

¹ Canto viii 79, 80: Cançam xi, and paraphrase of *Super flumina Babylonis* (Psalm 136) which Lope de Vega called "Marvellous Redondillas."

² The voyages and adventures of this "lady of the first magnitude" (Congreve) were "done into English" by H C(ogan), 1692. A pistol is termed in "Yokohama-pidgin," Tanega-Shuma (Seed

traveller whose *Peregrinação* won him the proud title of "Prince of Liars" This worthy had been seized by the Chinese after robbing the treasure-tombs of the seventeen kings, and, when cast loose by the Tartars, he returned to Malacca Some time after May our Poet set out again with the squadron of six ships commanded by the Capitão-Mór (Commodore) Francisco Martins Macáo was also Portuguese, occupied in 1537: the Europeans forged a tale concerning the defeat of a Chinese buccaneer, whose stronghold was ceded in gratitude to the "Foreign Fiends" The truth is, that they held it *ad nutum* of the Emperor, paying an annual ground-rent of 500 taels¹ Here the Commissary continued his Lusiads, and escaped society by retiring to a cave, still called the "Gruta de Camões"² Possibly during this period he visited Malay-land and the Moluccas, Ternate, and Tidore (Canto x. 132), but here, as will be seen, opinions differ

The "profitable appointment" ended (Jan -Feb, 1558) after about two years, the normal term of office being

island), because Pinto and his brother pirates landed from Macáo about 1542, at the south-western island of that name, lying off the Kiu-Shiu coast. A curious survival!

¹ Each seven shillings "The Chinese," by Sir John F. Davis (1 27)

² "Camoens' Grotto," in the "Cassa" garden, an estate situated in the highest part of the Isthmus connecting Macáo with the Continent, is sketched by Sir W Ouseley (Orient Coll 1. 126), copied in wood by Adam (1 149), and described by every tourist During the Tercentenary of 1880 it was proposed to buy the Cavern from the present owner.

three¹ D Joam III. hearing of the official corruption which disgraced his splendid Eastern Empire, had issued stringent orders severely to repress all such abuses, and in 1545 he had sent out the rigidly honest D Joam de Castro. The Poet's unfriends at Head-Quarters prevailed, and he was recalled by Francisco Barreto, who issued the "unjust command" —

*Será o injusto mando executado,
Naquelle, cuja lyra sonora
Será mais afamada, que ditosa*

(When shall be dealt the Doom unjust and sore,
On him whose high sonorous Lyre shall claim
Such want of Fortune, and such wealth of Fame)

Canto x 128.

During the return-voyage Camoens' ship was lost at the mouth of the "Me com rio" (River Me-Kong), an accident which supplid him with that pathetic stanza. He tarried several months in Cambodia, or Gambogeland, possibly mourning Natercia's early death. She could not have passed her thirtieth year, supposing her to have been fifteen in 1544. Reaching Goa before the end of Barreto's Government, he was thrown into jail for malversation of office, or what poor Theodore Hook called a "disease of the chest." Early in September (1558), arrived the virtuous D Constantino de Bragança (Stanza 11), who had known the Poet at home, the

¹ José da Fonseca ("Fons"), who revised *Os Lusíadas* (1 vol 8vo., Paris, Baudry, 1846), founding his text on the *Quinhentistas*, incorrectly says *Cinco annos* (Vida 211), and is followed by Storck (Leben. 211)

latter, after clearing his honour by a public trial, was set at liberty. He accompanied this Viceroy on his expedition to Daman, and subsequently (1559) D Alvaro da Silveira to the Arabian Coast, where he might have witnessed his friend's untimely end at the hands of the cut-throat Turks in El-Bahrayn Island.

The next Governor-General (Sept 7 1559) was another old acquaintance, D Francisco Coutinho, Conde de Redondo (Sonn lxxxv Ode viii), who found the Poet once more in jail, the work of some calumniator. Again proved innocent and about to be set free, he was arrested by one Miguel Rodrigues Coutinho. Juromenha tells us that this man had distinguished himself in the wars, and was the first to enter the dangerous stockade of Diu—petty spite must explain his meanness. The debtor thereupon wrote a burlesque memorial satirising his persecutor under the nick-name of "*Fios seccos*" or dry threads¹

*Que Diabo ha tão damnado,
Que não tema a cutilada
Dos Fios Seccos da espada,
Do feio Miguel armado?*

¹ The epithet is supposed to ridicule the creditor's avarice. But it also means the blunt edges of swords, and hence the *double entendre* in the Redondilha.—

Dos Fios Seccos da espada, &c.
(Of the dread fox of Fios Seccos);

I use "fox" in the Shakespearian sense.

(What De'il, what damnèd Spite,
That feareth not the shocks
Of Fios Seccos' fox,
Of Miguel feie in fight?)

The Viceroy laughed and ordered the author to be set at liberty

Camoens left his prison when D Francisco (Dec. 1562) sailed for Calicut, to concert terms of peace with its Rajah, the "Samorim" At Cochín, whence the galleys were to be despatched for Lisbon, grave disturbances broke out. Some fifty officers and men were killed in duels, and amongst them was a personal friend of the Poet, D. Tello de Menezes, whose death he feelingly lamented (Elegy xx) Camoens, about this time gave a celebrated banquet to his friends, serving them with jocose *trovas* (copies of verses) He enjoyed the friendship of the Viceroy, and used it well by forwarding the interests of the good old naturalist, Garcia de Horta,¹ and of his intimate friend, Hector de Silveira—"Portingall Hector" (Canto x. 60), noble soul, soldier, poet, and pauper, like himself.

Camoens, during the vice-royalty of D Francisco, joined various expeditions, of which nothing is known. Juromenha explains the Poet's silence during the last years, supposed to have been spent at Goa, by another voyage to the far East, and makes him visit Malay-land, the Moluccas, Tidore, Ternate, and Timor. Such de-

¹ In 1563 Horta published at Goa his *Colloquios dos simples e drogas da India*, he is noticed in Ode viii.

scriptions as Ternate, "Lancing wavy flames" (Canto x 132), and Sumatra, "Exhaling tremulous fire" (Canto x 135), seem to have been drawn from life

In September, 1562, the Viceroy, D. Antam¹ de Noronha, with whom the Poet had carried arms in Ceuta, reached Goa, and despatched the ship waiting to convey D. Leoniz Pereira to his captaincy in Malacca, which he defended so stoutly in 1568. This warm friend of our Poet (Sonnet ccxxviii Elegy iv) was a writer as well as a warrior, and he might easily have passed him on to Nipon (Japan). Juiomenha supposes that Camoens hence brought back his faithful Javan—unhappily all here is conjecture.

Early in 1567, the kindly Viceroy gave the Poet another lucrative employment. He became *Alcaide mór* (High Bailiff or Governor), *Provedor dos Defuntos* and *Vedor das Obras* (Inspector of Public Works), at the wealthy factory of Chaul (Jur 1 90). But he never had the talent of success, of Self-Policy, as Bacon has it. When Fortune smiled upon him, he began to cry like a child for home (Sonnets cxxxix and cccxxvi). The profoundest melancholy gathered on his once joyous temper. *Saudades*² overwhelmed him. He had lost all his best

¹ Antam, from Saint Anthony of Thebes, not Antonio, Saint Anthony of Lisbon-Padua

² This word, like *Solidade*, is the Latin *Solitas* for *Solitudo*, which in Portuguese became *Soludam*. In the secondary sense, neither it nor its congeners *Saudoso*, &c, has any English equivalent. It is the *Ποθος*, the *desiderium*, the *sehnsucht*, a mixture of melancholy and longing; our poets supply it by "pining thought,"

friends, including Joam Lopes Leitam, the Jesuit Gonçalo da Silveira (Canto x 93), and the Viceroy Coutinho (Feb 1564) The idea of dying in India became intolerable, his spirit was broken Sixteen years of wayfare and warfare in his gorgeous tropical exile had done their work He must go home.

It is probable that Camoens, with his peculiar alacrity for building Castles in Spain (*Meus castellos de vento*), hoped great things from the young King, D Sebastiam, to whom he would offer his epos, the work of an average generation He accepted a passage offered to him by a kinsman of his former enemy, one Pedro Barreto, who, by the death of Fernam Martins Freire, became (1567) Captain-Governor of Mozambique Whatever Francisco may have been, Pedro assuredly was one of those who court and labour for future infamy Camoens, now become a manner of parasite, a menial, spent a winter finishing and polishing his Poem, and when he attempted to quit Mozambique, he was thrown into jail for debt The ignoble Governor had advanced him two hundred cruzados, or crowns¹ Happily for the prisoner, the ship Santa Clara, in which D Antam de Noronha had died, touched at the port, carrying the historian, Diogo do Couto,² the veteran Hector da Silveira, and eleven other

or by the cumbrous "after-yeaining" A Brazilian poet, Domingos Caldas Barbosa, answers the question *Que é Saudade?* in a pretty fragment published in "*Le Brésil Littéraire*" (Ferd Wolf, part II pp 88-9 Berlin, Asher, 1863)

¹ The Cruzado, a gold coin with a cross, was then worth 3s 9d

² Born at Lisbon, 1542, died at Goa, 1616, he was Keeper of

“messmates and friends” They collected the £25, for which sum were simultaneously sold the person of Camoens and the honour of Pedro Barrito This phrase is used by Faria y Sousa, and repeated by every biographer, none, indeed, should forget to cast, as he passes, a stone upon the Catiff’s grave Juuomenha (l. 93 and 498) throws doubt upon the arrest, because, forsooth, it is not confirmed by document As if such negative proof on such a point as this suffices to stultify all the Commentators! But the learned Editor has always a good word for the Poet’s enemies and persecutors Although he praises Camoens liberally, he lacks sympathy, and the “Life” reads like a Wordsworthian view of Burns In places the bias becomes remarkable, it sets the last workman in personal opposition to the Arch-Commentator, Faria y Sousa, who falls into the other extreme

At some time in November, 1569, Camoens left Mozambique, on board the Santa Clara, or the Santa Fé (?) He occupied himself during the voyage with writing the *Parnaso* (or *Parnasso*) de Luis de Camoens.

the Archives of India, and his best-known work is his continuation of “The Decades” He mentions Camoens (Dec VIII. 1, 28), and, according to M de Severim F., he wrote a Commentary on The Lusads For this work, which never appeared, we have the authority of a letter, dated 1611 Besides the two “Messmates” mentioned in the text, the others on board were, D Joam Pereira, D. Pedro da Guerra, Ayres de Sousa de Santarem, Manoel de Mello, Gaspar de Brito, Fernam Gomes da Gran, Lourenço Vaz Pegado, Antonio Cabial, Luiz da Veiga, Duarte de Abreu, and Antonio Feiram.

The work, highly praised by Couto (*loc cit*) never appeared in print, it was stolen, probably in Portugal. Faria y Sousa tells us (Jur 1 498) how, when a child, he destroyed one of the manuscript copies

The Poet's return home was singularly unhappy. The brave Hector da Silveira died within sight of Cintra Peaks. The ship, condemned to quarantine (April, 1570), landed her passengers at Cascaes Bay, below Lisbon, the infected Capital did not open her harbour till the ensuing June. The plague, known as the *Peste Grande*, had raged since 1569, and had numbered (said the popular census) its 50,000 victims. The court of D Joam III, "with its great glory, and some miseries," had passed away. Camoens, who was not given to flattering kings, wrote a magnificent eulogium of the deceased in the Amœbæan Sonnet (lix) beginning —

Quem jaz no grão sepulchro, que descreve, &c
(Who lies in lordly Tomb that doth indite, &c)

Nobis

The strong rule had been exchanged for the regency of a decrepit Priest, in charge of a hare-brained and fanatic young Soldier-King, who splendidly fêted the massacres of St. Bartholomew. The Court had fled to Almeirim. The world of Lisbon had no room for the Poet, who returned a pauper from the land whence so many had brought back fabulous riches. The literati showed only jealousy. Falcam de Resende (1577) expressly declares that he was neglected by the Court. His own testimony shows (Canto x. 154) that he was per-

sonally unknown to the King, who thought of nothing but war, sport, and love. He was "sent from Herod to Pilate." The Frenchman Ronsard received the "Order of Christ," and a buffoon, the "Cross of S. Thiago," whereof Camoens was not thought worthy. Had he condescended to flatter the *parti prêtre*, especially the Jesuits, it would doubtless have been otherwise. But he was an honest man, true to himself, and honesty is *not* the best policy—except when practised as policy.

In early 1572, the year famous, or infamous for the sacrifice to Saint Bartholomew (August 24), appeared the *Editio Princeps* of the immortal *Lusiads*,¹ a marking point in Portuguese History. It was not still-born, for even the Inquisition did not dare to lay hands on the author.

A second edition, some have supposed, was called for in the same year, "a circumstance," says Faria y Sousa, "accounted rare in the world, and which had never before happened in Portugal." But there is reason to assume that the second was a mutilated issue, printed in 1584. At any rate, the work secured for the author (July 28, 1572), a yearly pension of fifteen milreis (£3 8s), which, assuming money to be then six times its present worth, would represent some £20 in our day.² But the pittance, besides being saddled with conditions,

¹ Further details are given in Chapter 1. § 3

² Srn Tito de Noronha (*A primeira Edição dos Lusíadas*, Lisbon, Chaldion, 1880) makes the 15\$000 now represent 64\$700, an increase of more than four times

was irregularly paid, and the annuitant is represented to have said that he would pray the King to administer to the administrator 15,000 lashes—as many stripes as reis

Yet Juromenha, who, by the by, here stands alone, judges from two Sonnets¹ that Camoens accompanied the Court, and was well received. He seriously adopts (l. 105) the fiction proposed in the *Camões* (a poem of the learned Visconde de Almeida-Garrett (Paris, 1825), and pictures the Poet at Cintra, reading out parts of his Epic, in presence of his Sovereign. Finally he looks upon the niggardly pension as an earnest of future favours, which, in consequence of national disasters, never came.

Portugal, indeed, had rarely seen more miserable years than the seven between 1571 and 1579. In 1572 a storm destroyed a fleet fitted out to assist Tasso's admirer, the detestable Charles IX, by operating against the Turks and Lutherans. In early '73, floods injured Lisbon, and the Queen-mother, D Catharina, who had stoutly opposed D Sebastian's African projects, died. Both '74 and '75 were hunger-years, followed by an epidemic, there was an earthquake on June 7 ('75), and the bull-fights on the Feast of St John are described as the last merry-makings of Lusitania. The year ended with deluges of rain, when the saying was, *Nadando vem*

¹ Nos lxx and lxxiv Jur. 113. They appear utterly irrelevant; the former is the Epitaph and Eulogium of D Joam, probably written soon after 1557, the latter is addressed to the Viceroy, D. Luis de Ataide (1568-1571)

a fome à Portugal (Famine cometh swimming into Portugal) In '77 a comet excited all manner of superstition, and an Italian astrologer, Bellemene di Revore, predicted the destruction of the King and his Army, which was fulfilled in '78

After publishing his poem, Camoens, as far as we can learn, spent the rest of his life at Lisbon, "in the knowledge of many and in the society of few" His father was probably dead As Tasso, leaving the Hospital and Madhouse of St Anne, found a last refuge in the Monastery of Sant 'Onofrio, so his *colto e buon Luigi* passed his latter days with the Religious of S Domingos Perhaps these were the only men, save the Licentiate Corrêa¹ and a knot of personal friends, who could understand him Like the Pride of Bergamo, he "bore within him a germ of irresistible unhappiness," and the last insult to his genius came from his hopeful King

The Poet appears, from the conclusion of his *Lusiads*,

¹ Manoel Correia, or Coriêa, curate of S Sebastiam, in the Mouraria, and Synodal Examiner to the Archbishoprick, was a literate and licentiate (licensed to plead—a barrister), who corresponded with Justus Lipsius Camoens had requested this friend to annotate his Epic, hence *Os Lusíadas Commentados, pelo Licenciado M Coriêa* (small 4to, Pedro Crasbeeck, Lisbon, 1613, reprinted in 1720, the former rare, and sold by Quaritch for £2. 10s, imperfect) His reason for writing was that "much misinformation had been given," probably alluding to the Edition of 1584-85, with notes by many authors. He reports conversations with Camoens (*e.g.* on Canto 1 1; v. 6 and 40, viii. 81; ix. 21, x. 19, &c) But he was not a regular biographer, as we find in Adam. 1 19, a passage contradicting ii. 296-99

to have planned another Epos, a "Sebastianade," upon the coming conquest of Marocco. According to some, when the war was imminent, he began the song of triumph, so soon to become a threnody—a dirge. D Sebastiam may have taken umbrage at the mention of Actæon (Canto ix 26), or he may have been swayed by the advice of his uncle-guardian, the Cardinal. At any rate, when embarking for his grand conquest in Africa, he carried with him, as Poet-laureate and Homer, the courtly Diogo Bernardes, who survived a long captivity to purloin sundry productions of his great contemporary, and to address a sonnet to his memory ¹

Juromenha justly remarks that the Poet, now aged and reduced to crutches (*muletas*), was unfit for such a campaign. He produces, however (p 116-17), the novel assertion that D Sebastiam, during his first raid (1574) was supported by the trusty sword which had done such good service in Asia and Africa. His only grounds appear to be that the Soldier-poet would have liked the work, that the *Livro da Fazenda* (Treasury documents) shows a gap in paying the pension, *ergo* the absence of the pensioner (?), and, lastly, that the Elegy (xix) addressed to the young Governor of Tangier, D. Pedro da Silva, appears to have been written upon the spot

¹ It is given by Jur. i. 205. This Tityrus died in Lisbon (1596) and was buried in the same church as Camoens. Strangford makes the "Singer of the Lima" a man of "poor and despicable abilities." But he showed far more of the knave than the fool.

And now the infirmities of advancing age began hurrying to the grave one who was "singularly gifted by Heaven and abused by man, the terror of common poets throughout Europe" After eight wretched years spent in Lisbon, Camoens found himself isolated The accomplished Infanta, D Maria, daughter of D Manoel, was dead (March, 1578 Sonn LXXXIII) His Mæcenas, D. Manoel de Portugal, was absent on an embassy to Rome The family of his hero and kinsman, whom he had sung so nobly, ignobly neglected him (Canto v 99). Another Belisarius, he became like the heroic Pacheco, dependent for daily bread upon public charity According to some, he was occasionally supplied with victuals by one Barbara, a Mulatta¹ All agree that his Javanese Antonio (*O meu Iáo*), begged food for him during the night-time² This faithful slave predeceased his master, who must have felt a bitterer pang than any grief could deal after the death of Natercia The last drop of gall in his earthly cup was the fatal field of Alcacerquivir (August 4, 1578) The King was slain, the army was destroyed, Philip II. of Spain was assembling a force of 80,000 men, under the redoubtable Duke of Alba; and over city and county hung the shadow of the last calamity—national death.

¹ Vida p. lvi. *Obras completas de Luis de Camões*, &c., by J. V. Barreto Feio and J. G. Monteno ("F. and M."), 3 vols 8vo, Hamburg, Langhoff, 1834.

² Mickle makes Camoens beg with his own hand upon the Alcantara bridge; but no one knows whence he derived this detail.

Camoens died, as he said,¹ "not only in his fatherland, but with his fatherland" The year is still uncertain, 1579 and 1580 having equal claims On June 10, in his 55th or 56th year, unmarried, and the last of his line, he ended his fitful fever, after a "life that had been distributed in pieces about the world" (Canzon x.). Death was in one sense a boon, it spared him the blow of seeing his proud and beloved Portugal reduced to the rank of a second-rate Province, an event which, happening shortly afterwards, began the "Sixty years' captivity" (Augt. 25, 1580-1640).

The "Maro of Portugal" breathed his last—again like his hero Pacheco—in a hospital, and it is not known whether his mother was present at his death-bed. Fr José Indio, Carmelite of the Guadalaxara Convent, is our authority for the fact. On the margin of a copy of *The Lusians*, which he bequeathed to his Order,² he wrote "What grief to see so great a genius thus unfortunate! I saw him die in the hospital of Lisbon, without a sheet (*savana*) wherewith to cover himself, after triumphing in the East Indies, and voyaging 5,500 leagues by sea" A contemporary, D Alvia de Castro, writing in 1621, or some 40 years after the event, also declares that Camoens died, miserably destitute, in a hospital of Lisbon city.

¹ Letter to the patriotic D Francisco de Almeida, who was then organising defence against Spain.

² According to Adam and Mr Duff, this "celebrated copy of *The Lusians* was in the possession of the late Lord Holland" (Biographical Notice, xxvii.). So Jur. 1 xvii

The Friar F de Santo Agostinho de Macedo maintained that Camoens departed life in his own house. Juromenha (1 148-9) also casts doubt upon the received account, and supposes that Camoens may have breathed his last, as one of its brotherhood, in the Albergaria (Almonry) of Santa Anna, because it was his mother's Saint-name¹ An inscription, commemorating the event, was placed, a few years ago, upon Nos 52 and 54 of the *Calçada de Santa Maria*, en the left side ascending from the Rocio Square en route to the Bull Circus, and to the hospital of S José It is a mere cottage with two stories, those who promoted the "Tercentenary" (June, '80) proposed purchase, but the owner asked a fancy price.²

Even the Poet's winding-sheet was an alms-gift from the establishment of D Francisco de Portugal. According

¹ This Editor has apparently changed his mind, and now holds, with Senhor Minhava, that the house in Santa Anna Street "was beyond doubt the humble abode of the poet" So, at least, says (The *Athenæum*, May 22, '80) my valued correspondent, Mr. Matthew Lewtas, of No 26, Rua Nova d' Carmo, who continues making important contributions to Portuguese literature in the London journal

² As M Lewtas observes (The *Athenæum*, Nov 1, 1879) it seems rather late in the day to buy the cottage-home of the Prince of Portuguese Poets But it was only in 1847, when an American speculator proposed to transport bodily to the United States the house in which Shakespeare was born, that the literati of England collected the funds necessary to keep it Meanwhile, Newton's Observatory was torn down and turned into chapel-pews. "We cannot," says Mr. Lewtas, "complain of Portuguese backwardness; and may apply their proverb, *Cá e lá mas fadas ha* (Here and there bad fables are)" This proverb is quoted from the Poet's Carta 1

to Pedro de Mariz, the first biographer¹ (1613), Camoens was "poorly and plebeianly buried," to the left of the principal entrance of, and near the lower choir of, the Chapel of Santa Anna, belonging to the Franciscan nuns, and used at that time as a parish-church (*freguezia*). Its patronage belonged to the Shoemakers of the S. Crispim Fraternity, in the Padaria, or Baker's Quarter.

For sixteen years no memorial marked the ignoble grave of him who had dowered his country with the crowning glory of The Lusiads, a man who had created *une littérature toute entière* (Schlegel), the poet-encyclopædist who gave birth to a national compendium of belles-lettres, ranging from epigram to epic. The poor nuns probably looked upon him as a "profane" poet, who had little claim on their hospitality. In 1598, a "personal friend and a distinguished cavalier," D. Gonçalo Coutinho, of the house of Marialva, came to the rescue, bought the grave in perpetuity, from the Crispins, and marked the place with a marble slab, bearing for inscription.—

AQUI JAZ LUIS DE CAMÕES
PRINCIPE

DOS POETAS DO SEO TEMPO.

MORREO NO ANNO DE 1579

ESTA CAMPA LHE MANDOU POER D. GONÇALO COUTINHO
NA QUAL SE NÃO ENTERRARÁ NINGUEM

¹ Mariz was a librarian of the Coimbra schools, who printed with Corrêa's Commentary (1613) a life of the Poet, in the form of a letter "To the Lovers of Poetry." The biography was found neither

(Here lieth Luis de Camoens, Prince of the Poets of his time He died in the year 1579 This tomb (stone) was placed for him by order of D Gonçalo Coutinho, and none shall be buried therein)

The epigraph is wrongly given by most biographers, who add, *viveu pobre e miseravelmente* (he lived poorly and miserably), while others end with *e assim morreu* (and he died in the same way We must no longer moralise on this brave *résumé* Juromenha (i. 150-51) blames Faria y Sousa for the mistake, and for neglecting to visit the grave

This "simple but expressive epitaph" was followed, at the order of Gonçalves da Camara, whilom *Escritam da puridade* (Confidential Secretary) to D. Sebastiam, by a "copy" of flowery Latin verses, hexametres and pentametres beginning with .—

*Naso elegis, Flaccus lyricis, epigrammate Marcus,
Hic jacet heroo carmine Virgilius.*

They were written by the Jesuit, Padre Matheus Cardoso, Professor of Belles-lettres at Evora, and they prove that The Lusians had already been translated into Italian, French and Spanish. D. Gonçalo Coutinho further ordered another "copy of verses," in the form of a dialogue between the tomb and the "passer-by." The work of D. Manoel de Souza Coutinho (afterwards Frei

appreciative nor intelligent. A reprint and amendment appeared in the second part of the Rimas (Pedro Craesbeck, 1616), the Ed. Princ having been published in 1595.

Luiz de Souza), it begins *Quod Maro sublimi*, and, preceded by the Sonnet which his plagiaristic rival, Diogo Bernardes, addressed to Camoens, it appears in the first Edition of the *Rimas* (1595). The latter was printed by the Licentiate Fernando Rodrigues Lobo Surrupita (or Soropita) acting also under D. Gonçalo Coutinho.

The date 1580 was taken by Juromenha (i 172) from the *Arquivo Nacional* (Lib. III. of *Ementas*, fol. 137) The usual, 1579, given in Corrêa, in the epitaph and in a host of others is repeated by one of the latest English translators of *The Lusíads*, by the learned Dr. Storck in his "Idyllen" and by M. Clovis Lamarre in his "Camoens" (p. 46, Didier 1879), whilst Mr Duff (Biog. Not xxvii) is undoubtedly wrong when he says "the tenth of July"

Even the last home of our hero-poet was unfortunate. The "Virgins of the Lord" (nuns of S. Anne) "more occupied," we are assured, "with heavenly than with earthly things," destroyed all vestiges of his tomb in order to raise their choir. During the Great Earthquake of 1775, the church-roof fell in, the slab that covered the grave was broken and lost, and the Nunnery, when re-flooring the place, neglected to put up a memorial. In September 1836, by permission of Government, a commission searched the chapel for the Poet's bones. It discovered some remains, apparently apocryphal as those of the Great Cromwell, and placed them in a coffin of Brazil-wood.¹ The Academy of Lisbon pro-

¹ Mr Lewtas (*The Athenæum*, May 22, '80) tells us that Snr. José Tavares de Macedo, Member of the Academy, and Secretary

posed to translate to the church of the Jeronymites these apocryphal bones together with the even more doubtful remains of Vasco da Gama, and the ceremony was performed on June 8, '80, "with all the pomp befitting so solemn an occasion"

§ 2 CAMOENS THE MAN.

IT has often been observed that physical Beauty marks and seals, with her outward and visible sign, the greatest of men. Witness the three types of genius who were, so to speak, outside and above humanity — Alexander of Macedon, Julius Cæsar, and Napoleon Buonaparte¹. We look for this distinction especially among the Poets, in whom the brain should modify the mask, the thoughts, the flesh. We can understand Zoilus, Bavius, and Mævius being short, ugly, deformed:

of the Commission, has lately published an able pamphlet, giving an account of the work, moreover, that "all the most learned Camonians firmly believe in the authenticity of the relics." I fear that the case *pro* is much overstated. Finally, why the 8th of June, instead of the 10th, was chosen for the translation of the relics none can divine.

¹ It is a curious consideration that these, the greatest of men, were also the greatest of criminals; and that two of the three were, like Mohammed, epileptics, suffering from the sacer morbus.

Homer and Æschylus, Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe must be, cannot be otherwise than beautiful

The "Prince of the Poets of his day" was no exception to this rule. We have several pen and pencil portraits of him. The earliest (1624) was engraved on copper-plate by A. Paulus, from the Latin Eulogy of Gaspar Severim de Faria, translated and published by his uncle, Dr Manoel Severim¹. It shows a "Kit-Cat" in armour, one hand resting upon the Poem, while the other holds the pen. The family arms stand above, and there is a long Latin inscription, beginning, *MUSIS ET POSTERITATI S*². Another likeness at the age of forty was drawn by the Arch-Commentator's own hand, — *es hecho de mano de Faria y Sousa*. It is also a bust in ruff and body armour, with the family arms at the base, supported by the laurel, sword, and two pens³. Joam Soares de Brito (1641) gave a third in his *Apologia*. The

¹ This second biographer was a Chaunter of Evora, who, in 1624 printed a 4to of *Discursos varios politicos*, &c. The biographical notice of Camoens, which is less incorrect and insufficient than that of Manz, was republished with *The Lusads* (Lisbon, fol. 1720). It is believed that an ecclesiastic, Manoel Pires de Almeida (ob. 1655) bequeathed to the elder Severim, author of the *Asia Portuguesa*, his MSS (4 vols. folio) annotating *The Lusads*. This has never appeared.

² The Epigiaph is given at full length by Jun (i. 130)

³ Adam ii. 317 "Those of Vasco da Gama, and of the Viceroy's taken from faithful copies, curiously made in India, from the originals which were in the hall (*Sala*) of Goa," must not be trusted. The larger collection, now in the Palace of Pangim, is, as all know, mostly fanciful.

folio of Joseph (or Manuel ?)¹ Lopes Ferreyra (1720) contains a full-length portrait, "taken from Nature and not yet seen" if it be a likeness, it is by no means flattering. The Poet, in bay-wreath, ruff, corslet, spauldrons and brassards, sits before a table bearing his helmet with barred vizor, books, pen and ink: his sword has a plain chape over the cup-handle and a one-bar cross-guard. Juromenha (1731) also mentions a small wooden bust, apparently made for a stick-pommel. The medallions are all of later date, Dillon's, the best known, is copied from a portrait in the possession of the Marquis de Niza, ninth descendant from Vasco da Gama.

These likenesses combine to show the Gothic or North-European, rather than the Mediterraneo-Latin type. They have the brow of Olympian Jove or of Walter Savage Landor. The regularity of feature gave, it is said, an expression of severity to the countenance in repose,—*algum tanto carregado de fronte*,—emebat ei fions. The hair, held by anthropologists a crucial test of race, was saffron yellow (*acafreado*). The Indian-house Reports make the Poet *barbaruzo*: he wore his beard short and rounded, while the mustaches, long and untimmed, so as to be unlikest the "Moois," curve away from the mouth. His nose, the feature which denotes man's manliness, was "somewhat raised at the bridge, long and thickish at the tip"—Fielding's. The lips, which argue the sensual character, are described as full and well formed. The eyes, the

¹ Adam ii 350 Jur. (1731) calls him Manuel.

“windows of the soul,” were blue, “large and lively” Add an oval face with a ruddy complexion, and we have the unequivocal marks of the Iberian “blue blood” It is unfortunate that every portrait in every edition shows only a well-favoured Cyclops

The Poet’s figure was agile and robust, formed to endure the fatigues of camp and fight Belonging to the days when gentlemen “wore manors on their backs,” he delighted in fine raiment, in embroidered shirts, rich doublets and slashed breeches. Hence his eye for toilette generally, and the gusto with which he describes dress His hero’s garb is a complete knightly costume in the sixteenth century, and it contrasts artfully with the African’s robes (Canto 11 97), while the latter would apply to the Zanzibar of to-day. He affected a flapped *Sombrero*, as we learn from the epigram on a dame, who had called him *homem das abas grandes* (the “Broadbrim man”) —

Quem por abas me quer conhecer, &c
(Whoso would know me by my brims)

Finally, his presence has been compared with that of the handsome, blue-eyed Tasso, the generous poet who spoke so modestly of Guarini’s indebtedness, and who, despite the jangling Tassistas and Camoistas, professed to fear only one rival,—Camoens

His temper, till saddened by adversity and homesickness, was genial and jovial, affable and serene Soldierlike, he enjoyed conviviality, especially relishing the *Ceas do parayso* (Suppers of Paradise) on the

Horatian model, wherein wit flavoured wine¹ His minor pieces allude to his fondness for poultry,—an unhappy taste in India¹—and to the practical jokes passed upon this preference by his intimates² Like a true magnifico, he spent his money without stint, and he was more often in than out of debt During the ‘sturm und drang’ of youth he must have been a ruffler, turbulent, and too fond of seeing *flambeur au vent* His boast (Letter I) that he “had seen the heels of many, while none had seen his,” savours of the young campaigner. It won for him, as we learn from another epigram, the nickname of *Trinca-fortis* (crack-braves)³ In this matter he was the “gay militaire” of the period, a Bertrand de Born, adventuresome, and half disciplined, quick to draw and slow to sheathe

The poets in their youth begin in gladness,
But thereof come in the end despondency and madness.

Camoens’ joyous sweetness of temper, his gay and gallant bearing, his bravery in the battle and the duello, and his blonde and noble beauty could hardly fail to

¹ His poetical *convite* (invitation) to his friends, is given in Jur. iv 32 *et seq*

² Jur iv 94

³ Rabelais, *Gallorum gallus domesticatus*, ridiculing the Quixotisms of chivalry in the exploits of FEAR JOHN of the FLESH-KNIVES, places a *Trinca-amellos* (crack-kernels) in Toulouse (vol 1 149, Bohn’s Ulluhart). The word is equivalent to “Touquedille” (*qui touche de loin*), a Taille-bacon de la Biene (bacon-slicer), a braggadocio, a vapourer, an enforceur de portes ouvertes, a beater of a fast-tied cow, &c.

make a host of foes, a few friends, and a long list of conquests over fair dames. He also was remarkably inclined to the "tender passion" Nature (so called) is peculiar, even enigmatical, in her action she apparently prompts her choicest favourites to endow the world with as many copies of themselves as possible, and she succeeds in foiling their best endeavours. Again, Alexander, Cæsar, and Buonaparte.

Hence, while his classic models touched lightly upon the Commerce of the Sexes, the Portuguese goes out of his way to enrich his stanzas with love-passages, with amorous adventures, and with descriptions of feminine charms. His wooing has the exuberance, the vitality, and the vehemence of Scotland's great Peasant-Poet, whom he resembled in not a few other points. What woman with a heart could hear unmoved the passionate pleadings of Leonardo (Canto ix 75-81)? They flow lava-hot from the singer's soul, and doubtless had passed his lips. Our unpoetic translators, who find the lines too full of concerts, inversions, and so forth, forget that young women are not usually addressed in *ottava rima*. If these Piosists would take the trouble of turning the five stanzas and a half into the familiar tongue, they would see how simple and pathetic are the sentiments.¹

No reader fails to remark the delicacy and good taste of his love-scenes, whose mysteries he holds too sacred for the vulgar eye. He avoids, as a rule, mediæval

¹ Stanza LXXVII merely expresses the sixteenth Century, "I never loved a young gazelle."

αἰσχρολογία, though here and there we meet with an expression admissible in those days, but now savouring of the indiscreet. Few of his contemporaries¹ would have touched at the Isle of Love without offending our over-delicate standard of nineteenth-century taste, and one translator, Mickle, has made the purity of the original gross.

Goethe said that the highest type of man must always contain something of the feminine. Our Poet illustrates this truth. He has all that softness of heart and gentleness of spirit which characterise the noblest forms of humanity. He is at once —

As soft as woman and as strong as man.

And he is essentially "sympathetic," distinguished even among that sympathetic race, the *genus irritabile*.

Camoens never forgot the unutterable tenderness of his first love and the anguish of his irreparable loss. To the last he sings of Natercia with a peculiar tone which is not to be mistaken. Every expert can distinguish the touch and ring of the lines addressed to her, although the name has not been inserted. The most notable, and certainly the best known, is Sonnet *xix*, a Portuguese address to "Natercia in Heaven." The idea is evidently Petrarchian (No *xviii*).—

¹ For instance, Ariosto, in "Orlando Furioso" (Canto *viii* 40, and especially the whole "Fiammetta Episode," *xxviii* 50-70). This poem shows nothing of light composition; it is said that the author began it in *terza rima*, and that several of the octaves were re-written some fifty times.

Quest' anima gentil, che si diparte, &c
(That grateful soul in mercy called away)

MACGREGOR

But, if a copy, it surpasses the original It has been "Englished" three times by Southey, Hayley ("Anon."), and "Translations from Camoens," &c (Oxford 8vo 1818, Adam. 1 94, 261) None, however, have attempted it so literally as Mr J J. Aubertin, who has kindly allowed me to print his manuscript version —

My gentle spirit ! Thou who hast departed
So early, of this life in discontent,
Rest thou there ever in Heaven's firmament,
While I live here on earth all broken-hearted !
In that ethereal seat, where thou didst rise,
If memory of this life so far consent,
Forget not thou my ardent love unspent,
Which thou didst read so perfect in mine eyes !
And if, perchance, aught worthy thee appears
In my great cureless anguish for thy death,
Oh, pray to God who cut so short thy years
That He would also close my sorrowing breath
And swiftly call me hence thy form to see
As swiftly He deprived these eyes of thee !

In my MS, it appears as follows · it is, perhaps, not so literal as Mr Aubertin's, yet it is rendered line for line —

Alma minha gentil, que te partiste, &c
(The Poet addresses his lost Natércia)

Ah ! gentle soul of me that didst depart
So soon in discontent this life so vain,
Rest there eternal in the heavenly reign,
Live I here pent to play sad mortal part !

If from those blissful seats where homed thou art,
 Thy memory by-gone things may not disdain,
 Ah, ne'er forget that love whose aident strain
 Thou saw'st in purest eyes that spoke my heart

And if of thee such love gain ought of grace,
 If aught avail this everlasting care,—
 This yearning care no cure shall e'er efface,

Pray Him who shortened those few years so fair
 As soon He bear me hence to see thy face,
 As from mine eyes so soon the sight he bare

Camoens, as we learn from himself, undoubtedly had many a Dream of Fair Women in after years, although it is unfair to see in every poetical flower a serious declaration of love, and though the Arch-Commentator pronounces his loves "platonick" Liso (xiv), become Niso and Soliso, courts Dinamene (Sonnet clx.),¹ and Violante, Violet the Shepherdess (Sonnets cxix. &c) He addresses many pieces to a hapless dame who was drowned on her homeward voyage from Goa (xviii xxv liii xcix clxxiii ccxx. ccxxvi, &c); and the *Endechas* (duges or love-songs) à *Barbara escrava*, probably some Hindu girl, tell their own tale He evidently delighted in blondes, as may be seen from the frequent lines describing roses in snows and snows in gold. Yet his facetious friends charge him with black amours (Jur i. 506), and represent him as singing to

¹ The powerful Homeric Nymph, who had not then risen to "Planet No. 200." She is mentioned by Spenser (F. Q. iv. xi. 49) as *Dynámené*.

a Jew's harp the loving complaints repeated by a (she-) rook, and re-echoed by a (he-) crow. The lines end with an epitaph.—

*Luis, retrato negro dos amores
Negros seus, aqui jaz, a endurecida
Luzza negra o fez com negras dores
Mudar em negra morte a negra vida.*

(Luis, black likeness of his blackmoor loves,
Here lieth, slain in black and bitter strife
By black Louisa, whom no pity moves,
For black Death bartering a blacker life.)

His tenth Ode, an imitation of Horace (Carm 11 4), pleading the power of the "Cruel Boy," is supposed to be a kind of disculpation (Jur 11 280, 544) A far better excuse is in the pathetic lines (Canzon i. 31-2) —

*Frquezas são do corpo, que he de terra,
Mas não do pensamento, que he divino.*

(These be the foibles of our feeble flesh,
Not of man's sprite—immortal and divine)

Here, again, we remember Burns —

The heart's ay the part ay,
That makes us right or wrong

Born of this amorous complexion was his nature-worship, his adoration of the Sensuous, the Picturesque, the Beautiful; and his exceptional power of spiritualizing the material. The tender voluptuousness of Venus in the Heavenly Court (Canto 11. 33-43) is touched more lovingly and realistically than by any of the old Pagan bards, who believed in, and who bowed

before the Goddess Hence, probably allied to the constitutional melancholy developed in later life, a vein of sadness which appears even when his spirits are at their highest He feels deeply as Virgil himself the *lachrymæ rerum*, the *πονηρὸν τοῦ βίου*. His Inépisodé (III 120-135) is a *source de larmes*, as a French translator aptly terms it. Hence, too, his vanity, his love of approbation, that amiable quality which contrasts so strongly with pride or self-approval, his sanguine hopefulnes;—*la speranza è femmina*,—his delight in scenery, his enjoyment of sight as well as insight His lovely word-pictures distinguish his Epos from those of the more stoical ancients There are few “descriptions” proper in Homer, whose landscape is ideal (Od v) the heroic Greek is all action, movement, character, portrait, speech, he has little colour-sense, “his skies are never blue” Dante, the founder through Italian of Christian poetry, essentially a traveller as regards habits and souvenirs, applied scenery to the stage, picture to the portrait, a background of nature and art to the foreground of man Camoens, to the realism of the West added the glamour of the East. His short touches which express the prosaic “Day broke,” or “the Sun set,” are perfectly artistic, poetic, and effective, immensely varied, moreover, by his rich vein¹ He makes a stanza (Canto v. 2) out of A.D.

¹ A few instances are I 59, 84, II 1, 13, 60, III 115, VI 85, VII, 60, VIII 44; and X. I. Tasso had many of these passages in his mind's eye

1497, when the Armada left Lisbon. Hence, too, his pleasure in the fine arts, music, picture, and statuary. His wealth and warmth of colour, and his fluency and faculty of what is now called "Word-painting," are tempered by perfect accuracy, by trained observation, and by the ripest experience. In translating his details there is nothing more dangerous than to add an adjective or to alter a substantive. His *dizem* (they say) is Herodotean rather than Homeric; and its frequent use shows his conscientiousness.¹

Not less warm than his love was the patriotism of our Poet. In 1553 he left Portugal exclaiming Scipio's *Ingrata patria non possidebis ossa mea*^{1 2}. No sooner had he lost sight of her fair face than he repents, he yearns to embrace her, he never mentions her name without a caress or a sob. She is ever a *ditosa patria minha amada*,—my loved and happy fatherland³. At last he longs only to die in her and with her. He delights in recounting to the age, when chivalry was slowly and surely passing away, the choicest exploits of her glorious prime.

¹ The Homeric *τις* is the embodiment of the general voice, of common sense, of sound public opinion. "Thus observed *τις*" leads to reflections like those of a chorus.

² Letter 1 from India.

³ Canto III 21. It is regrettable that English has no synonym for the Latin *Patria*. "Country" and "native country" are poor substitutes, and "Fatherland" is a foreigner lately naturalized. The list of wanting words in languages is curious. For instance, French and German have no name "baby" (*bébé*), and the latter no single word for woman (*Frauensperson*).

With the pathetic plaint of the Jewish exiles he mourns the change which he sees creeping over her spirit; and he strives by precept and example to raise the tone of his day to his own towering height. He roughly reprobates the *lâches* and blanches of both lords and commons

—Of men degenerate, who so far have strayed
From the high, lustrous glories of their Sires,
Deep mired in vanities and low desires. (viii 39)

And such freedom would naturally be considered a crime by the "Goths in power." His truly filial affection "palpitating," say the Portuguese, "with Patriotism," never wearies of preaching public virtues, of urging his laggard fellow-citizens to do noble deeds, and of passionately chiding, with an angry vitality all his own, their listlessness and indolence, their egoism and dishonesty, their lust of lucre and their hankering after "honours." For he is Captain Sword as well as Captain Pen,—the *Sâhib el-Sayfi w'el-Kalam* of the East

Camoens' powerful personality animates his writings, the reflection of his mind, with the life and light of a noble intellect. He paints, like Tasso, portraits of himself. His heroes are "what every man in arms should wish to be." He is the fine flower of the Portuguese, of the European gentleman. The greatness and independence of soul, the dignity and self-respect, which he holds to be man's prerogative, make every sentiment generous, heroic, sublime. His *beau-ideal* is of the highest. The man of Camoens is noble in his way as the

man of Milton. He never o'ersteps the modesty of nature he tempers praise with blame, unlike Poets generally and Epic Poets especially, who make their central figures monsters of perfection We may emphatically repeat of him —

Reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique

Yet his various allusions show the most exalted conception of a good King, a great Captain, a wise Councillor, a just Judge, a pure Priest His moral courage must have been immeasurable that could address certain of his stanzas (ix. 27 and 28) to a Monk-ridden and Jesuit-ruled court. He will not lower his standard in deference to the exalted Vulgar, the great Common-place, the prosperous Incapables, and the powerful Worthless In an age of adulation, servility is unknown to him as to Boccaccio every expression tells us that his Thought is free, that we hear the true ring of independence No wonder that his Unfriends charge him with rashness and over-licence of speech.

Despite his desire to aggrandise the Sons of Lusus, he is no respecter of persons He vents his honest wrath upon the meanness of a Portuguese Viceroy (Redondilha 1), he condemns the cruel act of his favourite Albuquerque (Canto x. 65-8), he denounces the crime of a Queen (iii. 31-2), the harsh severity of one King (iii. 136-7), the weakness of another (Canto iii, end) and the base ingratitude of a third (x. 25) He shows a perfect appreciation of his Hero-kinsman, Da Gama,

and bluntly tells him (v 99) how much the discovery-feat owes to its Singer. He accosts his Monarch in a Dedication (i. 6-17) breathing manliness and loyalty, respect and self-respect. But he does not shirk the self-imposed duty of cautioning the young ruler against violating the golden mean, and he points out the road that leads to ruin (Epilogue x 147-156). His is not the language in which Virgil and Ovid addressed the Cæsars, Ariosto and Tasso the Princelets of Este, whose only glory was their verse. "There is much wisdom in this Welshman!" said our Henry V of that sturdy patriot, David Gam Camoens, however, spoke with the double authority of a good subject—Cato's "vir bonus dicendi peritus," and of a great genius. The last lines of his Epic are a catechism for Kings

He does not spare the rude, illiterate Grandees (vii 82), the ambitious Adventurers (vii 84); and Hypocrites (vii 85), the false Churchmen, the debauched Priests and the sham Missionaries of his day (x. 119). He foresees that the meddling of the "Spiritual powers" would bring about the material ruin of his unhappy Portugal (x. 150), and his observations upon Ecclesiastics are supposed to apply to the Cardinal, afterwards the Cardinal-King, D. Henrique. He openly asserts that Italy, under Papal rule had fallen through undue pretensions from her high estate (iii. 15). He even reflects upon the single catiff act of an Apostle (iv 13): here, however, his panegyrist, Faria y Sousa, blames him for rashness, opining the "Denial of Peter" to be a

mystery¹ Withal he devoutly believes in the teachings of "The Mother" (Church) His religion is Dante's, that of a Catholic not of a Papist, of a Poet not of a Puritan, while his creed is the broadest his times would tolerate

In point of morals Camoens, like our great English novelist, whom he so much resembles in honour, honesty and healthy sentiment, shows himself by no means faultless His morality, using the word in its unclerkly, ampler, and manlier sense, as the work of the brain's middle lobe, is conspicuous Here again we have Fielding who, despite the Philister's "excessive and unaccountable depreciation," was one of England's greatest moralists, as well as one of her noblest sons. Camoens never forgets a friend, a benefactor, a patron He immortalises the kindly Cambodians of the "Mecom River," who received him hospitably after shipwreck (x 128) He uses his influence, not to serve his own interests, but to promote those of his friends He never says a word in dispraise of Good or in praise of Evil hence his writings have been described as a tonic, a strengthening draught,—*une lecture saine et fortifiante* And if he can deal out splendid eulogy, he is capable, like Ariosto and Tasso, of the fiercest satire the greater the man the ampler is his capacity for Hate and Scorn as well as for Love and Affection He repays with a *sæva indignatio* the "malignity of evil tongues" He is not one of the

¹ Rabelais makes Friar John roundly abuse all the apostles for cowardice.

craven souls who, when injured and insulted, turn wrath-pale, and swallow their rage till it poisons their blood "Letting 'I dare not' wait upon 'I would,'" is by no means his way. He especially disdains to repress his resentment, and to conceal his contempt

Of captive Good attending Captain Ill,

when successful Fraud or prosperous Vice and Folly parade before "Desert a beggar-born," neglected Genius, misplaced Honour and tongue-tied Truth Yet, characteristically magnanimous, he seldom names the men whom he lashes with the scourge of scorpions In fact, his Morality is conspicuous as his Intellect and his Fancy.

We find in Camoens none of the weakly, sickly Humanitarianism of our modern day He has not a trace of that effeminate hysterical altruism which vents itself upon beasts¹ as well as upon human beings He ignores the Cosmopolitan sentiment which makes love of country decline into love of self, and which changes the Cant of Patriotism for the Cant of Unpatriotism, or what Earl Russell called the "Recant of Patriotism." He is an aristocrat to the backbone. With him the people is *O vulgo vil.* Such, however, was the language of his day, a classical derivation from the sine nomine plebs and the profanum vulgus of Virgil and Horace We find the same in the sprightly Ariosto (αλλυ 25) and

¹ In English poetry the love of lower animals apparently begins with the three Hares of hapless Cowper.

in the amiable Tasso, *quanta plebe ignobil cade*, "Johannes Factotum" makes Coriolanus a great offender, and Spenser has many a variation of "raskall rout" Yet Camoens, like Burns, had in him the enthusiasm of Humanity His pleadings for the people, at the end of *The Lusíads*, show that he loves man, that his heart is in the right place And in many passages we find him touching upon those finer issues which make men feel their common kinship This is what we expect it is still true that "out of the strong cometh sweetness"

The complement of his tenderness was his valour His companions in arms, the *Conquistadores* of India, looked upon him as the Brave of Braves Equally versed in the Arts of War and Peace, he gaily affronted the severest trials of the voyage, the march, and the battle. Indeed he often prescribes the dose to his countrymen as the best drastic for wealth-plethora, luxury-fever and effeminacy-phthisis His martial strains would have done more harm than good, had he not persistently recommended, when preaching his crusade against "The Moors," that warlike operations be placed under the greatest Captains of the day"¹

The sage Chilon of Lacedæmon first said so, and there are many in our modern age of Gold and Gilding who hold to his dictum, that Disinterestedness is the best touchstone of character. Camoens carried his contempt of

¹ See the Exordium, Cantos III 48, IV. 13, V 93, VI 95, VII 2; VIII 39, IX. 91-105, X 58, and the Epilogue.

this world's goods to an excess that becomes an evil. He was imprudent in money matters as he was impecunious. The repeated charges of malversation suggest negligence at least, and perpetual debt does not adorn the gentle life. Yet even this defect had its noble side. Evidently he estimated the mundane and its valuables by the standard of his own mind, not by the measure of others. He cared nothing for the process popularly called "getting on in the world," and, wise sin still, he told his contempt to the world of "getters on." The accident of his wreck is suggestive. He lost his little hoard of "Sycee Silver" and saved from the sinking ship only the manuscript of his *Lusiads*. It was thoroughly characteristic of the man to throw away Fortune and to preserve Fame.

Camoens must have appeared to his contemporaries, especially to the "many-headed," the model of an "impracticable man." In an age of courtiers and adulators he had constituted himself a manner of Censor—could anything be more unpalatable, more offensive to "Society," especially when Society felt that she was wrong and he was right? The Poet must have known what pains and penalties to expect from the host of complacent mediocrities, who deemed themselves the salt of this earth when he showed them how they lacked savour. But he never offered, as Aristophanes has it, a "Libation to Dullness." He was too honest and honourable, some will say too imprudent and reckless, to hold his peace. The fact is, he wor-

shipped Truth With him Truth is ever good to tell , and he tells it little recking how much it told against his own interests Moreover he is not contented with telling the "Truth and nothing but the Truth" He must e'en tell the "whole Truth," a far more dangerous exercise. In fine, he had the courage of his opinions , and, as was said of another, "he never feared the face of man "

Camoens in his younger days used freely to lament his "outrageous Fortunes," the miseries of Exile and the neglect of his King and Country Still there was an under-current of pity, of mourning for their backslidings who preferred Ulysses to Ajax (x. 24), and who promoted the flatterer and the sycophant to the prejudice of the brave soldier and the accomplished man of letters With years this querulousness increased, and at last it assumed the melancholy form of a "grievance" He clean ignored the Oriental sentiment —

An olden saw of man doth say,
The more his worth the less his pay ¹

Grant we that the Poet's misfortunes were abnormal and excessive , that disappointment dogged his every step , that neglect was the only guerdon of one who was raising a monument worthy of his Country's glory , that his woman-like sensitiveness and sensibility, — that curious touch of the feminine temperament in a doughty

¹ Izzet Mullah's "Eulogy of the Pen," in Persian —

Be Shahi in Masal shuhrey-e-âlam ast,
Keh har Kas hunar bishtar az lozi kam ast.

man-at-arms and an undaunted traveller,—may have been too much for his manliness; and, finally, that the infirmities and the maladies of advancing age had weakened the action of his brain, popularly termed the mind. Still, making all allowance, we must confess that, during his later years, Camoens did not show the nobility, the fortitude and the dignity we expect from a nature so truly noble. His Portuguese admirers have not failed to notice this final want of stoicism, but they seem startled by their own temerity, and apologise for daring to see the sun-spot. Some of his poetry becomes one long wail, nor can we accept as valid his excuse

—*Mas quem pena*

Forçado lhe he gritar, se a dôr he grande (Canz. xi. 22-3)

(For whoso grieves

Perforce, if grief be great enough, must grieve)

We feel hurt at reading such laboured and rhetorical complaints as these.—“Who hath ever heard say that on so small a theatre as one poor bed, Fortune willed to represent such great misfortunes? And I, as though these did not suffice me, I range myself on her side; for to resist such accumulated evils would appear shameless audacity!”¹ Another and a sterner reply would have better suited the mean Fidalgo, Ruy Dias da Camara, who dunned the Poet’s sick-room for a transla-

¹ Letter to D. Francisco de Almeida, before quoted. Some look upon the sentiment as delivered in jest, but it appears terribly earnest.

tion of the "Penitential Psalms" ¹ We are pained by such a moan as — "When I wrote those verses I was young, well fed, a lover and beloved by many friends and fair dames this gave me poetic fire. Now I have neither spirit nor peace of mind for anything, there standeth my Javan who asketh from me two groats (*moedas*) to buy charcoal, and I have them not to give him."

The lovers of Camoens, and they are in legions, must ever regret that he did not go down to his grave dumb of grievance, as Socrates the Sage and Seneca the Singer, that he did not prefer to Ecclesiasticus (xxix. 24, xl 28-29) the noble sentiment *Ecce spectaculum . Dei dignum, vir fortis cum mala fortuna compositus* (Sen De Providentiâ, ii 6) He might have shown the moral courage of a Dante ² who sang in exile. —

*Tu proveras sì come sa di sale
Lo pane altrui, &c. (Par. xvii 58)*

(Yes, thou shalt taste how savourest of salt
The stranger's bread)

¹ Jur. (i 510) suggests that the ignoble Noble may have given alms before he left the starving and dying Poet F y S, who first tells the story, ends it thus — "Thence I infer that this gentleman (and others like him) closed his purse for four maravedis, and opened his mouth to ask for Psalms"

² Yet Villani says of the great Exile, "He was well pleased in this poem to blame and cry out in the manner of poets, in some places perhaps more than he ought to have done, but it may be that his exile made him do so." Hence, too, his epitaph, "*Hic claudor Dantes patris extorris ab orris*"

He might have said with Sir Henry Wotton .—

How happy is he born and taught
That serveth not another's will

* * * *

That man is freed from servile lands
Of hope to rise or fear to fall
Lord of himself though not of lands,
And, having nothing, yet hath all.

But he unhappily adopted the tone made familiar by
“the poet's poet,” gentle Spenser, who exclaimed in the
bitterness of dependence upon Court-favour —

O griefe of griefes ! O gall of all good heartes !
To see that Vertue should dispised bee , &c
(The Ruines of Time, 449-50)

And he re-echoed the “Serene Shepherd” as he
awoke from his day-dreams of ambition —

Full little knowest thou, that has not tride,
What Hell it is in sung long to bide . &c.
(Mother Hubberd's Tale, 895)

Such weakly lamentations may well have been spared
us Camoens had battled for the Right against a
world of Wrong, and such men must expect to die in
the Hospital, the Workhouse or the Jail And who would
not happily face a similar end after writing the immortal
Lusiads? But the bed of Sickness and Death does not
show many Rabelais · often, indeed, it fails to carry out
the purpose and character of the life “Tell me how

the man lived, not how he died," is a wise saying. Meanwhile we are thankful that *The Lusíads* show little of this final frailty, this sad eclipse. The *Magnum Opus* was conceived and born in the morning and meridian of life, in the heroic period, when the glow of manliness was highest and hottest, and the few allusions to sad fortunes¹ are the pathetic shadows of great lights.

During his palmy days the Poet's character had a grandeur of soul, a magnanimity of spirit, a fineness of ethical perception, a pride of independence, a truthfulness and constancy in dealing with Fortune, or rather with Misfortune, which, combined with his amiability, his serene temper, his buoyant hopefulness and his brilliant valour, rendered him phenomenal among the Bards. He was a great "maker," and an even greater citizen of that greatest Republic,—the World. His virtues were his own, self-trained in the old heroic school. His vices were those of his Media,—date and place. His faults and foibles belonged to human nature, which is imperfect even now. It is not astonishing—indeed we should be astonished had it been otherwise—that so exceptional a soul was a failure in life, died in want, and after death is almost deified by his countrymen.

With Camoens, the Patriot, the Soldier, the Poet, fell his beloved Portugal, not to rise again for many a weary year of bondage. In like manner,—a strange coinci-

¹ For instance Canto v. 97; vi end; vii 78-81; and x 128 and 145.

dence!—her neglect of Cervantes was expiated by Spain, whose name presently ceased to be a word of power throughout the world. Here we have no need to invoke a special Nemesis. The blunted conscience, and the degraded national character that can sordidly neglect or spitefully entreat, the “Almighty’s Patent,” the Genius whom it was man’s highest duty to honour and to cherish, are the clearest signs and symptoms of decay, decline and fall. And only the amplest confession of its past unworthiness can restore to such a people its self-esteem and the respect of the world.

Portugal allowed the noblest of her many noble sons to die in a beggar’s bed and to fill a pauper’s grave. Presently she made honourable amends for the irreparable wrong, and published her penitence to the world. Camoens became, soon after his death, what he is now, and what he shall be while Time endures, *O grande Camoens*, and his countrymen vie in rendering honour to him who,—

Ense simul calamoque auvit tibi, Lysia, famam.

On October 9, 1867, a double-size bronze statue of the Poet, by Victor Bastos, was set up in the Praça de Luis de Camoës,¹ fronting the Rua do Chiado, the most crowded, although the shortest, street of Lisbon, where stand three of the finest churches. Around it are grouped eight of his most distinguished predecessors

¹ There is also a Largo de Camoës near the Praça de D. Pedro

and contemporaries, G. E. d' Azurara, Joam de Barros, Couto, Sá de Miranda, Pedro Eannes Nunes, Fernam Lopes Castanheda, J Corte Real and Quevedo June 8-10, '80, the third centenary of his death, witnessed a solemn national commemoration, a passionate confession of past wrong Men of Lusitanian blood gathered, at the summons of the Press, from the four quarters of the globe, especially from the Brazil, whose accomplished Sovereign is a "Camonian" enthusiast, to take part in this splendid tribute paid to the greatest of Peninsular singers The Capital rang with the praises of him whose history is now surrounded by the halo of romance It was a Saint's festival following a martyrdom, a splendid apotheosis to which the glooms of memory lent a brighter glow ¹

Mickle's sensible and outspoken remarks upon the ill-treatment of Camoens² hurt the national susceptibilities of a past generation The words would have been more forcible had the translator only mentioned, in fairness, that no country has been a more unjust step-mother to certain of her poetic sons than his own. The amiable Spenser, the pride of our romantic literature, was allowed to die in King-street, "for lacke of bread" Thomas Otway choked himself when staying the pangs

¹ A full account of the "Function" is given in the "Livro do Tricentenário," which I have not yet seen. The Brazil celebrated the Tercentenary by founding a new building for the National Library, by opening a Camoens Exhibition, &c &c.

² Life of Camoens, cxxiiii-cxxlix.

of hunger with an alms-crust Richard Savage may have deserved to perish of want and misery in Newgate, not so the gallant Cavalier-poet, Richard Lovelace, who died of starvation in Gunpowder Alley, and not so the "marvellous boy" who, after rejecting his landlady's dinner, found nothing better to do than to poison himself. And "What porridge had John Keats?" who thanked God that his death-hour had struck. While loving to honour a Wordsworth and a Southey, the Philister and the *Halbbildung*, condemned to exile noble Shelley and glorious Byron, that hater of shams and humbug. The latter, indeed, has not yet obtained plenary pardon from the Unco Guid while Paris has remembered him in the Rue Lord Byron, a miserable London vestry lately refused a place to his statue, and the latter was set up in Hamilton Gardens under protest, as it were.

There is a quaint parallelism in the careers of the two greater Iberian lights, and the peculiar coincidence of their fortunes has been glanced at by a Spanish biographer¹ Luis de Camoens and Miguel Cervantes de Saavedra² were contemporaries, and they must often

¹ Of Cervantes, Adam 1 234-36. Mrs. Oliphant (Cervantes, Blackwood, 1880) has apparently never heard of Camoens.

² Nat. Oct. 9, 1547, at the University Alcalá de Henares, where a bronze statue was placed in 1879 (six other places claiming the honour), published Part 1. of *D. Quijote* (small 8vo) in 1605, followed by three or four Editions in the same year; and Part II. in 1615 died of dropsy at Madrid, æt. 69, on Shakespeare's birthday (April 13-23, 1616). *D. Quijote* is again becoming "the fashion"

have heard of one another. Yet, curious to say, Camoens never mentions Cervantes,¹ while Cervantes alludes to Camoens in only one passage where he calls The Lusians *El tesoro del Luso* (the Lusian's treasure) Both were born Hidalgos of ancient and decaying families Both show the *Sangre Azul*, that Gothico-Scandinavian, not German, blood² whose signs and symbols are blue eyes and golden hair The two were physically of one type. Cervantes thus draws his own likeness —He, whom we see here, hath a visage sharp and aquiline, his hair of chestnut hue, his eyes lively, his forehead smooth and high, his nose hawkish, but well proportioned, his mouth small, his beard silvery (twenty years ago it had

in England, where Mr. Duffield has just published a new translation of the great humourist The first version, entitled | The History of | Don Quichote: The first Parte | Printed by Ed Blount, | was by Thomas Shelton, in 1610 (1611 ? 1612 ?) . Parte II. by another hand (?) appeared in 1620 It went through six Editions, more deserving and more fortunate than the paraphrase of John Philips (1687) or the attempts of unwholesome Peter Anthony Motteux (1701), of Jarvis (1742); of Smollett (1755, a plagiarist from Jarvis), and of Lockhart (1822), who simply reproduced Motteux I have heard of but not seen that of Mr. Kelly

¹ Camoens also ignores the names of Sá de Miranda, Ferreira, Caminha, Bernardes, and even Francis Xavier Again it must be borne in mind that many of our prolific Poet's works are lost, or rather, let us hope, are missing Jur reminds us that neither Virgil nor Horace mention Cicero, and that Boileau is silent concerning La Fontaine

² I hold the Scandinavian to be an older and nobler Aryan emigration than the Teuton. this is not, however, the place to discuss an anthropological question

a golden tint) ; his upper lip furnished with long mustachios ; his teeth few, numbering only six in front , his complexion fair rather than brown , his stature of a middle size, neither tall nor short ; thick in the shoulders, and not over light of foot ”

More remarkable were the points of moral resemblance in the two writers who both deserve a place amongst “Plutarch’s Men,” a term of late much abused. Cervantes was one of the noblest minds produced by his nation, singularly favoured by nature with rare greatness of soul His characteristics were the union of undaunted courage and exceeding tenderness ; his especial gifts are truth, purity of mind, candour, and independence of spirit , heroic constancy and fierce hatred of persecution, violence, and cruelty His writings denote remarkable delicacy of taste, combined with that homely Spanish humour which has the flavour of dry sheiry ; and his genial temper and amiability endeared him to his friends who, as we easily understand, were few

Both these true gentlemen, after the usual University course, the elder at Coimbra, the junior at Madrid (?), began life as “soldiers of fortune,” that is sans fortune, rank, and worldly goods Both “planted a lance in Africa,” as the brave old saying was. Camoens was in garrison at Ceuta, Cervantes spent five years and a half in chains at Algiers. Both fought against the Moslem, then the terror and the danger of Christendom , both were wounded in the wars ; both were ridiculed instead of being admired and rewarded for

their wounds In the Campaign of 1570-71, which broke the back of the "Drunkard," Sultan Selim II, Cervantes received two harquebuss-shots in the breast, while a third disabled his left hand "for the glory of the right" ¹ hence his honourable soubriquet, "The mutilated of Lepanto" Both received, for sole recompense, petty official appointments, when they would have done credit to the highest

Both were repeatedly thrown into jail, for real cause of debt and on false charges of malversation Camoens wrote sundry of his chefs-d'œuvre in prison at Goa and Mozambique, Cervantes issued part of his immortal romance when in durance vile at Argamasilla (?) Both spent their last sad and obscure years in their native lands, enjoying little of the popularity heaped upon their memories, and apparently resigned to forego posthumous fame. Neither of them has left anything like the triumphant *exegi monumentum* of the Roman lyricist, who belongs, like them, to all time Both "pauper gentlemen" were pensioners of the Crown, but, while Camoens did not receive his yearly £3 8s, Cervantes married a small property —the great Spaniard, in fact, was never brought so low by Fortune as was the greater Portuguese.

Both wrote Pastorals, Satires, Dramas, a "Labyrinth," a "Parnassus," and an Epic, the latter a composition

¹ In the Arsenal of St Mark, Venice, hangs the great Standard of the Turkish Admiral, which Cervantes "may have grasped with his unwounded hand"

easy to the Neo-Latin, not to the Northern races, whose epos is mostly scant in epopée. M. Taine, with justice, holds *the* heroic poem of Spain to be Don Quijote, not Ercilla's Araucana¹. Both Poets suffered in their poetry by the inevitable meddling and muddling of ecclesiastics. It is well known that the "Religious of Saint Domenick," the Inquisition, insisted upon changing, adding, and expunging certain passages of *The Lusíads*.² At the same time, perhaps we must be grateful for his small mercies to the "Qualificator" (Censor) of the Holy Office, Fr. Bartholomeu Ferreira, a kind of theological Aristarchus,³ who did not allow

¹ So Carlyle makes Shakespeare's historical plays our national Epos, whilst his own *Life of Frederick the Great* is that of Prussia. M. Taine declared Michelet's *History* to be the Epopée of France, let us add some of the Béranger Songs, *Les Souvenirs du Peuple* and *Le vieux Caporal*.

² *E.g.* Canto 11 12, where Bacchus worships the Founder of Christianity, 111 143, where the weakness of the "Lord's Anointed," the worthless D. Fernando, is weakly condoned, 1x 71 and 81 treating of the Sea-nymphs, x 38, explaining away the poetic word Fate, and x 82, abolishing the Gods of Olympus. This was in fact to stultify the *ambages deorum et ministerii* which, as in the "Transfiguration" of Raphael, form the upper half of the panorama. Lastly x 108-118 contains the silly episode, miracle, and martyrdom of an apocryphal Saint Thomas; put, moreover, into the mouth of a pagan Nymph, who sings it in the presence of a mythological Goddess. To priestly hands also we must attribute sundry "amputated editions" issued after the Poet's death, especially those of 1584 and 1597, which dishonestly claimed to be reprints of 1572. They will be noticed in the Tabular Appendix.

³ Highly spoken of by Jur. (i. 111) who has ever a good word for "Dignities."

greater mutilation Cervantes, who had been excommunicated, whispered to M de Boulay, French Ambassador, Madrid, "Had it not been for the Inquisitors, I should have made my book much more amusing"

Both writers were subjected to the hostile, carping, and unworthy criticism of many a rival,

Carmina qui scripsit Musis et Apolline nullo ,

of men who expect to put out the sun by pointing at a few sun-spots As Homer had his Zoilus, Virgil his Æneïdomastix, and Milton his Lauder, so Camoens was attacked by Padres Ferreira¹ and Macedo,² and Cervantes by the traitor-priest, who called himself Licentiate Alonzo Fernandez de Avellaneda³ (Luiz de Aliaga ?)

¹ Ignacio Gaicez Ferreira ("Feir"), alias the "Arcadian Gilmedo," and the fifth biographer (1731-32) who followed F y S, was a foreigner criticising the Portuguese style of a Portuguese

² There is a strong whiff of personal jealousy in the *Censura das (not dos) Lusíadas por José Agostinho de Macedo*, 2 vols 12mo, Lisboa, Impressão Regia His poem *O Oriente*, not being duly appreciated, the poet, at best a Portuguese Gifford, wrote the book whose first and last editions are dated 1814 and 1820 (Jur 1 367) The motto is from Claudian —

Tolluntur in altum

At lapsu graviore ruant

I have occasionally quoted from Feireyra, and Macedo ("Mac"), in the terminal notes (Appendix Vol. II), that the reader may judge their style of criticism, mostly a "heap of clotted nonsense"

³ Avellaneda's object in printing this continuation is still a mystery, and as little can we understand why Cervantes noticed it in his Second Part. Hence, possibly, the idea that Lope de Vega,

The latter, not contented with a spurious, impure, and impertinent continuation of D Quijote, in which the Don was vilified, abused its author personally and ignobly for his wounds, his grey hairs, and his isolation. In both cases .—

Zoile contre Homère en vain se déchaîna ;

And, if the critic survive it is like

A tomtit twittering on an eagle's back,

or because, as Easterns say, "worms, in turbants hid, ride upon the heads of kings."¹

Both authors sang the Swan's Song, and wrote in the very presence of death. Cervantes, after receiving extreme unction, indulged his ruling passion by composing the dedication of his "Persiles." Camoens produced, shortly before expiring, Sonnet No. ccxxvii, beginning with —

Oh ! quanto melhor he o supremo dia

(How better blest is man's supremest day)²

Nobis

His personal friends, Manoel Ribeiro and Alvaro de Mesquita, declared that after burning the opening stanzas of his "Sebastianade," probably in 1578, he "lost all his poetic fury, and never wrote another line."

who abused the poetry of Cervantes, penned the coarse pernicious trash

¹ The poetical Oriental idea became, in Burns, "Lines to a Louse on a Lady's Bonnet."

² *Jur* 1 127

But he evidently composed Sonnet cccxvi upon the death of D. Sebastian, beginning —

Com o generoso rosto lanceado, &c
(With mark of lance upon his martial face)

It is highly artificial and mythological, but this does not prevent it being the expression of real feeling. Buchanan did not sorrow the less for the loss of his wife because he employed himself in writing polyglot epitaphs. There is no saying what turn the sick mind takes.

Both these great men found their country declining towards her fall. Both tried to arrest the course of fate, and both must have died labouring under a sore sense of failure. Both, after being the sport of misfortune, ended their chequered lives and literary careers, in sadness and disappointments manifold. And to both "Fortune was as kind after death as she had been unkind and cruel during life."

Even Death made little difference in their lots. Camoens was buried like a pauper in the Chapel of the Franciscan nuns, Lisbon, Cervantes with rites as beggarly in the Convent of the Trinitarian nuns, Madrid. For years after his death Camoens had no epitaph, an earthquake destroyed his tomb, and the discovery of his bones is, to say the least, doubtful. The remains of Cervantes were never found, after the holy women changed their house. Spain and New York have built statues to his memory; but no inscription,

save on a cenotaph, can mark the last home of Spain's noblest son Finally, we may say of each with equal propriety —

He was a man, take him for all in all,
We ne'er shall look upon his like again

§ 3 CAMOENS THE POET

THREE centuries of commentary and criticism, of praise and dispraise, heaped upon Camoens in profusion and in wild extremes, have left to modern essayists little beyond a comparison of statements, followed by an expression of personal taste, of individual preference and of private judgment

A glance at the "Epos of Commerce" explains how and why it has been treated with excessive enthusiasm and depreciation, encomium and contempt An intense nationality, a commanding personality, and the originality of genius make warm friends and no less bitter foes

Consequently Camoens has his idolaters like Severim, Faria y Sousa, and Duperron de Castéra, to quote the three chief sufferers from the *luis commentatorum* To them he is Homeros (the fitter), Achilles the fighter They write like Rhapsodists, like Epitaphists.—

Vertere fas, æquare nefas, æquabilis uni
Est sibi, par nemo, nemo secundus erit.

Even the more discriminating Editors, have, of late years, warmed themselves to enthusiasm. They can no longer be called *insensuere e frios* (frigid) *biographos*, whose breath of spirit cannot give life to the dry bones of fact and date, and body forth the real man. The *Lusiads* has become a model *Epopée*, a "divine production," perfect in all its five parts, and fulfilling every law laid down by Aristotle¹

The Exordium or Proem, including Exposition (Canto 1 1-3), Invocation (1 4-5), and Dedication (1 6-18), leads worthily to the abrupt *Archè* the view of the Armada ploughing tranquil seas. This introduces the *Mésos* or accidents of navigation, and a noble *Télos*, or *nexus*, brings the whole to its proper close. The Fable (subject) is incomparably more important to mankind than the destruction of a city, a cruise in the Mediterranean, a mythus of Hebrew Eden or a visit to Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, which only teaches us to avoid all three. The unity is admirably preserved. The Praxis, or main action, is illustrious and of appropriate magnitude: it recounts the exploits of a Hero, who fares to explore "man's inn and dwelling-place" (x 91), to spread commerce, civilisation, and Christianity, and to return in all the pomp and pride of success. The Poem is equally notable for "Manners" (character of the actors), for "Sentiment" (propriety of thought), for exciting Pathos and Terror,² and for

¹ Poetics. Caps 23-24

² "Ἐλεος=Pity (for others). Φόβος=Fear (for oneself)

“Diction” which, according to the rule, is straightforward in the main business, and most studied and ornate in the idler parts

Around this principal and essential act of a grand historic Drama, all the non-essentials fall, we are told, into their fittest places. The Episodes are not outlaid but inlaid, not excrescences from, but ornaments of, the Praxis, and these the Poet lavishes with a liberal hand. The Exordium is even longer than that of Lucan to Nero, or rather Rome, and Statius to Germanicus-Domitian, “a little heavy but not less divine” here Camoens takes the liberty allowed to a Romanesque Poet of the chivalrous age. Both Invocation and Epilogue contain passages of perfect practical and poetical beauty, although, as also happened to Virgil’s Pollio, Fortune was pleased notably to stultify, in whole and in part, every forecast.

Camoens, they add, swims with the “Corks of insolent Greece and haughty Rome” Homer excels in sublimity, Virgil in purity and tenderness; Ariosto in luxuriant fancy; and Tasso in enthusiasm. Camoens combines all. The historical part of The Lusians (Cantos III, IV and X) rivals if not surpasses The Æneid (IV and VI). While the Renaissance period failed to produce an Epopee in Italy, England, and France, little Portugal can point to her triumph in the noblest field of poetry. Her Epos is not only the most complete that has appeared in any modern tongue, it is also the first born. *El Cid Campeador*,

a song older than Dante, is a Cento of ballad narratives, so ably strung together as to give individuality. *L'Italia liberata dai Goti* is easy writing but hard reading, and by no means a success¹ The three *Orlandos*, including that of the "Homer of Ferrara," are romances rather than Epics.² The "Pride of Bergamo," whom Byron revenged upon Duke Alphonso, did not publish till 1575, or three years after *The Lusjads*³

¹ "Italy freed from the Goths," whose vehicle is the *verso sciolto* (unrhymed iambics), so little fitted for Neo-Latin poetry, has become a Classic after the fashion of our Somerville it is printed, not read Giovanni Giorgio Trissino (called Dresino by Ariosto) of Vicenza (nat. July 8, 1478), statesman, scholar, and student of science, was highly appreciated by Leo X He wrote *Sofonisba*, the first classical Italian tragedy, besides a vast number of sonnets, canzons, madrigals, &c, and he died æt 71-2, on Dec. 1, 1550

² First was the *O Innamorato* of Matteo M Boiardo, nat 1434, studied at Ferrara, was made Governor of Reggio (1472) and of Modena (1481), returned to Reggio, and there died in 1494 (Feb 20? Dec 20?), without putting the last touch to his poem In 1823 an abstract, verse and prose, was published by the translator of Ariosto—Ml. Rose *O Innamorato* appeared under the same title, by Francesco Berni (nat. 1490, ob. July, 1535), a good Latinist, who gave fresh life to Italian "jocose poetry." Ariosto's *O Furioso* (1516) came between the two.

³ Although born at Sorrento, bled at Naples, and homed at Ferrara, Tasso considered himself a Bergamasco, and printed his first productions (æt. 18) at Venice Here he lived, in the Fondaco dei Turchi (lately rebuilt for a museum), and soon became a prime favourite of the gondoliers. They sang, however, the Italian, not the local version, of the Jerusalem The Venetian dialect, which has an admirable translation of the *Iliad*, brought forth

The Philo-Camoensians cannot sufficiently praise the special gifts of their model poet, the flexibility and versatility of his Muse, his graceful Fancy and vivacious Imagination; his inexhaustible vein of erudition in every mine of literature, his robust spirit that makes him appear a modern thinker amongst us moderns; and the beauty, the fitness and the sublimity of his *morale*, expressed in sentiments which fire the heart and leave an indelible impress upon the soul. They stand up sturdily for his originality. He found the world of Portuguese letters divided into three factions, the Petrarchistas (Italians), the Trovistas (nationals) and the Latins (classics), all meeting in one point, the rhyme which had been popularised throughout Europe

more than one variant of *El Tasso st' avestro da Barcarol Venetian*. The most spirited is that of Dr Tomaso Mondini — *El Goffredo del Tasso cantà* (cantata) *alla Barcarola* (2 vols, Venice, 1790). It begins —

L'arme pietose de cantai gho (ho) wogia (*voglia*),
 E de Goffredo la immortal braura,
 Che al fin l'ha libeirà co strussia e dogia (*dolore*),
 Del nostro buon Gesù la Sepoltura;
 De mezo mondo unito, e de quel Bogia (*boia*),
 Missiei Pluton no l'ha lù mai paura;
 Dio l'ha agiutà e i compagni spaipagnai
 Tutti 'l gh'è ha messi insieme i dì dai (dalli, lay on ! give it !)

An older version, *El Tasso tradotto in Lingua Venetiana* (by Signor Simon Timadoni sotto i Porteghi à Rialto, 1691), prints the first line of each stanza longer than the rest. This is contrary to Italian usage, but we find it in the so-called Second Edition of *The Lusjads* (1572)

by the Arabs Camoens, they say, affiliated himself to none in the produce of his "fecund natural genius" They delight in his impartiality, his love of truth and justice, his loyalty and his triumphant tone of patriotism This burning Amor patriæ enlists us, they say, in the cause of Portugal, the "birth-place of a soul so truly Portuguese," and compels us to take a personal pride and pleasure in her prowess.

They own that the language had been formed before Camoens' day¹ The poetic style had been cultivated by writers who preceded him a few years such were, for instance, Sá de Miranda, Bernardim Ribeiro and Gil Vicente the "Father of the Portuguese Theatre"² The patriarchs of prose were Lobeira,³ Azuara,⁴ Castanheda,⁵ Joam de Barros, the "Livy of Portugal,"

¹ Four octaves of a Poem attributed to D Roderick (the last of the Goths A D 711), were found in 1187, they are rather Portuguese than Spanish A little song, written by Egas Moniz (temp Count Henrique, ob 1185) is intelligible to the sixteenth century Other specimens are given by Ferd Denis (*Résumé de l'Histoire littéraire de Portugal*, &c, Paris, Lecomte, 1826)

² Sá de M, nat 1495, ob 1548 B Ribeiro nat in Alemtejo (date unknown), first published Songs in 1557 (André de Burgos, 1 vol 8vo), G Vicente (nat ?) printed earliest plays in 1505, ob 1557

³ V de Lobeira of Oporto (ob 1403) wrote the most popular book of his day, *Amadis de Gaula* (Gaula), it has appeared in many and various forms, such as *L'Amadigi di Gaula* of Bernardo Tasso.

⁴ The chronicler Gomes Eannes d'Azuara first described the feats of the Portuguese in the Eastern Seas, in his *Chronica*, &c, which was written in 1453, and comes up to 1448.

⁵ Fernam Lopes de Castanheda, an indefatigable student, born (?),

and the remarkable Damiam de Goes.¹ But though Camoens did not create Portuguese, they declare that

ob 1559. He went to Goa in 1528, wrote at Coimbra his *Historia da India*, partly based upon the *Roteiro* (Ruttier, or log-book) of the voyage. The first Edition (4to pp 267) of his laborious work appeared in 1551; the second (8 books) came out in 1561, and ended with 1548. This work contains the Latin inscription found at Cintra (and forged by order of D Manoel), which predicts the Discovery of India. His history was translated into French (1553), Spanish (1554), Italian (1578), and English by N Litchfield in 1587. Of Bairos I need hardly speak.

¹ Born at Alemquei in 1501; died 1573. In 1534 he restored the parish Church of the Vazéa, where he built his tomb, lately decorated with his bust. He was sent on diplomatic business to Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, he was the guest of Erasmus for five months at Fribourg, and he spent fourteen years in foreign travel, and in writing various Latin books, including his Commentaries (Louvain, 1539 and 1544), the first and second Sieges of Diu (Diensis Oppugnatio, Louvain, 1544, and De Bello Cambaico, Louvain, 1549). After being taken prisoner in Louvain by the French (1542), he was recalled to Portugal (1546) by D. Joam III., who appointed him Chief Chronicler and Keeper of the Torre do Tombo (the State Archives). While holding this post he wrote the *Chronica do . . . rei Dom Emmanuel* (1566-67). Suspected by the Holy Office of Lutherism, he was impeached and thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition. After fulfilling the term of his sentence in the Convent of Batalha, he was found dead in 1573. "Some assert that the Inquisitors, not daring to throw into the fires of an *Auto da fé* the body of a man whom a Pope and various Monarchs of Europe had treated as a friend, employed the hand of an assassin to rid themselves of Damiam de Goes, whose learning and daring spirit might prove troublesome" (Mr. Lewtas in *The Athenæum*, Nov. 1, '79). Goes, who had not been in India, borrows from Castanheda; Osorio from Goes, and Bairos-cum-Couto from all who preceded them.

he finished the noble edifice, that he furbished and sharpened the instrument to a perfect tool of human thought. They point out that the words which he grew or rather imported from Latin, have almost all become popular,¹ and that men still speak his tongue. And, as one of his translators pithily remarks.—“It must be borne in mind that we (translators) build with ready-made material, while he dug from the quarry, rough-hewing and polishing the substance of his structure, he strengthened the language of Portugal, and his influence remains in it to this day.”

His lovers dwell fondly upon the peculiar propriety of his diction, the *curiosa felicitas* of Petronius Arbiter, which never approaches the two extremes, Bathos and Bombast. They admire his unaffected simplicity, his elegance and his perspicuity of style, which conceals under its natural flow the highest art, his sweetness, melody, and harmony, his masterly power of making sound echo sense, his grace and polish of expression, his copiousness and facility of rhyme, his variety and vivacity of apostrophe, his conciseness at pleasure, confining his verse to noun and verb, his nice conduct of the marvellous, which Aristotle bluntly calls “The False,” and, lastly, his modesty and delicacy which makes the picture of the Isle of Love (Cantos ix and x) “resemble,” as Mickle well said, “the statue of *Venus de Medicis*” (*sic*)

¹ Many Commentators have drawn up lists the neologisms of The Lusiads, numbering 118, are given in Jur. v. 449-50

Nor have foreigners been insensible, they add, to the beauties of Camoens. Montesquieu declares that the Lusian Homer "makes us feel something of the charm of the *Odyssey* and the magnificence of the *Æneid*"¹ Sturdy and surly old Dr Johnson admired *The Lusians* so much that, when hopeless of translating it himself, he recommended the task to Goldsmith. Sismondi asserts — "A slight acquaintance with the native tongue of Camoens will afford the reader more true pleasure in perusing the original, than he could derive from the most perfect translation." And Sir William Jones, a poet and linguist in his day, ends his notice of *Camoensius Lusitanus* with the brave words — *Cujus Poesis adeò venusta est, adeò polita, ut nihil esse possit jucundius, interdum verò, adeò elata, grandiloqua, ac sonora, ut nihil fingi possit magnificentius*²

And here perhaps, it is advisable to let a "judicious Portuguese"³ descant upon the subject of the favourite author

"So much has been said concerning this Great Man that it seems idle to say more. Still, though the fame of this admirable Bard has been established by the just idolatry of all his fellow-countrymen, I may be permitted to add a few words.

"Camoens is, without dispute, the Poet-in-Chief, not only of

¹ "Faire sentir quelque chose," however, is a very elastic expression (*Esprit des Loix*, lxxxi chap. 21)

² Quoted by Mickle, *Dissert* cl

³ Francisco Dias Gomes (*Analyse*, &c) quoted by Fons. (*Vida* xvii lix), and literally translated below.

Portugal, but of all the Hispanian Peninsula. His gifts shine in more lights than one. The forte of his pencil was imaginative imitation, the style most proper to, and analogous with, his fancy, and with the grand ideas burning in his brain. When, however, he condescends to hycastic¹ (representative) imitation, the finished art of his picture proves how great were his abilities in this lower department. The personages of his canvas all occupy their proper places. His touch is of the broadest and freest, his colouring is of the most brilliant and delicate, and the truth of his drawing is perfect.

“Vivacity, grandeur, and sublimity are the chief characteristics of his poetry. His marvellous is so exalted that it seeks, in the Regions of the pure Ideal, subject-matter unknown to, undreamt of, by others. Its expression finds a new colouring, and its tints are so solid, so lively, so full of fire that they stir, they excite, they inflame the heart. Our spirits, penetrated by the enthusiasm of admiration stand, as it were, enchanted at the same time they are carried away by sublime emotions and by a novel interest in pictures which, without having either physical or moral being, enjoy all the privileges of an originality the noblest, the boldest, the most exalted that ever existed in the most fantastic world of the most marvellous poetry. Such is the sovereign Wonder of the never sufficiently to be praised ‘Adamastor-Episode’ in *The Lusads*, the earliest Epopee in octave-rhyme, it must be borne in mind, which was presented to Europe

“Besides these precious qualities, which so highly distinguish his lively resemblances and contrasts, our divine Poet shows a gradation, a perspective which will ever be the model to good imitators. In fact, his gifts not only eclipse those of all his pre-

¹ Camoens is severely blamed for indulging to excess in the *ecastica* by “Mac” (Padre Macedo ii 215). “Heroical Poetry (as a living creature wherein two natures are conjoined) is compounded of Imitation and Allegory,” says Edward Fairfax, of whom more presently.

decessors, they leave, perhaps, little hope of equalling and less of surpassing him.

“His poetry, the daughter of the highest Imagination, of the most learned Invention, gives to everything body and life. Even the Humble, the Indecorous, the Horrible, while painted with the most vivid colours, have a decency peculiar to them, and the general effect is ravishing

“The diction attains the height of purity, of cultivation, of brilliancy. Perspicuity and elegance distinguish a style ever full of movement and magical in its harmony. The composition displays all the treasures of a Fancy sovereignly ferocious and luxuriant. Like a stream swollen by winter rain, it breaks at times the bonds and bounds of Art, but it floods with such freedom, with such magnificence, that the reader forgets the excess, and is carried away on its bosom. Hence not a few who have lacked strength to imitate its perfection, have fallen into its defects. Finally, such and so many were the graces which this Great Man lavished upon our Portuguese language and poetry, that we may safely accredit him with having created a new poesy and a new tongue for Portugal.”

Upon this specialty the same author elsewhere writes —

“Camoens established the analogies of our idiom. He enriched it with words and forms, either borrowed from the Classics, or coined in the mint of his mighty Imagination. * * * He determined the disposition of our Portuguese, fitting it for every subject; supplying it with majesty, harmony, perspicuity, atticism; making it, in fine, so elastic, so adaptable to every style, that it can soar to the zenith of sublimity, without losing flexibility or limpid clearness. These qualities it preserves as the perpetual distinctions of its character.”¹

¹ Even Mac. (ii 199) “admires in Camoens the gigantic steps by which he advanced the Portuguese language towards perfection;”

Snr Gomes continues —

“Camoens ever preserved the greatest propriety when painting the Sublime, and the splendour of these passages, though immense, glows with so soft a beam that it soothes and pleases, instead of dazzling and blinding, the sight. He was a perfect master of Pathos. With what vehemence he colours it, never falling into tedium! With what art he interests, he affects us! With what power of expression he depicts the Terrible!

“Again with how loving a hand he portrays the charms of Nature! A dawn, a clear still day, a grove played in by the Zephyrs, a fountain busting the rocky ground, the greenery of flower-enamelled fields, the stream now tranquil, then violent, the silence and serenity of a summer night, the roar and rage of the storm, the moon and the stars, the herdsman and his herd, the buds and the chase, war, love, jealousy,—all the themes of poetry,—are treated with a genius so mighty, with excellence so prodigal that we are borne off to the very scene itself. We are thrown into extacies so delightful, that the Soul must succumb for ever to a magic which, far from enfeebling it, adds force and vigour, science and sublimity.

“And with what heroic resolution he reprehends, he strikes, he fulminates Vice, even when Vice sits in the highest seats! What amiable colours his enchanting pencil lavishes upon the Virtues which should illumine the heart of man! Briefly, Camoens is one of those writers whose concurrence of the rarest gifts makes them the admiration of the world and the eternal magistracy of Nations.”

So much for the “Camonians” and their praise. The dispraisers are as loud and as emphatic. Without noticing the *maximi in minimis*, such mere scurrilists as Ferreira and Macedo, the Coryphæi are Rapin, whom Adrian Baillet refuted, La Harpe, and the Abbé Delille, the translator of “Paradise Lost” they are colonel’d by and owns him to be “without controversy the most excellent writer of his age.”

the great Voltaire whose critical judgment, though at times somewhat recklessly pronounced, must ever carry weight Voltaire's¹ truly Gallic *Begueulerie* was *choquée* by the least *écart* from the trodden *via ad Parnassum*. He disparaged Camoens for the benefit of his frigid "Henriade", as he did Homer and Dante, Milton and Shakespeare, while he looked upon Rabelais as a drunken monk But he unconsciously bestows upon *The Lusíads* "which signifies a Portugade,"² the very highest of praise,

¹ "Essay on the Epic Poetry of European nations," written in England and in English (Mickle Diss p 1.). It was republished in French "with corrections," at the ratio of one to a dozen blunders I quote from the Edition of Fumin-Didot 1864 The "universal iconoclast" wrote from second hand, and, unduly relying upon the originality of his views, intended like many a modern critic to review without reading any part of the book reviewed. Fanshaw was lent to him for a fortnight by Colonel Bladon, the translator of Cæsar's Commentaries, and hence all his knowledge of *The Lusíads*. His mistakes are as many as his paragraphs. For instance, Camoens was a Spaniard born in 1497 under Ferdinand and Isabella (!) he accompanied the expedition of Da Gama, who is dubbed Velasco, and who is carried to the Ganges, &c

² *Os Lusíadas* —The (feats of the) Lusians, Lusitanians, Portuguese So Herr Schuchardt "Die Lusiaden d.h die Lusitaner." Millié very properly rendered it *Les Lusíades* With us till 1867 the title was usually, if not invariably Englished as "The Lusiad," which makes mere nonsense During that year I published (*Anglo-Brazilian Times* of Rio de Janeiro) a specimen of Canto 1 "The Lusiads," judging it advisable to fly as far as possible from "The Lousiad, a heroic-comic Poem" by Poet Peter Pindar. Mr. J. J. Aubertin subsequently adopted the plural form, and Mr. Duff has preferred the singular

when he calls it *une nouvelle espèce d'épopée* How little he and his school could appreciate the greatness of the Portuguese Epic, may be seen by his view of the Adamastor-Episode and the Isle of Love. Of the former he says —“ It is a Phantom rising from the sea-depths , its head touches the heavens the winds, the tempests, and the thunders rage around it ” Nothing of the kind ! The Armada is sailing in the finest weather off the Cape of Storms the sky is starlit, the seas are smooth Suddenly a black vapour, like the Jinn in the Thousand and One Nights, towers high in air, and the water begins to break, as if moaning upon a harbour-bar “ Here we have more than a gale,” exclaims Vasco da Gama. Then the cloud condenses, and the appalling figure of the Giant discloses himself as the Genius of the Cape. That charming dream the Isle of Love is to Voltaire nothing but a *musico d'Amsterdam*, a lubberland, a pays de Cocagne The gravamen, however, of his charge is *Sacris miscere profana* He cannot reconcile the jarring of myth and miracle, the contrast of Jupiter and S Thomé the mixture of the celestial and terrestrial elements , this, essential to Poetry , that, to Piety appears to him grotesque, *tudesque*, a cento, a fairrago. His objection has often been answered , but, methinks, more may be said.

Camoens, writing in and for the XVIth century was no bigot His belief, especially in the Deity, is simply orthodox , and, in one passage (x. 80) quasi-philosophical. His gods and goddesses are introduced

because demanded by his action. The Olympians of the sceptical and semi-Pagan Renaissance-Reformation age, who with mythology combined Humanitarianism and a rude altruism, who delighted to illumine the cold grey tints of Christianity, "majestically sad," with the gay glad lights of olden Myth, aspired like the Ancients and moralised like the Moderns. They still looked to the Classics for their models, and took their *technique* from Homer and Virgil. They preserved the double plot, heavenly and earthly, the two moving from first to last in parallel lines, and both showing between divine and human actions a distinction without much difference. Hence the Theurgy, the Theomachy, the Theanthropism or providential superintendence of the world, with marked interpositions which would now be called miracles. Hence the Manichæism, the struggle between Good and Evil, on terms apparently equal, the doubtful battle between the hosts of Hormuzd and Ahuman, which enter into every Epos and into every Tragedy.

These Universalists worshipped in the heathen Pantheon without sense of incongruity or religious confusion. They may have salved their consciences by believing, with Mother Church, the Gentile gods to be substantial fiends and demons still rebellious. But even Virgil could call Saturn and Janus "by no better a name than that of old men." Or they may have theoretically held them secondary causes through which the Creator works. But they took poet's pleasure in the society of these fair humanities, these dim visions of

the days when Earth and her sons were young and bright and beautiful, when manliness was incarnated in Ares, Kártikíya, Mais, perfect sensuous womanhood in Aphrodite,¹ Rati, Venus, and love in Fros, Káma-deva, Cupido. Our gloomy modern poetry, a song of sighs and groans and tears, would have been intolerable to those joyous cinquecentists. It resembles the pale and sickly greens of the present taste, compared with the crimsons and scarlets, the red ray of the spectrum, so dear to a fresher and stronger breed.

And who does not sympathise with them? Who does not envy the days when man could believe that

'Tis Jupiter who brings whate'er is great,
And Venus who brings everything that's fair?

When poets could hymn with faithful hearts

— Idalian Aphrodite, beautiful,
Fresh as the foam new bathed in Paphian wells?

Who does not prefer our old loves, Dionæa and Lyæus, to the angels and demons and magicians of Ariosto and Tasso, to Elizabeth-Gloriana, Archimagus and that priggyish Knight of the Red Cross, to those arid allegorical personages, the "Board"-like virtues and vices of the *Henriade*? With far less poetic propriety, "unimpeachable Milton" put the theological jargon of the seventeenth century into the mouth

¹ The word, like many of the oldest Greek, is Albanian, *afer dita*=dawn, morning star, &c

of Jehovah and His Son, and garnished the speech of the Prince of Darkness with the twang of the Conventicle No wonder, by-the-by, that Mr. Milton died, or is reported to have died, a Romanist between two extremes runs the shortest line

After all, man's fancy is finite Poetry will apparently be driven for her coming imagery and machinery to science. Already we have heard—

Sweet tetrandrian, monogynian strains.

Our future heroes and heroines will be Biogenesis and Abiogenesis, Archebiosis and Parthenogenesis, Plasm and Protoplasm, the Monad and the Acarus Crossii. Already in a kindred matter Positivism has set up a Trinity in Unity, which proposes (*mirabile dictu*!) the “cultus of space and of the earth completing that of humanity”¹ We can only ask what he could have known of human nature, who advised it to worship length and breadth? Man can worship only one thing—himself, in a form more or less personal Corneille is right

Qu'on fait injure à l'art de lui voler la fable.

And what would not The Lusiads lose were the Pantheon stolen from it? To what must it shrink? A stormy doubling of the Cape, in four small craft manned by a mutinous and faint-hearted crew, a coasting voyage

¹ This “Spiritual book-keeping by double-entry” is positively proposed by Comte.

along South and East Africa, with the normal skirmishes and savage troubles, a hospitable reception at Melinde, a perilous middle-passage to India during the perilous break of the S W Monsoon, a landing at Calicut, the usual plots and squabbles with the tricky Hindu Nayrs and the treacherous Moplah Moslems; and an easy return home. In fact, take from *The Lusíads* what these critics most blame; strip it of mythology and episode, and you have a highly poetical chapter of Barros, or rather of Castanheda and the Roteiro Ludwig Tieck¹ justly discerns, in this blending of the Christian and the Pagan worlds, one of Camoens' highest beauties, and assigns to him a place next to Dante for the nice management of allegory. Madame de Stael says, as wisely, that there can be no discord where Christianity is made the business of life and Paganism its pageantry.

The unfriendly critics of Camoens furthermore declare that most small nations have one great national poet, as Joost van Vondel in Holland and Petöfi in Hungary². Ergò, the phenomenon is placed on too high a pedestal. Portuguese admiration also becomes

¹ This eminent littérateur (nat. Berlin 31, 1771) and sharp-tongued critic became one of the many privy-councillors to the King of Prussia, lived on a pension, and ob. 1853.

² Vondel, to whose mystery-play, *Lucifer*, Milton was, they say, indebted, had an "Exhibition" at Amsterdam (Feb 5, 1879) on the tercentenary of his death, and Dr C. J. Hansen published his Eloge. There is a Petöfi Society at Pest; and the Magyar poet's biography has lately been written by D. Hugo Meltzel.

a private and personal matter, as almost every Lusitanian city, town, and grandee-family appear in The Lusíads. These censors concede to the "Poeta optimus" of the Peninsula a "success of esteem," and make him immortal by courtesy. But, however popular he may be at home, he has never touched the heart of Europe. He is still "caviar to the general." The Lusíads, in fact, must rank with the unread Epics of the world, with the Thebais, the Punica, and the Argonautica. They find the poet more interesting than the poem, and the man's true epopee was, they declare, his life.

There is a venomous drop of truth in this sting. Portuguese literature has been compared with those goodly tropical isles, along which the seaman sails, while he does not care to explore their wealth¹. But the

¹ It is hardly necessary to tell the reader that Portuguese is not a corrupted dialect of Spanish. Yet many have failed to assign it a proper status. Musgrave shows marvellous ignorance in a translator, who should know better. "It has much affinity to the Latin, but certainly much less than the Italian" (?) Camoens (l. 33) told him the contrary: after the gentle langue d'Oc of the Troubadours, it is the most Latin of the Neo-Latin tongues. Nervi (notes Canto 11) quotes a dixaine of verses Portuguese and Latin, e.g.

Roma infinitos sanctissima vive per annos

According to F. D. Gomes, the relationship is shown in the low and common words, in the terminations of verbs and nouns, in the economy of genders, the simplicity of syntax, and the various anomalies or exceptions. Few Englishmen know it well even

critics are unfair when they forget to tell us that few poets have been more translated :¹ we find him in every European language, Bohemian, Hungarian, and Hebrew Nor do they render full justice to what Camoens is at home A Portuguese *né malin* declared that not one in a thousand of his countrymen could quote from memory a single stanza of the Lusiads. The same might be said of Hamlet, if you take your thousand from the "Seven Dials", and, even in "Society," John Gilpin is better known than Queen Mab.

Some eighty years after Camoens' death the *Conquistadores*, while besieging Colombo (1660), where "Portuguese bravely blazed with an expiring flame," consoled their wants and weary toils by singing and reciting, says Lope de Vega, patriotic and heroic stanzas from The Lusiads In fact, it supplied them with the "Songs of water-drawer" and the "Watch-Songs" of Aristophanes During the Peninsula War (Nov 13, 1813) two brigades were allowed to carry a Camoensian couplet (1 10, 7-8)

colloquially In South America I found scores who could speak tolerable "Castilian," but I can count on my fingers those who were equally fluent in Portuguese.

¹ Appendix vol. 1 table III In the Bibliotheca Nacional, Lisbon, there is a *collecção Camoenseana* (room full of Camoens) A "Camoensian Library" of translations and imitations, comment, criticism, and biography, now represents nearly 500 vols In the 400 or so, sold by M. N. Trubnei, of London (1875) for 350 guineas, the "Ignez-Episode" occupies about 30. At Rio Janeiro the National Library has 486 works in 600 volumes, among them are 93 editions of The Lusiads.

on their flags I have heard Brazilian officers in distant Paraguay quote the apposite lines .

— Nor shall that Captain's lot
Be praise of mine who pleads "*I thought it not*"¹
(viii 89).

And Camoens, like all the greatest writers of the world, has influenced the ages which followed him far more than his own. Truly, if he has ever been neglected at home or abroad, Time has proved his Avenger Southey says — "The delight which we take in Spenser and in the softer parts of Daniel,¹ a Portuguese feels in the *Lusiad*" I would put it thus Camoens is now what Dante is to the educated Italian, and what Shakespeare, King James's Bible, and Dod's Peerage are to England. Nay, more, I will assert that no modern poet has so powerfully affected the political status of his native land ; or has contributed so much to her remarkable progress in the present day.

The anti-Camoensians confess that The *Lusiads* is valuable to the Student who, while enjoying a pleasant song of the olden day, can learn the Romance of Portuguese Story from Lusus to D. Sebastian Chatham, by-the-bye, said the same of Shakespeare's Historical Plays. They acknowledge the singular power which can

¹ Of the now forgotten "well-languaged," or "prosaic," or "sage and serious" Sam. Daniel's "*Civile Warres*" we may say with Dr. Johnson on Spratt — "we would rather praise than read" He has been resuscitated in Mr. David M. Main's "*Treasury of English Sonnets*" (Manchester : Ireland, 1880)

paint tropical life and landscape with such sustained vigour, beauty, and fire. But they find the whole emphatically too long. They compare the immense exordium (144 lines) with the seven verses of the *Iliad*. They declare the subject to be drawn out beyond its artistic limits. The proper terminus of a Poem on the Discovery of India is the arrival of Da Gama at Calicut (Canto vi), and it should at any rate end with his departure homeward-bound (Canto viii). Thus the "Interpretation of the Banners," besides being a twice-told tale, is out of place. They find the poetry overburdened with geography and history. They yawn over the obscure events of Portuguese annals, the list of Luso-Indian Viceroys, the minute feuds and fights, and the fabulous battles with the "Moors," together with the petty and quasi-parochial details which at times lime the wings of even Dante's muse. They observe that Da Gama talks much too much, and does far too little. The exiled singer, they say, writing amid the horrors of inter-tropical East Africa, of malarious Western India and of barbarous Macáo, dwells with a morbid fondness upon his memories of Europe, of Portugal, of his College and of his home, when he sat by the "patrial Tagus" or swam the classic waters of Mondego. His "blaze of patriotism" dazzles and scorches them—they want repose, and they seek it in vain.

Some notice of these critiques appears advisable. The objection of over-length is usually made by foreigners, who must read *The Lusíads* in translations—mostly bad.

The music of the original, the prodigious variety of rhythm, the transition from limpid simplicity to complicated hyperbaton and inversion, and the antithesis and alternation of the softest and most melodious lines with words that sound like the trumpet-blast or the roar of cannon, carry the Portuguese reader captive, and make him only regret that there is no more of the poem. A legend tells us that when Camoens asked Pedro de Alcaçova Carneiro whether his *Lusiads* contained many faults, the learned and tasteful statesman replied —“Yes ! ’tis all one fault it should either have been short enough to learn by heart, or so long as to have no end”

Other critics declare *The Lusiads* to be a Cyclic, not an Epic. They have much to say about “Unity”, as if Homer had not been charged with welding together an *Ilias* and an *Achilleis*. They deny to it one of its principal charms,—its originality. In some of the finest passages they detect the hand that wrote the *Odyssey*, others they pronounce to be echoes of the *Pharsalia*, and modifications of the *Æneid*, which is made the true basis of *The Lusiads*. They carp at the Bard’s innovations, for instance when, contrary to severe classic custom, he suddenly introduces himself. They find him careless of the probabilities. They are especially severe upon the Monologue of Da Gama (Cantos III and IV.) addressed to the Shaykh of Melinde. In the first place, the mechanism is that of Ulysses and the Phæakes, of *Æneas* and *Dido*, secondly, it must have been unintelligible to the negroid ruler, however superior he may have been, as Bishop Osorio

assures us he was, thirdly, Da Gama abuses Moslems to a Moslem.

This is fair ground for fighting upon Da Gama's interpreters would tell the Shaykh in a few words who they were, whence they came, and whither they were bound. The ruler would wish to learn something about Portugal, and the Poet seized the situation. The expulsion of the Moslems from the Iberian Peninsula would certainly be known in East Africa Moors (Maroccans), Turks and Arabs are, it is true, all Mohammedans, but racially they hate one another like rival Christian nationalities. In fact, here, as in a hundred other places, the Poet knew better than all his Critics. Lastly, however improbable be this lengthy historic digression, an episode which covers nearly one-third of the poem, its faults are subordinate to its beauties it is, indeed, the model of epic narrative; and this is, after all, the one thing needful. And granted that here and there it lags, so Homer, whose life and movements are unapproachable, dozes at times, there are flats in Pindar, and Virgil is in many places a copyist, not a creator.

Verum opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum

To finish the long list of complaints The Critics pick holes in the Poet's learning; and deny that he had a "vast and no vulgar erudition."¹ They dislike the

¹ Camoens is certainly very queer in such words as Sylla for Sulla, and Asaboro for Asabon also in his quantities, it is hard to see why Amisius (Ems) should become Amäsiss (uu ir),

contradictory epithets which he affects (iv 57 ; ix 16) They find him poor in character-painting, deficient in rhyme, and at times essentially prosaic. Hence Diogo Camacho ¹—

Hum Luz de Camoens, Poeta tor to,
Poeta ate o embigo, os baixos, piosa
 (A certain Camoens, distorted poet,
 Poet to the middle mired in mud of prose)

But this is the exaggeration of personal hostility Let us glance at The Lusiads dispassionately ; and consider as Carlyle said of El-Islam, not its demerits, but what it has done. None can deny that this Poem stereotyped the tongue in which it was written, and left to Portugal an eternal mould and model of form None can be blind to the fact that it has taken a prime share not only in shaping popular character, but even in preserving national life It played a considerable part in

Zopyrus Zopyro (iii 41) Abyla or Abyla Abyla (iv 49) Helogabalus Helogabalus (iii 92) and so forth But this is the case with many of the Neo-Latin poets, moreover, we must bear in mind that there is no regular quantity in Portuguese The vowels are made long or short almost ad libitum, and the accent, a stress not a musical sound, may fall upon the fourth syllable from the end. The terminal *e* is often omitted in fact the orthography is more anti-phonetic than that of English and French Finally we find strange quantities in our own poets, notably in Spenser, doubtless for the purpose of contrast with prose.

¹ Quoted by Mac (i 190). The epigram seems founded upon the famous —

Qui giace Aretin, poeta Tosco, &c.

liberating Portugal from Spain, and in enthroning the House of Braganza. Even in the present day it keeps the peace between Portugal and her young giant, the Brazil, both speak the tongue which Camoens spoke, and the tie is not the weaker for being one of sentiment.

Remains only to consider *The Lusíads* according to private and individual taste. Every reader will form his own opinion, his likes and dislikes, which to others will appear preferences and prejudices. Some, however, may be guided by the conclusions at which I have arrived after the study of many years.

To me the characteristic of *The Lusíads* is nationality tempered with that conscious personality which marked the Renaissance-Reformation age. The former is the quality which makes it adored at home. The latter accounts for the extremes of opinion, good and bad, which see only black and white where both are blended. The two, combined with the charm of incidents known to be facts, give the secret of its vitality and raise it to the rank of a "monumental poem."

The nationality is intense and its effect upon national character is in proportion. "The Conqueror," says a Portuguese, "who shall ever attempt to subjugate our beloved Country, must first tear in pieces every page of the Immortal *Lusíads*." Its argument and diction produce a perfect exposition of the "Portuguese idea." An excellent authority, my valued friend Cristoforo Negri, the venerable founder of the Italian Geographical Society, who has lived at Lisbon and has carefully

studied the poem, considers Camoens in this point to equal, if not to excel, Homer Here nothing more need be said a perusal of *The Lusíads* is all-sufficient

The personality is as pronounced. The poem is a manner of biography Composed at different times and in far distant places, planned possibly in Lisbon or during exile to the Ribatejo, continued at North-African Ceuta, in Goa and at Macáo, corrected, revised and concluded at Mozambique and Sofálah, dedicated to D Sebastian at home, and sent forth in all its splendour from the hovel near Santa Anna, it shows every phase of the writer's chequered career It must owe many of its magistral descriptions, and its local colour to the circumstances of composition, to its having been conceived during storms off The Cape, to its having been born on the soldier's shield or upon the breach of a gun, to its baptism with the author's blood and tears and the bitter waters of shipwreck. It is the personality which gives the verse that true heroic ring so harmonious with the days when every Portuguese gentleman was a *Conquistador*,—those brave old days so soon to end And here Camoens enjoyed an undoubted advantage over Ariosto and Tasso.¹ Having expe-

¹ Charles Knight (*Life of Tasso* prefixed to Fairfax, Kirby, London, 1817) believes Tasso to have availed himself of the military knowledge of Duke Alphonso, and thus "added a grace and spirit to his descriptions of skirmishes and battles" He apparently forgets that the Poet was an ardent amateur student of military matters, a master of the duello, and one of the best swordsmen of an age when swordsmanship was a fine art Hence the truth of his

rienced in his own person the perils by sea and land, in fight and fray, hurricane and calm, which beset the great navigator and his successors, he could describe the scenes with that truth and distinctness, which add such forceful and brilliant effects to historic fact. And he must have had the brain of a Cuvier or a Byron to have amassed so much information from sources so few and so imperfect. He hardly ever trips in his treatment of Oriental matters. He is more exact than most authors of the present day. We feel a perfect confidence in his details, even in the speeches and harangues attributed to his principal personages.¹ His three great battles all differ in accidents; and all are described with the realism of Æschylus the Soldier. That of Campo d'Ourique (iii. 42-52) which established the Kingdom of Portugal, shows the wild religious enthusiasm of the combatants. At Tarifa, which broke the backbone of the Moors (iii. 109-116), the Portuguese, with characteristic gallantry and impetuosity,² rout the King of Granada

single combats in the Jerusalem, and the popular saying of his day —

Con la penna e con la spada,
Nessun val quanto Torquato

¹ (*e g.*) The Interpreter's compliment to the Shaykh of Melinde (ii. 79-84), the address of Nuno Alvares to the assembled Portuguese (iv. 15-19), and of Da Gama to the Samorim (viii. 65-75). Even the harangues of Bacchus to the Sea-Gods (vi. 27-34) is a fiction which sounds like fact.

² Varthema, of whom more presently, says — "And truly I have

and fly to assist the Spaniards who are advancing with the national gravity against him of Fez-Marocco Again at Aljubarrota (iv 23-44) which delivered Portugal from Spain, a leading part in the struggle between the two Iberian races is assigned to the king, who saves with his own hand the life of the "Great Constable" Equally marked by disposition and incident are the skirmish with the Moors of Mozambique (i. 87-93), and the Tournament of the Twelve of England (vi 43-68) A poet of lesser calibre who would attempt so much realism, annalistic, legendary, and topographical, would fail and fail dismally.

The warlike vein which threads the Poem with a red line forms the element of Terror, contrasting with the Pity, the ineffably tender and passionate strain which breathes into inert matter the breath of life, the warmth of heart and the glow of humanity But this is not all The original device of mixing the East with the West, learned Orientalism with the lore of Europe, places the Poem in a new and peculiar position. To the graphic and spouted touches of the soldier and the sailor are added a splendour and a gorgeousness of tint unknown to the severer Epic schools A winter in Hormuz isle, and the glance of genius at Persian literature, may have intensified the quaintly epigrammatic form which in parts renders the style un-European Hence we see in *The Lusads* that touch of "pretty Persian customs," found myself in some battles in my time, but I never saw any men braver than these Portuguese" (Hakluyt Edit. p. 280).

that glance at nature through the mind's eye not the eye of sense, that reflection of Eastern literature upon Western thought, and that *lux ex Oriente* which charm in the perfect sweetness of the Decameron.

The discontinuous labour that stretched over a generation has also left its mark upon the Poem in slight differences of style and treatment. The Proemium and the Epilogue contrast with the body of *The Lusíads*. The first stanza has evidently been written and re-written according to circumstances, and six lines still contain four *variæ lectiones*. In Canto x. we apparently read the results of two voyages, one before, the other after, Stanza 135. Not the less, however, we are struck by the general regularity of the Epos, and we marvel how the writer, so long an exile from his native land, could preserve that command of language, that mastery of style, which most exiles lose.

To the labor *limæ* of years we must attribute the marvellous, the perfect polish of the Episodes. And here Camoens shows an art which has not been generally recognised or, at least, imitated by his translators. He knew that men do not read through an Epic at single sittings, on the contrary, that they take up the volume when inclination leads, and that they expect to find in it passages intended to become favourites, vistas of fair landscape which resemble, as a modern has it, "repose on the summer grass." Hence he made his *speciosa miracula* to differ from the rest of the poem. They stand out like vivid pictures from the plain wall of

simple and natural recitative which, characteristically straightforward, deals with the business of the story. Their strongly-marked dramatic interest contrasts powerfully with the digressions of didactic and philosophy which certainly point the moral, if they do not always adorn the tale. And at times, when the subject requires, they reflect the Poet's soul and rise to the regions of the sublime.

Of these poetic flights the most generally admired are the following, but every student, as we might expect, has his favourites.¹ First is the Olympus Council (i 20-40), followed by the interview of Jupiter and Venus (ii 33-43) in which two passages require modification to suit modern taste. The Maria-mission (iii 101-6) leads to the Ignèz-Episode (iii 119-135), one of the longest, and, to judge from the number of translators, the best appreciated. The Dream of D. Manoel (iv 66-75) and the personification of the Ganges and the Indus are, perhaps, the most original and powerful passages in *The Lusíads*. Follows the sailing of the Armada from Lisbon (iv 94 to end), when the speech of the Old Man of Belem embodies popular *aura* affection, doubt and fear every explorer has

¹ The Hon. Henry Stanley (*Hakluyt's Correa*, xliii) chooses the Departure (iv 88-94; the Waterspout (v 16-22), the Adamastor-Episode, Venus and the Sea Nymphs (vi. 18-23), the Meeting with Monsaydé (vii 24-31), the Allegory of the Happy Isle explained (ix 89-95), and the Tale of S. Thomé (x 109-119). Few, I think, will agree with his appreciation of the three latter; they are, with the exception of one stanza (x 118), unusually prosaic, in idea if not in expression.

experienced something of this. Next is the Adamastor-Apparition (v 37-59). This episode, which even Voltaire highly praised without understanding its chief beauty, has found its way into modern opera, Velloso becoming the Nelusco of Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine*. Some critics look upon the black-lipped, yellow-fanged monster as a kind of Frankenstein, easier to raise than to lay, and complain, furthermore, that he is raised for little purpose. The reverse is the case. The appalling Giant is the personification of the horrors which all voyagers know, or rather knew, and his words of prophecy, more appalling still, show the dark side of the Discovery of India. Here, as in Manoel's Dream, Camoens borrows nothing: he is himself, and at his best. The Palace of Neptune, with its Council of Sea-gods (vi 16-37), is followed by the knightly Tale of the "Twelve of England" (vi 43-68), then comes a lovely scene, the Calming of the Storm by Erycina and her Nymphs (vi 85-93), and, after the horrid glooms of the storm, Lucifer rises splendid over the eastern Ghauts and shows the long-sought land of Ind. The enchanting and immortal *Ilha-dos-Amores* (ix 51-84) may fitly close the list.

These ten pieces which, including the opening and the conclusion of the Poem, become twelve, are doubtless *chefs-d'œuvre*. Yet there are many, myself included, who prefer to their beauty and brilliancy the yearnings of an exiled genius, the pathetic sentiments and the passionate outbreaks of tenderness which

who followed Mariz and Severim, first asserted that this modest and unattractive issue was followed by a second in the same year. The spelling is changed, the Princeps has *edificaram* and *sublimaram* (canto 1 1, 7, 8); while the second prefers, after modern fashion, *edificarãõ* and *sublimarãõ*. It has been supposed that Camoens corrected certain errors, but some 133 remained, 80 survivors and 53 additional. Nothing is known of the bargain between author and bookseller, or the number of copies struck off. The MS disappeared so completely that not a fragment of Camoens' handwriting remains. The same is the case with Dante,¹ and even Petrarch's autograph is doubtful, proving that *charta* is veraciously called *peritura*.

The third issue did not appear till four years after the Poet's death (1584) it is called *dos púscos* from a ridiculous note, like our "Beeches Bible," it is also known as the Jesuitic edition. That of 1591 removed

years of his life;" and ob June 4, 1649. The text of The Lusíads is that of the 2d Edit (1572), whose genuineness was then undoubted. The MS in three vols was preserved in the Convent of Na Sra da Graça, and when Monastic orders were suppressed, it found its way to the Central Depôt, Sam Francisco da Cidade. The first and second vols, containing the arch-biographer's first memoir of the "Prince of Spanish Poets," were published by Juan Sanches, Madrid 1639, they highly offended the Inquisition. The second notice, which is shorter, was punted from MS in 1685-89, some 50 years after the writer's death (Jur 1 329-34) it accompanied the *Rimas Varias* and their Commentary (5 tomes in 2 vols. sm. fol). The whole work of F y S now fetches £10 to £11.

¹ Bohn's Cary, "Life of Dante," xxviii

the "fishy" remark on Canto III 75, but was equally mutilated. Some emendations were made in the 13th Edit a 4to. (Pedro Crasbeeck,¹ Lisbon, 1609), dedicated by Domingo Fernandez to D Rodrigo da Cunha, Deputy of the Holy Office. Camoens had now become popular, and reprints followed at the average rate of one every third year. The next important issue, also by P Crasbeeck (No 15, 4to 1613), was illustrated by Pedro de Mariz, "with learned notes by different authors," especially the Licentiate Manoel Correia or Corrêa. this personal friend of the Poet, whose memory is, at times, none of the best, passed to the *Iugentes Campi* before correcting his commentary.

The Second Edit of the *Obras* (whole works) reprints Manoel Severim de Faria, whose "biography" was written in 1624 (fol Joseph Lopes Ferreyra, Lisbon, 1720). It republishes the letter of Manoel Corrêa and prefixes to the Cantos the "arguments" by the Licentiate "Joam Franco Barreto," a *littérateur* who added a table of proper names occurring in The Lusiads. He is called "Barretto" in the Edit. of Ignacio Garcez Ferreira, alias Gilmedo (2 vols. 4to, Naples, 1731-32). The *Obras* were also printed by

¹ Various members of this family (also written Craesbeek and Craasbeeck), Pedro, Paulo, Louenço and Antonio, published, between 1598 and 1669, some 22 Editions of the *Obras* and their component parts, The Lusiads, the Rimas and the Prosas. The Craasbeeck Edit of 1651 has been accepted by some Editors as the most correct or rather the least incorrect.

Pedro Gendron (Lisbon, 1759, Bonardel and Dubeux, Paris, Didot, 3 vols. 12mo, Jur. 1. 472) Followed the *Obras* of 1779, edited by Thomas José de Aquino, who added a biographical sketch in the *Eclogue Cintra* of F y S with explanatory notes (4 vols) This edition gave rise to a long controversy (Jur i 362)

The next notability was the "splendid but only splendid" Edition of the "Philo-Camoens," D. José Maria de Sousa Botelho, popularly known as the Morgado (entaille) de Matheus; and father of the Count de Villa Real, Ambassador to England The fine 4to. (Firmin-Didot, Paris, 1817) costing 51,152 francs, was a work of luxury; and of the 210 copies 180 were liberally distributed to the chief libraries of the world Unfortunately, its text was that of the Edit Princ. with many of its palpable errors It excluded the arguments because they were not by the Poet's pen. It pedantically placed the circumflexed *Til* (or tittle), the sign of Crasis, between the two vowels, as Joa~o for João) and Camo~es (for Camões) In this questionable improvement the Morgado is followed by Fonseca, but not by the general public¹ On the other hand his analysis of

¹ The *Til* can hardly be called a contraction (Adam ii. 295), when the letters number the same, plus the circumflex, which, in old type is a bar (ā) The printed equivalent is *m* (Joam, João) and, whenever possible, I have retained, for the benefit of the printer, this form used in the Edit Princ Yet curious to say, the pronunciation is equivalent to an *n*, and the frequent recurrence of a nasal, more pronounced than the French (Jean), gives to Portuguese

The Lusiads, his Commentary and his criticisms have been highly praised. The *Vida* was translated into French by M. Millié, with his version of The Lusiads (2 vols 8vo., Paris, 1825). In 1819, Firmin-Didot, Member of the Institute and Printer to the King, issued with the permission of the Philo-Camoens, an 8vo reprint of the 4to. I have already alluded to the Edits of Barreto Feio and Monteiro (1834), and of Fonseca (1846) as well as to the noble work of Viscount Juromenha (1860-80), in all of which The Lusiads is reprinted from the 2nd Edit of 1572.

The *Estancias desprezadas* (despised Stanzas) were published by Faria y Sousa, and reprinted by Fons. (Appendix 377-92) by Jur. (vi 399-419) and by many others. Certain translators, as Castéra and Lamarre,

a peculiar twang by no means musical in the stranger ear. Philologists, indeed, have discovered no less than five different nose-letters in the Lusitanian tongue. Some writers consider these sounds to be survivals of a pre-Latin language, others hold them degradations from the Latin, for instance Romanus, Romano (Ital.) Roman (Span.) Romain (French) and Romão. Ancient MSS use the forms om, on, am and ão on the same page, *e.g.* —

Aqui jaz Simon Antom (Simão Antão)

Que matou muyto Castelhão,

E, de baixo do seu corom (covão)

Desafia a quantos são

(Here lies Simon Anthony,

Many Spaniards slaughtered he,

And beneath his sepulchree

All defies, whoe'er they be).

have unjustifiably worked some of them into the body of The Lusíads. Millié translates in his notes three of these Octaves (Canto iv following Stanza 35) commemorating the deaths of four Portuguese, and three of the eight (Canto iv following Stanza 40) recording the fall of sundry Spaniards. Mickle (ii 90-91) inserts the first set into his text. A reviewer of Mr. J. J. Aubertin's work (see Chap ii § 5) opined that a "version of the Stanzas rejected, omitted or altered by the Poet, would be exceedingly interesting and useful." I have accordingly attempted to supply the want.

My space admits only a mere mention of Camoens' Obras (miscellaneous works). The Poet's prodigious versatility was continually urging him from form to form of expression, and it is hard to point out what suited him best. The Corpus naturally divides into three members, The Lusíads, the Rhythmas, or Rimas (lyrics and minor works), and the Dramas including the Píozas (letters). The two latter more than double the extent of the former, and, let us hope that many pieces, now lost or missing, are not irrecoverably gone.

The order of the *Rimas* varies in different Editions. In most The Lusíads is followed by the Sonnets: I do not notice this branch, proposing to publish my translation in a separate volume. Adam (i 244-45) gives the sequence —Sonnets, Canzons, Odes, Sestines, Elegies, Eclogues, Estancias, Redondilhas, Letters and Comedies. In the Jur. Edition, the Biography (Vol. 1.) and the Son-

nets (Vol. II) are followed by the Canzons, the Sestines, the Odes and the Stanzas (Octaves). Vol III contains the Eclogues or Bucolics, the Elegies and an octave-rhymed poem in three Cantos, *Da Creação e Composição do Homem* (of the Creation and Composition of Man), it ends with a Sestine, a Sonnet, and an unfinished Epistle addressed to the Duke of Aveiro who fell at Alcacequivir

Vol IV is devoted to the 147 Redondilhas and the three "Comedies" In the former Jur has introduced, as usual, many *meditas*, but he has disclaimed numeration, and, to know the total, we must sum up his index. The Roundels, the most national and picturesque of the *Rimas* consist of *Cartas* (epistles), *motes* (mottoes) or improvised texts by the Poet or others, with their appropriate *Volts*, or *Glosas* (rhymed Comments); *Cantigas* (songs, canticles), *Trovas* (addresses in verse), *Pastorils*¹ (pastorals), *Endechas* (dirges and love-songs), and the famous Satire *Disparates na India*² (pp 42-48). The first of the Comedies *El-Rei Seleuco*, is a little drama, without acts or scenes, of the style called by older poets *Autos*, somewhat like our "Mysteries"³

¹ "Pastoral" in modern Portuguese denotes ecclesiastical writings

² The same word is applied to the Satirist-author by Voltaire (loco cit) — "Le Camoens tombe presque toujours dans de telles disparates"

³ The "Mysteries" treated of the Deity the "Miracle-plays" of the Saints Oberammergau now monopolises the interest of the Holy Drama as far as it survives; and the pious villagers have made it the most profitable theatrical entertainment in the world.

and "Miracle-plays" The dialogue is natural, and the Redondilhas are not without elegance *Os Amphitriões*, the second, is an original, not, as some have stated, an imitation of Plautus It is supposed to have been written during College days for representation at Coimbra, others believe *Seleuco* to have been composed first The serio-comic (*Auto de*) *Filodemo*, in five acts like No 2, was represented, they say, after undergoing certain amputations, during the installation-festivities at Goa of the Governor Francisco Barreto. All three are novels dramatised after the fashion of Gil Vicente. they show that Camoens was no Molière, and, despite the charm of style, they are not strong enough to keep the stage

The fifth volume contains the miscellaneous pieces and the *Prosas* The former are translations of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, and many editors only "attribute" them to Camoens The Italian's order is the Triumph of Love over Man, of Chastity over Love, of Death over both, of Fame over Death, of Time over Fame, and, lastly, of the Divinity over Time Camoens (?) has left (i.) the *Triumpho de Amor* in four chapters, (ii) the *Triumpho da Castidade*, (iii) the *Triumpho da Morte* (iv.) the *Sonho do Poeta* (Poet's Dream), and, (v) the *Triumpho da Fama* in two chapters, unfinished Of the letters in prose, and prose with verse, Nos 4, 5, 6 and 7 are fragments. This Volume ends with the *Satyra do Tornéo* (Satire of the Tournament), alias the *Jogo de*

Canas, which has been mentioned in the Poet's life It is regrettable that few of the many *Cartas*, which must have been written by so voluminous an author, have been preserved Camoens, like Byron, is a master of prose The *Lusiads* occupy Jur.'s Vol vi. , and No vii is still to come.

CHAPTER II

(BIBLIOGRAPHICAL)

§ I ON TRANSLATING THE LUSIADS

IT has been well observed that all the great works of antiquity, the monuments of literary genius and art raised by our common ancestry, require periodical retranslation, with the object of preserving their interest as parts of culture, and of contrasting the Spirit of the Present and the Past. We may safely say the same of the mediæval chefs-d'œuvre. Nor must we be deterred by the difficulties which, remarks Faria y Sousa of *The Lusiads* in Spanish garb, are never overcome by the translator. It is as well to try, and, practically, we do try. Even a failure may result in fresh appreciation of the original beauties, whilst as a piece of embodied criticism it has a value unknown to its intrinsic pretensions. On the other hand success gives new life and vigour to the old picture, when a living hand presents it to the public with the glaze and frame of contemporary thought and idiom.

Yet is translation a thankless task. It is never so well done but that it might be bettered even by oneself. It is at once imperfect and final. to translate a transla-

tion—as has lately happened—is absurd. Moreover, in every metrical version, notably in the best, a new artistic medium, a veil of individuality, of personality, of subtle association, rises between the model and the copy. The latter may surpass the former—it cannot equal it. Prose translation promises less and gives more, because its aim is mere reproduction—the relation, however, is that of a copper-plate or a lithograph to an oil-painting. And, except in sealed tongues, Arabic, Sanskrit and Chinese, who will be at the pains to read metre unmetrified? Thus the world of letters has never seen a translation which can be pronounced of all time. Chapman, Pope and Cowper left ample verge and space for Derby, Herschel, and a host of followers. When the older versions have waxed obsolete, either by change of taste or by the advance of criticism, the field evidently lies open to all comers.

The *crux* of modern translation, I need hardly say, is the nice line-drawing between licence and literalness, between unendurable inaccuracy which is common, and intolerable servility, which is rare. In a feat comparatively mechanical, we do not look for the originality of Genius, the flight of Fancy, or the charm of personal style. Hence, with some exceptions, such as Byron and Coleridge, our best poets are not our best translators. The rules laid down by critics are exceedingly strict—we try to obey them and mostly we fail. We are ordered to adopt as guiding principles absolute fidelity, ingenuity, and delicacy of touch, with a tact

difficult to describe. Even Voltaire says a translator should lose his own genius and assume that of his author—he never followed his own rule. Whatever (they tell us) changes the character of the composition, by saddling the copyist upon the original, must be held more or less a blemish. The dose is easy to prescribe, hard to take, for personality evokes personality. They are right, however, in declaring that whenever the attempt *verbum reddere verbo* enfeebles the flow of the model, or debases the currency of the copy, the latter has failed. Thus the utmost we can expect is an “artistic compromise between the two incompatibles,” and the highest praise is his whose version, while honest, reads like an original. The rest must be left to the reader’s taste—a translator can answer only for his own.

Translation is distinctly “the fashion” in our age of English literature, although the British public has not, like the French, been educated to appreciate it. The pursuit, which began with the professional scholar, and extended to those who use scholarship as a recreation, can boast its especial merits. It has done positive good by leading to a higher standard, it does not force new crudities upon much-injured readers; and at its worst it can hardly do harm. That the day of “free translations” is past, appears from the tenour of modern work. The poetical appetite, rather pampered than voracious, now demands food which has the full flavour and savour of the original dish: it rejects imitation

and recomposition however artistic, and it will not see the work re-written by implication. Our forefathers were contented with an "elegant though loose paraphrase," with a pleasant volume which, retaining generals, allowed itself abundant licence in particulars. Thus Benito Caldera¹ says of his own day — "Some imagine that the sole obligation of a translator is to flatter their ignorance by romancing for their amusement."

True, there is much in favour of the "free Translation." It gives more scope to the literary artist; his special powers have freer play, he may prove himself a "prevailing Poet." Edward Fairfax² handles his author

¹ A learned Portuguese whose Spanish version of *The Lusiads* was dedicated to the President of the Holy Office, and printed, *cum privilegio*, at Alcalá de Henares in A D 1580 (Adam ii 101, Jur. i 223-24).

² Second (and natural?) son of Sir Thomas Fairfax, of Denton, Yorkshure, and Dorothy Gale. His Scandinavian blood is shown by the family name. A man of liberal education, ample patrimony and high consideration, he lived and died at Freystone, Knaresborough, a perfect contrast with his Poet. The 1st Edit of "Godfrey of Bulloigne, or, the Recovery of Jerusalem," was a folio printed in 1600; a 2nd appeared in 1624, and a 5th (Knight's) in 1817. It found high favour with Kings James and Charles, with Philips, the nephew of Milton, and with Waller, Collins, and Hume. Dryden calls Spenser and Fairfax "great masters in our language." Only Dr Johnson preferred to "Godfrey" the insipidities of Hoole, and, *pénêtré* with the pleasures of pension, dedicated it to his queen. It is regrettable that so much of Fairfax has perished. The 4th Eclogue, which alone appears in Knight's Edit (xliii -1), is a masterly work. Chambers' Cyclopædia calls it puerile and absurd, but his literary history is "written for the people."

with a latitude often bordering on licence, yet his glorious Shakespearian (Elizabethan) version is a model for copyists, if such thing there be. In Cary's¹ sound blank verse Dante is projected from his own plane to ours. Still the fact remains that the taste for free translation in verse has grown obsolete.

And there is much against the verbal, the literal version. As early as 1588 John Purvey, when revising Wyclif's Bible, made a rule "to translate after the sentence, not after the words." Where no analogy exists between the two languages, a religious, or rather a superstitious observance of the text is likely to produce a harsh and inverted style. Again, a close version from a tongue of superior beauty suggests, Alfieri well says, "transferring an air from harp to hurdy-gurdy." Lastly, as observed by Rose,² who modestly compares his labours with a print or engraving rather than a copy of the picture, it is possible to echo the author's very words to little or no purpose. For instance, Ariosto writes —

Dove presso à Bordéa mette Caronna,
(Where the Garonne dischargeth near Bordeaux),

¹ What could have persuaded Mr Longfellow to do Dante? It is like Washington Irving writing upon "Mahomet and his Successors."

² William Stewart Rose nat. 1775, published *Orlando Furioso* in 1831, and ob. (æ. 68) April 30, 1843. His version has its merits, but it is deformed by excessive carelessness, especially in the repetition of rhymes. The latter sometimes occur in the *Faerie Queene*, but always with an object.

and Huggins translates —

Where to Bordea runs Caronna near,

These are weighty objections they apply, however, not to the use but to the abuse and misuse of literal translation

It is curious to remark how all the English translators of Camoens (save one) chose, instinctively as it were, the literal form preferred by moderns. This may be explained by the intense realism of the Poem, which treats of historical fact, not of fable or of legend like Ariosto and Tasso, by its annalistic and geographical character, by its directness of speech, by its straightforwardness of action, and by the fulness of its narrative, verging at times upon the diffuse. Thus an accurate and faithful copy became easier and more natural than a paraphrase. Mickle, the sole exception, adopted the heroic couplet, but he wrote under the mighty wings of Dryden and Pope, the after-birth of the great Shakespearian delivery.

Da Gama's exploration-feat, one of the three quasi-contemporary voyages, offered as a subject advantages and demerits. For the Poet's age the picture, as has been said of Lucan and Silius Italicus, lacked mythical interest, it was too modern, too familiar, for readers who had seen, perhaps, a "Baron," a "Hero," an "Argonaut," in the tipstaff's hands. On the other hand, this exploit, which stirred national pride and enthusiasm to its very depths, excited Camoens himself the more, as he was almost a

spectator of its triumphs With our *Poète de la Patrie*, Portugal, not Da Gama, was the hero of the Poem, the bard's life and labours enabled him to produce a picture of which any nation might be proud, and, as in the case of Homer and Virgil, the noblest spirit and the purest patriot sings his country's choicest glory. The fire of discovery, long ago allowed to smoulder, but never to burn out, is now being rekindled, meanwhile, we moderns may catch a reflexion of its pristine heat and splendour by fixing our eyes upon the original source

Of the especial difficulties which beset the translator of *The Lusíads*, the first and chief are the language (vocabulary) and mannerism, the mould and rhyme Portuguese, as Southey warns us, "offers dangerous temptations to the over-conscientious translator" This tongue, which the Troubadours called the Speech of Flowers, assigns especial senses to words of general use Thus, every version renders *sublimaram* (l. 1, 8) by some form of "sublime", whereas, here *sublimar* means to elevate, to make splendid¹

Again, Camoens had evidently read (Canto i 11) one Orlando, and possibly all three Their success may have recommended to him the Ottava rima, and in the

¹ M₁ Oswald Crawford in *The Academy* (Aug 31, 1878) I am well aware that, as a rule, words common to Latin, Portuguese, and English, bear different popular meanings Yet I have ventured to use not a few (*e.g.* "singular" and "peregrine") in the vulgar Lusian sense, because they *may* bear that signification in our tongue, and they add variety and vivacity to diction.

treatment of his stanza he somewhat exaggerated Ariosto and other masters. All love to write up to the last distich, to compress the pith into a couplet, to contrast the artistic finish with the simplicity of the six preceding lines, to end *ore rotundo*. Hence, irreverent moderns compare the stanza with a dance ending in a "break-down". But Camoens, delighting in the Petrarchian Sonnet, has imported into the epic its mechanism and its chief peculiarity. Nay more, he rounds off each Canto with a jet, as it were, making it a detached picture¹. In these chosen places he becomes alliterative, antithetical, epigrammatic, and aphoristic,² sentimental, moralising, pathetic, personal, eloquent, and, especially, poetical. Few, and very few of his sayings are the platitudes of philosophy, mostly they are truth winged with wit and wisdom. He does not scatter these gems upon the highway of narrative, he reserves the brightest for those moments of repose when his personages temporarily disappear. Thus the longest passages which conclude the Cantos (1, v, vi., and ix) play the part of the ancient Chorus, their poetic beauty, moral excellence, philosophic dignity and fatalistic grandeur fairly represent the older artifice, while they embody at once the *Zeitgeist* of the public and the Poet's private thought. Their rhetorical polish has been a sore trial to translators, and

¹ As a rule Ariosto is most personal at the beginnings and the conclusions of his Cantos. Camoens at the latter

² Lists of Camonian apophthegms are given by many commentators, notably by Jur vi 461-64

many have been the ways of tuning, in order to overcome, the stumbling-block. The same may be said of Camoens' delight in the figure which grammarians call Hyperbaton, these inversions are remarkable in his speeches, and they often run through a whole stanza (*eg* viii 65)

The genius of his mother-tongue and the taste of his age induced the Portuguese Poet to write in hendecasyllables. This form, which corresponds with our heroic decasyllable, supplanted the "light metre," huitaine, octonary or octo-syllabic line both in Southern and in Northern Europe. In the former it was permanently established by Sá de Miranda, by D Manoel de Portugal, and by other contemporaries of Camoens¹. Hence, naturally, arose the *Schwacher Reim*, the feminine, dissyllabic, or double-ending, a consonance of two syllables when the second ends in a vowel². Hence, too, the *sdrucchiolo*, or triple-ending,³ a sorer difficulty still. In English both are exotics, concluding

¹ It contrasts strongly with the hexameter, and the latter having 12 standard units, of which 5 can be broken into halves of short syllables. Thus the dactylic line contains 17 (12+5), while the spondaic has only a dozen.

² Port Lusitána, Taprobána, humana, Ital buóno, suóno, F1 plaise, taise (pronouncing the e), Engl father, rather; glory, story (Fairfax makes glory rhyme with sorry).

³ Port Impéio, hemisphéio, Ital fémina, sémina, Engl mo-ti-on, po-ti-on, o-ce-an, and Byron's often quoted intellectual =henpeck'd you all. "Brittain's Ida" attributed to Spenser abounds in these rhymes.

the line with a stumble instead of a pause There is no poetry in these efforts of the Scottish metrical Psalter —

In them the birds of air have made
Their habitation ,
Which do among the branches sing
With delectation

Byron, a master of his craft, deals liberally in feminine forms , but Don Juan was an original composition that ignored fetters, and the intention was to be quaint rather than poetic Morgante Maggiore, upon which the translator greatly prided himself, was also semi-jocose, and here the double rhymes were most effective. Only Mitchell has attempted the task in The *Lusiads* , but he so handled his material that the assonances became rather grotesque than poetical. Other translators have shirked the trial, and perhaps they were wise in their generation

Lastly, there is the rhyme-difficulty The Portuguese bard had advantages in the *Schema homœoteleuton* denied to the Englishman, and he carried the liberty to the verge of licence¹ In the soft bastard Latin tongues,

¹ He uses, for instance *Estima* (noun)=*estima* (verb, II 86), *Parte* (noun)=*parte* (verb, VII 23); and *vista* (noun)=*vista* (participle, VII 59) As regards *Profundo* (noun)=*profundo* (adj IV 102), the latter is held incorrect by some commentators who replace the second by *facundo*, after a MS of F y S Zolus declares of Camoens that "the rhyme oppresses him, subjugates him." This is unjust, but certainly some of his endings are not admissible for instance, lines 2 and 4 of IV. 101 conclude with

especially in Italian, it is hard to speak without assonance. Increased facility is given by the popular use of corresponding sounds without dissimilarity of the consonants preceding the "terminal jinglings," the "rack of finest wits" In the French of Victor Hugo *sombre* (adjective) rhymes with *sombre* (verb), and a favourite form in Spanish is when the vowels, not the consonants, echo one another:¹ like those races of delicate organs, Arabs and Persians, they are satisfied with a minimum of power. But what Continentals consider a beauty we Islanders hold to be a blemish, with us the excess of harmony destroys all the harmony. We are upon this point squeamish, over-particular. There is really no reason why maid should not rhyme with dismay'd, oppress with depress. The kindred language of Germany allows empfinden=finden, and, hence, partly the flexibility of its verse. True, the admirable Spenser is not blameless in this matter.² Byron³ has "already"=ready, Swinburne "see" and "sea." Yet English critics hold that this form of the "tag" has a bald and barren look, equally unsatis-

longe, and lines 4 and 6 of viii 94 in *val*. All we can say is that they may be hopelessly corrupt.

¹ *E.g.*, Bárbaro, =cálamo, =plátano.

² *F* 2 Canto v. ss 3, 4, and 5.

³ In *Morgante Maggiore* we find "lauiels"=Charles (lxii), "for he"=bury (xxvi), "Rondello"=fellow (xxviii), and "arrow"=quite through (lxiii). Of the eighty-six Stanzas in the fragment, thirty-eight have double rhymes, No. lxx shows them in six consecutive lines, and No. xli. consists of nothing else.

factory to eye and ear. The former need not be consulted ; and the latter, it would appear from the Sonnet, cannot be satisfied without a thump which suggests the national steam-hammer. And public taste now pronounces intolerable the "tinklings of final syllables," which were once "allowable"

After these general remarks, I proceed to particulars.

§ 2. ENGLISH TRANSLATORS OF THE LUSIADS,
(WITH SPECIMENS).

ADAMSON (ii. 61-257) compared the various translations of *The Lusiads* by quoting *in extenso* the Ignez-episode (iii 118-135). It is a fair test, but better suited to a volume than to a chapter. I have contented myself with the two opening stanzas than which, perhaps, there are none more unmanageable in the whole poem.¹ The first, I would remind the reader, has evidently been written and re-written till it has lost all its freshness. No 2 is but little better, and none of us have done justice to the original.² Both united form

¹ Had my space been less occupied I should have added the third of the first and the last Stanza of the last Canto

² Similarly Fanshaw, it is said, after repeated trials, was by no means satisfied with stanza 2 of his Godfrey, and I ask myself if he liked the first. In both he seems hardly to have settled down to his work.

one immense sentence in *Tudesque* fashion, while the connexion is by no means self-evident. It is curious to see how many of the translators, Fanshaw, Quillinan, Mitchell, and Duff have converted the sense into absolute nonsense by placing a full stop at the end of stanza 1. Duff, the greatest offender, also cuts up stanza 11 by a period in line 8, but he may plead that he had no intention to follow his leader

C A M O E N S

(1572)

C A N T O P R I M E I R O .

1

As Aímas, e os Barões assinalados,
 Que da Occidental praia Lusitana
 Por mares nunca d'antes navegados,
 Passaram ainda além da Taprobana,
 Em perigos e guerras esfoiçados,
 Mais do que prometia a força humana ;
 E entre gente remota edificaram
 Novo reino, que tanto sublimaram .

2

E também as memorias gloriosas
 Daquelles Reis, que foram dilatando
 A Fé, o Imperio, e as terras viciosas
 De Africa e de Asia andaram devastando ,
 E aquelles que por obras valesosas
 Se vão da lei da morte libertando ;
 Cantando espalharei por tod'a parte,
 Se a tanto me ajudar o engenho e arte.

SIR RICHARD FANSHAW

(1655).

I

Armes, and the Men above the vulgar File,
Who from the *Western Lusitanian* shore
Past ev'n beyond the *Trapobanian-Isle* (*sic*),
Through *Seas* which never *Shíp* had sayld before ,
Who (brave in *action*, patient in long *Toyle*,
Beyond what strength of *humane* nature bore)
'Mongst *Nations*, under *other Stars*, acquir'd
A *modern Scepter* which to *Heaven* aspir'd

2

Likewise those *Kings* of *glorious memory*,
Who sow'd and propagated where they past
The Faith with the *new Empire* (making dry
The Breasts of ASIA, and laying waste
Black Affrick's vitious Glebe ; and *Those* who by
Then needs at *home* left not their names defac't,
My *Song* shall spread where ever there are *Men*,
If *Wit* and *Art* will so much guide my Pen

WILLIAM JULIUS MICKLE

(1776)

Aims and the Heroes, who from Lisbon's shore,
Thro' Seas where sail was never spread before,
Beyond where Céylon lifts her spicy breast,
And waves her woods above the watery waste,
With prowess more than human forc'd their way
To the fair kingdoms of the rising day .

What wars they wag'd, what seas what dangers past,
 What glorious Empire crown'd their toils at last,
 Vent'rous I sing, on soaring pinions borne,
 And all my Country's wars the song adorn,
 What Kings, what Heroes of my native land
 Thunder'd on Asia's and on Africa's strand
 Illustrious shades, who levell'd in the dust
 The idol-temples and the shines of lust,
 And where, erewhile, foul demons were rever'd,
 To Holy Faith unnumber'd altars rear'd,
 Illustrious names, with deathless laurels crown'd,
 While time rolls on in every clime renown'd !

THOMAS MOORE MUSGRAVE

(1826)

Arms, and the heroes of illustrious fame,
 Who, from the western Lusitanian shore,
 Remote, unnavigated seas explor'd,
 Far beyond Taprobana's distant isle,
 And, 'midst the perils of advent'ious war,
 With more than human constancy endur'd,
 In Eastern climes a mighty empire rais'd
 And aggrandiz'd by great and glorious deeds :
 The great achievements of their martial kings,
 Who spread the Christian Faith where'er their arm
 Prevail'd, in Asia, and in Africa,
 Idolatrous and superstitious rites
 Extirpating, and those, too, whose exploits
 From death's oblivion their names redeem'd :
 These let me sing, and wide-extend their fame,
 If to such themes my Muse may dare aspire.

EDWARD 'QUILLINAN'¹

(1853)

I

Arms, and the men heroic of the West,
Who from their native Lusitanian shore,
By seas till then unnavigated, prest
Even beyond Tapiobanè, and more
Than seem'd of human foice the hardest test,
Through wars and perils resolutely boie,
Raised a new empire in a distant clime,
And crown'd it with a gloiy all sublime¹

2

These, and the kings of memory dear to fame,
Who, widening out dominion, spread the Faith,
Afflicted Afric as a chastening flame,
And Asia, rank with the idolater's breath—
And many a warrior who redeem'd his name
By deeds of prowess from the law of death—
These shall my song proclaim in every part,
If Genius aid me, and melodious Art

THOMAS LIVINGSTON MITCHELL

(1854).

I

Aims, and the Barons signally renowned
Who from the western Lusitanian shore,
Far beyond Tapiobane a passage found
By seas none ever sailed across before :

¹ This is hardly a fair specimen of Quillinan, who has done better almost everywhere else.

In perils great, fierce wars on unknown ground,
 Meeting all adverse human strength with more
 To found midst people of a different sky,
 A new realm that raised their names so high

2

Likewise those Kings whose memorable deeds
 Gloriously spread our holy faith and nation,
 And to the wicked lands of sinful creeds
 In Africa and Asia, devastation,
 And those achieving by their valour's deeds
 From the dread law of death their liberation,
 Singing I will proclaim, both far and wide,
 If art and genius be not me denied

 JOHN JAMES AUBERTIN

(1878).

1

Arms and the heroes signalised in fame,
 Who from the western Lusitanian shore
 Beyond e'en Taprobana sailing came,
 O'er seas that ne'er had traversed been before,
 Harassed with wars and dangers without name,
 Beyond what seemed of human prowess bore,
 Raised a new kingdom midst a distant clime,
 Which afterwards they rendered so sublime.

2

Also those kings of glorious memory,
 Who, spreading wide the faith and empire's sway,
 Went forth where Africa and Asia be,
 Sweeping the wicked of those lands away,
 And they, who, working many a prodigy
 Of valour, death's own laws e'en held at bay,
 Shall in my song be o'er the world displayed,
 If art and genius so far lend their aid!

JAMES E. HEWITT

(1879)

I

Arms and the men of a redoubted name,
Far from the western Lusitanian shore,
Thio' seas where never prior vessel came,
Who further yet than Taprobana boie
In danger valiant and in wars the same,
Exceeding what was pledged of human store,
And, among people of a distant clime
New kingdom built and rendered so sublime -

2

And more, the glorious memories of the kings,
The Faith, the Empire foith who went to spread,
And bearing upon Devastation's wings,
Through baleful Africa and Asia sped
And those, by reason of right valorous things
Enfranchised from the law of death who trod,
I singing will diffuse on every side
If skill and art so far my effort guide.

ROBERT FFRENCH DUFF

(1879).

I

The arms I sing and that most glorious band
Of heroes far renowned, who did of yore
Embark on Lusitania's western strand
For seas where fleets had never sailed before,
And boldly passed beyond the balmy shore
Of Taprobana neither storm nor fight
Can stop their course, above them all they soar
Triumphant, and by superhuman might
They raise their native realm unto its proudest height

2

Immortal glories these¹ nor less the fame
 Of Lusitanian Kings, whose guiding thought
 Inspired their zealous efforts to proclaim
 Their holy faith to pagans, and who sought
 To bring the wild and savage tribes to naught
 In Africa and Asia, men of heart
 Undaunted, who undying glory bought
 By scorning death Such deeds in every part
 My Muse shall spread around, if genius aid my art

RICHARD F BURTON

(1880)

1

The feats of Arms and famed heroick Host
 From occidental Lusitanian strand,
 That o'er the seas by seaman never crost
 Farèd beyond the Taprobàne-land,¹
 Forceful in perils and in battle-post,
 With more than promised force of mortal hand,
 And in the regions of a distant race
 Reared a new throne so haught in Pride of Place

2

And eke, the Kings of memory grand and glorious,
 Who hied them Holy Faith and Reign to spread,
 Converting, conquering, and in lands notorious,
 Africk and Asia, devastation made ;

¹ Ceylon.

Not less the Lieges who by deeds memorous
Brake from the doom that binds the vulgar Dead,
My song would sound o'er earth's extreemest part
Were mine the genius, mine the Poet's art

Concerning these translations I propose to offer a few details, biographical and bibliographical

§ 3 NOTICES OF ENGLISH TRANSLATORS.

FANSHAW, MICKLE, MUSGRAVE, QUILLINAN, MITCHELL,
AUBERTIN, HEWITT, DUFF, AND BURTON

I

RICHARD FANSHAW,¹ Esquire, became Sir Richard after the Siege of Oxford, and the Right Honourable Sir Richard by virtue of his civil services. This Translator represents the noble age of English literature, the Elizabethan or rather the Shakespearean

¹ "The Lusiad, of Portugals Historically Poem written in the Portugall Language by Luis de Camoens, and Now newly put into English by Richard Fanshaw, Esq, —

Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori,
Carmen amat quisquis, Carmine digna facit

London, | Printed for *Humphrey Moseley*, at the Prince's- | Arms, in
St Pauls Churchyard, MDCLV." Fronting the title-page is a bust

Fanshaw was a younger son of Sir Henry Fanshaw, Ware Park, Herts Born in 1607, some nine years before the death of Shakespeare and Cervantes (1616), he studied at Cambridge, and he was sent on a mission to the Court of Spain, where he held the Embassy till 1642. Returning to England he found himself, a Royalist by race, involved in the Civil Wars (1642-48) Taken prisoner at Worcester, he was placed on parole with William Earl of Strafford at Tankersley Park, Yorkshire His wife, who was gentle and brave, has left a pathetic account of the leave-taking (1648) at Hampton Court with Charles I, under circumstances which lent to parting an especial pathos. When the King saluted her, she prayed God to preserve his Majesty—"who was next of all to the Son of God himself"—with a long life and happy years. The "Martyr," affectionately stroking her cheek, answered, "Child, if God pleaseth it shall be so, but both you

portrait of the Poet, "sinister-gardant," and thus blind of the wrong eye The *Camam*-bird is similarly faced, and under the plate is a quaint "copy" of original verse After the "Epistle Dedicatorie" comes "Petionu Arbitri Satyricon, page 48," with translation, and "The Translator's Postscript" There is a full length of Prince Henry of Portugall, in armour, lance in hand, like a brawny St Christopher books, nautical instruments, and the national arms, with the legend of the Gartei, and the capture of Ceuta, form the background It is followed by the likeness of Vasco da Gama, also full-length The *Praelegomena* end with the well-known Vasco Sonnet of Torquato Tasso, and a rude translation The folio numbers pp. xix (b 2) 224, and costs £1 6s. to £1. 10s., while Harrington fetches £4. 4s to £6 6s

and I must submit to God's will, for you know whose hands I am in" Then, turning to Sir Richard, the King continued "Be sure, Dick, to tell my son all that I have said, and deliver these letters to my wife Pray God bless her, and I hope I shall do well" At last, embracing his faithful follower, the "Martyr" said "Thou hast ever been an honest man, and I hope God will bless thee and make thee a happy servant to my Son, whom I have charged in my letter to continue his love and trust to you, and I do promise you, if I am restored to my dignity, I will bountifully reward you both for your services and sufferings" Lady Fanshaw concludes "Thus did we part from that glorious Sun that, within a few months after, was extinguished, to the grief of all Christians who are not forsaken of their God" No wonder that men, especially "Jack" men, sang—

The King shall enjoy his own again

During the Commonwealth, or First Republic of England (1649–53), Fanshaw was once more sent for a short time (1650–51) as Ambassador to Spain He became a "complete master of the modern languages," then confined to the Neo-Latin, few studying German, and none Slav and Romanic, and he spoke and wrote Spanish "with as much advantage as if he had been a native." Accordingly we find him translating the drama *Querer por solo querer* (to love only for love), Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, which excelled the *Aminta*,¹ and minor

¹ Tasso's "Aminta" was translated into all the cultivated Euro-

pieces in verse and prose. He might have read *The Lusíads* in the Spanish version of Luis Gomes de Tapia¹ (1580), but he evidently knew Portuguese, and, contrary to common opinion, he knew it well.

In 1655, some 275 years after John Wyclif's version, 51 years after the date of the A. V. under the king who invented baronetcies, and 10 years before the completion of *Paradise Lost*, Fanshaw printed the first English translation of *The Lusíads*. In his Dedication, dated from Tankersley Park (May 1), the knight tells us that "from the hour I began it, to the end thereof, I slept not once out of these walls." The Editor of Fanshaw's Letters expressly says "During the unsettled times of our *anarchy*, some of his MSS, falling by misfortune into unskilful hands, were printed and published without his consent or knowledge, and before he could give them his last finishing touches such was his translation of the *Lusíad*." Hence, probably, the curious mistakes and the unfinished appearance of the work, which notably wants notes.

On the Restoration Fanshaw was named Master of Requests, in the next year (1661) he was sent as Envoy-Extraordinary, and, shortly afterwards, Ambassador to Lisbon. Here he negotiated the famous marriage between Charles II. and Dona Catharina, which, by the transfer of Bombay, ruined Goa, and made the

pean languages. Reading the "Pastor Fido," the great model said — "If he (Guarini) had not seen the *Aminta*, he would not have excelled it."

¹ Jur. 1. 224-26

British supreme in the "East Indies" He had resolved to revise and correct his translations, but business occupied all his time. Returning in 1663, Sir Richard was made one of the Privy Council. He was again commissioned as Ambassador to Spain, where the Right Honourable died of fever (æet 62) in 1669. His wife and constant companion brought his remains to England for burial in the parish church of Ware.

The first translator of *The Lusians* had many qualifications for the task. There is a notable likeness between him and Sir John Harrington, "that witty fellow, my godson," as the *inveterata virgo* called him, who was ordered to "English" Ariosto, and who narrowly escaped being an Irish bishop or archbishop. Fanshaw was a man of ancient family and liberal education, a Royalist loyal to the backbone, a linguist, a philosopher, a true man, and a gay and gallant cavalier. He had fought, and he had seen the world beyond the steeple. Southey, who is generous in his judgment, looks upon Fanshaw in the light of a perfect littérateur, an able diplomatist, and an excellent specimen of humanity.

The good knight fared badly during the Georgian Days, the Golden Age of Mediocrity, which may be called the "Shaven Period" of English History and Literature, when the Philister ruled "Church and State." Mickle (*Dissert* cxxxiii) finds him "harsh and unpoetical"¹ he is certainly a contrast with that mawkish

¹ Besides repetitions of rhyme, misnumbering the Stanzas and similar blemishes, we find such palpable errors as *Trapobanian-isle*

smoothness which turns "Malabar" into *Malabria*. The brewer pronounces the Cavalier "apparently literal, nevertheless exceedingly unfaithful" this is Gracchus complaining of sedition "Uncountenanced by his original, he *teems with many a dead-born jest*; nor has he the least idea of the dignity of the epic style, or of the true spirit of poetic translation" (clix). Southey, who had lived in Portugal (1811-12), while recognising a certain vigour and movement, chiefly where the original is followed, also condemns the style as inflated, destitute of the majesty becoming the epic,¹ overloaded with epithets, and puerile in the comparisons and images (Quart Rev. April, 1822). Quillinan the Lakist who, by-the-by, often borrows from Fanshaw, declares him prosaic, ridiculous, and almost unendurable. The Portuguese, who should be the best judges, re-echo Mickle and term the "*Luciad*" *a mais infiel de quantas traducções se tem feito* (the most faithless version of all hitherto made) They are wrong, but, be it observed,

(i 1, 3), "King's fifteen" (for thirteen, iv 60); "Craggie Rocks's" (iv 70), "Cynifius" (vii 7), "Rivers Gonzague" (viii 27, not 31), "Biblis and Myria," ix 34, "Cambaland" (x 13) and many similar, which suggest printing from an imperfect MS. In those days proofs were not corrected.

¹ It appears to me this critic does not, like many others, fairly distinguish between the true Epic, Ancient and Classical, and the mediæval (Neo-Latin) romantic poems which succeeded it. The moderns allow themselves a licence unknown to their predecessors. Danto's "Comedy" can hardly be called an Epic, and we wonder what Horace would have thought of Ariosto.

the author had not conciliated popular favour by talking of “*so uncourted a language* as that of Portugal”

Fanshaw's faults lie on the surface Rugged, harsh, and, at times, bombastic, he gives no echo of the buoyant and rarely broken melody of one of the most polished and musical of poets The epigrammatic lines which end the stanzas in the short incisive style adapted to subtle shades of expression, become in Fanshaw trite or pedantic moral maxims, mere popular proverbs rivalling the *répertoire* of Sancho Panza¹ He takes improper liberties with his author his inversions and parentheses, wheel within wheel, often make him more Camoens than Camoens,—not in a praiseworthy sense. He amplifies, and expounds the Poet's darker sayings, thus introducing a new element, the hermeneutic He exaggerates whatever strikes him, with the jovial rollicking manner of the Carolians, the laughable passages, which are easily picked out and are too numerous to quote, may be attributed, like the “buffoonery” of Harrington, an English student of Rabelais, to the high spirits of the jolly and genial cavalier His quaintness also overpowers his poetic sense Yet he pleased his contemporaries we read of the “excellent translation of that Heroique Poem” in the pages of Sir Peter Wiche, Kt, who published (1664) the Life of D. John de Castro.²

¹ Canto i. 105, ii 59, iii. 15, iv 35, v 80, vi 24, vii. 8, viii. 39, ix 94, and x. 50.

² Jul. 1 284.

It has been said that Fanshaw translated Camoens without due knowledge of Portuguese. I see no sign of this, and I am glad to find my opinion confirmed by so high an authority as Viscount Juromenha. *Encontrâmos ás vezes muita fidelidade, não só em exprimir a idéa do auctor traduzido, mas ainda na forma metrica* (At times we meet with great fidelity, not only to the author's idea but even to his metrical form)¹ The knight does not often choose to be literal, but when he pleases he can be remarkably so —e.g.

- Eclipses whatsoe 're *outlandish* Fame.—(I 13)
 { And *They* who injuied *you*, We will be bold,
 { Know not what price *Virtue* and *Honor* hold —(II 86)
 { SCYLLA her aged *Father* slew through *one*,
 { Through *Both* TERESA goes against her *son* —(III. 32)
 { For *thee* (O KING) worse *dangers* and worse *Toyls*,
 { My *Spirit* leaps at, nor my *Flesh* recoyles —(IV 80)
 { Where *People* dwell, whom CLYMENE'S rash Son²
 { Deny 'de the sweet Complexion of the *Day* —(V 7)
 { Was a great nasty *Clown* with all that boast
 { His *Father's Trumpet*, and his *Father's Poast* —(VI. 16.)
 { *There*, when ANTEUS was obey 'd of yote —(VII. 24)
 { Seeld with an ANGELL'S *Quill*, hath *eyes* to find
 { The way to *Heav'n*, but to the *Earth* is blind —(VIII 55)
 { But we do want a certain necessary
 { Woman, to broke between them CUPID said.—(IX 44)
 { Who now shall salt (I bayte you *Paganism*)
 { So much of *Heresie*, so much of *Scism* —(X 119)

¹ Jur. 1 270

² I have retained in the first Edition Camoens' Clyméne which is etymologically correct,—Κλυμένη.

Even the second-rate Elizabethans and quasi-Elizabethans had their especial merits. If Fanshaw made great faults he also showed high deserts. His work is that of a gentleman, a scholar and a soldier. His English, like that of Harrington, is nervous and idiomatic. The sprightly gallant style, the gay and lively tilt, the spring and swing of the verse show that he enjoyed his task. He has life with movement, and the rude energy of his poetic vein has still the power to please because we feel that he is swimming with the stream. Often comic, inverted, savage, tortured as Isaac Walton, he can be as sweet as Camoens himself, and, when at his best, he is stirring and spirited, dignified and dramatic. It has been said that Fanshaw is to Mickle what Chapman was to Pope: this is the usual half-truth of Epigrams. Finally, a modern *littérateur* might spend his time worse than in remodelling passages which grate upon our present fastidious taste; and in doing for good old Fanshaw what Berni did for Boiardo¹

¹ I cannot but suspect that the chief cause of the mighty literary movement of Elizabethan England was the opening of the Continent, and especially of Spain, to English travellers. If so, it repeats history in the days of Psammetichus and the Greeks. And though our language has, since that time, gained much in prose, it has lost proportionally in poetry. The disappearance of variety in nouns and the strong preterites of verbs is regrettable, as that of the delicious diminutives in older French.

II

Mickle (William Julius),¹ though chronologically a Georgian is a survival of Queen Anne's day or rather of Pope's. This consummate versifier, formist, and artist, founded a school which could not equal his merits but which successfully exaggerated his demerits, till its "monotonous sweetness, sententious precision, and laboured antithesis" become intolerable.

Mickle, whose name was Meikle, the son of a Scotch clergyman, and born in 1734 at Langholm, Dumfriesshire, became the manager of, and subsequently a partner in, an Edinburgh brewery. He qualified for belles lettres by bankruptcy, and emigrated (1734) southwards like many of his countrymen —

¹ "The *Lusiad*, | 01 | The Discovery of India, | an | Epic Poem | Translated from the Portuguese of | Luis de Camoens | By | William Julius Mickle |

Nec verbum verbo, curabis reddere fidus

Interpres — HOR. Art. Poet.

London | Oxford | MDCCCLXXVI "

A 2nd Edition of this 4to, "with emendations and additions," appeared at Oxford in 1778, and the profits of the first fourteen years were nearly £1,000. The 3rd (2 vols. 8vo., without improvements) came out in 1791. The 4th and last (3 vols. 12mo) was published by Joseph Harding, of London, in 1807. The fine copper-plates, copied into Didot's small Edition (Paris, 1815) are the Malaprops of the day. For instance (iii. 114) Da Gama stands manacled before a Hindu Rajah, who is dressed like a Moslem, or rather a "Saracen." Of the 5th Edition (1877) I shall speak further on.

The "Introduction" is followed by (1) The History of the

With scrip on hip, and pykstaff in his hand,
As he had purposit to pass fia home

Even then it was said of the "native Scotchman,"
consuetudo peregrinandi jam pene in naturam conversa

Having learnt a smattering of Portuguese in his youth (æet 17), Mickle read Duperron de Castéra,¹ and Fanshaw may have determined him to reclothe Camoens in the dress of the day. The "Gentleman's Magazine" (March, 1771), printed the Adamastor-episode (Canto v), which is still sold, and, during the following summer,

Discovery of India, (ii) The History of the Rise and Fall of the Portuguese Empire in the East, (iii) The Life of Luis de Camoens (now obsolete), (iv) "A Dissertation on the Lusiad, and (v) Observations upon Epic Poetry (in general). The translation of Tasso's Vasco Sonnet has slender merits, it begins well, and ends badly—

And under many a sky thy actions crown.
While Time and Fame together glide along.

¹ *La Lusade de Camoens Poème Hérouique sur la découverte des Indes Orientales, traduit du Portugais en François, avec des remarques*, 1st Edit (3 vols. 12mo. illustrated), Amsterdam, 1735. Second Edit, *À Paris chez Babuty, Quai des Augustins, à l'Étoile*, MDCCLXVIII, *avec approbation et privilège du Roi* (3 vols. 12mo not illustrated). Mickle calls this prose version a "loose unpoetical paraphrase of the Lusiad", adding, "Castera was in every way unequal to the task. He did not perceive his author's beauties. He either suppresses or lowers the most poetical passages; and substitutes French tinsel and impertinence in their place." The work has been entirely superseded by the version in French prose (accompanied by the Portuguese text) of Sr. Fernando d'Azevedo (see Table III), a Brazilian writer. I found this volume so correct that it was often referred to for the meaning of disputed passages.

Canto 1 appeared with proposals to publish the whole by subscription. The specimen found favour. Mickle gave up his employment at the Clarendon Printing-office (early 1772), retired to a farm-house at Forest Hill near Oxford, and devoted three or four years to the work, which was supervised by Mr. James Boswell, of Auchinleck. For his voluminous and some of them luminous and valuable notes, he consulted the Commentaries of Faria y Sousa, and he was assisted by the Rev Dr Crowe¹. The copyright was sold, the book was printed at the University Press, and the thousand copies of the first edition sold fast.

Mickle's earliest poems were "Pollio, an Elegy," and "The Concubine," an unfortunate name, afterwards changed to "Syr Martyn." This antiquated study, after the Spenser manner, was admired by Lyttelton and quoted by Walter Scott, but it wanted energy as well as originality, and it has shared the fate of Tickell's toils. Mickle still lives in his charming "Cumnoe Hall," the groundwork of Kenilworth. The fairest flower in his poetic chaplet, however, showing the true bent and strength of his genius, was the little Scotch song beginning —

Sae sweet his voice, sae smooth his tongue,
His breath's like caller air,
His very fit has music in't,
As he comes up the stair.

¹ "Life of Mickle, prefixed to Edition of his Poetical Works,"
quoted by Adam ii 236-45

This is still a "live song," and will never be forgotten. The Duke of Buccleugh, to whom *The Lusíads* was dedicated, proved himself a sorry Mæcenas, but Commodore Johnson, despatched (early 1779) to the coast of Portugal in command of a squadron, shipped Mickle as his secretary. The vessels touched at Lisbon (Nov. 1780), and the translator's biographer, the Rev. John Sim (p. 4), gives the following account of his triumph —

"He was received with the utmost politeness and respect by Prince Don John of Braganza, Duke of Lafoens, and uncle to Maria I, the Queen of Portugal (to whom he had sent a copy of the *Lusíad* on its first publication), who, actuated by feeling very dissimilar to the cold apathy of his Scotch patron, had for some time been waiting upon the quay, anxious to be the first to welcome the translator of the *Lusíad* to the native city of his favourite Camoens. By this distinguished personage he was introduced to the principal nobility, clergy, and literati of Portugal, who vied with each other in showing him every mark of attention and respect during a residence of more than six months. 'I have made the best use of my time,' he says, 'in seeing everything in my power, and I have had every assistance from the Portuguese noblesse and literati; many of whom understand English and are well acquainted with our literature, and seem much pleased that a translation of their favourite poem has been well received in England.'"

It is lamentable that this courteous greeting did not induce Mickle to withdraw from circulation 01, at least to modify, certain unseemly remarks concerning the "barbarism" of the land. Voltaire, more appreciative, ends his critique with the just remark about the *nation spirituelle* which I have already quoted. Southey, however, shows the reason (Quart Rev. loc cit) Mickle had given a peculiar tone to his magnum opus, in order to flatter the Honourable East India Company, "who reaped where the Portuguese had sown." Thus he was in verse what Mill (*père*) was in prose. But to elevate the "civil and military arts of the British that nation of princes" (Introd. xxi), it was necessary to debase Spain and Portugal (*ibid* xli 7).

Mickle was also made (May, 1780) a member of the Royal Academy, Lisbon, and was honoured with a portrait by its President, the Duke of Lafoens. He now began "Almada Hill," a supplement to the "Lusiad". It was born in 1781, and died the death. Returning with Commodore Johnson to England, he was appointed joint agent for distributing the prize-money. His own share, which was ample, enabled him to marry an old flame, whom he had courted during his obscurer Oxford days, he spent his later life in ease and leisure, and he died at Forest Hill in 1788.

Walter Scott justly credited Mickle with a "vein of great facility, united to a power of verbal melody, which might have been envied by bards of much greater renown." The writer of Thalaba, whose reading-appetite

was omnivorous, whilst his taste was *sui generis*, and who wrote much unpoetical poetry, found Mickle superior to Camoens. Southey, however, also praises *O insigne Pintor*, of Vieira Lusitano, as the model prose-work in Portuguese¹ He always reminds us of the question put to him by an old Quaker dame, "And when, friend, does thee find time to *think*?" But he justly describes Mickle as a "man of genius, whose memory is without a spot, and whose name will live among the English poets" Quillinan's better knowledge perceives that the "heroical" translator knew little of Portuguese, and his finer sense pronounces his liberties "intolerable" Mickle has been generally praised for his Introduction, and here he shows the laborious research and minute industry of his countrymen, the Germans of England I am curious to know if he had any Hibernian blood, the "seven twin-mountains" (vol. II 93) suggests the admixture, and his poetry, speaking of *The Lusads*, is essentially Irish, a maximum of flowers to a minimum of fruit

Mickle is the incarnation of *Traduttori,—traditori* (translators=traitors) His treason, however, is boldly committed, indeed, he glories in his crime He thus throws down the gage of battle to all conscientious workmen "Your literal translation can have no claim to the original felicities of expression, the energy, elegance, and fire of original poetry" (clxi) Consequently he

¹ For an excellent Critique on Southey's rash and often valueless judgments, see Quillinan in *Jur* I. 289-90

intrudes his own. He opens his *rôle* of originality by adopting the fine, rolling heroic couplet, which heroically shirks every difficulty. It was an unhappy choice, wholly out of harmony with the form and spirit of the original, it runs a series of cabinet-pictures into a "smear without light, shade, or distinction of outline."¹ In these more exact days, Mickle would have called his poem "The *Lusiads* adapted from Camoens," and thus he would have won praise as a quasi-original artist. In his own time he was considered "fluent, lofty, and harmonious." I can only say that his style attacks my nerves, gives me "crispations."

As a translator, Mickle deserves the severest blame. His liberty is licentious: at his best he is splendide mendax. He is not satisfied with paraphrase and omissions: he rejoices in impertinent intrusions and interpretations, and he evidently holds, with consummate self-sufficiency, that he is improving upon Camoens. The seventeen stanzas which begin Canto ix. are eked out to more than double—300 for 136 lines. He falsifies history, topography, onomatology,² everything.

¹ The idea is well worked out by Rose (pp. xiii–xiv), "Introduction to the *Orlando Furioso*." London, Bell & Daldy, 1872.

² He will turn Afonso or Affonso into Alonzo, Nuno to Nunio, Magriço to Magricio, Seine to Seyn, Garonne to Garoon, Guimaraens to Guimaria, Arronches to Aruncha; Cezimbra to Zambra, Badajoz to Badaja, Santarem (St. Irene) to Santareen, Abyla to Abeyla and Avila, Asturias to Turia, Cinyps to Cynifio; Monsaydé to Muzaide, the Pyrenees to "hoar Pyrenians," Leiría to Lira, Giraldo to Gerrald, Menezes to Menez, Mascarenhas

Venus ejaculates, "Ah heaven!" (vol 1 p 65) after the address, "O Thunderer!" A day is turned into a year (i. 7, 8). He makes his poet sing the "lawns of Thames" (ii. 209) The poor plunder of Mozambique Island becomes "costly spoils and Eastern robes" The Messiah's name is "reviled and scorned" by Moslems! Dionæa is "Celestial Love". Venus is "Urania Venus" The Portuguese use carabines (i. pp 29, 37, 40) the Hindus "the splinter'd flint" (iii 228). What can we say of a translator who opens the Ignez-episode with a half line (ii 37)?

Such thy dire triumphs! Thou, O nymph, the while—

His description of Calicut, with its "ridge enormous," is simply ridiculous (iii 102). The same may be said of "fair Arabia's gales", of the anchor's "moony fangs"; of the "glossy simpering eye", of "mangled woe", of "ricey groves", and of "skies of snow" in Western India Camoens notably calls a spade a spade, Mickle makes water (i 34)—

The healthful beverage from the living spring

He is too delicate to speak of a wild beast which becomes,—

Each harmless bestial crops the flowery fields.

to Mascareen; Comorin to Comore, Rumé to Rumien; Diu to Dion, Tavaí to Tava, Timor to Timora, and so forth The "Bride of Portugal" may be called Agnes, but certainly not Ínez Hierapolis is a very different place from Heroopolis; and Brázil (for Brazil) is not admissible.

The Daisy of the lovely stanza is turned (O Baldur !) into a rose. He abuses the use of "boy" and "nymph." Everything is "blue," vineyards (ii. 7), teeth (ii. 146), and lips (iii. 113). Completely unjustifiable are the lament for the imaginary Painter ("Poor man," etc, iii. 76, 77), the *mise-en-scène* of Bacchus appearing to the Moslem Divine (iii pp 77, 78), the King naming the Cape of Good Hope (iii 94), and the fanciful jealousy of Leonardo ("Hah, did the lightning glare," iii 154), not to speak of shorter passages. Last and worst of all, he curtails to 30 lines the glorious peroration of the poem, twelve of its noblest stanzas. In fact, Mickle's want of originality as a poet, and of local knowledge as a writer, make him unadorn everything he touches.

This translator, withal, had the face to declare in one of his editions (p clxiii, 1807) that "some of the most eminent Portuguese literati had approved" of his improvements. Possibly the national courtesy may have wrung from them a few sympathetic expressions, but the public verdict is distinctly the reverse¹. They appeal to the translations of Virgil and Horace in all the polished languages of Europe, to support their assertion that Camoens should have been preserved entire without mutilation or reproduction. They say, in fact, that Mickle composed "inverted Lusiads," dished up *à l'anglaise*.

¹ (Thomas José de) Aquino ao Leitor (Tomo 110 Obras de Camões, 1782) quoted by Adam ii. 243.

But this over-freedom, these infidelities are nothings to the home reader. Consequently the Poem with all its faults of stilted, turgid smoothness, of "flimsy pompous chime," has maintained up to the present the hold which it took upon the last century, and has become a pseudo-classic in English literature. It can point, as a patent of nobility, to five editions similarly Hoole's version, despite the "meanness and monotonousness of his poetry," has reached or approached its twentieth issue. Mickle's ambition, he tells us (Dissert clxii), was "not to gratify the Dull Few, whose greatest pleasure in reading a translation is to see what the author exactly says (!) it was to give a poem that might live in the English language" So far he has succeeded, and no farther. He has also suggested that translation has no conscience.

I am here compelled to say a few words concerning the fifth and last Edition of Mickle, "revised" by E Richmond Hodges (London Bell, 1877). All the errors are left uncorrected. Camoens (Life, p xl.) is made to die early in 1579. We again find (p xii) Mickle's hideous Portuguese *Fuy afeiçoada a minho patria*. The Samorim (Samiry) is perverted (p lxxvi) to Samudra Rajah, a blunder of old date.¹ The learned Editor of Varthema (Hakluyt Edition, p 134) tells us, "Others derive the title from *Zamoodin* (?), the sea, and the Zamorim of Calicut is so called from his being the Lord of the Sea."

¹ In Chap. 17. § 2 I have explained the word

Prasso (Piason or Prasum) is "the name of a Promontory near the Red Sea", Menuthias, the Zanzibar group, is identified as by Mickle with Madagascar—an obsolete error after the fashion of Captain Fluellen Burton is quoted for Quillinan, and Mickle is not distinguished from Camoens. Future editors and revisers are respectfully requested to print all the interpolated passages in italics

III

MUSGRAVE (THOMAS MOORE)¹—This later Georgian is a reaction from the fluent unfaithful Mickle. Viscount Juromenha tells us (i 280) that he knew Musgrave as a packet-agent in Lisbon. He had evidently a certain familiarity with the Portuguese language and literature, but the task was beyond his powers. He lacked linguistic education, taste, and poetic verve.

Musgrave's first mistake was to choose the "most elevated of measures," blank verse, which is, I need hardly say, verse in none but the master-hand. While rhyme enriches and almost poetises prosaic diction, *Verso sciolto* cannot live without a current of vivifying thought or

¹ The *Lusiad*, | an Epic | Poem, | by | Luis de Camoens. | Translated from the Portuguese | by | Thomas Moore Musgrave. |

Primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse poetis
Excerptam numero, etc HOR Sat. l. 1 4

London John Murray, Albemarle Street, MDCCCXXVI. One vol 8vo published at £1 1s.

fiery passion Hence, says Landor, Shakespeare limps and halts in blank verse, when he is not supported by strong emotion hence, too, he drops into prose whenever want of elevation in the subject threatened mock heroics Musgrave's second error was to throw overboard the original division of Stanzas¹ Thus he painfully resembles cut-up prose, the recitative of the ante-Verdian opera. But he is useful, he is conscientious, and his modest title-page shows his humble objective He justly remarks that in his day there was no faithful version of the Poem He accords fair praise to Mickle, ending with "My pretensions are limited to greater fidelity without aspiring to advance them beyond this point" He kept this essential steadily and unhesitatingly in view, and he did his best—which can hardly be called good

Musgrave's literary judgment shows a perfect incapacity for the work The greatness of his Poet seems never to have dawned upon him. We read with surprise (Pref xiv), "The formally sententious and didactic close of each Canto may be deemed objectionable,"—the very word has the *bourgeois*-twang,—"and it is to be regretted that Camoens borrowed too much from the genius of others, when, without misplaced confidence, he might judiciously have relied upon his own" Musgrave's media, especially his times, the reign of *Le Shocking*, must answer for his false shame and immodest modesty in the treatment of sundry passages, especially in Cantos ii. ix

¹ I cannot help thinking that Cary's Dante would be much improved by being printed in triplets.

and x. While owning that it could never have been the intention of Camoens "to wound the feelings of delicacy," he has been "induced to modify several of the poet's expressions, so as to suppress their apparent licentiousness" We marvel where he hit upon the latter, but the pruriency of "respectability" passes thought

A perusal of the solid uncompromising-looking volume—a true old John Murray—is no labour of love, especially when we ascertain the fact that most of the notes have been borrowed from Mickle And it is hard to make poetry of such lines as these —

Shall fix upon the base Ismaelite (Is-ma-el-ite) etc —

(Canto I. p 3)

The Nereids then instantly surround, etc.—(II 48)

The name of Vandalitia receiv'd, etc —(III. 104)

In terms, less elegant than forcible, etc —(IV. 142)

We pass'd This first we coloniz'd Its fame, etc —(V. 178)

Which is, assuredly, the region, etc.—(VI 247)

From this digression let us now pursue, etc —(VII 258)

Judiciously had rais'd th' advancing siege, etc.—

(VIII 292)

{ —Charms
Of beauty, which, enslaving, captivate —(IX 332)

{ —Give
Their Emperor unquestionable proofs —(X 366)

The author's blank verse often falls into bad rhyme, *e.g.* rock=wreck (p. 49), better it were=err (86), retreat=exterminate (192), victory=ye lie=abundantly

(253), states=favourites (264), see=obscurity (369), all=tale (390) and Christianity=bravery (393) Sometimes to make matters worse, the rhymes are good, as relate=State (p 79), Rhodope=Eurydicè (263), singular=Malabar (267), and Epitome=thee (388) He often inverts sense, *e.g.* when he declares of Italy (p 88) —

Her ancient pow'r that meekness now displays
With which the Deity is most content

The costume of the Æthiopians which, needless to say, Camoens describes correctly, is changed and spoilt (p 17), but almost all the translators have made a mess of the stanza (1 47)¹ “Servile Hagar’s loins” should be womb or flank (p 92) “Piscous” is diluted to “maritime” Cezimbra “Fair” is unjustifiably used (*e.g.* “fair Beatrix,” p 139) to make up the iamb. Camoens wrote “fifteen hundred years,” not “near three hundred lustres” (177) “Why *steel*-digesting ostrich?” (179) An “insular discovery” (200) is not the discovery of an island The contrast of the God of Wine and the God of Water is smudged (220)

“Nor fear the sister of the God of Day”

imperfectly expresses, “and calls on her who was not Phoebus’ sister,” *i.e.* Diana the Chaste (ix 75) Calicut, being Hindu, had no Khan (366), “Lorenzo’s Coast” is hardly intelligible for Madagascar (374) “Their beards

¹ It is explained in the Notes

in blood to bathe" (384) is stuff. Camoens wrote mustachios, alluding to a practice of bullies in the East "Lara's stream" for the province of Lar is bad geography (397), and, finally, we have some curious misprints,—Anabis for Anubis (269), Ericina (Erycina 348), die (dye, *ibid.*), Araspa's (Araspas 377), and Syren (365)

IV.

QUILLINAN (EDWARD)¹ belongs to the Lakist Section of the lower Georgeans Born at Oporto in 1791, and brought up a Catholic in Portugal, where the name is still found,

¹ The Lusiad | of | Luis de Camoens | Books I to V | Translated | by Edward Quillinan | With Notes | by John Adamson | K.T.S. and K.C. of Portugal, Corresp. Memb. Roy. Acad. of Sciences of Lisbon. | F.L.S., F.R.G.S., &c., &c. London. Edward Moxon, Dover Street, 1853. One vol. 8vo pp. 207. The Dedication, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne (March 9, 1853), is a letter addressed to the Camoensian Editor and Scholar Snr. José Gomes Monteiro, before alluded to. It is followed by two imperfect Tables. The first is a list of Editions ending with Firmin-Didot in 1847, the second of translations, in whole and part, concluding with Lord Strangford (1805). Lastly comes Mickle's version of Tasso's Vasco-Sonnet. The book has for frontispiece a bust of the Portuguese Virgil in normal dress, ruff, and breast-plate, there is also (p. xi.) Dillon's medallion (Adam 1 v). It is carelessly edited, wanting even page-headings. The notes are nothing, mere tags by Adam who says (p. vii.) — "It was the intention of Mr. Quillinan to have accompanied his translation with notes, which, from his known zeal, and the access he had had to the most ample stores of information, would doubtless have been a valuable appendage."

he entered her army when the Peninsular War broke out ; married (1817) the second daughter of Sir Egerton Brydges, and served till 1821. He was related to Southey , and, becoming a widower in 1822, his second wife (1841) was Dora, the daughter of his friend Wordsworth,¹ whom he had defended in a reply to a Satire by the man of "grim cognomen," W. Savage Landor. His temper was susceptible ; and more than once he answered his critics and reviewers with pistol and point.²

Quillinan's maiden attempt at literature was an article on "Plautus," *Gil Vicente* (*Quart Rev.* Aug. '46). About that time he began his "Lusiad," finished the first half in 1850, and wrote in September "Such is the indifference which works of this nature encounter in England, that I have not the courage to publish such portion as I have completed"³ He even thought of sending his version to America. In 1852 Viscount Juromenha confesses his obligation to the then unpublished "Specimen of a translation of the Lusiad, by Edward Quillinan of Rydal." After the latter's death Mr Will Johnston collected his dispersed works, and added a memoir to the volume. The *Panorama* (Series

¹ See Sonnet to *Rotha Quillinan*, ii. 346, *Poet. Works*, 1827

² These details are from *Jur* i. 282-84.

³ In this point our literary life has deteriorated rather than improved. While the French translate, and translate well, every important foreign book, the English reader prefers almost any original trash to translations. This was not the case in the Augustan age of English letters.

III vol II no 23) contains an article *Eduardo Quillinan e sua Tradução ingleza dos Lusíadas de Camões*, by a well-known Portuguese littérateur, the late Snr. T. H. da Cunha Rivara.

Quillinan was a scholar and a poet,—after the School before mentioned. He was an enthusiast for his author; he loved his work, and he felt strongly the failures of his predecessors. He was intimate with a circle that knew Camoens well, and in knowledge of Portuguese language and literature he surpassed all previous translators. He has fluency, vigour, and a certain atmosphere of words which our fathers called “elegance.” His version was favourably received. The *Athenæum* (April 22, 1853) gave it an appreciative review, and Juromenha justly terms Quillinan *um fiel interprete das bellezas do nosso epico* (a faithful interpreter of the beauties of our epos). All regret that he lived to finish only half his task, and all agree in admiring what he did.

Quillinan is more faithful, or rather less unfaithful, than Fanshaw, but he is not our modern model of an exact translator. He is good in the recitative, but he falls short of the heights to which the verse of Camoens, on especial occasions, delights to soar. He has an irritating way of packing the sense of a couplet into one line, that all the other may be at his own disposal. He often breaks loose from his allegiance to his Poet. He changes the sequence of sentences almost arbitrarily, even throwing one stanza into another (Canto III 22–23, IV. 51–52). He has no right to render *Baccho* (l. 39) by

“Father of the Vine,” in order to rhyme with “line,” nor *adagas* (dag-targes, daggers) by “shield,” to answer “peal’d” (i. 47) It is a positive insult to the original when the Day’s eye of the Daisy-stanza becomes —

Some tender bud surpassing rich and rare —(III 134)

His lines often end, after the fashion of “literal translators” in general, with mere intrusions and extensions which deform the text At times he becomes essentially prosaic, for instance in .—

Pacheco, the romantically brave, etc —(P. 55)

But since displeasure actuates Thy mind, etc —(P 49)

A grovelling love debilitates the mind, etc —(P. 121)

A claim that grave suspicion reprehends, etc —(P 125)

And it is hardly fair to mutilate Milton after this fashion —

Fame is the spur that doth the spirit raise

To scorn delights and live laborious days.—(P 188)

His errors are numerous, but a few specimens must suffice *Quitoa* (Canto i. 99, 100) is a misprint for “Quiloa”, but “waters . . . of Erythra” (ii. 49) and Henriquez for Henrique (iii 25, 27, and 29) are rank blunders. The “long-wool’d flocks of Zanzibar” (ii 76) do not exist. Marobucluite (iii 31) is not in Camoens The “waters” were not denied to Jerusalem (iii 87) “Vesper . . . in *her* flight” (iii 115) is unusual Cuença (iv. 10) is for Cuenca, but why the Spanish instead of the Portuguese form Conca? A breastplate

can hardly become "a sheet of wire" (iv 39) "Far-sistan" (for Fars)¹ is very improperly termed "palmy" (iv 65) Camoens never made these *disparates* And why "wizard Gambia" (v 10)? "Wert" as in Musgrave, takes the place of "wast" (v 11) "Face" does not rhyme with "height" (v 24) Finally —

In nought but her own loveliness adorned, etc —(V 52)

is, I presume, "respectable" for the Camonian nude or naked

V

MITCHELL (THOMAS LIVINGSTON)²—This good old soldier and scientific traveller, whom many of us knew personally, began, like Millié, his studies of Portuguese when serving in the Peninsula Here he met that deeply injured officer, the Earl of Dundonald, to whom his modest quarto is dedicated The appreciative terms in which he speaks of the gallant nation, contrast strongly with Mickle's interested abuse The Portuguese are

¹ So the great Bainum called his country-seat Iranistán for Irán

² The | Lusiad | of | Luis de Camoens, | closely translated | With a portrait of the Poet, | A Compendium of his Life, | an Index to the principal Passages of his Poem, | a View of the "Fountain of Tears," | and marginal and annexed notes, | original and select | By | Lt Col Su T Livingston Mitchell, Kt D C L | London T & W Boone, New Bond Street, 1854 One vol 8vo pp 310 The portrait of the handsome Poet is the most ignoble I have yet seen The Index is useful, and it has been enlarged in my Table of Contents (vol 1. Appendix, § 3

truly termed "our ancient allies, who preceded us in the greatest path of commerce, and who stood by our side, our truly and faithful friends, when, in the words of Canning, 'the arm of Great Britain was the lever and Portugal the fulcrum, to wrench from its basis,' the power that had subdued the rest of Europe" (Pref. viii)

Mitchell's "compendium" (pp ix-xxiii) is the usual abridgment of Adamson, repeating all the now exploded errors. The Preface thus gives the reason of being — "The translator conceives that in the present age the original form possesses more interest when closely translated, than if it were, as has been said of other translations, 'rather a recomposition than a translation'" While owning the "very great original merit" of Mickle's version, Sir Thomas duly blames the interpolations, and remarks that "many expressions of Shakespearian vigour in the original have hitherto been lost in English, such, for instance, as the phrase, 'silent poesy,' applied to painting (Canto viii 76)"¹

Mitchell attempted to give his work a "tone of antiquity" by the following strange device (Pref v). "In quantity the original varies as to the number of syllables—and in attempting an imitation in a different language—the employment of nearly as many cannot, he trusts, be objected to. From ten to twelve or even fourteen syllables is the usual quantity in *Ottava Rima*, when imitated in English—more has been required in trans-

¹ "Verify quotations," the wise man said. The *muda poesia* of Camoens occurs in Canto vii (not viii.) 76.

lating here the lines of the *Lusiad* It will still be found that there are fewer syllables in this translation than there are in the original. In assimilating the English stanzas to the sound as well as to the sense of the Portuguese, as, for instance, in stanza 119, Canto III, the necessity for as many syllables must be obvious."

It is hard to say which is worse, verse or prose. The lines alluded to (p 86) are —

Thou alone, thou pure Love, with ardour cruel,
Which human hearts so much to suffer obliges,
Didst cause this sad death of one who never knew ill,
As if she had been an enemy perfidious" etc.

This queer contrivance is carried out without the least regard for what grammarians call Elision, Crasis, Synæresis, and Diæresis or other forms which make the original so melodious. Thus we have —

That the gold rings of the dead knights three bushels filled, etc.
—(III. 116.)

And .—

More to move pity than vengeance, and thus did say . etc.
—(II. 38)

We are told, by way of "disarming criticism," at the end of the Preface — "As some apology for the rough chiselling of the work the author must state also, under what circumstances the most of it came into shape. These were chiefly, under water, in a small clipper, during a voyage round Cape Horn." The ex-

cuse is no justification for producing this volume of bald, hashed, and unpolished prose, which seems to have been delivered “*invitâ Minervâ*” It is a mere insult to Camoens to write such lines as these —

- Of India by sea and Africa by land etc —(I. 15)
 } Which when beneath the waters soft enlarges,
 } And out of them acquires a precious hardness —(II 77)
 His own Zopyrus had been without mutilation,” etc —
 (III. 41)
 Condition strange !—wretched realization, etc —(IV. 104)
 } We saw the Bears, to the great distress of Juno,
 } Bathing themselves in the waters of Neptuno —(V 15)
 The foaming horses bit the golden reins
 Ferocious as if chewing lightning beaming —(VI 61)
 On the African coast, thro’ stormy seas, confound them !
 (VII 70)
 That it was the sign of enemy and ladrão, etc —
 (VIII 85)
 } Groves gracefully o’er parts of the shores impended
 } As if they were going to shave, etc —(IX 55)
 Through which the rich Narsinga hurries down
 There flows the Orixá, etc —(X. 120)

We also note a fair specimen of the danger rising out of little knowledge, when *Viriato* (1 26) becomes *Biriato*, because “it was so pronounced by a Portuguese in describing some Roman remains in Portugal to the translator” So I have heard *Vinho verde* called *Binho berde*, in Oporto ; and “the ’orn of the ’unter is ’eard on the ’ill,” is said to be known to Lancashire and London.

The mistakes, some of them most grotesque, are numerous as the pages. “The faithful Egas *Amo* (III. 35),

converts a tutor or guardian into a proper noun. There is no reason for turning 60 horsemen into 70 (iii 67), Nunez is not Nuno (iv 21). "Das Quinas e Castello's banner" (iv 25) seems to make a fighting man of the Cinques and Castles upon the Portuguese Scutcheon. "Another master, Calatrava, of bad faith" (iv 40), is not intelligible. The last distich of iv 51, conveys a sense opposed to the original. "Hesperia" and "Iberia" do not rhyme, save in Cockagne, with "Cavalier" (iv. 54), nor "his fellows" with "jolly fellows" (v 30), nor "heavens" with "even" (v 45), nor "Arsinoe" with "we know" (ix 2), nor "then" with "then" (ix. 4), nor "Temistitéa" (for Temistitam) with "give way a" (x 1). Iapetus must not be confounded with Japhet (iv 103). There is no reason for preferring the Portuguese Gnido to our Cnidus (v 5). "Rhamnusius" (v 80), repeated in a foot-note, is a mere blunder for Rhamnusia, the Nemesis of Rhamnus, mentioned by Terence ¹ the same must be said for "Phœbus." where Camoens writes Phœbe (vi 18). "Father Lyæð" (vi 20) is simply farcical. "Alecta" (vii 10), like "Magricos twelve" (1 12), and Philancia (ix 27) for Philautia, (egotism) may be misprints. "Liquid pewter" (viii 73) should be "liquid tin." "Breaking through the bar" (ix. 10), hardly expresses pushing or breasting the capstan-bars. Dabul is not Cabul (x 34). "Naisinga" and "Orixa" (x 120), are regions not rivers, and the

¹ The description of this unpleasant person, crowned, winged, holding a spear, and riding a stag, reads like that of a Hindu idol.

Orias (Uryahs) of the latter region should not be called Orriani (vii 20) Finally, for "yellow bread" (x 140) read "yellow wood."

VI.

AUBERTIN (JOHN JAMES)¹—Here my task becomes somewhat delicate This Section notices not only a contemporary but a fellow-student and a companion of travel in the Brazil The following biographical notes were kindly supplied to me by this translator, with permission to print.

² The | *Lusiads* of Camoens | Translated into English verse | by | J. J. Aubertin, | Knight Officer of the Imperial Brazilian Order of the Rose, | In two volumes | London C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1 Paternoster-square 1878 The two octavos (price £1 10s) are very handsome, the engravings are good, the paper ribbed and imitation hand-wove, and the binding Portuguese blue, with gold decorations The chart is taken from the Rotello, the Ruttier which will be analysed in Chapter iv The contents are (1) A Dedication to H M I Majesty D Luiz 1^o, an English scholar well known in contemporary literature, (2) A Short Preface, stating that the translation was undertaken as a literary pastime, and (3) an Introduction (pp xi-xxv) containing a sketch of the voyage, a short biography of Camoens, and a "general" view of the Cantos The notes are placed at the end of each volume It was an excellent idea to print the Portuguese as well as the English version, and it must have made many readers believe that a smattering of Italian enabled them to read Camoens But it is to be regretted that the Juromenha text and punctuation were not preferred to the Conego Francisco Freire de Cavalho, Lisbon Jur (vi. 468) notices Carvalho's reprint (16mo) 1843.

“ I was born at the Rectory, Chipstead, Surrey, on the 5th of December, 1818, being the fourth son of the Rector, the Rev Peter Aubertin, by Henrietta his wife, daughter of Daniel Lambert, Esqre, of the adjoining parish of Banstead

“ My father’s family was Huguenot on both sides , and collaterally descended from the French divine, Edmond Aubertin of Châlons-sur Marne, author of the well-known volume *L’Eucharistie de l’Ancienne Église* (fol. 1633) My lineal ancestor on this side was of an old family established at Metz, Lorraine, where the name is still found. He fled thence on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1686), to the Protestant Canton of Neuchâtel, where he established himself, and where my grandfather, his grandson, was born about 1727 This last left Switzerland when of age for Holland, where some of the Huguenots had originally taken refuge In 1750 he became a naturalised Englishman , and established himself as a merchant in London. There he married a Miss Vansomer, by whom my father was his only son. He retired eventually, to Yewlands, a small property which he had bought at Banstead.

“ My lineal ancestors on my father’s maternal side were M and Md^{me} Pain of Dieppe , one of whose great-grandchildren was my own grandmother (Miss Vansomer). They also took refuge in England, and settled at Rye, Sussex, where M. Pain very shortly died (1686 or ’87) and lies buried.

“ I was educated at one of the Public Schools

attached to King's College, London, under the late Archdeacon Churton of Crayke, Yorkshire, and studied for the law, but did not practise. In 1860 (January) I accepted the appointment of Company's Superintendent to the Santos and São Paulo Railway; and sailed for Brazil on the 9th of February. There I represented the Directors before the Imperial Government for about eight years, and, when the works were completed, returned to England. The necessity of settling important questions still outstanding between the Government and the Company sent me on a second mission in December of 1872. This visit lasted about one year. The third was in June, 1875, when a heavy lawsuit was instituted against the Company. It extended over some two years, and it ended in the final defeat of the claimant."

I may here note that the Company duly appreciated the energy, tact, and singlemindedness of their officer; and that they acknowledged it with something more substantial than praise. Mr. Aubertin also laboured indefatigably, during the days of the cotton-famine, to promote the cultivation of the shrub in the great province of São Paulo. He succeeded so well that he was entitled, in Arab phrase, *O Pae de Algodão* (the Father of Cotton); and his good services, in this and in other public causes, have been suitably recognised with the Order of the Rose by the government of H.I.M. Dom Pedro II^o.

Mr. Aubertin thus had peculiar advantages in study-

ing Portuguese, and he used them well there are few Englishmen who are more at home in that difficult tongue The first book he read was *The Lusíads*, but it was not till ten years afterwards (1870) when he visited Coimbra that he thought of translating it Returning to England he finished the Ignez-episode and the first canto The work was laid by as not likely to be noticed the MS, however, was seen by friends whose judgment the writer valued, and he was encouraged to persevere On June 24, '75, some forty-five stanzas of Canto 11 were produced, and the third voyage added thirty-three The first break in the lawsuit happening in Oct '75, the author devoted all his spare time to the task. At last, "in this city" (São Paulo), he says, "and in the same room in which I began to read *The Lusíads* in 1860, the last stanza of the last canto was finished, on the night of February the 24th, 1877"

The work appeared under considerable advantages twenty-four years had elapsed since the date of the last translation The writer, I have said, had the courage to confront his version with the original, rendering it doubly valuable to students of both languages The same was done by Huggins,¹ the second translator of Ariosto, and by Lord Stangford in his fragment² Mr.

¹ Of Headly Park, Farnham, Surrey, supposed to be Hogarth's "Enraged Musician" He translated O. F. in 2 vols 4to Rivington, Paternoster Row, 1757

² It is noticed in a subsequent page.

Aubertin's object was to show the truthfulness with which stanza had been rendered for stanza, line for line, and, at times, word for word

This writer has all the exactitude demanded by the Victorian Age. He gains by it a reflection of the special charms of Camoens, nationality, personality, with its noble tone, and the new temper of the human mind,¹ disclosed by the Portuguese "Ulysses." He sets out with the best of principles — "My ambition has been to introduce Camoens to English literature in his own language, and so to interpret him, side by side, with himself in ours, as it seemed to me he would have written his 'Lusiads' had he written them in English." The rule unfortunately covers somewhat too much ground. Mickle might have said the same.

Practically Mr Aubertin obliged himself to a literalism more useful to the student than suitable to the reader of poetry. When the original is treated with so much deference, sense and sound and "lucid order" must at times suffer. His style of workmanship cannot but suggest a mechanical operation. The *modus operandi* must be to choose the rhyme word which may or may not merit the distinction, and to fit the others to it. Again, the "baggage of particles," taken bodily from the Portuguese, mars the "indirect expression of what cannot directly be expressed", and over-precision

¹ The realistic, the circumstantial, the venidical, the real with its loyalty to truth and fact, in fact, The Lusiads opposed to Orlando Furioso

is apt to give the style a somewhat prim and formal tone

The critic must have read these volumes very carelessly, or he knew very little of his subject, who declared that he "cannot point to a single instance of misapprehension or carelessness" The errors, however, are mostly trivial, and the worst occur in the parts first translated they will easily be set right in a second edition Such blemishes would not be noticed in another work, but Mr Aubertin has performed a *tour de force* in which every word should be correct

The following *errata* are quoted, not invidiously, but for the benefit of the translator's many readers and admirers. *Indian* for River Indus (Canto 1 32), and "urn (vaso=mire) of black oblivion" "Mighty Thunderer grey" for great (grão 11 41, also of Mars in 11 50), "serenely bright" (*a lux alhea*=alien light, *ibid* 60), and *linen* (roupa=doublet,¹ *ibid* 92). "The mighty Roman" (*a grande de Roma*=the great Fame of Rome, iii. 22); "the Count *Bolonia*" (*ie*, Bologna, of Boulogne, *ibid*. 94), the "current of *Molucca* (for Mulucha, Lucos or Lixus River, *ibid* 105) and "ruthless guard" (for ministers of wrath, *ibid* 125) "They treat as small" (*que os apouca*, who *ie*, Nuno, makes their numbers small, iv 31), "great Julius" (for Julius and the Great, *ie*, Pompey, whom Camoens, following Lucan, calls Magnus, *ibid* 32), and "Nuno, who like" (for, John

¹ The meaning, however, is disputed I have given that of Jur. (note on the line)

who like, *ibid* 36). "Saint, for the Spaniards lent us so much aid" (read, who to the Spaniards, v 9), "to his people" (*povoação*=a village, a kraal, *ibid* 29), and "it moved not" (for, I had not ended, *ibid.* 39) "Which onward bears" (for, who does not descend or dismount, vi 64), and "Lady Flanders' cause" (for Flanders realm, *ibid.* 68) "Snakes and fire" (for tares, vii 10); "Isle *Peppermint*" (*Pimenta*=pepper, also a proper name, *ibid* 35, and repeated in ix 14); and "all things to rend" (for, makes all surrender, vii. 72) The *crook* of gold" (is for *bago*=a ring, viii. 23) as regards *capitales* (*ibid.* 98), some translate it Capitals, others Captains. "Religious stream" (for Holy Water, *i e.*, of the Meccan well, Zemzem, ix, 2) Again it is disputed whether *grita* (*ibid.* 11) mean "loud cries" or the flapping of the sails, and *da primeira* (*ibid.* 21) here rendered "first isle," and by others, first mother, is a much disputed point. "Narsinga flows . . . Orissa flows" (for runs, as in Mitchell, x. 120) and, lastly, "almonds" (for aloes, *ibid.* 136)

Meanwhile the English Press welcomed this honest piece of literary workmanship with all the honours it deserved. I cannot remember a version being received with such universal applause. Critics generally termed it "a masterpiece of translation, rendered into nervous English, line for line, with close fidelity to the original. One of the severest of Reviews declares that the poem "resembles an excellent lithograph. it represents the outline of the original with perfect fidelity." And the

Press pronounced it to be simple and unaffected, faithful, literal, and correct, a work of unexampled regularity and continuous excellence.

VII

HEWITT (JAMES E)¹—All I know of this translator may be comprised in a few words. He came to Rio Janeiro some years ago, became Professor in a private college, and succeeded Sig Vivaldi in the Editorship of the "British and American Mail." The paper was afterwards sold to Mr Oliver James, who renamed it "The Rio Mail." The translation appeared in its columns and in "The Financial and Mercantile Gazette, a Monthly Review", Editor and Proprietor, William Allen, Lisbon.

VIII.

DUFF (ROBERT FRENCH)²—This version may be called the "Anglo-Lusian", and the author was able to

¹ I owe the specimen printed in these pages to the kindness of Mr Matthew Lewtas, and my former *collaborateur*, Mr Albert Tootal of Rio de Janeiro.

² The Lusiad of Camoens translated into English Spenserian verse by Robert French Duff, Knight Commander of the Portuguese Royal Order of Christ, Lisbon. Mess Chatto & Windus, London, Mess J B Lippincott & Co, Philadelphia, Mr Matthew Lewtas, Lisbon, 1880. The work was advertised in the "Financial and Mercantile Gazette," Lisbon, and specimens were sent out as early as January 1, 1879. It was printed by sub-

bring it out in time for the Press "function" (June, 1880) called the Tercentenary. It would hardly be fair to enter into the author's career, as his "Notice of Luiz de Camoens" contains an autobiographical sketch. Nor would a rigorous critical treatment be justified of the translator, who tells us that he is approaching his seventieth year, and that he occupied only three in completing his work, disarms all severity. Finally, the fact of the book having been published in a foreign country, accounts for the abnormal number of misprints.

Mr Duff began with a mistake. He chose the Spenserian form for two reasons, the first being his admiration of Childe Harold, and the second that the "length of the stanza affords ample scope to embody the full meaning of the original, which cannot be easily done in translating verse for verse (Pref viii)." Indeed he declines to tread in the footsteps of his poet, like Mr Aubertin, by verbal accuracy, and he "looks upon the literary feat as a complete impossibility." Not the less his

scription (list given), at the National Printing Office, and appears as one large vol (507 pages), royal 8vo with 16 lithographed plates and portraits. The "Dedication by Permission" to the king, Dom Ferdinand II, is followed by a short Preface, by the usual biographical notice, by the Third (1st?) Elegy of Camoens, and by an Introduction to the Poem. The latter leads to by a long "historical appendix" (pp 417-24), and the whole ends with Explanatory Notes of Proper Names, &c (475-502). The latter are rendered well-nigh useless by misprints: in one half page we have "Archonenia" for Achæmenia, and "Andalia" for Acidalia.

choice was most unhappy. Next to the heroic couplet and to blank-verse, the mould of the Faerie Queene is perhaps the least fitted for Camoens. This Rima was much in vogue during the earlier part of the present century · now it is not, the fact being that there is no form of verse more trying to the writer and to the reader it can be made tolerable only by such a literary artist as J H Wiffen.¹ To show how completely an alteration of metre can deform a poem I would point to the "Jerusalem Delivered" of Sir John K James (London, Longmans, 1865) The translator, who has not a few merits, converts the *ottava rima* into two distinct quatrains, forming in fact a double stanza. The effect need hardly be described.

Applied to the Neo-Latin poets, the metre of the Faerie Queene becomes a serious matter. Generally they must be adapted by contraction not by expansion to our plain and practical northern speech, in which single syllables do the work of two or three. Not to mention the terminal Alexandrine, the supernumerary line is apt to become a mere interpolation, and the

¹ Jeremiah Holmes, a quaker, and the son of a small ironmonger at Woburn, Beds. Preferred belles-lettres to trade, and became (1820) librarian to John, Duke of Bedford, father of Earl Russell, till his death (æet 45) in 1836. His "Jerusalem Delivered" is on the whole, admirable, and the self-imposed burden makes it an exceptional success. He also translated from Garcilasso de la Vega; and wrote original matter in verse and prose. Mr S R. Pattison has lately published an account of "The Brothers Wiffen."

couplet contains only the meaning of a verse Thus for
“which is navigated only by ugly seals” we have —

Where ugly sea-calves sport amidst the waves,
Or plunge for refuge to their lonely caves —(I 52)

For “ennobled with the Theban’s last toil” we
read —

Where mighty Hercules’ proud pillars rose,
The final trophy which o’erwhelmed his foes.—(III 18)

And, for “invented a kind of inhuman torments” —

This hapless prince a brazen bull contrive,
Inhumanly to roast a man alive —(III 93)

Thus, at best, those preceding or following the intruder
must be spun out to gain length, and that too when the
thread has already been drawn fine enough Camoens,
like all the Neo-Latin masters, preserves the simplicity, the
directness and the straightforwardness, in which at all
times the music beautifies the baldness—dare I say it?
—of the words. Take for instance (l 13) —

Pois se a troco de Carlos Rei de França,
(Then if in truck for Carlos King of France)

If this were an English original most critics would
write “prosaic line” on the margin

With much more sense of the fitness of things Sir John
Harrington compressed into 90 a Canto of nearly 300
Stanzas So David Scott,¹ when exhibiting his picture

¹ Nat 1806; ob March, 1840 His picture was sold after his
death for £400, and placed in the Town Hall of Leith. (Jur. v.
352-56)

of Adamastor appearing to Da Gama appended to it lines in which the shrinking process was attempted —

So awful it came, so surcharged,
It put in our hearts great fear,
Moaned the black sea with a far-off roar
As if a black rock were near.—(V. 38)

Mr Duff has carefully read his Spenser, and has borrowed a charm from that sweetest of English “arch-poets” Indeed some of his best lines are to be found amongst the Alexandrines.—

The path, by valour trod, to worth and honour leads !—
(P 210.)
Subdued that kingly heart which chose her for its Queen.—
(230.)
Who formed a human shape, each time they cast a stone.—
(241.)
One hand my sword doth wield, the other holds the pen —
(279.)
Unto your sons bequeathing sweet repose,
A life of slothful ease, from which corruption flows.—(300.)

and finally .—

Uproot these tender shoots, if once they raise
Their haughty heads, they will o’ershadow all your days.—
(303.)

On the other hand Mr. Duff has an unpleasant trick of dividing his lines without the regular cæsura at the fifth syllable . this constantly recurs, and a few specimens will suffice :—

Still chastened all. Doth any one enjoy, etc —(P 154)
 An infant God My word, Great King ! I plight, etc —
 (166)
 That savage rage. Before the sight dilate, etc.—(258)

and, finally .—

In so remote a realm The Envoy went
 Right up the river which its waters blent
 With ocean's waves.—(260)

Not a few of the rhymes are hazardous ; as “bourne ” next to “born ” (p. 5) ; territory, sea, and gelidity (87) ; rife and thrive (131), victory and glory (169 and 292), alabaster and Lancaster (230), pre-eminence and eminence (266), shone and shown (276), etc The epithets fair, great, brave, and so forth are too trivial, *eg* great Mir-almuminim (111), great Semiramis (270); the Portuguese great Scipio (297), great Bedála (382) *A formosissima Maria* (119) should not be rendered “The beautiful Maria.” And the author takes a wilful liberty in turning the simple and charming Bonina of the Daisy-stanza (129) into the mawkish “lilies of the valley.”

The list of errors is lengthy In the biographical notice we twice find (xxii xxv), Camoens' nurse and faithful slave called “John ”.—Can this be a translation of Iáo, a Javan? Why should we have the Spanish Sierras, Alphonso and Alfonso for the Portuguese Serras and Afonso or Affonso? What can be the meaning of “Lampedusa's isle ” (p. 18) The realistic description

of the poet (1 48) becomes here unintelligible *Ricas peças* (p 23) are not "precious gems" The "Thauma's daughter" (76) is not intelligible Why "Clícia" for Clytia (85), "Perillo" for Perillus (98), and "Lysa and Lusus" (92) for "Lusus or Lysa"? "Varvels" (186) are the rings of a hawk's jesses Camoens alludes to the bells It is not right to render "liquid tin" by "liquid space" (311) The Catual is made to speak instead of Da Gama (viii 82) Camoens knew better than to talk about the "spacious port" of Gidá (Jeddah, p 326) or about "Ceylon's fair groves" (329) It is not Da Gama but Tethys (ix 86) who discloses rank and name How does "Temistitam" becomes Temistuan lands (361)? The "brave Heroas" (393) assuredly does not represent Heroopolis-town Finally Cape Jack (Jasque) *was*, not *is*, called Carpella (396)

§ 4 MINOR, PARTIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS
TRANSLATIONS OF CAMOENS.

BYRON truly said, "It is to be remarked that the things given to the public as poems of Camoens, are no more to be found in the original Portuguese than in the Song of Solomon" The most noted of the partial translators is "Lord Viscount Strangford" as he printed

himself in the days that "loved a lord"¹ Born in Ireland (1780) he became secretary of Legation at Lisbon, and, as British Ambassador, he accompanied to the Brazil the flight of D Joam VI, and the Exodus of the Empire He subsequently represented his Court at Stockholm, Constantinople and St Petersburg, and died in Harley-street

The "Remarks" show how utterly incapable was the author to understand the meaning of great man. The microcephalic cannot enter into the macrocephalic brain or mind as well attempt to pour a gallon into a pint-pot It is the "property of true genius to disturb settled ideas", a process which mediocrity detests.² The

¹ Poems, | from the Portuguese of | Luis de Camoens | with
remarks on his Life and Writings | Notes, &c, &c. | by | Lord
Viscount Strangford |

—Accipies meros amores —*Catull.*

London: | Printed for J Carpenter, Old Bond Street, | by C
Whittingham, Dean Street | 1805 | 1 vol 12mo. same format as
Mickle's 4to. Edit of Lusiads (3 vols), 2d Edit 1808, 3rd,
1810, and 4th, 1824 The Canzons, Canzonets and other speci-
mens of the *Rimas* neglect the numbers of the original and render
reference to the text difficult. There is a valueless portrait of
Camoens, a dedicatory page containing the family-arms of
"Denham Jephson, Esq", and "Remarks on the Life and
Writings of Camoens," with all the obsolete errors.

The phrase "loved a lord" is taken from my old and regretted
friend Charles Savile, who published sundry second-rate novels,
and who left in manuscript some first-rate poetry

² Sundry excellent remarks on the relations of genius with medio-

eloquent and animated attempts of Camoens to reform Society were received, as are those of Carlyle and Ruskin, with the normal cry of ignorance and impertinence by a society which, like all societies, theoretically confessed its sins and practically considered itself sinless, perfect. The Lord's "poems" exemplify that fatal Irish fluency, that flowery fruitless Hibernian facility which culminated in Thomas Moore. They prove by such lines as —

Canst thou forget the silent tears
Which I have shed for thee?—

that the author could print trash fit only to be improvised at a lady's tea-table. Consequently the volume, with its occasional "higher form of common-place," fulfilled every requirement for a popular book in England and America, during the earlier part of the present century. A pleasant theme is treated in a pleasant way, which the average intelligence can thoroughly understand, without a sentence that the reader thinks he could not have written. Whatever goes a step beyond these limits breaks from the magic circle of "popularity", and the farther it goes the worse it fares.

Among the "Poems" is a fragment of six stanzas

crity and dulness are found in Dr Langhorne's "Life of William Collins." They are aptly and happily applied to the Portuguese Arch-poet by Mickle (p. cxxix), and repeated by Mitchell (Compendium of the Life, &c. xxi-xxii).

(Canto vi 38-43) entitled the "Night-scene in the sixth Lusiad" The last page (160) tells us that the lines "afford a fine specimen of that 'eking-out tautology' which the constraint of octave measure compelled Camoens to employ, and which is, perhaps, the greatest blemish in his Epic Poem" The English, printed *recto* facing the Portuguese, well illustrates this so-called defect. Stanza 41 begins in Camoens with .—

'Tis not, quoth Velloso, a just thing, etc.

The Strangfordian version caricatures this to—

Perish that thought ! the bold Velloso cries.

In fact the critique gives us a just measure of "Hibernian Strangford with his eyes of blue",¹ whom Byron accuses of stealing from Moore, and of being a favourite with each "love-sick miss," bidding him mind his morals and his taste There is, however, nothing objectionable in his excerpts from Camoens except their perfect inadequacy That sore struggling for originality, the disease of minor minds, causes each stanza to end with a long length of Alexandrine—a drawl quite subversive of Camoens' style. Briefly, the little volume has every claim to a high place in the "catalogue of Noble and Royal authors"

Mrs Felicia Hemans, whose amiable Muse was often obliged, by the *res angusta domi*, to take in piece-work, published in her "Translations from Camoens

¹ Alluding to a Note in his p 127.

and other Poets" (1 vol, 8vo, Oxford, 1818), 15 Sonnets, some Redondilhas, parts of Eclogue xv, and the Adamastor-episode. The latter is in the Mickle-manner, but less unfaithful, and Quillinan found the versions good, considering that the Poetess knew so little of Portuguese. Mrs. Hemans ended a life of honourable labour in 1815 as a lad I used greatly to enjoy her "sugared" verse. Unhappily advancing age prefers bitters.

James Murphy ("Travels in Portugal," 1 vol 4to, London, 1795) describes the tombs of D Pedro the Cruel and his ill-fated Queen at Alcobaca. His version of the Ignez-episode was used by La Harpe, and his book was translated into French (Lallemand, Paris, 1797). Southey (Quart Rev. xxvii), reviewing Adamson, and Zoilus-Macedo's failure-poem, translated several sonnets with slender success (Adamson, pp 94, 105, 251, 256, and 265). A sonnet and an Elegy, Englished by Mr. Cottle (1808), also appear in Adamson (1 68, 77-83). here also (1 250, 257, and 261), we find Mr Hayley ("Anon" 1818) who, in his "Essay on Epic Poetry" addressed a copy of verses to the Memory of Camoens. Adamson himself tried his hand and succeeded as well as, but not better than, the rest (1. 173, 252, 254-5, 258-9, 260, 262-3, 266-7). Mr. Harris (1844), a British merchant at Oporto, printed anonymously a "Translation of the Episode of Ignez de Castro" (Porto, Typ da Revista. 8vo. brochure, 1844). Mrs. E. B Browning's forty-four "Sonnets from the

Portuguese" is simply a misnomer intended to mislead. There are doubtless many other versionists, the Library at Rio de Janeiro contains 21 Englishers, but distance from home and want of books perforce abridge my list.

It would be beside the purpose of this Commentary to enter upon the subject of Camoensian translation into the languages of the Continent. I have, however, thrown names and particulars, derived from various sources, into Appendix, Table II. The Portuguese poet and littérateur, Viscount de Almeida-Garrett ("Camoens," 1863) gives 42, entire or partial. Viscount Juromenha (vi 473-5) increases the number to 83 and promises others in his seventh volume.

Thus we see that the world, which at times knows nothing of its greatest men, has often heard of Camoens.

§ 5. THE TRANSLATION NOW OFFERED TO THE PUBLIC.

I HAVE attempted to show in my Preface some reason for printing the labour and the solace of so many years. The study began, without fixed design, at Goa, where, in 1847, a few stanzas which struck me most were translated for an Anglo-Indian newspaper¹

¹ The old *Bombay Times*

It was resumed in West African Fernando Po (1860-64), and energetically continued in the Brazil (1865-69) Mr William Scully kindly printed in his paper, the "Anglo-Brazilian Times" (February, 1867), a biographical sketch borrowed from Viscount Juiomenha, and specimens of Canto 1. The look of the latter in type caused me to tear up the whole manuscript, and to begin anew. Little progress was made during a troubled two years at Damascus (1869-71). My work was resumed at Trieste (1872) a visit to England (1878) enabled me to consult books, and it was finished at Cairo (1880).

I had begun with the stern resolution to render line for line and word for word, nothing was to be increased or diminished, to be curtailed or expanded. As a gymnastic for the brain the process was perfect, but the result was the usual mincemeat English, poetical prose printed like poetry, hashed, inverted, and garnished with rhyme more or less faulty. Of this "first style" a few specimen-stanzas may be found in the *Lendas da India*.¹ I have preserved it in the "Arguments" which precede each Canto, and, for better comparison, the originals and the translations are printed together. From these fragments it was easy to judge how great was the labour and how ungrateful.

The "translator's compromise" then suggested itself. I resolved to steer between the wild licence of Mickle

¹ Pp 1 li 200 and 237. The book is discussed in chap. iv. § 1.

and the rude literalism of Mitchell, avoiding by the way the liberties of Fanshaw and the Lakisms of Quillinan. My new rule was to render word for word when the Portuguese became English verse. But when the music of the Neo-Latin tongue waxed harsh or slow in our rude Northern Runic, I determined to apply the necessary modification the genius of the two languages demanded. Ours, I repeat, abounding in monosyllables habitually packs matter into a smaller compass than any of the Romance tongues, practised translators agree with me that a page of Italian, poetry or prose, loses about one fifth in English¹

The idea of expressing what is contained in the author's words would, if abused, lead to exaggeration, and end in a caricature of his picture. Here, however, the translator must depend upon his tact, and his power of pleasing the reader by satisfying his wants. A single instance suffices for explanation. There is no practical English rhyme for *Gentio* (Gentile), and, the word being wanted to end the line (1 8, 7), I changed it to "Gentoo-misbeliever". This is evidently a loss of power, a sacrifice of force by diffusion. But translations, even in tongues that at times produce facsimiles, must sacri-

¹ Language-learning has been called a "knack", and we may say the same of translating. In other words the faculty is born with the man. There are many who can talk nonsense in half a dozen tongues; and there are not a few who can produce a good version, especially from the classics, when they would fail to write an original couplet worth reading.

fice something; and the scrupulous translator's object is to sacrifice as little as possible. Where poetry and correctness have counter-claims, I should prefer the former in verse, the latter in prose version.

This modification allowed me to retain the "Camoenisms," the expressions which characterise my Poet, even to the *lá* (there, yonder) which is frequent as the *Sí* in Italian. Mr Aubertin, who had not then begun his work, objected the Chinese shoemaker of the popular story. Still I held, and I still hold, that these mannerisms aid in producing a correct copy, by preserving, in the disguise of a foreign tongue, the individuality of the original and its peculiar costume, as well as its sense, sentiment, and sound. It may here be noted that Camoens does not effect the formulæ or stock-phrases of Homer and Virgil, except, perhaps, in the case of his two heroes, Portugal and Da Gama. The Episodes have seduced me to a little more liberty than usual. Here Pegasus would at times say ho! ho! and fling the rider upon his shoulders. Where the original is so intensely personal, the translator, like Fanshaw and Harrington, is sorely tempted to follow suit. These *écarts*, however, are rare. The few stanzas of my own insertion demand some apology, but they are placed below the page and duly railed off, so that their source is unmistakable.

I have purposely introduced archaisms, or, as Prof. Mahaffy calls them "Archaicisms," to give a sort of Quinhentista flavour. Here my great exemplars have been

Childe Harold¹ and the modernised forms of the Faerie Queene I took the trouble to write a whole translation in the orthography of Fanshaw, but critical friends fought furiously against "obsolete words and quaint terms of expression"² In the rhymes excessive care has been purposely avoided, especially when sound demanded a sacrifice of sense It appears to me a blemish not a beauty it may satisfy the Bœotian ear, but it ends by palling upon the finer organs. The masters of verse, both in English and in the Continental tongues, use imperfect consonance and assonance as the masters of harmony use discords

In proper names I have followed the example of gay Pulci and his translator Byron both write according to convenience, Macon, Maconé, and Mahomet, Carlo, Carloman, and Carlomagno, Gan, Ganellon, and Ganellone Shakespeare never hesitated at the requirement of metre to confuse St. Crispin with his brother St. Crispian, nor Chaucer to change "Arcite" Hence I have ventured upon such variants as Mahomed and Mahomet, besides the Mafoma and Mafamede of The Lusíads, Da (not di) Gama, the Gama, or Gama (also used by Camoens), Portingall, Portugueze, and Portueguezes, forms in use at various times. As regards

¹ In Canto 1 we find mote, ne, losel, fere, feeres, kibes, fyttē, &c The archaisms of Virgil and Lucretius need hardly be mentioned

² Charles Knight apologises, with scanty reason, for their occurrence in Fairfax (Life, lii.).

classical words, older and free! English had no scruple in docking them for verse or rhyme, e.g. :—

Down Theseus went to hell, Pirith his friend to find ;
O that the wives of these our days were to their mates so kind !—
(Nicholas Grimald)¹

On Sicil hills, one such at night brought home, etc —
(Fairfax)

Thus I have used Meduse, Ampeluse, and Demodoque (Demodocus), especially when the classical word has a French form

I have attempted to imitate Camoens' hendecasyllables and double rhyme whenever the context permitted. Reminiscences of familiar expressions and passages have at times been introduced. They serve quaintly to recall what once struck the thought, and even the Poet of *The Lusads* was not above quoting. Many words will be found with the internal *sdrucchio* or elision (mem'ry for memory). It is an old practice to use i, u, and y as consonants before other vowels, and to slur them over in mid-line. Moderns have learnt similarly to treat light syllables in which a liquid separates two vowels, we now do so everywhere except at the end of a line, where the voice is free and where no pressure from other words justified compression. Without adopting or rejecting the theory of "Emphasis Capitals" in Shakespeare, proposed by Mr Allan P. Paton, and in Milton's first edition of *Paradise Lost*, I retain my

¹ "Of friendship" quoted in "Notes and Queries," Nov. 22, '79.

belief that we have not gained by abolishing these "figures of print," which the Germans have more wisely retained. They form a resting-place for the eye, they draw attention to what demands it, and thus they make long passages read easily.

And here I would warn readers that I did not intend archaisms or other peculiarities to represent the "English of the Period." A certain air of antiquity is only decent in translating an author who dated before Spenser. But I had in view another object. Camoens, who in his lyrics rarely uses a hard word or a harsh construction, chose another vocabulary for his *Lusiads*. He imports Græcisms (*Celeuma* and *Phulautia*) Latinisms (*nitido, aura*),¹ archaisms and neologisms of which Juromenha (v. 448-50) quotes 184. He cites a line of Petrarch, as Spenser uses *alla Turchesca*, and Chaucer *Belle chose*. He changes the quantities of his vowels (*Heliogabâlus, Semurâmus*). He affects technical terms in navigation (*traquetes*); in heraldry (Canto III ss. 53, 54), and in astronomy (*râpto*), colloquialisms (*beijos, fartar, chupar*), Orientalisms (*anafis* and *pangaios*) and bizarre terms (*convocando* for "invoking together"). His words are subjected to syncope (*cuidoso* for *cuidadoso*) and apocope (*lisonje* for *lisongeie*), to aphæresis (*'te* for *ate*, etc.), to diæresis (*Hebrêu*, a trisyllable) and to paragoge (*Joanne* for *Joam*), to elision and the *sdrucchiolo* or slurring; to some modifications for poetical purposes (*fructo* for

¹ Fons. (Index, pp. 570-72) gives a list of 112 Latinisms and archaisms.

fruto), and to violent changes (*Amásis* for *Amisius*, *Sylla* for *Sulla*, *Ninus* for *Ninyas*, and *Asaboro* for *Asabon*). The half-critics of his day were angry with him, but the Master had the power to put them down. Time only can show whether the Disciple is equally doughty. But one thing is certain translating The *Lusiads*, without imitating these peculiarities, would not fairly represent the original.

Some will argue that Portuguese, being then in its youth, called for such treatment, whereas the English of the nineteenth century deserves more reverence. But even conceding that the language of Barros and Sá de Miranda was imperfect, I decline to hold that any language, English or other, is definitively settled. Every year brings out candidates for a *dictionnaire néologique*, nor can fault be fairly found with such charming Latinisms as "nitid" and "inclyt"

I do not doubt that my "vocabulary" will lose me many a reader, but these will not be of the class by which I would be read, and the loss will rather be looked upon as a gain.

The notes are borrowed from many sources, and these are not named unless a special reason suggests itself. Mr Edwin Arnold protested strongly against foot-notes, which break the page and injure its appearance. Technically he is right, but in practice readers will not read terminal notes, and Camoens can hardly be understood without annotation. I have therefore adopted both systems. the necessary are placed under

the text, and the illustrative at the end of the Commentary. In the next Edition I will expunge the former. Reference to classical dictionaries has been avoided, nor was it thought advisable to swell the bulk of the book by textually citing parallel passages from the Greeks, Latins, and neo-Latins. I have done my best to spare the mortification of *variæ lectiones*, but, as Prof. Conington says (Preface to Agamemnon) the duties of a translator and a philologist combine, and disputed passages are apt to be attractive to the student.

To conclude my ambitious attempt aims at reversing Mr. Matthew Arnold's dictum, "In a verse translation no original work is any longer recognisable." My Commentary is intended to contain all that the general reader requires to know concerning Camoens. Whether I have or have not succeeded must be left to the decision of the Public. I can only assure it, once more, that no difficulty has been shirked, no labour has been spared.¹

¹ M^r. J. J. Aubertin has been kind enough to forward me the following critical remarks upon my version:—

"Canto 19 and 17, you translate 'eternity of fame,' I 'religious eternity' (N.B. He is right.) Stanza 49, *Cordas* are not 'shrouds,' but ropes hanging down the ship's sides. In Canto 11, 7, *Aventurados* (bold, desperate) applies to the *criminosos*, and (80) why 'purse-proud' (for 'reckless') cities? Canto 111, 17, *gloria estranha* is 'extraordinary' (not 'foreign') glory. In stanza 28, the word 'give' should be repeated all through; in stanza 57, the word 'obey' should recur; in stanza 101, *mandar* should run through the lines, and in 140, 'so blame himself,' should be 'is condemned' (*se condena*). In stanza 139 and elsewhere, *parecer*

means 'appearance' (*se* show, beauty) Canto iv. 17, 'For Diniz' should be 'by Diniz' (through ancestral valour) *Torva* (stanza 35) is savage, not 'sidelong' (*torta*), and *affronta* (36) is 'danger, assault' In stanza 94, *experencia* should be repeated; and in 82 Camoens says, 'all were Death's victims who did not cut it (the poisoned flesh) off' In Canto vi 11, 'lower' should be 'more rapidly' (*asinha*) In the last couplet of stanza 50, 'then King' (*seu rei*) must refer to the King of the Champions, not of the ladies In stanza 99, the last Quatrain, as shown by the initial *Este*, refers especially to Da Gama you have made the reference general (N B Right again) In viii 47, as *Que* shows, it is still the augur's tale, not a statement of facts (N B Not so), and in stanza 54 'advise' should be 'bad adviser' The last line of stanza 99 is apparently sarcastic, making a 'virtuous show' (*Cor*) In Canto ix 24, *Des redor* is 'around,' not 'behind the goddess' In stanza 83 I would alter 'not to judge' into 'than to judge', and in stanza 95 the fifth line should be 'do not invent (or call things) impossibilities' this is shown by the next verse

"There is little to say about Canto x, which is mostly Geographical In stanza 63 'Fletchers' means arrow-makers, and the 'Fletchers' Company' was prohibited by charter from joining with the Bowyers (N B Pure carelessness!) Lastly, in stanza 156, a very difficult passage, your allusion to Medusa's head should be in the past, not the future"

CHAPTER III
(HISTORICAL.)

§ I. THE ANNALS OF PORTUGAL BEFORE D JOAM II.

THE *Lusiads* has been justly called the *Fastorum Libri* of Portugal,—a small country, but a great kingdom. This Epic is her Book of Joshua, her *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, her *Landnámabok*, her *Domesday-book*. So far the poem is most happy in its subject. Little invention was wanted on the author's part. the Annals of his natal land offered all the charm of Romance (1 11) But what made it easy to the Portuguese writer is a source of difficulty to foreign readers. Following Homer rather than Herodotus, he sought inspiration from high-flown Calliope (III. 1), not from sober Clio. Consequently he abridges or extends incident at pleasure, he tells a story by implication, and he deals in allusions which, not always familiar even at home, are outer strange to the rest of Europe.

The historico-chronological section of *The Lusiads* covers upwards of one third the annalistic stanza's addressed to the king of Melinde alone number 333. Most commentators have sacrificed unity by interpreting in detached notes. I have adopted a continuous form,

hoping thus to save space and to prevent the text being burdened by masses of explanations. It is by no means my intention to write a History of Portugal, I deal only with the legends of Portugal preserved by Camoens and mostly abolished by Herculano. References are everywhere given to the text.

Death of Lusius or Lysias, who came from the East, and reigned in "Lysia" for 20-33 years B. C. 2653 (?), Pliny (iii 3) derives "Lusitania" from the or games (lusus) of Father Bacchus; or from B. C. 2487 (?) the fury (*Lysia*) of his acolytes. Camoens (iii 21) makes Lusio or Lysia "Sons *or* Companions" of Bacchus, whereas elsewhere (viii 3) Lusius is the "Son *and* Companion" of the rosy god. La Harpe believed that Lisbon was originally "Lusius-town" remains only to prove that there was a Lusius.

The word, like Lisbon, is evidently Keltic and præ-Latin, derived from the Celtiberian Lusio or Lusones of the upper Tagus (Strabo, iii 4, 13), who, joining the Iberians,¹ overran the land. Modern anthropology sug-

¹ Iberia (Ebro-land) is properly the sea-board of Spain and Portugal, and we still use the convenient term to denote the whole peninsula. So Herod (vii 165) speaks of "Iberia of the Iberes," and "Tartessus in Iberia" (i 163) he is followed by Strabo, Appian, and a host of writers. Tubal Cain is the Biblical father of the Iberes, who never heard his name; they were Asiatics identified with the Vîrk or modern Georgians. "Hispania" (once applied to the whole Peninsula) is derived from the Heb. *Saphan* (a rabbit, the Biblical "Coney" or Hyrax); or from the Basque *Espania* (a border), or from *Safan thesaurizans*, alluding to the

gests that the prehistoric peoples were Aryans, dolichocephals as they still are, who supplanted the Iberians supposed to have been Mongoloids. Research has also proved that Portugal had her age of unalloyed copper preceding the bronze. Her earliest implements were of the simple metal.

Death of Bryx,¹ Brygus or Brigus (iii 8), son or grandson of Tubal Cain, who came with colonists from Phrygia, founded Burgos BC 2108 (?)
and Brigantium (Braganza), and, as heros BC 1096 (?)
eponymus, gave a name to Castile (Brigia, afterwards Castellobrigia). He reigned 52 years, and left his mark in Segobriga (Segovia), Lacobriga (Lagos), and other places. Ulysses, after marrying (?) BC 1190
Calypso, daughter of Cassilia by *Gorgoris* BC 1190
famoso, who then ruled Lusitania, founded according to Strabo (ibid) Ulyssipo, Olisipo or Ulysséa, now Lisbon (iii. 57; viii 4). So, according to Justin, Tydides (Diomedes) gave his name to Tudæ, Tui or Tuy² (iii 89).

mines "Hesperia," or "Hesperia Ultima," the land of fable lying west of the Greeks, and properly meaning Southern Italy, is used by Camoens poetically.

¹ The Bryges were neighbours of the Macedonians (Herod vii 73 and 185). The word is a form of Phryges; the Macedonians pronouncing Bilippos for Philippos. Phrygia, or the Central Plateau of Asia Minor, is the linguistic cradle of the European (miscalled Indo-European) branch of the Aryan family.

² A townlet in Galicia, four leagues from Vigo; built on a plateau whose base is bathed by the Minho (Minus). It played a somewhat important part in the Peninsular War of the early nineteenth century.

Camoens says nothing of the great-grandson of Abraham, who is supposed to have founded Lisbon in B.C. 3259. The Capital of Portugal, originally a settlement of the Turduli or Turdetani, in Hispania Bætica, was successively occupied by the Romans, Alani, Vandals, Suevi, Goths, Saracens, and Portuguese. The Arabs, who have no p-sound, would corrupt Olisipo to Lisibo or Lisbo; and hence (?) Lisiboa, Lisboa, Lisbon. The chief merit of the Ulysses-tradition is that it produced the "Ulysséa" of G. Pereira de Castro and the "Ulyssipo" of Antonio de Sousa Macedo (mid-seventeenth century), which ranks after The Lusiads and before the "Malaca Conquistada" of F. de Sá de Menezes, and the "Cercos de D. João" of Corte Real.

The Phœnico-Carthaginians under the Barcines (House of Barca),¹ Hamilcar, Hasdrubal, B.C. 228 to 205 (founder of Carthage or New Carthage), and Hannibal, attacked Spain, but spared Lusitania. After the two Scipios (P. Cornelius and Cneius) had been killed (B.C. 211), S. Africanus, the son

¹ We find the word in the Barca region of Herod (iv 160) still applied to the Cyrenaic. It is not from Bar (a desert), Bukat (a tank), or Barak (lightning), but from Barakat, a blessing. So in Denham "Barca" is a benediction, and Clapperton speaks of the chief Barca Ghanam (Ghánim—the wealthy). Carthage is Kariyat (Kar—settlement). El-hádisah, Newtown, opposed to Utica (El-Atikah), Oldtown. Hence also Melcaith = Malik Kariyat, King of the City. Hamilcar is Hamiy el-Kai or Protector of the City: Hasdrubal Há Sadí-Baal, the Front of Baal or the Sun-god, and Hannibal Haná-Baal, the Joy of Baal.

of the former, took (B C 210) Carthageria and Gades (Cadiz) African supremacy in the Peninsula was overthrown by the Second Punic War (B C 218-201)

Rome reduced Hispania into Provinces, but she could not prevail over the savage Lusitani (iii 22), who used to mutilate or sacrifice their captives According to Strabo (iii 3, 2), Lusitania or Gallicia was most difficult to subdue. In B C 151 Consul L Lucullus killed 20,000 of the Vaccæi tribe, who, like the Vectones or Vettones (Lucan, iv. 9), were accompanied to battle by their wives, and who carried poison in case of being taken prisoners¹ During the next year Prætor Sergius Galba cleared off 30,000 Lusitanians

The shepherd Viriathus, "Romulus of Spain," escaping Galba's tender mercies, became a bandit by profession and by bravery a Captain Aided by the Celtiberi,² whose Capital, Numantia, heroically held out till B C. 133, and fell with Carthage, this Guerilla-chief kept the Romans in check, and won six pitched battles over Vectilius; the Prætors

¹ The same was done in 1878 by the gallant Austrian officers, when fighting against the ferocious and treacherous Bosniac "Turks"

² In The Battlefields of Paraguay (94 et pass) I have shown that this ancient race is reviving by the union of Basques and Spaniards Cervantes in his tragedy "Numantia" (which was performed in Saragossa during the famous siege), makes "Viriato," the boy who alone survived, throw himself from the tower with the keys of the City in his hand

C Planctius, Claudius Ammianus, and Caius Nigridius, and the Consuls Q Fabius, Fabius Servilianus, and Cn Servilius Cæpio. On one occasion three hundred of his partizans put to flight a thousand enemies (viii 36). He compelled a Proconsul to save his army when surrounded, by recognising him as an equal and independent power. D de Castéra holds that he named Lisbon "Lysipolis" = City of Lysis or deliverance. But did Viriathus speak Greek? He was presently assassinated (B C 140) by two traitors under orders of Cn Serv Cæpio, Governor of Hispania Ulterior. Florus remarks, *Hanc hosti gloriam dedit, ut videretur aliter vinci non potuisset*. The Cava de Viseu¹ is still shown as his hiding-place and death-scene, with the remains of

¹ At Viseu was buried (some say) Roderick the Goth, whose sin was expiated, during life, by the doom of Prometheus, a serpent gnawing at his vitals. He lay near the monk San Roman; and a recessed tomb on one side of the High Altar has —

Hic jacet, aut jacuit, postremus in ordine regum
Gottorum, ut nobis nuntia Fama refert

Hence the lines —

*Es gloria à Lusos, de Arabos castigo,
Setta de Affonso, ti nonfo à Viriato,
Berço à Duarte, mai more à Rodrigo*

(To Lusias glory, to the Moors disgrace,
Afonso's hurt, to Viriatus gain,
Duarte's cradle, and Rodrigo's grave)

The verses allude to the many Arab defeats, to the wound of Afonso Henriquez, and the birthplace of King Duarte. Viseu also produced the historian Barros.

his encampment, an enormous vallum One of the greatest heroes of an heroic race, this Lusitanus latro of Seneca is repeatedly and deservedly mentioned in The Lusitads (i 26, iii 22, and viii 6-7)

Quintus Sertorius of "frigid Nurcia" (Norcia), Tribunus Militum, Quæstor, Prætor and ^{B C} 82 to 72 Liberator (viii 8), opposed Dictator Sulla and the aristocrats in favour of his old commander, Caius Marius, and the popular party He beat Pacianus, baffled Metellus Pius, who put a price upon his head, and surprised Cn. Pompeius the Great before Lauron (Laury) in B C 76 Here he made the famous remark, "I will teach this young scholar of Sulla that it is more necessary for a general to look behind than before him" His successes won the alliance of Mithridates, the Sun-gift (Mihr-dád) Camoens highly praises (viii 8) his brother Monocular Sertorius also had lost an eye in battle The Poet alludes to the subtle art of the fatidic doe, *cervam albam trahebat*, a white hind given to him by Diana, which followed him to battle and rendered him invincible His place of arms was the "noble City" of Evora.¹ Here he constructed the famous aqueduct (iii 63) 12,000 paces long, rebuilt by D Joam III, and lately restored. After five

¹ A central site, the ancient Capital of Alemtejo It shows, besides Sertorius' castellated aqueduct, a Temple of Diana, described by Murphy, a Cathedral, and an archiepiscopal Library. Formerly famous for the number of its printed works, Evora is now a University

years of success (B C 72), he was murdered at a feast by Perperna, or Perpenna, one of his lieutenants. Many of his followers slew themselves upon his grave, and the national movement died a natural death. Perperna was put to death by Pompey, who, despite Lucan (ii. 549) barely deserved his triumph.

Julius Cæsar, victorious over the sons of Pompey at B C 45 to 60. Munda¹ (B C. 45), pacified Lusitania, which had bravely defended herself. Ulyssipo became Felicitas Julia, and Evora Liberalitas Julia, while Præsidium Julium was the name given to Scalabis (Pliny), Scalabicastrum, Sanctarem (Sta Iulia or Irene)² now Santarem.

Augustus distributed Iberia into three Provinces. Hispania Citerior (Eastern) became Tarraconensis, hence Tarragonese (iii 19). Hispania Ulterior (Western) was changed to Bætica (iii 19, 85), the Valley of the Bætis,³ or

¹ "Munda" is a disputed site. I have examined the ground, and agree with those who place it, not at Monda of Malaga, nor near Coidova, nor at Jerez de la Frontera (Cæsar's Acidona), but at Ronda, the old Arunda (La Munda de los Romanos, etc. Por D. Rafael Atienza y Huetos. Ronda, 1857.)

² An Hispanian Virgin and Martyr (A D 653). The Moors called Scalabicastrum "Kabihkastro", but we nowhere find Scabelicastrum nor the Scabelicastro of Camoens (iii 55). Santarem, twenty-five leagues from Lisbon, lies on the right bank of the Tagus, which presently becomes unnavigable. It has a Moorish Alcaçoba (El-Kasabah), and the famous Graça Convent where Pedr' Alvares Cabral was buried (?).

³ Hod Guadalquivir = Wady el-Kabû, the great river-valley

Tartessus River, and to Lusitania. The latter, nearly corresponding with modern Portugal, was separated from Tarracensis by the R. Durus (Douro), and from Bætica by the R. Anas (Guadiana). Augustus established military colonies in the places named by his uncle, and called Braga¹ after himself, "Bracara Augusta"¹. Augusta Emerita (Merida) was the Capital. Thus the Lusitanians became Romans with the Jus Latii and a gens togata. The Julian æra (B.C. 45) was preserved in Aragon till A.D. 1358, and in Portugal till A.D. 1415 (Depping, II 2).

After 400 years of powerful and peaceful Roman rule, Lusitania was overrun by the Sævi (Swabians), who made Braga their Capital. A.D. 409 to
710. In A.D. 568 Liuva and Leuvigildus destroyed the city and made the country Visigothian. Gothic rule² was mild, and Alaric II. issued the famous "Code Forum Judicum".

Tárik ibn Ziyád, a Berber slave and lieutenant of Musá ibn Nasír, commanding the Caliph's hordes in North Africa, passed over to Spain. Hence Gibraltar, the Gibletorre of Teongue in 1675-79, meaning Jebel

¹ Braga, of the Bracari tribe, is still an important place, ranking after Lisbon and Setubal. Its modern interest is mainly ecclesiastical, and the Bom Jesus de Braga has an annual "patron," which attracts many pilgrims.

² The ruler of Scandinavia still styles himself "King of Sweden, the Goths and Vandals, and Norway." I hope to prove that the Goths, like their ancestors the Scyths, and their cousins the Gypsies, were an early wave of the Jat (Yu-Chi) race.

el-Tárik or Tárik Mount, which the Moslems called *Jebel el-Fath* (the Mount of Victory) The great battle on the Xeres plain, in the Valley of the Guadalete,¹ enthroned D Roderick, and broke the power of the Visigoths (A D 711)² In Lusitanian Merida, a remnant resisted but in vain The survivors of the ruling race either submitted to the Conquerors or fled for refuge to the Asturias Mountains Here they were headed by the semi-fabulous Prince Pelagus (D Pelayo), the Visigoth who founded the kingdom of Asturias The Caamaños (Camoens) family is said to have first distinguished itself under D Pelayo.

Lusitania thus became the westernmost province of the mighty Khalifat, which exceeded the limits ever known to Rome The word, A D 756 to 1020. which went forth from the now forgotten Palace of Damascus, echoed from the Atlantic to the

¹ Wady el-Lethe, the River *Lyma* or *Lymæa*, now *Lima*, in the beautiful country called by the Romans "Elysian Fields" So Diogo Bernardes sings —

*Junto do Lima, claro e fresco rio,
Que Lethe se chamou antigamente*

(Had by the Rivei, flesh transparent flood
Entitled Lethe by the men of old)

² Every one knows the "Vision of Don Roderick." It may be observed that Caba, the common name for the hapless Florinda, daughter of Count Julian, is the Arabic *Kahbah*, meretrix Voltaire and Gibbon had doubts concerning the popular story, which rests upon a very slender base Miguel Luna in his translation of the

confines of China, and from Tartaric Samarkand to South Africa¹ When Abú Abbás (A D 733) founded his dynasty upon the massacre of his predecessors, Spain (A D 755) invited the young Ommiade, Abd el-Rahmán, to rule over her. After two victories, at El-Musará and Munecar, he made Cordova his Capital, and Lisbon, so favourably situated for international commerce, first became a ship-building city.

Camoens, following his Age of Ignorance, has done the grossest injustice to Moorish rule. The so-called Arabs were civilised when the Christians were mere barbarians. The former were great in literature, while their rivals could hardly read their prayers. Their travellers had explored China before the Portuguese reached West Africa. They encouraged commerce and agriculture, and they built splendid edifices, of which many remain². The world-famous "merino" sheep takes its

(apocryphal) "True History of the King D Roderick," from the Arabic of Abu 'l-Kasim Tarif, quotes a letter from Florinda to her father, describing the "fracture of an emerald" by the King. It is dated from Toledo, Dec. 3, year of Cæsar 750, which would make the Julian æra begin in B.C. 38 instead of B.C. 45. Musgrave (Camoens, 464-66) gives a long account of this epistle.

¹ During nearly two years at the Capital of Syria, I failed to make certain where the building stood. It must have been near the Castle, but the latter is comparatively modern.

² Some hold the Casa dos Piques at Lisbon to be Moslem; others consider it more modern. At the foot of the Cintra cone, I found a deserted Mosque not mentioned in Jui's "Cintia Pinturesca" (Lisbon, 1838). There is still much to do in identifying the Moslem remains of Portugal as well as of Spain.

name from the Amís (?) According to Robertson ("Charles the Fifth," 1 134) the Spaniards confess that eight centuries elapsed (A D 712-1492) and 3,700 battles were fought, before he of Granada, the last of the Hispano-Moorish Calíphs, submitted to Infidel Arms

After the death of Abd el-Rahman I (A D 787), dissensions arose in his family, and the kingdom began the process of partition its vicissitudes belong to the history of Spain At the end of more than two centuries of fighting, Lusitania had her Moslem King at Badajoz,¹ and Algarve² at Lisbon, rulers who were afterwards called Reyes de Táifas (Kings of Companies), and who divided the country according to the rule of the Calíphs (A D. 1040-1200) Andalusia alone had six Kings In A D. 1031 El-Hishám III, last of the Hispanian Ommiads, lost the masnad (throne) by a sedition, and the power of the Cordovan "successors" ended The particulars again belong to Spanish history

A. D 1010 to
1036

"Cintra" is supposed to be derived from "Cynthia," and the block is Ptolemy's "Mons Lunæ" (11 5, 3) I sketched this interesting site in "Fraser," Oct, 1865

¹ "Pax Augustæ," or the Arab "Balad el-Aysh" (City of Provaunt) This Captaincy-General of Estremadura, familiar to English history, lies on the left bank of the Guadiana, seven kilom. from the frontier In the times of which Canoens speaks, the dull old place belonged to Spain, who had taken it from the Moors

² El-Gháb, the West (Province), hence Tafagar or Tafalgar = Taf el-Gharb, Edge of the West Some make it erroneously Tarf el-Ghár, Cape of Laurels

The African Almoravides (El-Murábitin)¹ or Reformers, after conquering El-Maghrib (Tunis, Tripoli, Algeria, and Marocco), crossed the sea ^{A D 1086 to}
under their chief, Yúsuf, to defend their ¹⁰⁹¹
Saracen (Arab) co-religionists. They attacked, and in time reduced, the Reyes de Taifas, occupied Lisbon and held it for half a century. El-Islam in Iberia was now under two heads, the old Arab houses and the "Moors" proper.

The Kingdom of Asturias increased, especially under Alfonso III (the Great), in A D 862. In 938 King Ramiro gained his great victory over the Moors at Simancas, and founded Compostella². The impulse was now given. Many nobles and knights crossed the Pyrenees to crusade against the Moslems (111 24). The

¹ El-Murábitín, *z. e.* men "bound together" by the Faith: hence the French "Marabout," a santón, a religious. D'Herbelot under "Morabethah" treats of this movement which destroyed the Zayrides (Zegíí partisans).

² Famous for the legend of St James. The body after martyrdom was placed on board ship; and, guided by an angel, landed in Galicia, where its dignity was unknown till revealed to a friar. Hence Sigurd, the Skald, called Galicia "Jacob's land." During the "Holy War," the Saint appeared thirty-eight times to the Spaniards, and during the height of his fame 100,000 "Saint Jaquè's pilgrims," many of them English, who preferred it even to Canterbury and her "holy blisful martir," made pious visitations to "Sanctus Jacobus Apostola" (Compostella). The cockle-shell was the badge of this tribe, as the palm was of the "palmer" or Jerusalem pilgrim. Our "remember the grotto" is connected with Saint James, those who could not visit him purified themselves by almsgiving.

leader of the movement was Don Alfonso the Valiant (VIth of Leon and Ist of Castile), born at Compostella (A D 1035), and throned at the old Phoenician Toletum, now Toledo¹ Amongst them was one Henrique (Henry), to whom the King gave his natural daughter Taraja, Tareja, Teresa, or Theresa, dowered with the County of Portugal, part of the modern kingdom Camoens like Galvarno, expressly says (III 25) that Portuguese report makes him the son of a Hungarian King,² but that strangers derive him from Lotharingia or Lorraine (VIII 9) T Godefroy (*Traité de l'Origine des Rois de Portugal*, Paris, 1612) settled the question by a MS. of the twelfth century, found in the Abbey of Fleury, and printed at Frankfort (P. Pilhou). Henri of Besançon, son of Henri,³ was grandson of Robert "the Old," Duke of Burgundy, great-grandson of Saint Robert (III), and great-great-grandson of Hugues Capet, Count of Paris

Under D. Henrique of Burgundy, Portugalia assumed her modern title Some explain it from the old name of Villa-de-Gaia, Calé (=Kala'ah, a fort), like Calahorra or Kala'at el-hurrah (the "free fort"). Camoens

¹ Toledo was succeeded as a capital by Madrid, the Arab Májent, supposed to be from Má jári = flowing water

² Some suggest St Stephen (Ist) the "Apostolic King" (A D 997). Hofrath Alfred Ritter von Aineith, Pres of the Acad. of Sciences, Vienna, kindly gave me his opinion concerning the Hungarian origin of D Henrique The latter was connected with, but not descended from, the royal family of Magyar-land

³ Fons (p 527) makes his father Guy Count of Veinol, and his mother Joanna, daughter of Gerold, Duke of Burgundy

(vi 52) assumes Portus, Porto, or Oporto to have originated "Portugal" M Charles Vogel (*Tableau Politique, &c*, Paris, Gillaumin, 1860) writes that as all this tract was then in Galicia, we have an easier derivation, Portus Galliciae¹ Millié (Canto vi, note 19) determines that D. Henrique adopted the word in order to remind the world of his Burgundian origin, by adding to Porto, "Gallo," Port of the Gauls, French-Port, or, rather, 'Port of the Strangers' During the Napoleonic irruption (1808), an attempt was made to revive "Portugallo," but it notably failed.

The cradle of the monarchy contained the two rich provinces of Entre-Douro-e-Minho and Tras-os-Montes, to which Beira was presently annexed Lastly, Galicia was added as far as Lobeira Castle In this beautiful *Medulla Hispanica*, the Caamaños family had its seat The capital was Oporto, the secondary towns were Coimbra, Viseu, and Guimaraens,² (iii 35), to which

¹ Galicia, of old Gallæcia, according to Mediæval history (Hector Boetius, Virgil, Polydore, and others), was named from Gathelos, son of Cecrops who, compelled to fly from Egypt in Moses' day, touched at Spain before settling in Ireland The word is evidently a congener of English Cornwall (Cornu Galliæ) and Cornouaille (now Quimper), in Brittany, the ancient Armorica (Ar-mor, "at the sea") The Galicians were mighty warriors and hunters, who are said to have composed and sung verses in the præ Roman days

² The older "Vumaraens," near the Ave-Azevilla confluence Here took place the Miracle of Wamba the Goth (A D 672-680), and the porch of Na Sra da Oliveira still shows, surrounded by

D. Henrique transferred his Court. After the death of his father-in-law (A. D. 1109) he became virtually independent, styling himself "By the Grace of God, Count and Lord of all Portugal" He beat the Moslems in seventeen battles, and annexed Cintra. Camoens, in two places (iii 27, and viii 9), makes him take part in the first Crusade (A. D. 1094), or Peter the Hermit's, led by Godfrey de Bouillon¹ But the poet has wise doubts concerning all these old legends (iii 20), and the pilgrimage is as improbable as that of Carolus Magnus, whose *Journey* is based upon a Chanson, an old Song After a fighting reign he died (æ. 77) at Astorga (A. D. 1112), and was buried with D Tareja, who long survived him, in the Cathedral of Braga, on either side of the altar.

an iron balustrade, the tree or its descendant that came from the blossoming goad There is an old town which incloses the Roman Therinæ, and the ruined castle where Afonso Henriquez was born. his baptismal font is still preserved The new town dates from 1427

¹ Gibbon, "D and F," lviii Born A. D. 1061, eldest son of Gustavus, 2nd Count of Boulogne, and descended from Carolus Magnus, Duke of Bouillon in the Ardennes, married Ida, sister of Godfrey le Bossu, Duke of Biabant (Basse Lorraine), and died 1st King of Jerusalem (1109) Godefridus de Bulion and Baldovinus, his brother and successor, are buried near the Chapel of Adam, in the "Holy Sepulchre", and the fanatical Syrians, miscalled Greeks, have disgracefully mutilated the tombs because they are revered by the Latins

AFONSO HENRIQUEZ ¹

(A D 1112-1185)

AGED three at his father's death, the first King of Portugal was under the regency of his mother, Theresa, who had privately intermarried (?) with Ferdinando, Count of Trastamara. This was looked upon as a crime of *lèse-majesté*, and Camoens (iii 29-31), unjustly enough, makes the warm widow more abominable than the worst feminine monsters of antiquity. When aged eighteen, D. Afonso defeated the usurping pair near Gumaraens (June 24, 1128), banished his step-father, and imprisoned his mother in the Lanhoso tower near Pinheiro. Her curse afterwards cost him dear (iii 69-72)

D Theresa raised D Alfonso (VIIIth of Leon and IIIrd of Castile) against her son (iii. 34), who was victorious in the affair of S Mamede² (A D 1128). The place is still called Vega-da-Matança (Slaughter-field), and the "Battle of the Seven Counts," because so many general officers were taken prisoners. The Spaniard was also wounded.

¹ -Ez or -es (son of) forms the Basque patronymic, as Lopez,—son of Lope. English translators seem mostly to ignore this equivalent of Ben, Bin,—eides, Oghlú, Ing, Mac, O', Ap, Sen, Son, etc.

² Alias Arcos de Valdevez, the bridge of the Vez river-valley, between Monçam and Ponte de Lima, the Lethe or Lima before mentioned. The latter is the Forum Limicorum of the Romans: the modern name is derived from its bridge of twenty-four arches.

Afonso Henriquez was presently beleaguered by the Castilians in Guimaraens (iii 35), and was saved despite himself. His guardian, heroic Egás Moníz, finding defence hopeless, secretly visited the enemy, and promised the homage of his liege if the siege were raised. When D Afonso saw the hostile forces retiring upon Castile, he learned the cause, and furiously tore up the convention. The guardian, another Regulus, nobly offered himself and his family as victims (iii 38-40, viii 14, 15), the Spaniard was magnanimous enough to pardon him, and the "Surrender of Egás Moníz" decorates the walls of almost every roadside inn in Northern Portugal.

Afonso Henriquez now initiated the policy of his successors, that of systematically warring down the "Moors." Alemtejo, the Transtagan region, was the first humble objective. The Arabs and the "Almoravides" still occupied the South-Peninsular Kingdoms of Granada, Cordova, Murcia, Lisbon, and Seville, with Malaga, Jaen, Almeria, Tortosa, Majorca, and Denia, which last included the Balearics.

The great action, which began the fall of El-Islam, was the CAMPO D'OURIQUE, in A D 1139 (iii 15). "Ismár" (Ismail) led five Moorish Kings, fifteen knights, and 400,000 men. These numbers are not so improbable as they appear. A "King" was a petty chief, after the fashion of King Og, the Kings of Wessex, the Roi d'Yvetôt, and the absurd Kings Pepple, George and Jack of filthy Bonny, and the foul towns of the

Biafran Bight,—*Orrey daquella terra* (the “King of that land”) in the language of the Ruttiers, meaning the headman. Again, petty principalities, like West African Whydah, can levy immense forces when all the males between sixteen and sixty become Básh-Bazuks. Even in the present day effete Turkey wants only money to enlist millions.

D Afonso, after over-running Beira, passed into the Alemtejo and Estremadura, and found himself confronting the Moslems with 13,000, or, rather, 40,000 men, according to André de Rezende’s “History of Evora.” The site is disputed—the popular position is above the Castro Verde village, in a valley inclosed by the influents of the Guadiana. The Portuguese, they say, was reading the fox-like victory of Gideon over the noble Midianite Bedawin,¹ and, after a prayer for similar favour, placed the holy volume under his pillow. Sleeping in his armour, he beheld a venerable man, and, next morning, he recognised the apparition in an ancient hermit, introduced by a chamberlain. The religious, who had lived sixty years in a cell among the Infidels, promised victory by divine commission. As mass was saying and the tents were being struck, took place the miraculous vision (iii 45), which repeats the Signum of Constantine. The crucified Saviour, supported by two resplendent youths, adoring Him in a flood of glory, arose from the East. The King, removing arms and

¹ Noticed in my “Gold Mines of Midian,” chap vii

shoes, prostrated himself before the Presence. Oppor-
tune as a revelation of Mohammed, the Vision promised
success, present and future, against the enemies of the
Cross, ordered D Afonso to assume the title of King,
which would apply to sixteen generations, and described
the coat-of-arms with which Portugal was to charge her
virgin shield (i 7). Hence the graphic and minute
heraldic description of Camoens (iii 53-4), which some
translators have failed to appreciate¹. The tale is told
at full length by Azevedo, P. de Figueiredo, and many
others, while the learned Herculano has, as usual,
thrown historic doubt upon the whole affair, suggesting
that a mere fray became a great fight. But, despite
the art which worked upon the superstitions of a rude
and fanatic soldiery, we ask, can anything be more
repulsive to Christianity, or to the practice of its
Founder, than such encouragement to "battle, murder,
and sudden death"?

The "Marathon of Portugal" began at dawn, and
lasted till noon of July 25, 1139. The Moors, who had
chosen their ground badly, were put to flight with pro-
digious loss. D Afonso was proclaimed king by
acclamation (iii 46), a Portuguese custom not yet
obsolete. He placed the miraculous arms upon his

¹ An Englishwoman writes - "Less fidelity, perhaps, might
have been desirable", and Millié carries out the idea by slurring
over details. Could neither of them see the skill of circumstantial
narration which gave a local existence and a name to a most
romantic, if improbable, event?

standard, but he was not invested with the Regalia for six years afterwards, when the famous Saint Bernard persuaded Innocent II. to sanction the kingdom of Portugal

The new king, after transferring his capital to Coimbra, convened the Three Estates at the "Cortes de Lamego," now supposed to be a "pious fraud" The order of succession was settled without regard to the Salic exclusion¹ The Magna Charta of eighteen statutes embodied the right of deposition, with scant regard for the Jus divinum, Laudian, or other. D Afonso received the Crown of the Visigoths in the Cathedral Church of Santa Maria de Biaga, at the hands of its Archbishop.

Followed new wars with the Moors. Leiria² was first taken (111 55) Dom, afterwards Saint Theotomo, Prior of the Canons Regular of Coimbra, captured Aironches town (111. 55), a triumph commemorated by the crea-

¹ In default of male heirs an Infanta could succeed, but not unless her husband was a Portuguese. this proviso led to abundant trouble The Prince-Consort could not be styled King till he had male issue "If the King's daughter wed with a foreigner she shall not become Queen; for we will not that our people be compelled to obey a King who is not Portuguese-born" (*Exposé des Droits de S M Tres-Fidèle D Maria II*, Paris, 1830) The whole passage, quoted by M Clovis Lamarie (pp 142-43), is well worth reading

² On the Lis River, occupied alternately by Goths, Moslems, and Christians Its ruined Castle, perched on a rock, was founded by D Afonso Henriquez Leiria was the first City in the Spains, and the fourth in Europe, which had a printing-press, an invention extensively used by the Sephardim Jews

tion of the short-lived military order, *Da Aza de S Miguel* (of St Michael's wing) Mafra¹ and Cúntia next yielded (iii 56) Presently "noble Lisbon" (iii 57-60, viii 18) was torn from the Moors, with the aid of a naval armament, part of the Second (St Bernard's) Crusade (A D 1146-48) It consisted of English, Flemish, Loirains, Germans, and Italians, under Guillaume Longue-Éspée, Duke of Normandy, and Count Arnaud d'Ardescot (Fons. pp 457-58) Camoens specifies only "Holy Henry" (viii 18), a German knight who was killed during the siege, and whose memory was honoured by a miraculous palm that sprang unplanted from his tomb

The warriors of the Second Crusade encamped where the Martyrs' Church now stands, the Portuguese position being marked by that of S Vincent The citadel, with its gallant Alcaide-Mór (Governor), held out for five moons (iii 59), and the Moors lost, they say, 200,000 men Martim Moniz, a son worthy of his sire (viii 20), threw himself between the gate and its stanchions, he was crushed to death, but his followers stormed the place This crucial event happened on October 16, 1184 Julian era=A D 1147 The date is supported by two inscriptions, Latin and poetic, preserved in the Sé

¹ From Mahfarah, a "Cave" or Mafrah, "rest-place" This "Escorial of Portugal," the Palace of D Joam V, containing 870 rooms, not to speak of Church, and Convent of 300 cells, lies seventeen kilom from Lisbon. It employed 25,000 workmen for thirteen years (1717-30); and, if it could be rolled, American fashion, into Lisbon, it would make a grand Museum.

[Cathedral] or Basilica de Santa Maria One epigraph adds that it was the day of the holy martyrs, SS Crispinus and Crispinianus Bishop Arnulfo prefers the "Day of the Eleven Thousand Virgins"¹ André de Rezende had an Arabic summary of the History of the Goths, which gives the same year (1184=1147), and specifies the sixth hour of Friday Herculano must be consulted for his version of the capture ("Hist of Port," 1 375-79)

The Tagus, before Moslem, was now Christian from the mountains to the mouth The terror of the Portuguese name overwhelmed all Estremadura, with Obidos,² Alemquer (Alan-kuk),³ Torres Vedras,⁴ Elvas,⁵ Moura,⁶ Serpa, and Alcacer-of-the-Salt (III 61-2) Beja⁷

¹ As Dale Abbey shows, the preposterous number came from *Sea Ursula cum XI M* (martyrs, not mille) *v'gnum*

² A mediæval walled town, with aqueduct, citadel, and Gothic remains, five kilom. from Caldas da Rainha, and now famed for apples and fevers

³ "Church of the Alans," founded by those invaders AD 406 (?) It is the birthplace of Damiam de Goes, and was supposed from a misunderstanding of Sounet c to have been that of Camoens

⁴ On the right bank of the Sizandio, ten leagues from Lisbon; founded by the Greeks, became a Præsidium under the Romans, and left its "Lines" to English History (1810)

⁵ One of the strongest *Praças a'Almas* in Portugal, on the right bank of the Guadiana, ten kilom. from Lisbon, and also famed for its "Lines"

⁶ Alias Arouche = El-'Arousah, the Bude

⁷ Pax Julia, richest in Roman remains after Evora, and the birthplace of the great Spinoza

expiated for the capture of Trancoso, where the Moors had butchered all the citizens (III 64) Followed the historic Castle of Palmella and "piscous Cezimbra,"—*piscosi mœnia Bari* The King of Badajoz lost his capital (III 65-7) Giraldo Giraldez, who, banished by D Afonso, had taken service under Moor Ismail, returned to his allegiance, and captured Evora stronghold, with 120 men (Fons pp. 459-460), by a trick like that of Burnam Wood He covered himself with leaves, scaled the *Torre da Vigia* (watch-tower), slew the sleeping guardians, a Moor and his daughter, misled the garrison by a false beacon-signal, and admitted his followers Hence his *Alcunha*¹ (agnomen), "Sem-Pavor," the Sans-Peur knight (III 63, VIII 21), who, with plenary pardon, received the government of his conquest Thus arose the "Chevaliers of Evora," military Cistercians, afterwards called from their Castle the "Order of Avis" (the Birds) The Shield of Evora still shows a man on horseback, with drawn sword in one hand and two heads hanging from the other Herculano (III 401) casts a doubt upon the exploit, which, however, like that of Egás Moníz, is firmly rooted in popular print

In 1180 D Fuas Roupinho,² the "Portuguese Luta-

¹ El-Kunyah properly denotes patronymics, matronymics, and names derived from brother and sister, son and daughter. It is necessary amongst Moslems, whose names are exceedingly limited; but in Europe the "Alcunha" became a nickname

² This knight, miraculously preserved from a "diabolical stag," built the Ermida (Chapel), of Na Sra. de Nazareth, near Alcobaça, for the Statue of the Virgin, carved by St. Joseph and

tius," took Gamir, Moorish King of Meida, who was attacking his castle near the Porto-de-Mós. He then destroyed, with twenty-one galleys, a Moslem fleet of fifty-four galleons (i 12, viii 16), cruising about Cape Espichel. A similar achievement next year off Mount Abyla cost the gallant victor his life (viii 17).

Territorial disputes involved D Afonso in difficulties with his son-in-law, D Ferdinando II, of Leon. The old King (æt 75), sallying out from Viseu, was disabled by his charger striking his leg against an iron gate (iii 69), and was taken prisoner,—the effect of his mother's curse. But the imprecation had lost virtue by long keeping: the victor treated his prisoner with respect, released him without ransom, and claimed only the bone of contention, Badajoz. "Alboiaque," King of Seville, hearing the Portuguese defeat, attacked the Alemtejo, and was driven back.

Ensued a war with the "Almohades,"¹ properly El-Muwahhidín (the Unitarians), a Punitan sect, the Wahhabis of the day. They were militarily organised in North Africa by Mohammed 'Abd el-Mumin, to reform the corruptions of the "Almoravides", and were summoned to his aid by a Wali, or Provincial Governor of Algarve. These chiefs were almost independent of their

painted by St Luke. It had been brought to Spain by San Roman, the companion of Roderick the Goth.

¹ D'Herbelot, under "Moahedoun," gives notices of the dynasty of thirteen to seventeen princelets; and he calls the sect *Bandits et croquants*.

liege-Lord, and their disorders did good service to the Christian cause. Bernardo Froias, the "Cid of Portugal," stoutly opposed the invaders. But under Yúsuf bin 'Abd el-Mumin, they besieged the Infante D Sancho in Santarem, and would have won the day had not his aged father hastened from Coimbra to his aid (1118). Yúsuf was slain, and, shortly afterwards, D Afonso, a warrior king and unaimable personage, died (Dec 6, 1185), æt 76 years and 4 months. Camoens, who admired his fighting qualities, and his wars with the Moors, has left him a noble and kinglike epitaph (111. 84)

SANCHO I

(A D 1185-1211)

THE second son and successor of D Afonso, is known as *O Povoador* (the Peopler, *i e*, of *povoados*, or villages). He was crowned, æt 31, at Coimbra (Dec 9), and, having some experience of warfare at Seville, Elvas, and Santarem (1118), he proceeded to gain more. He began by taking Sylves, or Silves,¹ and "proud Tuy" (1185-89). An Armada, sent out for a Third Crusade

¹ Capital of Moslem Algarve, a curious old walled town, thirty-nine kilom North-west of Faro. The Cathedral was founded by D Sancho (1187), and one of its bishops was Osorius (Jeronimo Osorio), the "Christian Cicero" (1506-80). His *History De Rebus Emmanuelis*, etc, Libri XII, was translated into French (Paris, François Etienne, 1581), and into Dutch.

(A. D. 1188-92) by the Empeioi, Red Frederick (I or Barbaioffa) to save Guy de Lusignan from the Conqueror Saláh el-Dín (Saladin), assisted him in reducing South Portugal (III 86-7), and he entitled himself "King of Algarve." The assumption was premature, he was driven out by Bin Yúsuf, the Moor (1188-90), and he lost stomach for Moslem conquests. Allowing Ya'kúb bin Yúsuf to take Madrid, he applied to the arts of peace, repaired the ravages of war, personally inspected his possessions, and continued to build the great Alcobaça¹ Monastery begun by his father. He died after ruling twenty-six years, and, despite his pacific career, he is well spoken of by Camoens (III 85-89)

AFONSO II.

(A. D. 1211-1223)

O Gordo (=Crassus, the Fat) was born at Coimbra in 1185. He took part in the famous action, *Las Navas*² (the Plains) *de Tolosa* (1212), where D Alfonso VIII. of Navarre defeated Mohammed el-Násir li'l-Din-Illah, son of Ya'kúb, slew 124,000 (?) of his 600,000 (?) men, and broke the "Almohades." The capture of Alcántara³

¹ Called from the Allox-Baça confluence.

² Nav (Basque), become Nava in Spain and Poit, means a plain hence Navarie, Navia, etc

³ El-Kántarah, the Aich, often debased in England to "Alcantára." The Order of Calatrava (=Kal'at el-Tuáb, Fort of Earth)

(1214) induced the Knights of Calatrava to change their name for that of the new conquest. A fleet of 300 sail, manned by Netherlanders and Frisians, under Wilhem Count of Holland and Georg von Wied, touched at Lisbon en route for Palestine. They assisted the warlike Prelate, miscalled Dom Matheus (viii 23-24), who fought successfully against the 95,000 men led by the four kings of Cordova, Seville, Badajoz, and Jaen. In 1217 the Portuguese gained the Battle of Alcacer-do-Sal,¹ and annexed the town (iii 90)

D Alfonso followed his father's example. He convoked the Cortes, reformed the Church, compelled the monk-drones to carry arms, and allowed appeal from ecclesiastical to laical jurisdiction,—a bold measure. He was honoured with excommunication, but he kept up his courage to the last and died, as Camoens says (iii 89-90), "esteemed of all"

was founded by Raymond de Fitero, a monk of Cîteaux, who, after the Second Crusade, offered (1153) D Sancho III of Castile to defend the place against the Moors. He raised 20,000 men, and established the military rule, whose members wore on the breast a cross gules with fleur-de-lys vert

¹ Camoens calls it (iii 90) Alcacere by paragoge. The *Salatia Imperatoria* of the Romans is a townlet on the Savo River, South-east of Setubal, and still shows a Moorish Fortress. The battle-site is called *Valle da Matanza*. Aubertin (ii 279), who copies a chronological table from Mr Murray's incompetent "Handbook of Portugal," gives two affairs, one in A D 1158, when the Castle was taken, and the other in A D 1217, when the great fight was fought

SANCHO II

(A D 1223-1248)

THIS eldest son of his predecessor, born at Coimbra in 1207, is derisively called *O Capello*, the Hood. An incapable Prince, he became a slave to courtiers, minions, and a beautiful "brawler" in the shape of a wife, D. Mencia. The people, who did not stand upon ceremony, then and there tore her from the Coimbra Palace and sent her to Castile, where she died childless. Some writers praise Sancho II for his great public works which began an age of civilisation in Portugal. However that may be, he was deposed (July 24, 1245) by an excommunicatory Bull of Innocent IV, he retired from regal business to Toledo, he lived there in obscurity till 1246, and he was buried in the Cathedral. Camoens judges him harshly (ll 90-93), and hence Padre Macedo (1 191) discovers a "certain disposition for insulting the Kings of Portugal."

AFONSO III.

(A D 1246-1279)

BORN at Coimbra in 1208, the fifth King was titled *El Rei dos Pobres* (King of the Poor), and *O Bolonhez*, because he had married Matilda, Countess-proprietary of Boulogne. He became regent by intriguing against

his brother, but he was magnanimous enough to honour the adherents of the fallen cause, who stoutly denied the Papal pretensions to make and mar monarchs in Portugal. He favoured Martim Freitas, when the faithful servant refused to yield the Keys of Coimbra before placing them in the hands of his dead master, nor did he assume the regal style till after his brother's decease.

Afonso III owed much of his success in conquering the Algarves to D. Payo Correa, Grand Master of St. Iago in Castile. This worthy repeated the miracles of Moses by bringing water from the rock, and of Joshua by causing the "sun to stand still," in presence of a people who still believed in the Ptolomeian or geocentric system. It was the result of his prayer to the Virgin —

Santa Maria

Dettu tu dia ! (give us thou Day !)

Faro and other neighbour-places were easily taken. The treacherous Moors had murdered during a truce six Portuguese Knights of Saint Iago, who were sporting outside Tavila or Tavella. Camoens calls them the "Seven Huntsmen," including the muleteer, Garcia Rodriguez, who, although a "villein," lost life in the fight. Correa flew to revenge them, took the town, and slew all within its walls (viii. 25).

The Conquest of the Algarves (1252) completed the ancient inheritance of Lusus' Sons (iii. 94); and gave the Portuguese scutcheon an augmentation of Seven

Castles¹ D Afonso was compelled to yield half his new Province, and to do fealty for the rest to Alfonso the Wise (Xth of Castile), but this humiliation ended when, after repudiating Countess Mathilda, he married the Spaniard's natural daughter, D. Beatriz de Guzman² He supported the third estate against the nobles and against the clerks, egged on by Urban IV, but, being old and infirm, he at last yielded to episcopal exigencies. In 1279 he died at Lisbon (æt 69), regretted by his people, and Camoens (III 94) honours him as The Brave.

DINIZ (DIONYSIUS)

(A D 1279-1325)

O Lavrador (the Husbandman) succeeded (æt 17), and married (1283) D Isabel, daughter of Pedro III. of Arragon His mother, disappointed in not crowning her second son, fled to Castile, and persuaded her brother, D Ferdinando, who presently died, to declare war against Portugal After regulating the gold and silver mines of the Algarves, and annexing the Riba de Coa on the R Douro, Diniz applied himself to rural

¹ Hence the Castles are not alluded to in the description of D. Afonso's shield (III 53-4), and they appear upon D Joam's flag (IV 25)

² This high-sounding name, says Ford, is nothing but Gutmann, Goodman, El-bueno, a canting title given by King Sancho (El Bravo) to the founder of the family, Alonzo Perez, at the first Siege of Tântifa, in A.D 1292 (?)

economy He planted the *Pinhal real* (pine-forest) on the sandy ground about Leiria with shoots from the Burgundian *Landes*, thus arresting the desert-growth, and producing timber for ship-building He founded agricultural establishments, and fostered commercial intercourse with England, France, and Flanders He curbed clerical abuses, and opposed landed property being bequeathed to religious houses,—a measure in advance of its age and still sadly neglected¹ His firmness in dealing with the nobility made the lieges sing —

*O Rey Dom Diniz,
Que fiz quanto quis*

(What King Diniz willèd, He ever fulfilled)

Yet he did his devon to the Church in conjunction with his saintly Queen he built (1305) the Church and Convent of Sam Diniz de Odivellas, where he and his natural daughter are buried

D Diniz was lenient, despite Rome, to the Knights Templar, whose terrible cry “Beauséant” had done long and good service against the Moslems After a temporary exile from their commanderies at San Thomar and elsewhere, they of the White and Black Banner gradually returned to form the *Ordo Militiæ Jesu Christi*, created in 1319 after the rule of Calatrava He protected letters, and founded (1284) the Lisbon University,

¹ England in the nineteenth century, as some of us know by personal experience, still wants in this matter the hand of D. Diniz

which was removed to Coimbra in 1308 His treatise, *Dos principaes Deveres da milicia*, is still known to Catalogues, and one of his *Cancioneiros* (Song-collections) was printed at Rome under D Joam III His later life was troubled by the dissensions of his sons and by the rebellion of his successor He died at Santarem, January 7, 1325, æt 63, of which 46 were spent on the throne. Camoens speaks well of "the Husbandman" (III 96-8), and the Trobaires (Troubadours) even better Dante, who hated peaceful kings, alludes to him (Parad XIX), and the *Ottimo Commento* unjustly says,—“Wholly given up to the acquisition of wealth, he led the life of a merchant, and had many dealings with all the great traders of his reign nothing regal, nothing magnificent can be recorded of him”

AFONSO IV.

(A D 1325-1356)

O Bravo, was a bad son, a bad brother, and a bad father, a good soldier, a good lawgiver, and a good king he was also a politician after Macchiavelli's heart, whose maxim was that all things are permissible provided they succeed At the age of 24 he began a careless life, which he presently reformed his council threatened to depose him for wasting a month in hunting He convoked the Cortes and favoured the Commons against the feudal lords His daughter, the "loveliest

Maria" (III 100-104), presently came to implore his aid for her husband, Alfonso XI of Castile "Abenest-
 arim, alias Abu 'l-Hasan, King of Fez, Yusuf I. of
 Navarre, and Yusuf Abu 'l-Hajjáj of Granada, with
 "Forra" (Hurreh?) daughter of the King of Tunis,
 had passed over 440,000 men (says Mariana, xvi 7),
 and were besieging Tarifa (III 98-9). The Portuguese
 and Spaniards united at Juromenha (Jeromenha?) in the
 Alemtejo, South-West of Badajoz On Oct 29, 1340,
 was fought the memorable BATTLE of TARIFA, or the
 SALADO (Salt-stream) D Afonso won his title by op-
 posing his Council of War, which, as is usually the case,
 inclined not to fight The Moors, according to the
 same annalist, lost 200,000 of their 400,000 foot and
 40,000 cavalry, while of the 25,000 Iberian infantry and
 14,000 horse only 20 were killed And this is history!
 At the absurd battle cannon, made at Damascus, were,
 according to Condé (III. 123), first used in Europe¹
 The Portuguese King began the action by an impetuous
 charge, routing the heavily armed troops of the
 Granadine, who fled the field for his capital (III.
 113-14) He then crushed Fez, and enabled the
 Spaniards to dispose of the Maroccans the latter soon
 lost the day, and the Abu 'l-Hasan, who saw two sons
 slain by his side, hurriedly escaped to Africa *rvá*

¹ This subject is treated in note to Canto VII stanza 12 Viardot
 has shown that cannon was known to the Moors in A D 1200, and
 D Alfonso, the Valiant, of Castile, used them at the Sieges of
 Madrid (1283) and Seville (1284) }

Algeiras This was the last African invasion of importance, D Afonso refused the rich spoils of the camp¹ accepting only some arms, standards, and Abu 'l-Hasan's brazen trumpet.

The Victor's triumphant return was followed by the memorable murder of D Ignéz de Castro, which supplied Camoens with his most touching Episode (iii. 117-133) She was the grand-daughter of Sancho IV, the "Great and Brave," of Castile (1284-95) her father was D Pero (Pedro) de Castro, Lord of Galicia, who had taken refuge at the Court of Portugal, and died there in A D 1345 He had been followed by many Spaniards, escaping from D. Pedro the Cruel of Castile, and Portuguese politicians began to fear their increased numbers and influence His daughter's uncommon beauty won for her the *Alcunha* of *Collo-de-Garça* (Hern's-neck), or *Collo-de-Prata* (silver-bosom), and she became maid of honour to the Princess.

The Infante D Pedro, heir-apparent to the Crown, had married (1335) D Constanca, great-grand-daughter of Ferdinand III, the "Saint and Holy" of Castile, and by her he had a son His violent passion for the lovely Agnes became, it is reported, known to the wife and caused her death The people murmured against D Ignéz, whose sorrow for her mistress is said to have been

¹ In those days European as well as Asiatic campaigners carried their treasure, and especially their gems and precious stones, whose occult virtues secured health, safety, etc Russian officers still use the turquoise as a talisman in war.

sincere D Afonso feared lest the throne should fall to the eldest of the Castilian beauty's three children, D Joam, who became afterwards so infamous¹ By way of test, an honourable union was proposed to D Pedro, who (æet 28) rejected it the fact is he had married D Ignéz with a dispensation from Rome, in the presence of D Gil, then Dean and afterwards Bishop of Guarda Nothing now remained but to put her out of the world (III 123)

D Ignéz had been placed in the Palace adjoining the famous Convent of Santa Clara, which was founded in 1286 a few ruined walls in the fields are now the only remains A local tradition declares that D Pedro visited her through a Conduit which ran from the Fontedos-Amores This fount is known to have been so called in 1360 D Afonso, accompanied by his three Councillors, who hated the Castro family, Pedro Coelho, Diogo Lopes Pacheco, Lord of Ferreyra, and Alvares Gonçalves, Meirinho-Mór (Grand Seneschal), travelled from Montemor-o-Velho to Coimbra His son was out hunting The party knocked at the Quinta-das-Lagrimas (Villa of Tears) "When Dona Ignéz," says the chronicler, "heard of the King's coming, she met him at the doorway in tears, leading her three innocents, and, with death in her face, implored his pity" The hard old man's cruel heart was moved he turned away as if

¹ He murdered, with his own hands, his wife D Maria, sister of Queen Leonor, wishing to marry D Brites (Beatrice), the latter's daughter, and thus to qualify for the Crown

granting pardon. But his "hangmen,"¹ feeling themselves compromised, wrung from him leave, and butchered her almost in his presence. It is said that she was slaughtered while sitting on the stone bench facing the Tanque-das-Lagrimas, whither she had fled from the Quinta,² and was hastily buried in Santa Clara. The brown pebbles spotted with a red lichen are supposed to bear the blood of Ignéz, and the long filaments of the aquatic plants represent the beautiful victim's hair.

D Pedro flew to arms, ravaged the murderers' estates, wasted Entre-Minho-e-Douro, and besieged Oporto. The Queen and the Archbishop patched up a peace, and soon after Afonso died in Lisbon (1356). He was deeply regretted. "Nothing succeeds like success", and he had been cruel chiefly to his own family. He seemed to repent the murder of Ignéz, and his last advice to the "hangmen" was flight. Camoens makes him (ll 118) equally prosperous in war and peace.

PEDRO I.

(A D 1356-1367)

O Cruél, as his foes called him, and *O Justiceiro* (the Justiciary or Doer of Justice), as he was termed by

¹ Camoens uses the term *Algozes* (ll 124), and I have translated the term literally.

² It belongs, or rather belonged when I visited it (1865), to one of the Casto family. Mitchell gives an illustration of the scene.

his folk, began by publicly impeaching and confiscating the estates of his wife's murderers. He then made, with his namesake of Castile, the civilised extradition-treaty, unjustly blamed by Camoens (III 135). Pacheco escaped. The two others were executed before the Palace, says the Chronicler, "so that the King, whilst dining, could see them die, and the words used on this occasion, as well as the inexpertness of the hangman, were dolorous things." Coelho suffered first when brought before D Pedro, the latter struck him, in his fury, several blows across the face with a whip-handle. The felon Knight's heart was torn out through his breast, Gonçalves' through his shoulders, and, lastly, both were burnt. During this time the King was sitting at meat.

D Pedro, in presence of the Papal Nuncio, the Nobles, the Clergy, and the Cortes convoked at Castenheda, produced the Dispensation; and proclaimed, swearing upon the Gospels, his secret marriage with Ignéz and the legitimacy of her children. He then returned to Coimbra for a "strange and awful ceremony." The Corpse was exhumed after seven years; habited in royal robes, crowned and throned for the Grandees and Courtiers to kiss its hand and confess it Queen. A splendid car, followed by an immense procession, carried it, between two unbroken files of torches, over the seventeen leagues from Coimbra to Alcobaça, then the sepulchre of Portuguese royalty. With masses and other solemnities the body was placed in a sarcophagus of white marble; and by its side was a

tomb to be occupied by the husband. Their two recumbent effigies are still to be seen in the mid-enclosure of the mortuary chapel, with the noses knocked off by the barbarous French invaders, who also violated the graves, opening side-holes in search of treasure. They found both corpses well preserved the Queen especially had been so embalmed that all marvelled at its beauty¹

D. Pedro vigorously carried out the work of reform (III. 136). He was never without a scourge in his waist-belt, and, like certain Electors of Brandenburg, he used it with his own hands. "The Law was no longer a spider's web, which breaks the little flies and is broken by the big flies." The lieges declared that Portugal had never seen so happy a decennium, and that such a Prince should never have been born or should never die." D. Pedro was a man of letters. Two poetical laments, in Portuguese and Spanish, treat of the murder.² The former ends — "Blood of my heart, heart that belonged to me, heart that hath thus been stricken, who could (dare) strike thee? His heart I will tear out!" And, as has been seen, so he did.

His portrait at Belem shows a hard-featured man, with an expression of settled melancholy. He died early (æt. 45) at Estremoz, the Castle of D. Diniz, on Jan 18, 1367.

¹ Miss Pardoe's "Traits and Traditions of Portugal"

² The *Résumé*, etc., of Fied Denis (chap. 11) gives specimens of the *Cancioneiro de El Rei Dom Pedro*, and I see at times the Song-book in Mr. Quaritch's list

FERNANDO I.

(A D 1367-1383)

O Formoso (Le Bel) succeeded (æt 22) under favourable auspices the Chronicle tells us that he had 800,000 gold pieces and 400,000 of silver in his capital, besides abundant wealth elsewhere. He began with building the walls of Lisbon, and fortifying Evora in part. Unfortunately he was induced to claim Castile from D Henrique of Transtamara, natural son of Alfonso XI and Eleonor de Guzman, who had now established his rights by killing with his own hand his brother Pedro the Cruel of Castile (1369). Gregory XI intervened, and a peace was signed (March, 1371), D Fernando marrying by proxy D Eleanor of Castile. But he became madly enamoured of D Lianor (Leonor), daughter of Martim Afonso Telles, and caused her divorce from Joam Lourenço da Cunha, Lord of Pombeiro, on a plea that the near relationship made the marriage ecclesiastically void. Although the lieges, headed by the tailor Velasquez, broke into the Palace and conjured the ruler to spare them the disgrace, he espoused her publicly at Eixo. Thereupon men sang —

*La vam leis
Onde querem Reis*

(Laws are nil, when Kings will)

He also concluded an alliance with John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III, who,

having married the Infanta Constanca, daughter of Pedro the Cruel, also had a lien upon Castile (vi 47)

D Henrique the "Gracious," hurt by this double violation of faith, wasted Beira and besieged Lisbon, which endured all manner of miseries. Meanwhile D Fernando was living at Santarem with Queen Leonor and her reputed lover, Juam Fernandes Andeiro, Count of Ourem (iii 138). The same Pope again interfered; and the two sovereigns, meeting upon the Tagus (March 19, 1373), signed a new treaty. About this time Vasco Pires de Caamaños, flying from Galicia and from his enemies, the Casteras, received the lordship of large lands in Portugal. He was the father of Joam Vaaz (Vaz), father of Antonio, father of Simam, father of our Poet¹

D Fernando, turning his attention to the navy, despatched the Queen's lover to England, with the view of raising 6,000 men-at-arms. In 1381 he again attacked Castile with 16,000 troops, including 1,200 British soldiers under the Earl of Cambridge. He was met by D Juan of Castile with 60,000 men, between Elvas and Badajoz. Here Froissart, the "dittor," places the tilting of Sir Tristan de Roye with the Englishman Miles Windsor. No general action ensued, but the Portuguese was completely unsuccessful, and, after two disastrous twelvemonths, he concluded a third peace by giving the Infanta D Brites (Beatrice) to D Juan I. Having ruled

¹ Comp note, Canto iv 6

sixteen years, he died in Lisbon (æet 38) on Oct 22, 1383, and his widow, contrary to custom, absented herself from his funeral in the Sam Francisco Convent, Santarem. It is added that she offered to purge herself of the charge of adultery by the ordeal of fire. D Fernando was a feeble Prince, but Camoens is accused of harsh-judging him (III 137); and the excuse in the last stanza (143) is said to have been introduced at priestly instance.

REGENCY AND INTERREGNUM

(A D 1383-1385)

D. LEONOR, appointed Regent by her husband, resolved to secure Portugal, in the default of heirs male, for their daughter D. Brites the lieges, however, refused allegiance to the wife of a foreign King, and spread reports of the Infanta's illegitimacy (IV 7). There were two other claimants, both "Johns" hence the babe's prophetic and acclamatory words (IV 3) were "as ambiguous as they were marvellous". D. Joam, son of Ignéz de Castro, was in the minority not so D. Joam, Grand Master of Avis, a bastard of D. Pedro the Just (IV 2) by a Gallician dame, D. Theresa Lourenço. This claimant (æet 26) was hated by the Queen-regent, but supported by the gallant old knight, Alvar Paes. Appointed to the Government and banishment of Alemtejo, the Mestre rode out of Lisbon, met an armed troop of friends, returned to the Limoeiro Palace, and sought out the

Count of Ourem Those were days of vigorous action. The pretender struck the minion on the head with his *terçado* (short sword), and Ruy Pereira finished him with a thrust (*estoque de armas*)

The people rose and committed excesses (iv. 4-6) upon the dead favourite's family and friends. The Castilian D Martinho, Bishop of Lisbon, was stripped and cast headlong from the Western tower of his own Cathedral, because he belonged to the Queen's party and he delayed to ring the bells. His corpse was dragged naked through the streets and thrown to the dogs in the Rocio Square. The Prior of Guimaraens and the Tabelliam (notary), Duarte Nunes de Llam, were also killed. D Leonor, saved by the claimant, left Lisbon that evening for Alemquer, without, however, abandoning her claims, eventually she died in the Torresillas Convent.

D Joam, powerfully supported by the "Portuguese Scipio," D Nuno Alvares Pereira (viii. 27-31), one of the founders of the Braganza house, was made "Defender and Lieutenant-General of the Reign." When the interregnum had lasted eighteen months, D Juan I. of Castile attacked Portugal, but he lost heart before the Archbishop of Braga, and the Holy Constable, D. Nuno (viii. 28)¹ The Portuguese fleet forced the Tagus-bar, in the Spaniards' teeth, with only one great loss: its Commander, Ruy Pereira, was killed after per-

¹ *Chronica d'El Rei D. Joam I.*

forming prodigies of valour Camoens, who often praises exploits of secondary rank, has done (viii 34) scant justice to this victory which, aided by famine and pestilence, cleared off the invader

The Cortes were convoked at Coimbra to decide between the three Pretenders The great lawyer, afterwards Chancellor, Joam des Regras,¹ supported the national cause and the claims of the "Liberator" he unjustifiably attempted to prove the illegitimacy of Ignéz' sons, D D Joam and Diniz When the Assembly still hesitated, D Nuno (æt 25), a warrior who "caused the earth to tremble," half-drew his sword (iv 19), left the hall and appealed to the people The result was the acclamation of D Joam, first King of the Avis line.

JOAM I, ALIAS JOHN THE BASTARD

(A.D 1385-1433)

THIS Prince *da boa memoria* (of "good memory") was the second founder of the Portuguese Monarchy He had a preliminary brush with a Spanish force at Trancoso,² where St Martin, riding a white horse, was

¹ The tomb of "John of the Rules" is still shown at Bemfica, where rests the Viceroy, D Joam de Casto

² A townlet between Viseu and Guarda, which still shows the shoe-prints of the miraculous charger At Trancoso D Afonso Henriquez defeated Abulcazan (Abu 'l-Hasan) King of Badajoz here was born the great "Sebastianist" prophet and ballad-monger, the cobbler Gonçalo Eanes Bandeira (chap iii § 4).

seen fighting on the Portuguese side. The county was then attacked by a fleet and army of 33,000 to 90,000 (?) men, led by the Castilian King in person (iv 8-12). D Nuno hastily levied some 11,000 soldiers and, on Aug 14, 1385, fought the battle of ALJUBARROTA, which was to the Castilian what OURIQUE had been to the Moor. Camoens (iv 24-44) minutely describes the action, forgetting, however, to mention that the ten Spanish *trons* (pieces of artillery) shook the Portuguese van. The fight began at the foot of the Canoeira Ridge, now called Batalha, and the Castilian rear extended to Aljubarrota. The Spaniard had the best position for the sun, being to the West of the field on a hot afternoon. He made, however, the mistake of extending his lines to outflank the enemy. The Portuguese attacked in three bodies. The King commanded the centre, Mem Rodrigues the right wing, and D Nuno the left. The broken ranks were rallied by the latter (iv 34), and his life was saved by D Joam (iv. 36-9), who also had a narrow escape. As he was cutting with his battle-axe at one Gonzalez de Sandoval, this brave knight dragged him from his horse, and would have slain him had he not been struck down by Gonçalo de Macedo and other Portuguese cavaliers. Priests and even women battled in the Lusian ranks¹. After half

¹ The little village of Aljubarrota still shows the baker's shop whence the good wife, Bites d'Almeida, sallied forth and killed six or seven Spanish soldiers with her wooden oven-peel, or shovel. This weapon is set in the wall of the Town-house, and

an hour (?) the Castilians had lost 14,000 (?) men, and were irretrievably beaten by the genius of D Nuno the inferior number and the poor weapons of the victors added, as at Agincourt, to the mortification of the vanquished.

D Juan, who had bravely commanded his men from a litter, was compelled to mount a gennet and ride nine leagues to Santarem Thence he embarked at Lisbon, where his fleet lay, and made for Seville At Aljubarrota Vasco Pirez de Caamaños, who fought in the Castilian ranks, was taken prisoner he lost all his lands, except the Camoeyra fief near Evora

The rejoicings lasted the usual three days, while the victor held the field (iv 43) This knightly but most unsoldierly practice did little damage on that occasion, for D Nuno followed and cut up the fugitives at Valverde near Lerida (iv 45-6) The King, after a pilgrimage to Guimaraens, began at Batalha (near Aljubarrota) the Dominican Monastery of that name, a mountainous pile of flamboyant Gothic, at once a monument of devotion and a family tomb¹ Spanish historians, who hold

the people still say, *Endiabrada como a padaria d'Aljubarrota*—
Cuius est the Aljubarrota bakeiess

¹ It has been compared with York Minster, and is said to have been built by an Irishman (Hacket?), but it is probably the work of a Freemason guild, one of the many disciplined by the monastic orders, notably the Benedictines I know no building in Portugal more glorious except "Belem", unfortunately it is unfinished, and it is falling to ruin. The Capella do Fundador shows, on a tall tomb, D Joam, in crown and cumass, extending his arm to

D Joam a traitor and usurper, object to this post-pugnatorial piety, and Faria y Sousa declares that Castile won high honour by the defeat, as the Virgin, "the true Bellona" (1), fought for the Portuguese

D Joam, recognising the superiority of Castile, obtained a dispensation and married (Feb. 2, 1387) Philippa, eldest daughter of "time-honoured" and time-serving Lancaster. English blood mixes well with the Iberian, witness the Northern districts of Tenerife, together with California and Peru. The five sons are truly called by Camoens (iv 50)—

Inclyta geraçao, altos Infantes

(Of inclyt Infants a right royal race)

The one daughter, Isabel, married (1430) to Philippe le Bon of France, became mother of Charles le Téméraire

Lancaster joined his son-in-law with an army and attacked Leon, while France defended by sending Louis de Bourbon. Mismanagement ensued: the allies quarrelled, and D Joam, losing health and heart, retired to Lisbon. The Duke concluded a peace of his own, and

Queen Philippa. Over his head stands the legend of Portugal, "Pou! Bien", alternating with that of the King, "Il (le bien) me plaist". Four recesses in the South wall contain the sarcophagi of four Infantes, D Duarte being buried in the choir. D Pedro is known by "Désu", D Henry by his well-known "Talan (talent) de bien faire", D Joam by "J'ai bien raison", and D Fernando by "Le Bien me plaist". The tombs were violated and the bones scattered by the French.

converted the rival Kings into brothers-in-law by giving his younger daughter Catherine to D Henrique, the heir-presumptive and afterwards the IIIrd of Castile

D Joam applied himself to extending the royal prerogative over the nobility, a labour ably forwarded by the "Portuguese Justinian," Joam das Regras; by "one of his eyes," the Great Constable, and by the other "eye," D Louenço de Lournhãa, eighty-sixth Archbishop of Braga. The impulse of civilisation made him cultivate the national, as well as the learned or Latin language, and change the Julian for the Christian era. He gave equal attention to foreign commerce and internal improvements, agriculture, and architecture. Before this time the Hanseatic League¹ of eighty cities, organised against piracy in the twelfth century, and their "Easterlings" (Eastern merchants), rivalled in the North the Lombards of the South. Bruges (vi 56) was the common meeting-place hence the latter throve marvelously and became the "schoolmistress of husbandry to Europe."

After the capture of Tuy (1389) took place the famous tournament of the "Twelve of England," who should be called "of Portugal." The legend apparently dates from the sixteenth century.² According to Mickle

¹ Especially Lubeck and Hamburg, which, like Cambrai, derived its name from the Beer-King Gambinus about B.C. 1500 this Bacchus governed the lands between the Rhine and the Ural Mountains. From "Easterlings" came our term "stealing."

² Viscount Juuomenha informs me (June 16, '79: see the

our chronicles ignore it, but it is mentioned by José Soares da Silva¹ and other peninsulars. The "Geste," old as the days of Herodotus, certainly belongs to the age following those who "jousted in Aspramont." G. E. d'Azurara,² the Chronicler, says of D. Joam I's day, "And you see, Sire, how the young nobles of your Reign ask permission to wander over France and England, and to win fame by feats of Arms - some term should be placed to their ambitious proceedings." About the same time as the Luso-British tournament, took place two affairs between a score and a decade of Portuguese and French knights. Of the latter there is documentary evidence. Compare in Brittany the Combat of the Thirty (1351), won by the treachery of William of Montauban, and the Battle of the Fives, at Vannes, twenty-nine years afterwards, the many similar tiltings described by Froissart, and the famous *Disfida di Barletta*.

The leader of the Lusians was D. Alvaro Gonçalves

Athenæum of July 5) that he is engaged in a monograph of the "Twelve of England." The learned commentator has heard of a chronicle dating from the fifteenth century, and a Maderran gentleman promised him a confirmatory document from family archives. He suggested that a notice of the Tournament might be met with in Godwin's Life of Chaucer, where the grand epoch of such functions in England (temp. Edward III) is described. A friend kindly consulted the biography and found nothing.

¹ *Memorias para a Historia de Portugal* Musgrave (pp 494-99)

² I have noticed him in "Wanderings in West Africa," II 42 His "*Chronica do Descobrimento de Guiné*" was written in 1453.

Coutinho, by *alcunha* "Magniço" (the Meagreish), son of Gonçalo Vasques Coutinho, first Marshal of Portugal, and brother of Vasco Coutinho, first Count of Maualva. The second was the "Spanish Hercules," Alvaro Vaz d'Almada, one of the Aljubarrota-men, Knight of the Garter, and created by the King of France Count of Avranches in Normandy (iv 25). The other two were the brothers Lopo and Joam Fernandes Pacheco, progenitors of the Dukes of Escalona, Alvaro and Ruy Mendes Cerveira, who stood by the English at Agincourt, Joam Pereira of the Cunha family, to which "The Constable" belonged, afterwards called "Agostin," because he killed an English (?) knight of that name, Pedro Homem da Costa, Luis Gonçalves Malafaya; Martim Lopes de Azevedo, Ruy Gomes da Silva and Soeira da Costa, famed in the maritime exploits of Prince Henry, who gave his name to a river in West Africa. The "Fate of the Twelve" is fully told by Camoens with more than usual gusto and animation (vi 43-66).

The time had now come for a change of venue: the Moors, formerly the invaders, became the invaded. D. Joam resolved to assail Ceuta,¹ the townlet in sight of "Gib" in those days it was the key of El-Islam in Marocco, and the port whence many a "Razzia" had sailed to assail the Peninsula. Meanwhile Lisbon was

¹ Called by Ibn Batutah in the twelfth century "Subtah". Camoens writes the word Ceita, it is now Ceuta, and belongs to Spain. The latter, after vainly attempting to exchange it for Gibraltar, has lately (1879) collected there a large military force.

attacked by the Black Death, and one of the victims was Queen Philippa, who, true to her blood, prayed that her fate might not hinder the "Holy War" D Joam and his five stalwart sons, with a fleet of 200 keel, captured (Aug 15, 1415) the stronghold (iv 48-9), "Dom Henry" (æet 21) leading the forlorn hope. They returned in triumph (Sept 2) after a fortnight's military promenade, and after annexing a place which was destined to give Portugal much trouble. The Governorship of Ceuta was intrusted to D Pedro, Count of Menezes (viii 38), afterwards Marquess of Villareal, a Captain so feared by the "Moors" that they slunk away from the sight of his staff.

Englishmen, who remember with pride that he was half an Englander, hardly want a detailed account of "Prince Henry, the Navigator,"¹ the "Lusitanian Prince" of Thomson's oft-quoted lines. D Henrique, Duke of Viseu, Lord of Covilham, Grand Master of the Order of Christ, the third son, was born at Oporto, in 1394. A brave soldier, he was taught by his good genius that his strength lay in the labours of Peace. He had mastered the Spirit of his Age, he had foreseen the course of events, and the "Marine Institute" which he founded at Sagres (Cape St. Vincent), together with the West African (trading) Company at Lagos, were the nurses of Portuguese enterprise, and the departure-points

¹ His life and labours are treated in Mr R. H. Major's "Discoveries of Prince Henry the Navigator, and their Results" (London S. Low)

of those portentous successes which astounded Europe. When he began his labours Cape Nam (Fish Cape)¹ was the *ne plus ultra*. In 1418 Zarco and Tristram Vaz came upon Porto Santo, where Columbus afterwards lived with his father-in-law, Bartholomeu Perestrello. The same gallant pair discovered Madena ("Wood-island") in 1419 (v 5). This was a re-discovery, as Robert Macham had died there more than half a century before (1344). The Azores were added in 1429 by Gonçalo Velho, but they were not colonised till 1431. The first steps were slow, still each was pure and sure gain. Camoens gives the "Virgin Pounce" well-merited praise (viii 37).

The Great Constable married his only daughter to D Afonso, natural son of D Joam. In 1442 this Count of Barcellos became first Duke of Biaganza. Nuno Pereira then retired to a Carmelite Convent, and died on May 12, A D 1429. He was buried in the Carmo Church of Lisbon, his own foundation. The people long visited the tomb, scattering roses, and singing rude Spanish verses, which ended,—

Que Santo es el Conde
(For a Saint is the Count)

¹ Of which the proverb said, *Quem passar o Cabo de Nam, ou tornar, ou não*, "Whoso passeth Cape No will come back or No." The word is properly Nún in Arab a fish. Hence Jonah is termed Zú 'l-nún (Lord of the Fish). I have noticed Poito Santo (and the allegations against Columbus), Madena, and the Canaries in "Wanderings in West Africa" (vol. II)

Four years afterwards (Aug 14, 1433) D Nuno was followed by D Joam, of whose seventy-six years forty-eight had been passed on the throne Camoens shows how deeply the King "of good memory" was regretted (iv 48) He was a great man he made his country independent, he endowed her with laws, he avoided useless wars, he adorned the town with splendid edifices, he raised the rank of her marine, and he was ardent in the course of discovery, the foundation of her future greatness

D. DUARTE

(1433-1438)

O Eloquent (æet 32) was a theoretical explorer like his father. Cape Bojador (the pot-bellied),¹ whose breakers and rollers made its name terrible, was doubled in 1434, by running forty leagues to sea The explorer Gilianes (Gil Eanes), on a second cruise, sailed fifty leagues South to the Angra-dos-Ruyvos (Red-mullet-Bay), where "Moors" were seen A third expedition (1440) of Antam Gonçalves and Nuno Tristam covered sixty more, making a total of 110 from the formidable "paunchy" Headland, and brought back "twelve souls," *z e* slaves

D Duarte was induced (1436) by the rash counsels of his youngest brother, Fernando, to break peace with the

¹ From *Bojo*, a belly, *bojudo*, pot-bellied Banius identifies it with Ptolemy's *Ganaria Promontorium* (1 1, 4)

Moors by attacking Tangier¹ The Pope, in full consistory, pronounced the memorable opinion, "This war is neither just nor expedient, unless waged by Portugal for her own preservation Otherwise it is unjust and inexpedient, seeing that Air, Earth, Water, and the Elements generally were made for the benefit of man; and cannot be taken from man without violating natural and national rights "

The Armada, led by D Fernando, sailed on Aug 22 the Army, under D. Henrique, numbered 7,000-8,000 instead of 14,000 head Tetuan yielded at once (Aug 26), but Tangier was full of troops, and the Kings of Fez and Tafilet hastened to succour it with 90,000 horse and foot innumerable The Princes were saved only by agreeing to yield Ceuta, D Fernando remaining in pledge D. Henry returned with his men to carry out the arrangement, but Rome opposed the cession The princely hostage was removed to Fez by the Governor of Ceuta, Çala-Bem-Çala (Sâlih bin Sâlih), and committed to a cruel Moor, one "Zaraque," who threw him into a foul dungeon² His seven years' cap-

¹ Capital of Mauritanian Antæus (in 77), and the Tingi or Tingé (Tingitania) of The Lusitads It became Tangere, Tangei, Tangier, and against all rule "Tangiers" England obtained it with Bombâ, and gave up a place which some day will become valuable. In 1879 the Maroccans were reported to be fortifying the land side

² This would naturally be reported in Portugal, but El-Islam usually acts otherwise When reading this episode we ask ourselves whether religious scruples or poor spirit prevented the "Saint" absconding As the escapes of Cervantes show, no Moorish prison should hold a man of pluck for a month.

tivity won for him the title of the "Constant Prince" and the rank of Saint-cum-Martyr, June 5th being the day assigned to him. His corpse, stuffed with straw, was hung, they say, over one of the gates of Fez, but a faithful follower carried off his heart to be buried in the Batalha Convent. His remains were translated to the same place by D Afonso V (June 17, 1472). Camoens highly praises this "Holy Infante" (iv 50-1), but the panegyric is not literally correct.

Meanwhile D Duarte was plague-stricken at Thomar,¹ while making a royal progress to console his pest-afflicted people. After a reign of five years he died (æt 37) on Sept 19, 1438. He was a man of letters, and his three treatises have been honoured by a modern reprint²

¹ The Roman Nabantia, once famous for the Head Quarters of the Templars, and still visited on account of its Convent.

² In 1842 the "Eloquent's" works were reprinted by Snr. Roquete, with an Introduction and Notes by the learned Visconde de Santarem. They are —(1) *Leal* (not "fiel"), *Conselheiro*, the loyal Councillor, (2) *Da Misericordia*, (3) *Do regimento* (the ordering) *da Justiça*, and (4) *Livro da Ensinança de bem cavalgar toda sella* (good riding in every selle). The latter is preserved in the Bibliothèque of Paris. Cervantes erroneously attributed to him the Romance *O Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, "the Palmer of England," which was written by Francisco de Moraes. "Palmer" is opposed to a Roman, in Ital. Roméo (not Rómeo), a pilgrim proper, or visitor to Rome. The last important publication on early Lusitanian Poetry is *Il Canzoniere Portoghese della Biblioteca Vaticana*, vol. 1 fol., by Ernesto Monaci, Halle, Lippert, 1875. The Poems of *El rey dom dennis* occupy pp. 39-81, and the following volumes will treat the later lyrics.

AFONSO V

(1438-1481)

O Africam, was six years old at his father's death, and his people refused to acknowledge the regency of a foreigner, the Queen-mother D Leonor of Arragon. The King's uncle D Pedro, Duke of Coimbra, who has been compared with Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, governed provisionally for ten untroubled years. He had fought against the Turks under the Emperor Sigismund; he had visited the "Seven parts of the World," and he was the recognised "Ulysses of the Age." Exploration flourished. In 1440, Antam Gonçalves brought back the first negro or negroid "captives", and this was the germ of Africa's export slave-trade¹. Cape Bianco was doubled in 1441, and next year the Rio de Ouro, a mere lagoon, was named from its gold. In 1445 the Verdean Headland and Archipelago were discovered by Diniz Fernandez, and Pope Eugenius IV (Gab Con-

¹ It is hard to say whether the export slave-trade has upon the whole done more good or more evil to Africa. Its use was to save life. Sale was and still is the Negro's form of transportation, and he sold, instead of slaughtering, wizards, poisoners, war-prisoners, and condemned criminals. Its abuse led to an equally enormous destruction of human life, when supplying the market. The question is excellently treated by Capt Bedford Pim, R N, "The Negro in Jamaica" (London: Tribner, 1866). The writer has personally studied a subject in which ignorance, not knowledge, and sentimentalism, not sense, have long governed the practical English mind.

dolmera, 1431-9) granted to the Portuguese all the lands opened, and to be opened, beyond Cape Bojador

D Afonso married (May 6, 1448) D Isabel, the Regent's daughter, but this union could not prevent a family scandal. D Pedro, as shown by his melancholy verses in the *Cancioneiro* of Garcia de Resende, was haunted by the saddest presentiments. At length charged by the intriguing Councillors, especially the Duke of Braganza, with the murder of D Leonor and two brothers, and flung out of office, he retired to his domains, and raised some 6,000 men to defend his life against his nephew son-in-law. During a skirmish at the Alfaiobeira¹ rivulet a lance-thrust, some say a bolt from a cross-bow, pierced his breast. The "Spanish Hercules" (A d'Almada), who had come from Africa to support his friend, when unable to stand after the fatigues of fight, threw himself upon the ground, saying — "Satisfy yourselves, Valets!" He was cut to pieces, and his good sword was buried by his side.

In A.D. 1453 the Capture of Byzantium, miscalled Constantinople, formed the definite fall, after a long decline, of an empire which had outlasted eleven centuries. Amurath (El-Murad II), captor of Adrianople and organiser of the Janissaries, had been held in check by the famous Scanderbeg (Huniades), who, in 1433, regained the Albania of which his ancestors had been sovereigns. But on Murad's death in 1451, his young

¹ The "Carob-tree" is now a little village, near Alhandra, where the lines of Torres Vedras ended.

son (æet 23), Mohammed II, the warrior and the poet of the House of Othman, found the path open to him. The horrors of the siege and the assault caused a cold shudder to run through Christendom,¹ the last (XIVth) Emperor, Constantine Palæologus (160, 112) was killed, the Turkish Capital was established on the much coveted Bosphorus, and the Mediterranean cities, especially Rome and Venice, were threatened with destruction. Already in A.D. 1073 Gregory VII (Hildebrand) had dreamed of uniting Western Christianity against El-Islam, and this seemed to offer the fittest opportunity. Visions of Crusades, not against the Saracens, but to check the Osmanlı and to tear from him the "Holy Sepulchre," began again to fill the hot-heads and stir the hot-spurs of Europe. As will appear, serious action was taken too late, and, when it was taken, only three men seemed to believe in it, Camoens, Cervantes, and Dom Sebastian. Their confidence caused the ruin of Portugal.

D Afonso resolved to abate the family scandal by obeying Pope Calixtus III and by revenging D Fernando upon the nearest Moslems. Some five years and a half after the fall of Byzantium (Sept 30, 1458), a fleet of 200 sail landed 30,000 men upon the beach of Alcazar, and easily captured the unimportant town. The Portuguese then took Tripoli, and exchanged the wife and

¹ "The power of the Turks once terrified Europe; their weakness now alarms her jealousies," wrote the *Edinburgh Review* some forty years ago.

children of its Governor, "Muley Zegue" (Shaykh), for the remains of his "martyred" uncle Slender grounds these for such a title as "The African" ¹

Prince Henry, the Navigator, died (æ. 67) in 1463, after forty years of useful labour. It is not easy to explain his indifference and neutrality amid domestic troubles. The African conquests continued, and two campaigns (1464 and 1471) added the townships of Tangier, Anafe and Arzilla (Asilá). Near the latter D Joam Coutinho, Count of Maialva, was slain, and the King, when knighting his son and successor in presence of the corpse, said — "God make thee valiant as this Count who lies before thee" ¹. D Afonso nearly lost his own life when an ambuscade drew him from Ceuta to the "Mountains of the Benazafer" (Benu Zafar). He was saved by the death of D Duarte de Viana, natural son of D Pedro, Count de Menezes, both mentioned by Camoens (viii 28). One of the Poet's great-grandfathers, Joam Vaaz, son of Vasco Pires de Caamaños, served for many years (1439-81) under D Afonso, and married his son to Dona Guomar da Gama. Thus became connected the families of the future Discoverer and of his noblest Singer.

In 1471 the Equator was passed. Explorers, however, were mostly satisfied with "commercial enterprise," which now began to mean slave-buying on the Guinea Coast. The landing-place was Lagos ¹. These "Moois"

¹ "The Lakes" hence our "pest-house" in the Benu Bight. It is corrupt "Lacobriga" (lake of Βρούξι or Biguis). Portuguese

(Negroids) and Negroes were called "Captives," and it was held pious to transport them where their souls might be saved

Happy had it been for D Afonso, says Camoens (iv. 54-7), if ambition had not urged him against Spain. Having contracted an irregular union (1475) with D Juana, daughter-heiress of his brother-in-law, the Infante Henrique of Castile, he claimed the Crown, and led 25,000 men to take it. He was met (May, 1476) on the Toro¹ plains by his celebrated sister-in-law, Ysabel the Catholic, and her husband D Ferdinand. The valour of the Portuguese heir-apparent barely warded off that destruction at the Battle of Toro, and caused Ysabel to exclaim, "But for the cockerel the cock was lost!" The Spaniards thus avenged Aljubarrota, and Camoens compares this disastrous action with the day of Philippi (iv 58-9)

D Afonso hurried to Paris with the view of winning over Louis XI, *le plus subtil homme de son vivant*. Though received with favour he failed, returned to

"Lagos" is a town, port, and fine bay East of Sagres. It was the chief station of D Henrique's Company, was created a City by D Sebastian, and suffered severely from the great Earthquake of Nov 1, 1755

¹ Toro on the Douro, or upper Douro, whose rich plains were the "granary of the Goths," the *Almenas* sung by Lope de Vega, was a place of some importance. After the death of D Ysabel, the Cortes here confirmed the succession of D. Ferdinand (Jan., 1506) - here, too, the Conde Duque (of "Gil Blas") died haunted and in disgrace (1643)

Portugal and again engaged in hostilities with Spain. The only results were that he was compelled to sign the Treaty of Alcantara (Sept 4, 1479), and to abandon the cause of the Infanta Juana, who retired to a nunnery. After a long nominal reign of forty-three out of forty-nine years, he died on Aug 28, 1481. His memory is stained with his brave uncle's blood

§ 2 D.D JOAM II AND MANOEL

THESE reigns are rightly brought together. A long career of peace, broken only by the shortest of campaigns, enabled either King to reap the crop sown by the toils of eighty years (iv 64). The African invasions of Joam I and Afonso V., and the expedition fitted out by Prince Henry, culminated in the Discovery of India and the Conquests in Indo-China. A new era opened for Portugal: she took the lead of European nations; she became Queen of the Eastern Seas, and, if she could not keep what she won, it was by misfortune rather than by her fault. A strip of country 356 miles long, a nation barely numbering one and a half millions,¹

¹ During the following reign the numbers fell to about one million. Portugal now contains some 4,745,000 souls (Behm and Wagner's estimate, in "Die Bevölkerung der Erde")

could hardly be expected to conquer and to govern lands broader than what belonged to Imperial Rome. Nor is her lesson without its modern use. History may repeat the story of Portugal, and those who advise England to give up India are preparing for her an ignoble old age.

JOAM II

(1481-1495)

O Principe perfeito, began by showing the imperfection of his position. He succeeded to a Kingdom wasted and spoiled. "I have inherited the highways and byways of Portugal!" was his complaint. But brighter times were in store. D Afonso's reign was the evening of the Middle Ages. Modern History dawned to D. Joam with the subversion of feudalism.

The new King at once convoked the Cortes at Evora and conciliated the Clergy. Vigilant and inflexible, he brought to the scaffold (June 22, 1483) the Duke of Braganza, brother-in-law to his Queen. Unable to apprehend the Marquis de Montemor, Grand Constable of the Kingdom, he executed him in effigy. The panoplied statue, says the royal Secretary Garcia de Resende, after being judged and sentenced, was carried in procession to a scaffold draped with black: one by one the banner, the armour-pieces, and the drawn sword were removed, and, when only doublet and hose remained, it

was beheaded by the common hangman. A gush of artificial blood added to the illusion, and, lastly, scaffold and all were burnt. Even so Marino Faliero's portrait was beheaded at Venice. The Marquess died of a broken heart—grief and rage.

D Joam poniarded with his own hand another enemy, the young Duke of Viseu, and drew up his *procès verbal* on the spot: this is popularly called Jedgeburgh Justice, or Cupar Law (hang at haste and judge at leisure), and the deed has been roundly termed murder. The King also decapitated two of the Duke's friends, and caused the Bishop of Evora to perish miserably in jail.

These whole measures, this heroic treatment, quieted the kingdom and allowed the "Perfect Prince" to carry out his projects against Genoa the Superb, and Venice the Victorious. A naval-architect, a mathematician, and a cosmographer, D Joam employed learned men in mapping and in instrument-making, while he carefully applied to naval purposes the artillery which had come into general use about the middle of the preceding century. In 1481 a Fort built on the Guinea Coast entitled him *Senhor* (Lord, not King) *de Guiné*. After a raid which captured Moroccan Azamoi, he gave up campaigning for Discovery, and was invariably successful. The kingdom of Benin was presently explored, and a Beninese Prince was brought to Portugal (1484). The Congo Empire, with its noble river the Zaïre (v 13), was reached in 1585 by Diogo Cam, who presently added 200 leagues of Southern Coast.

Convinced that Africa would lead to India, D Joam sent out (Aug 2, 1486) Bartholomeu Dias in command of two "little fuggits," each fifty tons, with a provision-tender. This expedition has been obscured by the greater light of Da Gama's it is time that we should give due honour to the greatest navigator of his day, the day of Columbus and Magellan, who spent his life in, and who lost it by, voyage and travel. Dias was absent for seventeen months, and returned in 1487. He had pushed over 350 unknown leagues, he had doubled the *Cabo Tormentoso* (of Storms), which the King himself changed to "Good Hope," and his terminus was the Rio do Infante (Great Fish River) on the Eastern flank of the Dark Continent. The name was taken from Janifante (Joam Infante),¹ the lieutenant of Dias, and Captain of the *Sam Pantaleam*. As sometimes happens, a petty jealousy pitted him against the originator and commander of the expedition.

The Ancients had doubled The Cape, but apparently they never utilised their knowledge of South Africa. Crates, who founded the School of Pergamus (B C 160), recognised that the Earth is a globe, containing four, not two, Continents, as the earliest geographers held, and that the four were separated by Ocean-belts. The Northern half, Europe, Asia, and Africa, which does not cross the Equator, is balanced by the Austral, and here we have a fair prolepsis of lost Atlantis, of Australia,

¹ Castanheda calls him Lopo Infante, and others Pero Infante.

and of hypothetical Lemuria temporarily under a cloud Ptolemy cuts the Dark Continent short about S Lat 20°, and Sanuto follows him in A D 1320 If Marco Polo's map, found at Alcobaça in 1406, marked The Cape, as Ramusio says, it had very little effect¹

Meanwhile D Joam, wishing to engage relations with *Preste Joam das Indias*,² organised (May 4, 1487) the well-known land-mission which determined the voyage of Da Gama The four members ran in couples after the Jesuit Missioner-precept *misite illos binos* The less known were two Jews, Rabbi Abraham of Beja, and Master Joseph, a learned shoemaker of Lamego Their more fortunate rivals were the two royal equeiries, Peio da Covilham of that ilk, and Afonso (whom some call

¹ See chap. iv, Geographical, § 2.

² The "old original" Piesbyter John was he who, with Aristion at Ephesus, supplied the traditions for the Gospel of St John according to the fifth Evangelist, M Rénan (*Eglise Chrétienne*) Another and a well known Piester John was placed in Tartary by Mathew Paris (A D 1250), Marco Polo (i 43) and Maundevile (chap xxvii) This "Empeior Prester John" had been identified with Ung-Khan. Prof Lee (Ibn Batutah, p 54) may or may not be right in suggesting that the title was the Persian Feishtah Jan, the "Angel of Life," not "John the Angel" (Hakluyt's Varrhema, p 63), Angel being the Arab Rasûl, one sent, a messenger Any Tartar or Mongol noble, converted after the eighth century by the Syro-Nestorian missionaries, who introduced the Peshito character, would serve the purpose. Vasco da Gama was especially enjoined to enter into relations with "Prester John" The latter becomes in heraldry a Bishop throned on a tomb-stone, with mitred head, dexter hand extended, a mound in the left, and in the mouth a sword fess-wise with point to the dexter side

"Gonzales") de Paiva of the Canary Islands Covilham, informed by Joseph that India could be reached by the African Coast, and that Calicut and Cananor were on the opposite seaboard, visited Western India, and crossed its ocean from Goa to Sofálah From Cairo he travelled to Abyssinia, where his companion had died, and found "Prester John" in the Negush or Nestorian Emperor. This potentate, who bore the common name Sikandar (Alexander), treated the explorer with all honour, but Naut, his successor, detained the guest for life Such honourable captivity was the practice which took the place of stranger-sacrifices, once general among the "blameless Ethiopians" Till the Egyptian Conquest of our day, a forced residence was customary throughout Dár-For, Bargho (improperly called Dár-Wadaí), and other Negroid kingdoms of Central Northern-Africa.¹ This is the mission which Camoens so graphically describes, ending with the pathetic words —

*Lá morieram em fim, e lá fuí am,
Que á desejada patria não torna am*

(In fine there dying, to their natal shore,
To Home, sweet Home, returned they nevermore)

(IV 65)

D Joam celebrated right royally the nuptials of his son, D Afonso, with the Infanta of Castile, daughter of Ferdinand and Ysabel, thus making friends of two

¹ Even in Harar-city, west of Somali-land, the Amír's advisers proposed to detain, in fact to imprison, the first visitor—myself ("First Footsteps in East Africa," p 363).

peoples, whose feuds and foeship had only weakened both But, eight months afterwards (July 13, 1491), the Prince was killed (æt 16) near Santarem by a fall from horseback in the dark after bathing A terrible plague that raged at Lisbon and Evora increased the King's poignant grief. He had the magnanimity to scorn the advice of his courtiers when Columbus returned from his famous first voyage The navigator, whom De Loignes would canonise, assured D Joam, with some *fanfaronnade*, it is said, that he had discovered the western passage to the "Islands of India" As this exploit was to the benefit of Spain, and to the detriment of Portugal, the murder of Columbus was suggested to and rejected by the King

From this voyage arose our venerable blunder of "East Indies" and "West Indies" While Columbus explored the direct western passage to India, others were busy with the North-Western and the South-Western The former was attempted for Henry VII of England (1496-7), by John Cabot, and his son Sebastian born at Bistol in 1477 The geographical feat has been reserved for our day, when Captain McClure, R N, proved it possible and thoroughly useless Magellan succeeded (1520) in opening the South-Western for Charles V, and this line will be kept till the Panama Canal shall make it as obsolete as doubling the Cape of Good Hope Finally, the North-Eastern passage is also a modern success, the gallant exploit of Professor, now Baron, Nordenskjöld.

D Joam, after hearing Columbus, applied with increased ardour to the Discovery of India by sea. He chose as leader Estevam da Gama, a gentleman of Alemtejo, and Veador (comptroller) of his household; descended from an ancient, valiant, and loyal house. In 1494 was signed the Treaty of Tordesillas, or "of the Limits," proposed by the Papal Mediator Alexander VI, Cæsar Borgia. After some modifications, the celebrated "Demarcation-line" was drawn (1506) under Pope Julius II (Julian della Rovere), D Manoel and Portugal contenting themselves with the Eastern, and Spain with the Western hemisphere.

D Joam had the normal aversion to his heir-presumptive Manoel, Duke of Beja, brother to the poniarded Duke of Viseu. He would have left the Crown to his natural son D Joije, but the step was generally opposed, especially by the Queen. Symptoms of blood-poison, the result of drinking at a tainted fountain (Oct 1485) and of the sufferings caused by the Plague four years before, appeared, and were not cured by the sulphur baths of Monchique, in Algarve. The King's last moments were those of a hero. After confirming the succession to avoid civil war, he ordered the gates of his quarters at Alvor¹ and the doors of his death-chamber to be thrown open for the people who were struggling with the body-guard. In him there was a touch of the dry humour which distinguished Richard Cœur-de-Lion.

¹ A village four leagues from the beautifully situated Monchique, whose waters are still used.

When the Bishop of Tangier began the prayers for the agonising, he stopped him with—" 'Tis not yet time, I have still two hours to live ! " And he kept his word, dying, as by his own will, when the sun set (Oct 25, 1495). According to Damiam de Goes, he ordered himself, when moribund, to be placed on the ground—a Jewish rite. Ysabel of Castile hearing the death, pronounced the dead King's eulogium, " The *man* is gone ! "

MANOEL (EMMANUEL)

(1495-1521)

O Fortunado, first of the Viseu House, was crowned (æt 26) at Alcacer-do-Sal, on Oct 27. He had married early in life (1497) D Afonso's widow, whose ill-advised conditions were the conversion or expulsion of all the Hispano-Moslem and Jewish refugees—the working bees of the hive. This fanatic became, by her brother's death, Princess of the Asturias, and heiress of Castile, she died, however, suddenly, and was followed in two years by her only child. D Manoel then married the Infanta Maria, sister of Ysabel, and, lastly (1517), Eleanor, sister of " Pichrocole "—Charles Quint.

Manoel's only European campaign was an expedition to support Venice against the Turks. His main object in life was the Discovery of India. He retained the exploratory arrangements of his predecessor, but, Estevam having died, his son became the Commander Vasco

(Ferdinando) da Gama, of the hind, *de la Bulhe*, was born in 1469, others say earlier,¹ at Sines, the Latin Sinus, a townlet between Lisbon and Sagres. The family, whose crest is a grithed Doe,² dexter-passant, is said to derive from a knight who accompanied Gualdo Sem-Pavor to the capture of Evora (1166). There are ample details concerning it after 1280, when Alvaro Annes da Gama, of Olivença, served under D Afonso in his conquest of the Algarves. Some cottages now occupy the site of the old mansion, near the northern entrance of Sines Castle, and the mean little church, built by the Navigator when he became Viceroy, does service even now. Da Gama's house at Evora, called *Casas pintadas*, because painted with Eastern figures, is still shown—"restored."

Vasco was a third brother. Paulo, who accompanied him, was the eldest, then came Ayres, and the youngest was Estevam. A noble contest took place for the honour of *not* commanding, it was compromised by Paulo carrying the royal standard, and Vasco giving orders. The elder, one of the kindest and most lovable of men,

¹ M Ferdinand Denis holds this opinion, and judges from Canto iv 93 (where mother and spouse are spoken of), that he was married before 1469 (p 211, Introduction to Stanley's *Correa*, which will presently be noticed). A "Brief Notice of Sines" was published by Dr F Lopez of that town, Lisbon, 1850.

² When Portuguese orthography was unsettled we find "da Gamma" (Roteiro, p xviii). Non-Portuguese stultify the name by writing *de oi di* for *da*; and the particle is misspelled by FONS. (p xxiii), and even by the exact Adam (ii. 317) Fanshaw rhymes with De Game,—a hideous Frenchification.

had been in trouble for a trifling matter of wounding the Judge of Setubal, but the King graciously pardoned him

No event in the annals of Portugal is more famous than the subject-matter of *The Lusíads*, and, during this period, the Portuguese, like the modern Chinese and Japanese, seem to have documented every event. We have year and day for almost all the petty actions of the Lusitanian princelets, yet in the case of a world-interesting feat, a new departure for Europe, the dates of sailing, of making India, and of returning to Lisbon, are doubtful. Even the names of the ships differ in different authors. Here and elsewhere¹ I shall borrow textually from the "Roteiro"

The Exploring Squadron set out (Sat. July 8, 1497) with four hull, and returned with two. The *Capitana* ("Ammirall" or flagship), Sam Gabriel,² of 120 tons, carried the Capitam Mói or Commodore. Vasco's pilot was Pero d' Alanquer, who had doubled The Cape with Dias (1487), and his head-writer (puiser) was Diogo Dias, brother of the navigator. The Sam Rafael, of 100 tons, was under Paulo (iv 79, etc), with Joam de Coimbra and Joam de Sá. The captain of the "Berrio"

¹ Details are given in Chap. iv (Geographical) § 2

² Barros (i. 4, 2) Correa calls her the Sam Rafael, and this was the name given to the Caravel, whose model on wheels was carried by one of the emblematic cars during the Tercentenary Festival of Camoens (June 10, 1880). But the naming of the "Shoals of Sam Raphael" ought to show that she was not the flagship.

01 *Burrão*,¹ named after a Lagos pilot, her former owner, was *Nicoláo Coelho*, regarded by both the Gamas as "nothing less than a brother"; his pilot was *Pero Escobar* (not *Escolar*), and his purser *Alvaro de Braga*. *Pedro Nunes* (or *Gomez* ?), a servant of the Gama family, was placed over the provision-ship (200 tons), bought from *Ayres Correia*, and apparently unnamed. *Vasco* wisely enlisted as many relatives and dependents as he could, foreseeing their use in days of difficulty

Bartholom eu Dias personally superintended the construction of the two ships first named. He was also directed to accompany them in his *Carvel*,² as far as the parallel of *Sam Jorge da Mina* (*S George d'Elmina*), where he was bound for the Guinea trade, the place is still one of our Gold Coast "pest-houses". The vessels were built of one pattern, and about the same size (100 to 120 tons), that the tackle and fittings might suit both. They were provided with three sets of sails, with merchandise, drugs, and presents (v 29), and they carried six *Padra ms* (memorial-columns), to be planted in sign of possession (v 78)³ The expenditure was such.

¹ She is also called *Sam Miguel*

² Also written "*Caravel*" and *Caravell* (Ital *Caravella*). It was supposed to be a dimin. of "*Caravan*", but moderns derive it from the Gr *Karábos*, the Romaic *Karábi*, and the Lat *Carabus*, a sea-crab. This fast sailer, between 100 and 200 tons burden, carried a high square poop, and was lateen-rigged, though some had square sails on the foremast.

³ The memorial stelæ of *Sesostris* (*Herod. ii 106*) were smoothed rock-tablets; and one has lately been found to bear Hittite (*Kheta*),

that the brave Duarte Pachero used to say, "No one would believe him if he named the large sums expended upon so small a matter"

The Armada had its "priest for confession," Pero de Cobillon, "of the Order of the Trinity" Correa (p 96) gives the over liberal allowance of two chaplains per ship. Besides sundry scribes "who knew languages," there were two interpreters, Africa being supposed to speak only Arabic and the *Lingua dos Negros* Fernam Martins had learned the former, and Martim Afonso had picked up Bunda or Angolese,¹ in the "Kingdom of the Manicongo" The convict Joam Nunez (Correa, p 159) was versed in Hebrew as well as in Arabic The total of *degradados*, sent, after the fashion of the time, to risk

hieroglyphics The Assyrians had the same usage, as the inscription of Sennacherib, near Bayrut, proves The Portuguese made then Padriams cruciform columns of white marble, bearing two scutcheons charged with the arms of Portugal and D Manoel's Armillary Sphere Correa and others mention (1) that set up at Sam Braz and pulled down by the Kafirs, (2) S Rafael at the Zambeze mouth, (3) S Jorje at Mozambique, (4) S. Estevam at Melinde, (5) S Gabriel at Calicut, and (6) Santa Maria at the Island of that name, one of the "Mulki Rocks"

¹ The Vocabulary is given by Tuckey (Append, 391-99) and by me in "Cataacts of the Congo" (p 230) The "Fiole" is a member of the great South-African Family, which is spoken, with a hundred dialects, from the Equator to the Cape Correa (p 79) makes the "Cafie of Guiné" (Guinea-black) understand the true Kafirs, Amazulus, Amatongas, etc, of the South-Eastern region On the Congo I made myself intelligible by speaking simple sentences (e g *nyla lãpã*, "here's the road") in Kisawahili, the lingua franca of Zanzibar, Island and Coast

forfeited lives in desperate enterprises, is usually given at ten to twelve. Correa, however, assigns six to each ship. The crews, soldiers (men-at-arms), and sailors, in those days distinct,¹ were picked men, paid seven cruzados (= 26s 3d) per mensem, and inspired by liberal promises. Camoens entitles them "Barons" (braves), "Argonauts," "Heroes," and so forth, the truth being that they were neither stout-hearted nor in the best discipline. The number is estimated between 148 and 180, Barros says, 170; we may assume 160 (148 + 12 convicts) to have been the total, and of these 55 to 67 returned.

The details of the Voyage belong to the Geographical Chapter. India was sighted on Friday, May 17, 1498 (Correa, Aug. 26), and Da Gama anchored off Calicut.²

¹ Camoens calls the names of epibate of the classics "gente, the manners "marinheiros" (148, etc.), and both "navigantes" (1110), or "gente maritima" (162). The Captains, Commodores, and Admirals were soldiers, and the ship was worked by the master and his men, who were hired when wanted and cast adrift after the voyage. They were, however, armed and drilled, and at times they fought. England preserves traces of this obsolete organization, and we speak of the "Army and Navy" (not the "Navy and Army"). Thus the precedence need not offend the self-esteem which everywhere characterizes the Sailor profession.

² Which Camoens writes "Calicut." The word is another form of "Calcutta," = Kálí-kot, Fort of Kálí, the black goddess. Calcutta has still a famous Pagoda of Kali, whose Sikkhara, or Spire, is especially noticed by Mr. Fergusson. I should suggest that its origin is the Egyptian pyramid, which may have travelled East with the alphabet, and which, like everything in India,

on May 19 He lay there three months and a half, quarrelling with the "Moors", escaped, like Captain Sharpeigh, "by a slight", sailed on Aug 30, when the south-west Monsoon was still raging, and left India on Oct 3, in the fine season His return to Lisbon (July 10, 1499) is told in various ways.¹ The feat was a notable triumph D Manoel took the proud title, "Lord of the Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India" The *Mare liberum* of Hugo Grotius was not then invented, so this meant a strict and pernicious monopoly, and death to interlopers who lacked passports or safe-conducts

The King bestowed upon Da Gama and his family the title of Dom (Dominus), such prefix² in the palmy days of Portugal was, like our much-abused "esquire," either inherited or conferred by the Crown The Discoverer was permitted to quarter upon his shield the *Quinas* or Cinques (inescutcheons and bezants) of Portugal He was created Admiral of the Indian Seas, and his emoluments were a pension of \$300 (milreis), with permission annually to invest 200 cruzados in the Indian

assumed effeminate proportions It is hard to look at a Hindú temple without this impression Calicut was in those days a large and important city, capital of Canará, the richest region of Malayálam Hence our "calico," which Hakluyt calls "Calicut cloth"

¹ Chap. iv § 2

² Dom and Don precede the baptismal, not the family, name, a fact apparently unknown to those who write anent "Don Garcia" and "Don Silva."

trade, this meant a profit of \$2,800. Barros would have named him Gama da India.

The opening of the Cape-India route, which led to discovering the Brazil, and which raised Portugal to incomparable splendour, was, like the addition of a "new world," part of a mighty movement of mediæval civilisation. Eight Crusades (1096-1270) had mixed East and West. The application of gunpowder to artillery (1330-40) had diminished the destructiveness of war. The manufacture of paper (fourteenth Century) and the Printing-press in the mid-fifteenth, following the "block-books" of China (1457-60), the Revival of Classical learning when "Greece crossed the Alps" (1485-1514), and the Renaissance of Art, brought a larger temper to the human mind, and produced the protest against ecclesiastical tyranny, called the "Reformation" (1517-34). Lastly, in the Fourteenth Century, the spread of exact science and mathematics developed that instrumental apparatus without which Geography and Exploration are vague and nugatory. The commercial coupling of the Orient with the Occident, Portugal being the connecting link, made conquest the business of man's life, and fanned the enthusiasm of adventure to a blaze. Europe was on the path of progress, and only one stumbling-block stood in her way.

The world was then divided into two denominations, the East, Moslem, and not disunited; the West, Christian, and torn by intestine feuds. After the capture of Constantinople, or rather, Byzantium, a noble old name

which will revive, nearly half a century before the voyage of Da Gama, the Crescent began to shine bright, and the Cross to grow dim in the troubled annals of politics. The first Sultan Selim (1512-20), called "El-Fátih," or the Conqueror, was succeeded by his son Sulayman II (in 1520-66), "The Magnificent"; and the two extended their pretended "Caliphate" over Syria, Egypt, and either side of the Red Sea. Thus, the "unspeakable Turk" monopolised the "overland" transit and traffic which had been opened to Europe by the Greeks and Romans. Thus, too, the "Moors,"¹ by which we must understand Mahometans in general, became virtually sovereigns of Asia and Africa.

The navigation of Da Gama turned the difficulty, and opened a way which has held its own for nearly four centuries. Only in our day we have returned to an older line, and we are moving towards the oldest, Tyre and Sidon, Baalbek and Palmyra, the Euphrates Valley, and the Persian Gulf. The immediate effect of the Cape Route was a dire blow dealt to "vested interests." Direct trade with the Region of Spices had enriched every nation that commanded it, and such was the

¹ I have suggested (Pilgrimage, etc., 1. 274) that Maurus, Moro, Moor, and kindred forms derive from the Arab *Maghribi* (plur *Maghribiyūn*), a man of the *Gharb* (West) opposed to *Saracen*, a man of the *Sharq* (East). The italicised guttural being unmanageable to classic organs would be elided, and so Syrians and Egyptians turn *Maghribi* to *Ma'aribi*, whence *Mauri*, etc. Camoens uses *Moro* (mod *Mouro*) as a substantive, e.g. *O Moro frio*, and *Mauro* as an adjective, e.g. *A Mauira lanca*.

value of pepper to Europe, that pepper may be said to have discovered India. The trading cities of the Levant, Alexandria included, began slowly but surely to decline, and sank gradually to the nadir of their fortunes.

Amalfi and Pisa, Genoa, Venice, and Ragusa, which received, *via* Egypt, the riches of the East, and dispersed them over Europe, were threatened with a similar eclipse. The Queen of the Adriatic, who entitled herself Empress of the Sea, and denoted herself by a woman riding a lion, had begun her descent under Doge Vendramin (1478), who greatly modified the purely aristocratic Constitution of the Serenissima Repubblica. Presently she was opposed by Pope Julius II, the Emperor Maximilian, and Louis XII of France, at the League of Cambrai (Dec 10, 1508). This coalition cost her dear, despite the "Holy League" made for counteraction. Her commerce suffered, Italy was relieved of her terror, and the damage continued till Margaret of Austria and Louise of Savoy brought about what is called the *Paix des Dames* (Aug 5, 1529). But Venice and her sister had no intention of yielding tamely. They struggled and intrigued with womanlike persistency, and won over Toman Bey, Soldan of Egypt and successor of "Campson Ghory,"¹ who foresaw his own losses. He

¹ This last but one of the Circassian Mamluk dynasty, which should be called the "Soldans," in opposition to the "Sultans," defeated and slain by Selim, near Aleppo (1501), was succeeded by his nephew El-Ashraf Toman Bey, who was conquered

sent Abbot Marinus, of the Mount Sion Monks, to Julian della Ruvère (Julius II), demanding, or rather commanding, Christendom to equip no more fleets for the Indian Seas. The Pope referred the Abbot to D Manoel, who returned a spirited answer, regretting only that he could not abolish Meccah and El-Medīnah. And he seems to have had some idea of attacking the headquarters of El-Islam happily for himself and his country it never took the form of action.

A second Armada of thirteen sail was at once despatched to carry out the exploration of the first. The command was given to Pedr' Alvares Cabral, although the King had remarked, "He is an excellent man, but not very fortunate in affairs of the Sea", whereto D Vasco shrewdly rejoined, "Whoso meeteth with disasters at sea should shun the sea". The new Captain-Major sailed on Mar 9, 1500. Driven westward by a storm, he accidentally sighted (April 24), between South Latitude 10° and $17^{\circ} 30'$, a new coast, which he called *Terra de Sancta Cruz*, from the Day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (May 3). This was the magnificent Brazil¹

and hanged by the Turks in 1507. His proper name is "Kansúh Ghori", but I found Kansúr in an inscription ("Midian Revisited," n 243)

¹ The "Land of Dye-wood," a change of name bewept by ecclesiastical authors. Popular history tells us that it took its name from the *Cæsalpinia*, then known as *brasyll*, or *brasido*, i.e. coloured like *brasas*, braise or burning charcoal. If that were the case, "Brazil" should be "Brazal". The name was used, by a curious coincidence, long before the land was discovered, by the

He went his ways in utter ignorance of what his discovery was, leaving two men to collect information from the Savages. Then his ill-luck prevailed, and fearful storms off The Cape (v. 43) wrecked nine of his dozen ships. The brave Bartholomeu Dias, sailing with this fleet, was drowned (May 23) on the passage between South America and South Africa—a national loss.

Cabral discovered “Rich Sofala,” captured two fully laden Moorish ships off Mozambique, and learnt at Melinde that the people of Western India were treacherous and dangerous. His landfall was at Angediva (Sept 13), and thence he made the Port-capital of the “Samorim”¹. This Rajah received the strangers well; but presently factories were established at Calicut and Cananor, and hostilities began on the part of the “Moors”—Arabs and Moplahs.² The Portuguese Factory, manned by sixty hands, was surrounded by some 3,000 natives, who butchered two out of eight Franciscan

wild Irish of the Galway Coast. *Hy* (island) *Brazyl* was a land far to the West seen especially when there are fog-banks. I have treated the subject in my “Lowlands of the Brazil,”—still in MS.

¹ We find also Zomoru (Baibosa), Samoru, Zamorim, and Camorim (Roteno). Vathema (Hakluyt, p. 134) writes “Somory,” and translates it “God on Earth.” It is a mere corruption of Tamburi, Buchanan’s Tamuri, the highest caste of *Nayrs* (double plural); and it is a titular name, the dynastic being Mana Vikram (“Goa and the Blue Mountains,” pp. 177-79).

² Noticed by me in “Goa,” etc., and in chap. iv. § 2. These fanatic and ferocious mongrels made Calicut untenable by the foreigners.

Five sent to missionarise, and the head man, Ayres Correia ¹ only sixteen regained the ships Cabral, failing to procure satisfaction, burnt seven small and eight large craft, killed the crews of ten prizes, and bombarded the city for two days As the Hindus were starving him out by withholding provisions, he made for Cochim, or Cochin (Káchhi), some sixty miles south, and built a factory, after concluding a treaty with Trimumpara or Triumpara, the Brahman Rajah, who had revolted against his suzerain, the Samorim From Cananor, where he loaded spice (Jan 15, 1501), Cabral turned homewards, and, in July, crossed the Lisbon bay He had not been "fortunate in affairs of the sea,"—nor of the land

Joam de Nova,² a captain whose name afterwards became notorious, sailed with four ships on March 15, 1501 He discovered the Mozambique island called after him, and, reaching Cananor in November, he defeated the flotilla of Calicut. But he could do no more, and he sailed homewards, discovering on the way Saint Helena Island and Conception, now Ascension, our "hulk" off the West African Coast These two failures led to the second Expedition of Da Gama (Feb. 10, 1502), its ostensible object was to avenge Ayres Correia, and its true aim was to extend Conquest and Commerce Chris-

¹ The curious escape of his children is told by Correa (pp 358-69).

² Not Juan de Nueva as in Vaihema (p. 123), who thus makes him a Spaniard

tianity was not forgotten, the fleet of twenty well-armed ships was stocked with more Franciscan Friars. Pero Afonso de Aguiar was told off to explore with two Carvels the Sofálah Coast of the Gold Mines. Da Gama, after receiving the submission of the Wali of Mozambique and punishing the traitor, Mahommed Alcone,¹ renewed friendship with Melinde, and was carried by a gale over the "middle passage" to Dábul, the second port of Bijapur.² Thence he ran down coast, plundered Baticala (Sedashvgarh), and Onor (Hunawar) in the Rajahship of Garçopa (Gairsoppa), and, guided by the far-famed land-mark, Mount Delli ("of Cardamoms"), he reached Cananor on Oct. 3 (1502), "went to prayers in the church and heard mass"

The Admiral had shown himself more bloodthirsty than the Commodore. He began by piratical attacks on the Coast, and off Cananor (Sept. 29) his son Estevam fell upon a pilgrim-ship from Jeddah, belonging to Egypt, not to Calicut. The 300 "Moors," who had some thirty women, fought with the bravery of despair against prodigious odds, till all on board were burnt, speared or drowned.³

¹ He is also called "Ancony" and "Anconj." A long account of him is given by Capitaine Guillain (*Document*, etc., "Afrique Orientale," Part 1 p. 343, *et seq.*), who thus supplements Correa (pp. 297-300).

² Not to be confounded with Dabul-bandar (now Tháthá) in Sind. (See chap. iv § 3, for this and other places in Western India.)

³ Green's Collection, etc. (1 pp. 51-2) quoted in the Hakluyt

The Samiry Rajah sent to propose peace, but Da Gama unreasonably demanded the expulsion of the 4,000 Moslem families (Varthema says at least 15,000), many settled for generations in Calicut. They were mostly Arabs from El-Hijaz, Hazramaut, and 'Amman ('Oman); Syrians, Persians, from Fais; Egyptians, from Cairo and Suez, Ethiopians, or East Africans, and Peguese, Malays and Islanders from Sumatra, Java, and her neighbours. They had converted in ancient times (vii 32) Sarmá Perimal, one of the Princes of Malayálim,¹ they monopolised the long-sea trade, but, unlike their European rivals, they never attempted to conquer the country.

Da Gama then bombarded Calicut, and hanged to his yard-arm with circumstances of peculiar brutality, it is said, forty Moors, the number of murdered Portuguese, who had already been revenged. He attacked the Samiry's fleet, and loaded his ships with "loot." Leaving his uncle, Vicente Sodré, with six ships to protect his new factories at Cochín, Cananor, and Coulam, the latter governed by a Nayr Raní (Queen), he sailed for Portugal in Dec 1502, and reached Lisbon on Sept. 1, 1503. There he was created Count of Vidigueira, and was shelved for a score of years (1403-24). he lived in

Varthema (pp xl-xli), with the Portuguese authorities for this outrage

¹ The Perumál Princes of Malayálim (Malabar, see chap iv § 3) are noticed in the Administration Reports of Travancore and the Indian Antiquary, March, 1880

what Camoens (x. 53) calls a *desterro* or exile at Évora, avoiding the Court and complaining of D. Manoel's niggardliness.

Sodré crossed the Indian Ocean and lay waiting off the Bab el-Mandeb for the rich "Mecan Fleet," sent yearly from India (x. 1-4). The attempt failed, and the ships were wrecked (July-Aug. 1503) upon the Abd el-Khuri rock,¹ the "Brothers" and other outliers of Socotra, not to be confounded with the Cúia Muria island-reefs, far to the North.

Fortunately D. Manoel, without waiting Da Gama's return, had equipped another fleet. "Terrible Albuquerque" (i. 14) now appears upon the scene, and a brilliant light blazes on Melinde's Sea (x. 39). The great Afonso was born in 1453 at Alhandria, near Lisbon, the second son of Gonçalo, Lord of Villanova, by D. Leonor de Menezes. After carrying arms in Marocco (1489), he began the Indian career which immortalised him. My space allows me only the merest sketch of his conquests as far as they concern Camoens; the "Commentaries" of his son Braz² deal with them in detail.

¹ The islet is confounded with the Cúia Muria Islands by the Editors of Correa (note p. 376) and the Commentaries (ii. xviii). The "Charyn Marjan," or Zenobian Isles, of Sprenger ("Alte Geograph.," p. 97), are reefs off the East Coast of Arabia, with four larger items, once famed for piracy. Those who wreck Sodré on the Cúia Murias suggest the idea of a squadron blockading the Gibraltar Gut being lost in the English Channel.

² "The Commentaries of the Great Dalboquerque," etc. Edited

A squadron of six ships was sent (April 6, 1503) in two divisions, commanded by Afonso d'Albuquerque and his cousin Francisco. They were followed (May 3) by Antonio de Saldanha¹ and Ruy L. Ravasco. The cousins, who seem to have been on bad terms, arrived in time to save the remnant of Sodié's force, and carried off Trimumpara of Cochin from the "Sacrifice Rock," where he was surrounded by his enemies. The Rajah was restored to his capital, where the Portuguese built a fort. This has been the invariable practice of European nations in India; and it has always meant, in the end, subjugation of the land.

Severe conditions were proposed to the Samiry Rajah, who replied by raising half a lakh of men, providing them with artillery, and sending them in a strong fleet to fall upon Cochin. This was the Campaign (1503-5) in which Duarte Pacheco Pereira won the title "Portuguese Achilles," and glorious praise from Camoens (x 12-21). With his 900 men-at-arms, and the 30,000 natives under Trimumpara, a beaten and broken force, he fought six actions, losing only 100 hands, and reducing the assailants to two-thirds. Finally, he made a seventh stand upon the Cambalam Islet (x 13) at the mouth of

by Walter de Gray Birch. London - Hakluyt, 3 vols, 1875, '77, and '80, and yet unfinished. The translation is useful, but it wants the revision of a practical Orientalist, and each volume should have had an index.

¹ Saldanha when returning named Table Bay after himself (chap 1v § 2)

the Cochin River-lagoon, where, by unexampled courage and conduct, he routed the army and destroyed its fleet. This feat isolated the Samiry (x 18), who retired as a penitent to the jungle (Barros, 1 vii 8), and placed Moslem ships and commerce throughout Malabar at the mercy of the Portuguese.

Pacheco's end is a disgrace to D. Manoel. The King began by placing him on the left hand during the triumphal procession that followed his return. As the good soldier had wasted his patrimony in the wars, he was appointed to the Government of S. Jorje da Mina. After a short time he was falsely charged with embezzling gold-dust, sent in chains to Lisbon and, after a long imprisonment, allowed to die in a hospital (jail ? tavern ?) at Santarem. His mother and his son, Joam Fernandez, were left destitute. Camoens in four most touching stanzas (x 22-25) blames the King and deploras Pacheco's fate, nor is Osorio less severe. After loading with spices at Coulam and filling up cargo at Cochin, Afonso d' Albuquerque left India (Jan 25, 1504). On the return voyage Francisco was lost, "without any knowing where or how he and his men perished."

The sixth Expedition of Lopo Soares with thirteen ships (April 22, 1504) effected little. But it was followed by an important modification of Portuguese policy. Instead of fitting out detached armaments, Manoel resolved to found an Empire by driving all rivals from the field. The internal state of Indus-land was favourable to foreign intrusion. The great Peninsula was pass-

ing through a manner of interregnum After the ninth century El-Islam had waxed powerful, especially in the northern parts, till it numbered about one-eighth of the whole population But it had no longer a great central and controlling power The invasion of Emir Taymúr (Tameilane) and the incapacity of the Toghlak¹ Prince, Mahmúd Shah, had broken up (A D 1400) the Empire of Hindostan founded by the mighty warrior, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, who, in the early eleventh century (A D 1017), captured Delhi and Canouj² It was not reunited till the reigns of Akbar the Great (1556-1605) and his successor, Aurangzeb (1685). Meanwhile, the Empire of Hindostan had been distributed into more than half-a-dozen Mahommedan kingdoms, of which two, in the South and North, came into close contact with the Portuguese

The first established was the Bahmani reign of the Deccan,³ with Gulberga, alias Ahsanábád, for capital: Its founder was an Afghan of low origin, "Hasan "Gangu," the second name being taken from his Brahman patron He assumed (A D. 1347) the title of Ala el-Din ("Aladdin") Bahmani, and his dynasty of eighteen

¹ Best known through the travels of his visitor Ibn Batutah

² Thus fell the Hindu Rajahs of Bengal, who ruled from the Humálayas to Cape Comorin, and from the Indus to the Megna or Biahmaputra The only Pagan kingdom of importance when the Portuguese appeared was that of the Carnatic or Vijayanagar, concerning which more presently

³ Varthema (p 117) calls it "Decan, a very beautiful City of India "

princes lasted till A.D. 1526. Internal dissensions and wars with its Hindú neighbours of the Carnatic, Orissa, Telingana, and Malwa, wars carried on with peculiar barbarity, split it about A.D. 1490 into four offsets

The Adil Shahi dynasty was established in the South by one Yusuf Adil, a Turk who claimed to be brother of Mohammed II, Conqueror of Constantinople. He built his capital at Bijapur,¹ a splendid city which gave a European name to the kingdom, and his chief ports were Goa and Dábul (Dabhol). The Adil Shahi Princes (A.D. 1489-1579) numbered six. Yusuf, the founder, lost Goa for the first time, and it was permanently taken from his son Ismail (1510-1534), despite his 10,000 foreign mercenaries. Mallu Adil Shah (No. 3) is the Meale of Portuguese History. Ibrahim Adil Shah (1535-57) is the Hydarchan (x 72) of The Lusians. Ibrahim Adil Shah II, joining the King of Ahmednagar, attacked Goa and Chaul (1570), and was beaten off.

The Northern Kingdom was erected (A.D. 1391) by the son of a Rajput convert, who, five years afterward, made himself independent as Muzaffar Shah. It was of large extent, stretching from Malwa through Cutch, Gujarát (proper), and Kathiawád to Surat and the Concan and its chief port, Cambay, gave it a European title

¹ The noble remains of Indo-Moslem architecture, especially the huge domed mosque-tombs of Ibrahim and Mohammed Adil Shahi, have been described by Grant Duff (the historian) and Meadows Taylor. Under English rule this "Indian Palmyra" has become a mere waste in the Sattara district.

The Ahmed Shahi dynasty, which numbered fourteen (1396-1572), took its name from Ahmed Shah, grandson and successor of Muzaffar, whom he poisoned. This prince received Mahmúd Toghlak during his flight from Delhi, and built for capital Ahmedabad, now a third-rate Anglo-Indian station. The sixth ruler was Mahmúd Shah, famed in India for his huge mustachios, whence his title Begarrah (cow with crumpled horns), and in Europe for his powers of eating poison.¹ During his reign of fifty-two years, he was often at war with the Portuguese. Bahadur Shah (No 10) first repulsed the strangers from Diu (Feb 1531), and finally admitted them (1533) as his defenders against the Emperor Humayun of Delhi. The last "pageant king," Muzaffar III, yielded to Akbar in A D 1572.²

¹ He is Varthema's Sultan Machamuth (p. 107), and Barbosa (p. 57) repeats the same wild tales, hence he became Butler's "Prince of Cambay" —

Whose daily food
Is asp and basilisk and toad

² The less important contemporary dynasties in Southern India were —

The Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar, established (A D 1490) by Ahmed, son of Nizam el-Mulk Bedri, the grandson of a converted Brahman, who rose to rank in the Bahmani Kingdom. It numbered ten rulers, and lasted till A D 1595.

The Kutb Shahis of Golconda, founded by a Turkoman in A D 12, they numbered five Princes, who reigned till A D 1580.

The Imam Shahis of Bera deserve notice only because they fought with the two former and with Bengal against Rajah Ram, ruler of Bijanagar. They attacked him at Talikot (Talicota)

Dom Manoel carried out his imperial policy in the East with a high hand. Resolving to govern by his ablest officers raised to quasi-regal powers, he sent out as first viceroy (1505) D Francisco d' Almeida, of the blood royal (x 26). Accompanied by his son Lourenço, "Chief Captain of the Sea," he left Lisbon (Mar 25, 1505) with twenty keel carrying 1,500 men. He deposed "Mirhabiemmo" (Amir Ibrahim) of Quiloa, where he built Fort Sanctiago, and gave the power to "Mohammed Ancone" (x 25), under Pero Feireira. He then burnt Mombasah, which refused to receive him (x 26), and made his landfall at Anjediva (Sept 13), where he founded Fort Sta Christinha. At Cochim he placed a golden crown upon Trimumpara's head. He built a redoubt, S Angelo, at Cananor (1507), and another at "Coulam" (Kayan Kulam in Travancore) the latter in the same year was bravely defended by Commandant Lourenço de Brito, who was cruising off the coast with 150 men in two ships. The first viceroy¹ also occupied the Maldives and reconnoitered Ceylon.

In 1505 (May 18) the brave Spaniard Pedro de Nhaia² (x 94) was sent by D. Manoel to Sofálah, where he built a fortress and a factory. During his father's absence,

on the Krishna river, defeated him (Jan 25, 1565), and put him to death. Aurangzeb annexed the whole territory in 1685.

¹ I have modified to illustrate *The Lusíads* rather than Goa, the chronological list of Portuguese Viceroys, etc (pp 446-88), from "A E.I.," Arabia, Egypt, India Messrs. Mullan, London and Belfast, 1879.

² He is called in the Chronicles Anhaya, Nhaya, etc.

D Lourenço, who had been the first to leap ashore at "Pannani," engaged off Cananor with only six ships twenty-four of the enemy's, which he burnt. On March 12, 1506, father and son attacked the united fleets of Calicut and Cambay (Gujarat) It was the day of Homeric battles. The Portuguese had only eleven ships to fight the eighty-four large craft and Paráos ("prows," rowing vessels) of the enemy, and the total defeat of the latter is described by Varthema, who was present (pp. 275-88).

Calicut¹ and Mahmud Begarrah of Gujarat applied to Egypt for aid, and the Soldan sent Mir Hocem (Amir Husayn), with twenty-four ships, to join the forty keel of Melique Yaz (Malek Iyas),² while Rumi Khan, a Stambuli Turk, made the artillery of Cambay efficient. The formidable movement was brought about by one Cojemamemarcar, Varthema's Mamal Maricar (Khwajah Ahmed Marcar), of Cairo, who had been cruelly flogged by Da Gama, and whose nephew was one of those whom Gonçalo Vaz threw into the sea sewn up in a sail to

¹ Varthema (p. 178) could not sell his merchandise in 1505, because "Calicut was ruined by the King of Portugal."

² "Iyás" was a companion of the Apostle of Allah, and "Afias min Iyás" (a better physiognomist than Iyás) in Arabic expresses a Lavater. The Melquiaz of Barbosa (p. 60) was a Turkish officer of distinction sent to Gujarat, and must not be confounded with "Melique" (λ. 61), the Arab Malik, a King generally and especially applied to the ruler of Cambay. Varthema, in 1503, says (p. 92), "This City (Diu) is subject to the Sultan of Combeja, and the Captain of this Diu is one named Menacheaz."

prevent the bodies floating The junction was effected, and D Lourenço (1508) attacked them off Chaul. he was routed and slain, and his noble death is nobly told by Camoens (x 29-32) ¹

Next year the father, infuriated out of his gravity and piety (x 33), entered the bight of Diu, famed for siege and battle, with nineteen sail Here he met the joint navies preparing for action, when Emir Husayn harangued his men and warned them that the fight would decide the fate of Moslem India The engagement (Feb. 3, 1509) lasted twenty-four hours, and ended with the utter discomfiture of the allies "Melique Yaz" had humanely spared his prisoners, Almeida tortured his captives, and blew them from guns at Cananor Emir Husayn fled to Jeddah, where he built a fortress (Barbosa, p 23), and Rumi Khan presently went over to the Emperor Humayun Chronic war raged between the Portuguese and Cambay

And now, once more, Afonso d' Albuquerque appeared upon the scene of action to become *Primus in Asia*, and the Cæsar of Portugal He sailed (March 6, 1506) with fourteen ships, the Navigator, Tristram da Cunha and he being in joint command They touched at Mozambique, and visited Tananá in Madagascar They reduced East African Lamo, Oja, and Baráwa (Biava,² xi 39) in the latter place Da Cunha, wounded in the leg, was dubbed

¹ The last speech of D Lourenço, advising surrender, is given in the Hakluyt Barbosa (p 63)

² The Biaboa of the Commentaries (ii. xii)

knight by Albuquerque They then annexed Socotra, by which they intended to command and blockade the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb The Arab owners fought stoutly in their strong-work at Çoko (Arab Súk, the Bazar), but the commanders took it and built "Our Lady of Victory" to control the island

The Armada now separated Da Cunha sailed for India with the greater part (Aug 18, 1507), leaving Albuquerque with six to command on the African coast. The latter began his famous expedition along the eastern seaboard of Arabia, sacking and destroying all he could. He captured and provisioned himself at Calayate (Kalhát), took Cunate (= Karayát, the villages), spared Soar (Sohar), but fired and destroyed Maskat, which had laid a trap for him, and, gallantly aided by his nephew, D Antonio de Noronha, he pushed forward and broke the power of "Orfacate" (Khor Fakhan)

Albuquerque, despite his small force, meditated nothing less than the capture of what historians call the "magnificent island and city of Oimuz" (Hormuz), a knob of stone and salt in the Persian Gulf, which accident had made a centre of traffic. The port, they say, contained sixty ships, 200 galleys with oars, and 15,000 men-at-arms. The Conquistador had to contend not only against his Moslem pilots but with his own captains to the remonstrances of the latter he curtly replied, "When it is too late to retne, courage is better than good counsel" "Cojeatar,"¹

¹ Khwájah Attar, whose name seems to argue a slave-eunuch.

the minister of Hormuz for the king, wished to make terms, but Albuquerque had resolved to fight. He hemmed in the enemy's fleet by forming outside the port a semicircle of ships connected by buoyed cables. He then attacked the *Miri* or flagship of Cambay, carrying 1000 tons, boarded her, and, after an action of eight hours, slaughtered all the crew. A panic seized the town. Though wounded in the face, Albuquerque landed next morning and fired the suburbs, doing immense damage (x 40). On this occasion many of the Persians were wounded by their own arrows, probably by their own archers, as the Portuguese had no bows, this became a manner of minor miracle (ii 29, and *Estancias* iii.)

The minister was compelled to sue for peace, the conditions being submission to D. Manoel, a war indemnity of 12,000 cruzados; and permission to build a fortress on Morona Point¹. But troubles ensued, chiefly about the division of the prize-money, there were traitors in the fleet, and the desertion of four sailors caused abundant wrangling. The Arabs sent some 4,000 men in sixty craft under "Xaquear" (Shaykh Yár) to dispute the possession of the watering places, and skirmishes were of daily occurrence. At last, three out of the six ships, persuaded by Captain Antonio da Campo, retired, without orders, to India—in fact, deserted the Commodore.

Albuquerque thereupon ran South, arrived about Guardafui, and wintered at Socotra. His project of

¹ The Commentaries (ii 112) give a map-plan of Oimuz and the adjacent Islets. For Hormuz see chap. iv. § 3.

making Hormuz the Portuguese key of the Persian Gulf had failed, but with true "Portingall-tenacity" he held on to his hopes. Early next year he again plundered the eastern coast of Arabia, and blockaded Hormuz, but his worn-out ships were driven away by a storm.

Almeida, after his victory off Diu, had returned to Cananor (1508), and had kindly received the three fugitive captains at Cochín. He was preparing to open legal proceedings, the normal persecution, against the hero of Hormuz on his return. But when the sealed letters of succession, brought from Lisbon, were opened, they appointed Albuquerque, as he had been led to expect, Viceroy of India, and ordered his predecessor home. Persuaded by the mutineers, Almeida disloyally refused obedience, and prepared to appoint, as his successor, Diogo Lopez de Siqueira, who had left Portugal for Malacca with four ships, on April 5, 1508. He arrested his rival, loaded him with chains, and imprisoned him in the fortress of Cananor. About three months afterwards this unseemly contention ended by D. Fernando Coutinho, Marshal of Portugal, anchoring his fifteen ships off Cochín.

The first Viceroy, now 60 years old, embarked for Portugal and broke his voyage at the Agoada (or Bahia)-do-Saldanha (Table Bay). A quarrel arose from the Portuguese trying to carry off a "Caffre"¹. Almeida

¹ The remarkable successes of these bold barbarians against civilised troops have not been adequately explained. Firstly, they are larger, stronger, and braver than Europeans. Secondly, the

landed (March 1, 1510), as though the honour of Portugal demanded revenge, he was killed by a wooden assegai piercing his throat, 65 of the crew fell, and the Royal Standard was nearly lost. The bones of the hapless ex-Viceroy were left unburied. Camoens laments this miserable end (v 45 and x 37-8). Osorio holds it a "judgment" for insolence, cruelty and disloyalty.

Albuquerque, installed at Cochin on Oct 29, 1509, began with an act of clemency to Joam de Nova and the mutineer-deserters. He and his nephew, Noronha, accompanied the Marshall, who had orders to destroy Calicut. Coutinho was killed by the Nairs (Jan 9, 1509), while burning the Palace, and Albuquerque, who was wounded in two places, had some trouble to rally and draw off his men.

The Viceroy's next, and, as time proved, his most important conquest was Moslem Goa. Timoya, the Hindú pirate-chief of Hunawar (Onor) and Cintacora, now Ankolah,¹ suggested an attack and aided with a sea-force against the "Sabayo,"² as the Portuguese called

country and the climate are made for guerrilla warfare. Thirdly, the invaders have generally been led by incapable commanders; and, under such circumstances, the best of troops will run. Yet the manifest destiny of these fine negroid animals is to be crowded northwards into the inter-tropical regions, where the race will soon lose all its physical superiority.

¹ For this and other sites here mentioned, see chap. iv § 3.

² Barbosa (p. 75) calls the Governor Sabaym Delcani, others, Çabao and Soay. It is simply Sipáhdái-i-Dakhan, the Military Governor. Akbar the Great (1556-1605) divided his Empire into

the "Moorish" governor under the Hydalcham or Bijapur king,¹ Yusuf Adil Shah The strong tower of Pangim fell before an assault (Feb 17, 25, 1510), the Moors and Rumés (Tuiks) were disheartened and the governor fled. The conquerors found 40 large guns, 55 falconets and smaller pieces, and 160 Persian (Gulf-Arab ?) horses of the royal stables The annual revenue was 150,000 xerafins,² of which the Custom House yielded 82,000, and yet the garrison numbered only eight thousand.

Three months afterwards (May 20, 1510), Albuquerque was forced to evacuate Goa, and the Port reverted to its lawful owners But the terrible Portuguese returned with strong reinforcements He attacked the City on the Feast of the national Saint, St James the Greater (Nov 25, O.S., 1570), which thereupon was transferred to Saint Catherine of Mount Sinai (XI 43) At a loss of only 80 men he beat away the garrison of Ismail, son and successor of Yusuf, and he carried off so much

twelve Great Provinces (Subáhs); and the Viceroy changed the name of Sípáhdái for Subáhdái

¹ The Portuguese call the Adil Shahis Idalvá and Idalcam, further corrupted to Hydalcan or Hídalcam - the last two may also represent "Haydar-Khán," the Lion-lord, the name of Típú (Tippoo) Sahib's father The Arabic term also occurs in Haydar-ábád Fitché (1583) places Goa "in the county of Hídalcam," while the learned Editor of Hakluyt's Vairthema (p 177) curiously mis-explains Hydalcham by "Ed-Deccan"

² Corrupted from the native word "Ashrafi" At this time its value was about half a rupee, $2\frac{1}{2} = 1$ cruzado In the sixteenth century it was the small Arab ducat = 4s 6d. See (p xlvi) Hakluyt's Vairthema, who calls it Saraphi, Sarahpi, and Teraphim.

plunder that the royal tithes amounted to 200,000 cruzados "Goa the Golden" at once became the centre and capital, the seat of the Viceroyalty and Archbishopric, the depôt and the arsenal, in fact the head and heart of Portuguese India

Thus, the Europeans were brought into constant and active collision with their Southern neighbours, the Adil Shahis. Fortunately for them, Bijapur was ever at war with the conterminal Brahman kingdom of the Carnatic which, being pagan, was friendly to the Christians¹. This is the "Narsinga" of The Lusíads (x 120) and of the Roman traveller who tells us that the king is the "richest he ever heard spoken of". It extended from the West to Coromandel on the East Coast, and seems to have claimed power over Khatak (Cuttack) and Orissa. It possessed the often mentioned Baticala on the Western Coast. Bijanagar, the capital, properly, Vijayanagar (victory-town), on the river Tungabudra (Tumbudra), was visited in A D 1442, by Abd-el-Razzak, envoy of the grandson of Emir Taymúr (Tamerlane), Varthema calls it Bisinagar, and compares it with Milan. Barbosa also gives (pp 85-98) a magnificent description of Bijanagar's wealth and prosperity, love of justice, and idolatrous customs. Its destruction at Talikot has already been noticed.

¹ Albuquerque, throughout his career, favoured the Hindú paganism against the Hindú Moslems, finding the former much less intractable. This feeling still prevails amongst Europeans, especially missionaries.

And now began to develop itself Albuquerque's policy, whose effects endure to the present day. As we learn from Osorio (De R. Em lib vii) he subverted the system of Almeida who, holding the dominion of the Ocean to be the epitome of monarchy (Bacon), and that the Mistress of the Sea must always be the Mistress of India, objected to a chain of outposts, as Portugal could not afford garrison sufficient for such vast dominions. This was, indeed, the system of Athens and the view taken in Europe by Julius Cæsar. Albuquerque foresaw, not a school for soldiers like the Algeria of the early nineteenth century, but an enduring Eastern Empire after the Roman type, with a capital and dependencies so disposed as to act as harbours of refuge, and to command the river-mouths and main lines of commerce.

Albuquerque, however, wanted the first element of power—men. In order to supply them he baptized his women-captives, and married them to his soldiery. The measure was necessary, but it was the weak point which vitiated the very foundation of his political edifice, and his "higher hopes" (Osorio vii 14) caused the downfall of Portuguese dominion in the East. The mixed unions produced a race of *mestiços* (Mulattos), half-castes equally despised by Hindú (Pagans), and Hindí (Moslems). This fundamental error of a great statesman and soldier has not been adequately recognised by historians, who still discourse on Albuquerque's "wise provision." The same short-sighted proceeding made the Mongol conquerors of Northern India take Aryan wives, and thus lose the r

birthright of prestige It has been avoided by the sagacious Tartar rulers of China The European descendants of Anglo-India are too uninfluential a clan to cause injury "What will destroy British power in India is the ever-growing necessity of promoting natives to posts of trust and importance the measure is just, but it means ruin" ¹

Meanwhile Diogo Lopez de Siqueira had proceeded (x 44) to annex "opulent Malaca," properly "Malaka,"²

¹ I repeat the words addressed to me many years ago by an Indian Rajah, who had deeply studied his prospects of independence We are between the horns of a dilemma ; the other being to breed a nation of malcontents The Dutch in Java have taken an almost contrary course They make every distinction between the rival races with them the Europeans govern one another, and the natives are ruled by their own laws and customs under the conquerors' superintendence Thus, there are fewer jealousies, less clashing of interests, and no disintegration of indigenous society. The year 1879 has been described as a "new departure for India" Her pauperism, which many of us have persistently shown up for long years, has at last been recognised by the Press her fitness to rule herself by Mr Caird Let us hope soon to see a wise and liberal economy, the Civil Service reduced, and the useless crowd of local Governors and Commanders-in-Chief abolished ; the re-establishment of such customs as the Pancháyat, and the encouragement of manufactures in the teeth of the Manchester School Our first duty to India is to rule her economically, but as yet our economy has always begun at the wrong end

² Maláka is usually supposed to be Arab Mulakát=meeting (Commentaries, iii 77) Others derive it from the Sansk name of a tree, Amaláka (emblem Myrobalan) Its old civilisation seems to have been connected with Gujarát, in the days when the Hindús were great navigators ; days unknown to the Vedas, Puranas, and Menu.

and had notably failed, many of his men falling prisoners. The city, founded in 1252, measured three miles along shore, and lodged 100,000 souls. The land-side was protected by 8,000 (?) cannon, and 20,000 Malays, and the port sheltered a number of Gujarát war-ships, manned by Turks, Gujarátis, and Khorasanis (Afghans), in the Rajah's pay. Albuquerque, after an eventful voyage, followed his lieutenant with 200 men, in twenty-three war-ships (July 1, 1511), some five years subsequent to Varthema's visit (p. 224). Rajah Mohammed, summoned to give up his captives, played the normal "waiting-game," the Eastern policy of promising, procrastinating, and not performing, till the Portuguese, losing patience, burnt the shipping and fired upon the city. The Moslem sent the prisoners on board, offered 300,000 cruzados, gave leave to build a fort, promised general submission—and did nothing. Thereupon Albuquerque landed his men for a double attack on the mosque and the town. He seized the bridge that commanded the main stream, but the Malays showed their accustomed bravery, and forced him to retire. The second onslaught (July 25) was more fortunate: the defenders were fairly tired out. The conqueror divided the "loot," which was large, among his men, reserving only six bronze lions to adorn his own tomb.¹

¹ The Viceroy attacked a large ship which took fire three days afterwards; the flames proved artificial. The "Nehoadá (Nakhudá = Captain) Bugia" (Naodebegea of the Commentaries) commanding another vessel fell pierced with wounds, but blood

Malaca at once became the capital of "Farther India," in splendour second only to Goa. "It is the beginning of one monsoon and the end of the other,"¹ meaning it lies beyond the influence of either. A masterly flanking position on the Bay of Bengal, it commands the highway between India and Indo-China, and it communicates with the Celestial Empire, Japan, and Australasia. The neighbouring Rajahs submitted, the city was rebuilt, and trade flourished with renewed vigour. Two years afterwards, when attacked by the powerful chiefs of Java, the captain, Fernam Perez de Andrada, could beat them off with his native forces.

Before leaving Malay-land the viceroy despatched Antonio and Francisco Abreu with three ships and 220 men upon an exploratory cruise eastward. They covered 500 leagues, visited Java and the Moluccas, and loaded with spice, at Banda, the "Cinnamon island."

Albuquerque then hastened westward, where the Rajahs had united with Ismail Adil, Shah of Bijapur, to overpower the feeble Portuguese garrison of Goa. He was wrecked and "miraculously saved" off Sumatra, and reached Cochin in Jan. 1512. A single victory at the fortress Benasterim broke the confederation, the various

would not flow till they removed his amulet containing a bezoar, "supplied by the animal called *Cabrisia*" (Osorio) or *Cabal* (Commentaries). Perhaps this was the "mad-stone" of England which, found in the deer's belly, cured all poisons from spider-bites to hydrophobia.

¹ Commentaries of Albuquerque. Varthema (p. 224).

cities were compelled to permit foreign forts, the Samorim and his chiefs became vassals, and the Malabar coast formally recognised the sovereignty of D Manoel

The Viceroy now turned towards the Erythræan and Persian Gulfs. He had received orders to reduce Aden, then a wealthy and well-fortified city, the Gibraltar of the Red Sea, and now the pestilent Coal-hole of the nearer East. Beaten off on two occasions with loss by the Arabs, he resolved to destroy the Egyptian fleet at Suez, but the winds were contrary. The Christian Negush of Abyssinia suggested to him the gigantic and barbarous measure of making Egypt a desert by throwing the Nile into the Red Sea. He applied at home for some hundred Maderans, then considered the best "navvies", but common sense—perhaps we had better not mention humanity—won the day¹

In 1514 the great Viceroy returned with twenty-six sail, 1,500 Portuguese, and 600 Malabars to his long meditated annexation of Hormuz Island. A revolution

¹ We find the idea in "Orlando Furioso" (xxviii 106), where the stanza begins —

Si dice, che 'l Soldan, re del' Egitto, etc
(They say the Soldan, who is Egypt's King, etc.)

Geographers are not agreed upon its feasibility. My late friend, Charles Beke, a veteran Abyssinian traveller, believed to the last that the Atbara (Astabaras) Eastern branch, could be thrown into the Red Sea (pp 90-105, "The Sources of the Nile," London, 1860)

had dethroned the "king",¹ and civil dissensions aided the Conquistador, who won a great battle, slaughtered a host of Moslems, and imposed upon the young prince a yearly tribute of 15,000 xerafins. He rebuilt his fort, and disposed it to command the city. Rais Ahmed, the former governor, was murdered in his presence, and the 13-14 "blind kings," whom political reasons kept in prison, were sent as pensioners to Goa.

Albuquerque had now risen to the zenith of his fortunes. He received ambassadors from the Powers and Princes of the East, he assigned their tribute, he built forts, he improved ports, and he beautified cities. His justice, his courtesy, and his respect for the conquered made him loved as he was feared. His enemies, however, found a vulnerable point through the jealous and suspicious D Manoel, a king who had never learnt the noble truth, "who trust us raise us." The Viceroy's choice of Goa as a capital was denounced till he was heard to say—"More is due to my liege for protecting Goa from the Portuguese than to me who twice took her from the Moors." He was also accused of cruelty, of abuse of power, and of an ambition which aimed at independence. Even his wish to be created Duke of Goa, a distinction which he greatly coveted, was misrepresented.

A single reprehensible act gave colour and a handle to the charge. According to Osorio, the Viceroy guarded

¹ The "Histoire des Voyages" calls the actual ruler Sayf Addin (el-Din), a "Prince aged about eleven, while affairs were managed by a brave and adroit slave" (i. 109, Varthema, p. 99)

on board ship, during the siege of Goa, some Indian captives whom he proposed to convert, or to present to the queen—one of these damsels, *una poca di buono* (x 46), was called his daughter. Ruy Diaz, of gentle family at Alemquei, the son of a civil employé of the army, managed to visit them with sundry of his brother officers. The Viceroy, after a short court-martial, hanged the ringleader on board the *Floir-de-Rosa*. His companions, whose intercession was rejected, showed imprudent indignation, and were imprisoned. When Albuquerque proposed his conditions of release they demanded to be sent home for judgment. The Viceroy was compelled to cashier them, and to confer their charges upon others—which caused a scandal. Camoens deploras this act in three stanzas (x 45-8), and one of his expressions, *de ciOSO* ("from love-jealousy"), seems to hint at private reasons for the proceeding. The injustice of the act has been called in question by certain moderns, who look upon it as a necessity of discipline. But surely our Poet knew more about its accompaniments than any sage of the nineteenth century.¹

Albuquerque, when preparing to sail from Hormuz for Goa, was informed that two of his dismissed employés had been reinstated and sent back to India.

¹ Vaquette d'Heimilly, who quotes Osorio and F y S (iv 374), has been followed by Stanley (Corica, introd p xli). Mitchell tells us (p 306), without naming his authority, that Albuquerque drew and pointed to his sword as his commission. If true, a high-handed proceeding!

Weakened by age (63) and by ten years' service in the Tropics, he felt that the slight was fatal. With raised hands he cried —“ See, I am hated by the king for the love of men, hated by men for the love of the king! Cease, oldster, to live, as Heaven bids thee die!” He wrote to D. Manoel —“ Sire, I pen these lines with a palsied hand in the presence of Death! At home I have a son, and I pray your Seigniority to make him great even as my great services deserve, considering my condition as your servant. For such advancement I order him, at the price of my blessing, to apply. As regards the things of India, I say nothing — they themselves will speak for India and for me.”

Too weak to walk, he was borne on board. His last wish was to die in Goa. He expired when crossing the bar, four leagues from the City (Dec 16, 1515). The loss caused general consternation. His soldiers, who loved him like a father, disputed the honour of carrying his remains to the grave. The natives of India, Rajahs and Ryots, fondly believing that he had been raised to command the hosts of Swarga (Heaven), prayed at his tomb, and, in the days of his cruel and rapacious successes, invoked his aid against the insolence and tyranny of the Frank. Even wrong-hearted Manoel sought consolation by heaping honours and rewards upon the good servant's son.

The Great Albuquerque was buried in Na. Sra. da Serra, the chapel built by himself. About half a century afterwards, his bones were exhumed, not without oppo-

sition of the Goanese, and were deposited (April 6, 1566) in the Capella-Mór of St Augustine Na Sra da Graça, Lisbon. They had many subsequent vicissitudes¹

Lopo Soares d'Albergaria² (x 50) had served in India before (1505), when Varthema was in Calicut. Appointed Governor, not Viceroy, he left Lisbon (April 7, 1515) with thirteen ships and 1,500 men-at-arms besides sailors, reached Goa on Sept 8, and took charge while his predecessor was at Hormuz. After some trouble with Cochín, he sent a fleet of thirty-six keel to the Red Sea, captured Zayla and Berberah (x. 50), made the Governor of Jeddah a vassal of the Crown (?) and failed at Aden. He then turned towards Ceylon, and built Columbo Fort, which proved of such importance to the Portuguese (x 50)

Lopo Soares also continued Albuquerque's commercial relations with China. Fernam Perez de Andrade had been sent in charge of a magnificent mission whose chief, Thomas Perez de Andrade, was well received by the Emperor at Pekin, and obtained permission for Portugal to trade along the coast. But Governor Soares was not a man to obscure the glory which preceded him. He wanted moderation and magnanimity, and his pride and harshness threatened trouble to India, when he was directed to resign in favour of a successor at Cochín (Dec 20, 1518). Thence he passed to Cananor and

¹ Viagem de Lisboa à China, by C J Caldeira (ii pp 45-7)

² M^r. Badger (Varthema, pp 178-79) calls him "Lopez Soares de Albergaria" (three inaccuracies in four words, p 60)

returned to Portugal (Jan 20, 1519), richer in worldly goods than in honour

Diogo Lopez de Siqueira, after escaping from Malacca and returning to Portugal, was made fourth ruler and third viceroy. He left Lisbon (March 18, 1518) with a fleet of nineteen sail and 1,500 men, and took charge at Cochín (Dec 20). When tranquillity was restored to Malabar, he built the important naval station, Chaul, and repressed a rising in Ceylon. He was not equally happy in China, where the insolence of the Portuguese envoy, Simam de Andrade, compromised the good results obtained by his brother Fernam. Diogo Lopez was ordered (1519) by D Manoel to attack Diu with eighty ships, but he failed to take it. He then personally led an expedition to the Red Sea, where he lost a ship, reduced Masawwah and Aikiko, destroyed Dhalak, and entered into direct communication with "Prester John" of Abyssinia. The "Empire of Candace and Sabá" (Sheba) had never before been reached except *via* the Nile; and this opening of a new route enabled the Portuguese to combine with the Negush against the armies of Egypt and the fleets of Genoa and Venice. The move "made epoch," and thus it is mentioned by Camoens (x 52). Siqueira died in Portugal (æt 64, Oct 14, 1530). He was succeeded (Jan 22, 1522) by D Duarte de Menezes, of whom more presently.

The avarice of D Manoel was even more injurious than the short-sightedness of D Joam II. The former committed the capital error of driving from his service

Fernando Magalhaens of Braga, a pilot accused of peculation. When the King refused to increase his palace-stipend he joined the astronomer Francisco Faliero, also of Braga, travelled to Saragossa, and volunteered to open the South-Western Passage to India for Charles V. He is the first official and recognised circumnavigator, although Sir John Maundevile assigns the honour to a Norwegian, and there were probably several others. He ranks as a seaman after Bartholomeu Dias, and before Columbus. He is the "aggrieved Lusitanian" of Camoens (ll 55), who tells us (x. 140) that he was a "Portuguese in all save loyalty", and who again notices him in the Rejected Stanzas. His voyage does not belong to this place¹

On Dec 13, 1521, the same year as Magellan, died D Manoel, "the fortunate", unfortunate only in one point. He left the world æt fifty-two, though he reigned twenty-six years. His career was one course of ill-deserved

¹ Magalhaens lost his life by reckless and useless gallantry at Mactam Island, opposite Zebu, in the Philippines. It was not before 1565 that Spain followed up his discoveries. In that year an Armada from Mexico reduced Zebu, in 1570 the first settlement was made at the Pasig River, and next year Manila-town was founded. It was taken in 1762 by the English, and restored at the Peace of 1764 for a large ransom never paid. The *Calzada* (carriage-road) has a monumental pillar in honour of Magalhaens, which is sketched in "Hong-Kong to Manila" (London, 1859), an amusing volume by my fellow-traveller, Captain (R N) Henry T. Ellis. Queen Isabella II ordered a cenotaph at Mactam on the spot where the circumnavigator was slain, and the epitaph gives a wrong date of death—1520 for 1521.

prosperity The deaths of Pacheco and Albuquerque, of Galvam, "apostle of the Moluccas," and of Çacoto, the African campaigner, directly caused by his jealous suspicion and covetousness, made Portuguese historians prouder of the reign than of the ruler. The former, it has often been remarked, showed to the astonished world a spectacle of exploits whose simplest description becomes a poem, an epos Of the latter we can only say that he was neither a good king nor a great man. His portraits¹ denote a mixture of shrewdness and avarice they have the bent brow, the wrinkled cheeks, and the peaky chin of the born miser But, as the Persians say, An ounce of luck is worth more than a pound of talent, and this king will go down to posterity as Manoel the Lucky.

The outer form and symbol of the age is the present Church of St Mary of Belem (Bethlehem), a combination of originality, of boldness, and of finish, which makes it well-nigh unique Had the name a better savour in the nostrils of humanity, we should have called this noble offshoot of Gothic the "Manoelesque"²

¹ See the portrait in the Rotundo from a contemporary likeness (p. 111)

² It has been the victim of "restoration," *tout comme chez nous* On Dec 18, '79, the lofty central tower, which was being repaired with bad material, fell, doing great damage D Manoel and his descendants still occupy their "mean and ungainly tombs" near the high altar, but, since Jan 8, '80, they have rested under the same roof with the great Gama and the greater Camoens—or, at least, with what is officially held to be their remains

§ 3 THE REIGN OF D. JOAM III

(1521-1557.)

THERE is reason why the "Pious King" should have a section to himself. Camoens was born under him, was received at his court, and served him till, and even after, his death. Moreover this was the time when Portugal reached the apogee of her fame—it was her golden age, which, during the end of this reign became silver. The lapse was at first imperceptible; but she ceased to rise, which in empire means she began to fall.

The second of the Viseu house, D. Joam (æt 19, born in Lisbon, June 6, 1502) commenced with the popular measure of fixing the convocation of the Cortes for every tenth year. hitherto these national assemblies, which discussed taxation and administration, depended upon royal caprice. He married (Feb 5, 1525) the Infanta Catharina, sister of Charles V, and her sterling qualities were useful to her adopted country.

Under D. Joam III, "Lisboa," became the *cousa boa*, the splendid city which justified her citizens rhyming saw. He adorned her with splendid and useful works, of which a fair specimen is the aqueduct, which brings in the waters of Cintia. He encouraged the commercial navy, and trade attained unprecedented dimensions. Garcia de Resende tells us that the ships in port numbered 300; and that the markets sold, in a single day, 700,000 cruzados' worth of foreign goods.

Afghanistan supplied musk Sind and Cashmere shawls and zones, Gujarát drugs, indigo, camlets, silks, taffetas, gold, jewellery, onyxes and precious stones, Malayálm pepper, popularly "the money of Malabar," ginger, opium, myrobolans (*terminalia*), and all manner of spices, Cochin, teak-timber, Calicut, "calicos" and brocades, Golconda, diamonds, Ceylon and Killicare, cinnamon, gems of sorts, rubies and pearls, the Maldives dried fish, cowries, and *cocos de mer*¹ The Deccan, chintzes, Bengal, muslins "of woven au," and all of them cotton, silk, precious metals and marvellous jewellery From the nearer East came rose-water, saffron, madder, alum, vermilion, coral, copper and mercury, rich silks, satins, brocades and "damasks" of Damascus, the "gauzes" of Gaza (Ghazzah), the brocades and "baldaquins" of Baghdad, the "carpets"² of Cairo and Persia (x 60), which suggested mosaic flooring to Greece and Rome, the delicate metal-work of Syria, and the gums, the frankincense, the coffee and the high-bred horses of Arabia (x 100). The outer regions contributed the cloves of the Moluccas, the tin of Banca, the nutmeg and mace of Banda, the camphor

¹ *Coco* (our erroneous *cocoa*) in Port means a goblin, a *Croque-mort* the caricature of the human face, formed by three depressions at one end of the nut, may account for the name "It is like a man's head, for it has something like two eyes and a mouth, and, when green, it is like brains, and has fibre like hair" (Ibn Batutah, pp 59-60)

² The word is supposed to derive from Cairo-tapestry

of Borneo, the sandal-wood of Timor, the gum-benzoin (*Styrax b*) of Achin or Acheh, the gold of Malayland and Sumatra, the tea, silk, rice-paper, fans and toys, ivory-work and porcelain of China, and the silver of Japan (x 131) Africa was represented by "captives", palm-leaf mats, Maroccan leathers, ebony and elephants' tusks; Malaghetta pepper or Guinea-grains¹ (*Anomum grana Paradisi*), nuggets and gold dust Even the undeveloped Brazil sent her mite, cotton-hammocks, mantles of splendid feathers,² whale-oil and excellent sugar Lastly, some 10,000 to 12,000 slaves (*mancipia*) of all colours from all quarters of the globe thronged the streets

But there was a black reverse to this bright picture Portugal became first a fighting, then a trading country, whose scanty hands were absorbed by the colonies Agriculture was no longer honoured, and greybeards murmured that not a swamp had been drained, not a field had been reclaimed from the forest Moreover, the exaggerated piety of "The Pious" introduced two new elements of unknown force, the *Societas Jesu* and the *Sanctum Officium*

Jesuitism³ was then in the heyday of its hot youth, intensely chivalrous, militant, and Basque It brought forth

¹ Hence, the "Giam coast" North of the Guinea Gulf those curious on the subject will consult my "Wanderings in West Africa" (ii pp 36-7)

² It is difficult to look upon a cocked hat and feather without noting the survival of primitive and savage taste

³ Sanctioned in 1540 by a Bull of Paul III (Alexander Fainese), and suppressed in 1773 by a Bull of Clement XIV.

a swarm of learned men and gallant missionaries now retrograde, it then headed the Catholic movement of Europe, and entitled itself, not unjustly, to the "Royal Guard of Christendom" It not only extended the faith, it prevented the Western World having "as many sects as it had heads" P Simon Rodriguez, aided by ten religious devoted as himself, introduced the new order into Portugal" Even D Joam was affiliated to it. Before half a century the Jesuits had grown immensely rich by trade and donations, with inordinate ambition they usurped Episcopal rights, they invaded State, Church, and Press at home, they formed colonies abroad, and everywhere they secured the education of youth During two centuries their power and their pretensions were such, that only a Pombal, the greatest statesman of his age, a combination of Cavour and Bismarck, could successfully contend with these kings of kings

History gives a strange account of how the Holy Office, established by Saint Dominic,¹ passed into Portugal One Saavedra, the son of a Spanish Captain, forged, they say, a Bull, in the name of Paul III, and represented himself as a legate *à latere*, commissioned to chastise the contumacious While making, by permission, a manner of royal progress, condemning to the stake "Jews, Moslems, and Magicians" whom he could not convert, he was

¹ He was commissioned in A D 1215 by Innocent III to abate heresy, or rather heretics, and the tribunal was established by the Council of Toulouse in 1229

arrested on the Castilian frontier by a banker of Seville, and was sent to the galleys for fraudulent debt. A martyr! His coadjutors, the licentiates Pedro, Cardeñas and Alvarez de Bezerra, continued their holy functions. The Dominicans, or Friar Preachers, became the heads, and persuaded D Joam to build the Palace of the Inquisition in the Rocio or D Pedro Square¹. The redoubtable Tribunal extended to the farthest East and West. The Brazil, who showed a noble spirit of independence even in her earliest colonial days, suffered comparatively little. But at Goa the Grand Inquisitor became more powerful than the Viceroy and the Archbishop, and hence the ecclesiastical abominations, rivalled only by the witch-burnings of the so called Reformed Church, whose judicial murders in England alone numbered 30,000².

¹ The Church deplores its having been converted into a National Theatre (1847). It should be noted that the Roman Curia, so far from frankly expressing its shame and disavowal of the cruelties practised upon so-called heretics, justifies them as a necessity of the times, as less barbarous than popular excesses and indiscriminate massacres, and less monstrous than the fitful and tyrannic measures, the savage and inconsistent laws of petty kings.

² The "Witch Act" of James (1603-1680) caused in Great Britain 70,000 deaths. The madness of persecution spread through Puritan New England, fed by such narrow bigots as Cotton Mather, who raged against the "narrow spirit of Sadduceism". The horrid law was not repealed in Scotland till 1736. This abuse arose simply from the "Bibliolatry" of the day, which is now attempting to persuade Englishmen that they are Jews. Truly religions and races have no right to throw stones at one another.

These innovations were the more distasteful to the Portuguese because sundry small posts, conquered from the Maioccans, were abandoned. Here, however, D Joam showed a soul superior to petty national pride. His favourite saying was that victory never pays war-costs; he therefore kept the peace everywhere, except in the East, where a series of campaigns *did* pay. He consolidated his useless African power by concentrating his forces at a few *places fortes*, Ceuta, Tangier, and Tetuan. He foresaw the importance of the Brazil which now feeds Portugal, he supplied her with colonists, and he sent one of his best men, Martim Affonso de Souza (x 120) to establish the Captaincies. He expelled the French from *la France Antartique*, and strengthened the growing settlements, Bahia (de Todos os Santos) and Rio de Janeiro, now the commercial and political capitals of a progressive Constitutional Empire.

D Joam bestowed his best attention to India, and his choice of representatives was masterly. D Manoel's last nominee (Jan 22, 1522), D Duarte de Menezes, Count and head of the house of Tarouca,¹ began well at Tangier and ended badly at Goa. He punished, with fine and tribute, the Hormuz Islanders who had revolted and massacred their Portuguese garrison. He repressed

¹ A village near Lamego, south of the Douro River, and famous for being the earliest settlement of the Cistercians in Portugal. As has been seen, D Afonso Henriquez owed a debt of gratitude to St. Bernard and St. Mary of Clairvaux, and he paid it by taking (April 28, 1142) all the Cistercians under his protection.

an insurrection which broke out in Goa, Malacca, and the Moluccas, where he built the Fortress of Ternate (x 23, 123) Thus the name became familiar to Europe, and we find it in Milton (sadly mispronounced) —

— on the isles

Of Ternate and Tidoi, whence merchants bring
Then spicy drugs

(“Par Lost,” 11 638 9)

Thus also Spenser (equally erroneous)

From th' utmost bunke of th' Aimonike shore
Unto the margent of the Molucas

(“F Q,” v 3)

During his rule the body of Saint Thomas was found at Melapuu (x. 109-119) This knight-errant of the Apostolic Conclave, who visited not only India and China, but even the Brazil, happily set us the salutary example of philosophic doubt¹ Menezes also attempted Diu and failed The viceregal salary was raised to 30,000 cruzados per annum, not including expenses of justice and general government But the Viceroy's insatiable greed threatened disasters, and he offended (1524) the friendly king of Cochin by throwing, despite all remonstrances, a wall round the town He was recalled, and his successor was the veteran D Vasco da Gama

The “Count of Vidigueira” left Lisbon for the third time, on April 9, 1524, in the “Saint Catherine of Mount Sinai,” with nine large ships, five caravels, and

¹ See Note on Canto 3 108

5,000 men Accompanied by his sons, Estevam and Paulo, he voyaged in viceregal state, and sundry of his lieutenants, D D Henrique and Simam de Menezes, Fernando de Monroyo, Lope Vaz de Sampaio, and Pero de Mascarenhas were embryo governors and viceroys He took also the "mad pilot," Diogo Botelho, who had sailed from India to Lisbon in a "foyst,"—a form of notoriety-hunting by no means obsolete¹ Da Gama's voyage was bad tempests raged without and pestilence within the *Armada* Near Dábul of Bijapur took place the famous sea-quake to which Jupiter alludes (ii 47), and the commission was published at Chaul The Count of Tarouca, being still at Hormuz, Da Gama visited Goa, and was formally installed at Cochin (Oct 4)

The name alone sufficed to make Portugal respected throughout the Eastern world Da Gama's viceroyalty, however, which lasted only three months and twenty days, was spent chiefly in auditing accounts, reforming the administration, and punishing defaulters But it was too late He had become violent and irritable, which means weak, his manner grew hard and harsh as his temper was *verde* (green, sour), and he flogged women whom he dowered on his death-bed He established the *tres vias de successam*—by direct nomination, indirect appointment, and provisional charge After restoring tranquillity to Cochin, he sent Jeronymo de Souza with Manoel de Macedo to sweep pirates from the Malabar

¹ "Comea," Introd xvii-xviii The Pilot in those days was held brain-brained as the *mail, et a-vics* under Napoleon I.

coast, especially the "Moorish" captain, known as Cutiale,¹ of Coulete (x 55). He was desirous of visiting Calicut in person, but the infirmities of age forbade. He charged Sampaio with the expedition, committed Goa to Menezes, and, assembling his officers, ordered them to obey his nominee till a successor should be formally appointed. During his last illness two of his sons were present.² He received the Sacraments of the Church, and died at Cochín (x 53) at 3 A.M. on Christmas Day, 1524. As has been said, the same year witnessed the death of Da Gama, and possibly the birth of Camoens.

The viceroy was provisionally buried in the cathedral of Cochín (Castanheda), or in the high chapel of the Franciscan convent, St Antony. A single flagstaff-tower, amidst a square mile of ruins, now shows where the former one stood. His son, Paulo, carrying out a last request, transferred the remains to the Convento do Carmo, Vidigueira (1538). The epitaph ran *Aqui jaz o grande Argonauta, D Vasco da Gama, 1^o Conde da Vidigueira, Almirante das Indias Orientaes, e seu famoso Descubridor*. The tomb was rifled by the French marau-

¹ Kuwwat Ali (?) also written Cutialla (Kuwwat Allah). Barros mentions a Captain Cutialla in the Samuy's service (Correa, p. 339).

² His sons by Catharina de Ataíde were (1) Francisco, born before A.D. 1497 (?), (2) Estevam, the Viceroy, about 1504, (3) Paulo, killed in a sea fight near Malacca; (4) Christovam, the "Maity", (5) Pedro da Silva, who became Captain of Malacca; and (6) Alvaro d'Ataíde, named after his maternal uncle, who also served in Malay-land. A list of their descendants is given by the Editor of "Correa," Introd. xii-xv.

der, and, when the sarcophagus was last opened (1838), a single skeleton and two skulls were found. The recognised remains may be pronounced not proven¹

It is easy to draw the physical picture of this notable explorer. His full-sized statue stands in a blue and white niche of the *Porto da Ribeira*, Old Goa. This "Ribeira-gate," which admitted the Portuguese captives (?), has an archway opening upon the quay, hence the Goanese declare that every viceroy must pass under Da Gama's feet. The admiral, a man of middle stature, inclining to stout, and of florid complexion, resembles not a little bluff English Harry (VIII). It is not an original, the Goanese, outraged by the tyranny of D. Francisco da Gama, an unworthy grandson, pulled down the first marble and gibbeted its quarters. We now see the second voted by the Municipal Chamber in 1609. The following extract, borrowed (with permission) from A. E. I. (p. 311), describes the figure and its costume —

"I will begin at Vasco's head, which carries a large grey wide-awake, turned up, say a 'Gainsborough,' under which are his jolly red cheeks and non-grey long

¹ Sr J. Silvestre de Ribeiro, Civil Governor at Beja (1838), answers for the two skulls, and the tomb was again violated, it is said, by the populace in 1840. That it was in a sad condition in 1853 we knew from the work of Sr Caldeira before quoted (ii. 47-9). The Abbé A. D. de Castro e Souza long prayed the Government in vain that the Discoverer's ashes be removed to the Belem Convent, Lisbon. This, as has been shown, took place during the Tercentenary Festival, the "imposing ceremony," of June 8, 1880.

beard. His legs, which stand far apart, wear brown knickerbockers, he has brown vest and dressing-gown, with chain armour peeping out here and there,—especially about the loins. His right hand grasps a sword and the left a *bâton*, and he is surmounted by a figure of St Catharine”

Baños (iii 9, 2) describes Dom Vasco as a man of middle stature, inclined to corpulence, of a noble deportment, daring in every enterprise, harsh in command, and of fearful violence in anger, patient in arduous undertakings, and severe in inflicting punishment for the sake of justice” Faria y Sousa adds, “He is painted with a black cap, cloak and breeches edged with velvet, and all slashed, through which appear the crimson lining, the doublet of crimson satin, and over it his armour inlaid with gold” The portraits, taken in early manhood, have been compared with those of Sir Walter Raleigh the face is our Elizabethan before the unfortunate change, “German and ordinary” (as Horace Walpole says), which produced the typical modern “John Bull” The high and marked features are somewhat Israelitic, with large eyes, heavy eyebrows, hooked nose, and beard of moderate length and thickness Count Lavradio’s picture, in Hakluyt’s “*Comea*,” shows straight features, a long white beard, and a rather mild expression The dress is mostly a large *pelote* (fur-trimmed robe), covering an arabesqued breastplate with the symbol of the Order of Christ, a cross charged with a cross when there is a doublet the

sleeves are long, puffed and slashed. The barbet-cap, apparently felt, is turned up round the edges like the Italian *Calabresa*—it suggests the Mandain¹ head-gear, and a button upon the crown adds to the resemblance. Viscount Juromenha (vol vi) follows Count Laviadio, but cuts off the hands. The Roteiro republishes that of D. Francisco de Brito, Archbishop of Goa. The face is younger, the beard shorter, and the look is more severe. Over the breast-plate is a kind of gaberdine with slashed sleeves, and the cap becomes turban-like with the button at top. D. Manoel (p. 1) wears the normal "Celestial"-looking article.

Contemporaries held Da Gama an honour to his nation. Couto declares that, as America was called after Vespucci, so India should be named "Agama." The Count-admiral, as he signed himself, was a type less uncommon in the north than in southern Europe. He was the model explorer, and all his gifts pointed that way. Of course he was brave, that is the absey of manliness, but he had also moral courage—he feared no responsibility, which makes cowards of so many, and his physical intrepidity was backed by an indomitable constancy and perseverance. This strong and thorough temperament was fierce and passionate—the powder that drives the ball. His horrible cruelties were those of the age, exasperated by religion, but he was a man to be loved as well as feared. His heart

¹ The word is popularly derived from the Port *Mandar* = to command. But the Malay *Mantim* = a councillor (from the Egypt. *Men*, to establish, or the Sansk. *Mana* = to think) is better.

was good, he was not only generous but just, and there is something touching in his affection for his brother. He was quick-witted, knowing, and experienced, and he showed considerable tact on more than one trying occasion. As a ruler of men his probity was the characteristic that won for him the respect of the East. His abilities were ordinary, and his education that of the rude soldier of his day. He had none of the quaint and picturesque talent which appears in his more fortunate rival, Columbus. His hot temper was incompatible with the curious feminine persistency of purpose which made the Genoese look upon a rebuff as a hint or an order to try again. He did not improve with age. gouty, stony, and splenetic veterans rarely do. Camoens (end of Canto 5) was not blind to any of his kinsman's shortcomings, yet he has done the "Protagonist" justice by making his distinctives a kind of old-fashioned simplicity, a fresh and vigorous air, and a dignity which recalls to mind the great of ancient days.

The Succession-letters, opened at Cochin, contained the name of D Henrique de Menezes, *O Roxo* (Rufus), son of the Count of Castanheda. This courageous and capable officer was still at Goa, but Sampaio preserved tranquillity till his arrival. He forbade the usual rejoicings till the last honours had been paid to his predecessor — "It was meet to bewail so great a loss than to revel over a new appointment."

Easterns are prone to test the quality of newly appointed rulers, and in every change they hope to find

an opportunity At once Melique Yaz (Malik Iyás), still Governor of Diu under Mahmud Shah Begairah, sent simultaneously an embassy to Goa, and two craft to his brother Turks at Jeddah The plot was discovered and the ships were seized The Viceroy then proceeded to abate the pirates who infested the Coast, one link of a chain which began at Bab-el-Mandeb, was perhaps strongest in Malay-land, and ended about Japan The evil seems bred in the bone were the English to leave India, the waters would swarm with sea-thieves and the land with "Thugs" within six weeks After destroying thirty over-ships, the Viceroy proceeded to Cananor; hanged the plotting "Mooi Mamalex", and made Heitor da Sylveira, "Portuguese Hector" (x 60), Governor of the Citadel

Menezes then turned his aims against Coulete, the Arsenal of the Samiry, where lay forty well-armed ships defended by 20,000 Nays He attacked and almost destroyed these disproportioned numbers (x 53-4). Returning to Calicut (March 11, 1523), he punished the extortionate Captain of the Citadel, Jayme de Mello, and made over to the Hospital the rich presents sent to him by the terrified Samiry and the Governor of Diu These displays of audacious valour; of justice, impartial and severe, and of disinterestedness, perhaps the most singular virtue, made a lasting impression upon Hindú and Hindí

Menezes' merits seemed to command success His Captains, who had grown grey under arms, were not less

fortunate Brito attacked Dábul and killed 400 Moslems Antonio de Miranda destroyed the shipping in "Sael" harbour,¹ and returned to Maskat laden with loot Jorje de Albuquerque and Pedro de Mascarenhas defeated the "King of Bintam" or Bantam,² who had attacked Malacca Joam de Lima held the Citadel of Calicut against 70,000 assailants the Viceroy sent reinforcements, followed them in person, and compelled the Samiry to sue for peace (Oct. 15, 1525). But Menezes, now convinced that Malabar and the Moplahs would always be hostile, dismantled his Fort, and prepared to capture Diu, intending to make her, after Goa, the chief depôt of Portuguese India.

The Viceroy rested at Cananor to nurse a swollen leg There gangrene set in he died (Jan 2, 1526) aged 28 or 36 according to MAIIZ, and he was buried in the Chapel of S Thiago A man who had "more prudence than years", who was so jealous of his honour that he refused the smallest gifts, and who even preferred public welfare to private interests, he was deeply regretted. He left only 100 ducats,—not enough to pay for his funeral,—and won honourable mention at the hands of Camoens (x 54-5)

During this Viceroyalty, Portugal and Spain met in

¹ "Sábul" (the shore) is the Sachaltes Kolpos of the Greeks, and the old "Frankincense County," now the Seaboard of Hadramaut, whose chief places are Shahu and Makalla Aloys Spienger, pp 89-93, *Alté Geographie*, &c

² See chap 11 § 4

the far East After Magellan was killed in an obscure islet, the two remaining ships, of which the "Victoria" is mentioned by Camoens (Rejected Stanzas *sub fin*), received assistance from BUITO, then commanding the Forts of Timor and Ternate Presently a dispute arose about the "Demarcation line" it was settled by the union of the two royal houses, the Philippines remaining to Spain and the Moluccas to Portugal

The succession-letters nominated first D Pedro Mascarenhas, and, second, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio. The former being in the field, conquering "Bintam" (x 56) and slaying Malays (x 57), the latter was provisionally installed after an oath of loyalty He broke it by throwing Mascarenhas into jail (x 58) the prisoner, however, escaped by connivance of Simam de Menezes, Commandant of Cananoi, returned home to demand justice, and was received with unusual honours by the King

"Fierce Sampaio" (x 56-61) was thus a usurper, but he did good service in war and peace He concluded a treaty with Shah Mahmúd of Gujarát, defeated the Calicut Rajah, to whom the Narsingha had sent a reinforcement of 20,000 men, and again destroyed the piratical power of Malabar He wasted Poicá or Chembe, now Pariakád¹ in Travancore, slew the "King" of Tidor, and poniarded with his own hand Rais Ahmed, alias Cutiale, who had commanded 150 ships in the

¹ See chap iv § 3

Persian Gulf He strengthened Hormuz, Chaul, and Cananor, surrounded Goa with a strong wall, of which parts still remain, and increased her fleet to 126 sail

Presently Sampaio was ordered to Portugal, whence, after two years in irons, he was banished to Africa he was also condemned to indenify Mascarenhas for the Indian salary, and fined 10,000 cruzados These pains and penalties were remitted by a Royal Alvará¹ (rescript); and his energetic address to D Joam has been printed by Couto He died April 18, 1538, and Camoens has praised his virtues, not his crimes

Nuno da Cunha, the next viceroy, a son of the navigator Tristram Vaz da Cunha, had voyaged with his father in early years, first carried arms in Africa under Nuno Fernandez de Athaide, was knighted by Albuquerque on the Eastern Coast, and took a prominent part in Almeida's attack on Diu Accompanied by his brothers, Simam and Pero, he left Lisbon (April 18 1529) with eleven ships and 200 men-at-arms On the voyage he destroyed Mombasah, which had attacked Portuguese Mozambique, and, arriving at Goa on Oct 22, he was formally installed at sea, off Cananor (Nov 18)

Da Cunha's rule, which lasted nine years instead of the normal three, was a succession of successes Hector da Silveira made tributary the "kings" of Aden (?) and of "Panane",—Port Ponani in Malabar. Antonio de

¹ Arab. "El-Barat" (the Letter, Brevet, Warant, Patent), the Span. equivalent is Albalá

Saldanha (1530-31), annexed Gogo, the harbour of Kathiáwád (Kattywar), captured Damam, and twice burnt Bassein. MARTIM DE SOUZA and ANTONIO BRITO defeated the combined forces of Calicut and Cochín. Then came the occupation of Diu,—the dream of Cunha's later life.

Goa had long intended to capture this Pirates' stronghold, a den on Diu Point, the southern extremity of Kathiáwád, between the Gulfs of Cutch and Cambay. SAMPAIO had already spent large sums upon preparations, and Cunha sailed (1531) with the most powerful armament yet collected. Bahadur Shah, tenth ruler and successor of Mahmud Shah II, the Melíque of Camoens (x 61, 72), repulsed the attack. During this affair a soldier's head being stuck off by a cannon-ball, Cunha exclaimed to the startled bystanders, *Humiliate vestra capita Deo*, the well-known words of the Roman liturgy. The double entendre, we are told, comforted them,—usually it has a contrary effect. In 1533 Bahadur Shah engaged in hostilities with the "Grand Mogor,"—Humayun, the Moghul,—yielded the place which he so much prized, on condition of assistance. The Governor, Malik Tokan, son of Malik Iyas, was also absent fortifying Bassein. Finally, Bahadur Shah, who came peacefully on board to visit Cunha at Diu, was killed.¹

The cruel DIOGO DA SYLVEIRA made a remarkable raid in 1533. He seized the Island of Mahim (now Bombay),

¹ The story is differently told. One thing, however, is certain, that the King, who in apprehension threw himself into the sea, was slain by the Portuguese with a halberd.

burnt Bassein, where Cunha built a fort in 1536, and captured a strong place on the Nagotni River despite its artillery, 1,000 infantry, and 500 cavalry. Marching back to his ships, he routed 3,000-4,000 horsemen, commanded by Halissa (Alí Shah), war-captain of Cambay. Tháná, near Bombay, bought herself off with a yearly tribute of 4,000 ducats. Sylveira returned to Chaul, loaded with honour and glory, plunder, and 4,000 slaves.

The First Siege of Diu was a memorable triumph for the Portuguese. Sultan Sulayman (II), the Magnificent,¹ resolving to sweep Portugal from the Eastern Seas, commanded a fleet to be built at Suez, carrying a park of siege-artillery, 4,000 Janissaries, the "Rumés" of The Lusíads (x 62), and 16,000 picked men. The powerful Armada was placed under command of Sulayman, Pasha of Cairo. On Sept 4, 1538, the Turks made Diu, whose "black" or "native town" was at once deserted. Miran Mohamed Shah Farrukhí, the new king of Gujarát (1536-53), commissioned his minister, Coje Çofar or Sophar (Khwájeh Safar), with 20,000 men to aid the Rumés. The Fort-commandant, Antonio da Sylveira, with 200 gentlemen and 500 Portuguese men-at-arms, retired to the Citadel and despatched a brigantine to Goa reporting their condition. The Pasha ordered furious attacks (Oct 6 and 20), which only strewed the shore with the bodies of brave men. The defenders, seeing the enemy dispirited, made a gallant sottie with 150 swords,

¹ The learned Editor of Hakluyt's "Varthema" (p 65) makes this attack take place under Sultan Selim, in A D 1516

entered the hostile camp and killed 250, with the loss of only three. A second craft was sent southwards, and reached head-quarters when Cunha was being relieved by Noronha

The assailant then ventured upon a general assault (Nov 1), and Sylveira commanded the post of danger. Fifty Moslem barques and twelve galleys were moored along the seaface while the troops attacked by land. The "forlorn hope" of some 3,000 Tuiks was hurled back into the moat. They were followed by 2,000 Janissaries, who also failed to take the place after killing several of the bravest officers. The Pasha lastly pushed forwards his battalion of veterans, who gained the Castle-court, night, however, ended the mêlée, and the assailant retired with a loss of 2,500 head (?). On the evening of the next day Cunha's relieving fleet sailed into port. Sulayman Pasha embarked precipitately, leaving his artillery and his wounded. A thousand foragers also remained in the hands of the infuriated country people. The Vice-roy thereupon made a triumphant entrance.¹

¹ Hindus declare that they have discovered the secret of prolonging life by hybernation and other methods. fifty years ago we should simply have derided the pretension, now we inquire into it. Chroniclers relate that Cunha, when entering Diu, was greeted by a patriarch, who declared his age to be 335 years, and that of his son 80. He had thrice changed teeth, hair, and beard, the latter each time returning from white to black. This "Indian Phoenix" received from the victor the pension granted to him by Bahadur Shah, and died after his 400th year. Ibn Batutah (p. 98) saw at Kabul a man 350 years old, but the traveller "very much doubted" the story. At

Cunha had been profoundly impressed by the imprisonment of his predecessor, foreseeing for himself a similar fate. After a long and glorious administration he also became the victim of calumny. D Joam listened to his enemies and ordered him home in irons. This was his death-blow. He embarked in January, 1539, and, on March 5, he died off The Cape. When the chaplain asked if his remains should be carried to Portugal, he replied —“ Since God hath been pleased thus to send me afloat, let the sea be my grave. Earth hath so badly received my services that she refuseth me a tomb ” He ended with Scipio’s words, *Ingrata Patria*, etc, which, as we have seen, were quoted by Camoens.¹ In his will he ordered that the price of the iron which sank his corpse should be paid to D. Joam, as the only

Sivastan (Sehwan in Sind) he met Shayhh Mohammed of Baghdad (p 102), and did not doubt his being 140 years old, also in Sind at Bakar (p 103) he found a Shirazi Shayhh upwards of 120. Again (p 257) he saw a Shayhh Salih of 150, and (p. 195) a Shayhh Jelal el-Din of the same age. At Dwaika (chap xxiii) he heard of one who had reached 250. I was shown a man apparently in late middle-age who claimed that number of years when I visited that great place of Hindú pilgrimage. Santos (iii 7) notices a man 380 years old. “Varthema” (Hakluyt’s, p 78), when at Reamu (Yeim in El-Yemen), “conversed with many persons who were more than 125 years old.” This longevity he attributes to the climate, which “here is most perfect and singular.” Nuts for M₁ Thom to crack!

¹ A list of meritorious Portuguese, who in those heroic days had reason to repeat these words, is given by José Silvestre Ribeiro (pp 220-23, *Estudo moral*, etc, *sobre os Lusadas*, Lisbon, 1852

debt wherewith his conscience charged him. If the King could have blushed it must have been when the good soldier's aged father, the navigator Tristram, came into the presence and offered to pay the little bill.

The first letters having nominated D. Martim Affonso de Souza, an absentee, and the second, Da Gama's cadet son, Estevam, the latter became Viceroy. On the opening day (April 4, 1540) he publicly ordered an inventory of his large inheritance, a hint that he would be disinterested as his father. He sent his brother, D. Christovam, with 600 men against the troublesome Rajah of Porcá (Parrakad). Antonio de Faria was commissioned to sweep the seas. Manoel de Vasconcellos cruised with success off Malabar, and Antonio de Castel-Branco (x. 101) made a visitation to Cambay.

The Viceroy now resolved to attack Suez in person, and to strike at the heart of Moslem naval power. His fleet of eighty sail, carrying 2,000 soldiers, not including a number of gentlemen, bore down everything on the Red Sea shores. D. Estevam assumed the aims of Knighthood at the shrine of St. Catherine in the so-called "Mount Sinai"¹. He bestowed the same distinction upon sundry of his officers, and Charles V. esteemed the honour higher than a victory gained by him over Savoy. The object of the expedition, however, the attack on Suez, failed. Its only results are to be found in The Lusiads (x. 98-99).

¹ Details are given in A. E. I., p. 450

Followed the romantic episode in which Portugal saved Abyssinian Christendom. Claudius, Emperor of Æthiopia, was threatened with destruction by Mohammed Grayne or Guray, the "left-handed" Sultan, or King of Adel or Azania, whose capital was Harar Gay, and whose chief port was Zayla. D Christovam, despatched by his brother, landed (June 15, 41) in Abyssinia with 400 to 500 men, mostly haquebussiers, and was joined by the Itege (Empress-mother), who led a host of Christian half-savages. Two important actions were won by the Portuguese, when the Arabs and Tuiks hastened to the assistance of their negroid co-religionists. D Christovam, who had rejected in a high-handed way the royal overtures for peace, was wounded and taken prisoner. Greased threads twisted round his beard were set on fire, he was plunged into boiling wax, and, lastly, he was decapitated by the Left-handed himself (x 96). D Joam ordered the body to be brought home with the view of canonising the "martyr." The remnant of the Portuguese rejoined Claudius, and, in the next battle Mohammed was shot by a soldier, Pedro Leam. I have elsewhere related how his gallant wife, Talwambara, concealed his death and drew off the Moslem army.¹ Many of the Portuguese married and settled in Abyssinia, where the Pope presently sent a legate.

¹ "First Footsteps in East Africa" (310-19). "Grayne" appears in European history as "Giandamal, General-in-Chief of the Armies of the King of Adel." Compare Mungo Park's "Ludamar" = Wuld (sons of) Amu.

Saddened by these reverses, D Estevam abstained from other expeditions. He embellished Goa, and built the Collegio de Santá Fe, in imitation of the Moluccan seminary¹. On May 6, 1542, he gladly gave up charge to his successor, and retired to Pangim (New Goa), where a second inventory showed that his property had diminished by 50,000 xerafins. After returning to Portugal he offended D Joam by refusing a wife, settled at Venice, and died in obscurity, leaving only one natural son.

The twelfth Viceroy, D. Martim Affonso de Souza, was well known in India. As Captain-General of the seas he had destroyed the fort of Damam, supported Bahadur Shah against the Moghul, captured Repelim City (x. 65) from Malabar, beaten the Samiry's fleet when it attacked the Rajah of Cota,² a vassal of Portugal, conquered Pachi Marcar, saved the ruler of Columbo and again abated the pirate-nuisance. His name is more famous in the Brazil, where, between 1531 and 1533, he introduced order and a new administration. He left Lisbon, to which he had retired during the inert rule of Noronha, wintered at Mozambique till March 15 (1542), and took charge from D Estevam at Goa. He brought with him the great Jesuit, D. Francisco Xavier, whose labours, now so celebrated, are not even mentioned by Camoens,

¹ A E I, p 450

² Meaning "the Fort" it is the Cotta of D'Anville and the Kotacull of Buchanan and Airrowsmith. The then Capital of the Singhalese Emperors was a Cotta near Columbo

the conclusion being that the "Apostle of the Indies"¹ was not so highly prized then as now. The "name-sake of Mart" (x 67) did little worthy of his Brazilian fame, or of Camoens' five stanzas, possibly his hands were tied by a corrupt administration. He reduced Beadála and Baticala forts (x 66), and lost the battle of Tebilecarí, he subjected the Moluccas, and encouraged communication with Japan. The peninsulas of Bardesh to the north, and Salsete south of Goa Island, were annexed, and raised its population, without including the suburbs, to 300,000 souls, one-fourth Gentile. After three years, ending Sept 10, 1545, he returned to Portugal.

D Joam, now realising the danger of his splendid Eastern Empire, resolved to govern it through his noblest subject, D Joam de Castro, *o ultimo heroe Portuguez no Oriente*². Born of illustrious family, he had studied under the celebrated Pedro Nunez, his first campaign (æ 18) was made with Menezes, and he had shown courage

¹ He now ranks with the "Apostolic Missioners," S Martin of Tours (A D 347-96), Ulphilas among the Goths (341-88), St Patrick (432-93), St. Augustine (596-605), St. Boniface in Germany (716-55), St Anshan in Scandinavia (826-65), Gaisa of Hungary (994), the Martyr Adalbert among the Poles (983-87); Otto of Pomerania (1124-39), and Raymund Lully in the Balearics and North Africa (1291-1315). The "Palladium of Goa," say the Goanese, drove away the English occupants of the City in 1800; and, while St. Francis Xavier rests there, no one shall be able to wrest the city from H M.F M of Portugal.

² Couto (Decades) described his administration; and Jacinto Fieire de Andrada wrote his biography

and conduct in the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf Appointed Governor and Captain-General, he left Lisbon, March 17, 1545, with his two sons, Alvaro and Fernando he was nearly wrecked off the Guinea coast, and he took charge at Goa on Sept 10

His first move was upon the "Balagate,"¹ or land of Bijapur "Mealecan" (Miyan Ali Khan) being in danger from his nephew, "Idalká" (Adil Shah), fled to Goa, and his extradition was demanded with a bribe of 150,000 gold pardaos,² and the significant hint that, if the Shah had gold diggings for his friends, he had also mines of iron for his foes Martim Affonso, unwilling to engage in such a struggle, had temporised Castro at once rejected the disgraceful offer Unwilling to honour his enemy by commanding in person, he sent his son, D Alvaro, with 900 Portuguese, and 400 Hindu "Sepoys," in six ships The port of Cambre,³ despite its strong garrison, was compelled to surrender, and Adil Khan, to sue for peace

Castro then applied vigorously to reform In ghostly

¹ Meaning the Deccan plateau, from *Báli* (Peis) above, upper, and *Ghát* (Hind) a step, flight of stairs, the Coast-range.

² The Paidáo is the golden Hun of the Váyás of Ikkui, the Naisinghas of those days, who inscribed it with the Sanskrit "Shri Piatápa (valiant) Kúshna Vaya" Hence the Peis Paitáb, a gold coin = 1 Dinar, described by Vaithema (pp 115, 116, 130) as stamped with "two devils"—Shiva and Parbatí As it usually bore a pyramidal temple upon the reverse, Europeans called it a Pagoda, and hence the far-famed "Pagoda-tree"

³ Probably the Chemonbay of Barbosa (p. 152), between Cananor and Calicut.

matters he was assisted, at the instance of the King, by D Francisco Xavier, and the results are described as quasi-miraculous.¹ A powerful expedition was prepared for the Moluccas (1546), when a storm arose which well-nigh wrecked the power of Portugal in the East. This was the second, *the Siege of Diu* (1546).

Miran Mahommed, Shah of Gujarát, seeking a pretext to recover the stronghold, sent an army to enforce his treaty-right of separating by a wall the "Black Town" from the Portuguese Citadel. The Governor of the latter bluntly refused, this was Joam Mascarenhas, an old soldier, famed for his intrepidity. In after-years he opposed the Maroccan expedition of D Sebastian, who assembled a medical committee to sit upon the question—"Does not age diminish bravery?" A revival of Cyneas and Pyrrhus, Ecephion and Pichrocole! When the young king asked him his years, the veteran replied "I, Sire, have twenty-five of serving you, and eighty for advising you not to attack Africa!"

Mascarenhas mustered only some 250 men and 40 barrels of powder when he was invested by "Coje Çofai" with 8,000 Indian regulars, 1,000 Turkish Janissaries and 60 pieces of artillery (x. 67). The Moslems showed unusual ballistic skill, and amongst other engines they had a moveable *testudo*, which sheltered 200 sappers and miners. The Governor, sending an Aviso to Goa, resolved to sell life at the highest price (x. 60). After some weeks of

¹ A. E. I. chap. 111.

fighting suddenly appeared a fleet of nine ships and 200 men, under D Fernando de Castro, whom his father had sent on this enterprise, animating him with heroic words. Prodiges of gallantry were performed on both sides, Isabel Fernando fought in the ranks, and her sisterhood carried cartridges to the ramparts under fire. "Coje Çofar" lost his life by a spent ball, but his son, Rumi Khan, showed only increased rage for revenge. A mine, sprung under S Joam, the chief fort, killed D Fernando (æet 18) and many of his brave companions (x. 69). The next assault of 500 Turks was beaten back by Mascarenhas in person with twenty men,—a deed worthy of Leonidas, Cocles, or Scæva.

But the garrison, reduced to 150, was beginning to lack munitions and ammunition. Already Mascarenhas had prepared a general sortie, in which he might die fighting, when D Alvaro de Castro, the second son, delayed by adverse weather (x. 69), landed his 600 men from forty sail. Thus reinforced, the garrison of 750 swords sallied out against 40,000 (?), and the result of so far carrying *De l'audace*, "Be bold, be bold!" was the loss of half their number. Rumi Khan was at once joined by the neighbouring Rajahs, and the defence of Diu appeared hopeless.

Castro, hearing the disaster, sailed in person (Oct. 18). Goa had responded bravely to his call, and a fleet of twelve galleons and sixty rowing-galleys took the sea. The land force joined by that of D Manoel de Lima, lately from Portugal, amounted to 4,000 men. They

were secretly disembarked during the night, and a Council of war was assembled. As usual, it hesitated to fight, when a veteran, Garcia Sá, stood up and said in laconic style —“I have heard we must attack !” The decisive affair began on the morning of Nov 11, and the conduct of the chief, backed by the courage of the men, won the day. Rumí Khan was slain by a stone, the Moslems lost 5,000 men and 40 guns (x 70), and the power of Gujarát was broken for many a year. We cannot wonder that *O Assedio (siege) de Diu* has been sung by Portuguese poets¹

Castro rebuilt the place, and the present fortifications show his good work². It was carried on under difficulties, some 20,000 xerafins being required from an exhausted treasury. His letter, still extant, shows that he had intended pledging the bones of his son, D Fernando, but they were found in an unfit condition. Thereupon having “neither land nor goods by way of security, nothing but the mere and pure sincerity which God had given him,” he sent one of his mustachios,³ and the bankers of Goa accepted this unusual pledge. Heroes make heroes: the ladies of the capital and of Chaul offered even their jewels.

¹ Jeronimo Coite Real's Epic (*Cerco de Diu*) is the best known. He wrote two others, the *Shipwreck of Sepulveda*, in 17 Cantos, and the *Austriada*, 15 Cantos, in Spanish, on the battle of Lepanto. He died in 1593.

² I visited Diu many years ago, and found the works stronger than the then defences of Bombay since demolished.

³ Some say a whisker, others some hairs from his beard.

The victor's return to Goa was kingly the description suggests a triumph at the Capitol¹ It is said that when the Queen heard of it she ignorantly exclaimed,—“He has conquered like a Christian he has triumphed like a Heathen!” Castro well knew the impression which such pomp and pageantry produce over the Eastern world But, not content to rest upon his laurels, he sent Joije Menezes to attack Baioch (Broach, near Surat), and Nunez to extend Portuguese dominion in Ceylon, he made Malacca submit, and his occupation of Acheh (Achin) led to that of north-western Sumatra Lastly he set out in person, beat the king of Gujarát, burnt Dabhol, and, finally, dispersed the army of “Hydalcham” (Ibrahim Adil Shah) at the famous battle of Sam Thomé (x 72)

Shortly afterwards (æt 48) he fell into a “malady of languor” He wished only to revisit his home at beautiful Penha Verde (Cintra),² but the King notified that Portugal required his services When upon his death-bed (Oct 1547)³ he received despatches conferring upon him the title of Viceroy, and reappointing him for another term Hearing the people's hurrahs, he turned to the director of his conscience, Xavier, who was sitting at his side, and said —“How deceitful is this world which offereth three years of honours to one

¹ A E I, p 451

² Penha Verde still belongs to the Castro house it is said that the gardens grew the first oranges in Europe

³ Some place his death on June 6, 1548

who hath but a few minutes of life!" His last moments¹ were worthy of himself, and he died so poor that the city was compelled to pay for his funeral. After some years his remains were transferred from the Goanese Convent of San Francisco to that of S. Domingo de Bemfica,² near Lisbon. Four grandsons carried his bier, and the obsequies were performed by a fifth, Bishop and Inquisitor-General D. Francisco de Castro.

Albuquerque had founded Portugal in the East. Castro had consolidated and completed the Empire-edifice. With the latter ends the description of Indo-Portugal in *The Lusíads* (x 72) it must be confessed that the Poem could not end better.

The following viceroys are more or less connected with the career of Camoens. Castro was succeeded by Garcia de Sá, under whom the Tanore (Tanur)³ Rajah publicly embraced Christianity at Goa. He died on June 13, 1549, and was succeeded by Joaze Cabral (Nov. 15), who built the new chapel of St. Catherine, and was preparing to attack certain Malabar chiefs when his successor arrived.

D. Afonso de Noronha, with whom Camoens was to have sailed in the ship "San Pedro dos Burgalezes," left Lisbon on May 1, 1550. During his rule the fortified

¹ Details are given in A. E. I., pp. 451-52.

² Now a manufactory, the church and tombs are, however, preserved.

³ Some Camoensian commentators made this port, south of Calicut, a "village on the Melinde Coast."

town Califah was taken from the Turks, and a signal defeat was inflicted upon the Javan Kings who blockaded Malacca. In 1552 Sepulveda and his fair wife bequeathed a sad and favourite story to Portuguese poets (x 46-7). During the same year (Dec 2) Xavier died on the island of San-Cian (Sancháo), off Canton the remains were removed first to Malacca and thence to Goa¹. In 1553 Camoens reached India in company with a personal friend, the Jesuit Gonçalo da Silveira (x 93), who was murdered by the Caffres in 1561². The expeditions to Porcá (Parrakad) and the "Straits of Meca" have been noticed. D Afonso ruled four years till Sept 23, 1554, when his successor arrived, retired to Pangim, and thence embarked for Portugal (Jan 15, 1555).

D Pedro Mascarenhas governed between Sept 23, 1554, and the following June, when he died (æet 70). Goa had now time to rest the Viceroy was too old and infirm to undertake expeditions. Francisco Barreto, his successor (June 16, 1555), added the forts of Açurim and Manorá³ to the Goanese. Under this unfriendly viceroy

¹ A E I (p 309) describes this tomb. Formerly the body was visible under a glass case, and the stout old Protestant Captain Hamilton ("New Account of the East Indies") who, half merchant half pirate, infested the Indian Seas, in the early eighteenth century, compares it with "new scalded pig". Now it is exposed only at certain times, the last being in 1878.

² Chap iv § 2

³ In 1665 both were "Praganas" (departments) of Bassein. Dr J Geison da Cunha Art xviii, Bo R Asiatic Soc, read Sept 12, 1874.

Camoens, as has been shown, was appointed to Macáo (1556) and prematurely recalled (1558). During the last year of this governorship the king of Gujarát ceded several places about Cambay. Baireto left Goa on Sept 8, 1558, and his gallant death in Caffraria has been mentioned elsewhere ¹

Meanwhile, on July 11, 1557, died, deeply regretted by the lieges, D Joam III, after a short life of fifty-five years, and a long reign of thirty-six. Without performing any great personal act, he saw Portugal rise to the zenith of her splendour, and, if in his later days clouds gathered over the sky, they were forgotten during the hurricane which overwhelmed his successor. Not the less, however, we perceive that Portugal had now entered upon a course of decline, the turning point being generally placed about 1548. The orbit of her fortunes had been too vast. "the building was much too large for the base." Action was followed by reaction. the "universal idea" was a sore travail resulting, as it always happens, in prostration and exhaustion. The high spirit of the Conquistador was merged in the egotism and self-interest, the insouciance and self-satisfaction of the colonist, so often and so sternly rebuked by Camoens. The deceitfulness of riches began to sap the foundations of her empire in Europe, Asia and Africa, and, as in Rome, luxury avenged a conquered world. Hence a single shake sufficed to bring down the building. Kingdoms which,

¹ Chap iv § 2

like England, Holland, and Portugal, live and thrive by colonising and by foreign commerce, may be compared with a pyramid standing upon the apex. It is the reverse with those based like France and Russia, not to speak of the United States and the Brazil, upon broad lands which supply in abundance every necessary and comfort of life

§ 4 — D SEBASTIAM

(1571-1578);

AND THE ANNALS OF PORTUGAL TILL THE DEATH OF
CAMOENS

D. JOAM III left as only direct heir a grandson, D Sebastiam, the sixteenth who sat upon the throne of Portugal. The general course of his life and his tragical death are probably better known to foreigners than the reigns of his predecessors and successors; certain details, however, must be supplied to the student who would appreciate the exordium and the epilogue of *The Lusjads* ¹

¹ I have often been asked how Camoens could address a mere lad as "Thou Monarch dead" (18), or allude to "That awful Majesty of thine" (19), and so forth. Dryden's absurdity, "Don Sebastian" brought out in 1690, making Almeyda marry *his* half-brother the King, only confused history

D Sebastian (æet 3 in 1557) was virtually an orphan. His father, the Infante D Joam, died eighteen days before his birth. His mother, the Infanta Juana, daughter of Charles V, returned to Spain in the earliest days of her widowhood. During the first part of his fourteen years' minority (1557-1571) the Regency was entrusted to his grandmother, D Catharina, who chose for his tutor the excellent Aleixo de Menezes. Her administration, though somewhat feeble, was popular, and not without prudence. But she had to contend against the uncle of her charge, Cardinal, afterwards the Cardinal-King, D Henrique, a weak-minded ecclesiastic, whose only strength lay in his obstinacy and vindictiveness. After five years' struggle she was compelled to surrender her powers (1562), and to leave the country. The last words she spoke (1578) were, "Let not the King pass over to Africa!"¹

The Cardinal, now Regent, was controlled by the *Parti prêtre*, and by the courtly parasites who always cluster upon an incompetent ruler (x 138-9). He committed the young King's education to PP Montoya and Luis Alvares, and especially to the Jesuit brothers, Luis and Martim Gonçalves da Camara. This was the par noble to whom the good and learned Bishop Jeronymo Osorio addressed his indignant and patriotic letter. The former was Dom Sebastian's preceptor, confessor and private secretary. Martim, a bold, skilful, and ambitious

¹ Cantas Portuguezas, etc. Paris 1819

statesman, became Prime Minister of the realm after 1576 he fell into disfavour, and made way for the excellent Pedro de Alcaçova Carneiro

Thus the young King's training was mystic, religious, fanatic, and it could hardly be of other nature Charles V, bequeathing his ambitious designs, and the carrying out of his device, "Plus ultra," to his son Philip II, was ending his earthly career in the mortifications of the Yuste monastery (1558) Northern Europe was ranging herself under the banner of the "arch-heretic Luther" In England Ehsabeth ("good Queen Bess") was burning Papists and Nonconformists, as her sister ("bloody Mary") had burnt Protestants and schismatics Germany was arming for that thirty years' war between Catholics and Evangelists which, beginning with the murders at Prague (May 23, 1618), and ending with the Peace of Westphalia (Oct 24, 1648), crippled her progress for sundry generations France was torn by the religious dissensions which led to the massacre of the "Huguenots"¹ at Vassy (1562), and to the Eve of St Bartholomew (1572) Spain was no friend to Portugal, and the "Moors" had landed more than once in Algarve. Hence, the chivalrous bigotry, the religion of the sword, carefully inculcated by D Sebastian's tutors, was, perhaps, a fatal necessity of the times

A permanent civil contest separated State and Church, and the palace became the battle-field of selfish intrigue

¹ The derivation of the word is still undetermined *Eidgenossenz* = oath-bound, hardly suffices

and unpatriotic struggle for place, wealth, and power. We can hardly wonder that Camoens detested this condition of things, a pestilent clericalism doubled with laical corruption (vi 95 to end) — he foresaw that it would ruin the land he loved. Hence his rage against the *cafards* (dissembling missionaries, x 119), his bold prayer that the King would assume the reins of empire (i 18), his protest against priestly rule (x 150), and his harping upon the theme, *ne clericus ultra ecclesiam*.

D. Sebastiam, who chose for motto the significant Petrarchian line—

Un bel momm tutta la vita honora,¹

appears in history as no vulgar prince. His presence was peculiar, and, despite his affected simplicity of dress, it showed distinction and dignity. His figure, of middle stature, was broad-shouldered and well-knit. His high Gothic features, blue eyes, blond hair and clear white skin would have been pleasant to look upon, but for a certain austerity and the pendent lower lip which he had inherited from the Hapsburgs.² After his death the neces-

¹ Camoens ends Sonnet ccxcv with this sentiment, which, somehow, smacks of Newgate.

² The feature probably came from Margaretha Maultasch (*la Mafflée*, pocket-mouth), last Countess and "furious She-bear" of the Tyrol, who left her country to Ferdinand Duke of Austria (1359), and died at Vienna (1369). Her full-length portrait, probably not an original, in the Ambiaser-Sammlung (Salle iv No 171), shows the peculiarity which appeared even in the beautiful Marie Antoinette. It has been popularly accounted for

sity of unmasking a series of false Sebastiams brought to light some curious bodily marks, of which sixteen have been described¹ Agile and delighting in athletic exercise, he devoted himself with a kind of phrensy to hunting, the mimicry of noble war He enjoyed jousting, and when his warlike projects bade fair to be realised, he led a life of training better fitted for a captain than for a commander-in-chief He was fond of solitude, and his long lone rambles in park and forest fired a train of inflammable stuff with dangerous day-dreams He had visions of raids in Africa, of an Indian expedition after

in two other ways Some suppose it to be Jewish, and that the Hapsburgs were originally Hebrews of Tunis ("Tu es Carthago"), who, emigrating to Switzerland in the ninth and tenth centuries, traded for a time, bought the castle and domain, at Biugg in the Aargau, which named the house, and were made Counts of the Empire Hence the Kaiser-blau eye for which the family is noted. The vulgar declare that one of the rulers, when attacked by an infantile malady, was placed for warmth in the body of a freshly-killed pig, and thus the small breed which yields the favourite hams of Graz is vulgarly termed *Kaiser-fleisch*

¹ One tooth wanting in the lower jaw, (2) face and hands slightly pitted with small-pox, (3) the right hand longer and broader than the left, (4) the same formation in the corresponding arm, (5) in the flank, (6) the leg and (7) the foot The difference was about one inch, and it gave (8) a peculiarity of gait The trunk was so short from shoulder to waist that the doublet fitted no man of the same size (9), whereas the length from girdle to knee was abnormal (10) On the right shoulder a dark spot, probably a mole (11) the feet small with an unusually high instep (12), toes of equal size (13), and a sixth or false toe on the right foot (14). Nos 15 and 16 were secret

the manner of the wise Macedonian, and of doing El-Islam to death within the walls of Stamboul His glorious reign was to be a succession of military triumphs in the cause of religion.

D Sebastiam was grave, taciturn, cold in manner and devout, or rather fanatic History does not bear out M. D'Antas¹ in asserting that he despised women, a "remarkable trait in a southron of so fiery a nature" On the strength of a portrait, he proposed for Margaret, daughter of Henri II. of France He showed a decided "inclination" for a maid of honour, D Juana de Castro, and for D Juliana, daughter of the Duke of Aveiro When at Tangier, he had an affair with a "Moorish Princess," possibly of the Sherif's family this continued in Lisbon, where the nightly interviews, kept carefully concealed, were generally known Lastly he was engaged after a fashion to one of his cousins

D Sebastiam was a Teuton in his lust for the *Wunderbar*, the marvellous, the chimerical, which predisposed him to rash and impossible undertakings (x 95) And there was an ugly blot upon this fair outline His firmness of character, or rather tenacity of purpose, even in small matters, knew no bounds, and his violent temper was rebellious to counsel In government nothing would satisfy him but positive absolutism, and, Tyranny breeds Tyrants (ix 93) He had much of that arbitrary caprice which mostly accompanies autocratic rule Such

¹ Les Faux Don Sebastien (why not Dom Sebastiam?). Paris : Durand, 1866

in youth were the defects and foibles, which the adulation of courtiers converted into vices equally dangerous to King and kingdom. His minority ended (æt 17) in 1571, and it led to a reign characterised by despotism, by violent reforms, and clerical rigourism, and by wild projects of campaign and crusade.

An attack upon El-Islam was then out of date. The crusading movement, which began with Hildebrand (Gregory VII, 1073-80) had definitively ended with the eighth crusade (1270-90), the death of Saint Louis and the expulsion of the Christians from the "Holy Land" (1291). Even the Capture of Constantinople could not restore life to the corpse. Some energy was shown earlier in the century (1513-22), when John de' Medici (Leo X), the worst of Christians, and the best of boon-companions, was preaching his "holy war". The proposed general and concerted advance broke up, however, into futile detached expeditions. In 1535 Charles V landed at Tunis, captured La Goletta, the stronghold of piratic Barbarossa, sacked the town, and freed 30,000 Christian slaves. But, in 1541, he was driven from Algiers by a storm which severely injured his fleet.¹ A single-handed attack upon Marocco by one who,

¹ The Moslem tradition is that the Dey sent for the head Rabbi, Simon Zemach Zedek, and commanded him to prevent the landing. This noted Cabbalist threw, during the night, a parchment-roll into the sea, and caused a violent hurricane which dispersed the Spanish Armada. The *modus agendi* was the *Shem ha-mphorash* (*Ism el-mufarrash*) or the "explained name" *z. c.* of Jehovah,

knowing nothing of her power, despised the enemy, was to court misfortune. The Moors could bring a large force into the field. These North-Africans were ever an eminently fighting and fanatic, a fierce and even a ferocious race, and modern events prove that they have not degenerated¹

Before describing D Sebastiam's baptism of fire, we must return to the government of Portuguese India after the death of D Joam III. Baretto was succeeded (Sept 3, 1558) by D Constantino de Bragança, fourth son of D Jayme, fourth Duke of that name. He was a personal friend of Camoens, who addressed to him the *Estancias Segundas* (epistolary octaves) imitated from Horace (epist. ii. 1), and written at Goa, in 1561. His many good qualities endeared his name to the colony. Unhappily, the Inquisition was introduced under him into Portuguese India, and religious scruples made him reject the 300,000 (400,000?) cruzados, offered by the king of Pegu, for a bit of ivory preserved at

happily known to few. The Talmud explains the miracles of Isa' bin Maryam to a knowledge of this mystery, the results of a peculiarity of birth.

¹ Marshall O'Donnell captured Tetuan in 1859-60, but only the greatest prudence saved him from the repeated attacks, especially from the supreme effort of the enemy. Had the Maroccans been discreetly commanded, supplied with artillery by the late Major Blakeley, and directed by another person who shall be nameless, the campaign might have ended differently. As it was, the victorious General did not permanently occupy his conquests, and their only result is that the modern "Moors" hate the Spaniards and are friendly to the Portuguese.

Jafnapatam (Ceylon) as a tooth of Buddha.¹ The Archbishop and the Jesuits highly approved of this proceeding, and inscribed a scutcheon with c c c c c, that is,—

Constantinus Coeli Cupidine Cremat Crumenas,

an alliteration as puerile as the whole proceeding. He fell into disfavour, and was calumniated by the Goanese, who charged him with corruption, especially with building, at the public expense, the ship Constantino to carry him home. In truth he made her with his private means and made her well she weathered The Cape seventeen times and lodged four viceroys during her life of a quarter-century. D Constantino headed an expedition to Damam and sent, as has been seen, D Alvaro da Sylveira to the coast of Arabia. He refused the viceroyalty for life offered to him by D. Sebastiam, and, after the usual term of rule, returned to Portugal in Jan 1562. Whereupon the king said to his successor, "Go, and govern like Dom Constantino!"

D Francisco Coutinho, Count of Redondo, reached Goa on Sept 7, 1561. He released from a debtors' jail the Poet, who at once set out with an Armada to the Samiry's country, and lost his friend, D. Tello de Menezes, in the duels at Cochin. After two years the Count died (Feb. 19, 1564), greatly to the regret of his

¹ For details and references the reader will consult A.E.I. (p 453). My friend, Dr. Gerson da Cunha of Bombay, has also published a monograph upon the subject.

protégé The first nominee, D Antam¹ de Noronha, being absent, Joam de Mendonça, the second, succeeded (Feb 4, 1564), and ruled till September of the same year.

Noronha then came to power; and, during his viceroyalty, the great Brahminical (Hindu) kingdom of the Carnatic fell (1565) by the battle of Talikot. He built the long wall along the creek, surrounding the Eastern shore of "Tissuary,"² or Goa Island. He also befriended the Poet, with whom he had carried arms in Africa. He sent D Leoniz Pereira to Malacca and fortified Mangalore. Noronha, says Couto, was one of the most honourable of viceroys, yet his enemies caused his recall (Sept 10, 1568). He passed to Cochim and died of disgust before reaching Mozambique as has been said, Camoens voyaged home in the viceregal ship

¹ Antam and Antonio must not be confounded as by foreigners generally (see our charts and maps of the Cape Verdean Archipelago). The first is Máí Antún of the Fayyum and Thebes, who, with Máí Búlos (S Paul) of that ilk, founded monastic life when Constantine had given peace to the Church. His portraits, common in Coptic convents, are in episcopal dress, whereas Paul appears in hermit's attire. His convent on the Galalah Block, west of the Suez Gulf, is the oldest cloister in Christendom ("Gold mines of Midian," chap 11), and supplies the Abúna or Patriarch of Abyssinia. I need hardly speak of St Anthony born at Lisbon, and buried in bits at Padua - he is represented with a lily and accompanied by the pig, alluding to one of his miracles. Hence the "Tantony pig" of Catholic England.

² Barros "Tiswady" (11 5 1), and the "Tis Vadi" of Couto (iv. 10, 4), because it contains thirty (tis) villages (Wadi)

D Luis d'Athaide, of the Athougua house, reached Goa (Sept 10, 1568) when the capital was suffering from a plague. This "last giant of Portuguese glory" utterly defeated Alı Adil Shah (Idalchan), fifth king of Bijapur, who relied upon the opportunity for recovering his power. After governing with honour till Sept 6, 1571, D Luis returned to Europe and was magnificently received. He was succeeded by D Antonio de Noronha. A royal letter of March, 1572, the year in which *The Lusians* was published, recalled this Viceroy and also caused his death. The next was Antonio Moniz Barreto, who governed for three years (1573-56) till relieved by D Diogo de Menezes.

Meanwhile D Sebastian had begun campaigning in the famine year of 1574. The times, I have shown,¹ appeared out of joint, and Portugal was suffering all manner of miseries. The King, however, had levied a force of 400 cavalry and 1,200 pikemen and harquebussiers, with which he landed at Tangier, under the pretext of visiting his African possessions. Viscount Juroinha believes, as has been noticed, that he was accompanied by the tried and trusty sword which had so often been drawn in the wars of Asia and Africa. The king probably aimed at recovering Alcacerseguei,² Azamor,³

¹ Chap 1 § 1

² "The small Fort-Palace" opposed to Alcacerquivir (El-Kası el-Kabır) the Great

³ Azamor or Azamúr was "built by the Berbers, in whose language it means olives, which are produced in great perfection in the neighbourhood. Leo Africanus says that in his time it contained

Arzilla (Asíla), and Zafim (Saffi), the outposts abandoned in 1549. But the "Blessing of the Banners" at Belem, and the penitential processions of the Brotherhoods little availed so inadequate a force. The *jornada* (raid) was a mere *coup de tête*, at best a reconnaissance. The "Virgin Knight" retired after a few skirmishes, in which he had shown the greatest bravery. The blood-hound had now tasted blood.

Returning from his poor conquest, D Sebastiam applied himself with equal vigour to the task of violent reform. Loose and luxurious living in court, camp and church, was to be abolished by the anachronism of sumptuary laws. Delicate meats were forbidden, and the lieges were ordered to dine on plain roast and boiled. But the spices of India had banished for ever the noble and republican simplicity of the Past. The orders were derided, and the King was probably confirmed in his belief that war must work the practical reformation of his country.

Circumstances precipitated a campaign. In the earlier half of the sixteenth century Marocco had been divided between two brother sherifs,¹ Maulá Ahmed and

5,000 inhabitants; but 1,000 would be nearer the truth in the present day." So wrote my lamented friend, Dr. Arthur Leared, who had made the subject of the Maghrib his own, in the pleasant and picturesque little volume—the last he printed—"Visit to the Court of Marocco" (London, Low, 1879). I shall often have occasion to quote from its pages and from the private correspondence of its able and amiable author.

¹ In El-Islam generally, the Sádát (Sayyids) or posterity of Mohammed through his eldest grandson, El-Hasan, are men of the

Mohammed When they fell out the younger beheaded the elder, and was killed in turn by his own Turkish guards (1556) Mohammed was succeeded by his son, Abdullah who, after slaying two of his four brothers, named as heir his bastard Ahmed (1572) Hereupon Abd el-Malik who, as senior of the family, had an indefeasible right to the Masnad (throne), fled to Constantinople After long years of weary waiting, he obtained efficient aid from the Sultan, landed in Marocco, and put to flight the usurper, Maulá Ahmed bin Abdillah

The latter, when refused asylum by Philip II, addressed himself to D Sebastiam, who at once rose at the bat But his wiser Council was unanimous in the

pen, of religion, of politics, while the Shuafá (Sherifs) descended from El-Husayn martyred at Kerbela (D'Herbelot "Meccah"), are men of the sword, the ruling and executive branch See my "Pilgrimage" &c (ii 257), where the Arab idea of the Sherif being the offspring of El-Hasan is given In Egypt the word "Sayyid" is generic, chief or leader, while the Sherif always derives from Mohammed thus all Sherifs are Sayyids, but all Sayyids are not Sherifs The Sherif or Prince of Meccah was formerly styled Amír. Few of the Apostle's so called descendants are now genuine In the Sunni Sect they are held to be Husaynis, and many declare the race of El-Hasan to be extinct among Persian Shuhs, however, we find, although rarely, the agnomen El-Hasani

Maulá (lord, master, leader) is the imperial title in Marocco; and we often find it, notably in Robinson Crusoe, perverted to "Muley" Dryden has Muley Moloch, the usurping emperor of Barbary, also in love with "Almeyda" (proh pudoi!) The Sherif of Marocco, who is independent of the Sultan, wears green robes, as a scion of the apostolic tree, and appears at levees upon a charger with green trappings

conviction that Portugal, single-handed, could not command a sufficient force. Even the Jesuits and the priest-party saw that it was no longer possible to destroy El-Islam by a Catholic league, and to found a Universal Church. This visionary Crusade,¹ which is continually

¹ I am sorry upon this point to differ toto cœlo from Viscount Juomenha (1142-46 and 507), who sees only one side of a great question, and whose Utopian dreams are those of a churchman not a statesman. He is right in asserting that the "Protestants" (Wickliffites, Hussites, Lutherans, &c) preferred the Moslem to the "Mass", many do so still, and *au Turc plutôt qu'au Pape* is a cry not yet forgotten.

Turk, Jew or atheist

May enter here, but not a Papist

Our day, however, has also witnessed the monstrous phenomenon of the Vatican siding with the Seraglio, and objecting to its Latin co-religionists that a war of independence might benefit "Greek Christianity." The "Universal Church," intended to fuse Orthodox with Romanist, is a chimæra which has deluded Anglican as well as Catholic. In matters of faith, of sentiment, the smaller the difference the greater is the division. When a man proves that two Churches hold *almost* the same tenets, he also proves that they are separated by a long interval, the near in blood being often the most bloodthirsty.

Luther was *not* a "genius of evil" this is a mere surface view. He embodied the spirit of free thought that belongs to the northern races. Superior physical strength had enabled them to conquer their old conqueror, Rome. Was it to be expected that they would submit their minds to the despotism of a Roman bishop and of an Italian conclave, especially in an age of ecclesiastical corruption? "Protestantism," like the discoveries of Columbus and Da Gama, was part of a new and mighty movement of the human mind: the printing-press, the revival of classical learning, and the opening of

cropping up in Camoens, was by no means popular. men everywhere felt that it was no man's affair. The Papal power itself was lukewarm. Gregory XIII, canonist and calendarist, who was at war with Calvinism,—"The Institutes" having been published in 1534,—and who was busy with the Council of Trent (1545), had neither men nor money to spare. he issued, however, a Bull, and presented the young King with a talisman (*Estancias Terceiras*), an arrow of St Sebastian, who is buried at Rome, Soisson, Narbonne and Peligny, near Nantes. By mere accident a contingent of 700 "Papalini" was pressed into the Portuguese service, while en route to support the Irish rebellion, led by one Thomas Stukeley, created by His Holiness, "Marquis of Leinster"

the eastern and western worlds expanded a "quarrel of friars" into a religious revolution. Again, Protestantism has *not* "hindered for centuries the civilisation of Europe." She has, on the contrary, protested against progress somewhat less violently than the older faith. She suggests, despite herself, that true Protestantism which protests against any Church taking the lead of affairs in any civilised State. Lastly, by breaking up the formidable solidarity of the *corpus ecclesiasticum*, and by reverting to the true *ἐκκλησία*, the *vox populi*, she will lead to the greatest revolution human society has yet seen, a revolution which will transform the world.

Finally, the Portuguese commentator's charge against England, that she aggrandises herself by dividing and ruining her friendly neighbours, is a touching proof, among many, of that ingratitude which results from national favours. France, who beat Portugal and drove out her court, figures in modern Lusitanian literature as her friend. England, who freed Portugal, as her foe. Such benefits are twice unblest, they curse those who give and those who take.

D Sebastian then sent his well-known minister, Carneiro, to open three points with his uncle Philip. These were Co-operation in invading Africa, marriage with one of the Infantas and a personal interview. All was satisfactorily arranged—after a fashion. The offensive alliance, however, dwindled to a supply of fifty war-galleys and 5,000 men-at-arms for the capture of “Larache” (El-Arish),¹ upon the Atlantic seaboard, and even this was fettered with the condition that the campaign should begin before 1577. Presently the threatening attitude of the Porte, the war of the *Gueux*, the water-Guesen, water-beggars, or Flemish adventurers in the Netherlands, which eventually brought about the downfall of Portuguese India, and the supremacy of the Hollanders, severely taxed the strength of the empire. The Duke of Alva, who petitioned for his recall from the Netherlands, had declared that Portugal required, besides her own slender force, at least 15,000 troops tried in the wars, Spaniards, Germans and Italians. Moreover like all the ablest advisers, he deprecated an attempt to penetrate beyond the African litoral.

Historians differ in their judgments of the part played on this occasion by the son of Charles V, *llamado* (called) *con justa razon, el prudente*. A man who “pieced the lion’s force with the cunning of the fox”; a politician who firmly believed in the moral law, *pecuniæ obediunt omnes*, and who acted upon the principle *qui nescit*

¹ Dr. Leared, p. 61. It must not be confounded with El-Arish (Mediterranean Rhinocolua)

dissimulare, nescit regnare, a king so deeply veiled in the egotism, the art and the mystery of intrigue called statecraft, may well have said, as was reported, of his nephew's warlike projects, If he win we shall have a good son-in-law, if he lose, a good kingdom. His game, in fact, was certain. The success of Portugal would free Spain from the African Corsairs that harried her coast. Failure would throw back the enfeebled state into the arms of an empire from which, some two centuries before, she had been severed by the sword of Afonso, the Brave. The correspondence clearly shows that the uncle did his best to dissuade a head-strong youth from personally commanding the expedition. "A perfidious tenacity!" cry those who suspect D Philippe.

The interview took place at Guadalupe (Dec 14, 1576), four years after the publication of *The Lusíads*. The uncle favoured his kinsman with the title of "Majesty",¹ the marriage, it is believed, was settled, and arrangements for the pseudo-Crusade were combined. Meanwhile the gallant bastard, Ahmed bin Abdillah, who was labouring for the cause at Tangier, corrupted the Kaid (Governor) placed over Asila by the reigning Sheikf

¹ The earliest Portuguese kings were styled *vossa mercê* (your Goodness, your Honour), now addressed to a peasant. It became *vossa Senhoria* (your Lordship), under Ferdinand-Isabella and D Manoel. Portugal then promoted it to *vossa Alteza* (your Highness), and "your Majesty" was imported into Spain by Charles V from Germany, the land of "crown princes," "archdukes," "serenities" and so forth. *Vossa Maestà* was definitively adopted by D Joam IV after the Restoration (1640).

Maulá Abd el-Malik, and the town opened her gates to the Portuguese. This turn of the tide excited D Sebastian to the prejudice of patience and prudence. The treasury containing no wherewithal to hire troops in Tuscany or Nassau, new taxes and benevolences were imposed, nay, almost enforced upon the people, causing abundant discontent, and the futile hurry of the preparations took much from their efficiency.

The flower of Portugal's fighting-force was in India. The officers and gentlemen of the Court, instead of laying in stores of junk, biscuit and water, filled their canteens with bonbons and sweetmeats. To arms and armour they preferred rich suits of silk and gold brocade, and their tents were furnished with precious stuffs and silver vases. Chauvinism was rampant. One carpet-knight, wont to "caper in a lady's chamber," swore to fry and eat, with oil and vinegar, the Moorish Emperor's ears. The King, whose head was "full of the fumes of Marocco," ordered a sermon for preaching on the occasion of his conquest, and prepared the Imperial, which was to supersede the Royal, Crown. But his soldiers, who were little cared for and poorly rationed, could hardly have liked their prospects.

Portuguese writers absolve the nation by charging the whole imprudence upon the King. Yet he seems to have galvanised the country into an enthusiasm which began with himself. Padre Luiz Alvares is compelled to cast blame, not upon one party, but upon the general. "Who killed thee?" asks the celebrated orator, apostrophising

the Monarch in a funeral eulogium "Killed thee the Bishop, killed thee the Regulars, killed thee the Seculars, killed thee the Grandees, killed thee the citizens, killed thee the plebeians, killed thee I, killed thee all of us, since no hand was put forth to withhold thee from thy doom" They all were in fault and, consequently, no one was to blame

The hall is still shown in the Cúria Palace where Dom Sebastian held his last levée, and where the crown fell from his head. On March 14, 1578, the King wrote to the Prior of the Coimbra Convent, begging the loan of the sword carried in battle by "the great and valiant first king of this reign, El Rei Dom Afonso Amriquez"¹ Three months afterwards (June 14) the Archbishop blessed, in the Cathedral of Lisbon, the Royal Banner, which showed, for the first time, the Cinques of Portugal, capped by an Imperial Crown yet to be won. This was the flag which, when the fate of battle turned against him, the unhappy King strove to recover as his shroud. He left the building with his suite in the order of their entrance, refused to return to the *Paço do Ribeiro* (Strand-palace), and boarded his galley in order to hasten the movements of his captains.

At last! On June 24, the Armada of some 940 keel, under Admiral D. Diogo de Sousa, sailed over Tagus' bar. It was led by the King, who had constituted himself Commander-in-Chief of his 17,000 men or 24,000,

¹ The letter is printed in facsimile by the *Antiquario Combricense*.

including 6,000 to 7,000 mercenaries. Despite this precipitate departure, invaluable time was wasted upon the voyage at Lagos, at Cadiz and at Tangier, this port being made only on July 6. Ample leisure was thus given to the enemy for mustering and concentrating his forces. The rash young general should at once have attacked Larache (El-Arish), the harbour lying immediately to the South. He amused himself with hunting for three days (again Actæon!), and with skirmishing about the environs. He then embarked for Asíla, and lay twelve days about the town, disdainng even to fortify his camp. A reconnoissance in force, commanded by the Sherif's brother, was readily repulsed, D Sebastiam taking an active part in the mêlée which he reported to Lisbon with some emphasis. Abd el-Malik made overtures for peace, actually offering to cede Larache. They were not honoured with a reply.

On the 29th of July, one of the hottest months in a climate of extremes, the expedition marched from Asíla on the Atlantic main. Its objective was "Alcacerquivir" (El-Kasr el-kabír) so called from the legend of its foundation¹. The townlet surrounded by its gardens, lies twenty miles from Larache, on the high way to Fez².

¹ Gerhard Rohlfs ("Adventures in Marocco," London, 1874) assigns to it a population of 30,000, which Dr Leared, who tells the legend, reduces to 6,000-7,000. Like all these places in Atlasland, it is almost a ruin.

² Ibn Batutah explains the name of his native city by "Fás" (a battle-axe), the weapon found there when digging the foundation.

and Mequinez, distant some seventy miles. The advance was harassed by continual attacks, and the soldiers, who carried rations for only five or six days, suffered from heat, hunger and thirst.

At a bridge, still spanning the Wed¹ M'Hassan (Muhassan), to the north of El-Kasr, took place the affray called the "Battle of the Bridge." The enemy retired and the King advanced. On the night of Aug 3, he took up what he considered a strong position, fronting his objective. In 1221, or south of the town El-Kasr, runs the Lucos² or Larache river, here some eighty yards broad, and receiving lower down the Muhassan affluent. Thus both flanks were completely exposed³. The experienced Sherif, Abd el-Malik, noting the position, exclaimed that the Portuguese King was

¹ "Wed," for Wady (a fiumana, a winterbrook) in the debased Arabic of North-Western Africa, has been adopted under the form "Oued" by French, Spanish and Portuguese. Dr. Leared (p. 5, etc.) calls the Wady "M'Hassen" others Mokhazem.

² Pronounced by the people El-Kus, and corrupted by Europeans to Lucos and Louccos. It is the Mulucha of Camoens (III 105), and the Lixus flumen placed by Pliny (v. 1) and P. Mela (III 10) in Mauritania Tingitana. The Maroccans would term it a "Milyáneh" (full) because it flows all the year round, as opposed to a "Wady."

³ M. D'Antas (loc. cit.) has confused the topography by giving two inlets to the Lucos, the Portuguese standing between them. This capital error which defends both flanks has been duly corrected by Dr. Leared (Appendix A, pp. 65-68). The MS. after which my late friend kindly sent me shows the Muhassan, after receiving a small affluent, falling into the Lucos below El-Kasr, and he places the battle in the "Doab" of the Muhassan-Lucos, the great plain extending south to El-Kasi.

lost Misfortunes were also foreseen by Maulá Ahmed, who, however, could not persuade D Sebastiam to delay battle till the afternoon, when the great heat had passed

At dawn, on Aug 4, 1578, began the terrible drama known to history as the "Battle of Alcacerquivir" D Sebastiam, after expending time upon his devotions, behaved with characteristic ardour and wilfulness He forbade any of his captains to take the offensive against the opponent without his formal orders Thus the small Portuguese force of 15,000, mostly pikemen, with 36 guns and 2,400 horses, had not even the poor chance of a general charge The day has often been described Its details belong to another place, and the merest sketch must here suffice Maulá Abd el-Malik, who had, they say, been poisoned, commanded from a litter, and died "in the arms of victory" According to Portuguese annalists, he led 54,000 men, besides hosts of Básh-buzuks or irregular horsemen He disposed his force in crescent form, the cusps or wings being extended to outflank and overlap the enemy this tactic failed three centuries later at the Battle of Isly, and succeeded only too well at Isandula of the Amazulu The Moslem centre was on high ground, masked and ready to attack at a moment's notice The invader's flank was turned, a few brilliant futile charges were easily repulsed by numbers at least treble, the gunners were either cut down or compelled to fly, the fatal *sauve qui peut* was heard; and, after four hours, some 9,000 Portuguese strewed the field.

D Sebastiam, instead of directing his army, had in-

dulged himself in sabreing Moors. He now fought, not for victory, but for a soldier's death, and his last moments are full of tragic interest. Maulá Ahmed offered to escort him to Tangier; he refused. He rejected the enemy's offers of life at the price of honour, he might have been saved by yielding himself prisoner. Sword in hand, and followed by only 300 men, he flung himself upon the Moors, and, finally, he plunged desperately into the enemy's ranks at the head of his diminished band of gentlemen. There he was lost to sight. Mauli Ahmed, who had shown great bravery, was eventually drowned when swimming the Wed Muhassan. Three kings in one day!

The newly acclaimed Sherif, Ahmed bin Muhommed, assembling the Portuguese prisoners immediately after the battle, demanded intelligence concerning their King Sebastian de Rezende, a gentleman of the bedchamber, offered to show the remains, and was sent with an escort to fetch them. The corpse, found stripped of armour and raiment, was covered by a cloth, and carried by a horseman across his saddle-bow, the hands being tied to prevent frightening the animal. When it was placed upon a mat in the presence of the Moslem, he could hardly master his emotion, and the Christian nobles showed by tears and sobs that no mistake had been made. A deep and mortal scimitar-cut seamed the right side of the head, evidently after the helmet had fallen off, there were others of minor importance, and one of the upper arms had been ploughed by a ball.

The body was provisionally buried with due honour

at El-Kasr, in the Palace of the Káid, Ibrahim el-Sofyam¹ The Sherif allowed it to be exhumed during the ensuing September at the instance of the Cardinal-king, D Henrique It was deposited at Ceuta till 1582, when Philip II removed the coffin with great pomp to the Church of the Hieronymites, Belem About a century afterwards, D Pedro II (of Portugal) opened the shell that still contained the bones, built a tomb and inscribed it with the following unhappy lines —

Conditur hoc tumulo, *si vera est fama*, Sebastus
 Quem tulit in Libycis mois properata plagis
 Nec dicas falli regem qui vivere credit,
 Pro rege extincto mors quasi vita fuit

The italicised words, a purpureus pannus, evidently borrowed by the latinaster from the "Georgics" (iv 43), read as if there were some doubt concerning the tenant of the tomb, when none was intended

D Sebastiam's history after death is a curious episode in the national annals He began by appearing in the form of many claimants he ended with becoming a *redivivus* The latter class is found all the world over it is usually the birth of great triumphs or national reverses which stir and fever the public mind The Portuguese in the sixteenth century, depressed by the

¹ The "one Abiaen Sufiane" of that model failure, Murray's "Handbook of Portugal" (xxiv-xxvi) The writer tells us that the body was never ransomed," and therefore (!) the probability is that it could never be authenticated" Mr J J Aubertin did wrong to quote such rubbish (note to Canto 1)

loss of their liberties, and inflamed by the memories of a glorious past, refused to believe in the death of their King. They may not have liked the young despot, but they must have regarded him with the fondness of pride when they dubbed him The Regretted. Surely Dom Sebastian will some day come to his own again, will raise from the dust his people Portugall. Hence every pretender was eagerly acclaimed by a host of ardent believers. Four came forward before the century expired, and all were easily put out of the way by Spain.

But when years ran on, and Dom Sebastian's term of life had expired, he became a *redivivus* proper. The history of these supernaturals is curious on account of the causes which produce them. Thus the Jews hold that holy David sits in the cave under his tomb, that his flesh will not see corruption and that he will reappear as the Messiah. Thus Saint John the Evangelist, like Enoch and Elijah, did not die, the base of the story being a misunderstood text (John xvi 21-22) hence, "habited in priest's garments, he descended the steps of an altar into an open grave, in which he laid himself down, not in death, but in sleep, until the coming of Christ." Nero, last of the Cæsars, was another. Mostly these phenomena hibernate in magic antres, as the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (fifth century), and the Hohenstaufen F Barbarossa¹. Others dwell in enchanted islands like

¹ Drowned (A.D. 119) during the Cœur-de-Lion Crusade in the River Kalykadamus (*hodie* Selef) of Seleucia Ptolemaea. A Ptolemaean had a mania for finding his bones in Tyre, but he did not find them.

Saint Borondon and his suite Others simply disappear like the Moslem Mahdi in our ninth century he is expected to return, and so is Hindu Vishnu in form of Kalki D Sebastian became *O Principe Encuberto* (the hidden Prince), and his "second coming" a tenet, a belief, a religion The "Sebastianistas," as they were called, looked forward to a manner of Messiah, rather Judæan, however, than Christian Their austere lives have at times been thrown away in acts of terrible fanaticism, especially in the sacrifice of women and children to hasten the advent¹

Again, the "Redivivus" is often kept alive for political purposes The Braganza House used the Sebastianist legend to strengthen Portuguese nationality, and the superstition caused great difficulties for Marshal Junot In those times a quarter of the population, it is computed, were believers Some day the Greek priest, who, carrying the Pyx, disappeared with the column of St Sophia whilst Mohammed, the Osmanli, was urging his charger

The cave is in the Kyfhauser mountains of Thuringia, whence Rufus at times sends forth his dwarf slave —

Geh vor das Schloss, O Zweig!
Und schau ob noch die Raben
Heßliegen um den Berg.

Go, dwarf, the Schloss before, And see if Ravens still, Ciryound the mount and o'er

¹ Every history of Portugal and the Brazil notices these horrors. Not is the sect extinct as some believe I have spoken with them at Brazilian S Paolo and the "Seitam" (interior), where they still linger

up to the high altar, will keep his word and reappear when he does appear the Turk will finally pass the Hellespont Even Maximilian, first Emperor of Mexico, may be seen again His body was identified as carefully as that of D Sebastian, yet many of the Istrian vulgus, especially at Trieste and Pola, believe that their beloved Archduke still lives beyond the seas, under the charge of three jailors, captains in the English, French and Austrian navies

The crowning disaster of El-Kasr led to the downfall of Portugal in the East D Luis d'Athaide, named Viceroy for the second time (Aug 31, 1578), died of grief on March 10, 1581 The ruin was precipitated by internal disorganisation, and by the neglect of the Spanish conquerors The intruders were attacked by the Turks, the Persians and "the Moghul" Holland, revolting from Philip II., seized their Indian colonies, and was followed by England The Prince of Maskat drove them from Arabia, Diu (1668) and East Africa, where their scanty garrisons were massacred Siam and Ava, China and Japan were not slow to follow suit; and the result was a general and total collapse D Joam IV., who restored independence to Portugal (1640), could not save her Oriental empire ¹

¹ The subject does not belong to the life of Camoens: for details see Introductions to Hakluyt's "Correa" (pp. li-lxvi), and Hakluyt's "Varthema" (ci-cvi).

D. HENRIQUE

(1578-80)

"THE CHASTE," who is described as "uniting the sceptre with the ring" (to the damage of both), was sixty-eight years at his accession, and so infirm that he was suckled like a babe. Painfully unlike the first of his name, he died in the year which may have witnessed a far greater loss, Camoens (?), and the lieges sang of him.—

*Viva El Rei Dom Henrique
Nos infernos muytos anos;
Que dexou no testamento
Portugal aos Castelhanos*

{May the King Dom Henry live | Many years in Satan's reign |
Who by will and testament | Left our Portugal to Spain }

With D Henrique expired the house of Viseu, and the unimportant event gave rise to momentous consequences. The succession had not been settled, and a host of claimants took the field. The six principals presently resolved themselves into two. These were D Antonio,¹ Prior of Crato, illegitimate son of D Luis, the brother of D Joam III, and Philip II, whose claim through his mother, the Infanta Isabella, sister of D. Joam III and the Cardinal, was null and void by her marriage. But the latter had with him the "God of big

¹ "Don Antonio" was acknowledged by the English (Hakluyt's "Lancaster," p. 7).

battalions" The others were the Pope, Gregory XIII ; the Prince of Parma ; Elizabeth of England and D Joam, Duke of Braganza, who headed the national party Some preparations for defence were organised by D Francisco de Almeida, who was encouraged by Camoens, another of the "patriot poet's" failures even The Lusiads could not light the spark of patriotic enthusiasm So depressed was the national spirit that rejoicings, instead of opposition, met the Duke of Alva when he marched upon Lisbon and proclaimed D Philip I of Portugal This monarch presently visited in person what had become once more a mere province of his empire At the capital he honoured himself by asking after Camoens, and expressed his regret when told that the Arch-poet had passed beyond human aid The death had been so far happy that it spared a weary spirit the last misery which can afflict a lover of his native land This national degradation was the opening scene of the "sixty years' captivity", and it reduced the unfortunate country to her lowest ebb—*donde*, says a Portuguese writer in 1836, *atè hoje não ha podido mais levantar-se*

END OF VOL. I.

CAMOENS:

HIS LIFE AND HIS LUSIADS.

A COMMENTARY

BY

RICHARD F. BURTON

(TRANSLATOR OF THE LUSIADS).

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOLUME II.



LONDON:

BERNARD QUARITCH,

15 PICCADILLY, W.

1881.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

285. c. 71.

LONDON :
WYMAN AND SONS, PRINTERS, GREAT QUEEN STREET,
LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.

CHAPTER IV.

(GEOGRAPHICAL.)

§ I. PRELIMINARY : COSMOGRAPHY OF CAMOENS : NAUTICAL INSTRUMENTS.

WHILE the historical Cantos of The Lusiads have been copiously annotated, Commentators have perfunctorily treated the geographical,—*opus impeditum et facundiæ minimè capax*. Yet, as Hakluyt says, topography and chronology are the “Sunne and Moone, the right eye and the left of all historie.” The admirers of Camoens could not fail to remark the poetic genius which presents the *orbis situm* with so much and such beautiful picture; and the bardic art with which his description of the various regions, the complement of his annals, is made to reflect honour upon the Fatherland. Even the dry waste of cosmical and astronomical science (x. 77–9 and x. 120–141) is overgrown with flowers and fruits. The few stanzas (iii. 6–20) in which Da Gama describes Europe before entering upon the national story, are models of compression; and, to mention no more, the course of the Armada (Cantos i. and ii.) proves that the Poet, who devotes some 130 stanzas to the voyage, had thoroughly mastered his subject.

Before entering into the Geography of Camoens, I

would offer a few observations upon his *Cosmography*, which is that of Lucretius, Virgil and Lucan, Dante and Ariosto, Spenser and all the host of præ-Copernicans. The "geocentric theory," depending upon the imperfect evidence of man's eye, was the earliest speculation, at one time adopted by all races, from the Egyptians and the Chaldæans to the Tahitans and Polynesian, the Peruvian and the Mexican peoples. "Earth in the middle centre pight" is flat, and four-cornered or circular, domed by a solid sky wherein the luminaries are fast fixed. The sun, which the Hebrews created after earth,¹ moves round it; and can therefore be "stopped." This greater light, like the others, in fact like all creation, served for the use of man, whose ignorance flattered his feebleness and vanity by representing his speck of matter as the Core of Cosmos. Cosmas (Indicopleustes) holds earth an oblong of 6,000 by 12,000 miles. The "Heathens," bound to no such Hebrew belief, approached much nearer truth. Nigidius, the Roman philosopher, was called "Figulus," because, on return from Greece (B.C. 60), he taught that the globe whirls round like a potter's wheel. The diurnal periaxis was known to Hicetas of Syracuse (Cicero, *Acad. Quæst.*, ii. 39), to Philolaus the Pythagorean (fifth century), to Heraclides Ponticus (third century B.C.), and to Diog. Laertius: the heliocentric system was recognised by Pythagoras, Aristotle and Nicolaus of Cusa. Neither,

¹ Genesis i. 10-13; and 14-19. The four corners of the Earth are mentioned by the Prophets (*passim*) and Enoch (xviii. 2).

however, was generally accepted by the Greeks. The natural theory died hard; and, despite Bacon who refuted it, and the many Pontifical decrees against the motion of the earth, Nicolaus Copernicus of Frauenberg (1543), Galileo (1615) and Newton finally demolished it.¹

And as with Earth, so with the "Heavens." Some hypothesis was necessary to explain the independent movements of the sun and moon, the planets and stars; and hence the doctrine of sphere-layers, concentric and eccentric. The Chaldæans owned seven great heavenly bodies revolving in seven orbits: these were, doubtless, borrowed from the Egyptian hierophants, who had proposed seven circles, the number of their planets, each being "domified" in its solid Crystalline. Luna, in the first or terrene heaven, a copy of earth, revolves round the latter: Sol occupies the second stage with Mercury and Venus for satellites, and the other "firmaments" belong to Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. The Sabæans numbered ten, the highest being the "sphere of spheres"; and the same is still the case among the Maoris of New Zealand.² Pythagoras, who

¹ There are still men who believe in the flat earth of Hebrew or rather Egyptian cosmography; but the nineteenth century looks upon them as eccentrics. For the "Pontifical Decrees," see 2d edit., Longmans, 1870. Copernicus (Kopernik), when Camoens was still young, printed at Nürnberg, his great work, *De Revolutionibus orbium cœlestium, libri sex*, 1543. For Nicolaus de Cusa see Humboldt's "Cosmos" (Bohn), ii. 692.

² The lowest of the Maori heavens is separated from earth by a

followed the Egyptians, assumed seven transparent spheres which carried with them the "heavenly bodies"; and through these strata he saw the darker circle in which stood the fixed stars. His system was adopted by Plato and Aristotle; and was preserved with some modifications by Ptolemy.¹

The eleventh, highest or external sphere, is the Empyrean, the throne or sensorium of the Deity. Beneath lies the "first mover or primum mobile, who in every twenty-four hours doth perform his circular motion from east to west, carrying with him all other inferior bodies whatsoever."² Below it again, the crystalline heaven of the fixed stars revolves,³ according to the Arabs, in 49,000 years, their *annus magnus*: moderns, calculating by the precession of the Equinoxes (12" per ann. east),

diaphanous solid, ice or crystal; and along its inner side glide the sun and the moon. Above are the reservoirs of rain and wind; the abodes of spirits of light and similar substances; and, lastly, Rehua the Blessed. Thus are explained the stepped pyramids of the "Otaheitans" (Cook, Pinkerton, xi. 514), which reflect the planetary temple-stages of the Chaldæans and Mexicans. In poetical and popular parlance, Puck is "swifter than the moon's sphere"; and we still talk of the "music of the spheres" and of being "in the seventh (highest) heaven."

¹ The sequence is best explained by a diagram: for a good specimen see "John Davis, the Navigator," ably edited for the Hakluyt Society (1880) by Captain A. H. Markham, R.N.

² "Seaman's Secrets," Davis (*loc. cit.*), p. 293.

³ Sir J. Herschel finds that luminiferous ether, which acts as a solid rather than a fluid, "will go far to realise the ancient idea of a crystalline orb."

reduce the term to 20,980. Under the firmament or zodiacal heaven (No. 8) are the stars, each in his several circle; the opposing motions produced that sweet accord and "harmony of heaven," unheard by the gross ears of mortal men.

In Camoens the Empyrean ("of pure fire," x. 81) is the Throne of God, the seat of the Angels and the Home of the Blest. He speaks of the sevenfold skies (i. 21), alluding to the planets, but he expressly admits (x. 82) eleven spheres fitting into one another,

—As in a nest
Of boxes. (FANSHAW, x. 81, 1-2.)

The Ptolemeian system did good work: it proved itself, in poetic hands from Lucretius (lib. v.) to Tasso, as far superior for poetry as its modern successor is for prose.

The schema was adopted from Ptolemy by the Christian Fathers, by the Poets and by the Arab philosophers, who garnished it with marvellous details. In mediæval and Moslem astronomy the succession is:—

Empyrean,	the sphere of	The Deity.
In Arabic :—Arsh el-Rahmán (“ throne of the Merciful ”). ¹		
{ Primum mobile	Seraphim, Angelic hierarchies. ²	
{ Fixed Stars	Cherubim.	
{ Saturn ³	{ Thrones, contemplators :	
	{ Jannat 'Adn (Eden) of Pearls.	
{ Jupiter	{ Dominions, Kings :	
	{ Firdaus, ⁴ of Red Gold.	
{ Mars	{ Virtues, Crusaders :	
	{ J. el-Naím (delights) ; white silver.	
{ Sun	{ Powers, Theologians :	
	{ El-Khuld (eternity) of green coral.	
{ Venus	{ Principalities, lovers :	
	{ J. el-Ma'wá (rest) ; of chrysolite.	
{ Mercury	{ Archangels, men of fame :	
	{ J. el-Salám (peace), of ruby.	
{ Moon	{ Angels, Monks, etc. :	
	{ J. el-Jelál (glory) ; of white pearls.	

To understand the *Erdkunde* of Camoens, we must study it from the map of Ptolemy with due regard to

¹ Above it are the seven seas of light, the crystal sphere of Anaximenes, “thick inlaid with patines of bright gold” (Spenser).

² Bacon with Dionysius the Areopagite makes the seraphim, or angels of love, precede the cherubim (angels of light), and these take higher rank than their congeners of office and domination (“Inst. Magna,” lib. i.).

³ A more material use is now found for this planet: observers note that its cycle of twenty-nine and a half years has influenced the bad seasons of 1816, 1845 and 1879.

⁴ The Sansk. Paradéshas and the Zend Paradáeso (afterwards Gangdiz); whence the Greek Paradeisos (a garden); and the Arab. Firdaus. The Elysian Fields (Alizuth = El-lizzat, joy) or regions of the vulgar Blest were near the moon: higher spirits affected “Æther,” the source of pure fire.

the changes, some for the better, others for the worse, introduced by the Moslem and the early European, especially the Portuguese, explorers who travelled with the Periplus and the Pelusian in hand.¹ Our Poet probably accepted the first meridian in the Fortunate Islands:² he certainly adopted the nine Climates and the five Zones of Parmenides (nat. B.C. 513): moderns propose to substitute for them three primaries and six secondaries determined by the course of the isobars. But he devanced Aristotle, and his learned disciple Averrhoes (Abd el-Rázi) of Cordova, when he practically ascertained that the tropical zone must no longer be styled *non habitabilis æstu*.³ His voyage to the

¹ English is almost the only European tongue which has not translated the immortal "Geographia": our geographers declare that the book is mathematical, our mathematicians that it is geographical; and thus the public must take it either in Greek or in foreign tongues. Yet we have an "R. G. S." which dates, as the "African Association," from 1788; and which assumed its present shape in 1830.

² There is great uncertainty about which island; Ferro, perhaps the favourite, held its ground with us till the reign of Elizabeth. An utter confusion now prevails throughout the civilised world, where every nation must have its own first meridian. Surely geographers could agree upon a general departure; for instance, St. Michael, Azores, where the compass has no variation.

³ I have explained (Journ. R. G. Soc., 1860, pp. 21-24) how the true deserts of temperate Africa, northern and southern, were made to meet in the centre by mappers who rejected the analogy of the Americas. But vulgar error is long-lived. Newspapers still conserve the picturesque phrase, "Desert as Central Africa," when most men know that it is one of the most luxuriant of tropical regions.

Austral world of Crates¹ had shown him that S. Augustine ("De Civ. Dei"), who knew little of earth, whatever he might have known of heaven, was wrong in rejecting, with a habitable Equator, the Antipodes of older and more learned men.²

The mathematical science of Prince Henry the Navigator and D. Joam II. had introduced, or rather had restored practical geography by the improvement of instruments alluded to in *The Lusians* (v. 35). The restless spirit of the times made mechanical study the rage, and led to the artistic triumphs of the seventeenth century.

"Tabulæ" were known to the classics before the days of Herodotus, who speaks of them as if they were common. An Egyptian plan of the gold mines is preserved at Turin.³ Maps are noticed by Propertius (*Elog.*, iv. 3, 35); and Pliny (xii. 8) alludes to the *Forma Æthiopiæ*, brought back by Nero's exploring captains. Rome, it is well known, had copper plates engraved with

¹ Of Pergamus (who founded his school opposed to the Alexandrian in B.C. 160).

² The antipodes are dubious in the "*Pharsalia*," viii. 160.

³ The tombs of Egypt and the ruins of Assyria show topographical ground-plans and elevations which are in fact rude maps. The latter were (they say) introduced into Greece by Anaximander (B.C. 600-530), and were improved by Hecataeus. Aristagoras (Herod. v. 79), carried to Sparta a "bronze tablet, whereupon the whole circuit of the earth was engraved with all its seas and rivers." Says the disciple of Socrates in "*The Clouds*," "See, here is a plan of the whole earth."

topographies of her various cities; and the charts which illustrated Ptolemy are famous. The Arabs followed suit; Ben Musa compiled his chart in A.D. 833 and Háji Mahommed of Tunis (1559), whose work is in the "Marciana" of Venice, disposed the habitable earth in heart-shape. Karl the Great, according to Eginhardt; dined at a silver table which was also a map. We can trace the gradual improvement in the middle ages through the Portulan (collection of marine charts) by Paolo Visconti of Genoa (1318), now the oldest of its kind, preserved in the Palazzo Correr of Venice. Follow the cartographers, Marino Sanudo¹ (1320), Andrea Bianchi (1346) and Frate Mauro² (1457). Martinus Hylacomilus (Waldseemüller, 1509), published the *Geographiæ Introductio* (1 vol. 4to, Joh. Gruniger, apud Argentoratos,—Strasburg), naming America after Vespucci; and, in 1522, he produced his great map of Africa. Covilham, according to Bruce, sent a Moorish map from Abyssinia. The notable improvements of Regiomontanus³ date from 1475–1506, and were followed by those

¹ This and other mappers with their works will be further noticed in § 2.

² A Camaldolese monk of St. Michael in Murano, who compiled his geographical Cyclopædia for D. Manoel (Barros, i. 2, 188). It remained in Murano till the suppression of the convent in 1811, when it was removed to the library of St. Mark. Visconde de Santarem first published it in facsimile, and good photographs of it are always procurable at Venice.

³ John Müller, of Königsburg, Franconia, nat. 1436; studied Greek in Italy (1461–64); succeeded Georg Purbach (nat. 1423),

of Jerome Verrazano (1530) and Nonius (1337). Very complicated affairs were the early European maps:—

With centric and concentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb.

Easterns (Correa, 1, 138) added to their lines and circles, rhumbs and bearings, a net-work of meridians and parallels which were frequently drawn close together.

The globe, known since the days of Thales, was another important revival. The terræ globa of Martin Behaim (1492),¹ still shown at Nürnberg, measured 1 ft. 8 in. in diameter: it had an iron meridian and a brass horizon. The next specimen of repute is Schöner's (1515) first showing "America": those of Mercator (Louvain, 1541), and G. Roll (Augsburg, 1588), become

the professor of Astronomy at Vienna, whose translation of Ptolemy's "Almagest" he completed; and died at Rome Archbishop of Ratisbon (1475). He left amongst other works a solution of plane and spherical triangles, with a table of sines (*De Triangulis, planis et sphericis*); and he computed the *Calendarium Novum* for 1475-1560, the astronomical ephemerides used by Columbus and Da Gama.

¹ Martinus Bohemus, a pupil of Regiomontanus, though claimed as a compatriot by the Portuguese, was born (1436) to a merchant in Nürnberg, then so famous for the manufacture of arts and arms, now of toys. See 1479 he went from Antwerp to Portugal as cosmographer and map-constructor. In 1484-85 he crossed the equator with Diogo Cam, when the Congo kingdom was discovered; he married at Fayal; and, in 1493, while voyaging to Lisbon, he was captured and carried to England. He died at Lisbon in 1506 (Hakluyt's "Pigafesta," pp. 292, 392-415).

famous. Hence D. Manoel placed on his scutcheon the armillary sphere, which has been preserved in the arms of the Brazilian Empire.

The Ancients laid down their latitudes by gnomons¹ and used poloi (dials) to determine the length of the tropical day. Their longitudes were fixed by lunar eclipses and by "dead-reckoning,"—the latter made valuable only by that queen of instruments the magnetic compass. Apparently unknown to the Classics, it may be traced back to China in early ages; and its terminology still shows² that it came westward with the Arabs or Saracens. As *la marinière* or *la grenouille*,³ a magnet floating upon a straw, it was used by Christendom long before "Marcus Paulus" of Venice "invented the Mariner's Compass" (1260); or Flavio Gioja swung it on gimbals (1300). Roger Bacon describes the

¹ The gnomon was held by Herodotus to come from Babylonia. Hebrew legend makes Moses first set it up for a measure of time; but the Egyptians had long before attributed it to the god Shu. It was certainly known to the Jews in the days of Hezekiah (seventh century B.C., Isaiah xxxviii. 8; and 2 Kings xx. 9) as we see by the use of the word Malroth, gradus, steps, degrees). The Greeks attributed it to Anaximander, who lived a hundred years afterwards; and various dials to much later inventors, Eudoxus and others. According to Laplace, the dial was used by the Chinese in B.C. 1100.

² E.g. Alhidada (=El-haddadah, the divider), a string or wire separating the face into two equal parts.

³ I noticed this primitive contrivance ("Ultima Thule," i. 312) as being used by mariners in the twelfth century. Its origin may date much earlier.

loadstone (*i.e.* leading stone) as well as gunpowder. Maundevile (1322) alludes to the "shipman's stone that draws the needle to it," as if it were well known. Prince Henry's friends have claimed for him the honour of first applying to navigation the Mariner's Compass, as well as latitude and longitude; but Princes are sometimes praised for what subjects do. Others make Columbus (1492), whom Oviedo declares the inventor of the astrolabe, the originator of its naval use and the discoverer of magnetic variation: he only popularised the latter. The Roteiro (p. 28) in 1498 tells us that the people of Mozambique had *agulhas genoiscas* (Genoese *i.e.* Italian needles) quadrants, charts and almanacs,¹ the latter enabling them to navigate by the stars, north and south, east and west. In 1505 Varthema (Hakluyt, p. 249) found a (Malay?) captain carrying the "compass and magnet after our manner: he had a chart which was all marked with lines perpendicular and across." Unfortunately he does not tell us the Arabic name, nor does he say whether the index directed south as in China. Elsewhere (p. 31), he speaks of the land-course being guided by compasses and charts, which the learned editor remarks, may refer to the Kibleh-numá,² the little portable instrument pointing Meccah-wards. Barbosa (p. 228) also notices the needle and loadstone in Borney (Borneo). Osorio adds that the "Moors yielded

¹ The word is apparently Arabic, El-Maná, the modulus, the measure.

² Not "Kibleh-Nameh," which means a "book of the Kiblah."

little to the Portuguese in the science and practice of maritime matters.”

The next important improvement was in measuring solar altitudes and stellar distances. We have no trustworthy account of the origin of the astrolabe or circle, the “arstable” of Chaucer’s *Treatise*. It must be of great antiquity: Mr. George Smith brought a fragment from the Palace of Sennacherib. The circumference of the circle was divided into twelve parts, corresponding with the months and Zodiacal Signs. Thus the astrolabe would be the lineal ancestor of the quadrant and the sextant. “Usturláb” suggests that Arabia borrowed it from the Greeks. It had become exceedingly complicated with its strata of plates, containing tables of azimuths, almucantars, loxodromics, epicycles, concentrics and so forth. Although Athelard or Adelar of Bath wrote on it in A.D. 1120, when he returned from the East; and Maundevile (chap. 17) takes with the astrolabe the altitude of the “load-star,” and possibly of the “Antarctic star” (one of the Southern Cross, true or false?), Camoens seems to think (v. 25-6) that the invention shortly preceded his day. He confounds invention with improvement. Under D. Joam, the Jewish physicians, Mestre Rodrigo and Mestre Josepe, were assisted by Martin Behaim, in adapting the astrolabe to navigation: this was about 1480, seventeen years before Da Gama’s voyage.

D. Gama, at his first landfall, measured the sun’s altitude (v. 25) with a wooden astrolabe, three palms

(spans) in diameter, mounted upon a tripod (Barros, i. 4, 2). He had lesser instruments of brass, half a century before Tycho Brahe at Augsburg made the astrolabe easily portable. When the navigator showed his to "Malemo Cana," this Melindan pilot assured him that the Red Sea navigators used implements of triangular shape (sextants?), as well as quadrants, for observing the solar distance from the celestial equator. He also produced a small instrument of three plates, which was probably a simple astrolabe.

For noting time, the dial and its successors, the sand-glass and the water-glass (*horologium ex aquâ*),¹ had been superseded by the time-piece. The original Clepsydra at Athens (Aristoph., "Lysist.") was an intermittent spring like that of Siloam. This water-clock was the "Sheb" of old Egypt: we know nothing of the "Hemicyclium" invented by Berosus (B.C. 270). Clocks moved by weights and wheels are attributed to the Saracens (ninth century). Dante mentions ("Par.," xxiv.) horologes with wheels and works: Chaucer speaks of an "abbey orologe," or "clock." In 1344 Giacomo Dondo or Dondi built the great clock for the Paduan Piazza de Signori; and his family was entitled "Dondi del Orologio." The improved interior was made by Maestro Novello in 1448; and the city of Antenor has

¹ The hydraulic clock mentioned by Aristophanes and Aristotle was greatly improved in the reign of Ptolemy Evergetes by Ctesibius of Alexandria, to whom Vitruvius (ix. 9) attributes the invention circa B.C. 245. There were various kinds, even the "Cuckoo Clock" was not unknown.

ever claimed the invention of striking-clocks. This "horloge" still shows the twenty-four consecutive hours after Italian usage, the zodiacal solar course, the phases of the moon, the month-date, and the week-day. The watch proper is alluded to by Gaspar Visconti about 1500. The pendulum was introduced into the time-keeper as a regulating principle by the mathematician-mechanic Burgius (J. Burgi or de Burgi, nat. 1552: ob. 1632). The later sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries produced marvellously complicated clocks (Christ. Steibel, Jer. Metsker and Nich. Plankh of Augsburg; Mich. Sneeberger of Prague, Joh. Gruber, Peter Hell, and others), together with the "animated eggs of Nürnberg" in horn and metal (Joh. Saylor of Ulm; Gerh. Mut of Frankfurt, etc.).

Of the early telescope again, attributed to Roger Bacon (A.D. 1214-92), to Metius and to Jansen (1590), we know little. The true lens has been found in Egyptian and Assyrian ruins.¹ The celebrated Fracastoro (Girolamo, 1483-1553) invented (?) a glass for observing the stars. Regiomontanus had already produced (1436-76) the metorscope for determining the longitudinal and latitudinal distances between two given sites: in 1499 it was used by Amerigo Vespucci. For land-plotting as well as star-fixing, surveyors had the baculus,

¹ The lens described by Layard was of rock crystal, rudely ground on a lapidary's wheel with one face plain and the other convex. The invention was evidently derived from Egypt (Wilkinson, ii. ch. 7).

balestilha or Jacob's staff. Of this instrument there were many modifications described by Werner, by Cortes and, especially, by Pedro de Medina, who (1545) published at Valladolid his *Arte de Navegar*, the first practical treatise on navigation. The work was improved by Gemma Frisius, Wagenaar, Hood and others. "Jacob's Staff," figured in Davis's "Seaman's Secrets" (pp. 308-9), spread far and wide; Chardin (1664-70) found it, together with the astrolabe, common in Persia.¹ The Hindus also used it for astronomical observations. Hence, perhaps, the "crosses of black and blue wood" dug up, to the great surprise of Almeida and his men, when laying the foundations of Angediva fortress. These may, some suggest, have been the Swastika-cross, the fanciful emblem of the "primæval fire-stick," concerning which so much stands written.²

D. Manoel consulted, in the interest of his great discovery-voyage, the astrologer, Abraham Çacoto, or Zacuto (Zákút). This savant not only reported well of the stars, he also materially aided the enterprise by teaching the use of a simplified astrolabe to the pilots, and probably to Da Gama, with whom he conversed at Lisbon. A copper plate, half a finger thick, and engraved with lines

¹ Eastern instruments are described by Antonio Ribeiro dos Santos in vol. i., part v., Mem. of the Academy, Lisbon.

² I hold it to be like the cross, the chevron, the circle and the oval, a mere ornament, the rudest form of the guilloche scroll. The savage's fire-stick is always of two, never of three pieces. Moreover, nails or even pegs applied to a fire-stick would be an anachronism, an absurdity.

and points, carried in the middle another plate sliding round the circumference: it was hung perpendicularly by a ring at midday; and the sun passing through two opposite holes marked the degrees and minutes after the fashion of the portable Roman sun-dial.¹ Moreover he drew up an "Almanach perpetuum sive Tacuinus,"² containing rules and tables for the sun's declination. Lastly he made large charts with *riscos* (lines and rhumbs?) of different colours, showing the names of the winds round the North star. He also placed on them navigating needles;³ and a scale of degrees to the southward for reckoning the leagues traversed by the sun. Zakut, to his honour be it recorded, died a Jew, "having acquired such knowledge of the stars, and remaining blind in so bright a day as is the Holy Catholic faith." *Quoniam talis es, utinam noster esses!*

Thus our navigators were not so badly provided with scientific instruments as is usually supposed. Besides log, and line, and hour-glasses, including the *relogio de*

¹ This horologium viatorium, sive pensilium, was a metal circle about an inch and a half in diameter, pierced with a longitudinal slit: when suspended by a ring and swivel to the finger at the height of the eye, the sunbeam fell upon the numerals in the inside. The only specimen known to me in 1874 was in the little museum of Aquileja: when I returned there in 1880 it had disappeared, probably en route for England. Some six Roman sun-dials have been found there, most of them very complicated.

² The word is corrupted Arab., "Takwím" still used throughout Arabia and Persia.

³ So I read *se pos huma* (not *nome*) *agulha de marear* in Stanley's "Correa," p. 24.

mar (half-hour glass), they carried compasses, astro-labes, cross-staves; almanach and ephemerides; maps, charts and ruttiers; and, perhaps, a time-piece and a telescope.

§ 2. THE VOYAGE OF DA GAMA.

I HAVE drawn up the following account, geographical and chronological, from a volume little studied in England although it is apparently one of the best, if not the best guide. The *Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco da Gama em MCCCCXCVII*¹ is written in a rude, uncultivated style, as shown by words like Sam Graviell (Gabriel), Bertolameu Diz (Dias), creligo for clerigo, and Samtiaguo. Apparently it is the work of some soldier or sailor of the fleet, who cannot have been "Samcho Mixiaa" (p. 5), nor Gonçalo Pires (pp. 69-71); consequently, by "eli-

¹ The MS. found in the Sancta Cruz Convent (Lisbon) was not an autograph. The first edition was published by Diogo Kopke (Professor of Mathematics) and Doutor Ant. da Costa Paiva, Oporto, 1838 (Jur. i. 486): the second edition (Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, MDCCCLXI) is becoming rare and dear. The 8vo. is "corrected and augmented by some observations, chiefly philological," of the late A. Herculano, and Baron do Castello de Paiva. It contains a kit-cat of Da Gama for frontispiece, a profile of D. Manoel, and a poor outline-map of Africa, showing the Armada's two voyages, and, of course, chiefly fanciful. I can fairly recommend it for translation to the Hakluyt Society.

mination," it is attributed to Alvaro Velho. The author was upon the Berrio (p. 24) and probably returned home in her : he was also (p. 54) one of the twelve who escorted Da Gama when visiting the Calicut Rajah.

Whoever the writer was, his "Ruttier" is a gain to the history of a great exploit. The items are, (1) the Journal proper (p. 1-106) which is, unhappily, "unperfite;" (2) the list of products brought by the "Meccan ships"¹ to Calicut; (3) notices of the various Reynos or kingdoms (pp. 108-113), mostly from hearsay; (4) notes on the elephant, like all contemporary travellers; the "way in which they do battle;"² how they are taken and how they are tamed"; (5) a valuable table of spicery-prices at Alexandria (pp. 115-6); and, lastly (6) the "language of Calicut," a short vocabulary of Malayalim or Malabar, followed by proper names of the people (pp. 116-9.) The characteristic is a peculiar and naïve realism; and the minute personal observations are rarely in fault. It ignores all claim to the heroic on the part of either commodore or crew. It shows Da Gama a strong and stout-hearted man, the stuff of which great explorers are made, but nothing more: indeed, his

¹ As opposed to the "country craft," the *τοπικὰ πλοῖα* of the *Periplus*.

² Ibn Batutah (see 147) tells us that the fighting elephant's hoofs were cased with irons whose ends were sharp like knives. Varthema (p. 127) mentions a sword two fathoms long (Nikitin calls it a scythe) made fast to the trunk. Knox ("Ceylon," p. 44) speaks of sharp iron with a socket of three edges placed on the teeth (tusks?).

dealings with the Calicut Rajah are less dignified than in the received accounts, notably in that of Correa (p. 171).

The English reader can now compare the Roteiro with another work of high utility in studying the Geography of Camoens, the Travels of Ludovico di Varthema.¹ This "gentleman of Rome" sought the "immortality of a laborious life" (p. 289); his motto was that "one eye-witness is worth more than ten hearsays;" and, "longing for novelty as a thirsty man longs for fresh water," he "went with his corporeal feet where others fly with the wings of mind." Accordingly he voyaged between 1503 and 1508 from Italy to China, and he wrote a remarkably full and intelligent description of what

¹ Translated for the Hakluyt Society by Mr. John Winter Jones, from the original Italian edition of 1810; with notes and an Introduction by the Rev. George Percy Badger. The latter, an authority upon Syria and Arabia, knows little of India and nothing of China. In pp. 27 and 47 he omits Seetzen; and he confounds the Hajj with the Ziyarat (p. 29). The sun is feminine in the Semitic families, not in "most of the Oriental languages" (lvii.): "Tristan de Cunna" (c. etc.) is very bad. The Portuguese possession of Timor is omitted (p. 103). Long before Dr. Krapf, Captains Owen (i. 405) and Boteler copied the Mombasah inscription; the former with a sketch of the gate (109). All these inaccuracies occur in the Introduction. My learned friend also was greatly misinformed when he states (Introd., 91) that Padre Sapeto was at Harar some years before me, and that several other Europeans had resided there half a century antecedent to his time. I have made careful inquiries amongst the Egyptian officers garrisoned at Harar: neither they nor Colonel C. E. Gordon of China ever heard of such residents.

he saw. There is nothing in the dates to prevent Camoens having read Varthema; and some passages suggest that he had.¹ It is curious to compare those early travellers with the Moors, whom Camoens treated so cavalierly. Ibn Batutah, of Fez, for instance, journeyed between 1324 and 1350; yet how immensely superior in point of style, learning and literary merit he is to the Europeans who followed him. Ibn Khaldún, of Tunis, (nat. 1332) laid the foundation of modern history, critical and inductive.

Other valuable aids are the "Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama and his Viceroyalty";² The Ruttier of Duarte Barbosa,³ "India in the Fifteenth Century";⁴ and the

¹ In Chap. i. of the book on Arabia Deserta we find the comparison of the starlings (repeated in Canto x. 94); and the description of the Bedawin is also in Camoens (x. 100).

² Translated (from the *Lendas da India* of Gaspar Correa—Correia? or Corrêa?) by the Honble. Henry E. J. Stanley; accompanied by original documents with notes, and an Introduction. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, MDCCCLXIX. The volume wants a map, and more geographical notices: all the world does not know the modern name of the "River of good Signs." The notes within notes are awkward workmanship; and I cannot understand the tincture and furs of Da Gama's shield and crest.

³ "A Description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar." Translated by the Honble. Henry E. J. Stanley, from a Spanish MS. (Hakluyts, MDCCCLXVI). The reader must observe that ambergris is always translated "amber," and *encienzo* (frankincense) "worm-wood" (absinthium). Moreover, Camoens (viii. 82) does not make Da Gama address the Samiry Rajah as stated in p. 102. Barbosa wrote his work before 1516.

⁴ Edited by R. H. Major for Hakluyts, MDCCCLVII. The

Albuquerque Commentaries before mentioned. The former went to the East in 1514, fourteen years before F. I. de Castanheda; wrote the history of half a century, and died about 1583. Juromenha regrets that Camoens did not base his poem upon this picturesque and Polybian work, instead of using Barros or Castanheda. But the Archpoet, who *escreve un poema y no una historia*, wanted nothing of the kind. Mr. Stanley holds that Correa's chronology of the voyage on the East African coast, founded on the data of the Astronomer Royal, is to be preferred. Here we join issue. I cannot accept the dates of a writer who makes the Armada tack for two months off The Cape in the summer season; and cross from Africa to India in the height of the Monsoon-rains when, as the Persians say, the seas are shut.¹

volume contains the travels of Abd el-Razzák (A.D. 1442); of Nicoló de Conte (de Comitibus); of Athanasius Nikitin and of Hieronimo di Santo Stefano.

¹ The Oriental words in Correa also call for illustration. *Malemo* (p. 88) is not an instructor but a pilot (Mu'allim): "The time of the monsoon" (Mausim=season) is simple tautology; the "Commentaries" correctly say, "the monsoon for the ships was now past." Farazola (118) is the Neo-Latin "Parcela" from pars; the Arab. Farsalah=fraisle (of coffee, etc.): Hamilton writes "Frasella" and Varthema (p. 170) Farasola, making it twenty-five Ital. lbs. It varies from seven and a quarter lbs. (Barbosa, p. 221) to twenty-eight (more at Aden), and of these 3=1 buhár or load (generally=300 lb., or four cwt. in Barbosa, p. 224). Beyramis and Sinabafos (196-7), i.e. Sina-baft are both in Barbosa (Sinabastos, p. 42, and Beyramis, p. 70), and in Varthema (212). "Quil" (246) is not "a Malabar or Tamil word," but corrupted Arab.: hence Aboukir

Not a few writers suppose that Da Gama brought home a *Relaçam* (report) of his "perilous and glorious expedition." If so, the MS. is lost.¹ The only contemporary accounts generally known are those of the Roteiro and of Ramusio :² this first collector of Voyages and Travels, published (*Navigazioni*, etc., Venice, 1554), a memoir written by a gentleman of Verona, who happened to be in Lisbon when the explorer returned (Sept. 1499); and the confused production has been attributed without reason to Amerigo Vespucci.

I now proceed with the "Ruttier."³

Bay (Abú-Kír=Father of Pitch). "A ship named Merim" (316) is the Míri, the Prætorian ship, the "Ammiral," the flagship. Joar Fiquier (*ibid.*) is Jauhar-i-Fakih, the "theologian," the D.D. We know perfectly what the game of Mancal was and is (320): Lane's "Egyptians" described it, and I have seen it played in England. Cartah, a certificate (324), is the Arab. Kháritah, and probably both derive from charta. Catur (405) is the Arab. Katíreh, a small craft, our "cutter": so in Varthema (154) Chaturi is not, as his editor supposes, a corruption of Shakhtúr. Cazis, Joguedes and Fusta also want correction.

¹ See the "Commentaries" for subsidiary notices of the voyages of Da Gama, Pedralvares Cabral, Joam de Nova, and others. *Introd.* vol. ii. pp. xvi-xxxvi.

² The great geographer is buried in the Madonna del Orto, Venice.

³ The marginal dates (in romans) are those expressly stated by the Roteiro: the italics are calculated from the text; and references to *The Lusiads* are given in parentheses.

VOYAGE OUT.

DA GAMA, after passing the night in prayers at the chapel of D. Henry on the beach of Rastello, Restrello, or Restillo (iii. 87),¹ and after hearing mass in the morning, made sail. The year is accepted by all authors Camoens included (v. 2) : it preceded that in which Columbus discovered the Orinoco or Oronoko mouth. The same day is given by Osorio : Correa prefers March 25, while various writers advocate July 2, 3, 9, 10, and even 20 (Roteiro, pp. 133-136). Camoens (loc. cit.) only makes Sol enter Leo (northern tropic).

¹ Restrello means a carding-comb for hemp. According to Osorio Prince Henry built, for the convenience of sailors, a little chapel, 4,000 paces from the city, and gave it to the friars of Thomar. It is now a tinsman's shop. D. Manoel personally laid the first stone (1499) of the stately church and monastery N. Snra de Betlem or Belem (Bet-Lehem) which he transferred to his favourite Hieronymites : the work was completed by D. Joam III. The following quatrain by L. Andrea Resende (Narratio, etc., 1531) was cut upon the door :—

Vasta mole sacrum, Divinæ in littore Matri
 Rex posuit regum maximus Emmanuel,
 Auxit opus heres regni et pietatis uterque
 Structura certant, religione pares.

D. Manoel also built the detached Battery-tower to the north, and the Penha Convent upon the toppling crag of Cintra, which he often climbed to look out for his returning fleet. He was the first to descry the ship of Nicoláo Coelho seen standing across Tagus-bar.

The Armada ran in eight days to the Canarian Archipelago ; and at night passed to the leeward of Lancerote, sailing between isle and coast. Sat., July 15.

Next morning they saw the Terra Alta of Africa ; and at night were off the mouth of the Rio de Ouro (Gold River). Here a thick darkness separated the Sam Rafael from the rest.¹ The rendezvous was at Sant' Iago, Cape Verds.

Four of the squadron, including B. Dias, met at the Ilha do Sal : they pushed on till the wind fell calm. At 10 A.M. (Wednesday) they sighted the flagship five leagues ahead, and made great rejoicings. Next day all arrived at the Praia de Santa Maria (Sant' Iago), where they took in water and provisions. Sun., July 23.

The Armada left Sant' Iago for the south : an accident delayed them two days and one night ; and they resumed the voyage on the 22nd. Thurs., Aug. 3.

According to Camoens, the Fleet losing sight of Lisbon and Cintra (v. 1-3) sailed along the Mauritano-Atlantic coast, seeing the "New Islands," discovered or rather rediscovered by "generous Henry" (v. 4). The first mentioned is Madeira (v. 5), whose charms are duly noted : line 4 has been understood to identify it with the fanciful "Isle of Juno." They then passed Massylia (El-Dar'ah), where the Poet somewhat misplaces the

¹ This account agrees with Castanheda, and differs widely from Correa (chap. viii.).

“Azenegues.” These negroids are called from the Azana, Sanagá, or Senegal River (v. 7): it is probably confused with the greater artery; hence “*Negro Sanagá*”; and the remark of certain commentators that the natives call it Ba-fing (Black River), the Mandenga name for the true or Western Niger.

Camoens separates Barbary in the north from Æthiopia: the latter, in his day, contained not only Abyssinia, but Guinea, Benin, and Biafra; Congo-land, Caffraria, and Monomotápa on the Zambeze. After crossing the Tropic of Cancer (v. 7), they came upon the Arsenarium Promontorium¹ (Cape Verd); the Canaries or Dog-islands, well known to the ancients and the mediævals; the Hesperides (Verdean Archipelago, including Sant’ Iago, v. 8);² the Jalofo (Joloff)³ country, a large tract lying

¹ Ptolemy places it in E. Long. 13° and N. Lat. 13°; the identification was made in early days by the Portuguese (Barros, i. 1, 216). The Pelusian has also an Arsenium Promontorium (E. Long. 8° and N. Lat. 12°), and an Arsenaria Colonia: this outpost on the Mediterranean is now the Algerian Tlemcen, retaining the name of the tribe called by the Romans Temici.

² The Verdean group lies about one hundred leagues north-west of its cape. It was discovered in 1446 (not 1460) by the Genoese, Mice Antonio de Nolle, Nolli or Nola, nicknamed Antoniotto (Big Anthony), and his two brothers, Bartolomeo and Rafaele. The honour is commonly given to the Venetian, Ca da Mosto. Mr. Major supports the claims of the Portuguese Diogo Gomez, the “Gomes Pires” of M. Valdez (p. 288, “Six Years of a Traveller’s Life,” etc.). History tells us that the Archipelago was found uninhabited; but legend speaks of an old “Joloff” occupation.

³ I have noticed this people which is properly called “Wolof”

between the Senegal and the Gambia; the great Mandenga race mis-called Mandingo, who still wash gold; the Gambea (Gambia) stream, whose mouth has long been English; the Dorcades or Gorgon Islands; Sierra Leone, our negro and negroid "Inferno"; Cape Palmas in Liberia; the Rio Grande (v. 12), in N. Lat. 11°, a proper name not to be translated "great river"; and the island of St. Thomas, still Portuguese.¹

A few words upon these archipelagoes. The classics, especially Pliny (N. Hist., 36-7) recognised six groups in the Æthiopian Sea. The first was Cerne (Kerne), "opposite Æthiopia," usually identified with Arguim Bank (N. Lat. 20°), rediscovered by G. P. d'Azurara (Chronica, 1453): how vague the site is may be judged from the fact that some find "Cerne" in Madagascar. No. II. is Atlantis, not the lost continent (America?), but the isle called by Faria y Sousa *la encubierta* (the hidden): it may have been either a tradition of the Azores (Western Islands), or one of the many débris of the Atlantis myth. The Gorgades Insulæ (No. iii.) offers peculiar difficulties. Pliny (vi. 36), following Xenophon Lampsacenus, would place them two days off shore, and opposite the Hesperon Keras (Hesperium or Arsenarium Promontorium): consequently they must be the Cape Verdes. But this is the old home of the Gorgons, where Hanno found the

("Wit and Wisdom from West Africa," pp. 3-5). Mungo Park unconsciously talks Wolof, thinking it to be "Mandingo."

¹ For these West African sites, as far as N. Lat. 4°, I must refer students to my "Wanderings in West Africa" (vol. i.).

gorillas ;¹ and, needless to say, the Anthropoid has never been met with in these distant islands, the Hesperides of Camoens (v. 8).² The Dorcades (doe-islands ?)³ of The Lusiads (v. 11) inserted between the Gambia and Sierra Leone; maybe the Bissagos or Bissangos in N. Lat. 10°-12°; one of those sewers, Bulama, was occupied by the English at the end of the last century.⁴ No. iv. group is formed by the two islands of the Hesperides, probably a later creation. The Insulæ Purpurariæ (of orchilla-lichen ?) are found by Bory de St. Vincent and others in the Madeiran group, which was certainly uninhabited :

¹ Dr. Levezow of Berlin believes these anthropoids to have suggested the myth of the three one-eyed Gorgons : but Greek fancy wanted no such realism. The Duc de Luynes has also treated the question (pp. 311-32, Ann. de l'Inst. 1834). My derivation of the word from the African *Nguyla* is given in a volume on Gorilla-land (chap. xi.) ; and I would bespeak the reader's notice, for my conviction that the Periplus of Hanno ended near the Equator, whereabouts Ptolemy places his "Theon Ochema" (vehicle of the Gods), the only volcano still intermittently active, on the West African intertropical coast.

² The Ancients placed the "Gardens of the (three or four) Hesperides" with their golden apples on the River Oceanus, in parts of Libya, and at the foot of Mount Atlas in Mauritania. The confused fable was probably originated by the orange. Camoens follows Lucan (ix. 358). Herodotus mentions only the Euesperites (iv. 198), and in Scylax they become Hesperides : the site was east of the Syrtes.

³ Here Camoens (v. 11) establishes the three sisters with one eye: these are the "Greæ, degenerate sisters of the Gorgons": Bacon makes the former represent fair war, the latter treasonable war.

⁴ The Bissagos are probably the Biziguiche of the Commentaries.

Mr. Major proposes Canarian Fuerteventura and Lanzarote, the latter named from Lancelot Malocello (Maloisel) of Genoa. Lastly (No. vi.) are the Canaries, the Blessed Islands of Strabo (v. 1) *quas fortunatas putant* (Sebosus in Plin., v. 1). Petrarch, who dabbled in geography, and who studied Africa for his poem, couples them (circ. 1346) with Taprobane and Thule. The first map that contains them dates from Florence 1351. As many local names prove, the Guanches (Wánsí) were simply Berbers; and it remained for a German professor, Von Löher of Bavaria, to make them Vandal fugitives from Mauritania Tingitana.

Passing Sam Thomé (v. 11) and its neighbours, Fernam de Pó (Fernando Po) and Principe, in the horrid Biafran Bight, Da Gama sailed parallel with the "great kingdom of Christian Congo"¹ (v. 12) and the glorious Zaïre. I can only hope that this gracious and noble name will never be converted to the "Livingstone River." He then lost sight of Polaris, and noticed the Southern cross of which Dante has been supposed to sing:² both Poets also observed the comparative barrenness of the southern sphere (v. 14, 5-6).

We now return to the Roteiro.

¹ The conversion of the Manicongo ("Master of Congo"), and discovery of the majestic Zaïre River are noticed in my "Cataracts of the Congo" (vol. ii. chap. i., etc.).

² "Mission to Dahome" (vol. i. 182). The four stars of Dante (Purg. i. 22) are supposed to represent certain virtues; but the Poet describes them physically. He may have heard of the constellation from some follower of Marco Polo.

The Golfam (Sargasso-weed) gave signs of land. At 9 A.M. on Saturday (Nov. 4) the voyagers sighted an unknown coast; dressed in their best, and saluted the commodore.

Wed., Nov. 1 (All Saints).
 Tues., Nov. 7. A large inlet appearing, Da Gama sent Pero d'Alemquer (his pilot) to sound: Castanheda and Goes say Nicoláo Coelho. Next day they entered the Angra de Santa Ellena (St. Helen's Bay),¹ in S. Lat. 32° 40'. The sail from Sant' Iago covered four months minus one day: Osorio (lib. i.) reduces it to three: Correa and Barros make it "nearly five months," and Camoens (xxiv.) five lunes. The weather was varied by calms and storms, doubtless the equinoctial gales. The Armada anchored on Wednesday, and spent eight days careening and "cleaning" ships. They named the Berg River, four leagues to the south-east, "Rio de Sam Thiago" (Samtiaguó, p. 4). On Thursday they brought on board the flagship a native honey-hunter, a "small man, not unlike Samcho Mixiaa": he was clothed and sent ashore. On Friday and Saturday some fourteen to fifteen blacks came to the fleet: they ignored the gold

¹ Not to be confounded as by some with (the Rock of) St. Helena (Roteiro, 137). This was discovered by Joam de Nova (with whom Barbosa sailed, *Introd.*, p. vii.) on his return from India in 1502. He also discovered and named Joam de Nova Island in the Mozambique Channel (S. Lat. 17° 10'), and Conception, now the well-known Ascension Island (*Commentaries*, *Introd.*, vol. ii. p. xx.). Fernam Lopez, the hermit of St. Helena in Albuquerque's day (*Commentaries*, iii. xxxv.) may have contributed to the legend of Robinson Crusoe.

and spices shown by the Commodore, and were delighted with little bells and beads (v. 29): Barros adds a cap. On Sunday, Nov. 11, as they appeared willing to trade, Fernam Velloso, whose name was given to Mazizima Bay, landed with leave to visit their kraal.¹ A dispute arose, the cause being told in different ways by Barros (i. 4, 5), the Ruttier (p. 7), and Camoens (v. 30-36). Da Gama and his captains hastened to recover their man; and the former, who had landed to use the astrolabe, was wounded with an arrow in the leg (v. 26, 33). Three or four of the crew also suffered, and no wonder: they went ashore unarmed. All agree that the natives drew first blood. They were evidently "Caffres" (Namaquas?); and the Roteiro makes them wear the still used *baynha* (sheath), which Osorio calls *lignea vagina*. They lived on roots, seals, whales, and on antelope hunted with hounds. Their arms were horns, fire-hardened at the points (?), and mounted on staves; their ornaments were earrings of copper and wampum,² and they fanned themselves with fox-brushes.

The Armada left St. Helen Bay; sighted The Cape on Saturday evening; tacked seawards and landwards; and, meeting a foul wind, returned to her anchorage on the same day (Sund. Nov. 19). They passed The Cape definitively at noon

Thurs.,
Nov. 16.

¹ The Port. "Cural" (a fold) has been applied to these circular S. African villages: a silly critic tells me that "Kraal" is modern.

² Shells ground to small thin disks, a prehistoric adornment still common in S. Africa.

on Wed., Nov. 22. They do not mention "Saldanha Bay," as Table Bay was called by early navigators;¹ but they noted to the south a large inlet, "False Bay," soon to be infamous for wrecks. On this day, the fifth after they left St. Helen, Camoens (v. 37) places the apparition of Adamastor. He evidently metamorphoses him (v. 61) into the "Mesa," as the Portuguese called Table Mountain.

The Armada, now sailing eastward along South Africa, made on the fifth day her second landfall Sat., Nov. 25 (v. 61) the *Angra de Sam Braz*² (Bight of Saint Catherine). St. Blasius, now Mossel Bay), sixty leagues from St. Helena by sea (read "direct by land"?) Here the provision-ship was broken up. The natives were friendly; although in a quarrel about watering, B. Dias, the first White they ever saw, had killed

¹ The present Saldanha Bay, between Saint Helen's and Table Bays, is a misnomer. See pp. 62, 154, etc., "The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster," etc., edited by Clements R. Markham, C.B. Hakluyt, MDCCCLXXVII. Antonio de Saldanha, sent to Portugal by Tristram da Cunha in 1506, gave his name to Table Bay. Here the Viceroy D. Almeida was killed by the Kafirs, March 1, 1510.

² Barros and Goes, followed by Fonseca (p. 498), represent the Armada passing the Cape on the 20th Nov. Castanheda adds "Wednesday, the 20th," whereas it would be (Nov.) 22d, 1497. Correa makes the squadron stand out to sea for one month, return to land; stand out again for two months, and finally double the Cape in November. But this would be the Cape summer when the wind is fine and the only fear is an occasional squall. I was once six weeks in sight of Table Mountain; but the good ship *Mary Anne* was sailing westward, and in June midwinter.

one of them with a cross-bow. They came in crowds of 200, bringing wives and children, a sign that Africans do not mean fighting. Some rode oxen (v. 63); others danced and piped; they took small gifts from the Commodore's hand, and bartered their ivory, manillas, sheep, and hornless cattle. Hence the name Angra-das Vacas, or dos-Vaqueiros (of herds or of herdsmen). At Sam Braz the navigators planted a Padram and a Cross made out of a mizen-mast: both were pulled down before the ship left the coast by the negroes, who showed the usual signs of treachery. Da Gama remained at Sam Braz nearly a fortnight, and left it on Conception Day (Frid. Dec. 8).

A severe storm separated Coelho from the Armada, which he presently rejoined: Correa and Osorio place it between Dec. 8 and 25. Both writers, especially the former, give a long and circumstantial account of the two mutinies which it caused; and of the determined severity with which they were repressed by Da Gama. Camoens ignores them as unsuited to heroics; and the silence of Barros and the Roteiro suggests, perhaps, official revision.

Tues.,
Dec. 12.
Vespers of
Santa Luzia.

Still sailing Eastwards, they passed the Ilhéu da Cruz (St. Croix), so called from the Cross and Padram planted by B. Dias: it is placed sixty leagues from Sam Braz. Thence they ran five leagues to the Ilhéus Chaõs (Flat Islands) and the same distance to the Padram of St. Gregory, the Easternmost set up by their predecessors on the mainland.

Frid., Dec. 15.

Passing the Easternmost Padram, they found the "Caffre Coast" charming (v. 68), as do all travellers: it wants nothing but ports. Sat., Dec. 16. Leaving Sam Braz, they rode off the Rio do Iffante, "the last land discovered by Bartholomeu Dias." This is the Groote Vische, Grande Rivière des Poissons, our "Great Fish." Some authorities write Ilfante (Elephant or Oliphant), which, in Camoens' day, would be spelt Alifante. It has been confounded with the Sam Christovam stream, eight leagues to the North.

Voyagers of those days note six inlets beyond Cape Agulhas (of needles): the latter is the Southernmost point of Africa, now provided with a pharos and a fixed white light ranging 18 miles. These are, sailing with Da Gama west—east (1), Sam Sebastiam, so called by Manoel de Mesquita Perestrello, sent by D. Sebastiam to reconnoiter the coast between The Cape and Correntes; he left a Ruttier, dated 1575.² The second is the Bahia das Vaccas, Vleesch or Flesh Bay, followed by (3) Sam Braz, St. Blaise or Mossel Bay; (4) Formosa or Plettenberg; and (5) Sam Francisco, Camtoo or Gamtoo. The sixth is Da Lagôa (of the Lake), alias Zwarts-Kop (Swart-Head), our Algoa Bay in which Port Elizabeth stands. The modern names of the several Capes define their inlets

¹ The word is explained in chap. iii. § 2.

² It is not mentioned by Mr. A. C. Burnell in his valuable and scholarly brochure, "A Tentative List of Books and some MSS. Relating to the History of the Portuguese in India Proper." Mangalore, Basel Mission Press, 1880.

sufficiently well ; yet geographers are not agreed upon the identifications. D'Anville makes Vleesch Bay correspond with Sam Braz, which he calls Santa Catharina : Malte Brun transfers St. Blaise westwards to Sam Sebastiam, and confounds Mossel Bay with Formosa or Plettenberg, further east.

From Algoa Bay the coast, garnished with various outliers, sweeps to the north-east. "Cross Island" is a neighbour of the "Flat Islands" (our Bird Islands ?), so called because they are visible only at a two-league offing. The following comparative table shows the discrepancies of Portuguese authors concerning the position of B. Dias' last Cross (now "Point Padrone") :—

West.

Roteiro (p. 15).	Castanheda and Goes.	Barros.
"The Cape"	Ditto	Ditto
Angra de Sam Braz. (60 leagues)	Ditto	—
Ilhéu da Cruz (60 leagues)	Ilhéu da Cruz, last Padram of Dias (53 leagues)	Ilhéu da Cruz or Penedo das Fontes (Fountain-rock) Dias' last Padram (i. 3, 4).
Ilhéus Chaõs (5 leagues)	Ditto	Ditto
Dias' last Padram (5 leagues)	—	—

East.

(Rio do Infante, 15 leagues.)

The Roteiro is confirmed by Perestrello, who places the four "Cross Islands" between the Bahia da Lagôa (Algoa Bay) west, and the "Flat Islands," four leagues further east. Perestrello describes the Penedo Fountain, a split rock eight leagues beyond the R. do Infante. Barros (i. 3 and 4) makes Dias set up his landmark, the "Saint Iago," at the Serra Parada, S. Lat. 24° (Brown Range, Zwarts-Kop?); the Holy Cross on the islet, S. Lat. $33^{\circ} 45'$; and, when returning, the Padram Sam Philippe, upon the "great and notable Cape" (of Good Hope).¹ In Correa (p. lxxix), Da Gama, after doubling The Cape, enters a river to the East, and other rivers when it leaves the coast—all in November.

The Wester changing to an Easter (Monday, Dec. 18), next day they landed and found that they had been driven back to Cross Island by the sweep of the current (v. 66-7). This Ocean Stream begins at Cape Guardafui; and, depending upon the Trade-winds, generally sweeps down coast till it rounds Cape Agulhas. Hence the Cabo-das-Correntes (not the Spanish "Corrientes") between Sofala and Natal. Many ships have been lost by it; and, in the voyage of "Sindbad the Sailor," which is a cruise down coast, or Da Gama's voyage inverted, its traction is attributed to a "Magnet Mountain."²

¹ In the *Insularium* Henr. Martini Germani, a map drawn between the voyages of Dias and Da Gama, a place is marked here, usque ad ilha de'fonte p'venit ultima navigatio portugalêsium. Ano. dm. 1489 ("India in the Fifteenth Century," p. xc.).

² Compare "India in the Fifteenth Century" (Intro. pp. xxx-xlv,

M. Polo makes it the reason why Asiatics did not sail south of Zanzibar. Both the Roteiro and Camoens mention that a strong Souther set in, and that eventually wind beat water.

They then sailed 75 leagues along an undiscovered coast, which they named from the day of exploration Natal or Christmas. This date (O.S.), though crucial, is not mentioned by Camoens : it is preserved by the Colony and ignored by "Durban," the capital. New Year's Day was spent at sea ; and a fresh landfall was made on Epiphany (v. 68).

The Fleet was reduced to drink salt water when a small river was sighted. Next day they landed and found twenty to forty natives, Thurs., Jan.
10, 1498. women included. The men, who wore

quoting from Baron Walckenaer), and Barbosa (p. 94), where the tale of Sayf el-Muluk is referred to Malay annals ; and where Sumatra is evidently alluded to. The Magnet Mountains is also in Maundevile (chap. xv.). The gigantic tortoise (*Colossochelys Atlas*) of the sub-Himalayas, and weighing in Sumatra 103 lb. (Varthema, p. 241), has been found in Madagascar. Even the "Roc" (not an Epyornis) has lately been discovered. The French missionaries brought to Zanzibar from Udóe, on the Upper Wámi, the tips of flippers measuring two and a half feet long. They declare that the bird is said to have had its habitat about the Equatorial African lakes ; and Herr Hildebrand, a well-known naturalist traveller, accepts the discovery. This would have delighted the late Prof. G. G. Bianconi, of Bologna, who foretold that the giant bird would be found. I wrote to Dr. Kirk, H.M.'s agent and consul-general for Zanzibar in 1875 ; but the answer did not come till 1879, and in the meantime my kind friend and correspondent had died without hearing of his "Roc."

sheaths, were of large size and proved friendly. Their Chief, who was saluted with the hand-clapping common to West and East Africa, understood Martim Afonso's Congoese; and, on receiving presents, he made a return of poultry and lodged his visitors in comfort. Hence the land was named *Terra da Boa Jente* (of Good Folk) and the "large river" (v. 68), Rio dos Reyes (Reis) of The Kings or Epiphany, the Aroé of D'Anville. The Roteiro (p. 20) terms it Do Cobre (of copper), from the natives wearing metal wires on their hair, arms, and legs. Others transfer the Copper River, also called the Aguada da Boa Paz (the Boa Jente of the Roteiro), to a site further north and nearer the Limpopo (Oori, Crocodile, etc.), whose mouth is the Inhampura (S. Lat. $25^{\circ} 11' 36''$). The people had also "tin," which may be the zinc still carried to the coast by Arab traders; and they could extract salt from sea-water. Here the Armada halted five days; they found no knowledge of India (v. 69), nor could they fill all their casks, as the wind was fair. The stream must be the Maniça, (Manyissa), which disembogues into Delagoa (Da Lagôa or Lourenço Marquez) Bay. The latter still belongs to Portugal, but the persecuted Boers of the Transvaal¹ once talked of taking refuge there.

¹ The treatment of the Dutch Boers is no honour to England. The unjust policy was forced upon the colonial authorities by the missionaries; and the latter were incited by the pro-slavery policy of the Dutch. The late Dr. Livingstone did sorry work in this matter. Major Serpa Pinto, "How I crossed Africa," has treated

Passing Sofalah (v. 73) without knowing it, the squadron entered a broad river which the "Berrio" had discovered on Jan. 8. This was the "Quillimane" (Kilima-ni in or from, the hillock) a branch of the mighty Za-mbeze (River of Fish). Barros places it fifty leagues below (*i.e.* north of)¹ Sofálah. Joam dos Santos ("Ethiopia Oriental," ii. 10; Pinkerton, xvi.) tells us that the Delta, which is ever changing, was in the sixteenth century formed by two arms, distant some thirty leagues apart. The Southern or main was then the Luabo, which forked into the Luabo Velho and the Cuama Velho: hence the plural "Rios" de Cuama. The smaller was the Quillimane with its bifurcation, the Linde.

Thurs.,
Jan. 17.

The Caffres wore cotton waistcloths, which may even then have been imported;² and their women pierced the lips (Barbosa, p. 10) for three pelele, or labials of twisted tin (zinc?) Two chiefs came on board, one wearing a cap of green silk, and the other a silk *Touca*

the question in vol. ii. 301-5. Lourenço Marques, an outlier of the Mozambique Province, was adjudged to Portugal by Marshal Macmahon. In May '79 followed the "Delagoa Treaty," granting England leave to run a Railway to the Transvaal, of which Lourenço Marques is the natural port. Newspaper-readers are familiar with the results in Portugal, and with the wretched "Boer War."

¹ Camoens also (v. 84) runs *down* coast (*Costa abaixo*) when we should run *up* it.

² Barbosa (p. 6) tells us that the S. African Moors had grown much fine cotton; but they wove it white, having no dyes.

(a toque) : this calotte, still common on the coast, must not here be translated "turban" (Fanshaw's "terbant"); although sometimes applied to the more ceremonious headgear, the Fota (ii. 94), or shawl worn by the "king."¹ The good tidings that large ships passed that way, caused them to name the Quillimane *Rio dos Bons Sinaes* ("River of good Signs") somewhat prematurely. A terrible attack of scurvy, the first of two, and poetically and pathetically described by Camoens (v. 80-3) for the first time in verse, killed about thirty sailors. Barros complicates it with erysipelas. The peculiar cure, practised by Da Gama, is noted by Correa (chap. x.) : it appears in Apuleius (Bohn, p. 252) on the "filthy manners of the Iberian's washing his teeth and gums."

The Armada halted at the Quillimane upwards of a month, burying their dead, scraping their ships (v. 79), taking in water, and setting up the Padram de Sam Rafael (v. 78). On the day after departure (Saturday, Feb. 24), they saw three islets; two well wooded, the third bare. Hence they sailed along shore six days, anchoring at night.

They sighted islands near the Continent: on the following day, seven or eight Almadias, Thurs.,
March 1. monoxyles or "boats made of one piece," the Arabic El-Máziyah (a ferry), put off from shore playing on trumpets.² The men were of ruddy

¹ This Fota is the Fata of Nikitin (p. 9).

² *In orig.* Anafis, from the Arab. El-Nafir, a tuba or straight

hue, they ate and drank wine with the strangers whom they thought to be Turks ; and, offering to pilot the ships into port, they left them. The helm of the "Berrio" (Capt. Coelho) was broken by bumping on a rock ; but the vessel floated off and anchored with her consorts two crossbow-shots from the village. This is called in the Roteiro (pp. 26, 30, 102, 105) Moncobiquy, Mocombiquy, and Mamcobiquy ; and by Barbosa (p. 9) Mozambique. The Governor, *Colyytam* (Sultan)¹ or Xeque (Shaik), is named by Barros Çacoeja or Zacoeja (Shah Khwájah ?). The islet was then a station of Arabo-African Moslems, Wásawahli, or Coast half-castes, subject to "Quiloa." The Portuguese found in port four ships of "white Moors,"—Arabs from Yemen.

The "Lord of the Isles," who was like a viceroy, received Coelho hospitably. He afterwards visited the Armada, a civility ignored by Barros (i. 4, 4) ; and showed contempt for the petty presents. Having ascertained that the explorers were Christians, he determined to destroy them ; but the plot was betrayed by a pilot. The hatred of the Caffres was that of the savages for the civilised ; of the wild dog for the tame dog. The "Moors" or Moslems in Africa, as well as in India, were

trumpet, not a clarion (lituus or spiral trumpet) nor a cornu (horn), much less a "timbrel" (Fanshaw).

¹ The cedille under the initial consonant has been omitted. Mahmud of Ghazni (circ. A.D. 100) was the first to style himself "Sultán" (i.e. ruler). On the S. African Coast petty governors take the title ; which is like king, *Re* or *Le*, on the West Coast.

urged not only by bigotry, but by self-interest : they felt that their occupation was going. For ages the Arabs had been the carriers of the Eastern world ; then, as now, their descendants were the middlemen who bought cheap from the wild men of the interior ; and who sold dear to the coast-merchant. Hence *quieta non movere* was their motto.”¹

The island-folk told the navigators that there were many settlements along the reefy shore ; and especially mentioned an insular town whose people were half “Moors,” half Christians. Of the latter two were found at Mozambique ; Indians (Hindú pagans ?) held as prisoners. The Portuguese wept for very joy to hear that *Preste Joham das Indias baixas* (Prester John of the Nether Indias) lived at some distance in the interior.

Camoens gives the order of events between Natal and Mozambique as follows. Leaving the hospitable Rio dos Reyes, Maniça or Limpopo (v. 68), and mastering the strong current, the weary squadron passed Sofálah and was drifted by the set of the sea landwards (v. 74), to the embouchure of a large river, the Zambeze, carrying canoes (v. 75). The sailors, Wásawahíli, who knew a few words of Arabic (v. 76), spoke of large ships and white traders (v. 77). The river was therefore called “of Good Signs” ; and the region Sam Rafael, after

So, when penetrating to the Lake Region of Central Africa, my chief danger was from the European agents and “Middlemen” of Zanzibar. Some of them, though now grown old and gouty, have not forgiven me.

Tobias' handsome guide (v. 78). Scurvy broke out and killed many. Lastly they arrived at "hard Mozambique" (v. 84).

Correa makes the navigators enter the "River of Mercy" (Do Cobre, dos Reyes, Maniça) on Jan. 6, 1498 (Epiphany). There they remained a month, careening the ships and curing scurvy. They broke up "Berrio"; planted the Sam Rafael column, and left in February. After several days' sailing they passed the banks of Sofálah; overhauled a Zambuco¹ (foyst); and, about three weeks afterwards, made Mozambique at the end of March, 1498.

Having hired two pilots and paid them 30 *meticaes* (\$14) of gold,² Da Gama dropped seawards a league or so to the Ilhéu de Sam Jorje, where he intended to halt for Sunday mass, confession, and communion. He put out two armed boats to fetch an absent pilot, when five to six Zambucos, whose crews carried bows, long

Sat.,
March 10.

¹ My "Pilgrimage," etc., describes the Arab "Sambúk," which Ibn Batutah (Lee, p. 25) calls the Turkish "Senbuki," and Varthema Sambuchi. Bluteau declares that it is undecked, and built without bolt-work. The word may have given rise through the Portuguese *Sumaca* to our "smack." The characteristic craft of the Sawáhil is the Mtepe (Arab. Muntafiyah), which I have described in "Zanzibar," etc., i. 73-4.

² The Miskál (= 4.69 grammes) is the $\frac{1}{100}$ of a Ratl and $\frac{1}{400}$ of the Oke. In Correa's time (Part ii. chap. 3) it was worth 500 reis = $\frac{1}{4}$ a dollar. Goes (i. 37) reduces it to 420 reis. Barbosa (p. 211) gives $6\frac{1}{2}$ miskals = 1 oz. Barros makes 30 miskals = 14 milreis.

arrows,¹ and targets (*tavolachinhas*), made signs that the strangers must return to the settlement. The small flotilla was dispersed by a few shots.

The Squadron sailed Northwards (Sunday, March 11); and, on Tuesday, had covered twenty leagues. The explorers saw high land; but were unable to make way on account of calms. Presently an Easter set in; and, after two days, drove them back to "Mass Island." Thence they were compelled to make Mozambique Fort for water, which was found only on the mainland behind the islet. The "king, desiring peace, sent a white Moor, a Xarife,² that is a clerk (*creligo*) and a great drunkard."

After failing, by the pilots' fraud, to find water in the morning, in the evening they succeeded. Some thirty "Moors" (Barros says 2,000) vapouring on the open shore with assegais (*azagaias*)³ were driven into "the bush" by three cannon-

Thurs.,
March 15.

¹ The modern arrows everywhere in East Africa are exceptionally short: not so in South Africa.

² The Roteiro-notes (p. 152) tell us that "Xarife" means chief, high official, not priest. The unlettered sailor-author knew better. Although El-Islam has, strictly and theoretically speaking, no ecclesiastical order, the Sherifs enjoy a kind of religious rank, *noblesse de Sacrement*, as the French lady irreverently described the nobles of modern Rome. Of the Maroccan Sherifs I have treated in chap. iii. Barros notices a Moor from Fez at Mozambique.

³ The word is doubtful, and disputed. It appears as "Hersegaye" about A.D. 1414 ("Meyrick, Arms," etc., ii. 85 and 185), meaning the demilune of the Albanian Stradiots. As "Zagaye" and "Arzagaye," it became temp. Henry VII. a lance twelve feet

shot. The Portuguese also recovered a fugitive "chattel" belonging to Joam de Coimbra.

In the evening a Moor boarded the ships, and offered himself as a guide to the spring.

The Commodore accepted; and, wishing to show his strength, ordered cannon in the boats. As these approached the

Sat.,
March 24
(Vespers of
our Lady).

wretched thatched village (*Aldéa*),¹ the Moors, who had built a stockade and were armed with shields and daggers (*agomias*),² poured in sling-stones, arrows, and assegais. The boats let fly with their bombards; dispersed the mob; and, after two hours, returned home to dine. They then landed again, seized four negroes out of the Shérif's boat, and plundered small matters, pots and baskets, cloth and provaunt. On Sunday they watered; they made for the village next day in armed boats; and, as the people feared to come out for parley, they fired on them. Camoens gives a dozen stanzas (i. 84-85)

long; and in Demmin ("Arms and Armour," London, Bells, 1877) it is a long, slender spear used by the knights of Rhodes. We now apply "Assegai" only to the Kafir javelin. I believe the word to be the Arab. El-Házikah, the piercer, from the root Hazaka

(حذق).

¹ The Arab. El-Diyat, opposed in Portuguese to Arraial; the latter is the military settlement, as I have noticed in the "Highlands of the Brazil" (i. 109). Mozambique was in those days a village with a fine port, described by all travellers.

² Also written *Agumia* and *Gomia*; the "Gomio" of Barbosa (p. 80), and is the Arab. El-Jumbiyah, a curved or rather crooked waist-dagger which I have sketched in my "Pilgrimage," etc.

to this miserable affair. On March 27, the ships dropped down to the Ilhéus de Sam Jorje, and there waited three days for a fair wind. Thus they were twenty-eight days, off and on, near Mozambique: Correa reduces the term to 20-22, and makes them leave it on a Sunday, April 8 or 15.

The Armada sailed with light breezes (Thursday, March 29). According to the Roteiro they had made twenty-eight leagues, but the currents swept them back on "Saturday, the 30th." Evidently one of these two dates is erroneous.

They reached a number of islets near shore, and so Sun., April 1. closely packed that one could not be distinguished from the other. These are the Querimba group, mostly inhabited. The Southernmost was called *Ilha-do-Açoutado* (Barros, i. 4, 5), because the Moor pilot was "flogged" for lying. It is the Quiziba or Das Cabras (of she-goats) in modern charts; and Barros places it 70 leagues north of Mozambique.

They saw (Monday, April 2) five leagues off land other islands, which must be the outliers of *Cabo Delgado*, though these are nearer shore. The Roteiro does not mention that important headland; and Camoens (i. 43) apparently applies the term *Promontorio Prasso*¹ (i. 43, 77) to the Cabo-das-Correntes, South of

¹ Wild work has been made with this word. Fanshaw and Quillinan are literal; "The Promontory Prassus." Mickle (p. 21) has the "Cape of Praso": the other translators and commentators stick to "Prasso." Fracastorius is the worst, "Prasumque

Mozambique. The word *Πράσον* (Lat. *Prasum*, a leek or leek-green) may allude either to the floating seaweed, or to the undeciduous foliage of the forest. Marinus of Tyre placed it in S. Lat. $45^{\circ} 45'$; far beyond The Cape; till, frightened by such a parallel, he reduced it to S. Lat. 24° . The Periplus ignores it: Ptolemy (vii. 3, 5) makes it the southernmost projection of East Africa in S. Lat. 15° .¹ But the Pelusian's parallels are relative. His point of departure was Aromata Head or Guardafui, which he places in North Lat. 6° instead of $11^{\circ} 55'$; and therefore we must subtract 6° from his stations further south. Thus reducing S. Lat. 15° to 9° we obtain a near approach to that very remarkable feature the Delgado or "Thin Cape," which lies in South Lat. $10^{\circ} 41' 2''$. I again venture to call the geographer's attention to this point. A neglect to subtract from Ptolemy's latitudes led to the old and not yet exploded error of identifying his Menouthias or Menuthias (S. Lat. 12°), with Madagascar bisected by S. Lat. 20° .

About noon they sighted high land and two islets near the shore, which was foul. As they drew closer in, the pilots found that the currents had swept them beyond the "Island

Wednes.,
April 4.

sub Arcto": Millié is the only one who knows it to be the modern Delgado, *le Cap Verd du Zanguebar*.

¹ This position would be 3° (= 180 miles) S. of Menuthias, which must be one of the Zanzibarian Archipelago. The three chief islets are (1) Pemba S. Lat. $5^{\circ} 29'.3$; (2) Zanzibar (town) $6^{\circ} 27'.7$; and (3) Mafiyah (Momfia of our maps) $7^{\circ} 38'.6$. I cannot but think that the latter is the original Menuthias.

of Christians" (i. 95, 98). The Roteiro calls it Quyluee; Camoens Quilóa (= Kwílõa, i. 54; x. 26) and moderns Kilwá.¹ Duarte (Barbosa, p. 11) makes it a kind of Coast-capital, the chief comptoir of "Çofala," Zuama (Zambeze), Anguox (Angosha Island) and Mozambique. Correa (Part ii. chap. 4) assures us that its ruler "did not possess more country than the city itself." The "Queen of the North," was Makdishu or Magadoxo, a "large and beautiful town" (Barbosa, p. 16), dating from A.D. 909-950. The foundation of Kilwá by the Arabs is popularly assigned to A.D. 960-1000; but the settlements may have existed in the time of the Periplus. Ibn Batutah (Lee, 75) tells us that the people of "Kulwá" were Zunúj or Zanzibarian negroids,—Wásawahíli.²

I have elsewhere shown that "Kilwá" (S. Lat. 9°) applies to a district, not to a single place. A little north of the Island (Kilwá Kisiwáni), whose ruins, including the Portuguese "Gurayza" (Fort), have some pretensions, there are five wretched villages scattered along the bay-shore. Correa (Da Gama's second voyage) describes it at some length. The Island was separated from the coast by a channel only knee-deep. The town, which ran down to the beach, had narrow streets, and was entirely surrounded by a wall and towers. The

¹ Quillinan here beats us all in cacophony:—

Quilóa, Sófala, Mombassa most.

² "Zanzibar, City, Island and Coast" (vol. ii. chap. 11).

houses were of stone and mortar (corallines) with much wood-work (mangrove-rafters): many had three and four stories; and a man could pass from one terrace-roof to another. The population, all Moslems, numbered about 12,000, the report of "half-Moors half-Christians" was probably a snare; the latter, however, might have been represented by Hindú Banyans. Some of the women were beautiful; and made as free with the strangers as the fair Kábulis in 1840. The gardens and orchards of the fertile and well-wooded mainland produced sugar-cane, figs (bananas), and pomegranates; citrons, limes, and the "sweetest oranges yet seen." Sheep were plentiful, and "have their fat in the tail, which is almost the size of the body." When tribute was demanded of the Shaykh, he replied with spirit:—"Tis better to be a pack at large than a greyhound in a golden leash." Where to Da Gama as sagaciously rejoined:—"There's no Moor will be on good terms with you until you do him harm." Both spoke truth.

The Commodore and Captains, finding that Quiloa had been left leagues astern, resolved to make Mombasah, distant four days. During the preceding night they had seen, to the north, a large island, which contained, said the pilots, one town of Christians and another of Moors,—probably Mafiyah (Momfia).

Da Gama was now abreast of the Great Rufiji or Rufiji River, the only important stream on this part of the coast. It is not mentioned by the Ruttier; but Camoens

Thurs.,
April 5.

calls it (x. 96) *O Rapto rio*, which his translators render literally "Rapto River." The word is 'Ραπτός (potamos): there is also a Rhapta (metropolis) of Barbaria, and a Point Rhapton (Akron). It alludes to the Ploia rhapta ("sewn" craft), whose planks were, and still are, fastened by coir-cords passed through holes: so the Roteiro says (p. 28): "The boats are large and built without nails," thus distinguishing them from the almadias, monoxyla or dug-outs.

Ptolemy (iv. 7) places the town and river-mouth in S. Lat. 7° , and the Promontory in $8^{\circ} 25'$, or 215 miles ($3^{\circ} 35'$) north of his Menuthias: according to the pilot Dioscorus (Ptol. i. 9), from Rhapta to Prasmus are 5,000 stadia (furlongs), of 500-600 to the degree. The words of the Periplus, which ignores the river and the port, are:—"From which island (Menouthesias), after two runs, lies the last continental emporium of Azania called 'The Rhapta.'" The two days' runs, not including nights, each of sixty knots, would end at the Rufiji, whose Delta is in S. Lat. 7° - 8° . Vincent identifies Rhapta with Kilwá (1° - 2° farther south); but the latter has no river. Others prefer Point Pounah, the southern cusp of the Zanzibar coast-crescent; but this place again lacks both stream and port.

Two hours before morning the Sam Rafael grounded on a shoal, and got off with the high tide. Fri., April 6. Hence the place was called Sam Rafael; and the same name was given to the fine coast-range, a section of the East African Gháts, the last spurs of

the Usumbara block. Properly termed the Bondei or Mbondei Mountains, they run north to south from S. Lat. $4^{\circ} 30'$ to $5^{\circ} 30'$; and rise to a maximum height of 5,000 feet. The Three-peak hill, called by the Portuguese *Corôa-de-Mombaça*, and by the native Shimba or Mbringa, numbers about 3,000.

From these Syrtes two "Moors" accompanied the Armada to Mombasah. It is supposed that Da Gama, when outward bound, ran east of Zanzibar Island; and, when returning home, passed down the channel which separates it from the Continent. The Roteiro apparently confirms this notion, by mentioning "Jamjiber" only at the end (p. 105). No record is made of foul weather, and the ships probably escaped the "April storm," now dreaded on the Zanzibar seas.

Coasting northwards in the morning, they saw some islands; one, six leagues long, lay fifteen leagues out to sea, and was covered with "trees whereof masts are made." This *Ilha das Arvores* was probably Pemba, the "green island" of the Arabs, and the "Penda" of Barbosa (p. 14); a coralline block, twenty-three miles north-east of Zanzibar, and seventeen to twenty-five from the coast. Its people are Wapemba, ancient owners of the ground.¹

In the evening the squadron anchored off Mombasah: many of the men were still scurvy-sick, but all rejoiced

¹ I have described the capital, Chak-Chak or Chaki-Chaki, in "Zanzibar," etc., ii. chap. 1.

at the idea of seeing Christian peoples. They were visited by a Zabra¹ of 200 tons; and at midnight came a second carrying a hundred natives armed with shields and *terçados* (short swords). None were admitted on board.

This seems the place to notice the "Christians" of whom the Roteiro so often speaks. It evidently confuses the Catholic rite with Hindú pagan-worship, little caring (though unsuspecting of "adumbration") what conclusions may be drawn from the likeness. There were, however, *bonâ fide* Christians in East Africa as well as in India. I have given my reasons for believing that in past ages the Gallas, who extended to near Cape Guardafui, were Christians.² At Mozambique the explorers found "Christian prisoners," probably Abyssinians (Barros, i. 1, 298): when they landed at Mombasah two Christian merchants showed them a "picture of the Holy Ghost."³ At Melinde their salutations were returned by Indian Christians, who came in four ships; and who spoke a little *Arravía* (Arabic). They adored a retable with Christian subjects; and, as the Portuguese passed, they cried "Christi! Christi!" which might have been "Krishna." They did not eat beef, which looks as

¹ The Tava of Nikitin (p. 8), our Dow or Dau.

² "First Footsteps in East Africa," chap. iv., etc.

³ It might have been a figure of Kapot-eshwar or Kapotesi, the Hindú Pigeon-god and goddess; incarnations of Shiva and his wife, the third Person of the Hindu Triad noticed in my "Pilgrimage," iii. 218.

re
a
is
n
f
if they were Banyans: many Christians in India, however, have humoured native superstition by avoiding rump-steak and pork-chop: even the Delhi Emperor Násir el-Dín forbade oxen to be slaughtered, "which is one of the regulations of the infidel Hindús." But they also advised the Commodore neither to land nor to trust the Melinde people, showing some sympathy with "Master's caste." Socotra, when visited in 1507, was mostly Christian, ruled by Arabs from Hadramaut.

In Southern India the Churches of Western Asia had planted many colonies which the Portuguese called "Christians of Sam Thomé" (Osorio de R. Em., i. 9). Of these some 30,000 submitted themselves to Da Gama at Cranganor. Varthema found them at Kayan-Kulam, and briefly notices their ritual differences from the Church of Rome: he also notices, at Siamese "Sarnau," Christians who wrote from right to left, suggesting Syrian Nestorians. Abd el-Razzák (A.D. 1442) met, to his cost, one at them, "Nimeh-pezin," in office at Bijánagar. Barbosa (p. 162) calls the Malabar Christians "Armenians." They are now divided into two sects.¹ The first is the Syro-Jacobite or Monophysite, who borrowed a name from Jacob Baraddæus: their bishops, titled Már² (Athanasius, etc.), are subject to the Patriarch of

¹ The learned note to Varthema (pp. 181-2) exhausts the subject.

² Már (Lord) is not only a Christian title: it occurs in Maribas (Mar-Ibas or Mar-Abas), a Syrian writer of the second century B.C.; and in other instances.

Mardin in Mesopotamia, and they have coreligionists at Damascus, Hums, and Hamah. The others are Nestorians, originally under the "Patriarch of Babylon" (the Chaldæan of Mosul); and in Mesopotamia they term themselves Eski Kaldáni (old Chaldæans). They were united with Rome by the Portuguese;¹ but they preserved the Syrian ritual, and they have of late years resumed with the Patriarch relations which had been long and completely broken off.

European intolerance and ferocity soon diminished the numbers of the unfortunate "Christians of St. Thomas." It is a curious consideration that, despite missioner, missionary, and millions of rupees, there were probably more Indo-Christians in the fourteenth than in the nineteenth century.

That the Banyans, or Hindu traders, were also mistaken for Christians, we have ample proof; and Camoens (i. 77) deftly adopted the delusion as a snare of the Evil One. At Calicut Da Gama and his escort unwittingly worshipped in a palpable pagoda (Roteiro, 56-7): they were surprised to see "Saints with four and five arms," but were reassured when shown the Holy Virgin. The latter was evidently Gauri, the white goddess, Sakti of Shiva the Destroyer. Da Gama (ibid. 70) affirms to the Hindu regent that both were "Christians"; and the Samiry Prince humours the delusion (Rot. Aug. 23). We are naïvely told (p. 96):—"The Christians of the

¹ In 1599 the Archbishop of Goa, Alexandro de Menezes, held a conference for this purpose at Kulam.

land of India call God Tambaram"; Tambaran among the Nayar being a title, lord or master.¹

Finally, in the Roteiro's notices of various kingdoms (108-113) not only Cranganor, Coulam, and Coromandel are Christian, but also Siam, Malacca, Pegu, and Timor. Even the well-educated and intelligent Varthema believed that there were a thousand Christians in the army of Pegu. They were probably Buddhists, who held to the "three Precious Ones," Buddha, Dharma (the law), and Sanga (the clergy and congregation). This Triad became in "Varthema" (p. 217), "God, his precepts and his priests." In page 108 the explorer seems to describe Buddhists as "neither Moors nor heathens."² Ramusio also informs us, "All the country of Malabar believes in the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and this beginning at Cambay and ending at Bengal." Evidently we must here read the Hindu Triad, Bramhá, Vishnu, and Shiva. Indians, like other

¹ Varthema, an Italian, writes Tamerani (p. 137); and in page 145 he translates Tamarani, "by God!" He calls the "Devil" Deumo (from Deva), and finds the king's chapel full of devils, one of them "wearing a crown made like that of the Papal kingdom with three crowns." Barbosa (i. 53) boldly declares "there is no great difference between them (Brahmans) and us": he judges from the songs and instruments, bells and lights, and the existence of a Triad.

² The more one studies Buddhism the more convinced one becomes that it owes much of its present constitution to the Christianity of Western Asia, which has converted the baldest atheism to a manner of theism. What would Gotama or Buddha have said of **Adi-buddhá**? I shall return to this subject in § 4.

polytheists, have little bigotry, and no faith in conversion. The fisherman at Angediva (Rot. Sept. 15) are ready to "profess" (an evident pretence); and even "respectable men" would call themselves "Christians," simply to please, cajole, or cheat the strangers.

The "King" of Mombasah sent a present of provisions and a ring, in token of safe-conduct, by two white men, who declared themselves Christians, and were not credited. The Commodore replied that he would enter port next day: meanwhile he despatched a couple of his convicts (?) to inspect the town, keeping four honourable Moors as hostages on board the flagship. It was a wise act, which we often unwisely neglect.¹ The Portuguese went to the Palace, and passed through four gates, noting that each had its porter with drawn dagger.

As the Squadron entered, the leading ship (Da Gama's) would not veer, or rather backed, and the anchors were cast to keep off a shoal. Startled by the noise and confusion, the Moslems clambered into a Zabra towing astern, while the Mozambique pilots threw themselves into the sea. At night the Commodore "questioned"² a pair of Moors,

¹ Amongst Easterns these pledges are always given and exchanged: and the precaution secures safety till the people learn that philanthropy forbids the securities being hanged. Had this simple precaution been taken by Cavagnari, the second Cabul disaster (1879) would have been spared.

² The original is *pingou*, meaning to drop liquid resin, boiling oil,

confessed a plot intended to revenge the affair of Abique. At midnight two canoes began to cut the bows of the *Berrio* and the *Sam Rafael*: they fled when the alarm was given. Such and similar "villainies of dogs" (*estes perros*)¹ induced Da Gama to shorten his stay: the sick enjoyed it, "for this land has very good weather. It is now bad and feverish. The *Roteiro* makes us stay three days (April 8-10): *Correa* gives five (21-26); and others thirteen—the latter a highly notable figure.

Joens has produced a perfect outline-sketch of *Masah* in a single stanza (i. 103): Mickle spoils it by adding a "river which empties itself into the sea at two mouths."² The town, that took its name from *Mombasah* in Oman, is described in the *Roteiro* as a large city on a cliff beaten by the sea. *Barbosa* compares the streets and fine houses with those of *Soa*. There was a *Padram* (landmark) at the mouth of the harbour into which many ships sailed

and men metal upon the naked skin. Of course it makes men tell the truth, and, in nervous cases, a trifle more.

"Those Mussulman dogs," says (p. 11) the Lord's "sinful serthanasius, son of Nikita."

and had immense trouble in abolishing this "Tuaca" or "Nash" from the teeth of my late friend and collaborateur, James M'Queen (in the *Topographical Survey of Africa*, London, Fellows, 1840). Another similar nuisance which I abated was the "Quavi or River of Blood" receiving much bedevilment at the hands of that obstinate doctor, Mr. Cooley. Both "rivers" are fine specimens of the superstitions of the streams, like the Brazilian *Rio de Janeiro*: they would have been the face of the country had they existed.

every day. A low-lying Arab fort near the water-edge was afterwards armed with seven to eight cannon, fished up by divers from the wreck of Sancho de Toar, or Thoar, a captain under Pedr' Alvares Cabral. With these the city valiantly defended herself against the first Viceroy, Almeida, who in 1505 did great damage (Barros, i. 8, 7). The Portuguese, after permanently occupying the town, built the "Gurayza" (fortress), which still adorns the sea-front.¹ "Mvita" (war), as the natives call the city, has a turbulent little history of its own: it has thrice become English, and its wild days are not done. In A.D. 1698 it was annexed by the Imám (*antistes*) of Oman, Sayf bin Sultan, after the citizens had massacred the Portuguese to a man.

The squadron proceeded eight leagues; and next morning chased two craft (ii. 68). One
 Thurs.,
 April 11. escaped: the other carrying an "honourable Moor" and his young wife, with a crew of seventeen, was taken to supply pilots. The ships passed certain maritime villages called "Benapa, Toça (Tosah), and Nuguo-quionete"—the latter may be Point Mkonu-gnombe. On
 Easter Sun.,
 April 15. Easter Sunday, one of the few dates specified by Camoens (ii. 72), Da Gama, after covering thirty leagues from Mombasah, anchored off Melinde, which, as the Poet

¹ I sketched the Fort, and described the town in "Zanzibar," etc., vol. ii. chap. 2. Much information is found in Capt. Owen's and Comm. Boteler's volumes; and in Capitaine Guillain (chap. xxxiii. tome deuxième).

(ii. 63), is nearer the line, S. Lat. $3^{\circ} 9'$. The Ruttier
ares (p. 49) Milendy, Milynde or Milingui, with
uchete in Portugal. The town lined the shore
fine bay; and the houses were of several stories
ed with many windows. Landwards lay a large
-orchard, broken by plantations of cereals and
ables. Camoens does not describe the place which
a copy of Mombasah, enriched by commerce with
bay. Early in the present century the ferocious
s made it inaccessible to Europeans;¹ and the
labouring natives describe it as a tract of stone-heaps
grown with trees.

no one would come on board, the Commodore
a messenger to the "King" by the
urable Moor, who was boated to a
and carried across by a canoe. Pre-
y he returned in a Zabra, accompanied by a "Knight"
a Sherif: they brought a present, with a friendly
age, and the promise of a pilot. Next day the ships
ed inshore: the "King" sent another gift, and pro-
l to meet Da Gama on the sea; the former in a
a, the latter in one of his boats.

ter dinner (noon) a meeting took place with exchange
offerings: those of Melinde are cata-
ed by the Roteiro (45-6). It also men-
the trumpets and "horns of ivory,"
ize of a man with a blow-hole in the middle: such

Easter Mon.,
April 16.

Wednes.,
April 18.

The late Capt. Speke and I failed to reach it in 1856-7.

instruments are still used on the coast. The Commodore refused to land, protesting royal orders (ii. 83) : this was the first of those silly, shallow untruths which are so useless and harmful with "Orientals." The Melindans, who knew that Da Gama had landed elsewhere, would look upon him as a trickster, much like themselves, only far less skilful. He had been imprudent in disembarking before, and now he seems to have run into the other extreme.

On his side the Moslem would not visit the ships for fear of what his people might think. The interview in boats was friendly : the Shaykh asked the name of the Portuguese king (ii. 109), which he caused a Scribe to write ; and promised either a letter or a mission to Portugal. When Da Gama released the captives, he declared that the favour was dearer to him than the gift of a town. He rowed round the Squadron, and for some three hours enjoyed artillery-practice (ii. 90). At last he left on board one of his sons and a Sherif as hostages ; promising, if the ships would draw nearer ashore, that they should see the usual horse-sports and "powder-play" (La 'ab el-Bárút).

The Commodore and Nicoláo Coelho enjoyed the Eastern Champ de Mars from boats armed with stern-chasers. The "King" vainly begged them to land, as his bed-ridden father wished to see them ; and offered, while the visit lasted, to remain with his sons among the strangers. Da Gama, however, besides being warned against the

Tues.,
April 19.

people, did not find everything run as smoothly at Melinde as in the pages of *The Lusiads*.

The *Zabra* brought on board a *fidalgo* related to the ruler : he was at once seized and detained till the promised (Christian?) pilot was sent. The *Roteiro* does not name the latter, but Barros calls him Malemo (loadsman) Cana or Canaca. "Káná" would mean a Monocular ; "Kanaka" is the name of a caste : some again make him a Gujaráti, others a negro or negroid.

Sun.,
April 22.

After a pleasant rest of nine days (vi. 3-5), which *Correa* increases to three months, the navigators set out for "Qualecut" ; and, on the ensuing Sunday, they again hailed the Polar Star. The wind was mostly fair, the season being the N. East Monsoon, during the twenty-three days of middle passage, which was computed to measure 600 leagues. The *Roteiro*, however, speaks (p. 50) of rains and tornadoes. One of the latter, evidently the burst of the S. West Monsoon,¹ became in *The Lusiads* (vi. 70-84) the magnificent storm which, ending with a sight of Love's Planet sparkling over the mountains of Western India, is described with perfect art, and forms one of its poetic gems.

Tues.,
April 24.

¹ Usually the monsoon breaks in early June, but the seasons are uncertain. In the *Commentaries* (vol. ii. chap. 26) we find that "the winter commences in the beginning of April," and on May 17th "a great and stormy sea was running" (chap. 32). We must remember the difference of eleven days in O.S.

The Squadron sighted high land¹ (vi. 92) on Friday, May 17, and at a distance of eight leagues the lead showed forty-five fathoms. This done, they ran down coast to the S.S. East.

The Pilot recognised the Western Gháts about their destination. In the evening they anchored a league and a half off-shore; and were visited by four boats to find out what they were. Sun., May 19. The roads lay south of "Capua, which was Calicut." The former is Kappakkáttá, the Capogatto of Varthema (p. 133), a seaport containing a "very beautiful palace, built in the ancient style," and distant four leagues from Calicut: Barbosa (p. 152) calls it Capocad, and places the town two leagues north of the capital, while others transfer it to the South. Near it stood another port-settlement, Pandarani (Pandarany, Pandarrany, or Pandarim): this may be the Fandaraina which Ibn Batutah locates north of the main harbour. "Pandarani" in Varthema (p. 133) is one day from Tormapatani, the Dormapatan of Hamilton, near the Tellichery River, twelve miles from Cananor:² in Barbosa (p. 152) Pan-

¹ This was the striking Mount Dilli (Delli, etc.), so called, because the wild Cardamon (Elá, Hilá, or Eláichi) was found there: Barbosa (p. 151) erroneously derives *Helý* from Ginger. It lies sixteen miles north of our well-known station, Cananor; and the little bay which it protects used, in the sixteenth century, to receive ships from Arabia, Hormuz, Persia, and all parts of India. For plan and sketch see Col. Yule's "Marco Polo," vol. ii.

² Mr. Badger suggests that Varthema's "Tormapatani" may be

a Moorish place N.N. West of Kappakkáta ; "River of Tarmapatani" lies South of Cananor. in the Roteiro, the outward bound voyage occupies seven months and eleven days (July 8, 1497—1498). The date of arrival, generally accepted by Barrow and other annalists, is May 22. Correa and Gama leave Melinde on Aug. 6 ; and reach Cananor (not Calicut) on Aug. 26. But, had they sailed at this season, it would not only have missed the full blast of the S.-west Monsoon when they could not have safely travelled ; it would also be approaching "the phanta Storm," the dangerous breaking up of the season.

HALT AT CALICUT.

Convicts, sent ashore, met as many Tunisians who understood them in Spanish and Italian with unepic language : *Al diablo* Mon..
'oo : quem te traxo aquê. May 20. ("Go
 to the devil, where I send thee ! who brought thee
 here.") After giving the strangers bread and honey,
 the "Monçaide" accompanied them on board. This is
 the "Monçaide" of Barros and Camoens, a

place, or Badafattan of Ibn Batutah, between Hili (Ulala) and Calicut (Calicut).

corruption of El-Mas'úd (the "happy" or made happy), the mincing "Mes'ood" of Egyptian Lane. Correa calls him "Taibo," and Castanheda "Bomtaibo" (good-good), from two favourite exclamations, the Portuguese "bom"; and its Arabic equivalent "tayyib." The former states that he was a Christian, who, made prisoner in childhood, had taken a Moslem name, and had become "as a Moor among the Moors." Osorio calls him a Tunisian Mohammedan, who had been chief contractor for military stores under Dom Fernando. Thus he like Camoens (ix. 15) represents "Felix" as a traitor to his people, who ends with being a pestilent renegade, and with meriting Paradise.

The Camorim (Samorim), a "King" who commanded an army of 100,000 to 200,000 men, being in the inland town, fifteen leagues from the sea-town; or at Ponani, according to Philip Baldæus (*Beschrijving*, Amsterdam, 1672), two men were sent to him with a message. He replied that he would at once return to Calicut, and meanwhile furnish a pilot to show the safer anchorage of "Pandarani." Reaching this roadstead, the "Bale,"¹ with 200 men, offered to escort Da Gama to the Rajah, but the hour was too late.

¹ Also spelt Baile, Baille, and Bayle, the Arab. Wálf (a governor). In Correa he becomes the Gozil (Wazir or Vizier, whence the Spanish Alguazil), and in Camoens the Catual (Kotwál). In chap. v., note to Canto vii. 44, I explain the latter, whom Barbosa (p. 120) calls "Coytoro tical Carnaver," and Nikitin (p. 15) *Kutovalovies* (plur.).

On Monday, May 28th, Da Gama left Pandarani in state, with an escort of twelve to thirteen marines. He was carried in a palanquin to Calicut, and thence to "Capua": here he and his embarked in two boats, and went a league up the river where large and small vessels were beached. The Commodore again entered his litter, and was conducted through swarming crowds to a "church." It must have been a quaint scene, Christians innocently praying with a crash of gongs (Campāas, p. 56, not bells) to the hideous idols of a Hindu Pagoda. Varthema, who describes the temple, relates that one sailor, Juan de Sala, having some qualms of conscience, said, when kneeling, "If this be the Devil, I worship God!" whereat Da Gama smiled. Here Correa tells the (sham) prophecy, so cleverly used by Camoens (vii. 56), that India would be conquered by a King of the Whites who dwelt afar off. The "Quafees" (priests), who wore the Brahminical thread, and refused admittance to the Adytum, sprinkled the strangers with an aspergillus (?), dipped in "holy water" (Ganges?); and gave them the "white clay" (sandalwood-paste?), "which Christians in these lands apply to their foreheads."

The Portuguese then entered the palace, and had audience with the Rajah, who is carefully described (p. 59).¹ He was eating *uvvas* (grapes), for which read *areca*²

¹ For the dress of the Samiry Rajah, whom Abd el-Razzak calls Sameri, and whom he found almost naked, see "Varthema" (Hakluyt, p. 156).

² Varthema (p. 110) calls the betel-nut Chofole, Coffolo and

or betel-nut; and chewing the atambor (*piper betel*) supplied to him by a kinsman, a gold *pote* (spittoon) being in readiness. Before any one spoke the attendant held his hand in front of the royal mouth. The melon-like fruit was a "jack" (*Artocarpus integrifolia*)¹ and the "figs," as shown by the leaf-platters, were bananas: Linnæus seems to have borrowed his *Musa Paradisaica* from the Arab Mauz (plantain), and from Marco Polo's "apples of Paradise." The palm-frond used for writing is the Talipot.

Da Gama delivered his message, and the private audience lasted till the fourth hour after nightfall. The mission was then turned out, in a storm of rain, by the hospitable Hindú; and, after being entertained by a "Moor," had much trouble to regain its quarters at Pandarani. The Commodore refused to mount an unsaddled horse: the offer seems to have been one of those childish slights of which Easterns are so prodigal, and for which they are made, sooner or later, to pay so dear a price.

Arecha (p. 144): the two former are corruptions of the Arab. Fauful: the Hindostani name is Supári. Atambor (Varthema's Tambuli) is the Arab. Tambúl, popularly known as "Pán," the leaf. The Italian traveller does not forget the Cionama (= Chunam), or lime, used to heighten the flavour. Barbosa (p. 73) also notices "Pan-supári" at full length.

¹ It is the Malabar "Tsjaka," or "Taca." Ibn Batutah (Lee, 105) makes two kinds grow upon the same tree, El-Sharhi above and El-Barhi below; probably a confusion with the Dorian. Varthema (p. 159) calls it Ciccara.

Portuguese presents were shown to the "Bale,"
 al Factor, and some chief Moors,
 ghed them to scorn¹ (ix. 62, 68).

Tues.,
 May 29.

a, seized with *menencoria* (melan-
 'ished to return on board, or to have audience
 Rajah. The officers promised as they always do ;
 kept him waiting all day, which filled him with
 Their object was probably to test the temper of
 gers ; possibly to make them compromise them-
 ' some act of violence.

uma was delayed four hours at the Palace-gate ;
 st admitted with only two followers,
 Martins and Diogo Dias,—another

Wednes.,
 May 30.

fter an unpleasant audience, doubt-
 sed by disappointment with the presents, the
 rs were delivered, one in Portuguese and the
 . *Mourisco* (Maroccan Arabic). The latter,
 l by four Moors, pleased the Samorim, who
 . Gama go on board, and send his vendible
 here. It being late, nothing more was done

ch merchant called Guzerate" (i.e. a Gujarát
 after offering a saddleless horse,
 ady a palanquin for the Commo-

Thurs.,
 May 31.

opular idea that the gift-horse's mouth should not be
 , leads to many mistakes. When sent on a mission to the
 'ahome I was provided with certain presents amongst
 which my black servants would have "turned up their
 Mission," etc., vol. i. chap. xii.).

dore. Setting out for Pandarani, Da Gama lost his escort, who presently found him sitting with the "Bale" under an *estao* (open shed). No boats would ply at night and three Portuguese were missing: the rest supped on "Pilaff" (rice and fowl) which the Captain bought; and slept at a Moor's house.

Fri., June 1. "The "Bale" of Calicut shut the gates, and refused boats unless the ships were brought inside port: he also demanded, as was the custom with strangers, the sails and rudders. Feeling themselves in prison, the party became *muito tristes* (very sad). One of the three lost marines appeared and reported that Coelho waited for them every night, with his boats, near the beach: the Commodore stout-heartedly sent them back to the Squadron for fear of seizure. After a day of "agony," the strangers were placed in a tiled court under a guard of a hundred men armed with swords and *bisarmas*.¹

Sat., June 2. The Commodore, consenting to send some of the merchandise ashore, was allowed to embark, leaving two Factors (viii. 94). All "gave thanks to our Lord for deliverance from men, whose understanding was that of brute beasts." The Indians doubtless said the same of the strangers; and this is generally the judgment when men do not understand

¹ *Guisarmes* or two-edged battle-axes (Spelman and Ducange, s. v.); Demmin (p. 430) makes the *Gisarme* a kind of bill armed with hooks, and older than the "Guisards," who are popularly supposed to have named it. The weapon is still used in China.

one another's tongues. Five days afterwards Da Gama reported his ill-treatment to the Rajah, who had doubtless ordered it: the reply was that those who had so behaved were "bad Christians and should be punished,"—in fact the Hindú treated the European like a child. The goods remained on sale for some eight days without finding buyers (ix. 1). The Moors trading with "Meca" insultingly spat on the ground, saying, "Portugal! Portugal!" and declared that the navigators were pirates. Marco Polo notes that in Malabar the testimony of one who sails by sea is not admissible, because such men are regarded as mere desperadoes. The Chinese Mandarins had the same horror of ships "which went about the world seeking other ships in order to take them."

The goods were disembarked and the crews were allowed, under certain conditions, to land and see the City. They bought, at high prices, gems, cloves, cinnamon, and especially provisions. Da Gama sent Diogo Dias and another man with a present and a message to the Rajah: the latter, after a delay of four days, rejected both; forbade his lieges by crier to board the ships, and dismissed the Squadron. The Factors, finding themselves prisoners (ix. 1), bribed a fisherman to carry a report of their case to the Commodore. The ill-feeling of the Samorim and his people, who had resolved to destroy the navigator, was announced by a "Moor of the Land" (Moplah or Mappila) and two Christians.

Sun., June 24
(St. John).

A boat put off with four youths pretending to sell precious stones. It was suspected that they were sent by the Moors to be detained ; so they were landed with a letter to the Factors. Next Sunday (Aug. 19) some twenty-five merchants visiting the Armada, Da Gama arrested nineteen, including "six honourable men" (Nayr), and dismissed the rest with a letter to the Royal Factor demanding his two Portuguese.

The Armada weighed anchor and sailed four leagues from Calicut, but was driven back by headwinds. Next Saturday she put out almost beyond sight of land. As she awaited the sea breeze on Sunday, a barque brought a message that Diogo Dias had been summoned by the Rajah, who threw all the blame upon his own Factor ; offered to set up the Padram ; caused him to write on a palm-leaf a letter to his King, and formally invited him to remain at Calicut with the merchandise. Da Gama, suspecting that his people had been murdered, and understanding that he was being detained till the coming of the "Meca ships" (ix. 4), threatened, unless his Factors were returned, to behead the hostages and bombard the town. As has been seen, Mickle carries out the threat to the stultification of Camoens and all history.

Seven boats put off from shore, bringing the Factors but not the goods. The Padram (de Sam Gabriel) was committed to six honourable

Tues.,
Aug. 14.

Wednes.,
Aug. 23
(22 ?).

Mon.,
Aug. 27.

men, who were set free, the others being detained as hostages for the merchandise.

The "Tunis Moor" (Monçaide) begged leave to accompany the Fleet, fearing for his life.

Seven boats came, three laden with *Alanbés*,

Tues.,
Aug. 28.

striped cottons still much used in the African

trade. They declared these to be the only remaining goods; and tried another fox-trick (*rraposia*), proposing that both hostages and merchandise should be placed in the same boat, and each party take its own. Da Gama replied that he wanted only his men; and that he would soon return and show Calicut that he was no Pirate.

The Commodore had made the common European mistake of finessing with the natives. He had some right to call himself an Ambassador (Correa, p. 149); none to state that he had been separated from another and a larger fleet (p. 168), nor that the voyage had lasted two years (*ibid.*). These transparent falsehoods lowered him in the eyes of the people, who would look upon him as a spy with a spice of the Corsair.

The Roteiro computes the halt off Calicut at ninety-six days (May 19–Aug. 23): Barros reduces it to seventy-four, and Correa to "about seventy," placing the departure in November, the day not specified. But, as will be seen, the Fleet did not leave the Western Indian Coast till Oct. 5; and thus her stay in those waters covered a total of 141 days (May 17–Oct. 5).

The log-book (pp. 88–9) shows a fair knowledge of

the Indian, which was chiefly the spice, trade; and this, I repeat, gave rise to the voyages of Columbus and Cabot, of Da Gama and Magellan. Spice was of paramount importance, even in the days of the Romans, who used it for funerals; and it figured largely in the classical and mediæval pharmacopœias. Pliny (xii. 14) laments that pepper and ginger, growing wild in their own country, were bought by weight "as if they were so much gold and silver." It is generally held that the East India Company, which produced the Anglo-Indian Empire, was formed (1599) because the Hollanders had raised the price of black pepper from three to six shillings per lb. Gems and condiments from Çillam (Ceylon, eight days' sail) and Melequa (Malacca, forty days) were carried to the "Island of Judéa" (Jeddah-port, fifty days) by large ships. Here, after paying duty to the "grand Soldán" (of Egypt), the goods were transhipped to coasting craft, and made Suez viâ *Tuuz* (Tor-harbour), near *Sancta Caterina de Monte Synay*. A second payment enabled them to be laden on camels, each hired for four cruzados: the march to *Quayro* (Cairo) was only four days, but caravans were often plundered by *Alarves* (Bedawin). Dues being taken a third time, the freight was boated down Nile to a "place called *Roxete*" (Rosetta, El-Rashid), and to Damietta (El-Dimayát, whence our "dimity"). Here the merchandise paid its fourth tax, and was transported by camels to Alexandria for shipment on board the galleys of Genoa and Venice. The Soldan derived from the Spice-trade

600,000 cruzados per annum, of which 100,000 were assigned to a "King called *Cidadym*,"¹ for defence against "Prester John."

VOYAGE HOME.

CAMOENS omits every detail of the return home, in order to give prominence to his glorious Episode, the "Isle of Love" (Cantos ix. and x.). All we gather is (x. 143-4) that the voyage was made under the most favourable conditions. But this is poetry, not history: the Roteiro, Castanheda, and Barros tell another story.

A Council of Captains having resolved to set out with their captives, the Armada sailed one league from Calicut. She was pursued by some
Thurs.,
Aug. 30.
seventy craft, which Barros calls Tónes; each carrying a pavoise (large shield) of leather faced with red cloth to defend the fighting men. A few shots stopped the advance, but the flotilla followed for an hour and a half till dispersed by a tornado (*trovoada*),²

¹ Probably a corruption of Sikandar (Alexander): it is the "Cadandin, a Moorish Captain" of the Commentaries. Barros tells us that Sikandar was also the popular name of the Negush or Prester John (i. 1, 196).

² The "tornado" proper is an African rather than an Indian meteor. It always blows off shore; lasts for a short time, rarely

which carried the Portuguese seawards. It was, I have said, the season of storms.

The Armada headed northwards in calm weather, tacking with the land and sea breezes. A prisoner was put ashore with a letter to the Samorim written by another Moor. The country was called *Compia* (Cananor) and *Biaquolle* (Batalalá, Sadashivgarh), whose "King" was at Calicut.

The Padram of Santa Maria was erected upon an island (St. Mary) about two leagues off shore. It is one of the three rocks called the Mulpi or Mulki, opposite Udipi. The fisher people rejoiced to see the strangers, who at night resumed the voyage northwards.

Six islets were sighted lying near a high and gracious land, the Southern Concan. These were the Sesekreienai ("black rabbits") of the Greeks, so named from their crouching appearance; the *Ilhéus queimados* (burnt Islands) of the Portuguese; and our Vingorla Rocks.¹ They number upwards of twenty, some six or seven being about the size of the Sirens' Islands in the Salernitan Gulf. Here is found the swallows' edible nest, which is unknown in other parts of Western India. A boat was put off for wood and water, and a fine stream was pointed out by a fisherman, who declared himself to be a Christian.

exceeding half an hour; and is quite capable of capsizing a ship, as happened to H.M.'s brig *Heron*.

¹ Noticed in "Goa and the Blue Mountains," p. 14.

Four men brought fruit for sale in a canoe and offered to show cinnamon (Barbosa, 220); two sailors who were landed found a forest of the Cassia and cut boughs as specimens.

Fri.,
Sept. 20.

On shore they met a score of men who promised to supply provant.

Da Gama recalled his boats, as two barques were descried about a couple of leagues off, and eight were visible from the mast-head.

Sat.,
Sept. 21.

When fired upon they ran ashore: one was boarded, but it contained nothing save arms and edibles. Next day seven fishermen came in a canoe and declared that the flotilla, sent from Calicut to destroy the strangers, was part of the Squadron of Timoja, the pirate Rajah of Cintacora, who had been employed by the King of Gairsoppa or Gorseppa.¹

Coelho, landing on an Island for water, found in it a tank of cut stone, evidently the work of some Hindú. Near it were the ruins of a masonry-built "Church" destroyed by the Moors, except a thatched chapel sheltering three black stones. Even this palpable evidence of Paganism did not open their dull eyes. The Island, 50 miles S. East of modern Goa, was Angediva, Varthema's Ankediva, supposed to be the classic *Ægidiorum insula*, and the Angedib of the eighteenth century. Camoens does not mention it, but this pest-hole absurdly shares with

Mon.,
Sept. 23.

¹ These coast places are described in § 3. Timoja was a man of low caste, raised by the Portuguese to high command.

beautiful Zanzibar the honour of having suggested the "Isle of Love" (Cantos ix. and x.). The usual derivation is Panchadwipa¹ (five islets); others prefer Ájya-dwipa (of ghi, or clarified butter), alluding to the Sacrifice of Parasu Ráma; and Ája-dwipa, Island of Ájá, Máyá (illusion) or Prakriti, visible nature. The Hindú temple was destroyed by the Moslems about A.D. 1312; and the priests and people fled to the mainland. Angediva is connected with early Anglo-Indian history. In September, 1622, when Bombay-Island, rented by G. de Orta, was ceded by Portugal, some 500 English soldiers were here landed under Sir Abraham Shipman. The swampy, pestilential climate, mentioned by Varthema (p. 120), killed the Commander, and spared only two officers and 190 men to carry out their task. During the last century Angediva served as a kind of Botany Bay for Goa, Damam and Diu.²

Whilst the Portuguese were careening the Flagship and the "Berrio," two *fustas* (foysts) followed by five along shore, made for them, rowing to music and flying flags at the topmasts. The fishermen gave warning

¹ The Sanscrit Dwípa, an island, a peninsula, enters largely into composition as Jambu-dwipa (India, the land of the Rose-apple); and, corrupted to Dive, appears as Mal-dives, Lacca-dives, etc. My friend, Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, of Bombay, has treated of Angediva in his learned paper, read before the R. Asiat. Soc. of Bombay, Aug. 14, 1875.

² This explains the difficulty which the translator of the Commentaries finds in identifying "Anjadiva" (vol. ii. chap. xxxv.). Yet in p. 169 he himself quotes it "Amgediua."

that they were sea-thieves. When cannonaded they cried "Tambaram," and declared themselves Christians; but, as the guns still played, they ran ashore, pursued by Coelho till recalled. The Armada was then visited by a well-dressed man, about forty years old.¹ He spoke good "Venetian," embraced the Captain; called himself a Christian, and said that he had taken service with a Moorish "King," who had 40,000 cavalry, and who had allowed him to visit the *Franco*s.² India, at this time, besides tempting deserters, began to be frequented by European adventurers:³ Varthema met at Calicut two Milanese who were casting guns for the Samorim. But,

¹ Correa (p. 248) calls him a Granadine Jew, and describes him as a large old man, with full beard, quite white. Castanheda adds that he professed himself a Levantine Christian. Osorio makes him a Sarmata Jew, who had taken refuge in Bosna (Posna? Bosnia?): if so, he was probably one of the Ashkenazim, repelled by the Polish king in 1450. He had drifted to India, viâ Alexandria, married a Jewess of Cochim, and became captain of the fleet to the Sabaio (governor) of Goa, under the king of Bijapur. His pretence was that his master wished to secure the services of such valiant men in his wars. Arrested and conveyed to Portugal, he was baptized "Gaspar da Gama," after his godfather: the people called him Gaspar das Indias. Finally he was knighted; returned to India, and did good service under Almeida and Albuquerque. He cannot be the "Gasper Rodrigues, interpreter" of the Commentaries, who call him by his proper name (vol. ii. chap. xiii.).

² This general term for Europeans, which probably dates from the days of Carolus Magnus, has now assumed the hated form of *Faranj* (Arab.), *Farang* (Pers.), and *Firingi* (Hindustani).

³ As early as A. D. 1592 the chief of Sind had 200 natives dressed and armed like Europeans: these were the first "Sepoys."

says the Roteiro (p. 100) *esta conta era feita sem ospida*—“he (the enemy) reckoned without his host.” The visitor begged a cheese for a friend ashore, and talked so much that he excited suspicion. Paulo da Gama landed and learnt that he commanded a large force lurking in the creeks. Under a liberal flogging he confessed that he came to spy, and awaited a flotilla of forty keel: concerning himself he repeated his assertions; and consequently he was carried to Portugal.

After delaying twelve days at Angediva, and burning her single prize, the Armada bade adieu to Fri., Oct. 5. India. Correa (chap. xiv.) also takes her from Calicut to Cananor and thence to Angediva (Nov. 20–Dec. 10). The middle passage occupied three months minus three days, the result of calms and light winds. A second attack of scurvy also numbered some thirty victims: Camoens (v. 81) describes the disease in language which suggests the Roteiro. Each ship was worked by seven or eight men; and even these were unsound: for a fortnight the Fleet navigated herself, piloted by the *Santos e petidores* (interceding Saints). It was even proposed to return to India; but, six days afterwards, “God, of His mercy, gave a wind which carried them to land.”

They rejoiced at the sight of Terra Firma as if it had been Portugal. The Moor-pilots de- Wednes.,
Jan. 2, 1499.¹ clared that the landfall would be Mozam-

¹ The Roteiro (p. 101) gives by mistake February for January, which would make the voyage last four instead of three months.

bique, where scurvy was raging.¹ In the morning the Armada found herself off Magadoxo (Makdishu),² a city showing two-storied houses and a central palace surrounded by an enceinte with four towers. Da Gama ran close in and justified the Moorish report of his being a pirate by firing many bombards. But he had suffered severely from Moslem malice; and we must not judge the fifteenth by the lights of the nineteenth century.³ From Magadoxo they sailed South for Melinde, anchoring at night.

The halliards of the Sam Rafael were burnt by lightning during a tornado. An *Armador* (out-fitter) with eight craft full of men came out Sat., Jan. 6. from Pate, another large Moslem town called by Captain Smee "Patta."⁴ The attack was dispersed by cannon, but calms prevented a chase.

They anchored for five days at Melinde, where the Shaykh greeted them hospitably. Correa Mon., Jan. 9. dates the return to the friendly harbour on

¹ The land-scurvy is fatal both in Africa and North America, as many who travelled in Abyssinia, and crossed the Prairies thirty years ago learned to their cost.

² For Captain Smee's account of "Magadosho," see "Zanzibar," etc., vol. ii. 469. Barbosa (p. 16) mentions that the people used "herbs (poison) with their arrows."

³ During the last generation English men-of-war passing Winnebuh on the Guinea Coast fired a broadside into the defenceless village, by way of recalling to mind the murder of the commandant, Mr. Meredith ("Wanderings in West Africa," ii. chap. 7).

⁴ "Zanzibar," etc., ii. 475-82.

Jan. 8, 1499; and the departure on Jan. 20. The change of climate killed (*apalpo*) many of the sick, in spite of poultry, oranges, and other refreshments. Their friend gave them an ivory horn for the King of Portugal, allowed them to build a Padram, and sent with them a young Moor in token of friendship.

Leaving Melinde on Friday, they passed Mombasah, and spent five days at the adjacent shoals of Sam Rafael, dismantling the ship of that name, which was finally burnt. They procured poultry from a neighbouring port, Tamugata,¹ the Tagata of Goes; and they left it on Sunday, 27th.

They found themselves near a very large island called "Jamjiber," distant ten leagues from the coast and inhabited by many Moors. This is Zanzibar, the minimum breadth of whose channel is sixteen geographical miles. Little known before 1856, her name is now familiar to England, especially after the visit of her amiable Sultan, Sayyid Barghásh, son of our old and faithful ally, Sayyid Sa'id, "Imam" of Maskat. The soft and graceful beauty of the scenery, the rounded hillocks, the abundant water, and the magnificent tropical growth may well have suggested the "Isle of Love."

¹ This part of the East African Coast is extremely interesting, and still imperfectly explored. For an account of the roadstead "Mtangáta," the town of Tángá, and the ruins of Changa-ndumi and Tongoni, see "Zanzibar," etc., vol. iii. chap. 15.

² "Zanzibar," etc., vol. i. p. 79.

The Armada anchored off the Saint George Islands (Mozambique); and next day planted a Padram at "Mass Islet." At the Angra de Sam Braz they caught a quantity of *achoa* (anchovies), besides *sotelycairos* (Cape penguins) and seals, which were at once salted.

Fri., Feb. 1.

March 3.

Resuming the voyage, they were driven back after ten or twelve leagues by a Wester. When the wind blew fair they set sail, suffering severely from the change of heat to cold.

March 12.

The Squadron cleared the Cape on March 20th, a date which Osorio transfers to April 26th. A stern-wind, lasting twenty-seven days, placed "the ship" (meaning "Berrio") in the parallel of Saint Iago, distant one hundred leagues. A calm ensued; but tornadoes showed that there was land to starboard.

The pilots determined, from the soundings of twenty to twenty-five fathoms, that the Armada was riding off the shallows of the Rio Grande.

Thurs.,
April 25.

* * * * *

Here (p. 106) the Roteiro unfortunately ends incomplete; instead of steering us through the conflicting accounts of Da Gama's return to Lisbon. Correa (chap. xxi.) says absolutely nothing of a storm that separated the Armada. She touched at Terceira (Azores); in this

¹ In p. 14, Folylicayos: Perestrello's description (Roteiro) leaves no doubt that they are the *aptenodytæ demusæ* of Linn., the *Manchots à becs tronqués* of Buffon.

“bloodless Colony” Paulo da Gama died about the end of Aug. 1499, and was buried in the Franciscan convent of Angra. Lastly all the ships arrived together at Lisbon on Sept. 18th: Castanheda giving early September. Accepting this version of a contemporary, the “discovery of India” had occupied two years, two months, and ten days (July 8, 1497–Sept. 18, 1499).

Barros (Dec. i. 4, 11) is more sensational. After leaving the Cape (March 20) the two ships were parted by a storm near Cape Verd, and did not meet again. At Saint Iago, Da Gama gave over command of the *Sam Gabriel* to the purser, Joam de Sá, with orders to make Lisbon; and accompanied, in a hired caravel, his dying brother to Terceira. Meanwhile the “Berrio” went straight from the Cape to Lisbon, which Coelho reached on July 10 (29th?) 1499. Some have attributed to him unworthy motives in thus hastening home. Such things have happened. More than once the second in command has attempted to throw the first in the shade, and has succeeded in illustrating *sic vos non vobis*. Here, however, the charge will not hold good. When Coelho failed to find his chief at Lisbon, he honourably proposed to return; but D. Manoel refused permission (Barros).

Da Gama reached Portugal on Aug. 29, 1499. The date is also that of Barros and Goes; but the extremes given for the Commodore’s return are July 11 and Sept. 18. Instead of entering the city he went to the little

chapel at Belem, whence he had embarked, and remained there some days, indulging in grief and devotion. He was visited by "persons of distinction, who persuaded him to dissemble his sorrows in the presence of the King." Finally, he made his public entrance, and was received at Court with great rejoicings and all the honours he deserved.

It is pleasing to learn that the other surviving captain ended life happily. Nicoláo Coelho, who had so ably and conscientiously assisted in the great enterprise, once more sailed to India with Pedralves Cabral (1500); and a third time with D. Francisco de Albuquerque. He finally settled at home upon a pension.

§ 2. THE TRAVELS OF CAMOENS IN THE NEARER EAST.

BEFORE entering upon this section I will briefly notice what our Poet knew of Western geography.

Camoens could hardly have heard of North America. Although John and Sebastian Cabot obtained from the cold and cautious Henry VII. a Commission to explore the N. Western passage on March 5, 1496-97, regular colonisation began only with the Pilgrim Fathers (1620), forty years after our Poet's death. He could not speak

in detail of Central America without introducing, as Mickle does (iii. 246), the name of Columbus; and this was a sore point which he carefully avoids. D. Joam II. had neglected to secure the services of the great Genoese,¹ and the result was that the achievements of "friendly Spain" threatened soon to overshadow those of Portugal. He introduces, however, Mexico as *Temistatam* (*i.e.* Tenochtitlan, the Great Valley), with the Pacific, which he classically terms the "vast lake" girding its Western shore (x. 1); nor does he ignore its golden mines (x. 139). But he can dwell patriotically on The Brazil, because *Sancta Cruz* was discovered by one Portuguese and was organised by another, who chastised the "French pirate"² accustomed to the Sea" (x. 63). He truly describes the glorious land as lying where the Continent is broadest (x. 140). He could also mention the quasi-gigantic Patagonian races and

¹ Columbus found no poet like Da Gama; but Tasso left two lovely octaves on the "Man of Liguria" (Canto xv. 31-2), which Fairfax unwisely translates "A Knight of Genes." The language of the *fatal donzella* is taken from Camoens: we seem to read *The Lusians* in:—

Chè quel poco darà lunga memoria,
Di poema dignissima e d'istoria.

Stanza 301 refers to Magellan. It has been this great Seaman's hard fate to be ill-treated by his niggardly King, and to be abused for taking service under another.

² The Island of Villegagnon, the Huguenot Admiral expelled by Martim Affonso de Souza, may now be called one of the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro.

majestic Straits of Magellan : there is a deep touch
: line describing Magelhaens¹ :—

Portuguez, porém não na lealdade
(A Portingall in all save loyalty).

these three stanzas (x. 139-41) the Geographer takes his leave of the so-called New World, and multitudinous "Red-skin" tribes. Of the *Terra alis* he could know nothing beyond vague classical fiction. Varthema (pp. 249-251), faring from "Giava" Malacca," heard from his Captain (a Malay?) that there are some races who travel by four or five stars above the North (Southern Cross?); also that the day is only four hours long." This would be in S. Lat. or 15° South of Tasmania. The Italian adds "'tis shorter than in any part of the world"; and this may explain the illusion of Camoens (x. 141) to the Antarctic :—

A sea and land where horrid Auster bideth,
And 'neath his frozen wings their measure hideth.

Camoens left Europe in early manhood, and returned home when his travelling days were past : he never sailed beyond the Iberian Peninsula, and all his knowledge of the East is hearsay. Yet the fourteen stanzas (iii. 6-20) which serve as *Einscenesetzung* to his history are highly picturesque, and offer a model of compression. The sketch

of the enthusiasm for the marvellous Sea-river of Magellan, whose discovery makes even "Rio (de Janeiro) Bay" look tame and insignificant, is not shared by my friend and colleague, Mr. Consul G. H. Wilson, in "Two Years in Peru," vol. i. chap. i.

begins with Northern Europe, Scandinavia and her neighbours (iii. 10); notices the Ister, or lower Danube (iii. 7-12)¹; frigid Scythia, and the numerous Scythians who contended that they were older than the Egyptians.² It touches on the Russ (meaning the Rowers), and specifies "Moscovia's Zebelin" (vi. 95), the Sable. So Ibn Batutah (chap. xii.) brings the precious fur from the Land of Darkness (Siberia), where "dwell the Russians who are Christians, with red hair and blue eyes, an ugly and perfidious people." I quote; I do not assert.

The sketch omits England which, hardly recovered from the savage and shameless Wars of the Roses (1455-71), had not yet become a "nest of singing birds." She shines by her absence in the Second Crusade (iii. 88), before Richard Cœur-de-Lion and Philip Augustus set out to fight the third. At that time Britain was little known to the South; Petrarch almost ignored her, and Camoens had left Coimbra before George Buchanan "professed." In other places (vi. 43-68) she is recognised as the scene of the "Tournament of the Twelve"; and the "hard Englander," Henry VIII., a contemporary of Camoens (1509-47), is roundly abused (vii. 5). The opening of this seventh Canto is unpleasantly patriotic and "Latin-race": it recalls a

¹ Lucan, "Phars.," ii. 50. The Romans called this stream Danubius from the source to Vienna, and below it Ister.

² Hence to "Scyth" (*ἀποσκυθίζειν*) for to scalp. In the Rejected Stanzas we read of the Borysthenes (Dnieper) but not the Volga, Rha barbarum, whence our "rhubarb"; and the Arab Athal (tamarisk).

phrase sometimes heard in the Peninsula, *não hai como nosoutros* (no one equal to ourselves);—stronger peoples think it and act upon it without saying it. Here England suffers in company with the “proud herd of Germans” and Martin Luther (vii. 4); with the “Gaul indign” (vii. 6), and with “Italy submerged in a thousand vices” (vii. 8). There is, however, a good word for Bruges (vi. 56), which realised the idea of a classical emporium. Its citizens, enriched by the Alexandria-Venice trade, were the envy of royalty; and Joanna of Navarre (1301) found the burgers’ wives as queenly as herself.

From the barbarous northern regions, Germany,¹ Bohemia and Hungary, the Poet sweeps S. West, through Thrace, Byzantium, then lately absorbed by the Turk; Greece, upon whose classic glories, like Lucan’s Cæsar,² he fondly dwells; Dalmatia, fated to rise in our day by recovering Bosnia, her natural appendage; Italy, whose ancient honours and whose modern abasement are strongly contrasted; and France, whose chief fame is from Cæsar’s exploits. At last he reaches “noble Hispania,” which includes Portugal; and he lingers over the racial and national names which are honoured by connexion with olden story (iii. 17–19). He ends with the Lusitanian realm (iii. 20), the apex, the coronal, the crown of the civilised world.

In one of the Stanzas (iii. 11) a capital error must be

¹ It is hard to see why Amisius or Amisia, the river of Ems, should be perverted to Amasis (iii. 11), which suggests Egypt.

² “Phars.,” ix. 950, et seq.

noticed, especially as Western Europe is still hazy upon the subject. After naming the Ruthenians of Eastern Galicia, the Poet calls the Marcomanni "Polonians." As the words show, the Marchmen were Teutons and the Fieldmen¹ are Slavs. In the same Stanza the "Moscos"² (central Russians) are styled descendants of the Sarmatæ, who became troublesome to Rome in the days of Trajan; they now are also Slavs, but they were probably of "Turanian" (Tartar) origin; and, like the Livonians and the Lapps, Ugro-Finns.

At this end of the nineteenth century Europe begins to realise the power of the Slavs, who occupy her Eastern half, being bounded westward by a line drawn from the Southern Baltic to the Northern Adriatic. There is still a dispute about the immigration-date of these modern "Scyths," whose connecting links with the ancients were, according to Schafarik,³ the Budini and the Neuri

¹ From Polje, a field, a plain: hence Polen-land or Poland; hence too Pole-axe, not "Poll-axe."

² There is no reason to prevent our identifying the Muscovites who built Moscow with the Moschi of Herodotus (iii. 94; vii. 78, etc.), the "savage Moschi" of Lucan, iii. 270. They adjoined Colchis, and probably occupied the mountains about Kars (Strabo, ii.). Pliny places them on the River Iberus, an affluent of the Cyrus (Kur). These Moschi, coupled with the Tibareni, are the Muskai and Tuplai of the Assyrian inscriptions, the Meschech and Tubal of the Hebrews. Scyths or Turanians they would probably be Tchuds or Finns, afterwards conquered by intrusive Slavic races. "Rus" (Russian) is a name applied by the Finns to the Swedes, meaning "rowers" or seafarers.

³ Slav. Alt., p. 194. He would place the Neuri in Lithuania

of Herodotus (iv. 105, 108). Those who would change to Slavani the Stavani of Pliny and Tacitus, find in pre-Ptolomeian days the racial Slavic name, whose derivation from Slava (glory) belongs to empirical philology. Others have detected traces of their presence in S. Eastern Europe, especially Dalmatia and Illyria during the early Roman Empire.¹ According to general opinion the Antæ (Wends, Wendic tribe) and the Sclaveni or Sclabeni (Slovenes),² are first mentioned about A.D. 552 by Procopius and Jornandes Theophylactus. However that may be, we trace Slavic blood distinctly in the North German races, as the shortest visit to Berlin shows; and we find Slavic names even on Prince Bismarck's estate.³ Such are the Brusios (Borussians, Prussians) and the Lithuanians who, says Herberstein, amongst other quaint superstitions, worshipped the lizard.

When Kelto-Scandinavian England and Teutono-Latin France passed superficial judgment upon the Russo-Polish wars, they were mostly ignorant of the deep-rooted

and Volhynia (whence Nur and Nuretz). The Budini suggest the Slavic "Wends."

¹ Specimens of local names evidently Slavic, as Zagora, Bilazora, Ochra, Teuca, etc., are given by the learned Abbé Alberto Fortis ("Viaggio in Dalmazia," i. pp. 45-9, etc.).

² Kopitar, Miklosich and other scholars compare the beautiful Slovenic dialect, now confined to Carniola, Carniola, Krain, with the ecclesiastical Palæo-Slav.

³ Varzin from Wawre, a laurel-tree, near Schlawe, i.e., Slava or glory.

family feud, the venomous quarrel of cousins which bred the dissension. The Finno-Slavic Russians are "Orthodox"; they cleave to the oldest form of Christianity which is distinctly Greek: according to Count Xavier le Maistre,¹ Greek Christianity means only detestation of Roman—the converse being equally true and untrue. "St. Petersburg" preserves the name of the conservative, Hebraising, Apostle, as "St. Paul" does of his opponent. But the Poles (pure Slavs) are Latins, Romans, Catholics, a more modern school, that hates and is hated by the older. After the Hibernian Kelts they are the most unreasonable, violent, and fanatic of the so-called Papists: under their native kings the rare respites from wars and revolutions were spent in the dear delights of torturing and slaughtering "heretics," especially Protestants and Nonconformists. The vast Slavic family is theoretically one in its attitude to strangers. But, happily for Europe, Religion divides it, by an impassable line, into two hostile camps which balance one another. Even during the excitement of the last Russo-Turkish war (1877-8), the Latin Croats would not fight for the Greek Montenegrins. Our "Aryan brothers" in Eastern Europe are well worthy of study: they are the coming race of the Occident; and they appear likely to divide Asia with the Chinese, the coming race of the East.

With the Mediterranean regions Camoens is well

¹ This model Swiss-Frenchman is the author of the saying, "L'irréligion est canaille": the dictum would be equally true (and untrue) in Pekin and Paris.

acquainted. His campaign in Africa made him familiar with Marocco. He speaks of Tartessus, the habitation of Geryon and other monsters, where Phœbus stalled his steeds : like Sicily it was little known to the Greeks of Aristophanes' day : hence his "Tartessian Serpent," and the erroneous identification by moderns with Cadiz. He often refers to Egypt, a prominent and commanding figure before Da Gama struck at her so shrewd a blow. In Syria he mentions (vii. 6) Jerusalem, the throne of the Crusaders ; and Damascus with her Ager Damascenus (iii. 9), which supplied red clay for Adam, the red man. Here the great and gallant Salah el-Dín (Saladin¹ referred to in iii. 87), the noblest personality of his age, held his Court ; and his capital was never defiled by the foot of European invader. He shows, by alluding to the want of water (iii. 87), familiarity with the fatal fight of Kurun Hattín (the horns of Hattín) near Tiberias,² which in July 3-4, 1187, crushed the Cross in the Land of the Cross. Going northwards, he has a word for the Plain of Troy (iii. 7), a subject much debated in our day. In Turkey he correctly terms the race "Ottomans" (vii. 4), and explains "Rúmé" or "Rúmí" (x. 62, 68), as de-

¹ "Saladin" is buried in the cathedral mosque of Damascus, and men still pray at his tomb. I have seen it lately asserted that he was interred at Cairo and near Hums.

² Baedeker's "Syria" (p. 366). This excellent guide, by my friend Prof. Socin, of Bâle, contrasts well with the maunderings of "Murray's Syria," by the Rev. and Hibernian Mr. Porter. Despite the interested abuse of certain English critics, the former has virtually abolished its rival.

rived from the lower Roman Empire. Poets are sometimes Prophets, and their words endure. His pity for hapless Thrace and Armenia (vii. 13) now finds an echo throughout Europe: his brave words about the policy of driving the Tartar-pest back to their savage Asian dens (vii. 12) apply to the nineteenth as well as to the sixteenth century. So wrote Ariosto (xvi. 99), and so wrote Torquato Tasso:—

For, if the Christian Princes ever strive
 To win fair Greece out of the Tyrant's hands ;
 And those usurping Ishmaelites deprive
 Of woeful Thrace, that now captivèd stands.
 You must from Realms and Seas the Turk forth drive,
 As Godfrey chasèd them from Judah's lands.

FAIRFAX, i. 5.

Camoens' travels in the nearer East may be laid down on three main lines. The first is India, and especially Western India; the second is his series of campaigning and coasting voyages in Arabia and Persia; and the third his compulsory residence at Mozambique on his way home.

India—I regret that we cannot write "Hindia"—is outlined with a bold hand (vii. 17-19); and the Poet shows a clear grasp of her general topography. A considerable advance is made beyond Ptolemy (A.D. 200), Fra Mauro (1450), and the Roteiro (1500). He maintains the ancient division which bounds India by the Ganges and the Indus (Sindhu, Sind, Sindia, Hind,

Ind):¹ the latter gave the peninsula her generic name in Europe, unknown to her old and Sanskrit-speaking peoples, if Sanskrit was ever spoken. The modern Prakrit languages limit "Hindustan," which is not found in Camoens, to the northern and subtemperate zone: it is divided by the Narmadá (Nerbudda) River or by the Vindhya range from the Deccan or Dak'han, Dakhshinapatha, Dachanabades, the right-hand (country) of one facing East.² Thus he recognises India Cis-Gangetica and Trans-Gangetica (vii. 17). The Moslems preferred Sind, Hind and Zinj (Zanzibar); which the mediævals modified to India prima, minor or parva (Sind); India secunda, major or magna (India proper); and India tertia (Barbosa p. 178), or inferior (Indo-China). Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1167) applied "middle" (i.e. continental) India to Southern Arabia, "which is called Aden, and in Scripture Eden in Thelasar" (2 Kings xix. 12). The Portuguese vulgarly called Abyssinia and Æthiopia *Indias baixas* (low or Southern Indies), opposed to *Indias altas* (India proper); and their misnomer dates from the days of Homer.

Camoens had studied the physiography, and knew the

¹ The Greek Sindon (fine linen) is from Sindhu: indigo (Indicum) is from Indus.

² Dachanabades, says the Periplus, is so called from "Dachan, the word for south": true but imperfect. Moreover, the word is half-Prakrit "Dak'han" and "half-Persian," Ábád (a region); and this compound is no longer, if it ever was, admissible. Dak'han means dextra: so in Arabia El-Yemen (Sabæa) is the right hand region opposed to El-Shám (Syria) the left hand.

form, of the Indic Chersonesus. He makes it a huge pyramid whose base is the "cavernous Emodio"—possibly he had heard of the "antre vast" from which Mother Gángá springs¹—the Emodi Montes, the Emaüs or Imaüs, in which we recognise the Sanskrit Himálaya (snow-house). Moreover he seems to divine its true relation to the Caucasus (vii. 18). He places the triangle-apex in a southern point "Comori, erst called Cori": this, the "Cory" of Robertson, corrupts Kunwári the princess, a local name for Shiva's wife, whose temple crowned the promontory (Arrian's Periplus) fronted by Ceylon, and outlain by the Maldives (x. 136).

It is interesting to note the geographical progress made during the half-century which elapsed between the voyage of Da Gama and the Poet's travels in India. The Ruttier (pp. 108-113) mentions a total of twelve "kingdoms," six lying in India proper, and almost all inhabited by "Christians" (Hindús). The first, distant three days' sail from Calecut, and rich in pepper, was Quorongoliz, probably Cranganor, confused with Cochin and the Torumgoli district. Then comes (ten days) Coleu (Quilon), a Christian country, whose king commands 10,000 men: the land is rich in cotton-cloth, and supplies a little pepper. The fourth, also distant ten days, is Caele (Kail), with a Moorish king and a Chris-

¹ Although he makes the noun masculine in classic form, when Barbosa terms the native name "Guenga" (p. 178), Camoens knows its traditions; its paradisiacal source (iv. 72); its holy water (i. 8); and its attraction to suicides (x. 121).

tian people:¹ the army musters 4,000 men and 100 elephants; and the seas are rich in pearls. The next is Chomandarla, famous for lacca² (cochineal), with a Christian king and people. This is Coromandal, Varthema's Cioromandel, the Kuru-mandal or Kuru-Kshetra, circle or field of the Kuru-Princes, which the Greeks called the kingdom of Coræ. Ceylam (Ceylon) is the sixth; and lastly we have (thirty-five to forty days), Bengala or Bemguela (Bengal), which supplies wheat, cottons, silk, and silver: the "Moors" here outnumber the Christians, and the king has 400 war-elephants and 10,000 cavalry.

In his general description of India (vii. 17-22) as in that of Europe, Camoens sweeps from north to south. He begins with the Delijs or people of "Delhi," the rival of Baghdad and Damascus, said in the fourteenth century to contain 2,000,000 souls: the word erroneously supposed to derive from Dihlíz, a threshold, and conveying the same idea of the "Sublime Porte," should be written "Dehli."³ Elsewhere (x. 64) he mentions the

These sites will be found noticed further on.

² Varthema (p. 107, etc.) speaks of the lacca (dye made from the kermes of the *coccus ficus*); and the lacca-tree (p. 238), the Malay "laka" (*Tanarius Major*), a native of Sumatra. The early Italians applied the same term to lac-dye and lacca-wood. The classics considered coccum (κόκκος), or Granum Cnideum, a crimson berry, not an insect (Lucan, x. 125).

³ But this would borrow the imperial name from Persia, whereas Delhi and her Rajah existed before the days of Mahmûd of Ghazni. Barbosa (pp. 99-101) describes the "Kingdom of Dely."

“most powerful Mogor,” our “Grand Mogul,” whose name has extended to The Brazil.¹ He then passes to the *Patanes* (Pathans), a race too well known to Englishmen; but identified by a French translator with “Sri-ranga-patana” (Seringapatam), *c'est à dire la cité de Vishnou*. The origin of the word is disputed. Its origin is evidently the Paktues tribe of Herodotus:² corrupted through the Arabic Fat'hán, victorious: whence also Pashtu and Pukhtu, the language of the Afghans. Still going south he notices the *Decanis* (Maráthás of the Deccan); and the *Oriás* of *Orissa* (Uryas of Orissa), including Katak or Cuttack, the Southern region: afterwards (x. 120) he joins them to his “Narsinga.” Both were provinces of the great Brahminical Rajahship of the Carnatic, separated in Camoens' day from the Deccan by River Aliga. This is the kingdom described with such unparalleled magnificence by every mediæval traveller, beginning with Abd el-Razzák. Its capital, Vijáyanagar, sacked by the confederate Dekhan kingdoms in 1565, covers nine square miles with ruins. When the Portuguese made India they heard of a king “Nara-Singha,” a dynastic or titular rather than a topical name. The “man-lion” alludes to the fourth incarnation

¹ For “Grão Mogor,” see “The Highlands of the Brazil,” ii. 112.

² Herodotus calls two places Paktyíca; one near Armenia (iii. 93) in the thirteenth satrapy; the other (iii. 102) on the Upper Indus, Afghanistan. The latter bordered on the city Caspatyrus (Cashmere?).

of Vishnu,¹ who in human shape and with leonine head and paws, burst through a pillar and tore to pieces Hiranya-kasipu (Gold-Axe), the tyrant of Multan, who had oppressed Megha-Rajah, the Cloud-King.² Adjoining this land of Jagannáth (Juggernaut) is "fertile Bengala,"³ a province then of immense extent: till 1872 it included Assam, so called from the Aham dynasty.⁴ Bengala the city (Barbosa, 178) is Chittagong or Islamabad.

Thence the Poet passes west clean across the Continent to "bellicose Cambaya, erst Porus' reign" (vii. 21). Ibn Batutah (p. 146, 164) notices the "City of Kambáyá on the shores of India," and its celebrated "bore" or flood-tide. The Roteiro (p. 49) also introduces "Quambaya" and its 600 islands; but confounds it with the *Mar Ruyvo* (Eythraean Sea) and the *Casa da Meca*

¹ See the "Antiquities of Orissa," by Rajendralala Mitra, lately published. This work corrects the vulgar errors concerning "Juggernaut."

² I have alluded to the legend in the "History of Sindh" (p. 377).

³ A copper tablet of the ninth century ("Asiat. Researches," ix. 446, and Elphinstone, "India," i. 397) declares that the Rajah of Gaur or Bengal ruled India from the Ganges-source, including Thibet, to "Adam's Bridge" (Ceylon reef), and from the Bramhaputra to the Western Sea. The Moslem rulers numbered a succession of thirty (A.D. 1338-1573) sovereigns: they retained North Bahar, Sundargam (Dacca), Jajnagar (Tipera), Assam, Katak, and the adjoining parts of Orissa. For an early notice of self-sacrifice to Jagannáth by cutting off one's own head, and of suspension to and crushing under the car, see Nicolò de' Conti (p. 28).

⁴ Robinson's "Descriptive Account," etc. Calcutta: 1842.

(Ka'abah). It is Varthema's "city called Combeia."¹ Camoens uses the word like Barbosa (p. 55), as a synecdoche for Gujarát,² and extends it into the Panjab, where ruled two Rajahs known as Porus. He calls the people Cambaios (x. 32), and Guzerates (x. 60), who inhabit one of the gardens of India (x. 106), a rolling land of rich black "cotton earth," clothed with a marvellous luxuriance of vegetation. The Poet then returns S.-west to Malabar; and, lastly, South to Canará (vii. 21). His short sketch of the Sayhadri range, popularly called the Western Ghats (Gaté, vii. 22), the wall that supports the central table-land, might serve for the present day.

In the inner Deccan Camoens was acquainted with the kingdom of Bijápúr, for he speaks of Hydalcham (Ádil Shah) in more than one place (vii. 21; x. 64, 72); and he indirectly alludes to the diamond-mines of Golconda,³ noticed by Varthema (pp. 107, 118) and by

¹ Barbosa (pp. 57, 58) also describes "Champaver" (Champanír), "Andavat" (Ahmedábád); and the City of Cambay (p. 65).

² My first Indian march was through Gujarát; and it impressed me strongly with the superiority of the villages under native, to those under English, rule. Memory is curiously tenacious of small matters: I shall never forget the face with which Mr. Boyd, the Company's Resident at Baroda, heard the remark. Mr. James Caird ("Notes by the Way," in the "Nineteenth Century") declares the same of the Nizam's dominions; and the statement may be found even more forcibly put in A. E. I. (p. 151). The day approaches when these remarks will no longer be pooh-pooh'd.

³ A. E. I. (chap. ix.) proposes to work the mines, with scant regard for Anglo-Indian incuriousness and *vis inertiae*. Yet Mr. V.

Barbosa (213). Finally on the East Coast he gives a geological sketch (x. 109) of Meliapur in Coromandel near Madras; and he ends with "Cathigam" (x. 121). This seems to be a misprint for the Chatigam of Barros: it is the Catigan of Patavino ("Geography," A.D. 1597); the Chátgám of Sádik-i-Isfaháni (Orient. Trans. Fund), and the Arab. Shátí-jám (Sidi Ali in *Asiat. Soc.*, Beng. v. 466); the modern Bengali Chátganv, and our corrupted Chittagong. The usual etymology is Chaturgráma = tetrapolis, which Mr. Monier Williams (*Sansk. Dict.*) translates "name of a country." Ibn Batutah's Sutirkáwan (Satagong), or Sadkáwan (Satgong), was on the Hoogly or Western arm of the Gangá-Bramhaputra delta: Chittagong lay to the East of the Oriental embouchure, where the Portuguese placed their Porto Grande.¹ The latter in 1666 was named Islamábád.

The part of India most noticed in *The Lusiads* is naturally the Western Coast connected with Albuquerque's Goa. This city is the Sindabúr of early Mahomedan travellers, usually attributed to the Moslems of Onor (Hunáwar), who, persecuted by the Hindu Rajahs of the Carnatic, took refuge in 1479 with their coreligionist, Malik Ozen (Hasan?), of Bijapur, and built the town

Ball lately reported that the Bandelkhand mines still yield nearly £60,000 per annum.

¹ For a learned and exhaustive note on both sites, by Col. Yule, see Hakluyt's "Varthema" (Intro. lxxx.-lxxxii., and Postscript cxiv.-cxi.), illustrated by Gastaldi's map, A.D. 1561. The latter contains a curious misprint (?) "Reyno *la de* (for della) Verma=Burmah, the Berma of Barbosa (p. 181).

at the Ella village. But Dr. da Cunha ("the English at Goa," etc.), observing that Ibn Batutah was at Goa in 1342-50, believes the foundations to have been laid by Malik Tubriga in 1312. Varthema (p. 115) calls it Goga, and perversely applies "Goa" to Gogo (p. 92): Barbosa (p. 74) has Guoa. I need hardly say much about the often-described place: suffice it to observe that there are three Goas. Old-old-Goa, the Gomanta or Gopukapura of the (Hindu) Kadamba Rajahs, on the bank of the Juary, is now marked only by the Sam Lourenço Church. Old Goa (*Goa Velha*), the golden capital of Camoens' day, lies some two miles to the North on the Mandovy stream. The European city was founded, as it were, on St. Catherine's Day (Nov. 20, 1510, O.S.), and began to be deserted at the end of the last century. New Goa or Pangim is about the same distance west of its great predecessor: its nucleus was the "tower of Pangij," which gave so much trouble to Albuquerque.

Camoens is well acquainted with the ethnology of Western India, and especially of Malabar. He says nothing of the four castes¹ or rather nations, Brahmans, Kshatryas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, into which the modern Hindus divide their race; nor does he allude to the more

¹ The word is Portuguese *Casta*=race, stock (man or beast). Correa (153) calls Moslem interference with caste a "diabolical method." The English, with a singular short-sightedness, attack their best friend: they would convulse society by abolishing caste, and would render India untenable by the Mlenchha (mixed race), or Varanshankar (the impure race), viz., ourselves.

ancient distribution into seven classes which prevailed in the days of Herodotus, Alexander, Megasthenes; and Strabo.¹ He vividly contrasts high caste with low caste.

¹ The writers of Rennell and Robertson's age were so dazzled by the "discovery" of Sanskrit that they either set aside or depreciated the travels in and Annals of India, written during and immediately after the Alexandrine conquests. Of Hindu history, or rather fable, we can believe next to nothing; and we must remember, when the Vedas are attributed to B.C. 1400, and the Laws of Menu to B.C. 900, that the earliest Sanskrit character is Semitic (as is proved by the letters facing left), derived from Phœnicia, who borrowed from Egypt; that the first Sanskrit inscription of Priyadasi dates from 300-250 B.C.; that the oldest cave-temple (Sudama) dates from the "twelfth year of Asoka" (B.C. 252), whilst the next (Gopi) was made in the days of Dasaratha; and that the Alexandrine travellers mention letter-writing only cursorily (even in the fifteenth century paper was found only at Cambay). On the other hand, the sharp-witted Hellenes may be trusted even when they praise the veracity, honesty, and simplicity of the now untruthful and litigious race. Our chief authorities are Hecataeus, Herodotus (of Darius I.), Ctesias (B.C. 400), Arrian ("Indica"), who discusses the invasions of Dionysus and Hercules at Methora (Krishna at Matrá?), of Sesostris and of Semiramis; and who follows Nearchus, Aristobulus and Ptolemy (Soter or Lagi) "when they agree." Megasthenes was sent (circ. B.C. 295) by Seleucus Nicator with his daughter to Sandrocottus (Chandragupta?) at Palibothra (Pataliputta). Onesicritus his companion and Daimachus, a Hellenised Persian, led a mission to Allitrochades or Amitrochates (Amitroghátas) son and successor of the Buddhist Rajah. Among the later classics we have the learned Diodorus and the judicious Strabo, who quotes Onesicritus, Eratosthenes of Cyrene (nat. B.C. 276), and Apollodorus the "Chronographer" (B.C. 140); P. Mela; Pliny fifty years after Strabo; Ptolemy eighty years after Pliny; and the Egyptian trader Cosmas Indicopleustes under Justinian. In the early Christian æra the Chinese Buddhists (Fa-hian, Huan-tsung,

The former includes Brahmans ; and he notices (viz. those matrimonial excesses which have made the Kingdom of Bengal infamous. In modern days the priesthood of Malabar is divided into natives, Namburi or Nair (not "Nambeadarim"), to whom the famous poet Sankaracharya belonged ; and the Pattan¹ or foreign. The fighting caste, the militia of the land Malayala and still is, the Nayr, a term derived from Nayar (chief). Divided into many castes, Tamburi, Kuria and others, it is a light-skinned, well-made and precious race : and its eating flesh shows a Sudra or Scythian origin, although all wear the string of the Dwija (Tomborn).² Camoens notices the Nayr polyandry, a practice of Indian communism, which characterises the country

etc.) enable us to check and correct the assertions of a rare Megasthenes remarked),

for profound
And solid lying much renowned.

¹ This word explains the "Brahmin Patamares" of the Commentaries (vol. ii. chap. xvii.). The word, of course, cannot mean "messengers or runners."

² The high-caste Hindu has three births : by his mother's investiture with the Janeo or "Brahminical thread" (consecration); and by the funeral pyre. Malabar is a land of antediluvian marvels ; and Barbosa has described them well. According to some, the Samirajah was compelled, after reigning 100 years, to suicide himself in public like the African Mwátá yá. Others expose him to be slaughtered by Nayr champions and the Pariahs and the Moplahs (Mappilas) in "Goa and the Mountains" (pp. 220-21 ; 225-29 ; and 230-45).

which is, perhaps, the only form of sexual union that ignores jealousy (vii. 41); while Varthema gives a curious ethnographical account of the relations between the Namburi and the wives of the Samiry Rajah.¹

The sharpest line divides these twice-born from the helots; and the latter may have given rise to Swift's Yahoos: their horrible prædial slavery was an ineffable disgrace to the "mild Hindú." Camoens calls them Poléas (vii. 37); Varthema (p. 142), Poliars; Barbosa (p. 142), Pulers; and Hamilton, Poulias; others, Poulichees; and moderns, Pariahs. The word now in general use appears in the Ayin-i-Akbari (iii. 343) and in Sonnerat (i. 55). Its origin is doubtful. Some derive it from Parai, the tom-tom beaten by these wretches on special occasions. Others make Pulayar, the high Tamil term, descend from Pulai, "meat," an impure food. But we find the most probable origin in the Paraya of Asoka's Edict: it is the name of a race in the centre of the Dravidian group, coupled with the Keralas, or old Malabarians.² These low-caste and degraded tribes are, as might be expected, dark and ill-favoured, unclean and cowardly. In other parts of India the Pariahs are less despised; the race is not physically infirm; and, as Sepoys in the earlier days of "The Company," they did good service.

¹ This polyandry was evidently instituted in order to form a fighting caste, and to limit its numbers.

² For further details see Sir Walter Elliot; "Journ. Ethno. Soc.," i. part. 2, p. 103.

Under the generic term "Mouros" Camoens includes foreign Moslems, Arabs, Persians, and Egyptians, with the indigenous Moplahs of Malabar. This race, the Mapulers of Barbosa (p. 146) got by Semitic sires (Yemenis, Hazramis, Ománis, and others) out of Hindú women, Brahman, Nayr, and Pariah, began in the earliest days of Portuguese exploration to show its turbulence and sanguinary hatred of strangers. In the present century it has put to flight more than one detachment of native regulars; and it murdered several English officers till Moplahs were enlisted and made to fight Moplahs. The word, of old "Moplais," is popularly derived from ma (mother) and pillá (son): the local polyandry made it impossible for a child, however wise, to know his own father, and the succession was always "by the distaff," through sisters' sons (marrumuka-tayum). Duncan suggests that the name is Mahapillas (children of Mocha). The learned Editor of Warthema (p. 123) would derive it from Muffah, victorious; or from Máflih, an agriculturist, a congener of "Felláh." All three, however, are inadmissible. Camoens does not mention the white Jews of Cochin; and Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1167) found there only black Jews. Barbosa speaks of Jews (p. 149), but does not specify the colour.

Taking Goa as a centre, we will follow Camoens first down and then up the Coast; premising that many places which were of high importance in the sixteenth century have now become mere villages by the devasta-

tion of wars and plagues.¹ He rightly separates (vii. 21) Canará, the Northern, from the Southern region, Malabar, which begins about Calicut. Both are included in the Greek Limerike: the modern Malabar is derived from the ancient Male, with the addition of "bár," a region.² He ignores the primitive Keralas and the æra dating from Parasu Ram (B.C. 1176).³ But he has heard the story of the Maharaj Sarmá (Sarmá) Perimal, the Sernaperimal of Barbosa (p. 102), who became a Moslem about A.D. 906, or nearly six centuries before Da Gama arrived. This, the last ruler of the united Kingdom (vii. 32), whose capital was Coulam or Quilon, divided his territories amongst his kinsmen, and reserved twelve leagues along the coast, including the site of Calicut, for his nephew-page. The latter also inherited the sword, state-chandelier, and cap of dignity; and all were bound to obey him except the Rajahs of Coulam and Cananor. Sarmá (not Samari) Perimal embarked for Jeddah from the present position of Calicut (not Calicut itself, as Camoens supposed), whither the "Moors," to do him

¹ Yule's "Cathay," etc., gives (ii. 450) a most useful list of the "Mediæval ports of Malabar."

² So in Zang-bár, the region of the Zang, Zinj, Zunj or Æthiopians; our "Zanzibar" (Journ. R. Geog. Soc. for 1860, pp. 30-1).

³ As this old Malabar æra was in cycles of a thousand years, and the second millennium began in A.D. 176, we may assume the latter for its origin, and the first to be one of those astronomical epochs which the mediæval Hindus were so well able to calculate backwards, the better to fabricate claims of an immense antiquity.

honour, transferred themselves from the older capital. Hence Ibn Batutah, who limits Malabar between Sindabúr and Coulam (166-7), speaks of her twelve Kings.

In the modern Goanese proper Camoens notices the conquest of Pondá, an inner post (x. 72): it is still the chief town of the Province bearing the same name. Doubling Cape Ramas we come upon Batalalá (x. 66), the port of the Narsingha or "King of Decan": it is the Bathacala of Varthema; the Batcoal or Batacola of Hamilton; and the Batuculla of Buchanan which Barbosa (p. 79) places South of "Honor." We ignore the derivation; but the latter half of the word means fort (Cala = Kala'ah). Afterwards called Sadáshivgarh from Sadáshiv Rao of Sunda, who here built a fort, it became important when the Carnatic Kingdom was overthrown (1565): it is now a petty place in North Canara near Carwar (Kárwár) Head, a station for coasting steamers. Next to it lies Fort Cintacora, the Cincatora of Correa (p. 242); the Cintacola of Barbosa and Varthema, at the mouth of the Aliga River, fronting Anjediva, formerly under the Sabayo (Moslem governor) of Goa. This is the unimportant Ankolah in North Canara; the Ankla of Hamilton and the Ancola of Buchanan. Onor, Honor, Honore or Hunawar is the Hinaur of Ibn Batutah, who makes most of the people Moslems: they were famous for waging fierce wars with the Carnatic Hindus. Portuguese history calls it the Kingdom of Garçopa, from the Falls of the Gairsoppa

River, which, second to none, are rarely visited by travellers. In 1784 Onor was defended by Captain Torriano against 10,000 natives, the great Anglo-Indian exploit of the day.

Nothing is said of the now important Mangalor, the Manjerun of Ibn Batutah; the Mangolor of Varthema and the Mayandur of Barbosa (p. 81): which has been identified with the ancient Muziris.¹ Passing "Mount Delly" we come to Cananor and its little dependency Bacanor (x. 59). The former, in Varthema "Canonor," was a small independent Rajahship where the Portuguese built a fort in 1507, and eventually seized the town. They were expelled in 1660 by the Dutch, who sold it to a Moplah Rajah; from him it passed into the hands of Tipú Sultan, and Abercrombie made it British in 1791.

We now reach Calicut, the objective of Da Gama's voyage and the capital of the coast-country as far South as Ponáni. It is well described by Varthema (135-6) and Barbosa: Captain Hamilton notices the ruin of the Southern town built by the Portuguese; and I have told the modern legend of the submerged city.² Chale (x. 61), the Challa or Chulle of Barros, which must not be confounded with Chaul, is one of the many portlets, townlets, and fortlets depending upon the ex-capital; and Coulete (x. 55), six leagues from it, was an arsenal

¹ "The Konkan"; by Alexander Kyd Nairne, Bombay, 1875. But Cranganor, one of the ancient capitals of Malabar, is called in old deeds *Muyiri Kodu* (Muziris?).

² "Goa and the Blue Mountains," pp. 180-5.

of Calicut. Passing the small and unimportant rajahships of Bipur (x. 14), now Beypur, the terminus of the Madras Railway; and of Tanor, we reach Panane (x. 55), our Ponáni, 28 miles South of Calicut. This is the Pananx of Barbosa (p. 153), noticed by Baldæus as the harbour-town where the "Sammoryer" ruled when Da Gama arrived: now it is a mere village. The same may be said of "Muziris" (?), the little Cranganor or Craganor (vii. 35), Barbosa's Crangolor (p. 154), which ended the Kingdom of Calicut.

Some fifty miles south of Ponáni, and still in Malabar, we come to the once important Cochin, properly Káchi, and its outlying islet Repelim (x. 65). Camoens has enlivened the place by noticing the battles of Pacheco at the Pass Cambalam (x. 13), another islet at the "river-mouth," that is, the "Backwater of Cochin." This lagoon, which suggests West Africa, is "one of the finest inland navigations imaginable." The Portuguese built at "Cochin" noble quays, wharves and warehouses; and they were kept in good repair by the Dutch, who lost the place in 1662. The Honourable E. I. Company, fearing lest the home Government return them to their former owners, wantonly blew them up in 1806.¹ South of Cochin, and 120

¹ That eccentric genius, the late Mr. Chisholm Anstey, has left in Hukluyt's "Correa" (pp. 428-30) a picturesque description of this outrage perpetrated by the "Vandals of Leadenhall Street," *alias* the late Court of Directors of the late Hon. E. I. Company.

miles from Calicut is the little Rajahship of "Porcá" (Elegy i.), also called Chembe, where the Poet first campaigned in India. It is Varthema's Island of Porcai (pp. 154-5), almost insulated by the Cochin Backwater. Barbosa (p. 157) tells us that it had its own lord: Baldæus terms it Percatti, and Captain Hamilton makes Porcat or Porcal extend only four leagues along the shore: finally, Keith Johnston converts it to Parrakad. It became a nest of pirates in the days of "Evory and Kid"; and it was subverted by native wars in 1746. Near it lies Beadala (x. 66) or Bardella, the islet-town and capital of the Pimenta Rajah, another petty chieftainship in Travancore.

In the same Province, which extends from Cranganor to Cape Comorin, are Calli-Coulán, the former word meaning a river; and five leagues south Coulam (vii. 35) or Quilon. It was an independent Hindu Rajahship, comprising the seaboard of Cape Comorin, and extending north-east to "Chayl." The former is the Kaukammali of Arab-travellers (11th century); the Cacolon of Varthema; the Calecoulang of Baldæus; the Coilcoiloan of Hamilton, and the Kayankulam of modern maps. Quilon, ex-capital of the Samiry Rajah, is the Chulam of Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1166); the Kaulam of Ibn Batutah, who places it ten days from Calicut; the Kaulam Meli (Male or Malabar) of El-Idrisi; the Coulan of M. Polo, who tells us that the people were Jews and Christians; the Colon of Varthema, and the Coulam, where Barbosa (p. 158) makes Saint Thomas build his mira-

of Calicut. Passing the small and unimportant rajahships of Bipur (x. 14), now Beypur, the terminus of the Madras Railway; and of Tanor, we reach Panane (x. 55), our Ponáni, 28 miles South of Calicut. This is the Panax of Barbosa (p. 153), noticed by Baldæus as the harbour-town where the "Sammoryer" ruled when Da Gama arrived: now it is a mere village. The same may be said of "Muziris" (?), the little Cranganor or Craganor (vii. 35), Barbosa's Crangolor (p. 154), which ended the Kingdom of Calicut.

Some fifty miles south of Ponáni, and still in Malabar, we come to the once important Cochin, properly Káchi, and its outlying islet Repelim (x. 65). Camoens has enfolded the place by noticing the battles of Pacheco at the Pass Cambalam (x. 13), another islet at the "river-mouth," that is, the "Backwater of Cochin." This lagoon, which suggests West Africa, is "one of the finest inland navigations imaginable." The Portuguese built at "Cochin" noble quays, wharves and warehouses; and they were kept in good repair by the Dutch, who lost the place in 1662. The Honourable E. I. Company, fearing lest the home Government return them to their former owners, wantonly blew them up in 1806.¹ South of Cochin, and 120

¹ That eccentric genius, the late Mr. Chisholm Anstey, has left in Hukluyt's "Correa" (pp. 428-30) a picturesque description of this outrage perpetrated by the "Vandals of Leadenhall Street," *alias* the late Court of Directors of the late Hon. E. I. Company.

miles from Calicut is the little Rajahship of "Porcá" (Elegy i.), also called Chembe, where the Poet first campaigned in India. It is Varthema's Island of Porcai (pp. 154-5), almost insulated by the Cochin Backwater. Barbosa (p. 157) tells us that it had its own lord: Baldæus terms it Percatti, and Captain Hamilton makes Porcat or Porcal extend only four leagues along the shore: finally, Keith Johnston converts it to Parrakad. It became a nest of pirates in the days of "Evory and Kid"; and it was subverted by native wars in 1746. Near it lies Beadala (x. 66) or Bardella, the islet-town and capital of the Pimenta Rajah, another petty chieftainship in Travancore.

In the same Province, which extends from Cranganor to Cape Comorin, are Calli-Coulán, the former word meaning a river; and five leagues south Coulam (vii. 35) or Quilon. It was an independent Hindu Rajahship, comprising the seaboard of Cape Comorin, and extending north-east to "Chayl." The former is the Kaukammali of Arab-travellers (11th century); the Cacolon of Varthema; the Calecoulang of Baldæus; the Coilcoilan of Hamilton, and the Kayankulam of modern maps. Quilon, ex-capital of the Samiry Rajah, is the Chulam of Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1166); the Kaulam of Ibn Batutah, who places it ten days from Calicut; the Kaulam Meli (Male or Malabar) of El-Idrisi; the Coulan of M. Polo, who tells us that the people were Jews and Christians; the Colon of Varthema, and the Coulam, where Barbosa (p. 158) makes Saint Thomas build his mira-

culous church. In 1600 the two districts of Callicoulan and Coulam or Quilon were divided.

Rounding Cape Comorin we come to Ceylam (Ceylon). Camoens makes Taprobana (i. 1) his Easternmost point on account of its classical fame, which began in the days of Alexander. Strabo makes it double the size of Britain. Pliny (vi. 22) describes the Singhalian embassy to Claudius Cæsar, when Hindu lying probably spread abroad an inordinate exaggeration concerning its area. Ptolemy and Agathemerus give it a length of 15° , of which 2° extend into the Southern hemisphere. Marco Polo assigns to it 2,400 miles in circumference: hence some have supposed that it has been confounded with Sumatra. Cosmas Indicopleustes mentions Siedediba, the Hindu Sinhala ("lion's place"), whence the Arab Sarandib.¹ It is the Silha of Maundevile who, like Camoens, also calls it Taprobana (chap. xxx.). The latter is either Tapasya-vana (jungle of austere devotion), or Tambápanni (Copper-palmed), from a tale told in the Mahavansa. Perhaps Camoens alludes (x. 51) to its old mythological name, Lanká, the first meridian of Hindú geographers. The Poet is familiar with Colombo on the West Coast (x. 51); and the cinnamon-plantations. He has a fine allusion to the holy mountain (x. 136) called by us, after the Moslems, Adam's Peak. The block, only 1352 feet high, is remarkable for its isolation; and the pilgrims when

¹ Ammian. Marcell., speaking of the Emperor Julian, declares that he was visited by deputations, "abusque Divis et Serendivis" ("Maldivia and Ceylon," xxii. cap. 7).

climbing the dangerous places and bare faces of stone, are assisted by steps cut in the rock, by a ladder forty feet long, and by iron chains, which Fra Mauro attributes to Alexander the Great. The summit is an elliptical terrace or platform sixty-four by forty-five feet: surrounded by a wall five feet high. It commands a glorious view; and in the centre of the enclosure rises the Peak-apex, a granite rock measuring some nine feet in altitude. Under a humble tiled roof, supported on posts, is the "Shri Pada" (holy foot-print), of Adam or Shiva; of Buddha (Fo), of the eunuch of Candace, or of Saint Thomas. The length of this left *pegada* is about five feet, with disproportionate breadth (two and a half feet); whereas the Dalada or eye-tooth of the great incarnation, Gotama, preserved at the Maligava-vihara (convent) of Kandy, the old capital, measures two inches.¹

West and South of the Great Island are the remarkable archipelagoes which Camoens calls Maldivia (x. 136). He neglects its cowries; but specifies its Coco-de-mer. In his days the fruit, remarkable only for its size and deformity, cured all diseases, and was held the best of antidotes: now it is used chiefly for the begging-bowl (Kajkúl) of the Dervish. The three groups of thirteen volcanic or coralline *atolls*, Maldives, Chagos, and Laccadives, run about 1,000 miles from the parallel of

¹ "Memoir on the Tooth-relic of Ceylon," by J. Gerson da Cunha, Thacker, Bombay, 1875. Knox ("Ceylon," pp. 144, 210, 215) reduces the print to two feet: Ibn Batutah, who gives a detailed account (pp. 185, 190), measures eleven shibr or spans.

Mangalore to the Equator. They were visited in the ninth century by two Moslem travellers, who term them in Arabic the "eleven thousand isles"; Male-div in Malayalim, meaning "a thousand isles." Others derive the term from Malé, the Sultan's island, which Ibn Batutah (p. 179) calls Mohl or Dhibat el-Mahall, and Barbosa (p. 164) Mahaldiu. The Laccadives, or Lakshadwipa (a lac, or 100,000 isles), were discovered during Da Gama's second voyage: now they are included in the British province of Canara. Maldivia is inhabited by Moslems, an inoffensive race, who trade with Malabar and Bengal.

We then pass El-Ma'abar¹ (the place of transit) which so many have confounded with Malabar. The former is originally the "passage"; the ferry-line, Adam's Bridge, Rama's Bridge, the broken line of reefs from Rameshwar to Ceylon, whose main gate, the Pamban Passage,

¹ The root "'Ibr," applied to lands along the Euphrates, is believed by Rawlinson (Sir H.) to have given rise to "Hebrew." Ibn Batutah (pp. 122-23, 192) says that Ma'abar was under an infidel king (of the Carnatic), but that Moslems had districts near the shore. Abulfeda places it 3-4 days East of Kaulam (Quilon), and says, "The first portion of the district of El-Ma'abar, on the part of Manibar (Malabar) is Cape Komhori" (Comorin). M. Polo's Mahabar or Maabar, in Coromandel, "sixty miles west from Zeilan" (iii. 20), is written Malabar by many translators, and corrected by Vincent (iii. 520). It is the Mabaron of Maundevile (chap. xvi.); and "Malawar" in Lancaster (Hakluyt's, p. 9) has Cape Comori for headland. Col. Dow ("Hist. of Hind.," i. 300) mistranslates Ferishtah's Maabar by Malbar: the same confusion is made by the Rev. G. P. Badger (Varthema, p. 183).

to be opened to steamers. "Ma'abar" was then applied to the whole region, and De Sacy would extend it to the Ganges-mouth. Inland on the Continent is the *Sael* or *Cael* of M. Polo; "Koil," in the language of Malayalam, meaning a temple. It is the *Caele* or *Chail* of the *Roteiro*; the *Chayl* of *Varthema*, and the *Sael* of *Barbosa* (p. 173). Colonel Yule identifies it with *Coilpatam* near the *Tinnevely* River; others with *Colla-coil*, *Quillicare* or *Killicarai*, the town and country further north, facing the *Pamban* Passage and *Palk's* Strait. Hereabouts must have been the *Koliki*, *Koliaki* or *Koniaki* of certain Greek travellers; the *Kolis* of *Dionysius*; the *Colchos* or *Kolkhi* of the *Periplus*, and the *Calligicum* of *Pliny*.

We now turn northwards from Goa and find a more interesting coast. This is the *Konkana* (*Concan*), one of the seven divisions of the *Parasu-Rama-Kshetra*, the "Field of Battle-axe-Rama," where he destroyed the *Ashtatriyas* and supplied their places by reanimated corpses.¹ The Greeks knew it as *Ariaka*, and further north began their *Larika* or *Barygaza*. The first place of importance is *Dabhol* (*Dabul*, x. 34, 72), the *Dabuli* of *Varthema*, who describes it at full length (pp. 114-15); it is the *Dabul* of *Barbosa* (p. 71) and the *Mustafabad* of the Moslems. This second harbour of the "kingdom of *Decani*" (*Bijapur*) was taken by the Portuguese under *Almeida* (1508), and the Russian *Nikitin* (fifteenth

¹ Moderns pretend to trace the corpse-like look in the faces of the *Concani* Brahmins ("Goa," p. 15).

century) found it a large town and extensive seaport, between Goa and Chaul, the meeting-place for all nations navigating the coasts of India and Ethiopia. Ogilby (English Atlas, 1670) shows a wall round the sea and river-flanks, containing sundry large round buildings; and Mandeslo (1639) notes that the fortifications were demolished. Dabhol is now a pauper village in the Ratnagiri district on the north bank of the Washishti or Anjenwil River (N. Lat. $17^{\circ} 34'$).¹ Further north and 23 miles from Bombay we come to Chaul or Champávati; the Simylla emporium et promontorium of Ptolemy and the Periplus, preserved in the Sayhún of Arab geographers. Nikitin (iii. 8, 9) calls it Chivil; Barbosa, Cheul; and Varthema makes Cevul the southern limit of "Combeia." Ralph Fitch in 1583 mentions its great traffic after being captured by the Portuguese: De la Valle (1623) and Captain Hamilton found it "miserably poor." Shells of towers and keep (torre de menagem), of castles and churches show the former importance of "Rewadandá"; but the plague wasted it; and, although little steamers from Bombay still touch there, Ichabod is written upon its grim and grisly ruins.

In those days Bombay was not. Our western capital was represented by the Kaliene-polis of Ptolemy, the Hindu Kalyana and the Moslem Islamábád, where Greek

¹ Dabhol, though written Dabul, must not be confounded with Debal-bandar, the old name of Tháthá in Sind, which is Deval (= Deva + álaya), God's House. Thornton's Gazetteer does not even mention Dabhol.

oman traders sold and bartered till the days of s. The silting-up of the River-mouth and the ries of harbourage shifted Kalyana seawards to the Tanamayambu of Barbosa (p. 68), and Thana nbay ; reducing the classic emporium to the ed village and Railway Station, "Callian." In d Sea, Heroöpolis (x. 98)¹ by a similar movement e Arsinoë or Old Suez ; and this is being ruined v Suez,—Canalville.

honours of Kaliena were inherited by Baçaim , the Sanskrit Vasái (dwelling-place), the Baxay of a (p. 68), and our Bassein. She has a history of n.² Till the twelfth century the "Village" was oy the Silára and Yádava Hindus : the Moslems it in A.D. 1311, and held it for two hundred nder Cambay (Gujarát). The fortifications were d by Nuno da Cunha in 1536 ; and the city soon e the residence of the Captain-general of the :rn Capital (*a Côte do Norte*). The "Fidalgos," 'avalheiros de Baçaim," became proverbial, and ood swords kept it for two centuries. In conse- e of a war provoked by the Colonists with Salsette to the Maráthás, who lost 5,000 killed and ed during the siege. The English took it from : successors in 1780, and annexed it to Bombay. d walls still inclose gorgeous green growths and

: "City of Heroes," of which presently.

Dr. da Cunha's "Chaul and Bassein," 1 vol. 4to. London : , 1845.

grim black ruin-heaps, and the Northern Railway connects it with head-quarters.

Damam, Barbosa's Denoy (p. 68), the next noteworthy place still Portuguese, introduces us to Syrastrène (Surashtra, Surat), also called Gaurashtra, Guzerat or Gujarát; Camoens' "bellicose Kingdom of Cambay" (vii. 21). The port was taken by Martim Affonso de Souza, greatly to the regret of Bahádur Shah, the Melique, Malik or King (x. 61). It lay perilously near his chief port, Surat; and it commanded the southern entrance to the Gulf of Cambay, the water-way to his capital. Opposite it also lay the far-famed Diu¹ Island and Headland, originally a Pirates' den; it presently became a chief *dépôt* for the Arabian, Persian, and Western Indian trade; hence the incredible efforts of the Portuguese to take and keep it. They still hold the Island, the old forts are standing, but the scanty garrison has no power on the Coast.

We then pass along the Seaboard of Kathiáwád (Kattywar) to the "inmost bight of Jaquete" or the Cutch-gulf; the Kanthi of Ptolemy and the Otien-pochi-lo of Hwen-Tsang. Here the "Bore" (x. 106), the violent flood-tide known to the Severn and the Eager of

¹ Dwipa; *the* Island. Camoens makes it an iamb *Dĩu*; we a monosyllable *Dyú*. Varthema (pp. 91-3), who had a conversational knowledge of vulgar Arabic, calls the place "Dioubandierrumi" (= Diu Bandar er-Rúmi); the "Island-port of the "Rúmi," or Turks of Constantinople. Barbosa (p. 59) has *Duy*, and gives the "Malabar (?) name" *Diuxa* (Diu-i-Sháh? the king's Diu?).

the Humber, forms a wall of water four or five feet high, rushing at the rate of ten knots an hour, the cause being the meeting of the sea-flux and the Mahi River upon a shallow floor. It astonished the Portuguese as much as it did Alexander's Mediterranean "salts." Varthema erroneously remarks "the waters rise in the reverse of ours when the moon is on the wane" (Vincent, ii. 396) : on the contrary, they are highest when the moon is in perigee. The word "Jaquete," which has exercised commentators, is derived from "Jagat" ; the latter is a contraction of "Jagat-nath,"¹ the "World-lord" ; and god Krishna has still a noble temple at Dwarka, whereabouts he was slain. Colonel Yule kindly forwarded to me the following valuable note :—

"Dowson's Elliot quotes from (v. 438) the Tabakát-i-Akbari of Nizamaddín Ahmed :—'Then he (Muzaffar Gujaráti) proceeded to Jagat, which is the extreme town of Surath (Surat), and well known under the name of Dwárka. Jaquete is found in a map of Linschoten (circ. 1598), who says (chap. vii. French translation, 1638) :—'After the same river Sinda and Indus, and some small islands on the Coast of Sinda, comes a little gulf which the Portuguese call *Enseada* (Gulf of Cutch), wherein are many islands. The Gulf is also termed *Iasquetta*, and is notable for the flux and reflux of its tide, which extends further and more swiftly than anywhere in the world. . . . This Gulf is sixty leagues

¹ In composition Jagannath : hence our "Juggernaut" of evil fame, with the r of Maria-r.

from the Indus. Following the coast South-East you come to Diu.' The Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Kapudan ('Journ. Asiat.,' Série ix. 78) also says that when near Ras el-Hadd (Rasalgat) he was driven by the storms of six days to 'the Gulf of Chakad, near Sind, where are dangerous *gouffres*.¹ The man in the top recognised an idol-temple on the shore of Jamhír.'"²

We now run along the mouths of Indus, a stream mentioned in many places (i. 32 ; iv. 65, etc.), especially in D. Manoel's vision. The Poet knows that this Western boundary of India, the natural, not the "scientific frontier," that monster-growth of 1877-79, has its source at a small distance from the Ganges (iv. 69). The former rises north, and the latter south of the Himalayas. We then reach the "most fertile region, Ulcinde" (x. 106). This is evidently Sind ; perhaps with the Arabic article El- (es-) Sind. But Colonel Yule suspects that Camoens converted Diulcinde (Debal Sindi), which Barbosa (p. 49) places "entering the kingdom of Ulcinde," also called "Reyno de Diul," into D'Ulcinde.³ The Portuguese were well acquainted with these parts. Correa (399) tells us

¹ The Ha-hiroth in Pi-ha-hiroth of the Exodus, *τὰ βάραθρα*.

² The pyramidal tower of the great Dwárka temple is seen far out at sea. I visited it in 1847, and noticed it in "Scinde or the Unhappy Valley" (i. 14). Possibly Jamhír may be a corruption of Jambu-dwipa, = India.

³ Colonel Yule refers for Dewal and Sind to "The Tabikát" (etc., ii. 326) ; and for Diul and Diuli to the Turkish Admiral (*loc. cit.*, Série, i. ix.), and extract from Von Hammer in "Journ. As. Soc., Bengal" (v. 463).

how D. Anrique (Henrique de Menezes) sent Christovam de Brito with a fleet to the "River of Dabul." Again, Pedro Barreto Rolim, by orders of Francisco Barreto (A.D. 1555-58) destroyed the city of "Tátá in Çinde." In my History of Sindh (pp. 15, 377-8) I identified the Greek Patala and the Moslem Debal-bandar with modern Tháthá. Sir Walter Elliot to this preferred Karáchí, whose site is quite modern. Potála or Potálaya would mean the harbour: Patála is the realm of the Snake-gods, a kind of Hades (a-eides), the unseen, the hidden. So Hel, Hela, the infernal goddess from helje, to hide, named our Healey, Heligh, Hellifield, etc. This, perhaps, explains Palibothra (Pataliputta), which Rennell finds in a ruin near Patna, and Robertson in the Prayága (confluence) or Allahábád. In the "History of the Imams of Oman"¹ a curious error makes Diyul (p. 188) represent Debal-bandar in Sind; whilst Ed-Diyul (p. 88) is Diu Island off Cutch.

We now proceed to the second section, Camoens' geography of maritime Arabia and Persia. Of these coasts his campaigns with D. Fernando de Menezes (A.D. 1554-55) and D. Alvaro de Silveira (1560-61) enabled him to give an admirably realistic account. The ships sailing from Goa in the North-east monsoon (Oct. to May) would touch at Socotra (x. 136), about 150 miles

¹ A translation of the Arab Salih ibn Razik, by the Rev. G. Percy Badger (Hakluyt, MDCCCXXI). The position of "El-Daibul" (Debal-bandar) taken from Abulfeda's Takwim el-Buldan is correct, which makes the other error more astonishing.

north-east of Guardafui, in Azania, then as now famous for Sanguis Draconis and all manner of gums.¹ The island (80 × 20 miles) was inhabited during the days of Cosmas by Egyptian Greeks with Nestorian priests from Persia. M. Polo makes it an archbishopric, subject to a "Zalotia of Baldak" (Catholikos of Baghdad). When taken by Tristam da Cunha and Albuquerque in 1507 the people were "Moors of Fartaque" (Hadramis), who maltreated the Christians (circumcised Jacobites); and the women fought like the men: hence Barbosa's army of Amazons (p. 29).² Faria (y Sousa) says that it was subject to the "King of Caxem," or Shaykh of Keshin, a small district and town on the Mahrah shore; and the same is confirmed by Middleton and Lancaster's voyages (loc. cit., pp. 116, 165-66). The latter places the capital-village "Tamore" (Tamarida), near the Northern shore. All the Christians have now disappeared;

¹ The adjoining island (between Socotra and Guardafui) is called in the Commentaries (vol. ii. chap. liii.) Bedalcuria = Abd el-Khori = Slave of the Priest.

² The Commentaries (part I, chaps. xiv.-xvii.) show that the people were civilised. The town Çoko (Súk, the bazar) had extensive commerce with India and Africa; the "Moors" fought most gallantly in defence of their castle; they had portable firearms, and swords inscribed with "God help me" in Latin. Here Nuno Vaz de Castel-Branco distinguished himself; and both Tristam da Cunha and his son Nuno were knighted by Albuquerque. The conquerors built the fort of Sam Miguel, where D. Afonso de Noronha, a nephew of Albuquerque, was left as governor. Unfortunately missionaries were also set to work, consequently the natives lost no time in revolting.

and the Arabs of the island and the coast have forgotten them. Lying on the great maritime highway, it was occupied by Bombay Sepoys during the Napoleonic wars; in 1834, the Shaykh of the uninteresting modern race refused to allow a coaling station; and in 1876 the authorities of Aden once more hoisted the British flag.

After Socotra the vessels would make "Arómata, by men hight Guardafui" (x. 97); the latter is a corruption of Jard (Bay) Háfún (Orfun, Orfuni), from a break in the dreadful granitic wall, lately provided by Egypt with a lighthouse. The Poet describes it topographically (Cançam x.), beginning with:

Junto de hum secco, duro, esteril monte,¹ etc.
(Hard by a sun-parcht, dure and sterile mount).

Eight lines further he tells us that the name "introduced by the vulgar,"

He Felix, por antifraxe infelice, etc.
(Is Felix, infelicitous antiphrase).

The true name is Ras el-Fíl (Elephant's Head);² and the same, *pace* Gardner Wilkinson, appears in Elephan-

¹ "Monte" in Spanish is a tree-grown-hill: in Port. and Ital. (Monte Muliano) it nearly represents our "mount."

² Strabo mentions Mount Elephas (xvi. 4, § 14). The word elephant is derived from the Pali "Pilu"; the steps being Píl (Pers.), Fíl and with the article El-Fíl (Arab.), and the Greek eleph-as. Dictionaries give it from Aliph=bos, in Hebrew a mere Northern dialect of the great Arabic family.

tine and in Philæ Islands off El-Sowán (Assouan, Syene). I sketched the bit of islet rock from the sea Eastward;¹ and the accidents of ground, with the aid of light and shade, make it resemble an Elephant couchant.

The Campaigner would then pass the "kingdom of dry Aden" (x. 99) in the Southermost of the threefold Arabies (iv. 63; x. 100), a Ptolemeian distribution immensely extended by the moderns.² The Arzira Mountain appears to be the grisly Jebel Shamsham, the apocryphal tomb of Cain, rising in hideous blackness behind the Aden cantonment, and correctly described as lacking rain (x. 99). The clouds, dispersed by the radiation of heat from the gloomy black walls of the extinct crater, sail high over it and break in floods upon the fertile highlands of inner Yemen. Barros (ii. 7, 8), to whom Colonel Yule refers me, thinks it may be the place which Ptolemy "calls Modocan" (Modoke-polis), and the "mountain above it, Cababarra (Katoubathra Oros), which the Moors name Darzira: it is one mass of live stone without tree or living herb; and two to three years will pass without rain falling in that district. The city lies where this mountain slopes to the sea. Thus there are two ports. One is on the shore used by the city; they term it Focáte (Arab. Hokkát, now Holket or Back Bay); and it is sheltered from some winds by a fronting islet named Lyra (read Syra), where

¹ "The Lake Regions," etc., ii. 384.

² The original limits are given in "The Gold-Mines of Midian" (chap. vii.). Eratosthenes, Strabo, Mela, and Pliny had only two Arabias, the Northern or Desert, and the Southern or Happy.

Cain lived.¹ The other, Uguf (Front Bay), is a manner of bight little used by ships, being a shallow sea-arm (*esteiro*)." Varthema informs us that Aden is the strongest city that ever was seen on level ground: Barbosa found it "very handsome." I need hardly enter into the history of a station so well known to Englishmen. Suffice it to say that this coal-hole of Arabia is one of the eternal cities of the East, marked, like Damascus, for perpetual revival.

Camoens then enters the Mare Rubrum; and, following the classics, he explains its hue by the ruddy madre-pores of the floor (x. 97). "It is to be understood," bluntly says Varthema, "that this sea is not red." I have proposed a philological theory, based upon the fact that men ever attempt to make unknown words significant. Mythical King Erythras and his sea, the Persian Gulf, were the normal translations of the native names, Phœnicia and Erythræa both meaning red. The Hebrews called the northern part of the Arabian Gulf "Yamm Edom," sea of Idumæa, or Red-land; not Yamm Súf, sea of weeds or papyrus, which applies to another feature.²

¹ In 1516 Lopo Soares de Albergaria occupied Sirah Island, repaired the old works on the summit, and built the surrounding wall, which was visible when we first occupied Aden. In Lancaster's *Voyages* (p. 167) Sirah is made a high rock, somewhat larger than the *towne* of London: this must be an error for "Tower."

² As is now well known, Brugsch Bey (*Geschichte Aegyptens*) transfers the name to "that Serbonian bog" of Milton. The great Egyptologue is attacked by the Rev. Greville J. Chester, "A Journey to the Biblical Sites in Lower Egypt" (*Palestine Explora-*

Himyar and Ophir, like Edom, also signify red, and "Sea of Himyar" would be applied to the southern section; hence the ancient Egyptians, like Herodotus, ignored the term "Red Sea" for the Sinus Arabicus; and called the great fracture "Sekot," or the sur-rounder.

Running up the eastern coast Camoens notices the red Arabian shore (x. 50), with its brown and vagueing Bedawin (x. 100), composed of *Nomades et Urbani* (Badu and Hazar). He names successively Gidá (ix. 3; x. 99), properly Juddah now Jédah, "grandmother's town," from the comparatively modern grave of Eve; and Meca (Meccah, ix. 2), the birthplace of the Apostle of Allah, with its "holy water," the well Zemzem, which a late translator turns into a stream; while the exact Barbosa (p. 23) notices the bottling still practised. "Abominable Medina" (x. 50) is so entitled because Mohammed was buried in it—a fact unknown to Albuquerque, and to a modern editor of Maundevile. The next site is Nabathæa, twice mentioned (i. 84; iv. 63): the references to these splendid ranges of granite, quartz and sandstone, which the Poet probably saw, are highly

tion Fund, July 1880), who found Serbonitis salt, and consequently without papyrus. His paper is a marvellous specimen of inconsequences, never taking into account the changes of ground during the last 3,000 years: this assault of a dwarf upon a giant, a model of one-sided pleading, only confirms our belief in Brugsch. Evidently an Eastern offset from the Pelusiæ branch (mentioned by Lucan) would suffice for the growth of papyrus.

poetic.¹ Then comes Tor-harbour (Toro, x. 99), the Phœnician Tzur, a Tyre, a high place, like "turris" and its many derivations: even "Syria" is only a Greek congener of "Tyria." From Tor the early Portuguese pilgrims visited, and still visit, Saint Catherine² on the

¹ I have described the Highlands in "The Gold Mines of Midian" and in "Midian Revisited" (passim).

² Saint Catherine of Alexandria, virgin and martyr, was a learned and argumentative lady, who is said to have converted many pagan philosophers, and who suffered in the flesh accordingly. Under Maximianus (circ. A.D. 306) she was broken upon a wheel: when her head was struck off, milk flowed instead of blood. Having prayed that her body might not be exposed to insult, it was carried by angels to the convent of Saint Helena on Jebel Musa ("Mount Sinai"), which a forged inscription attributes to Justinian (A.D. 527-565), when it was built by the Egyptian Greeks about A.D. 1172 (=A.H. 550). The Catherine legend seems to date from the eighth century: in A.D. 1063 it became widely spread, a military order bearing the saint's name having been instituted to defend pilgrims. About this time the silver bier was given for the remains which, in those days, still sweated milk: similarly one of the miracula Sancti Johannis (Saint John of Beverley) was the distillation of holy oil. Saint Catherine is popularly known in a mundane way. In heraldry her wheel (gules) has eight spokes, and a corresponding number of iron spikes, or rather hooks. It has been converted into a firework, which holds high rank among the squibs. *Coiffer Sainte Catherine* has come to mean an old maid, from a frolic and a fête long kept in France. Finally her anniversary was observed with great ceremony at Old Goa. Our clerical veneration for her and other "holy virgins" is in contrast to the Malabar Nayr, who, says Barbosa (p. 133), "have a belief that the woman who dies a virgin does not go to heaven." And even in England there is an old saw about their leading apes elsewhere.

apocryphal Mount Sinai. A few words concerning this site will not be misplaced.

A reviewer remarks, "The theory" (that Serbal is Mount Sinai) "has much more to recommend it to modern acceptance than Captain Burton seems to allow."¹ Yet his only authorities are Bishop Eusebius of Cæsarea, who, in A.D. 313, preached the first sermon at the re-dedication of the Tyre Cathedral; St. Jerome (nat. circ. A.D. 340); and Cosmas Indicopleustes, who wrote much bad geography and history in A.D. 550. I need hardly repeat the self-evident details that the Hebrews would perforce follow the modern Hajj-route from the parallel of Suez to El-Akabah; that Sinai was a holy site amongst the ancient Egyptians; that in the days of the Jewish kingdom no Jew ever visited it except Elijah; and that it is mentioned by Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1168) as a Syro-Christian, not a Jewish, place of worship. Indeed, the ancient Hebrews seem to have been uncertain about the true site of their Mountain of the Law. Josephus (A. J., viii. 13, 7) placing Horeb and Sinai in the direction of Edom, or East of the Wady el-Arabah, describes it

¹ "Examiner," May 3, '79.—A literature is growing around Mount Sinai. Besides, my late friend, Dr. Charles Beke ("Sinai in Arabia"), we have the translation of Brugsch Bey's "History of Egypt," by Henry Danby Seymour and Philip Smith, London, Murray, 1879: it has reached a second edition. In the same year appeared "The Hebrew Migration from Egypt" (London, Trübner), a most able anonymous essay. Prof. Palmer ("The Desert of the Exodus") has, I believe, given up Mount Sinai as far as he can.

mythologically, and certainly with none of the features of Coptic Serbal or Greek Jebel Musa. St. Paul, his contemporary, disposes "Mount Sinai in Arabia," that is, East of the meridian of the Jordan. Eusebius (Eccles. Hist.) locates Horeb in Midian, and Sinai near it. In the same century St. Jerome (Monast. s. v. Choreb) identifies Horeb and Sinai in Midian; but knows no more. Local tradition, Christian and Moslem, is absolutely valueless: there was no organised monasticism in the Church before A.D. 350, when arose the imitation of the old heathen *ἐγκεκλεισμένοι*. Much more might be said upon the subject did space permit. Briefly, so great and especially so probable a correction has not yet been accepted; but *veritas prevalet et obtinet in sæcula sæculorum*.

Camoens, after the fashion of his day, which thought very little about geological changes, places the passage of Moses (Osarsiph) at the present head of the Red Sea (iv. 63; x. 98), a growth of later years. His information concerning Arsinoë and the City of Heroes (ix. 2; x. 98) would be new to ninety per cent. of the "Overlanders," who now hurry past Suez. The beautiful profile of the sister-wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus is shown by many medals; and the city named from her has been successfully identified by my old friend, Mr. Consul West, with the ruined heaps to the north of the present town. Heroöpolis is probably Har-An, lord of An, the Blackland, a title of Atum: the site is still undetermined. Some have placed it around Fort El-

Ajrúd, where, however, there are no signs of ruins. Others east of the Canal Mouth, and believe it to have been about one hour and thirty minutes' walk West of Suez, near a site called "The Reservoirs" (Hydrographic Chart), where Napoleon Buonaparte is said to have thrown up field-works. The shallowing of the sea would render useless the roadstead which Strabo (xvii. 3, 20) places "in the recess of the Arabian Gulf"; and would transfer the port-town to Arsinoë.

Rounding the Gulf-head our campaigner follows its western shore. He notes the various places opened by Sequeira ; (x. 52, 97) rainless Maçúa (Masawwah) with her tanks ; Suanquem (Suakin opposite Jeddah), "the settlements," governed in Ibn Batutah's time by the Amir of Meccah ; and Port Arquico (Arkiko, Barbosa's Delaqua, and Milton's Ercoco) lying by its side. England knows them chiefly by that regrettable missionary war which ended in the destruction of unfortunate King Theodore. They were presently beset by the Emperor Johannes of Abyssinia, who wanted a settlement on the seaboard, where he could sell and buy goods without *avaries*: he was kept at bay by Egypt, who knew that the chief imports would be arms and ammunition.

Further inland Camoens is at home amongst his classics (x. 52) in the "Nide of Candace and of Sabá" (she of Sheba).¹ He calls the land Abassia," nearer than

¹ Gen. x. mentions Sabá the son of Cush and Sheba the son of Joktan : the Greeks, having no *s*/*h*-sound, readily confused them.

our "Abyssinia" to the Semitic Habesh, or "riff-raff," a term fitly applied to the ruffian population. Barbosa (p. 19) tells us that the Christians of the Kingdom of Prester John follow the doctrine of the blessed Saint Bartholomew. "Habesh," not Abyssinia, is divided into two halves; the North is Gallo-Christian and the South is Gallo-Moslem, including Áfar (which named "Africa"), Dankali-land, Harar and Somáli-land. The Poet subsequently refers to Meroë, the country, not the capital (near the modern Dankalah or Dongola), saying that Africans call it Nobá (x. 95). It is the "Doab," shaped "like an oblong shield" (Strabo, xvi.) between the Nile and the Tacazze, or rather the Nile of the Axumites, Astaboras,¹ Atbara or Black River; and the Astapus or Bahr el-Azrak, the Blue River. In the Cuneiforms it is called Me-luh-ha and Me-luh-hi according to Brugsch (ii. 255-65), whom Lenormant refutes. The Greeks derived the name of this motherland of Egypt from Cambyses' sister, and visited it for the Oracle of Ammon. Some prolonged the Meroë of Herodotus and of P. Mela, who tried to systematise African geography, into its

Sabá in Southern Arabia had for capital Maryab that contained Zu-Raydún, the royal palace. It was near Zofár (Sephar, Mount of the East: Gen. x.; Tobit xii. 15).

¹ Dr. Beke first suggested (loc. cit., p. 50) that the prefix "Ast;" also in Ast'apus (Abai or Blue River), and Ast'asobas (Sobat, from Soba, the ancient name of Khartum), means simply "river." I commend this to the author of "The Scientific Value of Tradition" (London, Pickering, 1879). "Barat" and "Atbar" (p. 164) cannot be cognates.

Southern neighbour Sennár (vulg. Sennaar) or "Water-island,"¹ bounded by the Nile and the Blue River. Hence, the accounts of its twenty cities, its 250,000 warriors, and its 400,000 artisans are not wholly incredible. The capital and royal residence of Æthiopia (Ethaus or Ethosh), Napata (Ne-pet),² now a ruin near the holy Jebel Barkal, has lately produced inscriptions in an alphabet unknown to my learned friend Brugsch-Pasha. Nobá is Nubia, derived from the Egyptian Núb, gold, whose hieroglyph is a straining-cloth over a washing-bowl.

At the S. Western extremity of the Red Sea Camoens (x. 50) touches upon the Barbarica Regio. Ibn Batutah explains this term (chap. ix.) by making the Somal race Moslem (Shafei) Berbers from the Sudan or Upper Egypt, beginning at Zayla' and ending at Makdishu. Hence some have found the Avalitæ of Ptolemy and the Avalites of the Periplus in the Habr-Awal savages. Camoens' Barbora is Varthema's Barbara, which he terms an island—insula for peninsula; and Vincent (Periplus) identifies it with Mosyllon. Barbosa (p. 18) places this Barr-i-Ajan (Azania) too far north. Zayla' or Zeila', in which Vincent finds Moondus and popular opinion Mosyllon, is El-Idrisi's Zálegh, a clerical error. Ibn Batutah alludes to its filth, and Varthema calls it (p. 86)

¹ Essí (= water) —en or n (of) and arti (Island).

² Brugsch, i. 283; 436. Strabo (xvi.) calls it "sacred," and it is so termed in the hieroglyphs. The name is popularly derived from N-ape-t (of Tape or Thebes).

a place of great traffic. These towns, together with Harar, made famous by the death of Christovam da Gama in 1541 (chap. iii. s. 3), were described by me when they lay under the Pashalik of Hodaydah.¹ They have since passed into the power of Egypt; and ugly stories are told concerning the treacherous murder of the Amir.

When Camoens accompanied Menezes, that Commander, fearing the winter storms which had destroyed Sodr e's fleet, left some light vessels, at the straits of the Red Sea, to await the rich galleons of Acheh and Calicut; and in April ran up the Eastern Coast of Arabia for Hormuz. Here our Poet is minutely correct. He notes the odoriferous shores — *mittunt sua thura Sab ei*—in the Country of Frankincense, not “incense,” which is a compound. Cape “Fartaque” (x. 100), or Fartak, that means pounding or powdering, is the Syagros Promontorium, the first land usually sighted by Indian ships making these ports, and Dr. Carter declares it “the most striking on the S. Eastern Coast of Arabia.” The “ancient Fartaque City” is probably Sayh t or Sayh d near the Moscha-Limen of Ptolemy and the Periplus. “Insign Dofar,” the Zaf r of Ibn Batutah,² is the classical harbour whence the gum was sent overland to the Mediterranean; and it applies to the whole district, a fertile region with five towns clus-

¹ “First Footsteps in East Africa,” chap. i.

² There were two places of almost similar name (“The Gold Mines of Midian,” p. 259).

tering round the ruins of an old port described by my friend, Dr. Carter, under the name of El-Balad.¹ The Coast is now divided between the Nakīb of Makallah and the Jemadar of Shahr. Hence we make Roçalgate (x. 101), the Ras el-Hadd, or Boundary Head, Korodamon Akron, with the Oracle of Diana, that forms the S. Western limit of the Sea of 'Amman (Oman). To the North of it lies Sur (the Cor of Barbosa (p. 32), the once flourishing port of Ja'alán, which still shows Portuguese ruins. Twenty leagues N. West of Sur is Kalhát, the *Κολαίος* of the Periplus and the Calaiti of M. Polo, who tells us that the gulf of that name was under the "Melich of Ormuz": this Calayate (x. 41), a "city as large as Santarem," was burnt by Albuquerque in 1507; and its ruins are described by Wellsted (i. 4). Ten leagues beyond is Coriate, or Curiate; the Arab. Kariyát (the villages), a "large straggling town" also fired by Albuquerque. In connexion with this place The Lusiads mentions Mascate (Maskat), the chief-harbour city of Oman, subject to Hormuz: its subsequent connexion with the Portuguese is well known.

Beyond Maskat lies Soar (Barbosa's Sohar), "a large and very beautiful town," backed by a Peak 1680 feet high: its square fort was strengthened by the Europeans; and, next to Maskat, it is still the largest port-settlement.²

¹ Journ. R. Geog. Soc., vol. xvi. See also Prof. Sprenger's invaluable "Alte Geographie Arabiens."

² Palgrave's Central and Eastern Arabia, ii. 332-3. Barbosa

Passing Orfacate, twelve leagues from Soar, the modern Khor Fakán, and Barbosa's "Corfasan," we arrive (x. 102) at "Cape Asaboro, now called Moçandam" (Masandum). The first name is probably an oversight for Asabōn (Akron = Point of the Asaboi), a supposed corruption of (Jebel) Aswad, the Black Mountain. Its peaked point fronts Hormuz Island, and parts the Sea of Oman from its Western prolongation, the Persian Gulf. This old Sea of Erythras is called by Camoens "the Lake" (x. 102), where Tigris and Euphrates enter by a single mouth. He is acquainted with the site of Babel or Babylon, near the confluence of those streams (iv. 64). An allusion in the same stanza suggests that he placed their sources in the vulgar Ararat of our day,¹ the invention of Saint Jerome, and the mythical mountain of Maundevile (chap. xiii.), who naïvely says, "Of Paradise I cannot speak properly, for I was not there" (chap. xxx.). Only of late years the landing-place of "Noah's Ark" has been shifted to the Koranic "Jibál el-Judy," popularly pronounced El-Jedy, the "Kid Mountains": they are the Syrian "Kurdu," the Montes

(pp. 28-37) is very copious in the names of settlements upon this coast.

¹ The Ararat of Genesis (viii. 4) is probably the Urarda or Urartha of the Babylonian Cuneiforms; hence the Alarodians of Herodotus (iii. 94, etc.), who ignores Armenia (Har Minni), the mountains of the Minni. Amongst the classics Armenus was one of the Argonauts. St. Jerome is the first Western author who identifies the Scriptural Hari Ararat with the giant peak on the Araxes, now known as the Agri Dagh.

Gordæi, part of the Masius range ; and here the natives still show the place where a certain unfortunate vineyard was planted. Ibn Batutah (chap. vii.) declares that the Mosque of Cufa shelters the site in which Noah warmed himself after "the Deluge." Camoens does not name Baghdad ; but he must have heard of the splendid seat of the Caliphate, which has given several popular names to Europe.¹

Our Poet is acquainted with the great Islands of the Persian Gulf.² He twice mentions the rich tribute of Barem (x. 41, 103), whose pearls are also alluded to in the two stanzas. The Romans seem to have valued the gem more than all others. "El-Bahrayn" always has the article, meaning "*the* two-sea-island," of the Persian Gulf and its own bay, thus being a *Τόπος διθάλασσος*. It is the Tyros of Strabo (i. 2, 35 ; xvi. 3, 4) and Arrian ; the Tyle of Pliny (iv. 36) and Justin (xviii. 3, 2) ; and the Tylos of Ptolemy (vi. 7, 47). Dr. Oppert reads as Tilvun, the Nituh or Nitukhi (Tyros) of the Sumerian Cuneiforms : Prof. Sayce prefers Dil-vun and questions the identification. Strabo places near his Tyros, a

¹ "Taffety" and "Tabby," from the weavers' quarter, El-Atab ; and "Baldacchino" and "Baldaquin," from a rich embroidered cloth made in the Baldacca. So "fustian" (fostagna) is from Fostat (leather tents), or Old Cairo ; and "Gauze," from Gaza or Ghazzah.

² Barbosa (p. 37) gives a list of twelve islands, among which are Queximi (Khishm), and Baharem (El-Bahrayn). The Commentaries of Alboquerque (part I. chap. xxviii.-xxx.) describe them, and give a plan of Hormuz, Larequa (Larak) and Queixome.

fortified Island, Arad or Arada (El-Muharrah, one of the Bahrayn Islands), the old home of the Phœnicians: hence the Tyre and Aradus of the Levant, not so called from the sea-springs mentioned by Pliny. Ibn Batutah (Lee, 65) considers the pearl to be hardened flesh, whereas Moslems generally opine that it is a rain-drop of water from heaven: he also asserts that the divers remain a whole hour under water. Varthema and Barbosa give a more realistic description. El-Bahrayn, with its chief port, Menamah, may contain 25,000 souls, and belongs to Oman, not to El-Hasa. Near it Chesney ("Euphrates Expedition," i. 646) found a peculiar coast-people, apparently the Zott, Yue-chi, Getæ, Goths, Jats, or Gypsies.

The more celebrated of the two Islands¹ is, or rather was, Hormuz, with whose history Camoens shows himself well acquainted. The Hár mouza-pólis of Ptolemy (vi. 8, 5), and the Latin Armuza and Armuzia are probably derived from Hormuz (Auramazda), the Good God of Guebrism. Maundevile (chap. xxvii.) opines that it was so called because "Hermes the Philosopher founded it." The Kingdom of Hormuz once extended along the seashore of Persia westward almost as far as Basrah (Bassora); and its capital occupied the site of

¹ Camoens does not notice the much larger island of Khishm or Jishm, the Queixome of the Portuguese, and the Varukta or Vorochta of Nearchus. In the "Introduction to the History of the Imams of Maskat" (pp. 3-4), we find it confused with the islet of Kesh or Kenn.

Bandar Abbas. Ibn Haukal, at the end of the tenth century, calls it the Emporium of the East: it is apparently the Nekrokis of Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1164), and Ibn Batutah (Lee, p. 63) speaks of Hormuz on the seashore and New Hormuz, alias Harouna, on the islet. As Abulfeda notices, when Hormuza antiqua was reduced by Tartar incursions (of the Seljuki Princes) to a miserable village, the trade was transferred to the neighbouring island of Zarun, the Jerrún of Abd el-Razzák and the Gerum of Camoens (x. 41, 103). M. Polo (i. 16, 64) describes New Hormuz as a handsome city under a Malik, or Arab Lord of the Marches whom Varthema dubs a Sultan and the Decades a Guazil (Wazír). Barbosa (p. 38) places it under Xequé Yzmael,¹ alias Shah Ismail of Persia. It surrendered to Albuquerque in 1508 and presently rose to its highest splendour: the popular saying was, "If Hormuz be not Heaven, 'tis next door to Heaven"; and—

Si terrarum orbis quaqua patet annulus esset,
Illius Ormuzium gemma decusque foret.

The Island, a rough circle of trachytic grit, about four miles in diameter and four to five direct miles from the mainland, had little to recommend it. Ralph Fitch (1583) says, "Nothing grows on it but only salt." Sir Thomas Herbert (1626), who makes the city once as big as Exeter, adds, "the Island procreates nothing note-

¹ This name often appears in the Commentaries of Albuquerque, but apparently it is not recognised by the translator.

worthy, salt excepted, of which the rocks are participant, and the silver-shining sand expresseth sulphur." Ibn Batutah also mentions the "hills of Darání Salt" like those of Dárá (?) near Damascus. These are the Salt Mountains of Camoens (x. 40) which were insufficient to pickle the dead : they are fantastic hillocks sometimes 400 feet high. The town was about three miles in circumference, and the remains of cisterns and reservoirs, now used as vegetable gardens, were built with a mortar more durable than stone. Hormuz had, moreover, some "beautiful Palaces" (Barbosa, p. 44);¹ especially the Turun-bágh, tenement, fort and treasury.

But insular depôts, like Tyre, Cyprus, Aradus, Malta, Zanzibar, the Kassiterides, and others, though highly prized by semi-barbarians, become worse than useless in civilised days. Hormuz gradually declined by the transfer of trade and the fall of the Portuguese. In 1622 it was taken by Shah Abbas with the aid of the old "Company's Marine"; and on this occasion Baffin, of Baffin's Bay, who acted as pilot, was killed. Sir John Malcolm ("Hist. of Persia," i. 547) severely and justly condemns the conduct of his countrymen. The Persian Conqueror destroyed the fine fortifications, the Church, and the Chapel of Santa Lucia : he then transferred the seat of trade to Gamrún (Gombaroon), on the mainland, distant eleven or twelve miles, and named it Bandar

¹ Barbosa's account (pp. 41-49), including the murder of the Governor, Rais Hamid, by the Portuguese, in presence of Albuquerque and the "blinded Kings," is well worth reading.

Abbas. Hormuz, together with the strip of coast containing the Bandar, Mina and other ports, is now farmed, from the Shah, by the Sayyid of Maskat who annually pays for it 16,000 tomans (= £7,600). The Arab garrison of a hundred men holds the quadrilateral, bastioned, and crumbling fort; and a few score of semi-savages dwell in the adjoining hovels. "Heaven" is now all barren, showing only a few crumbling walls upon a torrid rock washed by a tepid sea. But it will live for ever in Milton's line :—

High on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind.¹

ii. 1-2.

Camoens well describes the Persians of his day as a race of horsemen, with a knightly contempt for villainous saltpetre (x. 103). Herodotus (ix. 62) made them equal to the Greeks in courage, and Varthema,² like the "Commentaries," says of them :—"These Persians are

¹ For a detailed description of modern Hormuz, see the paper of Lt. W. Stiffe, J. N. (1873), quoted by Lieut. Low, I.N., in his valuable "History of the Indian Navy," vol. i. pp. 31, 45.

² This admirable traveller shows his perspicacity where others pass blindfold. The Persian is, perhaps, the purest of Aryan races, equally noble in physique and in the operation of the brain, called mind. He has produced a marvellous literature; and every few centuries he produces some typical man who towers high above the crowd: the last was Nadir Shah. His intellect is penetrating as the Greek's. His conversation is brilliant as a Parisian's. Almost every shopkeeper in Shiraz can tell a true from a forged verse of

the most cunning men in intellect, . . . and I will likewise say of them that they are the best companions and the most liberal of any men that inhabit the Earth." The Poet rightly applies the term "Parsees" to the people of Fars (of old Parsá),¹ Párs, or the Southern Province; whence Persæ, Persians. We now limit "Parsee" to the fugitives who have preserved the Zoroastrian belief. His Lára is a paragoge for Lár, then the flourishing capital of the Atabeks, or district-governors of Laristan: the Lúr of Ibn Batutah (chap. vii.) is apparently a clerical confusion. He notices the thoroughbred Arab, the Kohlání (collyrium-eyed) breed, Nejdí and Anazah (x. 100): the noble blood once imported into India viâ Maskat and Hormuz, is now degenerated to the Gulf-Arab mongrel banished to Bombay. In Barbosa's day (pp. 76 and 89) the animals cost from 300 to 1,000 ducats. He then runs by "Cape Jasque (Jask), formerly called Carpella," the Bardis of Arrian; and contrasts its barrenness with the abundant lands of Persia. Follow Carmánia (iv. 15) or Kirmán, not to be confounded with Caramania (of old Cilicia); and Gedrosia (x. 105), the latter represented by desolate Mekrán. This word may come from the Mycians or Mecians of Herodotus (iii. 93), the Makas of the inscriptions and the Oretæ or Oritæ of Lucan (iii. 249):

Hafiz or Ferdausi: when will the British bourgeois be able to do the same for Chaucer and Shakespeare?

¹ Pársá (Persia) is in the Behistun trilingual inscription of Dáryavush (Darius), B.C. 516.

it is popularly derived from Máhi-khoran, fish-eaters, ichthyophagi. Barbosa (p. 49) here mentions the Icelandic practice of feeding horses with dried fish. Finally he reaches Sind, where we have seen him before.

Our last notice of Camoens in the nearer East will be of his return-voyage to Portugal. From India the first landfall would be amongst the scraps of coralline islet, some of them the sites of larger settlements, which fringe the coast of Southern Somali-land and the Northern Sawáhil (Zanzibar). He mentions (x. 39) the cities of Lamo, Oja, and Brava¹; and alludes (x. 104) to Ampaza, taken by Pedro de Sousa. The commentators have made havoc with the latter place: some (*e.g.* Duff) call it a "city of Persia near Hormuz," thus confounding it with Bandar Abbas. Millié (x. note 37) observes that the name is not on the charts, and that it has erroneously been held the chief town of the Ampatres, whom Baubrand's Dictionary locates in Madagascar. According to J. dos Santos (iii. 3) it is one of the towns of Lamo Island. Both he and Couto (x. 9, 1) relate its capture under D. Duarte de Menezes; when the Portuguese terribly revenged the murder of R. de Brito, slaying even animals in their fury; and felling 8,000 palm-trees, an act of war forbidden to the Hebrews (Deut. xx. 19) and to the Hindús (Menu, viii. 285). Lindschoten's map shows Ampaza north of Pate (compare Barbosa,

¹ They are noticed in my book on "Zanzibar," etc. Appendix ii.

p. 15). Camoens passes, without naming Zanzibar ; but twice alludes to ambergis, which our translators will convert to "amber," cast upon her coast. In those days being a mystery it was held a panacea and highly valued: it is now known to be a bezoar¹-like calculus found in the intestines of the cachelot-whale. In Europe it is not used as a scent ; but mixed with others it heightens their perfume. Amongst Orientals it is one of the long list of aphrodisiacs : a small hollow is worked in the cup and, when coffee is poured in, the oily substance floats upon the surface.

In Southern Zanzibar Camoens names the "Rapto rio,² which the natives call Oby, and which enters in Quilmance." Some geographers consider the couplet (x. 96) an allusion to the great Zambeze, already termed the Cuama (x. 93) : I have shown that it is the Rufiji or Lufiji. "Oby" (Obi) here is a mere error. Webbe, in the Somali tongue meaning a river, applies par excellence to the Webbe Shebayli, or Nile of Makdishu, our Haines River, a neighbour of the Juba, Govind, or Rogues River ; but the word is unknown to Zanzibar. Quilmance (Kilimá-mansi³ =

¹ The "Pajar-stone" of Barbosa (p. 101) is corrupted Persian "Pazahr."

² Some editions erroneously write rapto rio without the initial capital.

³ Mansi = Máji (water) in Kisawahili or Zanzibarian ; the "mountain-stream" of Dr. Krapf, which is not admissible : it would mean the mountain of the water, not the water of the mountain ("Zanzibar," etc., i. 31).

mount-water) is not the same as Quillimane (Kilima-ni) = in or from the mount.

Camoens had time to study the Caffre race, of whose branch, the Wamakua, Varthema gives a graphic description. The vulgar term "Kafir" (= non-Moslem), applied by Maroccans to their heathen neighbours, was carried by the Portuguese to The Cape. A German traveller would supplant it by the inadequate Bantú, meaning "men" in one dialect only. I have proposed to call "South African" the great family of languages, which, differing in grammar, vocabulary, and euphony from all others, extends from Cape Agulhas to North of the Equator, including Fernam de Pó and the Akapymies.¹ Thus with the American and the recognised divisions, we should number five instead of three. Perhaps the purest form of this South African family, which changes the beginnings, not the ends of words, is that of the Zulus, properly Amazulu, of whom we lately have heard so much. The tribe was first organised by Cháká, who, like Mohammed Ali of Egypt, confessedly imitated Napoleon Buonaparte.

Here also Camoens would hear of the "great empire

¹ I have translated the Aka Grammar and Vocabulary of my friend the Abbé Beltrame, of Verona, who travelled long about Khartúm: the Pymies are distinctly South-African. In Kisawahili, Bantu would be wátu, plur. of mtu, man. ; ama (e.g. Ama-zulu), is the plur. form = wá (zulu) in Kisawahili. I marvel to see Mr. Max Müller ("Science of Religion," p. 160) still reducing all the great families of speech to two or three, probably because Noah had that number of sons.

of the Benomotápa" (x. 93), Barbosa's Benamatapa and Zimbaoch (Zumbi?): it is properly Mono-mtapa, from Mwáná (mwene, &c., a lord) and Mtapa (P. N. of a chief). Unyamwezi, or Moon-land, was probably an outlier of this great negro despotism, which could muster 6,000 "Amazons": the people preserve a tradition that the now-scattered tribes once had a Kaiserzeit and a negro Hohenstaufen. "Monomotapa" is familiar to Europe. According to M. Deloncle it was first visited (fourteenth century) by eight Dominican Friars from Montpelier, who (A.D. 1317) ascending the Nile beyond the limits of Abyssinia reached "Ouquemba": this point he would identify with the well-known Uganda. Thence the Religious travelled to the city and grand Empire of Monomotapa, ending at the Zambeze, in A.D. 1537. The exploration would be highly interesting if true; but it reads like a bit of Defoe's "Captain Singleton." The French have already put forth a doubtful claim to the discovery of the Guinea Coast by a Company of Dieppe traders in A.D. 1364-1413.¹ The earliest details concerning Uganda were brought home by my Expedition of 1856-59;² and the country was

¹ I have noticed it, and given the Portuguese side of the question, with some detail, in "Wanderings in West Africa," ii. chap. 7.

² Journ. R. Geog. Soc. for 1860, chap. x., "On the Northern Kingdoms, Karagwah, Uganda, and Unyoro." Africa begins to move. Within a score of years after I had "discovered" him, the King had become a Moslem and a Christian; applied for missionaries, and sent an "Embassy" to England.

first actually explored by Captains Speke and Grant in 1859-63.

At Mozambique Camoens would find trusty details concerning Sofálah and the stout Castilian, Pero de Naya (Nhaia, x. 94). This navigator was sent out in A.D. 1505 (May 18) by D. Manoel¹ to open communication with the "Quitiva" (King) of Sofálah. He built a fort, and his garrison of thirty-five to forty men repelled an attack of 6,000 Caffres (Barros, i. 10, 3), an exploit worthy of Camoens' song. Sofálah is the Arabic Safá, low (ground, &c.): Milton accentuated it "Sófala thought Ophir"; Fanshaw and Mickle have "Sofála's battered fort": the former being wrong and the latter nearly but not quite right.

In the Mozambique Camoens lost a friend and an enemy. His fellow-passenger, Fr. Gonçalo, tenth son of the Conde de Sortilha, was sent fourteen years after the establishment of the Jesuits, to missionarise Eastward, and became Provincial of Goa in 1556. After baptising many on the Western Coast, he was changed (1560) from the Indian field to Caffraria. He began well, and succeeded in converting the "King of Monomotapa, the Queen-mother, and a host of Kafirs." According to Tellez, the "Moors" spread a report that baptism was a magical rite intended to ruin the country;² and

¹ J. dos Santos (i. chap. 2) declares that Naya was sent by "D. Catalina" (Catherine, Queen of D. Joam III.): the statement cannot be correct.

² P. Balthazar, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu* (ii. 4, 37). He

obtained leave to strangle the stranger during his sleep (1561). The corpse was thrown into a lakelet drained by the Rio Mossenguese: when it floated ashore lions and tigers (?) formed a body-guard; birds sang hymns, and supernatural lights flashed through the air. Camoens dearly loved the Jesuit Gonçalo, and mentions him (x. 93) when he ignores D. Francisco Xavier.

The enemy was Francisco Barreto, who, we have seen, left the Government of Goa in 1558. Sent to reduce Monomotapa, and to annex the gold-mines of Macoronganga, he was set upon at Chico by 4,000 Caffres. He defended himself valiantly; but was at last compelled to sally out, when he and his were all slain.¹

During a forced detention at Mozambique Camoens would hear many reports of the vast inland lakes and swamps whence it was supposed the Nile, the Zaire, and the Zambeze arise. It is doubtful where our Poet would place the Nile Sources. While some of his day made "Ararat" their birthplace, Ariosto (xxxiii. 109-10) derived them from the Earthly Paradise, whose mountains have been found in Karagwah, Kenia and Kilimanjaro: in another stanza (xxxiv. 126) he thus modifies his words:—

Nor light until they reach that loftiest mountain,
Where springs, if anywhere, Nile's secret fountain.

also abridged the "Historia Geral de Etiopia," of the Jesuit, Manoel d'Almeyda (Coimbra, 1660).

¹ The event is related by Joam dos Santos, who calls the governor Baretto (iii. 3).

Camoens halts between two theories, the old and new, the Ptolemeian and the Portuguese. In one important passage (x. 93) he makes a single lake in Benomotapa (Mwene-mtapa) discharge northwards the Nile, and southwards the Cuama or Zambeze. Subsequently (x. 95) he speaks of the (Ptolemeian) "lakes," where the Nile is born: here he connects the stream with Abyssinia, doubtless by the "Takazze,"¹ Bahr el-Azrak or "Blue River," which Bruce, for personal reasons, perverted to "Blue Nile."

From the information of Diogenes the Pilot, the first to float down the true Nile, Ptolemy placed the two (and more?) huge reservoirs draining his "Mountains of the Moon" in S. Lat. $12^{\circ} 30'$. Reducing this figure, for reasons before given, to S. Lat. 6° and $7'$, we are upon the Southern watershed of *the* Nyanza (Victoria Nyanza) and the Mwtan or Luta-nzige (dead locust or Albert Nyanza), which Mr. Stanley has lately split into two. I am compelled formally to abandon a favourite theory, that the Tanganyika drained to the Nile basin viâ the Luta-nzige: the absence of a channel has been proved by Colonel Mason, and its drain to the Congo Basin, the Lukuga river, has been visited and satisfactorily laid down by Messrs. Cameron, Hore and Thomson.² Thus

¹ "Tákazyē" in Ghíz (old Ethiopic) meant simply "river." Hence in the Abyssinian version, the Pelusiac Nile-branch, whose waters were "turned into blood" by Moses, is called Tákazyē.

² For many years the connexion between the Tanganyika and the Luta-nzige, whose levels are about the same, was a disputed

the Tanganyika becomes the head-reservoir not of the Nile, but of the mighty Congo.

The two Ptolemeian Lakes, Nyanza and Mwanza or Luta-nzige, remained on maps; and I have often been naïvely assured that the Lake Region of Central Africa was well known to exist. They appear in Ben Musa (A.D. 833), in El-Idrisi (A.D. 1154), and little changed, in Sanudo (1320). But presently mediæval exploration and hearsay details began to vitiate Ptolemy. Andrea Bianchi, of Venice (1436) deletes the Red Sea; and, with Sir J. Maundevile, makes the Nile rise in Tartary,

point. Sir Samuel Baker had heard of canoes passing from one water to the other. Mr. Henry M. Stanley had inspected the northern shores of the Tanganyika, and crossed an *influent*, not an *effluent*. Presently Commander Cameron, R.N. (1874) discovered the mouth of the Lukuga which drains the Tanganyika to the Congo basin; he was followed by Mr. Stanley; and in 1879 by Mr. E. C. Hore, lay-agent of the London Missionary Society, who found the stream unobstructed. In 1877, Colonel Mason, an American (Virginian) officer in the service of Egypt, under Colonel Gordon Pasha, Governor-General of the Equator, circumnavigated the Luta-nzige; and confirmed the report of a predecessor, Sig. Gessi (afterwards Gessi Pasha, and now no more), namely, that it had no southern influent, and that there is no break in the hills to the south. His routes are laid down in the map of Herr B. Hassenstein (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1880). Mr. Thomson was sent out in the "East Central African Expedition," under the late Mr. Keith Johnston, who died (June 23, '79) of dysentery at Behobeho. In Jan., 1880, the gallant young explorer found the Lukuga outlet, and followed its course for some days. It had been temporarily closed by a dam of floating vegetation, the well-known "sadd" (wall) of tangled aquatic plants on the Upper Nile.

flow West between Babylon and Arabia, and fall into the Mediterranean. The Mappamundi of Frate Mauro (Venice, 1450) truncates and distorts S. Africa, almost abolishes The Cape, and places the Nile Source on a parallel with Darfur (Dar-For, region of the For tribe), to the West; while "Chancebar" (Zanzibar) lies to the East with a little Southing. He also derives the Abavi (Abai), or Eastern head-water of the Blue River, from a lake in "Abassia." A Central African lake-basin is shown upon the globe of M. Bohemus (1492). Hylacomilus (1509) converts the Ptolemeian lakes into a single water, "Saphat," probably Gaphat, or Gafat, the region watered by the Abai.

In 1591 Duarte Lopes, an African explorer, counter-marched the Ptolemeian reservoirs from a parallel to a meridian. He placed the Cafates (Gafat) in S. Lat. 12°; and thus originated the Zachaf, Zaflan, and other names for the fanciful single sea, an African Caspian, advocated even in our day by the theoretical Mr. Cooley. His Barcena is evidently Bahr-Tsana, the Abyssinian reservoir of the Blue River, which had already been identified by Barros and others with the Pelusian's Lake Coloë. The sources of that branch were presently explored (1624-25) by the energetic Jesuit, Father Jerome Lobo.¹

¹ Nat. Coimbra, sent to Abyssinia (1597-1600) by D. Francisco da Gama, grandson of D. Vasco, and wrote the "History of Ethiopia," published in 1650. The book was translated in 1785, much to the detriment of Bruce, by Dr. Johnson. "Rasselas" (by the way) is not a fancy name, as has often been supposed: it is either

The Jesuit D'Almeyda (1660) declares that Gojjam and Dembia (Lake Tsana) "belong to the famous Nile, one giving birth to it, and the other increasing it." The map of B. Telles, who abridged the work, makes the Nile describe an oval open to the N.-West and sweeping through Lake Dembia: like Bruce (1790) and Beke (1843), he places the head-waters of the Blue River in a pool to the S.-West of that Lake.

Thus the "Coy Fountains" were transferred from Ptolemy's tolerably correct position (when reduced) to 12° - 13° North of the Equator; and, by a contrary process, a traveller in our day sought them in S. Lat. 20° .¹ Replicas of "Barcena" multiplied, and private judgment stultified geographical fact. Thus Milton, the "novus Ulysses," speaking of the place "where Abyssin kings their issue guard," could write such poetic nonsense as:

By some supposed
True Paradise under the Ethiop line,
By Nilus head, inclosed with shining rock,
A whole day's journey high. (Par. L., iv. 281.)

Ras (chief) Salasah (The Trinity), often used in compound proper names, or Ras el-Asad = μ Leonis.

¹ I allude to Dr. Livingstone, who expected, by wandering over the south-eastern headwaters of the Congo (S. Lat. 20°), to find not only the Nile sources, but also the Kroph-Mophi of Herodotus (ii. 28), which probably lay about N. Lat. 20° . In this search, as is well known, the valuable life was lost. There is a time to leave the Dark Continent, and that is when the *idée fixe* begins to develop itself. "Madness comes from Africa" was a favourite and a true saying.

And, that prose might not be behind poetry, our African Association declared (1788) that Central Africa has a paucity of rivers, and is *not* overspread with extensive lakes.

But Camoens belonged to an age preceding these extreme perversions. He knew from Barros that the Tacuy (true Nile) differs from the Blue River and its branches,—the Tákazyé and the Abavi or Abai. He calls the Nile-founts “frore” (x. 127), probably alluding to Mela: this geographer (i. ix.) derives the river from the Antichthonic world, and makes it reach Egypt after passing by sub-oceanic canals from a zone whose winter is the summer of the North. Curious to say, even in late years, the grey muddiness of the White Nile, so much resembling glacier-water, has been attributed to melted snow.

I may be excused in here introducing a short notice of how Ptolemy has been vindicated by myself.¹ His Lunæ Montes are evidently the Highlands of “Unyamwezi,” abbreviated on the coast to “Mwezi,” meaning the moon.² The plateau, which will some day be colonised by Europeans, rises 3,000–5,000 feet above sea-level; and its central dome discharges Northwards the first feeders of the Nile; and Westwards the Easternmost branch of the

¹ Alluding to the expedition sent by the R. Geo. Soc. in 1856–59; and commanded by me, with Captain Speke as second in command.

² It is possible that an early confusion of the Zambeze and the Rufiji derived the former from the birthplace of the Nile and the Congo.

Congo. The site has been subsequently visited by Commander Cameron ("Across Africa," i. 133); and by Mr. Henry M. Stanley ("Through the Dark Continent," i. 158). "We were now crossing," says the former, writing in July, 1873, from the west of Jiwe la Singá, "the watershed between the basin of the Rufiji and those of the Nile and Kongo." Stanley thus supports his predecessor:—

"Between Suna and Chiwyu (after leaving Mpapwa) was crossed one small rill flowing North-Easterly, which soon afterwards joins another and still another, and gathering volume swerves North, then North-West. These are the furthest springs and head waters of a river that will presently become known as the Leewumbu, then as the Monangah, and lastly, as the Shimeeyu, under which name it enters Lake Victoria."

These are the cradles of the Nile, the **TRUE HEAD-WATERS** which may be called the Sources; and they feed the Nyanza, the more important of the two Lakes whose existence was ascertained by Ptolemy. I may boast:—

Sic licuit nobis parvum te, Nile, videre.

* * * * *

The last feature noticed by Camoens on this coast is the oft-mentioned isle of St. Lawrence, styled by certain travellers Madagascar (x. 13), and by the Moors, "Island of the Moon." The origin of both terms is disputed. The Saint's name is popularly supposed to have been given in 1505 by the Captain-General of the Sea, D.

Lourenço d'Almeida, on its discovery-day (St. Lawrence, August 10). It was really found by Fernam Soares, a Captain in the same squadron, who, returning to Portugal with eight spice-laden ships, touched at the East Coast on Feb. 1, 1506. He was followed in the same year (Aug. 10) by Joam Gomez d'Abreu, who taking the inner passage, sighted the western Coast, and gave this African "Britain" its Portuguese name. Tristram da Cunha (x. 39) and Albuquerque, to whom the *trouvaille* has been attributed, hearing of the Island from one of the Captains, Rui Pereira Coutinho, who entered a harbour called Tanana, made a chart of it, and named Cape Natal, now Amber, from the Christmas Day of 1507. "Antongil Bay" on the Eastern shore was subsequently discovered by Antonio Gil.

Marco Polo in "Ramusio" (iii. 31) calls it the "Great Island of Magaster": the older Latin version had Mandaygaster; the epitome, Mandegaster; and the Bâle edition Madaigascar (Marsden). The name has nothing to do with "Menuthias," "Menouthias," or "Menouthesias": it came from Makdishú (Magadoxo), in continental Zanzibar, whose Shaykh invaded it. The vast island is supposed to be the Phebol or Phanbalon of the book *De Mundo* attributed to Aristotle (*Ad Alex.*, 393, 21); the Iamboli of Diodorus Siculus and the Cerne of Pliny. The older Arabs knew it as Serandah and Chebona. El-Idrisi (twelfth century) and Abulfeda (thirteenth) use Phelon for Phenbalon corrupted from Aristotle, the ill-treated Quambalon or

Chambalon and the unintelligible "Zaledz." The more modern Arabs named it Jezirat el-Kamar (of "the moon"), preserved in "Comoro." Hence the Hicunera of Fra Odorico¹ (1318), the Nacumera of Maundevile, and the Cumere of Varthema.

The Malayo-Polynesian speaking natives, ignoring Madagascar and the Madecassa of Copland, call it "Nosin Dambo" (Isle of wild-hogs); "Izao rehetra izao" (this all); "Izao tontolo izao" (this whole); and "Ny anivon ny riaka" (the Land in the midst of the moving waters).² Its missionary history is well known; but there is still much to study in its ethnology, especially the Doko-dwarfs said once to have inhabited it. Between 1865 and 1870 it was explored by M. Alfred Grandidier, who published his sketch-map in 1871; and who proposes a magnificent work, "Histoire naturelle de Madagascar" (28 vols., 4to, Paris, Hachette).

¹ The fine sarcophagus of Fra, who is now called Beato, Odorico da Friuli, has been badly treated in the Carmo Church of barbarous Udine. One of the faces has been embedded in the wall above the second side-altar to the North; and it is half hidden by tawdry ornaments.

² Rev. James Sibree, Proceedings R. Geo. Soc., Oct. 1879.

§ 4. THE TRAVELS OF CAMOENS IN THE FARTHER EAST.

I HAVE already noted that the Siren's Song (Canto x.) is apparently written from the observations of two voyages. The first opens (x. 93) at the Cape, and runs along East Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India (citerior and ulterior) to Japan (x. 132). The second begins (x. 184) with the end, as it were, Timor and Java, trends West, and, reaching Madagascar (x. 137), flies off to the New World. In these regions Camoens can no longer rely upon his classical authorities; yet he places cosmography, geography, and history in the mouth of a Nymph addressing gods as well as men. Thus the song becomes a pendant to the episode of Jupiter (ii. 44-45), who, having evidently studied his Ptolemy, prophesies with rhetorical correctness the geographical progress of Portugal even in Mozambique and Malacca, which are out of the Cretan god's line.

Camoens, during his fourth exile, acquired a fair knowledge of Indo-China or outer Ind, the farther East; the Machin (Machinus) of the Arabs; and the Zir-i-bád of the Persians.¹ Estimated to contain a million of square

¹ "Machin" (Siam, Indo-China) is a kind of pendant to Chin, China proper, Khatá (Cathay), or the Northern regions. Zir-i-bád (under the wind, i.e., windward regions) is found in Abd el-Razzah, p. 6.

miles, this Peninsula, based upon the tropic of Cancer, is bounded on the N.-East by China, and on the N.-West by India, which it balances and roughly reflects. But while India turns her front towards Europe, "Farther Ind," geographically more Oriental, faces and forms part of that great group whose shining lights are China and Japan. Hindu-land, also, is a tolerably regular pyramid, whose outlines are preserved by the Ghats: Indo-China wants the two flanking walls, and it has been modified by wind and weather which have broken the triangle by the Gulf of Siam. Viewed upon the maps, the peninsula has a ray or skate-like form. Assuming the North-South line of the Menam River (E. Long. 100° Gr.) as the spine; Siam, Annam, Cambodia and Cochin-China would represent the Eastern; Arakan Burmah, Ava and Pegu, the Western, lobe. The tail is formed by the long and knobby Malay Peninsula, whose sting is Singapur. In India this terminal formation is faintly outlined by Ceylon, the Maldives, the Laccadives, and other waifs and strays of the Vanished Continent, Lemuria.

My occupations have not yet allowed me to visit farther Ind; and, greatly to my regret, I am reduced to "dressing old words new," to "pouring from pot to pot." The traveller sees with his own eyes: the reader of travels, whatever may be his power of "visualising," sees with the eyes of others. We have, however, an immense mass of literature ranging from Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1167), the first European who used the word

"China," to our day, and annually increasing with a portentous rapidity.¹

The Indo-Chinese, roughly estimated to number twenty-five millions, are, like the Indians proper, a mixture of Aryans and of non-Aryans, who both descended at different times from the plateaux of High Asia. In India, however, the Iranian, in Indo-China the Turanian (Tartar) element preponderates. The characteristic faith is Buddhism, which has died out, or rather has been killed out, of its own home : it has ever been an exotic in China, which still claims a kind of

¹ After M. Polo, Fra Odorico and Ibn Batutah, came the Portuguese travellers, who, like Christoval de Jaque, wandered far and wide ; and with them we must rank Varthema and Barbosa. Then the Dutch and the English, who, in the last century, were better acquainted with many parts of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula than their descendants. In the last generation John Crawford's "Descriptive Dictionary" of the Indian islands "made epoch": the same may be said of "The Malay Archipelago," by Mr. Alfred R. Wallace (London, Macmillan, 1879) in our days. Lastly arose the great French movement, represented by Henri Mouhot ("Travels in India, China, Cambodia, and Laos"), a naturalist, who, after discovering Ongkor Váht and Ongkor Thom, died the usual fever-death in 1861 ; by M. Louis de Carnet ("Travels in Indo-China," etc., 1866), a member of the expedition for exploring the Makong R. ; by Lieut. François Garnier ("Voyage d'Exploration," etc., 2 vols. with atlas, 4to, Hachette, 1873), who travelled between 1866-68), and was murdered (1873, æt. 34) in Cochin China ; and by a host of others, Aymonnier, the linguist ; Bouillevaux (1874) ; Bishop Pallegoix, the missionary, etc. Germany sent D. Adolf Bastian (Pres. Geog. Soc., Berlin) ; Austria, the Novara Expedition ; and Italy a number of travellers, whose names will be quoted.

protectorate over the Peninsula to its west. Here the followers of Gotama, who numerically rank next to those of Confucius and Jesus, rose to a high civilisation. The system, wonderful in its comprehensiveness, containing every tenet known to man, and still more marvellous in its composition, its spirit being Nihilism and its body Roman Catholicism, overspread the land with magnificent buildings. Such are the Dagobas¹ (relic-shrines); the Dagon (Pagoda); the Váhts (Wats) or Monasteries; the Prachadis (Pyramid-towers); the Zyats (Caravansaries); and the Kyoungs, or Monastery-schools for the Phongyi (Bonzes). The architecture is that "Græco-Buddhistic"² which begins Westward in Afghanistan: here the European or civilised element was imported by Alexander the Great and his successors. Less prominent, but even more remarkable, are earlier traces of an Assyrian influence: this would be shadowed in history by the semi-mythical legends of old invasions led by Semiramis and Darius.

Camoens escaping from the "perilous theme" of St. Thomas (x. 120), rounds the long curve of the Sinus Gangeticus, the Bay of Bengal; and faces Auster, the South wind. He first notices Arracam (Arakan), Barbosa's Ere Can Guy; which, with its capital of the

¹ The word is generally derived from Dhatu and Garba; but Rajendralál Mitra proposes Dehagopa, a "depository of the body."

² The Græco-Bactrian Kingdom, it will be remembered, was destroyed about B.C. 120 by the Scythian Sakas (Sacæ) or Mins.

same name, was independent till 1783 : it then became part of Burmah and departed free life in the arms of England. It is now one of the chief granaries of India. He presently left to starboard the Andamans, also British, with their Negritos, a race found in parts of the Indo-Malayan archipelago. To port lay Cape Negrais, the S.-Western hem of the Western lobe. Possibly, like Varthema and Barbosa, he navigated the Gulf of Martaban ; where he mentions (x. 122) Pegu. The Peguó of the Roteiro, and Barbosa's Peygu, lies thirty days from Calicut ; the King and subjects are Christians, and the war-elephants number 400. It supplies rubies, gold, silver, benzoin (Barbosa's benjuy) of two kinds, white and black : musk,¹ produced by "an animal like a doe, or gazelle, from a pap on the navel, shed by friction against trees," is brought from an island distant four days' sail. The scandalous story concerning the origin of the Peguans is apparently found in Ibn Batutah (ch. xxi.), who mentions at Barahnakar a people "that have mouths like dogs." Possibly it originates from an old custom among the men, not the women, of forcing the teeth to a prognathous angle by a bit of wood. But legends of Cynocephalous races are almost universal. Maundevile records men and women, with dogs' heads, inhabiting the "great and fair isle called Nacumera" (Madagascar and Comoro). Colonel Yule ("Cathay," i. 97) reports the dog-faces of the Andaman Islanders.

¹ Barbosa (p. 187) gives a curious account of its adulteration by means of leeches.

So the Chinese call their barbarous mountaineers Yaou-jin (dog-men) and Lang-jin (wolf-men); and the Japanese assign a canine origin to their hairy Ainos. The contrivance of the wise Queen (x. 122), the tintinnabula aurea vel argentea appensa, is also found in Nic. de Conti (p. 11) and in Varthema. The Dyaks still wear rings of metal, but for a very different purpose; and Barbosa (p. 184) seems to allude to it.

Lower (Southern) or British Burmah became known by the campaigns of 1824-26 and 1852-53; which gave us possession of Pegu, the political, and Rangoon the commercial capital. The former, lying to the North, was razed in 1757 by King Alompra the Great; rebuilt in 1790, and became ours in the first war. Varthema describes it as a fine and well-built city; and Col. Symes ("Travels," &c.) tells us that the old town disappeared after affording materials for constructing its successor. Rangoon, formerly Dugong, was founded in 1755 by the same Burmese conqueror: it is a flourishing city of some 60,000 souls.

Rangoon commands the Delta of the Irrawady¹ River, the Oiráwati, called after Indra's elephant. Rated the fourth in the world, its course is made 1,400 miles long; and its breadth one mile in upper and four to five in lower Burmah: its floods (May to July) resemble those

¹ "The Irawady and its Sources," by D. J. A. Anderson (Journ. R. Geo. Soc., vol. xl. 1870). In the abstract of "Indian Surveys" (1877) we find a revival of the theory that the Irawady is the lower line of the San-pu, or great river of Thibet.

of the Indus and the Nile. The luxuriant valley became in our middle ages the site of capitals; the earliest being Prome, which was abandoned about A.D. 1000. M. Polo makes Pagahm or Paghan the metropolis of Mien, which he describes (chaps. 43-4) as a spacious plain, producing gold and silver, the elephant and the rhinoceros. Col. Symes (p. 296) was told that forty-five successive Kings ruled at Pagahm before it fell to the Great Khan about A.D. 1295. In A.D. 1364 its honours were transferred to Ava: this city, now a waste of riverine island, became so splendid that it gave a name to Upper Burmah (x. 126). About 1740 King Alompra transferred himself to his native town, Monchobo; and, in 1782, he removed to Amarapura on the left bank, some six miles from Ava. The latter again rose to honour (1819) by the advice of the royal astrologers; but, when destroyed by an earthquake, it submitted a second time to Monchobo. Amarapura and Ava led finally (1857) to Mandalay, the "golden City of the Golden-footed Monarch."¹

The Delta of the Oiráwati, based upon the Gulf of Martaban, numbers nine primaries connected by a labyrinth of secondary arms. Travellers here remark the craft shaped like Phœnician galleys. Embarking on board the "Irrawaddy Flotilla Company," which runs or

¹ From "The Land of the White Elephant" (London, Sampson Low, 1873), an excellent sketch by "Frank Vincent, Junr.," who, though an American (U.S.), strange to say, does not abuse England and the English.

ran weekly steamers, they pass on the fourth day Prome, a large town containing the fourth Pagoda in Burmah. Follows Thyetmyo, the British cantonment: here boundary-pillars separate England from Ava proper, of which only one-third now remains independent. The ruins of Pagahn are still to be traced, running eight miles along the river by two deep; and remnants of the other old capitals lead to Mandalay,—a voyage of 700 miles.

The Capital of "White-elephant land,"¹ lying a little above Amarapura and upon the same bank, has been made known to us by two "Political Agents" lately deceased, Dr. Clement Williams, first occupant of that unenviable post, and Mr. R. B. Shaw, the explorer. It appears in drawings as the usual Indo-Chinese mixture. The spires and temple-towers are the stepped and broken pyramids of Hindu-land. The roofs, rising in terraces, are curved, peaked, and tip-tilted like those of the Celestial Empire, a form which has extended through Macáo to Portugal and even to the Brazil. These buildings tower over a mass of mud-built and bamboo-thatched huts, sheds, and verandah'd shops, streaked by streets and broken by bosquets of the richest green: this is the general rule of tropical settlements. As in the "Tartar City" (Pekin), there is a town within a

¹ The famous Albino (splotched and spotted) Elephant represents the Hapi (Apis or Epaphus, the soul of Osiris), and the Merur (Mnævis in Heliopolis) of Buddhism. The "pure of the pure," made sacred by metempsychosis, and an emblem of Buddha, is said to be suckled, *honoris causâ*, by women.

town : and the "Ruler of Earth and Air," whose title is the Lord of the Power of Life and Death," is shrined in the "Golden Palace," the heart of the Capital, surrounded by double walls. The massacres and the barbarities of the young King Thibau, which have caused the withdrawal of the English Resident (Col. Browne), and have led to sundry small rebellions, can hardly be ascribed to his education in a missionary-school. Meanwhile his dominions have no seaboard ; he has, after Eastern fashion, unadvisedly raised a regular army, which of course wants to fight ; and he is hemmed in by stronger neighbours. Upper Burmah will probably gravitate, like the rest of the country, to the greater power that holds the Indian Peninsula.

From Mandalay the steamers run up 300 miles, a total of a thousand, to Bhamo or Bhamau, in nine days, returning in four. Here the Oiráwati becomes a noble stream, 500 feet above sea-level, and passing through mountain scenery described as rich, grand, and picturesque. This upper section waters the Shan or Laotian principalities. The ancient empire of the Laos (x. 126) was "potent in land and number" (x. 126). During our middle ages it extended 750 miles North to South, by 800 broad, from the Me-kong Westwards and Eastwards. It was ruined by its position ; and, an Indo-Chinese Poland, it was absorbed by China and Burmah, Siam, and Annam. In this region the Shans, or "white barbarians," are estimated at a million and a half ; and their capital in Northern Siam may contain 50,000. They are described

as a robust, fair-skinned, and short-haired race, famous for sword-making: they carefully guard their comfortable, walled villages from the intrusive, "Sons of Han"; but they are not addicted to conquest. A mighty barrier to the North, a prolongation of the Himalaya-Caucasus, parts low-lying Farther Ind from high China and higher Thibet. In its head, besides the Oiráwati, the Lu or Salween, the Lan-tsang or Me-kong of Cambodia and Cochin-China; and the Li-tsien feeding the Tong-king Gulf; while the Yang-tse-Kiang ("Son of the Sea," i.e., *the* river) and the Wu-ling, or upper Canton stream, irrigate China proper.

Bhamo is becoming once more a place of importance. For five centuries it was a great station on the highway of trade between China and Indo-China.¹ Gradually it declined, and fell to a mere fishing village, under the Panthays of opium-growing Yun-nan, and their king, Sulayman. These Chinese Moslems, a small item of the twenty millions who inhabit the Middle Kingdom, placed their capital at Ta-li-fu or Yun-nan-fu. They were forced to succumb to the slow, sure politic of the Mandarins, which has lately absorbed Eastern Turkistan. M. Emile Rocher gives a terrible account of the last scene in 1873, when the town yielded to the Imperialist Fu-Tai or Viceroy: seventeen chiefs were beheaded, and 30,000 out of 50,000 inhabitants were massacred.

¹ "Trade-Routes between Burmah and Western China," by J. A. Coryton (Journ. R. Geog. Soc., vol. xlv. of 1875).

Bhamo has lately had an Assistant-Resident and a branch-mission. Although Mr. T. T. Cooper preferred the Bramhaputra line, a Maulmain-Bhamo railway has been proposed, and the re-establishment of the older trade-route has been the objective of sundry expeditions. The two principal are that of Colonel E. B. Sladen (1868); and Colonel Horace Browne's mission to Yun-nan (1875), when Mr. A. R. Margary, of H. M.'s Consular service, sent across China to guide the march, was murdered at Manwyne.¹ Lately the Rev. J. McCarthy, of the China inland mission, walked in native garb through Sze-chuen, Kwei-chou, and Yun-nan to Bhamo; and reported favourably of the route.²

Camoens now runs along Tenassari (x. 123), the maritime strip with the town of the same name which prolongs Pegu to the Northern third of the ray-tail, the Malay Peninsula. It is the Tenacar of the Roteiro, subject like Ligor and Queda to Siam: it lay forty days from Calicut, and produced much *brasyll* or dye-wood, the "bakam" of the Arabs. Barbosa (p. 188) prefers "Tenasery"; Varthema (pp. 202-4) "Tarnasseri": the

¹ See "Mandalay to Momien," by Dr. Anderson, London, Macmillan, 1879. The "foreign residents in China" have lately erected a memorial on the Bund, near the Public Garden, Shanghai, in honour of the lamented young officer (æ. 28), whose gallantry in saving shipwrecked crews had won for him the Humane Society's medal.

² "Across China from Chin-Kiang to Bhamo"; read (R.G.S.) April 28, '79. The explorer left the lower Yang-tse-Kiang in mid-Jan. '77, and reached Bhamo on Aug. 26 of the same year.

latter gives a peculiarly bad account of its morals. In the Northern part lies Tavai city (x. 123) where begins the "large, broad, and opulent reign of Siam." 'Tenassarim became English by the Treaty of Yandabo in 1826.

After the Isthmus of Krau, the narrowest section of the Ptolemeian "rich Aurea-Chersonesus" (ii. 54), the voyager entered the Straits of Malaca (Malacca), which Varthema described as "a river twenty-five miles wide called Gaza" (= Bugház, a narrow, a defile). The rough channel, 500 miles long, and connecting the Indian Ocean with "longinquous China" (ii. 54), was much feared in those days. To starboard stood the "noble Island of Samatra" (Sumatra, twice named, x. 124-135): it was opened to Europe by Diogo Lopez de Sequeira under Albuquerque in 1508. This "Chryse" of the Periplus, which may also apply to the Malay Archipelago, is the "Java Minor," Samara (?), or Samarcha (?) of Marco Polo; the Shumatrah or Java of Ibn Batutah (chap. xxii.), distant twenty-one days from Java Proper, the Sumobor of Maundevile (chap. xviii.), and the Sciamuthera of Nic. de' Conti. According to Colonel Yule ("Cathay," i. cxx.) Fra Oderico was the first to use the word, although traces of it are found earlier. Sumatra is evidently (Sanskrit) Samudra, the sea; a name confined to the capital in Ibn Batutah's day. The Roteiro calls it Camatarra, probably including the N.-Western and Moslem Kingdom of Aquem or Achem (Port.) Atjin (Dutch), or Achin (English): the word Acheh (a wood-

leech) would not rhyme with Chin-Máchín¹ (China and Indo-China). This early account places it thirty days from Calicut, and describes its productions as cotton, lac, and fine silk. The log-book also mentions "Pater" or Pidir (the port and Rajahship East of Acheh and West of Pasé), near Conimata, fifty days from Calicut: it had no Moors; both king and people were Christians (Hindús?); and its exports were lac, rhubarb, and spinels (rubies). Varthema found the king of "Pedir," which he places eighty leagues from the Continent, a "pagan"; but many "Moors" were resident in the Eastern coast of the island: Barbosa (p. 196) makes Pedir the principal kingdom of the Moors. El-Islam reached Acheh as early as the fourteenth century, and the last Dutch wars show that its vigour and valour have not declined.

Camoens recounts (x. 124) the tradition that the "noble island" Sumatra was lately rent from the mainland, like Sicily from Italy:² modern travellers deny the connexion. He speaks of its volcano, its silk,³ petroleum,⁴ and gum-

¹ Colonel Yule suggests that we have adopted the form found in the Ayn-i-Akbari and the Tables of Sadik-i-Isfahani. Achin takes a notable place in Lancaster (pp. 74-85).

² "Pharsalia" (iii. 60) is the source of this.

³ Besides the Roteiro, Barros and Varthema agree with Camoens (x. 135) that Sumatra produced silk: Crawford (who was fond of doubting) doubts the fact; but the authorities are against him. Barbosa (p. 196) tells us that much silk is grown there, but not so good as the silk of China.

⁴ Sumatra abounds in Tertiary coal. The Petroleum is com-

benjamin;¹ together with the fine gold which made some identify it with Ophir. Apparently every explorer has his own "Ophir"; and some have more than one.² My belief is that "Ophir" is not a city nor a port-town whose ruins would long ago have been found, but, as the word imports, a "red region." This country, I hold, with my friend, Aloys Sprenger, is a Southern prolongation of the West Arabian Ghauts, the mountains of Nabathæa and Midian, which undoubtedly contain Havilah (Khaulán). Since 1877, when my first gold-discovery was made, the precious metals have been found near Yambu', the port of El-Medinah, and near Jeddah, the port of Meccah. Gold is suspected to exist behind Mocha; and report now speaks of a rich placer in Yemen. In days to come its ancient glories will be revived; and the retrograde Ministry of Riaz Pasha el-Wázán (ex-Jew) will blush at the folly and wickedness which forbade gold-digging, and systematically encouraged slave-trading.

Sumatra, next to Borneo, is the largest in the Archipelago: with some geographers it ranks number four in the world. Its nucleus is, like Java, a grand volcanic




mon in Farther Ind; and Barros also mentions a sulphurous liquor used by the natives of Sumatra for skin-diseases. In Europe the medicinal use of petroleum is quite modern.

¹ This *Styrax benzoin*, the *Bukhur Jáwi* of the Arabs, is believed by *Crawford* to be the classical *Malabathrum*.

² I have noticed the much-vexed question in "The Gold Mines of Midian" (262-64); and have since then come to the same conclusion as Herr Ad. Soetbeer (*das Goldland Ofir*). This writer assigns Ophir to El-Asyr, the province lying South of El-Hejaz.

chain; and the shallow seas have been converted into a narrow belt of lowlands by the washings of the mountains, and the discharges of plutonic matter. Both soil and vegetation distinguish it from rich Borneo and Java: since the days of Varthema (p. 225) it has been known to be infertile.

We have not much to boast of in Sumatra. Although Queen Elizabeth wrote to her "loving brother," the King of "Achem," and although Bencoolen was English for nearly 140 years before that commissionership was made over to the Dutch (1686-1825), yet the interior is almost unexplored: in fact, it was better known to us two centuries ago than it is now. We were invited (1684) by the chiefs of Priaman and Tiku to occupy their pepper-ports; but we left the heart of the island virgin ground. The Hollanders are now making up for our incuriousness. Under the auspices of the Netherlands Geographical Society, Prof. P. J. Veth, of Leyden, explored the Central Regions in 1877-79. He found such features as Mount Karinchi, 11,820 feet high, and the Batang-Hari river measuring 490 miles along its windings. There are literary curiosities also in Sumatra. Crawford makes the Batak alphabet a kind of Ogham,¹ and the Rejang

¹ John Crawford "On the Alphabets of the Indian Archipelago" (Journ. Ethno. Soc., ii. 1850). For instance,  (three strokes diminishing in length upwards) = u: and  the (same inverted) = i. The letter p is a simple horizontal stroke ; while the aspirate is the same with two small vertical dashes. Besides horizontals and verticals there are diagonals; but, unfortunately, the whole alphabet is not given.

syllabarium, found written upon bamboo, is nothing but Phœnician (that is Egyptian) inverted.¹

Camoens now passed, off Malacca-land, *Pulo Penang*, the *Isle* of Areca nuts. It was bought (1785) with the adjoining Province Wellesley for Rs. 4,000 by the late E. I. Company from the Malay Rajah of Kedah. This is the Quedá of The Lusiads (x. 123) and the Roteiro; the "head of the pepper-regions." The name means a kraal for elephant-catching.² Pulo Penang, famed for "lawyers," and almost uninhabited when taken over by us, now numbers some 60,000 souls.

The next important station was "Maláca"³ (x. 123). Camoens often mentions the Malays, and alludes to their crises, which Barbosa calls "querix." He did not, however, notice the pleasant use of that dagger when "running a muck" (amok).⁴ The Peninsula is the Melequa of the Roteiro, forty days from Calicut; wholly Christian, and famed for silk and porcelain, red parrots, and tin of which money was coined. According to Crawford

¹ Journ. Anthropol. Inst., vol. iv. xxvii. The characters tattooed on a Motu woman (S. East Coast of New Guinea) are also apparently significant, and some of them suggest Phœnician.

² The Editor of Barbosa (p. 189) derives it erroneously "from the Arabic, a cup." It is apparently Sindbad's Island of Kela.

³ According to Albuquerque in the Commentaries (iii. 77), "Malaca also signifies to meet." This would make it a congener of the Arab. "Mulakát," meeting.

⁴ Evidently like the amiable institution called "Thuggee," this "Amuco" (Barbosa, p. 194) originated with the mild Hindu, and was connected with the worship of the destroying gods.

(p. 240), Malacca in 1847 exported 5,000 cwts. of tin, mostly worked by the Chinese in Banca-island,¹ a bit of Malacca, whose beasts, birds, and insects differ from those of Sumatra. Varthema mentions moneys of gold and silver besides tin. At Malacca there is still a colony of Hindús, whose trade is to touch and refine the precious metal. The capital and great trading-station of Malay-land was stormed by Albuquerque on Saint James's Day (July 25, o.s.), 1511. His fortifications still crown a height of about 100 feet behind the modern town. They contain two ruinous monasteries, and the church, "Madre de Deus," where the remains of D. Francisco Xavier were temporarily buried. It was taken by the Dutch in 1641, and was finally ceded to England (1824-5) in exchange for Bencoolen. Of late years the ex-capital of Farther Ind has declined from a population of 20,000 to 13,000, mostly Malays. About thirty miles inland rises some 5,700 feet high the conical "Mount Ophir," which still yields gold. The native name is Gounong-*api*, which Europeans, says Marsden,² converted in modern times to the Biblical term.

From Malacca the voyager ran down to Cingapura, "on the Lands-end" (x. 125). "Singapúr" would mean the Lion's City, possibly so called because infested with tigers. The occupation, when a village of 200 Malay

¹ It is supposed that the tin-mines were exploited in classical ages, and that the metal found its way westward to make bronze.

² This estimable writer ("History of Sumatra," p. 3) would

fishermen, under the Rajah of Johor, was suggested to Lord Hastings (1818) by Sir Stamford Raffles, who became the first governor (1823): John Crawfurd, the second, predicted that it would become the great entrepôt of Indo-China and the Malayan Archipelago. It is now the Capital of the "Straits' Settlement," whose Lieutenant-Governor has the management of Penang, Wellesley, and Malacca. The islet-population, some 100,000, has been described as the "most conglomerate of any city in the world"; more than half, however, is Chinese.

From Singapur Camoens "turned towards the Cynosure" (x. 125), that is, ran, as the steamers run, up the Eastern flank of the long Malay peninsula. Here he notices (x. 125) Pam or Pahang, better written Pa-ang, an independent Malay state; a strip of coast eighty miles long, on the Eastern side of Malacca, bounded North by Johor and South by Tregano. In the Commentaries of Albuquerque we read: "The Kingdom of Malacca on one side borders on the Kingdom of Queda; on the other with the Kingdom of Pam" (iii. chap. xvii.). Near it lies Patanè (ibid.) or Pataní, the scene of John Davis' murder, and better known to us in his day than in ours. This is probably Barbosa's "Pani," which is "beyond Malacca towards China."

place Ophir with Milton at Sofálah. The *Encycl. Brit.* (xx. p. viii.), quoted by Musgrave (p. 580), tells us that "Ophir is a Malay substantive, signifying a mountain containing gold" (?)

The voyager would then coast along the Eastern half of Indo-China, the right lobe of the ray. This region was divided into Cochin-China East, Siam West, and Cambodia South. Time has made great political changes. Siam, bounded East by the Me-kong River, and West by the British possessions, has lost much land by wars with Burmah; moreover, her Shan-Laos States, to the N.-East and N.-West, have become independent. In the days of Camoens she owned most of the Malay Peninsula. Cambodia, which once held the whole of the lower Me-kong Valley, shrank to a mere Province after 1795, when Siam took from her the Siamrap and Battambang Provinces. French Cochin-China has lately occupied the Southern extremity of the lobe, including the river-mouth. East of the Me-kong stretches the long thin strip Annam, which has grown at the expense of Cambodia: it is separated by an Eastern sub-maritime range from Cochin-China proper, now limited to the seaboard.¹ Both confine on the North with the province of Tong-king, Tonquin or Tunkin, formerly part of Annam: it gives a name to the Eastern Gulf; France threatens to absorb it, and attempts are being made to navigate the Li-tsien River.

In this Eastern region we find, according to Mr. A. H.

¹ Journal of Anthropol. Inst., Feb. 1880. Mr. Keane has made a brave attempt to bridge the Malay country with Upper Asia by means of the Khmer of Cochin-China: this is a new departure, and as such will attract the attention it deserves. The language has been treated by M. E. Aymonnier in his "Dictionnaire Khmer-Français."

Keane, two different races. The Burmans, Siamese, Laors, Shans, Kassias, and people of Annam are Mongoloids, yellow men, speaking monosyllabic tongues, *vario tono*, the meaning dependent upon intonation. The Khmers (Cambodians), Malays, Charays, Stiêngs, Chams, and Kuys of the mainland, East of the Me-kong, and approaching Annam, are olive-brown and brown non-Mongolians (Caucasians?), whose language are polysyllabic and articulated *recto tono*, that is untuned.

Resuming the voyage with Camoens, after running some 800 miles up Eastern Malay-land we make Siam, once famous for its twins and lately for its Embassy with the "Order of the White Elephant." It is the Xarnauz (?) of the Roteiro, which places it fifty days from Calicut, makes its King and people Christians, and notes its 400 war-elephants, and its trade in gumbenjamin. It is also the "Empire of Sornau" in Fernan' Mendes Pinto; the "City of Sarnau in Cathay" of Varthema; and the Kingdom of Ansiam in Barbosa (p. 188). The Poet mentions the Menam River (x. 125), which he derives from the "Chiamai" Lake. The latter is in the Shan-Laos principality of Jangomai, Xieng-mai, Zimmay or Zimmé; where the East India Company had a commercial agent in the early seventeenth century. It was visited in 1836 by Lieut. (the deceased General) W. Couperous Macleod, and in 1867 by Lieut. Garnier. The Prince has lately applied to England for Vice-Consul.

In company with the Laos, Avans, and Burmans,

Camoens mentions (x. 126) the cannibal and tattoo'd Gueos or Gueons. These Guei of the Asia Portugueza are generally identified with the "Red Karens," whose name is still a word of terror. But they may be the Giau-chi (Kiao-tchi or old Annamites), one of the four great barbarian tribes of Northern Indo-China, on the frontier of the Middle Kingdom. According to a late report by Mr. Consul Charles F. Tremlett, they are noticed in the Imperial Annals as early as B.C. 2300 (?) for a savage peculiarity, a great toe separated like a thumb; and modern travellers still observe this quadrumanous sign. Barbosa (p. 190) gives a circumstantial account of how dead relatives are roasted and eaten.

In Siam Camoens would learn about the old Capital Ayuthia, Yuthia, Odia, or Udiá of De la Martinière corrupted from Si-yo-thi-ya, which, in 1769, was supplanted by Bangkok. This "Venice of the East" lies lower down stream, near where the Menam debouches into the great Gulf of Siam. The general appearance of the amphibious capital is that of a huge village in a virgin jungle broken by rice-fields. The "Mother of Waters," flowing through the western quarter, supports some 12,000 ships and tenements; and the canoe is necessary as at the head of the Adriatic. The Pagodas, the Palaces, and the blocks of houses are of brick; there are Consulates, there are mission-schools, and there is a French church. Consequently a good Macadam runs round and within the City-walls, the streets are laid out at right angles; they meet at *ronds points*, and the

Supreme or First King drives out in a barouche. The commerce of Bangkok at one time almost rivalled that of Calcutta and Canton: now it has greatly declined.

Siam is said to be the only country still ruled, like ancient Sparta, by two kings. Formerly Japan had her "Tycoon" (Shogun) or religious, opposed to the Mikado, secular or real, sovereign; but the Tokugava dynasty ended in 1868. In Dahome there is a "Bush-King," distinguished from the "Town-King"; both royalties, however, are vested in one person.¹ The second King of Siam, who is related to the first, holds what appeared to Sir John Bowring (1855) an "anomalous position:" moreover, there is a Regent or Premier, who has been called the "real Ruler of Siam."

Camoens then passed West to Cambodia, which he terms Camboja (x. 127): the name, also written Cam-puchia and Kamphuxa, from the Chinese Kan-phu-cha, gave a name to "Gamboge" (*Garcinia Cambogia*). Rounding the Cambodian Point, vessels sight the mouth of the "*Mecom Rio*," the "Captain of the Waters" (x. 27); moderns call it Me-kong, Mhe-kong, or Ma-kong, and the Chinese Lan-san-kiang. Here Camoens was wrecked, and probably spent some months among the hospitable Kmers (Cambodians). He well describes the Nile-like flooding of the stream, which ranks No. 14 in the world: it drains the S.-Eastern flank of the Yunnan Mountains; and, after running some 1,700 miles,

¹ Described in my "Mission to Dahome" (ii. chap. 16).

it falls into the China Seas. The French expected to find in it a practicable water-way; but all their efforts from 1866 to 1869 were vain. About 150 miles above the mouth it receives the Mesap, upon whose right bank stands Panompin ("Gold Mountain"), the modern capital of Cambodia. The great influent is the shed of Lake Bien-ho or Thalaysap ("Sweet-water"), in the Siamrap Province. This fine reservoir, 90 to 120 miles long by 8 to 22, bisected by N. Lat. 13° and E. Long. (Gr.) 104° , is a divided possession: the Northern half belongs to Siam, the Southern to Cambodia.

North of "Sweet-water" lie the famous ruins of Angkor (or Ongkor)-Thom (Angkor the Great) and of Angkor Váht or Nagkon-wat, the City of Monasteries. They are first mentioned by Christovam de Jaque, the Portuguese driven from Japan in 1570. M. Henri Mouhot, who rediscovered them, speaks of Solomon, of the Lost Tribes, of Ophir, and of Michael Angelo: he declares that one temple is "grander than anything left to us by Greece or Rome,"¹ and he assigns an age of 2,000 years to the oldest parts. He records the tradition that they were founded by a Prince of Roma or Ruma.² Others have imagined that the "red skins" of ancient Egypt established colonies amongst these

¹ For dwarfing classical architecture there is nothing like training the eye by a voyage up the Nile. The traveller should visit Rome and Athens before Thebes.

² If the word be not Ráma, it was probably learned from some Portuguese missionary.

yellow races ; and even distort the Siamese title " Phra " (Lord or Master) to Pharaoh. This comes of reading translations ; Pharaoh is Per-Ao, lord of the great house or Palace ; not Phrah (the Sun). Another traveller found the remains " imposing as those of Thebes and Memphis(?), and more mysterious."

But the many illustrations of the huge forest of stone-trunks, numbering some 6,000 columns, show none of the hidden interest which invests Yucatan. The architecture is Græco-Buddhistic ; the character of the inscriptions resembles Pali, which was borrowed through the Phœnician and the Greek¹ from Egypt ; and the sculptures represent whole scenes from the comparatively modern " *Ramáyana* " -poem. The degraded Pagodas of Calcutta and Bombay, Walkeshwar for instance near Malabar Point, and the Buddhistic caves of Kanheri, whose inscriptions date from Shak 799 = A.D. 877, evidence the same leading thought. The " luminous epoch " which created the masterpieces of Cambodia, resulted, as often happens throughout the world, from the meeting of races : the idea, the inspiration, came from Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Afghanistan, and India ; the work, the marvellous realisation, from China. The modern natives rightly attribute them to the Khmerdom, or original Khmers, during the grand epoch of Cambodia ; and, if they date them from 2,400 years ago, we have only to subtract 1,500. When the religious

¹ This is the opinion of the highly distinguished M. Joseph Halévy.

enthusiasm died out, the temples were neglected : and, as at Heliopolis, the present races build pig-sties where their ancestors built palaces.

Traces of palpable Hinduism now run wild, of Brahmanism and of its reformation, Buddhism, have been found amongst the Alfuros¹ and other races of Indonesia : they entirely disappear in the Eastern parts of New Guinea. Concerning Buddha we know absolutely nothing save the legends of certain Princes of Historic fiction ; proved by history to have been mere barbarians in the days of Herodotus (lib. iii.). Topographers show us that before his time there were no architectural monuments in Arya-Varttá. The name, or rather title of the "world-illuminator" is nowhere mentioned by the Greek travellers of the Alexandrine and post-Alexandrine age : only upon a coin of the Afghan Kanerdi we find the legend BOΔΔO.² His high antiquity must be a myth : a man born about B.C. 400 would suit the date of Gotama, who became the Saint Josaphat of the Greek and Roman Churches.³

¹ Usually derived from the Arab. El-Hurr, the free, the wild.

² In the India House Collection ("The Academy," Aug. 9, '79).

³ In the eighth century John of Damascus, at the Court of El-Mansúr of Baghdad, wrote in Greek a religious romance, "Barlaam and Joasaph." The former converted the latter from an Indian Prince to a hermit ; and the fiction appeared (with many others) in the Martyrologium Romanum, revised by order of Gregory XIII. (1583). It is a Christian adaptation of the life of Buddha ; and Joasaph or Josaphat is evidently = "Bodisat." To the latter also was transferred the "Judgement of Solomon."

According to Prinsep and C. W. King, Buddhism began to extend Westwards in the days of the later Seleucidæ (third century B.C.). The similarity of his life and doctrines with those of the Founder of Christianity is a conviction ; so are the royal descent of the "enlightened one" ; his miraculous conception ; the Devas singing "Hail Máya" to his Virgin Mother ; his growing in wisdom and stature till he taught his teachers ; his temptation by Mara, the fiend, who offered him the great quarters of the world ; his betrayal by Devadatta(-Judas), when the archers struck by his majesty fell at his feet ; his commissioning disciples to preach to all men the "three wisdoms,"—the impermanence of worldly things, the presence of sorrow and the non-existence of the soul ;—and, finally the earthquake felt throughout the world at his death : such parallelism with the Evangels now received can be explained in only one way. It proves that the Hindús of later ages borrowed much from foreigners, possibly from the Syrian and Assyrian historians. The first Christian Father who mentions Buddha is St. Jerome. Thus I would explain the similarity, the almost identity of ceremonial which surprises or scandalises so many an unthinking traveller. Even conservative Brahmanism has not been able to resist petty larceny. Witness the Sequence of Creation in the Vishnu Purana.

Panompin rose to its present rank shortly before 1870 : in the previous decade M. Mouhot found the capital at Oodong, a town of 12,000 souls lying a few miles to the

North. "Gold Mountain" has felt the impulse of "Cochin-Chine." The dull overgrown village is the Head-quarters of a *Protecteur*; a telegraph connects it with Saïgong; and a gun-boat anchored off the Residency, supports Gallic interests versus His Majesty's. The latter has paid his powerful neighbours the sincere compliment of imitation.

Camoens evidently studied his Cambodian hosts; and he correctly describes their Buddhistic superstition of Metempsychosis.¹ He must also have collected much information concerning the Malay Archipelago, which contains some of the largest islands in the world, the perfection of gorgeous tropical beauty. His next Eastern station would be Chiampá (x. 129), or Tsiampa, M. Polo's "Chamba," the ancient name for the coast between Tong-king and Kamboja. In the same stanza he mentions "Cauchichina of obscure fame." The great peninsula, with the navigable Red River, the Tong-king or Hung-kiang, became a separate state about 250 years ago; and its brass pillar of limitation, noted in the great Jesuit map, remained till the day of John Davis (1600). Cochin China, during the last generation famed only for big poultry,² has come prominently before the

¹ The Sanskrit scholars who have studied the Buddhistic legends and notices of Camoens (Canto x.) find them correct. D. G. de Vasconcellos Abreu, of the University, Lisbon, has lately published "Fragmentos d'uma tentativa de Estudo Scolastico da Epopea Portugueza."

² Barbosa (p. 180) mentions "very extremely large hens" in Bengal (Cochin-Chinas?).

world since the French (1861) took the country and made Saïgong,¹ a small fishing village, their capital. It was a curious freak of Gallic colonisation: Cochin China, like Algeria, can be kept only by those who hold the dominion of the seas. Such distant settlements were found useful by rulers who, without them, could hardly have passed adequate naval estimates: now they seem preserved mainly for the purpose of benefiting the comfortless "Messageries." According to Mr. Vincent "France in the East is a great farce, a travesty, a burlesque upon colonisation in general."

After Cochin China, whose coast is rare in harbours as S. Eastern Africa, Camoens crosses the Tong-King Gulf, which he probably includes in that of "Ainam" (x. 129). Hainan is no longer an "unknown bight": on the contrary, it is only too well known for typhoons, which spare its neighbour, Formosa. This fine Island, 150 miles long, has for chief city Kiung-chow-fu, with a civilised Fort and Custom-house.

Here begins "China that extends from the torrid to the Arctic zone" (x. 129). The "Middle Kingdom," which has lately taken a new lease of life, was opened by Perestrello (1511-12), who first conducted a ship to China under a European flag. In 1518 Albuquerque sent as ambassador Thomas Perez with the prudent Fernam Perez de Andrada commanding eight ships, which were surrounded and watched by war-junks. Some

¹ Mr. Kennedy on "Saïgong" (Soc. of Arts Journal, 1873-74):

of the vessels returned with cargo to Malacca, while others proceeded to Fo-kian and founded a Comptoir at Ning-po, whence the Portuguese were expelled in 1545. Two of the squadron went forward to Canton for trade, settling upon the Islands at the River-mouth ; but the violence of Simam de Andrade and the commercial jealousy and rapacity of the Christians, contrasted very badly with the orderly conduct of the "Moors." Thomas Perez died in prison, and it was some years before the Portuguese were allowed to occupy Sancian and Macao. The Poet says nothing about El-Islam in China. We learn, however, from Ibn Batutah (xiii., &c.) that these Mohammedans were half-caste Arabs who had brought with them their Kázis, Shaykh el-Islam and other administrators of their faith.¹

Camoens has studied this "Chinese puzzle," where "millions of human beings are working out the problem of life under conditions which, by many persons in Europe, are deemed wholly incompatible with human happiness." Whenever Western sciolists argue the truth of some tenet from its "universal prevalence," such as the "Aryan Soul-land," they should make sure of China, where some 300 millions most probably ignore and do very well without it.² Camoens knows the immense extent and

¹ The Moslem traveller also notes the Jews and the Christians whose name Tersai or Terzai (Pers. Tarsá) shows whence they came: these Nestorians of St. Thomas are also described by Asseman ("Biblio. Orient").

² That marvellous book, "Isis Unveiled," by Madame Blavatsky,

wealth of the proud empire. He has, of course, heard of the "incredible wall" (x. 130) which separates the Celestials from the Tartars"; "the obstruction" (dam) of "Gog and Magog," as Ibn Batutah calls it. He is in error about the succession (x. 130) which, chiefly for fancies of filial piety, must pass to direct, never to collateral, descendants. Of Macao, his place of exile, nothing need be said: the Portuguese of Sancian had just built the forts and established the colony. He does not allude to this Sancian or San-Chan (vulg., St. John's), famous for the death of D. Francisco Xavier (1552): for many years the Bishop of Macáo made an annual visitation, and brought away earth consecrated by the whilom occupant of the tomb.

Camoens then reaches Japan (x. 131), or Nipon, and its adjoining islands: he expresses a pious hope that the silver mines will serve for the propagation of the Faith; but the forecast was unhappy as that which sang the prospective triumphs of D. Sebastiam. In the Region of "infinite isles" (x. 132), which Mr. Alfred R. Wallace has named Australasia, he specifies Tidor, Ternate, Banda, Borneo, Timor, and Sunda. The "fifth Quarter" contains, besides Australia and New Zealand, Malasia or the Malayan Archipelago; Melanesia or the Papuan Islands, including New Guinea; Mikronesia, the crescent North of the latter, with the Carolinas about the centre;

(London, Quaritch, 1877), actually assumes China to be Buddhist. This is equivalent to saying that all Europe is Lutheran. "Isis" is "unveiled" only on the cover.

and Polynesia or Oceania, the triangle bounded (E.) by Easter Island, (N.) by Hawaii or Sandwich and (S.W.) by New Zealand. Malasia, over which the Portuguese were then rapidly spreading, runs from the Malaccan Straits some 2,000 miles Eastward with Southing, to the shores of New Guinea.¹ It is now co-extensive with the great Eastern Empire of the Netherlands. Since England abandoned to them one of her fairest conquests, Java, the Hollanders reign supreme. They have occasional troubles like the Acheh war: the unostentatious character of their peaceful and prosperous rule, however, makes the world forget that it covers not only the Spice Islands but a considerable part of Sumatra and Borneo. Moreover, the economy and efficiency of their system recommend it as an example to Anglo-India.

Camoens dwells mostly upon the Moluccas or Spice Islands. The origin of Malúka is doubtful: Crawford

¹ I need hardly say that this nucleus of the Melanesian race offers a great and novel field for exploration. See a curious account of its "Spiritualism" in notes on "New Guinea," by the Rev. W. G. Lawes, Proc. of the R.G.S., Oct. '80. The Dutch claim its Western half; Moresby and the London Missionary Society have done and are doing good work; but here Italian travellers have most distinguished themselves, *teste* my friend Prof. Giglioli's "Italian Explorers in New Guinea." Discovery was begun in 1830 by Count Carlo V. di Conzano, and followed by Colonel G. di Lenna, G. Emilio Cerruti (1869-70), and Dr. Odoardo Beccari (1875), who unfortunately will not put pen to paper. To mention no more, Sig. S. M. D'Albertis (1872-8), the explorer of the Arfat Mountains, 9,500 feet high, and the "home of the Birds of Paradise," has published "New Guinea, what I Did and what I Saw" (S. Low & Co.).

(p. 283) suggests that it is that of a place and people in Gilolo; and the latter may be Varthema's "Monoch," apparently one island with various outliers. The Archipelago is now divided into three groups; the Amboynas, including Ceram; the Bandas; and the Moluccas proper, containing the great island of Gilolo, with volcanic Ternate, Mortay, Tidor, Bachan, and Mysol. Another distribution is Ceram with Amboyna; Gilolo with Ternate and Tidor; and, thirdly, Timor and its neighbours. The Poet, who says nothing of the "Moors," then spreading over the larger settlements, is supposed to have passed some time at Tidor (x. 132): here he would become familiar with its Northern neighbour, volcanic Ternate. This island, the Northernmost of a chain near the West Coast of Gilolo, formerly ruled seventeen to eighteen adjacent islets, including Tidor. It was first visited by the Portuguese in 1518: in 1607 they were expelled by the Dutch who built three forts, Orange, Holland, and Willemstadt. Camoens repeats the old story of the "Birds of Paradise," preserved in the name *Paradisea apoda*; the legs being cut off before the skins were sold. Some French translators render the word "Colibri"; but these beautiful cousins of the swallows are peoples of the new world. The Banda or Nutmeg Islands, numbering some ten, between Timor and New Guinea, are still famed for the narcotic nut (x. 133); for the peculiar pigeon named after the fruit (*ibid.*), and for the "dry flower of Banda" (ix. 14), the aril or "mace," which is supposed to be derived from the Arabic "basbásah."

This spice (*nux moschata*) was a monopoly till the French naturalist, M. Poivre (a happy name!), introduced it (Jan. 27, 1770) into the Isle of France, whence it spread to Bourbon, Martinique, and Cayenne. I found it growing wild (?) in Usui, Central Intertropical Africa.¹ According to Nic. de' Conti (p. 17), Bandan was the only island in which cloves flourish: Camoens, however (ix. 14) specifies the black *cravo* (nail-head) of Maluco (Moluccas). According to Varthema (243) the people of "Bandan" were like "beasts," Sans-Rey pagans: this statement is also in Barros; Barbosa (p. 200) makes them "Moors" and Pagans; Pigafetta "Moors" only.

Sandaliferous Timor (x. 134), whose fort, Coupang, was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1613, lies among the Sunda Archipelago, East of Java, and South of the Moluccas. It is supposed to be the Conimata of the Roteiro, so called from its chief port-town, Camanasa; and is there placed fifty days from Calicut: the king and people are Christians: it has a thousand war-elephants, and it yields sapphires and dye-wood. Camoens praises its "Saunders"² (x. 134). The Por-

¹ "Lake Regions," etc., ii. 176.

² Some twenty species of *Santalum* are spread over Asia, Australia, and Polynesia. In habit the Santalaceæ resemble the myrtles. The species alluded to in the text would be *S. Album*, with an inferior kind (*S. Myrtifolium*); it grows in India and in her Archipelago. The heart of the tree, which is about twenty-five feet high, is the sandal-wood of commerce. The parts nearest the root are the hardest and darkest; hence we read of white, red, and yellow sorts: this also gives most essential oil, a favourite Eastern perfume.

tugese still hold in a humble way the unwholesome townlet Delli or Dili on the North Coast, and take tribute from three quarters of the island.

Borneo, a fragment of Asia, and the largest bit of Malasia bisected by the equator, was discovered by Magellan in 1520. It was then called Pulo (Island) Kulamantan: the present name being confined to the city. Varthema, however, uses Bornei; and Barbosa Borney. Camoens specifies its camphor (x. 133): late analyses have shown that it differs in the proportion of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen, from that of Sumatra, Java and Japan. Sunda (x. 134) is Java, the "regnum Zunde" of Patavino's Geography (1597): in old maps the group is still called the Isles of Sunda. Barbosa and those of his day follow the Arabs in separating Java Major from Java Minor (Sumbava).¹ The former, according to her own historians, was colonised by Hindús from Cling (Calinga); who gave her an era beginning B.C. 75. The Moors were subject to a pagan Maharajah called Patevdara or Pala-udora by Barbosa (p. 197). According to Crawford, the chief Hindu State was overthrown by El-Islam in A.D. 1478, when many Moors settled at the ports. The great island

In Europe "Sanderswood" is used chiefly for carving and wood-engraving; whilst the oil distilled from the chips adulterates ottar of roses. The tree is well described by my late friend, Dr. Bartholdy Seemann.

¹ It is more probable that the two original Javas were Java proper and Sumatra. Sumbava hardly deserves such a title.

was well known to Ibn Batutah : he found a Queen who, guarded by a troop of " Amazons," spoke Turkish, and wrote for him the " Bismillah." Java is supposed to have originated such Polynesian names as Hawaii, Samoa, and Savaii, in the far Pacific Ocean. The first Lieutenant-Governor of Java was Sir Stamford Raffles, when the island, including its dependency, Banca, was made over to the Dutch (1816), who first touched there in 1596. Here we read of Bintam (x. 57), explored by Henrique Leme, under Albuquerque in 1511; our Poet mentions it as waging fierce wars with Malacca. The " kingdom of Bantam," famed only for Lilliput fowls, is either in the Western end of Java, or it is the Island of Bentan.¹ Lastly we have a notice of a petrifying stream apparently borrowed from the " River Sabbaton " in Northern China : it rolls not water but stones for six days in the week, regularly resting on " the Sabbath " (Saturday).²

¹ There were several places of similar name. The Commentaries (iii. chap. xvii.) make the city of Malacca rise on the plain of Bintam. Pentam or Bintang, properly Bentan, was a considerable island at the East end of the Straits, conquered (fifteenth century) by the Rajahs of Javan Majopahit. After the Portuguese occupation it became the chief residence of the Malay Sultans, and still, nominally, belongs to him of Johor. Colonel Yule believes that it is the Bintam of Camoens (x. 57).

² My visit to Karyatayn, between Damascus and Palmyra (1870), caused no small excitement among the Israelites of the Capital. Near the former half-way station I found an escape of steam which had been converted into a Hammám : it struck work regularly on Saturday, when the pipe-like aperture in the rock which emitted the vapour felt cold to the arm : during the other six days it was in

All these lands are becoming of the highest interest to England, whose tenure of Indo-China is, perhaps, safer than that of India Proper. She is firmly established in Burmah, where, despite her best endeavours, annexation is being forced upon her. She reigns alone in New Zealand, and in the great Secondary or early Tertiary Continent, Australia, with its gradually-disappearing unique forms, animal and vegetable. She has lately been compelled, by the exigencies of steam navigation, to appropriate the islands in Torres Straits. Already the enthusiastic colonists of the "fifth Quarter" propose a grand scheme, "on the Dutch system," for combining Borneo with its settlements, Labuan and Sarawak; New Guinea; the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides (which France is reported to covet), with Tonga and Samoa (where the Germans have a footing). And the first costly step has been taken in "protecting" the Fiji group.

An anthropologist would not expect much from the success of this scheme. A tropical race of Englishmen appears impossible. But what he can look forward to,

full blast. This intermittent steam-spring probably gave rise to the "River Sabatorye," near Damascus; one of Maundevile's many travellers' tales. The legend is old: In Judæâ rivus Sabbatis omnibus siccatur, says Pliny (xxvi. 18). Josephus makes it a "Sabbath-(*i.e.* Saturday-)breaker" by flowing on that day, and being dry for the rest of the week. Hence the fabled Sabbatheon, whose flood of huge rocks, in sand-waves 60-200 cubits high, issued from the Garden of Eden. The ten "lost Tribes" now live beyond it.

and what he should aim at, is the eventual possession of all the South Temperate Regions. Already the flower of that hemisphere, New Zealand, is ours; and we hold Tasmania and the Cape, which in time will project herself into the Southern and habitable parts of Madagascar. The sole present exception is the Austral extremity of South America, lost to us by the incompetency of an English general at Buenos Aires; but even there emigration may succeed where campaigning failed.

CHAPTER V.
ANNOTATIVE.

NOTES TO CANTO I.

STANZA I.—This hopelessly-corrupted opening abounds in *varia lectiones*, and offers a fair specimen of Lusiadic difficulties. Fons. (l. 2) has *per mares*: in Jur., who remarks that *per* and *pelos* (Fr. *par*) denote end, object, and motion; *por* and *polos* (Fr. *pour*), agency, prefers *por mares*. F. y S., and the Edits. of 1613 and 1631 expressed (l. 5) *que* (em perigos), unnecessarily repeating it from line 2: they forgot that “what is negligence in prose may become a beauty in poetry.” F. and M. have *e em*. Ferr. (I. G. Ferreira or Gilmedo) changes *promettia* (l. 6) to *permettia*. Jur. has *ainda* (l. 4); Fons. *inda* as more musical. Mac. (Macedo) is hard upon *e entre* (line 7) for *entre*: the conjunction, found in the 2nd edit. (?) of 1572, is superfluous and was, perhaps, suggested by *E tambem* (St. ii.). There is also a scholiast-dispute about the “never navigated Seas” (l. 3), as if Camoens did not know the A, B, C of historic geography. I feel inclined (l. 1) to translate “Barons” with Byron:—

Morgante answered, “Baron just and pious,” &c.

But I reserve it for future use. The translator must prefer (l. 4) Taprobána to Milton’s (Par. Reg., iv. 75),—

And utmost Indian isle, Tapróbané.

II.—This octave is also not satisfactory. Mac. (l. 4) complains that *devastando* is “injurious”; and introducing the Kings violates the law *περὶ μίαν πράξιν*: I have preserved the former as characteristic. Millié eloquently defends his Poet: the early reigns were spent, unhappily for Portugal, in expelling the “Moors”; and the latter in extending her sway over Africa and Asia.

III.—An irreverent Englishman compares this Stanza with the “spirit and wording of our good stupid old song,”—

Some talk of Alexander and some of Hercules, &c.

It wants only the “Tow row, row” of “The British Grenadier,” still famous in insular military music.

IV. 1.—The “Tagides” (Tagian nymphs) are not, as some suppose, the women of Lisbon. They take the Muses’ place till Calliope appears (iii. 1); hence the allusion (ll. 3–4) to his Canzons, Eclogues, &c. The sense is, in fact, Virgil’s *Ille ego*; and Spenser’s—

Lo! I, the man whose Muse whylome did maske.—F. Q., 1, 1, 1.

V. 4.—*Cor* (“colour”) is mistranslated “heart” by Quillinan and Mitchell (comp. iv. 29, ll. 1, 2). In line 6 F. y S. would read *Marte for a Marte*; Fons. and Jur. *a que Marte* (from Man. Correa’s edit. of 1613) for *que a Marte*. To their truly scholiastic reasoning that “Mars helps and is not helped” I can only cry *Prosa!* The whole Stanza has been blamed for “immodest exaggeration, vicious hypallage, and excessive hyperbole.” It is one of the Poet’s *ampullæ*; but the figure, although daring, is allowable; and the more so as the Poet, like Homer (Il. xv. 1) makes his Mars of the Earth earthy, a manner of *Valentam* (Bobadil). In the last line *preço* (price) represents by metonymy the thing appreciated:

so *peito* (pectus, breast) for courage, here and elsewhere :—*homem de peito*, a “man of spunk.”

VI.—This invocation to D. Sebastiam, which runs on to S. xiii., and which balances the twelve final octaves (x. 145–156), has been much praised and dispraised. In line 7 the subjunctive *mande*, standing for the indicative *manda*, is, says Mac., a grammatical error. Camoens, however, often changes his moods for reasons best known to himself. Others would place the four words in a parenthesis and thus convert them into an ejaculation, a prayer (“May it, the marvel, command the whole of it, the world !”).

VII.—The arms of Portugal are heraldically described in iii. 53–4. Lines 5–8 apparently refer to the epigram placed in the Saviour’s mouth :—

Vulnera nostra tibi, Rex, sunt insignia. Vici
His quondam : vinctes : sacra trophæa feres.

VIII.—The learned G. Buchanan thus addressed D. Joam III., with a British boast :—

Inque tuis Phœbus regnis, oriensque cadensque,
Vix longum fesso conderet axe diem ;
Et quæcumque vago se circumvolvitur Olympo
Affulget ratibus flamma ministra tuis.

Anglicè :—

Rising and setting Phœbus from thy reign
With wearied axle ne’er shall hide the Day ;
Where’er he vagueth o’er the Olympic plain
Smiles on thy ships his ministering ray.

In l. 7, *Gentio* is the *Gentilis* (idol-worshipper, whence the *Gentilitas* or *Gentile* world) of Christian latinity ; the *Pagan* (villager) who represents the *Goi* (plur. *Goim*) of the Hebrew. The Portuguese apply it to Moslems, but not so generally as to *Hindús* (x. 14). They accent

the penultimate, and we say indifferently Gen-too and Gentoo'. By "sacred River" (l. 8) La Harpe and others misunderstand Jordan for Ganges (vii. 20).

IX. 3.—*Já* = *Jam*, ἤδη, *avríka* "already, whilom, anon, whilere, as well as": a favourite Portuguese word used in a variety of senses and sounds.

X. 5.—*Ouvi*; *vereis*, &c. ("Hark; thou shalt see") reads Hibernically; but the ellipse is "Hear (me the praiser and) thou shalt view." So Æschylus (*Agam.*): "Nor voice nor form of mortal shalt thou see," a well-known grammatical figure which in Shak. becomes "to spy an I can hear my Thisby's face" (v. 1). After the Battle of Vittoria a Royal Order (Nov. 13, 1813) allowed the Infantry Corps of two Brigades to carry on its colours the last couplet of this Stanza, which is known to every Portuguese. The quotation was deformed by two blunders, according to Snr. José Silvestre Ribeiro, who wrote a kind of "Wit and Wisdom of Camoens" (p. 11, *Estudo moral e politico sobre os Lusíadas*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1853).

XI. 8.—Alluding to the Ruitlandus, Rutlandus, Rotolando, Orlando, Roland (Ro-land, not Roland) of Ariosto, i. 2, &c. His statue became in Neo-Latin cities a symbol of civic freedom; and Dalmatian Ragusa still preserves it.

XII. 1.—*Nuno* is "The Great Constable" (iv. 23-4, &c. *Egas* and *Fuas* are referred to in iii. 35, and in viii. 13, &c. and 17. *Mac.* calls the conjunction *tambem* (6, 7) "the most inexcusable error of the *Lusiads*," as it makes the Hero a mere accessory to the Poem. He proposes:—

Mas por todos vos dou o illustre Gama, &c.
(But chief I give thee that illustrious Gama).

I cannot appreciate the objection; and think, with

Millié, that the Hero is introduced immediately after the great names of History with a certain pomp of expression.

XIII. 1.—Some refer Carlos to Charles VII., “the Victorious”: it applies far more forcibly to the Emperor of the West (A.D. 800), Karl der Grosse, Carolus Magnus, or rather to the Charlemagne of legend, whose Court supplied Ariosto with a subject; who was so long a “redivivus”; whose reign of half a century began the “Middle Ages”; whom the priests of Aix-la-Chapelle addressed:—

Rex mundi triumphator,
Jesu Christi coregnator;

and whom Calliope places (“The Tears of the Muses,” 462, &c.)

————— Amongst the starrés seven.

Hence the Helice (“wheeler”) of the Greeks, the Latin Ursa Major and the “Woden’s Wain” of Scandinavia became “Charles’ Wain,” not as some suppose Chorles (Ceorl) or Churl’s Wain. Camoens (x. 88) terms it the Carreta or Chariot (the ἄμαξα of Homer, II. xviii. 487); refers to the Bears (v. 15), and notes the “Sevenfold flame” (viii. 72), by whose alpha the Greeks steered: he repeatedly mentions Jupiter’s nurse, the Cynosure (Little Bear), whose alpha guided the Phœnicians. Equally poetic is the Arab name Banát el-Jahd in such phrases as “When man grows poor, his friends, heretofore compact as the knot of the Suráyyá (Pleiades), disperse wide asunder as the Daughters (mourners) of the Bier.” This is taken from the old Egyptian “Coffin of Osiris.”

XIV. 2.—The line is cacophonous, and here begins, what Mac. spitefully calls *O vergonhoso bordão do*—“là” (the shameful burden of là=there), “which can be par-

done only by Camonian sectarians and idolaters." But Comp. Dante (Inf., xxxiii. 80);—

Del bel paese là dove il *st* suona.

In line 4 the Almeidas (father and son) are duo fulmina belli. Fons. retains Barros' "Albuquerque" (de albo, for *albâ*, quercu), the popular "Albuquerque" (l. 7).

XVI. 2.—*Exicio* (from exitium) is here used by the Poet instead of the vulgar *estrago* found in other places. Mac. derides the "sacrament of marriage" (ll. 7-8), forgetting that the Doges espoused the Adriatic; and that the Portuguese claimed the heirship to their sea-sovereignty. Besides, the sentiment is simply Virgilian (Georg. i. 30).

XVII. 3.—The "grandsires twain" are the peaceful D. Joam III. and the warlike Charles Quint. Pax is angelic, because announced by angels when the Saviour was born: she is golden because she ruled in the fabled Age of Gold.

XVIII.—Here ends the Dedication, or Nuncupation, forming part of the exordium.

On ll. 5-6-7

E vereis * * *
 Que sam vistos * * * porque vejã

Ferr. pithily remarks *he muito ver* ('tis too much "seeing"). I have retained the characteristic repetition with which many will find fault. Millié (l. 8) here assigns to Camoens an "extreme superiority" over Virgil (Ecl. iv. 38; and Georg. i. 4).

XIX.—This is the opening of the narrative, the Arché proper. It is sudden and striking. *Navigavam*, "they (the Argonauts of the last stanza) were sailing" up the

Mozambique Channel before a fair wind, but weary and wanting rest. So the Æneid, without naming the Trojans, begins with the Syrtes-storm. Mac. blames the Poet for *Próteo* instead of *Prothéo*, which is found in the Rejected Stanzas. "Here commence those errors of metre which are not only numerous but innumerable." The Poet, however, follows Virgil (Georg. iv. 422),—

Intus se vasti Proteus tegit obice saxo.

In line 7 the "waters consecrate" is in Catholic sense, "Spiritus Domini ferebatur super aquas."

XX. 6.—The Via Lactea is Ovid's "Est via sublimis" (Met. i. 168).

XXI. 1.—The *mise-en-scène* is vague enough if "Olympus" be derived with the dictionaries from ἄλλος λαμπρός—wholly luminous. Critics have made merry over this Gods' council, or heavenly States-General. Ferr. remarks that Jupiter's speech preserves Aristotle's Exordium, Confirmation, and Peroration: he facetiously asks whether the "god Sterculius" was also there? Mac. captiously observes, that if the Deities all left the government of the skies, Jupiter, who rules one of the Seven Heavens, must also have abandoned it: ergò the conclave met nowhere. Camoens takes the Olympian court of the Hellene Gods for whom Homer provided twenty chairs, mentioning eighteen names: the other two, it is suggested, may be Gaia (Terra) and Paikon (the Healer). After Egyptian fashion the Helloi divided their numina into three ranks: the first contained eight, the second twelve, and the third was a promiscuous crowd. The Diana of Camoens is Artemis or Καλά, the fair goddess; and his Zephyr (Wester) is the Primate of the Winds. The first lines are a fine Epanodos, giving great energy to the sentence.

XXII.—Millié admires this classical Jupiter, and

compares with him the "only good verses ever written by Chapelain :"—

Loin des murs flamboyants qui renferment le monde,
 Dans le centre caché d'une clarté profonde,
 Dieu repose en lui-même, et, vêtu de splendeur
 Sans bornes, est rempli de sa propre grandeur.

XXIII. 8.—Mac. blames *horrendo* as an epithet better fitted for Pluto.

XXV. 8.—The "pendent trophies" await the Portuguese hand, a fine hypotyposis.

XXVI. 1.—*Deixo*, etc. Camoens' favourite figure Præteritio: Viriatus and Sertorius are chosen as the typical soldiers of olden Portugal.

XXVII. 4.—Comp. Æneid i. 85. Afer is the S.S. Wester, the Ital. Garbino from the Arab. el-Gharb = solis occasus; the latter word in its form Ereb (the West) explains "Europe" and "Erebus" (= Amenti), the land of the setting sun. Afer's seat is between Zephyrus and Notus, alias Auster, the Souther. The last line becomes in Tasso, who so often reflects Camoens,—

E mirar dove nasce e muore il giorno.

XXVIII. 1.—Mac. remarks that Eternal Fate (our Reign of Law) is superior to Jove; ergo it is a truism to say that its law is infrangible. Elsewhere Fate becomes *Fados Grandes*, an expression found faulty. But those hyper-gods, the Parcæ, are represented in a Christian poem as unimportant compared with Providence: the ungodly gods confess their omnipotence, and at once begin to oppose them. Hence Racine (*filis*), in the Preface to his "Translation of Milton," declared The *Lusiads* to be a *relation de voyage* in which the Pagan deities are made ridiculous. As regards man's Fate Camoens seems to hold with M. Guizot, *L'homme est un être libre, s'agitant dans une sphère fatale.*

XXX.—Here enters Bacchus, the Puer Eternus, the Deus bi-mater. The thigh-sewn Bacchus (Homer, Hymn) who died, was buried and rose again, has been explained by deriving *μῆρος* from Mount Meru, the Olympus of Hinduism. Orpheus (hymn 30) calls him *Διόνυσον, Βακχεῖον ἄνακτα*. Iacchus (son of Ceres) is said to be a mystic name referring to the *ἰαχή*, or frantic shouting of women votaries; but the first syllable is the Semitic root, *Iáh* or *Yáh* (יָה, is, or, will be), the Assyrian god Iav, Ih or Ihoh, also *Iábe*, which we find in Jehovah and Jove. "Sabazius," the Phrygian term (Aristoph., Wasps) is evidently the Pers. Sabz or Sabzeh, Bhang, *Cannabis sativa*, the intoxicating hemp. In India Camoens may have been told of Krishna, the popular Avatár (incarnation) and his Nymphs; a strange mixture of Bacchus and the Gospel of Infancy, compounded with the usual Hindú inconsequence, redundance, and grotesqueness.

Despite Bacon's great fame, his explanation of "Bacchus" by the Passions (Instaur. Magna, ii. 13) is not admissible. He neglects the foundation of truth, of historic fact upon which all fable was everywhere built. We should look upon the wine-god as some Syrian or Assyrian soldier-conqueror who, before the days of Semiramis (B.C. 2017-1965?) marched Eastward, plundered Western India and, like Noah, taught viticulture. The industry could not have been in India, which mostly ignored the vine and grape-wine.

Mac. complains, not without reason, that Camoens makes the jolly god play a ridiculous and contemptible part; here of *hum mentecapto* (an idiot) for opposing Fate; and elsewhere of *hum bebado cobardo* (a drunken coward). I will add that if Bacchus, as some have supposed, represent "teetotal" El-Islam, the choice is peculiarly unhappy. Like Milton's "Satan," Bacchus is doomed to fight, and to fight without hope. As Millié says, mythology being

once admitted, and Bacchus preferred to Armida and Beelzebub, the use made of this ancient Conqueror of India is reasonable and artistic.

XXXI. 4.—Doris in the Latin poets is the Sea, the daughter of Oceanus: Camoens (vi. 20) marries her to Nereus (“water,” from a root now obsolete, but preserved in the Romaic “neró”). Like Tethys (i. 16, 5) she subjected herself to the Portuguese, whereas the Macedonian preferred the land.

The allusion to Nysa or Nyssa (l. 8) is thoroughly classical. The vulgar derivation of Dionysos is Δεῦνος and Νύσα = King of Nysa: it is the Assyrian Dian- (or Daian-) Nisi, Judge of Men; alias the Sun. Hence Herodotus (iii. 8) tells us that the Arabs worshipped only Dionysus, who was also Osiris (Plutarch J. et O., cap. xxviii.). The “Nysæan Bacchus” (Aristoph., Frogs) is derived from a host of places: one lies in Arabia (Diodorus Sic., iii. 63); another in India (built by Osiris, *ibid.* i. 19), where Bacchus was brought up by the Nymphs; others are above Egypt in Æthiopia (Herod. ii. 146); in Parthia (Nyssa, near Elburz); in Lydia, Cilicia, Caria, Syria, Pisidia, Cappadocia, Armenia, Persia, Babylon, Erythea, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Naxos, and Eubœa (Hesychius).

The Median “Campi Nisæi” of Herod. (vii. 40), which produced the tall white horses of the sun, are transferred by Rawlinson (Journ. R. G. Soc., ix. 1, 100) to Khorasan, still famed for Turkoman horses. The Behistun Inscrip. (col. i. par. 3) mentions Nisaya or Nisæa, now the plains of Khawah. Strabo (lib. xii.) studied at the Carian Nysa (hod. Sultán-Hissár?); and Nice or Nicæa, capital of Bithynia, was famous in the Middle Ages. The Nisaia or Nesaia (Νησαία) of Strabo has been identified with Nissa, north of the Elburz Mountain. Ptolemy’s *Nisauu* (vi. 10, 4) and Nigaia or Nigæa in vi.

10, 4) lies in N. Lat. $41^{\circ} 10'$; the Rhages (of Alexander's day); Rhea, Ray, Hari or Herat, being in N. Lat. $40^{\circ} 30'$. The usual account of Nysa makes it a "district of Northern Parthia, bordering on Hyrcania and Margiana, famed for horses: there was a city of the same name upon the Upper Oxus; either the birthplace of Bacchus or built by him."

XXXII. 1.—Mickle introduces a novelty of his own into *Venus bella*:—

Urania Venus, Queen of Sacred Love, etc.

But St. xxxiv. shows that Cytherean Venus is meant. Mac. contends that the *Clara Dea* should be Maria Santissima; and he bitterly derides the philological bias of the Love-goddess.

XXXIV. 1.—Cythera (*Κυθήρη*) Island, from Athara or Atargates, the Love-goddess of the Phœnicians, who colonised the Island.

XXXV.—Sismondi says of this stanza, "The tumult of the Gods' deliberations is described in one of the happiest and most brilliant images." It certainly obeys Pope's law of representative versification,—

The sound must seem an echo to the sense.

Johnson used to quote as his model Cowley's river,—

Which runs, and, as it runs, for ever shall run on.

Here the onomatopoeic wealth of sibilants, sounding a storm as well as showing it, on the Montanha or forested height, has been generally overlooked by translators.

XXXVI. 3-4.—The dilemma of Mars in the matter of assisting Venus, besides his turbulence and disrespect for Jupiter, and his lawlessness to the Parcæ, whose laws may not be broken, has been severely criticised.

XXXIX. 6.—Stomachus, meaning “intention,” courage, our old “Stomach,” is a word which has been curiously corrupted by the neo-Latins. Fanshaw renders *estomago* (or *estamago*) *damnado*:—

’Tis an ill stomach rising at good cheare.

Mac. makes Mars charge Bacchus with an indigestion: Ferr. kindly suggests over-copious potations (*teria bebido demasiadamente*). The terminal couplet inveighing against Envy, attacks, say the Portuguese, a national foible: and Ribeiro (p. 17) quotes the eloquent Vieira’s *Sermam de Santo Antonio* (vol. xii. pp. 252–94).

XLII.—Here the main action becomes *μία και ἀπλοῦς*; and, after a Proemium “de omnibus rebus,” and a long rambling Dedicatory, high art is shown in concentrating attention upon the Fleet. The sun enters Pisces (March 11, 1498). Venus and Cupid, to escape Typhœus, being ferried over the Euphrates by fishes, whence the constellation Pisces, is from Ovid (*Met.* v. 321).

XLV. 1.—*Eis* is the “ecce” of the *Æneid* (ii. 203, &c.), our “lo!” (which is “look!”). For a description of the “Batel” see Lt. Low’s *History of the Indian Navy* (i. 169): I also have described the craft of this coast in “Zanzibar,” vol. i. ch. iv.

XLVI. 4.—The mat-sails are still used for the long thin “dug-outs” of East Africa. The dermatology of the Negro is Ovid’s (*Met.* ii. 235); and Phaeton, here and elsewhere, is from the *Æneid* (x. 189).

XLVII. 1–4.—Translators mistake the meaning of this passage. The natives wear two cotton *pagnes*, a waist-cloth, and a shoulder-cloth; the Indian *Do-pattá*, noticed by Arrian (*Indica*, cap. xvi.). The loose covering would be tucked under the arm (*sobraçado*) when the wearer prepares to climb a ship’s side. Mickle

has "'twas one whole piece"; Musgrave, "Some wore them round the body"; for "some (cloths) they wear," &c. Many edits (line 6) have *Adagas* (daggers), others prefer *Adargas* (dag-targes, from the Arab. Ed-darakah, the shield), thus naming defensive armour and offensive arms. The Roteiro (p. 151) makes the Adarga = *parma, scutum*: Ferr. rightly explains it by *escudos pequenos*. Jubinal ("Armeria Real" of Madrid, pl. xxxii.) shows the Adarga to be a short spear with a broad targe-like hand-guard, whence a dagger projects at a right angle. Europe took the hint by arming the hand-guard with one or more poniards: the little shield, also, with a blade projecting horizontally, is not unknown to collections. The *terçado* is a broad-sword one third (*terço*) shorter than full size: I have rendered it "matchet" (*machete*), the kind of cutlass still in use. Fanshaw translates "Skeyns and crooked faulchions." Quillinan has "scimitars and shields": Mitchell, "daggers and scimitars": both had done better to follow their Poet. I have noted that *Touca* (l. 8) is a light cap, far more sailorlike and common on the East Coast than the turban: the difference is that of a glengarry and a "top-hat." The whole stanza has the picturesqueness and the exquisite fidelity of Mr. Baines' African pictures: it might have been drawn to-day.

XLVII. 7.—Mac. blames this line for its nautical technicalities; nor did Dryden escape censure for the same fault (?). Quillinan translates the couplet:—

* * * clash
The anchors go and wounded waves upflash.

In this stanza the *gente* (epibatæ, men-at-arms, marines), are distinguished from the *marinheiros* (sailors).

XLIX.—Osorio tells us that the strangers were supposed to be "Turks," or Mediterranean Moslems;

and the natives refused to believe the assertion that they were Portuguese. These Wasawahli negroids do not object to eat and drink with Christians: the "Catual," being a Hindú, must reject their hospitality (vii. 75).

L. 7-8.—Montesquieu, says Millié, found in this and in other passages an "heroic simplicity," like "Sum pius Æneas." It reminded him of the *Odyssey*, in which men ask voyagers, "Who are you, and from whom?" "Where are your city and your people?" Mac. remarks that in those days the only Portuguese were in the West. But the "Occident" is specified in order to emphasise the exploit of having reached the East.

LI. This stanza has been much criticised. East-African Moslems would not know the Antarctic Pole (?), nor that Callisto was metamorphosed into *Ursa Major*. The Portuguese had by no means circumnavigated Africa like the ancients. The Negroids could hardly appreciate the allusion to *Acheron* or *Periphlegethon*. Lastly, to assert that the voyagers were ready at the royal word to explore the *Inferno* is somewhat bombastic. This is all hyper-criticism: the Portuguese would tell the visitors what they were, certainly not without exaggeration; and the stanza poetically expresses their prose.

LII. 4—"Ugly seals," an unjust and inappropriate term from the *Georgics* (iv. 395):—

Et turpes pascit sub gurgite phocas.

LIII. 1-2.—Some refer the couplet, which I have purposely left doubtful, to *El-Islam*, then held to be a compound of *Judæism* and *Arab idolatry*. Others see in it *Mohammed*, who claimed descent from *Ishmael*: no Moslem, however, would say that he was of Hebrew blood. His father, *Abdullah*, and his mother, *Amínah*, were pure Arabs, pagans of the *Kuraysh* tribe. The

Hebrews (Simeonites?) were, however, powerful in the Moslem's Holy Land; and hence the vulgar report which made the apostle's uncle a Jew.

LVI. 1.—*Mouro* here is not a “Moor” proper, a Maroccan. The Moslems of Mozambique were either Southern Arabs, long domiciled upon the African coast, or their bastard kinsmen, the Wasawahili. Many of these half-castes worked the ships by which the Hindú Banyans connected Africa with Arabia and India. The “Moor” of Camoens, meaning simply “Moslem,” was used by a past generation of Anglo-Indians, who called the Urdu or Hindostani dialect “The Moors”: traces of it survive in the Benighted Presidency (Madras).

LVII. 1.—*Frota* (metonymy “*continens pro re quæ continetur*”) is here used for rhyme or variety: properly it is a merchantman-fleet opposed to an Armada. In line 7 the idea of El-Islam being a sect (*seita*) shows the extreme views of the Poet's day: the Moslems were the first “Reformers” of Christianity.

LVIII.—The unexpected charms of this stanza suggest Tassoni. As Pope (Il. viii.) expanded the five lines of the night-view into twelve, so Mickle here spread the first six into fourteen, beginning with:—

The moon, full-orbed, forsakes her watery cave (?)
And lifts her lovely head above the wave.

His sweet and flowing verse seems to anticipate the “Curse of Minerva”; but it abjures the masterly simplicity of Camoens. In line 2 the stars are signs of fair weather (Iliad viii., in fine).

LIX. 1.—*Marchetada*, according to F. y S. is=*esmalta-da*, or enamelled, from *esmalte* (enamel), a word often used by Camoens in the sense of bright and changeable colours. It has not the secondary notion attributed by Mr. Ruskin (“Mod. Painters,” iii. 228) to the same term in

Dante's *Inferno*. Hyperio (l. 4) in Homer is the Sun : in Hesiod they are father and son.

LX. 8.—Alluding to Constantine Palæologus and the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II., some forty-five years before Da Gama's voyage. Despite Mac.'s assertion, the "Moors" of Mozambique would have heard all the details. Some by *Constantino* understand the Great, when it means the Little: the difference is shown by the apocryphal inscription on the famous bronze pillar at Byzantium: "Constantinus me construxit: Constantinus me destruet."

LXII. 4.—The Portuguese applied "barbarous" to the Arabic tongue as the Arabs did to Greek; Gibbon marvels at the latter; I at the former.

LXIII. 3.—"Law, precept, and faith," the figure synonymy.

LXIV. 6.—*Enojosas*=ennuyeux, langweilig, irksome, tedious, annoying. So Petrarch:—

Nojosa, inesorabile, e superba.

Commentators object that Da Gama abuses Moslems to Moslems. But Camoens (and Byron) knew better the racial hatred between Turks and Arabs ("First Footsteps," etc., pp. 68-9).

LXVI. 1.—"Dei Filius est Deus et homo est." *Te sería* (l. 6) is for *te será*, with the difference of an added conditionality: the idiom is common in French.

LXVII. 3.—"Harness" means all kinds of defensive "armour" i.e. *armure*, Fr.). The *espingarda* (hand-gun) is said to be an anachronism: but see note on Canto vii. 12.

LXIX. 5.—*Mostras*=words and deeds: *Gesto*=aspect, "vultus" not "gestus" (comp. ii. 101).

LXXI. 1.—An epiphonema explaining what preceded. In line 5, Eternity is=Pater Æternus.

LXXII. 5.—Camoens wrote in the spirit of his age: we can afford some of our sympathy to the unfortunate Shaykh who proved himself so clear-sighted.

LXXIII.—*Comsigo estas palavras praticava* is an emphatic pleonasm.

LXXV. 1.—*Os Deoses* are the *Parcæ*. *Arte* (l. 6) is = *industria*. The Roman (l. 7) is Trajan. Mac., noting that Bacchus (ll. 7–8) resigns himself to the Macedonian's numbers, but objects to being beaten by a squadron-crew, calls this "in good Portuguese, *huma razão de cabo da esquadra*,"—a *corporal's* reasoning.

LXXVII. 8.—Millié quotes Ronsard's Mars, who, jealous for the fame of France, thus descends from Olympus:—

Puis comme un trait roidement s'élança
Dedans Buthrote, ou sa forme laissa,
Et prit le corps, l'allure et le visage
D'un vieil Troyen aux affaires très sage.

LXVIII. 5.—The voyagers had touched at four places, Santa Elena, Sam Bras, Rio-dos-Reis, and Rio-dos-Bons-Sinaes.

LXIX. 8.—The very words which an African would now use.

LXXX. 2.—*Por agua* ("for water" or "by water") is amphibologic, I hold it to be one of the usual conceits, "going for water to land."

LXXXI. 1.—Some read *geito* (mode or way): others *feito*, a fact, thing done, feat *i.e.*, of fight. The pleonasm (l. 6) is the *Æneid* (ii. 152), "*dolis instructus et arte Pelasgâ*." Line 8 is a *caterva de vozes*, a heaping up of words to express fury.

LXXXII. 1–3.—A "labyrinth of grammar." *Acabou* (l. 1) "he ended," refers to the Bacchus-Moor: *Lançou* (l. 3), "he cast" to the Shaykh-Moor.

LXXXIV. 1.—*Raio* (ray) *synchdoche* for *Raios* (rays).

The epithet *accendido* (l. 2) is not admired. I have noted that Nabathæa (Ovid's *Met.* i. 61, and Ariosto, *O. F.* xv. 12) is for "the East" generally; here equivalent to our "high Malvern hill." *Apercebido* (l. 4), according to some, means as Bacchus had foretold.

LXXXV. 5-8.—"Ne credas inimicum tuum in æternum" (*Eccles.* xii. 10).

LXXXVI. 3.—*Embraçado* = armado: I presume it means slung on the arm.

LXXXVII. 1.—*Ribeira alva, arenosa*, a disjunctive, not conjunctive. *Caes* (canes) in l. 6, and Canto iii. 48, is noted by Mac. as a "very vulgar and low expression; unworthy of the Epopee." Musgrave quotes *Odyssey* xxii.; and the reader will remember certain canine and asinine comparisons in the *Iliad*. The *Roteiro* shows the use of *estes perros* (these hounds).

LXXXVIII.—This stanza is greatly admired for its spirit, its "terse linking of familiar images, and the swiftness of its utterance." Lines 4 and 8 balance one another; and the five and four verbs, with only one conjunction, give wonderful expression and energy. Compare Bernardo Tasso, ix. 63. *Bramando duro corre* (l. 7) is a Hellenism.

LXXXIX. 1-4.—The short incisive sibilants imitate the discharge of the bombards (great guns).

XC. 8.—Nothing can be truer to life than the Shaykh abusing, not his adviser, but his adviser's mother; *Us-kí mán-kí* . . . suggests itself to every Anglo-Indian. Some editions so punctuate the passage that it means:—The old man (men) and mother (mothers) that bear children blaspheme the wars." Hence Aubertin, who, however, preserves the usual stops, has:—

Decrepid age and she who sons hath bore.

XCI. 3.—*Pedra* (stone) is smaller than *Canto* (ashlar,

hewn stone). Line 4 is the *Æneid* i. 154. Line 8 shows that Camoens had studied the ground.

XCII. 1.—The *Almadia* (Almadie) is the Arabo-African canoe or dug-out; properly El-Máziyah, the ferry-boat.

XCIII. 2.—*Despojo* = spolia, exuviæ, taken from the enemy's person: *Presa* (præda) = anything plundered; the Anglo-Indian "loot."

XCIV.—The figure Expositio. Line 4 is Cicero: "sub nomine pacis bellum latet."

XCVI. 3.—Castera would make the Nereids symbolise the Virtues, which is uncalled for. Mac. declares (l. 5) that an idiot could not be more appropriately described than is Da Gama. How, he asks, could Captain or Pilots, with the "Ruttier" of B. Dias in hand, fail to perceive that they were being steered the wrong way? But Dias never saw the Mozambique Channel.

XCIX. 8.—Mac. stigmatises this line:—

Quilõã (Kilwá), muy conhecida pela fama,

as an *erradissimo verso*. It is, however, etymologically correct as usual. Fanshaw, Musgrave, and Quillinan euphonically mispronounce it Quilóã. Line 5.—*Em terra tão remota*, says Ferr., appears *aqui pegado com obrã*,—here stuck in with a wafer.

CII. 8.—*Barra* means a river-embouchure, which may or may not have a "bar" proper; in Africa it usually has. *Faz barra* is said of a river, or a sea-arm anastomosing with another sea-arm or disemboguing into the ocean. This "River of Mombasah" is the narrow sea-strait which makes the island.

CIV.—The short sketch of Mombasah is perfect.

CVI. 8.—"Ego sum vermis,"—true of him who thinks it.

NOTES TO CANTO II.

STANZA I.—This description of a spring-sunset (April 7) when the night-god (Vesperus or Erebus, Morpheus or Somnus) opens the Gate of Darkness for Phœbus, is much praised by F. D. Gomes, and blamed for its obscurity by Mac. Fons. and Jur. read, with Man. Correa, *infidas* in lieu of *ingidas* (l. 6).

I.—An African chief always sends a trusted kinsman or attendant as “Mouf,” to greet strangers and to spy out everything.

VI. 8.—The “Faithless” are the Faithful generally: *Se fia da infiel* is the normal Camonian oxymoron, antithesis or opposition, not without a suspicion of jingle.

VII.—As was advocated by St. Augustine in the case of the Donatists, criminals were not put to death, but applied to hazardous enterprises, with chance of pardon: thus D. Joam III. and his age solved an enigma which puzzles the nineteenth century.

VIII. 3.—The figure *coacervatio* or *synonymia*, *Fè de mouro* in Port. is = *Punica* or *Græca fides*, —the Slav *Passia-vira* (dog-faith).

IX.—The last couplet is St. Gregory’s “*mens prava semper in laboribus est.*”

XI.—Cainoens is abused by many for this stanza, in which F. G. Diaz finds a picture worthy of Correggio. The Phoenix is Pliny’s (x. 2): the last couplet alludes to Acts ii. 2-4.

XII. 3.—Panchaia or Panchæa (l. 5) is the Dofar Coast, East Arabia.

XIII. 8.—*Moça* (wench for wife) did not then bear the light sound and sense it now does. The Latins

civilly said "Tithoni splendida conjux": Tassoni impudently:—

La putanella del canuto amante.

XIX. 4.—Explained by Boscan (Leandre y Hero),—

—de la alta Venus
Pues que en el mar nació, y en ella reina.

XX. 3.—The Edit. Princ. and the other dated 1572 read Cloto (Clotho the Fate) for the (Nereia) Doto of the Æneid (ix. 102) and the Iliad (xviii. 40, etc.). Nise is Nisæa (ibid. : v. 822). Some critics find a pleasant novelty in this treatment of Venus and the Nereids; Mac. objects to their being turned into remoræ or sucking-fishes.

XXI. 1.—"Hunc vehit immanis Triton" (Æn. x. 209); wherein Triton is a ship. Here and in xxxiii. 2, Dione, daughter of Ocean and mother of Venus, after Neo-Latin fashion is confounded with Dionæa, her offspring.

XXIII.—The Ants (like the Frogs in xxvii.) are Homeric, a *lieu commun* to old Poets, Virgil, Horace, Apollonius Rhodius, etc.; when no Lubbock had divided them into the three stages of human society, hunter, shepherd, and agriculturist. *Accomodado* (l. 2) = proportioned to their powers. Hostile winter (l. 4) is A. de Musset's "disease of the year": "omne frigus inimicum Naturæ."

XXIV. 3.—*Maream velas*; they trim sails to catch the wind. *Mestre* (l. 5) is Magister, the Pilot, Pero de Alemquer.

XXV. 1.—Fons. inverts the words to *Medonha celêuma*: the latter (alluded to by Lucan, ii. 694) is from Rutilius and other classics:—

Dum resonant variis vile celêuma modis.

It is more properly "Celeusma," the cry of the "Cele-

ustes," who kept time for the oarsmen. In vulgar Port. the word is *Faina*.

XXIX. 1.—*Estranheza* is an Italianism; here meaning ill-conduct, villany, and "excesses" in Canto iii. 122. The minor miracle (l. 8), when the ships passing into port were driven back, as it were by some invisible hand (probably a current), is quoted at full length by Mitchell (p. 285) from Osoriö.

XXXI. 6.—*Enganos tão fingidos* (snares so feigned), an emphatic pleonasm.

XXXIII. 6.—The third sphere is that of Mercury: perhaps it is a slip for the fourth (heaven of Venus), where the goddess would be at home.

XXXIV. 1.—Like all others I have mistranslated (1st Edit.) this passage: *affrontada* means flushed, rosy. The stanza ends with an image familiar to the romantic poets: so Petrarch, Canc. viii.

XXXV. 1-4.—Meaning nude, as at the Judgment of Paris. L. 7, *Galgo*, a "greyhound," i.e., *Canis Graius*, Greek dog, is a misnomer, because, as the tomb-pictures show, it comes from Egypt, where the dog has a long history. It is the Lat. *Vertragus*, the Arab *Sulúki*, and its original habitat was probably El-Nejd or Central Arabia.

XXXVI. 5.—*Petrina* = girdle: so Arnaud de Marneil:—

Dona genser, acha-se
Mento e gola e peitrina
Blanca co neus ni flor d'espina.

Quillinan here throws ss. xxxvi. and xxxvii. into one; Mitchell, disregarding rhyme, leaves ll. 4-8 in Port.

XXXVII. 1.—*Cendal* is Low-Latin *Cendalum* (Ducange)=thin silk: it is the "Zendado" of Ariosto (vii. 28; xxxviii. 50), and Fairfax (Tasso, viii. 55):—

And now in Sendal wrapt away he bore
That head, etc.

XL. 8.—*Quero-lhe querer mal* (“I will to will them ill”), is a jingle, which says the scholiast *cheira de escola* (smells of the school).

XLI.—The Aposiopsis or Reticentia is the Æneid’s “Quos ego” (i. 135). After *fui* we must understand *mofina* (the Arab. Mihnat), “so hapless, so sorrowful.”

XLII. 4–8.—Translators have scamped these lines. Fanshaw gives:—

Who, had he hated Portugal before,
Would now have loved it meerly on *her* score.

Quillinan omits Cupid: Mitchell preserves the Portuguese; and Aubertin has had the good sense to translate literally.

XLIV.—Jupiter’s speech is rather geographical than chronological: he begins at Mozambique, and ends at the Aurea-Chersonese (Malacca). It must be confessed that here as in Canto x. Camoens abuses the privilege of poetic prophecy; but not so notably as Ariosto (Canto xxxiv., etc.). Mac. severely blames the *Vejaís* and *Vereis* (ye shall see), which here begin in force: some stanzas (e.g. xlv.) contain the word thrice repeated.

XLV. 3–4—A translation of the Æneid (i. 246). There is great uncertainty about the site of this classical Timavus; which Strabo calls the “Mother of the sea”; and which explains Timachus, Tham-isis, Thames, and Tamar. Virgil may allude to the modern Timavo, which, however, is, and ever was, wholly unconnected with Antenor’s city. It cannot be Lucan’s (vii. 6), who represents an Augur sitting on the Eugaian Hills, where Aponus (Abano) rises, and where the waters of Timavus are dispersed in various channels: this would be the Tila-

vento, the Brenta, or the Bacchiglione of Padua. Pliny (iii. 18) places it in the region of Carnia (Caer=a stony tract?), and the Timavo is still one of the "wonders of the *Carso*," the highland plateau of limestone which separates the Adriatic from the great Valley of the Danube. The river, locally called "la Recca," heads in the Dletvo forest on the N. Western flank of the Trestnik or Trstennik ("cane-ground") Mountain, in the range Della Vena, that parts the Istrian Peninsula from its Continent. Thence it rolls a shallow stream to the W.-N.-West in a well-defined valley, 37.9 kilom. long, to the village of S. Canzian, 316.6 mètres above S. L. Here it rushes at a high wall of rock, tunnels it, and disappears underground, where the Carso is honey-combed by caverns, Barathra and Katabothra. It can be visited at Trebich (10.4 kil. and 19 metres above S. L.) by descending a series of rifts. Still flowing underground, after 18.96 kilom., a total of 67.86, of which twenty-nine are subterraneous, it gushes out of the Carso flank at S. Giovanni di Tuba, near Duino, a church which preserves the memory of the Thracian Diomede, and where the Angel will blow the last trumpet (tuba). Here it appears in several large *Polle* (emisaries), as they call these fountains, which resemble those of similar formation, Libanus. The number, usually three, which may be split into seven, varies with the season and the tide-height. They anastomose in the Mandria de S. Giovanni, a straight and ditch-like channel, a mile long, and useful to coasting-craft. This "Timavus" (proper) flows into the Adriatic head, near the Thermæ of Monfalcone, where in former days a double island of limestone arose from the now dried up Stagna Timavi.

XLVI. 8.—The "Higher Law" is Christianity.

XLVII. 3.—Neptune is a metonymy for the ocean.

This sea-quake is related by Barros (iii. 9, 1) and Castanheda (vi. 7). When Da Gama, become Viceroy, was returning for the third time to India, the waters of the Cambay Gulf trembled in a dead calm before dawn on Sept. 6th, 1524. The crews were frightened; but the veteran, with a presence of mind worthy of Epaminondas and Cæsar, exclaimed *Amigos, prazer e alegria, o mar treme de nós* ("Rejoice, my friends, the sea trembles at us").

XLVIII. 1.—The Mozambique. Line 5 alludes to the Zanzibar Coast.

XLIX. 3-6.—In a naval fight off Hormuz Island between Albuquerque and the Persians, the latter were wounded by their own arrows driven back by a furious wind (Barros, ii. 2, 3). As the Portuguese had no bows, this accident became quasi-miraculous.

L. 5.—The best editions read *o grão* Mavorte (great Mars); *grão* Pacheco, and even *grão* Rainha (regina). Perhaps the word would better be written *gran'* (for grande), *gram* and *grand'* being also found in good MSS. *Grão* would etymologically mean granum, grain.

LII. 6.—Alluding to Duarte Pacheco Pereira: see Canto v. 12-25. *Insolente* is used as in Boileau (Epit. iv. 58):—

Et depuis ce Romain, dont l'insolent passage, etc.

LIII.—This stanza, imitated from the *Æneid* (viii. 685), is full of Latinisms. Mars (l. 1) is the usual metonymy for war, battle. *Instructo*=drawn up in order of fight. *Ferver* (boiling) is the sea-surface during action. Leucate (Leucas, Lucan, v. 479) now Cape Ducato, is the southern point of the Leucadia Island, north of Cephalonia, and opposite Actium, where the Augustus-Antony action took place. It still shows to passing steamers a long red stripe down the cliff, supposed to be

the blood of Sappho. The last couplet, very refractory to translation, contains a *jeu de mots*; *presa*=a prize, spoils: *preso*. a captive, one despoiled, i.e., Antony captivated by Cleopatra.

LV. 1.—A verse justly blamed: there is no poetry in

De modo, filha minha, que de gesto, etc.

(In mode, O daughter mine, that with such geste).

Scholiasts complain (l. 6) that Jupiter, alluding to Magellan in 1498, is anachronistic: it is, however, a common classicism, the Past for the Future, *prophetic*.

LVII. 6.—The winds “obey” by enabling the God to fly.

LVIII. 4.—“*Melius est nomen bonum quam divitiarum multarum*” (Prov. xxii. 1).

LX. 2.—*A luz alheia* (alien light) is translated in three ways. *Alheio* etymologically is = alienus; but it also means distant, uncertain, indistinct. Some, on account of the article, refer it to the Moon; others apply it to the dimness of the stars. But I have no doubt that Camoens alludes to the old belief of the stars being lighted by the sun (Calderon in “*El Principe perfeito*”; and Milton, Par. Lost, vii. 364). Dante (Par. v. 129) makes Mercury veiled by *gli altrui raggi* (other rays), that planet being nearest the sun. It is safest to translate “with the alien light,” as in Hamlet:—

And thirty dozen moons with borrow'd light.

LXI. 2.—The *Conduplicatio* is the “Fugite, O miseri, fugite” of the *Æneid* (iii. 44 and 639).

LXII. 4.—Melinde in S. Lat. 3° 9', nearer the equator than Mombasah.

LXVII. 3.—*Galerno* says Ferr. means any fair wind; here it is the N.-East monsoon trade.

LXX. 6.—Skies (or heavens) for climate. Fons. (l. 8)

would change *acharão* ("they shall find") into the sing. *achará*, as the Moors were addressing Da Gama, not the Portuguese.

LXXI. 8.—Æneid viii. 269.

LXXII.—Sol enters Taurus; here Easter Sunday, April 15, 1498. Flora pours forth the contents of Amalthea's Cornucopia as the flowers begin to bloom.

LXXIII.—There is a wonderful realism in this Stanza.

LXXV. 1-3.—The rhyme *nobreza* and *preza* is not appreciated.

LXXVI. 1.—The "sesquipedalia verba" *offerecimentos verdadeiros* are generally blamed.

LXXVII. 5.—*Escarlata* was a crimson-dyed broad-cloth much used in the African trade. Coral (l. 6) is a herb or vimen after the mode of Ovid (Met. xv. 416), followed by Claudian and others.

LXXVIII. 5.—The old "Truchman" is the modern "Dragoman," from Targum, Tarjumah, etc. It alludes here to Fernam Martins, one of Da Gama's two linguists.

LXXIX.—The Interpreter's speech divides itself, as usual, into the classical Exordium (conciliating the King); Narratio (exposing the wants of the Fleet); and Conclusio (summing up what has been said).

LXXXI.—The Stanza is from the Æneid (i. 543).

LXXXIV. 8.—The Poet carefully varies the expression which is simply "for ever." Compare viii. 32; and x. 25 and 74.

XC. 1.—*Raio* = fulgor or fulmen. The passage, imitated from Virgil and Lucretius, suggests that the Melindans ignored gunpowder.

XCII.—Osorio (De Reb. Emmanuelis) says of the Shaykh of Melinde "In omni autem sermone Princeps ille non hominis barbari specimen dabat, sed ingenium et prudentiam eo loco dignam præ se ferebat." Voltaire

and others prove their ignorance by assuming the Zanzibarian Arabs to have been savages. Memnon (Herod. ii. 106), son of Aurora (the East), was mentioned by Homer, and the Greeks found him everywhere in the East. Diodorus (ii. 22) says that he was sent by Teutamius, 21st King of Assyria after Semiramis (the "Dove"), to aid his uncle Priam (brother of Tithonus) with troops, including 10,000 Æthiopians of Asia, and when slain by the Thessalians his body was recovered by his Æthiopians and burnt. His vocal statue is of Amunoph (Amenóthis) III. In fact at present Memnon appears an impossible personage.

XCIII. 3.—*Cabaia*, a tight-fitting robe reaching to the ankles. "Harsegaye" (l. 5) is the modern "Assegai,"—with a difference.

XCV. 4.—A saying common in the Classics; Ovid's "materiam superabat opus" (Met. ii. 5). Line 8, *Aljofar*, seed-pearl often mentioned, is the Arab. El-Jauhar, *the gem*.

XCVI. 3.—Comp. iii. 125) *Hum ministro* is not a servant or slave, as some translators think; on state occasions a "Caboceer," or grandee would carry the umbrella, a sign of royalty. It appears in the ruins of Nineveh and extends to the furthest East. Malcolm (Hist. of Persia) derives "Satrap" from Chattra-pá (pati) or Lord of the state-umbrella; but the word is Khshatrapa from Khshatram, crown or empire, and -pá preserver; an "upholder of the Crown." In Persepolis this portable canopy marks the Prince; and Barbosa (87) describes it in "Narsinga"; Varthema makes the King of Calicut use it by way of a standard; and the Rev. Mr. Badger (p. 150) tells us that within his recollection no one was allowed to "pass before the Sultan's Palace on the Bosphorus without lowering his umbrella." In Burmah only the King can use a white one.

XCVII. 6.—*Roupa* is generally rendered “linen.” F. y S. translates it *capa* (cloak) owing some confusion. Jur. (vi. 536) makes the whole sentence mean that Da Gama came dressed in Peninsular garb, but he wore a French *Rupão* or *Gibão* (doublet, jacket), made of Venice satin stained crimson. The word is the Arab. El-Jubbeh, which appears in jupe, jupon, etc.

CV. 4-8.—*Apascentar* in Constancio and Moraes is especially translated to lead forth, to guide; “Polo” being a Shepherd and the stars his sheep. I mis-translated the line, though very doubtful that this is its meaning:—

Long as its Stars leads forth the vasty Pole.

Fanshaw makes the v. a. *apascentar* a reflective, and blots out the metaphor:—

In Heaven's blue meade while stars take their repast.

Quillinan has “starry flock shall keep.” But evidently the idea is from Virgil (Ecl. v. 76). In the *Æneid* (i. 603) we find “*Polus dum sidera pascet*”; *i.e.*, physically and metaphorically. Zeno and Epicurus (Lucretius, v. 510) held that the stars, like the sun, were fed by vapours hanging about the Pole. I shall therefore prefer for the future:—

Long as the vasty Pole his stars shall feed.

NOTES TO CANTO III.

I. I.—This is Nunc age (*Æneid* vii. 37). Daphne, Clytia, and Leucothoe are the laurel (bay), heliotrope and

frankincense-Nymphs. *Soe* (l. 8) is the Lat. "solet," the Port. *costuma*.

II. 4-8.—Lines much admired: the *Analyse* pronounces them "divine." Fons. (ll. 7, 8) has *receo* and *Orpheo*; he considers *receio* and *Orpheio* (preserved by Jur.) to be forced, a *verborum licentia uberior*.

IV. 3.—"Laus in proprio ore vilescit."

VI.—Here begins the History of Portugal, which occupies 137 Stanzas of this Canto, 105 of C. iv., and 100 of C. v.; a total of 342. Mac. justly remarks that Da Gama sitting in the boat with the "poor silent King," does not keep his promise (iv. 8) of being brief. He compares the sketch of Europe unfavourably with that in lib. ii. of "Sannazaro's most perfect poem *De Partu Virginis*," when the author obeys the decree of Cæsar "ut describeretur universus orbis."

VII. 2.—Old Geographers made the Tanais rise in N.-Eastern Russia from the Rhipæan Mountains or Western Urals,—"*Riphæo tunditur Euro*" (Georg. iii. 380). *Ῥίπη* (a blast) named the "Rhipæan bands" of Lucan (ii. 640), meaning the Scythians. Moderns derive the Don from the Ivan-Ozero (lake) in the Government of Tula (N. lat. 54°); it flows to the S.-East through the Cossack country; curves to the South-West, and ends in the Azof Sea (Lake Mæotis).

IX.—Herod. (iv. 5) makes the Scythians call themselves the youngest of all nations. Camoens follows Justin (ii. 1), "*Scytharum gentem antiquissimam*." These old Tartars, Mongols and Chinese, a quarter of the human race, about B.C. 630 sent out certain hordes which, led by their Prince Madyes (Idanthyrus or Oghuz Khan) reached the frontiers of Egypt, and asserted a higher antiquity than the sons of Nilus-land (Ammian. Marcel. xxii. 15). Our Poet, as many have done since his day, refers the disputants to Genesis (Chap. x.); and holds

that Adam (the "Red Man") was created *de limo terræ*, supplied by the Aram Demesek, Ager Damacenus, or Plateau of Damascus. The latter is divided into the Ghútah (hollow), the river-valley containing the city; and the Merj (meadow) or open land to the East. Josephus makes the city-founder Uz the son of Aram; and the basin has ever been connected with legends of Abraham.

X. 3.—Insula for Peninsula; *Brusio* (l. 8) *i.e.*, Bo-russians, Prussians.

XI. 2.—The Ruthens are the Slav races of Eastern Galicia about Lemberg (Leopoli); as opposed to the *Moscós*, Russian Tartar-Slavs. The former are now taking a forward part in the Slav movement. The Silva Hercynia of Cæsar, 60 × 9 days' march, covered the range now called Harz and Erzgebirge (Ore Mounts).

XII. 5.—Hæmus (the Balkans) and Rhódope or Rhodópe (Despoto-dagh) have become familiar to England since Bulgaria, one and indivisible, has been split by politics into a kind of Siamese Twins, Northern and Southern. These walls will form the limits of the Kingdom or Principality of Byzantium, which will have for capital Constantinople; and the sooner its present ill-omened name returns to its older and nobler form the better.

XIII. 2.—The Axios or stream from the N.-West, feeding the Thermaic Gulf (Thessalonica or Saloniki) is the modern Vardhári or Bradi (Leake, iii. p. 258).

XV. 3.—"Apennine," the seam of the Italic boot, is derived from Alpes Pennini, the Alpine section crossed by Hannibal. The first lines are a translation of Petrarch's well-known "Il bel paese," etc. So Ariosto (O. F. xxxiii. 9, 35) speaks of Apennine parting, and of Alp and Sea surrounding Italy. The "natural walls" repeats Polybius' *muros Italiæ*. Line 8 contains a fine epiphora.

nema to the effect that Italy gentile was far superior to Italy pontifical.

XVII.—Hispania, the whole Peninsula, is the head of Europe, whose body extends to N.-East: Portugal (St. xx.) is the poll or crown, which Brazilians compare with another and a lower portion of the body corporal. In line 6, *Pôr-the nota* (Lat. nota) means "to discredit it."

XVIII.—Fons. derives Gibraltar from "Ghibaltath"—mountain of the entrance: I need hardly say that it is Jebel el-Tárik the Berbero-Arab Captain, applied to Calpe of "the Theban" (l. 4), Herakles or Hercules.

XIX.—Contains the nine kingdoms into which "Spain" has been divided. Parthenope, the Siren's town, Neapolis, is made unquiet, ever perturbed by Vesuvius.

XXII. 1.—Viriatuſ: a paronomasia on vir, vires, vis, virtus, &c. The involved construction is, "Light and agile Time (who devours his own sons) came by decree of Heaven to make this (my natal land) play such great part in the world." I have attempted to preserve these characteristic involutions; to the surprise of many reviewers who, of course, never read the original.

XXIII. 5.—That is, from Gibraltar to the Caucasus.

XXV. 3.—It is strange how little reviewers read. One charges me with "employing *sort* in the French sense." Let him look at Chaucer and Spenser.

XXVII. 5.—Godfrey de Bouillon, crowned first King of Jerusalem A.D. 1099.

XXIX. 2.—The figure Correctio: Jur. places the line in a parenthesis.

XXX. 5.—Corrêa has *Cousas* (things): Fons. and Jur. *Causas*; the latter appears the better, and the former would run:—

He weighs the matter in his own conceit.

XXXII.—Mac. would delete all this stanza. A second marriage, though then held bigamical, is no proof of extensive incontinence; and certainly should not be classed with parricide and infanticide.

XXXIV. 3.—Fons. preserves Corrêa's,—

Contra o tão raro e ingente Lusitano
(Against the Lusitan so great and rare).

Jur. prefers *raro em gente*, and I follow him. The allusion in the last quatrain is to the Battle of Valdevez (A.D. 1128).

XXXVIII. 3.—*Despidos* (dos vestidos de gala); unclothed, *i.e.*, not in courtly garb. Mickle kindly robes them "in gowns of white."

XXXIX. 1.—*Ves aqui*, for *eis* (behold!). The tales of Sinis or Scynis, the Corinthian Klepht, who dismembered his victims by trees, and of the Athenian Perillus, are from Ovid (Met. vii. and Art. Amor. i.) and Claudian (in Ruf. i.).

XLI.—*Algoz* (a hangman) is Port. not Span. The Dictionaries (Constancio, etc.), derive it from *ἀλγος* (grief, suffering) or *ἀλοάω* (to beat), and *γόςος* wailing for pain. It is the Arab. El-ghazi, properly a fighter for the faith;¹ politely, a Gypsy, an executioner: hence the Gháziyah, dancing-girl, in Egypt. So *Algema* (a fetter) is deduced from *ἀλγημα* (suffering): it is the Arab. El-Jema'.

XLI. 7.—Zopyrus is a corruption of Daduhyá = Datis = the given one; Behistún Insc. Col. iv. Par. 18, 8).

XLII. 6.—*Arraiál* (Arab. El-Ráyah, a banner: Plur.

¹ It should follow name and title, as Osmán Páshá Gházi, not, as in English papers, Gházi Osmán. This is an Eastern "Don Garcia," or "Sir Smith": the latter form is preserved only on the Continent, whereas Walpole spoke of "Sir (William) Gordon."

Ráyát, banners or camp) means (1) a Head-quarter cantonment where the King is; (2) a military post generally. Hence, in S. America, so many townlets bear the title ("Highlands of the Brazil," i. 109). In line 8 Corrêa has :—

Postoque em força grande (fox em força, e gente), tão pequeno.

Fons. and Jur. prefer the reading in parentheses : I do not, as the stanza should end with a characteristic antithesis.

XLIV. 4-8.—Alluding to the Amazons. The Thermodon (Herod. ix. 43), according to Leake (ii. 250), is the Platanaki flowing into the Euripus. In l. 5 the warlike dames follow their friends (*amigos*), not their husbands. Many Moorish and Christian Chiefs were accompanied by their mistresses, who fought with the greatest gallantry. Salazar was not so fortunate, as appears in the "Despised Stanzas." Mac. (i. 160) shows his utter ignorance by the side of Camoens' knowledge.

XLV. 2.—The Pole is here a familiar classic Synecdoche for the sky. Line 8 translates: "Non nobis Domine" (Ps. lxiii.).

XLVII. 7-8.—The form of "acclaiming" the ancient Kings of Portugal.

XLVII.—Molossus, in Epirus, bred the bravest, Crete the swiftest dogs (Lucan, iv. 440).

XLVIII. 5.—*Alarido* is the Moslem slogan "Allaho Akbar," technically called Tekbír. (Comp. my "Pilgrimage," etc., iii. 201, etc.) Fanshaw has, with a wonderful naïveté :—

With this the *doggs* take up a Howle and rue-
Full cry.

Mac. observes that Da Gama deserved a slap on the

face from the Moslem king. The obtuse mute *l*, with *u* and *r* (ll. 7, 8), is intended to suggest the trumpet-tone after Virgilian fashion.

LIX. 8.—The meaning of *o fato* is disputed. F. y S. distinctly says *Roupa* (cloth), and is followed by most versions. Fanshaw, “snatch up their hooks”: Aubertin, “gather their goods.” It evidently means flock, as the poet speaks (Eclogue iv.) of *gado, e pobre fato*: I have, therefore, followed Jur. vi. 537.

LI. 2.—All translate *Serra* (serried or saw-like ridge) by “mountain”; it is the Span. *sierra* misapplied by Childe Harold to Portugal. In the second Rollandian Edit. we find *Serra* explained from Bluteau’s Dictionary as a “squadron ranged with many angles like saw-teeth.” This again is *Prosa*, changing a beautiful diamond for a bit of lead; “and,” says Biagioli, “stupid is he who accepts the change.”

LIV.—The shield argent of Portugal bore only a cross, azure, till the days of the King’s Father. D. Afonso Henriques charged it as described in the text; and D. Afonso III. (A.D. 1252) added the seven Castles of Algarves. Heraldic “charges” are the creatures or things blazoned on the coat opposed to the “ordinaries” or lines. “Plates” for argent is more correct than “bezants”: I have preferred the latter, as more intelligible. Camoens has been blamed for mentioning the inescutchions instead of the *cinco chagas* (the Five Wounds of Redemption), which, with the thirty pieces of silver, the Saviour (says Azevedo) ordered to be placed on the shield. Herculano has attempted to prove that the legend dates from centuries after the Battle of Ourique, and that the importance of this action was exaggerated.

LV. 1–3.—The repetitions of *passar* and *tomar* are blamed as vain jingle by Ferr. and others.

LVIII. 1.—Albis is the Elbe. Line 8 alludes to the

second of the Crusades, in A.D. 1146–87. These mighty monuments of folly, ignorance, violence, and superstition have been described as the only measure in which all Europe ever united.

LX. 8.—Hispania Bætica, from the R. Bætis, the land of the Bæturi, the Bastuli, the Turditani, and other Kelts, was afterwards the kingdom of Grenada, measuring 70 × 30 leagues. The Vandals (Goths,¹ Suevi, and Scandinavians) are here called Scythians; they conquered the country and called it Vandalusia, now Andalusía. Seville, of old Hispalis, one of the noblest of Spanish cities, was taken from the Moors by Ferdinand of Castile and Leon in A.D. 1247.

LXII. 4.—*Poderes*=strong places.

LXIV. 2.—Trancoso had lately been burnt by the Moors.

LXV. 2.—“*Piscosi moenia Bari*” (Hor. Sat., i. 5). Line 5 has mightily exercised commentators. The Morgado, quoting “*flerunt Rhodopeiæ arces*” (Georg. iv. 461) prefers *vio-o a serra della*—“saw it her mountain-range.” F. & M.; Fons. and Jur. following M. Corrêa, read *vio-o o Senhor della*,—“Saw it her Lord,”—as the mountain has no eyes. But in poetry it has.

LXIX.—The Poet seems to quote St. Augustin: “*Ne putetis gratis esse malos in hoc mundo, et nihil boni de illis agere Deum. Omnis malus aut ideò vivit ut corrigatur: aut ideò vivit, ut per illum bonus exerceatur.*”

LXXI–LXXIII.—These three stanzas re-echo the speech of “Magnus” in the Pharsalia (iii. 540–96), including the Phasis (or Rion), Syene, the Héniochi, the Sophenes, and the Judæi.

LXXI. 3.—The Nemesis is she of Herodotus. 4.—

¹ I hope, presently, to prove that Getæ and Goths, as well as the Gypsies, are derived from the widely-spread Asiatic family known as the Jats.

Fons. Jur., and most editors prefer *dina* (digne, worthy): F. & M. change it, and apparently with reason, to *indina*, because the victory was "indign." The antithesis of the last couplet is much applauded.

LXXII. 2.—The Heniochi of Colchis are the "gens aspera" of Lucan (Phars. iii. 269). Mr. Aubertin remarks (l. 4) that "Dedita sacris * * * incerti Judæa dei" becomes in Camoens Judæa worshipping and adoring one God. The soft Sophenes (l. 5) are the people of the Upper Euphrates, possibly from El-Saffayn. The terminal distich alludes to Tigris (Tigra=Tir=arrow), and Euphrates (Furát=abundance), "Rivers of Paradise": it also contains the popular misapplication of the Ark-Mountain to Ararat in Armenia.

LXXIII. 4.—Æmathia = Macedonia, between the Haliacmon and the Axios. Poets, however, apply it also to Thessaly, and Lucan (i. 1, etc.) confounds Pharsalia in Thessaly with Philippi in Thrace. Mitchell, who has any number of syllables at his command, translates:—

That father-in-law should conquer thee, son-in-law him.

The *Sogro* (father-in-law) was D. Afonso: the *Genro* (son-in-law) was D. Ferdinando II., who had married his daughter, D. Urraca.

LXXIV. 1-4.—"Alboiaque," king of Seville, hearing of D. Afonso's captivity in Badajoz, attacked the Alemtejo and was beaten back. "Sacrum Promontorium" (l. 7), now Cape St. Vincent, named Sagres Town. The martyr suffered at Valencia of Arragon, by order of Dacian under Diocletian. Scourged, racked, and scorched, he died in ecstasies: the same phenomenon appears in the death of Damiens, who cried "Encore! encore!" when the executioners were tired of torturing him: yet his brown hair turned snow-white (Comp. Bacon, Instaur. Magna, lib. iv.

cap. 1). After a time St. Vincent's remains were borne in a barque to Sagres, accompanied by his familiar, the Raven. When they were translated by D. Afonso Henriquez to Lisbon, a "young damsel, who by paralysis had lost her speech and the use of her limbs, was carried to the Saint's altar. A sweet sleep came over her, from which she awoke with health and speech restored, affirming that the 'Flos Sanctorum' had appeared to her; and, taking her by the hand, had commanded her to rise and speak." The relator (*Monarchia Lusitana*, iii. p. 331) says, *Vidi ego ipse, et quæ præsens aderat multitudo maxima*. Mesmerists and spiritualists will readily believe him.

LXXV. 6.—"Seville's River" is the Guadalquivir, of old Bætis (lxxxiv. 4).

LXXVII.—This stanza shows the result of the Spanish Moors' application for aid to Marocco. Ampelus (l. 2) from ἀμπελος a wine, is now Cape Spartel (also called Soloeis): it projects at the S.-West end of the Fretum Gaditanum (Straits of Gibraltar); and it separates Tangier (Tinge or Tingis) from Ceita, now Ceuta, the classical Abyla: the latter lies at the base of the lumpy conical mass, the Arab's Jebel Zalût, and our "Apes' Hill." Antæus (l. 4), who had vowed a temple of human heads, evidently anticipated the Persian "Kalleh-munar" (Skull-minaret). The "Kingdom of noble Juba" (No. ii.) included all Mauritania, besides Numidia and part of Gætulia; thus it would denote N.-Western Africa.

LXXVIII. 2.—"Dark Continent" is "my thunder."

LXXX. 3.—The city is Coimbra, then a capital.

LXXXI. 5.—*Marlota*, says Bluteau, is a short Moroccan cape, which could be tightened or loosened. The author of *Vestigios da lingua Arabica em Portugal* makes it a scanty garment used in Persia and India: here it would be a jerkin of silk or wool, worn as armour or under armour.

LXXXIV.—A noble Virgilian prosopopœia (Georg. iv. 460–63); suggested by a flood in Dec. 1185, when D. Afonso died. “Those who cling to the shell of a word are blockheads,” says Pasquier; and here a prosaic Scholiast twists the *altos promontorios* into the Portuguese grandees, and so forth. Apparently these “high headlands” are first named only because they would shed their drainage to the plains.

LXXXVII. 2.—For “Red Frederick” (II.) the “severe son of the Emperor” (Henry VI.), and the grandson of Barbarossa; the Hohenstaufen King of Naples so infamous in Dante (*Inferno*, x. 119, etc.) after his foul murder of Piero delle Vigne (Petrus de Vineâ), see Gibbon (D. and F., chap. lix.) and Napier (*History of Florence*, i. 197). The short allusion (ll. 7, 8) to the Battle of Tiberias called after the “Horns of Hattín” (Kurún Hattín), which ended (July 5, 1187), the Third Crusade, is quite correct as far as it goes. Guy de Lusignan attacked “Saladin” (Salah el-Din) who, after plundering Tiberias, encamped upon a strong position above it. The Christians, having passed a thirsty night, were defeated as decisively as D. Sebastiam: very few Knights were able to cut their way through the enemy, and to reach St. John of Acre. Three Bishops were killed in defending what was supposed to be the “True Cross”; and, when the Christians proposed to ransom it, Saladin conscientiously refused to return the “object of their debased superstition.”¹ Hence it was carried to (Old) Cairo and perhaps used as firewood: there is a bare possibility of its being still in the lumber-stores of some half-ruined Mosque.

LXXXIX. 6.—*Túi*, the Galician town, in prose would be Túi or Túy.

¹ No Moslem believes that Hazrat Isá (the Lord Jesus) died on the Cross.

XCII. 7.—Camoens makes “Heliogabalus” rhyme with Sardanapalus; and I have followed suit. The Sun-god of Emesa (Hums), Elagabalus, is derived from *El*, “god,” and the Akkadian *Gebil*, “fire.” The symbol was a black cone, probably an aerolite. Bassianus, better known as Heliogabalus, anticipated the strong-minded of the present age by establishing, under his mother for Presidentess, a feminine senate to debate matters which concerned the sex; and he put to death certain senators who objected to the useful institution.

XCIV. 5.—Camoens is here careless: Afonso III. was The Fat; and Afonso IV. The Brave. The Epiphonema (ll. 7–8) is in his normal style.

XCVII. 8.—*Baccharo* is Portuguese'd from “Bacchare frontem cingite” (Virg., Ecl. vii. 27–8). Ariosto apparently translates it *Nardo* (xxxv. 24); which Milton (Par. Lost, v. 291) places among the wilderness of sweets that adorned The Garden:—

And flowering odours, cassia, nard and balm.

Fanshaw renders “ivy-leaf”: Mickle “*Baccaris*,” and Quillinan “*Baccharis*” (Virgilian, not Camonian); which Mitchell tells us is the “(Our) Lady’s glove, an herb to which the Druids and ancient poets ascribed magical action.” The French also held “*Baccar, ou le gant de Notre Dame*,” as a preventative against fascination.

C. 1.—Camoens pronounces Semirámis. Tartessus (l. 8), the Tarshish of Hebrew holy writ, has been made mysterious by later writers, who insist upon turning a city into a country. But Herod. (i. 163 and iv. 157) especially mentions the “City of Tartessus in Iberia,” whose king, Arganthonius, lived 120 years; and he tells us that its virgin port was unfrequented by the merchants. Strabo (iii. 2, § 14) also notes that Tartessus

and Carteia are the same, and so we find in Mela and Pliny. I would certainly identify Tartessus with the later Carteia, in the Bay of Gibraltar (Canto viii. 29).

CI. 4.—The allusion is to the loss of Spain by D. Rodrigo the Goth. The threefold repetitions (ll. 6, 7, and 8) of *mandar* (to send) are quite in Camonian style. The Queen, Maria, who was badly used by her husband despite her beauty and worth, deserved the Poet's praises. Her speech (greatly admired) begins vehemently, *ex abrupto* (ciii.), with a hyperbole equalling Hamlet's horror :

—the sheeted dead
Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets.

Here the Poet's treatment of the Affections perhaps equals the Ignez-Episode.

CV. 2.—Mulucha, in some Edits. Moluca is made Molucca by one Translator (For this Lixus River, see chap. iii. § 4).

CVII. 8.—The Battle of Tarifa or the Rio Salado (Oct. 29, A.D. 1340).

CIX. 1.—The two Afonsos are No. IV. of Portugal and No. IX. of Castile.

CX. 6.—*Saraceno* (Jur.) not the vulgar *Sarraceno*, is the correct Portuguese form. The word has many derivations, mostly false; and Mickle (Introd. xlv.) explains it by a "wandering banditti of Scythian (!) origin." The oldest deduction is from Sarah, because the race comes from Hagar (?); the Hagaranu or Hagarane tribe having been conquered by Sennacherib. Others take it from the Mountains of Sarraca in Arabia Petræa. My friend Prof. Aloys Sprenger proposes Shuraká, partners or allies, because these Arabs of Idumæa served as light cavalry to the Romans. I have advocated "Sharki" an Eastern, opposed to

"Maghribi," a Western ("Pilgrimage, etc.," i. 275 and iii. 28); and have also noted that as Europe is derived from Erebus, so Asia may be from the Semitic *Asiéh*, the East, *i.e.*, of Phœnicia. The last distich contains the popular saying "falsa conta sem o hospede"; triumphum canere ante victoriam; counting unhatched chickens, etc.

CXV. 6.—The "strong arm" is the Portuguese king.

CXVI.—Alluding to Marius and the Cimbri. Of this Germanic tribe they say 120,000 were slain and 70,000 were taken prisoners, yet many must have escaped into the wild mountains about Recoaro in the Italian Tyrol. Here I found (1874) traditions of the people which had lingered since B.C. 101; the last speaker, however, had died. Their neighbours of the Sette and Tredici Comuni still say in their "Platt Deutsch" *Ik pin ein Cimpro* (Schmeller, Ueber die sogenannten Cimbern auf dem Venedischen Alpen).

CXVII.—The vehement apostrophe to Titus is much admired. Coccyto (l. 2.) is again Continens for the Contained (Pluto).

CXVIII.—We now reach the Ignez-Episode, universally held to be the finest specimen of "affectionate eloquence" in the Portuguese tongue.¹ Even Ferr. owns that the Hispanian Muse never produced anything superior. The style, he says, is uniformly gentle and amene; Genius, Sentiment and Art everywhere appear; the similes are natural; the rhetorical figures are appropriate. The vehemence of expression and the "disordered order" of the narrative are adorned with admirable reflections, and are furnished with pathetic

¹ I have shown (chap. iv. § 1) that the tale is not historically told. Ignez was not dragged by the murderers before the King (ccxxiv.) and the lieges; her hands were not tied (cxxv.), nor could she plead her cause, D. Afonso having retired from the scene.

pauses and apostrophes. King Afonso returns triumphant from the wars ; and, looking forward to "peace with honour," at once finds himself an actor in a dire domestic tragedy : this abruptness has an air of novelty that excites and suspends the reader's attention. Love is reproached as the real author of the crime. Then comes the narrative of the Action ; simple, pathetic, beautiful. The indignant outburst at old Afonso's cruelty is the admirable preamble to the foul murder. The beautiful Ignez is led by her assassins on to the stage crowded by the lieges, and placed before her father-in-law. She pleads her cause with such power that she influences the "King benign,"—"God's Anointed" had slain too many Moors to be overharshly treated. "The savage populace insists ; the ministers execute the order ; the Poet bursts into a cry of rage and horror. He apostrophises the Sun and the Valleys which saw and heard the dreadful end : he compares the murdered Princess with a daisy pluckt from her favourite fields ; and he ends with an admirable address to the Mondego Nymphs, and with a romantic metamorphosis. What a variety of objects ! What frequent transitions ! What sustained interest ! And, to end the whole, our Poet, with that noble candour and sense of justice which characterise him, blames the too cruel vengeance and the savage pact into which the wretched husband entered with his namesake of Castile."

Mac. simply observes that this episode is "the most disjointed and incoherent passage in *The Lusians*." To such lengths can go the hurt vanity of a poetaster. Truly it was said :—

L'amour-propre offensé ne pardonne jamais.

Musgrave, an ant taking the measure of an elephant, finds the appeal to the King "too artificial. Instead of

displaying the fervid and (sic) natural eloquence, inspired by intense anxiety for the preservation of life,¹ it exhibits a figurative and unimpassioned exposition of reasons for an extension of merciful compassion." Again *Prosa!* and poor prose also: the quotation is useful only in showing how far Dulness can go. On the other hand Millié² declares that "Adamastor" and "Ignez" have made the fortune of *The Lusiads*. Mr. Stanley (Correa, xliii.) observes that the beautiful victim is the Wallachian Dilruban of M. Bolentineanu and the Kani Tambuhan of Malay poetry.

CXVIII. 3-4.—This difficult couplet is well rendered by Kuhn and Winkler:—

Um, wie der harte Krieg ihm Ruhm gependet
Gleich ruhmvoll auch des Frieden's Flor zu hegen.

CXX. 1.—Almost all Edits. have *Ignez*, not *Inez* nor *Ines* as Camoens wrote. It is the Spanish *Iñez* and must be pronounced *Ee-nyez* not *Eenyéz*. Again "Agnes of Portugal" is correct, not "Ig-nes of Portugal." In Latin D. Fr. Thomas de Faria writes:—

Agnetem quæ post mortem regina vocata est.
(St. cxviii.)

M. Lamarre (l. 6) would translate *enxiuto* (wiped, dried) by the Latin "exutus" (depouillé): no one will agree with him. The last couplet is explained by Commentators as writing the beloved name on tree-trunks and leaves. So in Ovid (*Ænone* to Paris, 21-26) the beech-trees are marked by the pruning-hook. Perhaps while the

¹ The *Poet* says her chief sorrow was to lose her husband and her children, not herself.

² He quotes a literal but unpoetical version of *Florian* which begins,—

Vainqueur du Maure, au comble de la gloire, etc.

physical writing was figurative, the mountains echo'd the name.

CXXV. 4.—The Latin and Italian versions make *Ministros* = *Ministri* (so the Spanish. Kuhn and Winkler give “die wilden Knechte” (the savage executioner’s-varlets). But like “Algozes” (cxxiv. 1) which I have purposely rendered “hangmen,” it must allude to the three caitiff knights.

CXXVI. 7, 8.—The sentiment is that of the “Winter’s Tale” (ii. 3):

— Wolves and bears, they say,
Casting their savageness aside, have done
Like offices of pity.

Since Colonel Sleeman (1858) gave his account of wolf-reared boys (never girls) in India, a number of instances have made the nursery-tale of Romulus and Remus almost credible.

CXXVII. 2.—*Donzella* does not always mean a maiden in Portuguese; but we can hardly translate it “Damsel”; except after the fashion of “Maid Marion.” F. y S. explains it by the tale of a penitent who, after styling herself *Donzella*, confessed details that were incongruous. “How sayest thou that thou art a Damsel?” asked his Reverence. “Sir,” she replied, “I am the damsel of my mistress.” So in Germany “*Matemosel*” is the housekeeper.

CXXIX. 2, 4, 6.—The *rimas agudas* (acute rhymes), *verei*,—*achei*,—*criarei*, express the mother’s agony and despair.

CXXX. 7, 8.—Chivalry, which, in its outer form at least, passed away with the fifteenth century, had untaught the opinion of certain early Christians, “*quod mulieres non sint homines*,” *i.e.*, that women had no souls. In the seventh century they cleverly but falsely

saddled this opinion upon El-Islam, which notably held the reverse. Even in the fifth century the Council of Macon debated whether God died for women as well as men. Milton's "fair defect of nature" shows a survival of the old Christian sentiment.

CXXXI. 7.—*E bem parece* is ambiguous; meaning either "which may be true"; or, "for still 'tis true."

CXXXII. 8.—*Cuidosos* for *cuidadosos* by syncope, a figure in which Camoens delights, and which I have imitated.

CXXXIV.—This is the famous "Daisy-stanza," that cannot be translated so as to equal the beautiful simplicity of the original. I have tried a dozen ways, but none are satisfactory. In the Ignez-Episode printed for me by Messrs. Harrison by way of a specimen in 1879, it ran as follows: I changed it because lines 2 and 6 were not sufficiently literal.

E'en as we see some Daisy blooming wild,
 whose beauty decks with candid pride the Plain,
 sudden by wanton hand of heedless child
 untimely pluckt and for a Chaplet tane;
 robbed of its perfume, of its hue beguiled;
 so lay that lovely Ladye foully slain,
 and dried the Roses of her cheek, and fled
 the white live colour, with her sweet Life dead.

The Daisy is the Flos of the *Æneid* (ix. 435); and the *Fior* of Bernardo Tasso. English poets justly find a peculiar charm in the ox-eyed daisy; "pearled Arcturi of the Earth"; connected with the eyes of Baldur the Beautiful, the Sun-god of Scandinavia. Chaucer (*Prologue to the "Legend of Good Women"*) left the fond lines:—

Of alle the floures in the mede,
 Thanne love I most thise floures white and rede,
 Suche as men callen daysyes in her toune:
 To hem I have so grete affeccioun, &c.

So Suckling in his immortal song :—

Her cheeks as rare a white was on
No Daisy makes comparison.

Burns addressed loving “Lines to a Mountain Daisy” ; and the dull English herd gives the name to his favourite cow. Our neighbours christen it Marguerite (Arab. Murwárid), the pearl. Camoens makes the *bonina* synonymous with, or a representative of, flowers in general (ix. 62). Aubertin remarks (vol. i. 297), the Portuguese species is a pretty pink flower of which chaplets are made, and more remarkable than our “*Bellis Communis*.”

CXXXV.—This stanza is admired as it is admirable. The Fonte-dos-Amores is in the Quinta-das-Lagrimas ; formerly a garden of the Coimbra Palace (and Convent) : in which D. Iñez lived and died. Mitchell (p. 90) gives a sketch of the Cedars, some of which may date from the days of the murder. One of the oldest bears inscribed :—

Eu dei sombra a Iñez formosa

(To the lovely Agnes I my shade did lend).

We have a parallel case of the blood-dyed pebbles in Saint Winifred’s Well. The daughter of Thewith (mid. seventh century), one of the Lords of Wales, she was educated by the monk who became Saint Bruno ; and she retired to a hermitage, refusing the suit of Caradoc, son of Alan. This Prince took a rough and ready revanche by striking off the lady’s head : as it fell to the ground the Holy Well, which was the blood, gushed out, and the stones are still red-veined.

CXXXVIII. 3.—Fernando is Port., Ferdinando Span.

CXXXIX. 3.—Leonor (Jur. and the general) : Fons. has the older Léonor.

CXLI. 8.—Hannibal’s amour is taken indirectly

from Plutarch and directly from Petrarch ("Trionfo d'Am." iii.):—

Vil femminella in Puglia il prende e lega.

Joam Nunes Freire denies the scandal in "Os Campos Elysios" (1 vol/ 4to. Porto, 1626).

CXLII. and CXLIII.—The end of this Canto is, some say, inserted at the suggestion of certain Inquisitors. Yet it bears the Camonian stamp. The Poet thunders an anathema against Love. But he himself has been a lover,—no one more. This strikes him suddenly; he recants after a fashion, and his fellow-feeling makes him indulgent enough to excuse the weakness of D. Fernando.

NOTES TO CANTO IV.

STANZA I. 1-4.—This passage is highly praised for the sonorous description of the tempest, and for the contrasts which follow it. Mac. remarks that Canto iii. ends with a sermon, and Canto iv. begins with an unfact: instead of Peace the Wars increased.

III. 7, 8.—The loyal and loquacious babe, eight months old, was the daughter of one Estev' Anes, of Evora. This ecclesiastical city is a good *Inscenesetzung*: here "Beatus Mancius," a disciple of the Saviour, first preached, and he was followed by the learned Bishop Quintianus. This stanza led to an outburst in praise of illegitimates, now relegated to the "Despised."

IV.—Mac. finds the octave one of the most scandalous in the whole Poem.

V. 3.—The line is amphibologic, referring either to the Bishop Martinho or to those slain with him. Fons. would emend line 7 :—

A quem ordens, nem aras dam (for nem Jur., &c.) respeito.

The Orders would be the Canons; and the altars refer to their Superior.

VI. 4.—Camoens writes Sylla for Sulla.

VIII. 1.—Bryx founded Ecclesiastical Burgos, famed for its Cathedral. The Townhouse preserves El Cofre del Cid, an iron-clamped trunk belonging to D. Ruy (Rodrigo) Diaz de Bivar (a place near Burgos), El-Cid¹ Campeador (Lord Champion). He was buried with D. Ximena his wife, in the monastery-choir of San Pedro de Cardena; I am told that the remains were translated to Burgos with great pomp on June 19, 1842.

IX. 5.—The “noble island” is Erythrea off Gadeira, Gades (Lucan, vii. 187), Cadiz. Gadeira is derived either from El-Kádir (the Puissant), or from El-Kadur in Punic, a hedge.

X. 4.—Conca (Span. Cuenca) from Concha, a shell, is originally Moorish, built like Ronda, Alhama, and Alarcon on a river-isolated rock where the Jucar (or Sucro) unites with the Huecar. The strong Castle, one of many defending the Hispanian plateau, was under the Wális (governors) of the Toledan Amírs; it was taken by Alfonso IX. (Sept. 21, 1177), and received from Ferdinand and Ysabel the title of “Muy noble y muy leal.” Spanish authors are displeased with “sordid and

¹ Síid, a congener of Sayyid, is in Arab. a lord, master, or prince; and Yá Síuí (my lord) is a popular address to equals. Hence the debased “Seedy” or “Seedy-bháí” (brother), applied in Western India to the Wasawahíli or Zanzibar negroes and negroids.

hard band" (line 6), applied to the Gallegos or Gallicians; and it may be remembered that the Poet's family was originally from this province.

XI.—Independence still characterises the Basques. Their claims to Fueros, primitive laws and privileges, was the lever by which D. Carlos, of late years, raised the Provinces of Guipuscoa, Biscaia, and Alava.

XII. 2.—Vulg. Hebreo, alii Hebrêu; Jur. Hebrëo, trisyllabic by diæresis.

XV. 2.—*Refusar* is classic and poetic Portuguese, not a Gallicism (refuser).

XVI. 4.—F. & M. read *Vencêrao* (they won): *Vencistes* (ye won), being in the Edit. Princ., is followed by Fons. and Jur.

XX. 5.—P. Corn. Scipio, the "first African," was then æt. 24, about the age of D. Nuno.

XXIV. 3.—There is an impossible paronomasia in Nuno and Hunno (Attila, the Hun). In line 8 *se diz* (they say, they call) is taxed with *pouca galanteria* (scant politeness), but the Poet must have had his reasons now forgotten.

XXVIII. 3.—Camoens pronounces Artábros; we Artabrum. Most authors identify it with the Promontorium Neurium seu Celticum, the Keltic Artabri or Arotrebæ, now Finisterre. Others transfer it to the Promontorium Lunarium or the P. Magnum of the Mons Lunæ (Pliny, ii. c. 112), or Serra-da-Cintra: the latter, now Cabo-da-Rocca, with its Farol d'Agua near Cascaes, is the westernmost point of the Peninsula. The Battle of Aljubarrota is introduced with much pomp after the manner of Virgil (*Æn.* vii. 515) and Lucan (vii. 481).

XXIX.—The octave is difficult. F. and M. (l. 4) read *menor* (less) for the normal *maior* (greater), making one exclaim once more *Prosa!* I understand it to mean "In deadly danger apprehension (of danger before it

comes) is often greater than the danger itself; and, if not, still it seems so; for (in the actual fight) fury and the will to win make us disregard fear and possible loss of limb or life."

XXXII. 1.—Two of his brothers, D. Pedro Alvarez Pereira and D. Diogo Pereira (St. xl.), fought against D. Nuno and were slain. In the last line Pompey is entitled "Magnus," after the invariable custom of the Pharsalia. The honour was conferred upon him when he was saluted "Imperator," after the victory over Juba and Metellus Scipio; and it was continued to his eldest son Cneius (Lucan, ix. 121).

XXXV.—After this stanza several octaves (see the "Despised") were omitted.

XXXVII. 2.—The "Seven Brother Mountains," so called from the usual fancy, are in ancient Massylia, the modern Dahrah.

XXXIX. 2.—*Honroso fogo* (honourable fire) = courage.

XL. 3.—The master of Saint James (of Compostella) was D. Pedro Muniz or Moniz. Our poet does not mention that his ancestor, Vasco Pires, was amongst the captives. This stanza is followed by eight rejected octaves.

XLI. 7-8.—D. Joam, wearied with fighting, had thrown himself upon a rough bench awaiting a fresh horse. Then came up to him, with a dancing step, Antom Vasques de Almada, who, unrolling from about his middle the Royal Banner of Castile, presented it to his Liege. The latter laughed and gave the prize into safe keeping. Cerberus (l. 3) is the Trisiras, which the Hindus probably borrowed from the Greek Pagans, as they did Krishna from the Christians.

XLII. 1.—*Aqui* (here) means around the Banner. This octave is greatly lauded.

XLIV. 3-4.—*Sede* (thirst)—*do peito* (of the bosom).—

sitibundo (thirsty) is a compound condemned by critics : the object is emphasis.

XLVI. 5.—*Bandeira* means primarily a banner, secondarily those who fight under it. Mac. says of line 6 “serpit humi.” The end of the stanza alludes to the Battle of Valverde.

XLVII. 8.—The “inclyt Princesses,” daughters of John of Gaunt, were Philippa and her sister Catherine (Catalina). The latter was married to D. Enrique, afterwards III., son of D. Juan I. of Castile.

XLVIII.—Mac. pities the “silent, patient, long-suffering King,” who must sit and hear his faith thus abused.

XLIX. 3.—*Abrindo as pandas azas* must not be translated “opening the expanded wings,” an unjustifiable pleonasm : *pandas* here means curved, concave (compare St. i. 19).

LII.—LIII.—This is poetical licence : the unfortunate Infante never had a chance of being ransomed.

LIV. 2—So of good-omened names Rucellai (Degli Api, 647) says :—

Luigi in Francia e ne la Spagna Alfonso.

The meaning and augury of names, influencing character, was equally well known to Æschylus and Herodotus, to Mr. Shandy and Balzac. The first quatrain alludes to the Battle called after the Campos de Toro, on the right bank of the Duero. The stanza ends with the figure Correo.

LVII. 3.—I inadvertently misexplained in a footnote “Ferdinand” by “Saint” Ferdinand. The “Saturday Review” (May 7th, 1881) took up the “odd historical mistake” in its normal style, genial and modest ; and straightway confounded “The Catholic” title of Isabella with that of her husband, or, perhaps,

with the true "Ferdinand the Catholic" of Spain (1512-16). So Fanshaw, whose additions are not remarkable, is evidently mixed with Mickle, whose additions *are* remarkable.

The whole critique belongs to a class far too common in the Saturnine print; destructive criticism, based upon the principle of individual antipathy, looking only to its miserable "sting," and decorated with the Thersites vein of sneer and personality. Again, it discusses the writer, not the thing written, with the normal arrogance and ignorance. Aristarchus should have read Morgante Maggiore before complaining of Sarrasin and Sarracene, etc., etc. He should not have adopted from Bouterwek, or others, a note containing the half-truth so satisfactory to the "Halb-bildung." He might be expected to see that "pillage" and "plunder" are not synonyms; and that "Sans-Peur" is the best, if not the only translation, of *Sem Pavor*. All scholars know that Camoens was abused by "The Saturdays" of the day for mixing professional and scientific terms with Greek, Latin, and French, and for using a host of neologisms; for "tautology," for "pedantry"; for "rugged and halting verse"; for "indifferent Portuguese"; and for "limping metre." And, had *this* Saturday Reviewer read the original, he would have understood that the stanza (ix. 17) which he damns with his praise, really wants correction: the sentiment should be especial, not general; should refer to the voyagers, not to the travelling race. It is truly regrettable that with such pretensions we find, if not the outward and visible form, at any rate the inward and spiritual disgrace of the old "Satirist," under a new, but hardly an improved, aspect.

LX. 4.—Naples, founded by the Chalcidians, was in the hands of Ferdinand II., brother to Alfonso II., when

Louis XII. of France and Ferdinand of Spain combined to seize it (1499). They fell out; and, in 1500, the "Great Captain" Gonsalvo de Cordova expelled the French, and secured the whole possession for his master. At this time appeared the *Morbus Gallicum* of which Fracastorius sang.

LXI. 1.—Others read *Manda seis companheiros* (the King "sends six companions"); but the envoys were only four (Chap. iii. § 1). The general reading is *Manda seus mensageiros* (messengers, which Fons., as usual, writes *messageiros*).

LXII. 3.—The *Ribeiras altas* (tall shores) are the so-called Mount Kasios or Casium: (Strabo, xvi. 2-33), Tasso (xv. 15) also notes the "Casius Hill," where Jupiter Casius had a temple (the Baal-Zephon, or "Lord of the North," of Brugsch), and where Pompey had a tomb. Kasios, now the Arab El-Jilsah (the headland), or Ras el-Kasrún, and the Turkish Ras Burun (nose or naze head), is a rounded dome, some 170 feet high, of bare sand based upon the sea-beach; and the drift has covered the remains of Zeus Kasios. Pelusium (from *πηλός* = mud), alias Sin, the "strength" of Egypt, was erroneously identified by Wilkinson with Tinah Castle; and Lake Serbonis with the Sabkhat Bardawil (Baldwin's Salina). The remains, 25 to 30 miles East of Port Said, are now known as Tell el-Faddah (Silver-hill) and Tell el-Dahab (Gold-hill); the latter a great outlying defence.

The end of this stanza alludes to the Christian Church in Abyssinia, founded, according to Marco Polo, by the "glorious Apostle, St. Thomas": usually it is ascribed to St. Mark, the first Bishop of Alexandria. The fact of its being Nestorian won for "Abascia," whose race is inferior to the adjoining Moslems, the prepossessions and the sympathy of Europe: the history of the

last half-century proves how little the Abyssinians deserved the report of merits which deceived even critical Gibbon (vii. 341).

LXIII. 4.—Here we find the old derivation of *Nabathæa*, from *Nabaioth* (comp. chap. iv. § 2). Line 6 alludes to *Myrrha*, the beautiful Greek adaptation of the barbarous Hebrew *Mor*, the Arab. *Murr* (bitter). The tale of the Cyprian king, *Cinyras* and his daughter *Myrrha*, an “unkynde abomination,” is often alluded to by *Camoens*. The gum (comp. x. 135) is the produce of *Balsamodendron Myrrha*. It is rather African than Arabian, the reverse being the case with the *Balsamum Gileadense*, the *Balm of Meccah*.

LXIV. 1-2.—*Lamarre* (p. 415) needlessly assures us, “Il n’y a aucun rapport entre la tour de Babel et le détroit de Bab-el-Mandeb. Simple rapprochement de mots.” *Camoens* is here speaking, not of the Red Sea, but like *Herodotus* of the Persian Gulf, and its legends of *Babylon*.

LXVII.—I have translated literally this involved and difficult Stanza, with its parenthesis of unusual dimensions. The vision of *D. Manoel*, a noble episode, is introduced with the pomp of the *Æneid* (ii. 9); and here the *Ganges* and the *Indus* take the place of the *Tiber* (viii. 31). Commentators differ greatly as to the hour when the dream happened: almost all read (l. 6) *a luz clara* (“the clear light”), except the *Rollandiana*, which has *à* (to the) *luz clara*,—an accent which has caused plentiful debate. Some understand evening; others early dawn, and others the whole night. But *Camoens* follows the Classics, amongst whom, says *Padre Cerda* (on *Æneids* ii. and viii.), heroic visions take place at three periods. They are bad and ill-omened before the “noon of night,” uncertain at that hour, and true before dawn, the time alluded to by our

Poet. The ancients held, like Byron, that life is twofold, and that sleep has a world of its own.

LXIX. 2.—The *prima esphera* must be the lowest of the seven heavens. Here the Hebrews and the Moslems place the Garden of Eden; so that the “fall of Adam” was a fall indeed.

LXX. 1.—*Alimaria* is from “animal”; as *Alma* (a soul) is from “anima.”

LXXII. 7.—I wish that we could write “Arkadía.” Camoens describes the Ganges and the Indus after the fashion of his day; making them both arise from the Imaus (Himálaya) of Ptolemy: the former springing from the southern slope, and the latter from the northern counter-slope. But the Classical Geography is mixed with mediæval superstition. The Ganges’ source is placed in the terrestrial Paradise, the Heaven of the Earth (comp. vii. 1); and, therefore, the Genius is the more weary, having run for a long way underground, like the Alpheus of Arcadia-Sicily (*Æneid* iii. 694). The Hindús derive Mother Gangá from Kailasha, the Paradise of Shiva, and make her issue from his top-knot. But, although greybeards may enter into poetry, apparently the seniors of the other sex are refused admission except in the form of witches.

LXXVIII. 1.—“*Preces regum leges sunt.*” The King delivered to D. Gama a silken banner, embroidered with the “Arms of Christ”; and upon this the navigator took the oath of fidelity. The latter also received a *Commenda* (Order of Merit) and an outfit. He was charged with letters for “Prester John” and the King of Calicut (Barros, i. 4, 1). Mac. quotes against line 8. “*Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma.*”

The Minyæ are from Lucan (vi. 385), an ancient Thessalian people, who held Iolchos, and of whom many took part in the Argo-cruise. In Sparta (Herod.

iv. 145) they called themselves the "Sons of the Heroes," as Castor and Pollux were of the crew.

XCV.—The "Old Man of Belem" is the people personified; and the episode and philippic containing the popular croaking is from Osorio. It is the "Speech of Old Age" (*Pharsalia*, ii. 68–233) and the *Illi robur*, etc., of Horace (O. i. 3); but it is Lucan made cosmopolitan, and Horace set in personality, in movement; therefore, grander and more striking.

NOTES TO CANTO V.

STANZA I. 8.—*Troncos* (trunks), hulls, ships by synecdoche, not masts as supposed by Mac.

II.—A highly elaborate stanza, alluding to the "Historic Periods" of which the 6th and last began with the Christian æra. Musgrave remarks (p. 474) that as the Expedition sailed on July 8 (O.S.) the sun, even with due allowance for the reformed chronology, would not emerge from Cancer and enter Leo till some days later. Is he right? "Boa Viagem" is a common name for churches in Portugal and the Brazil.

III. 4.—*Alongavam* ("fixed the eyes upon a distant object") cannot be literally translated.

IV. 7–8.—Columbus discovered America (without knowing it) only on his third voyage in 1498: Cabral hit upon The Brazil in 1500; thus neither could be familiar to Da Gama, although Camoens makes him allude to the latter.

V. 5.—*A derradeira*, either the last discovered (1419)

or the last, *i.e.*, the westernmost known when it was discovered.

VII. 6.—Commentators make *Negro Sanagá* a hyphalage; the “Senegal of the Blacks”: Camoens knew better (comp. chap. iv. § 1); and “Blackwater” is a common river-name in all languages.

IX. 1.—Here, as Jorje Cardoso remarks, Camoens confuses the two Saints James. *O immenso lago* is classically applied, like Hesiod’s “Limne,” to the Guinea Gulf and to the Pacific (x. 1).

XI.—Alluding to Ovid’s scandal about Neptune and Medusa (Met. i. 738, etc.).

XII. 3.—The double liquids in *Serra asperrima* are supposed to mimic the roaring of the lion: the animal probably never existed at S’a Leone, as the emancipated negroes call their “pest-house,” Sierra Leonè (prop. *Serra Leoa*).

XIV. 6.—Aubertin (note on this stanza) is mistaken in supposing that here we have an allusion to “Magellan’s Clouds,” or to the black patches which our sailors call the “Coal-sack” and “Soot-bag.” Camoens had remarked the barrenness of the Southern compared with the Northern hemisphere. This translator compares the Southern Cross with a badly-made kite: Amerigo Vespucci had likened it to an almond.

XV. 12.—Alluding to Juno’s prayer that Callisto and Arcas might never be invisible to man (Georg. i. 246).

XVIII. 1.—This “living (*i.e.*, moving) light,” *La disitata luce de Santo Ermo*; mentioned by Ariosto (xix. 50), by Clavijo (1403), by Ferd. Columbus and by Pigafetta in Magellan’s Voyage (1509), is the Castor and Pollux of the Classics. The Neo-Latins called it *Sanct’ Elmo*, *San Telmo* or *Eremo*, from Anselmus, or Erasmus, Bishop of Naples martyred under Diocletian; and from S. Pedro Gonçalves a Sicilian Bishop, Patron of the

Island: with the former he shared the duty of protecting Mediterranean sailors. The French and English term it Saint Nicholas, St. Anne's Light, Corpusant and Compasant, a corruption of the Spanish Cuerpo Santo, "Saint Electricity." The waterspout or Syphon is the "black cloud" of Homer (II. iv. 275-7); and the Prester of Lucretius (vi. 424), the "burner"; so called because a fiery gust alighting upon the sea caused it to boil up. It is also the Column of Pliny and the Pythonas aquarium of Lucan (vii. 156). Portuguese sailors term it *Manga*, the sleeve.

XXI.—In this Leech-stanza *Sanguesuga* (hirudo) *beijos* (lips) *alimaria* (horned beast), *fartar* (to be filled) and *chupando* (sucking) are objected to as ignoble words. They have, however, propriety, proportion, and truth.

XXII. 4.—Mac. complains that *jacente* (lying flat) is not Portuguese: Camoens made it so.

XXIII.—The stanza reminds us of Cowper and his Task, "Some drill and bore," etc. Line 8 is an emphatic repetition.

XXVII. 2.—The Semi-capran fish is Capricornus, represented in some zodiacs as goat-headed and fish-tailed. Lamarre (p. 434), finding this a *bizarre amphibie*, perverts it to Amalthea.

XXVIII. 4-8.—I have somewhat brutally preserved the two *brutos* which are shirked by polite translators. But Camoens wrote after the fashion of an age, which was not Philanthropic, Humanitarian nor Negrophile.

XXX-XXXV.—The jocose and veracious adventure of Velloso is introduced, after the manner of the Iliad (ii. 212) and the Æneid (v. 181), as a relief from the terrors of Nature and the apparition of the Giant. In xxx. 7, Jur. holds to the old Fernão: Fons. has Fernan', an apocope for Fernando, like gran' (grande) and San' or Sanct' (Sancto). The last distich has a peculiarly

Camonian rhyme : our Poet often adds an —*m* to such words as *assi* and *mi*.

XXXVII.—Here begins the noble episode of Adamastor who, as we learn from Rabelais (ii. 1), was son of Porphyrio and sire of Antæus. He is compared with the Colossus of Rhodes, a statue of the Sun there worshipped, and 105 ft. high (Flaxman, sect. ix.). Castéra ineptly makes the Giant a personification of El-Islam : Mickle, not far behind him, places the monster's words in the mouth of the Melindan King, as a legend current in the country. In ll. 5, 6, Mac. finds an "Irish bull," that the crew should be *descuidados* (careless shown) and yet *vigiando* (keeping watch) : other commentators take the trouble to justify the Poet of their unwisdom.

XXXIX. 2, 4, 6.—The rhymes *valida*, *esqualida*, and *pallida* are *esdruxulos* (slidings), dactyls with an extra syllable, appropriate in describing the immane. I have attempted to express the sound in English ; whereat Reviewers marvel.

XLIII. 5.—Alluding to the Armada of Pedr' Alvarez Cabral, in which B. Dias was lost.

XLVI. 1.—*Outro (caso) virá* ("another chance shall happen") : the shipwreck of D. Manoel de Souza de Sepulveda, who had amassed great wealth during his government at Diu. The event, which happened about the time of our Poet leaving Europe, provoked two Latin, and sundry Portuguese, poems, especially the *Naufragio de Sepulveda* by Jeronymo Corte-Real, a contemporary of our Poet. Alvaro Fernandes, one of the eight who escaped death, published a prose account (Lisbon, 1554). Lamberto Gil considered the event a just retribution for the hapless governor's injustice and extortion.

In 1552 Sepulveda with his wife, D. Leonor de Sá, whose beauty was famous, three children and a suite,

was wrecked on the South African shores, and some 400 of the crew reached the shore. The cruelty of the Caffres, fatigue, hunger, and privations killed all the family, the husband dying in a fit of frenzy. Of the 400 only 26, slaves included, were saved. They were led by Pantalião de Sá, Tristão Vaz and F. Salgado, the latter related to Diogo de Mesquita. This Captain of Mozambique ransomed them from the interior and carried them in his canoe down the Rio Inhambane to his Head Quarters (May 25, 1553). They were well received, and found with passage home: it is suggested (Jur i. 494) that some of them may have gone to India in the same ship with Camoens. These Caffres have long owed a debt of blood to Europe.

LIII. 4.—Doris was the mother of Thetis (wife of Peleus and mother of Achilles), who is nowhere mentioned in The Lusiads but here. The naïve Scholiast remarks that the Giant made the parent a *rufiana* (go-between) for the daughter. Thetis must not be confounded with Tethys the wife of Neptune and goddess of the Sea. Millié observes that Tethys has been mixed up with Amphitrite, her sister-wife, Neptune being the only bigamist among the classic gods. The Frenchman also characteristically notes (vi. 22) that the *Menage à trois* was peaceful and happy.

LV. 8.—“To kiss the eyes,” declares the Scholiast, is a recognised poetical practice; “but to kiss the hair is an act so brutal that it denotes the Savage.”

LVI. 7.—Lope de Vega reaching the end of this line paused to consider how the stanza could worthily end; found himself puzzled, and marvelled at the manner in which Camoens had put on the colophon. But did not the Poet remember Ariadne in Ovid (Epist. x. 49–50)?

Aut mare prospiciens in saxo frigida sedi :
Quamque lapis sedes, tam lapis ipsa fui ?

LXXII.—Neither Camoens nor the Roteiro mention the mutiny off the Cape; but it is circumstantially related by Correa and Osorio. The Armada was now tossed to the clouds (*ut modo nubes contingeret*), then sunk into the abyss, while cold and darkness added to the horrors of the storm. At every lull the crew gathered round Da Gama, praying him to return; but he gallantly refused,—“*valde Gamæ virtus nituit.*” They conspired against his life; his brother discovered the plot; the pilots were put in irons, and the Captains, “*invicto animo,*” took the helm. At last the weather changed and The Cape was doubled.

LXXII. 4.—*Pego* (the deep) is Pelagos, Pelagus by syncope; meaning, as among the classics, either blue water or the Thalweg of a river. *Para o pego* is a nautical or, rather, a Log-book phrase.

LXXV. 7.—*Gente que navegavam ao nosso modo*, says Barros.

LXXVIII. 8.—Tobias (Arab. Tábi'ah, the dependant, the slave) is the worthy of the Book of Tobit, whose companion has curiously survived in “Dog Toby”; Punch being Pontius (Pilate), and Judy, Judas.

LXXX. 4.—Rhamnusia, Nemesis, from Rhamnus, a Demus of Attica.

LXXXII.—This is the first poetical description of Scurvy. Lamarre introduces Machaon and Podaleirios; as if Camoens were not classical enough as he is.

LXXXIII.—This pathetic stanza may be compared with the Odyssey (ix. 62); with Horace (Ode i. 23); and with the Æneid (v. 871):—

Nudus in ignotâ, Palinure, jacebis arenâ.

LXXXIX. 8.—*Grandiloqua escriptura* (grandiloquent writ) sounds in prose like an “Irish bull.”

XCI. 6.—Lampetia, Phaëthusa, and Lampetusa

(Canto i. 46) are the three sisters who were turned into poplars, a favourite legend with Camoens.

XCIV. 3.—*Dões*, now written *Dons*, is the older plural form of *Dom* (donum, a gift): the plur. of *Dom* (the title) is *Dóos* (*Dons*, *Domini*). Glaphyra, says F. y S., is Cleopatra; others refer it to the beautiful daughter of Archelaus, the Cappadocian High-priest.

XCVI.—Camoens follows Horace, "Vixere fortes," &c. (Ode iv. 8), and reflections on Romulus and Æacus (Ode iv. 7). His complaints concerning the rudeness of his fellow-countrymen are those of Juvenal; "Quis tibi," Mæcenas? (vii. 94).

XCIX.—There is a tradition that, when some one quoted The Lusiads as honouring the name of Da Gama, a silly descendant grandee exclaimed, "We have the titles and don't want the praise."

NOTES TO CANTO VI.

STANZA IV. 8.—The friendship between Portugal and Melinde lasted some time. Cabral made over to Shaykh "Fonteyma," uncle of the chief, the gold-laden barques captured at Mozambique; and the Europeans often defended their protégés against Mombásah and Kilwá.

VI.—Bacchus raging against the triumph which must take place, is Neptune in the *Odyssey* (v. 288) and Juno in the *Æneid* (viii. 313). In line 3 I have translated *Thalamo* "chambers": it may also be "Sol's nuptial couches": the Lat. "Thalamus" bears both

meanings ; and the Portuguese *Thalamo* is a couch or a quarter of the heavens when the latter is "domified."

VIII.—This admirable Palace of Neptune is the Temple built by Dædalus on the Cumæan shore (*Æn.* vi.). Chaos, a monosyllable by synæresis, and the Four Elements are from Ovid (*Met.* i. 6, 21, 38).

XIV. 8. — The meeting of the Wine-god and the Water-god is a *conchetto* upon which La Harpe (*La Lusiade*, ii. 48) is too severe. "Il y a dans l'originale une pointe basse et triviale, bien indigne de la majesté de l'Épopée"; and he assaults Castéra, who excuses all things in his Author. Musgrave (p. 492) adds that the Poet has been betrayed into this poor conceit by the epigrammatic spirit which is often attempted to be infused (!) into the last line of the octave stanza.

XVI.—XVII.—The hypotyposis of Triton (*Æn.* i. 148; Ovid. *Met.* i. 331; and Pausanias, lib. ix.) is not without a certain Shakespearean quaintness and grotesqueness; especially as to the *gorra* (bonnet).

XVIII. 1. — Mac. bitterly abuses this coarse line. F. y S. remarks (line 6) that mollusks increase and decrease in size with the moon (Phœbe, not Phœbus); and quotes one of the street-cries of Rome:—

Ecco li granci cotti in buona vena ;
Son buoni adesso que la Luna e piena.

In line 7 Man. Corrêa reads *birbigões* (vulg. *breguigões*): F. and M. prefer *Misilhões* (muscles), which are often mossy.

XXIII. 1.—The fable of Athamas is also a favourite with Camoens. This King of Thebes proceeded to sacrifice Phryxus his son by the first wife Nephele, who substituted at the altar the ram with the well-known Golden Fleece. In a fit of fury he dashed against the wall Learchus, one of his children by Ino. The mother

fled with Melicertes, the other son; and the Nymph Panope carried him under water to Italy. Here an oracle informed Melicertes that he would be worshipped as a sea-god Palæmon; and his mother Ino be adored as Leucothæa, the white goddess. There is some confusion with Melcarth ("King of the City," or "of the Earth"), the Tyrian Hercules. Glaucus also is an enigmatic personage, probably several thrown into one. The most noted was a fisherman of Anthedon near Gaza, invoked in storms with the formula "Exo Glauke!"

XXV. 8.—Lamarre (p. 463) naïvely confounds, like many other writers, ambergris with amber.

XXXVIII.—XLIII.—These stanzas have been translated by Lord Strangford (comp. chap. ii. § 3).

XXXVIII. 6.—*Do Eoo hemispherio*, &c. 'Αοῖος (aster) is the morning, opp. to Hesperos the evening, Star. The Lat. Eous has two sigs., (1) the Dawn-planet and (2) the Dawn itself. Here "Eöan" simply means "Eastern," made familiar to the public through "Eothen."

XXXIX. 6.—Vulg. *esfregando* ("rubbing," frictioning: the Morgado (Firmin-Didot, Paris) prefers the Castilian form *estregando*, from "extergo."

XL. 5. Camoens told Corrêa that Leonardo, the lover or amourist of the Poem, was one Leonardo Ribeiro. In the Asia Portugueza he is called Francisco de Faria e Figueiredo.

XLIV. 5.—So Ariosto (xxxv. 21) had scant respect for the courtiers "who imitate the ass and swine." For the Tale of the Twelve of England, who should be called the "Twelve of Portugal" see chap. iii. § 2. Mitchell (p. 297) defends the Episode against "Unitarian" bigots; and Castéra prefers it to Tasso's Olindo and Saphronia, which he says est "tout à fait pastiche." Millié (Canto vi. note 15) informs us, "L'espèce de culte

rendu aux dames par les héros de la chevalerie n'a brillé de tout son éclat que sous le beau ciel d'Espagne, de France, et d'Italie." If this be true, things have indeed changed for the worse.

LIII. 3.—Most of the Portuguese knights were from Beira; some from Entre Douro e Minho.

LV. 1-2; alluding to Death, "Mors ultima linea rerum est" (Hor., end of Epist. xvi.) Whitsunday was the trysting-time (line 3).

LVI. 8.—Some erroneously read *Imperio* (Empire) for *Emporio*.

LVII. 8.—Fons., Jur., and others, deride the vulgar lectio *animados* (encouraged) and prefer *amimados* (caressed).

LX.—Fanshaw and Millié (p. 470) translate *Sorte* by "lot." The French version says, "Les combatants sont divisés par rangs de trois ou de quatre, selon que le sort l'a décidé." Mickle, too, refers the passage to the Knights, but with a doubt. F. y S. more properly applies the distribution to the courtly spectators praising the Poet's circumstantial description:—"Y ven-se como allí describe los palanques (palisadoes); los tablados (boardings, platforms); y el orden de los assientos (seats). Aubertin holds the same opinion; because (1) the number eleven would not admit such division; because (2) in all editions the first quatrain, referring to the Court, is divided by a full stop from the second, which relates to the knights; and, because (3) in the next stanza, when the combatants first take their places, the spectators are surprised. The Bactrus (l. 5) or River of Bactria, Balkh, Bokhara, the Battro of Ariosto (O. F., xxxviii. 57), is not the Oxus, but some smaller stream that sinks.

LXIV. 5.—*Dece*, archaic for *desce* (descends); and so in St. xxxii. 2, *deci* for *desci*. F. y S. explains *en vez de*

baxar del cavallo, vá bolando uno:—"one, instead of (merely) dismounting, flies from his horse" (comp. ii. 66, 8). This truly Camonian line cannot mean:—

One from his charger flies, which onward bears.

The translator was misled by the equivocal *que*, which expresses our "that," pronoun and conjunction. Three such *que* are badly mixed in viii. 61, 1-2.

LXVIII. 4.—This Countess was D. Isabella, daughter of D. Joam the Bastard, married to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy and Earl of Flanders, who had raised Bruges to high rank. Charles VII. of France, who "paid his English," when assembling the States, cited him to appear as a vassal: his wife refused; and the dispute was settled by the *Judicium Dei*, in which Magriço slew the French knight. Musgrave (p. 498) remarks that the Infanta was married in 1429, and that the Tournament took place in 1390, or 39 years before. Mitchell (p. 298) observes, "A poet is not always obliged to follow the truth of history." Camoens (ll. 7-8) compares the Frenchman's fate with that of the terrible Gaul whose torque (collar) surnamed Manlius "Torquatus": and with the gigantic champion of the Senones, whose defeat, in which the crow took an unfair part, entitled Valerius "Corvinus."

LXIX. 1-4.—This knight was Alvaro Vaz d'Almada (chap. iii. § 3). The conditions of his duello with the German Knight at Bâle were that both should fight with the right flank uncovered. Alvaro, enraged at the trick of his adversary, who was left-handed, threw down his weapon, closed with him and crushed him to death.

LXXI. 1.—*Os traquetes* or *traquetes davante*, the Ital. "Trinchetto," not the main-sail, but the mizen-sail, the "voile de misaine" (Bluteau).

LXXV. 1-4.—The first line,

Mas já a amorosa estrella scintillava,

is pronounced perfect. The verb is Latin, giving vivacity to the verse: the syllables—*tillava* suggest the sparkle of the star; and the rhyme with *visitava* (l. 3) has a "golden simplicity." *Mensageira do dia* (Messenger of the Day) is a kind of parenthesis; and, *leda fronte* (glad brow) ends a sketch full of charms. Orion (l. 6) is not only *ensifer* (from his dagger), but also *nimbosus* and *aquosus*: elsewhere he is "turbulent," because he causes trouble to sailors (St. x. 88). Hence he flies from Venus.

LXXVII.—A beautiful stanza. The "Halcyonian birds" (king-fishers) are said to be most active in the "Halcyon days" (Shak. K. Lear, ii. 2) of early November, the Summer of St. Martin, or last week of fine weather, which has quaint names all over the North-temperate world. In the Vosges it is believed that Noah sent with the dove a *martin pêcheur*: the latter was carried aloft by a mighty wind till his robe took the blue of the sky and the sun burned the lower part red. The bird then dived under water so long that the "Ark" disappeared, and ever since he has been seeking it with cries of sorrow.

LXXIX. 7-8.—This bold image is borrowed from Lucan (ix. 470).

LXXXII. 4.—Lucan, ii. 626. The Ceraunian hills are the rocky sea-range of Epirus; Acroceraunia being properly the point. I have passed it a dozen times, but rarely without a heavy swell.

LXXXVIII.—Orithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, a woman of Attica (Herod. vii. 189), was married to Boreas, whom Lucan (vi. 380) calls "Dalmatian Boreas," and "cold Boreas" (v. 590); and Homer (Il. xv. 171)

“air-cleaving Boreas.” This fierce wind is the modern Bora (*Bóppa*), or N.-N.-Easter, the tyrant of the upper Adriatic, the Sinus Ionicus of Herodotus, which Lucan (ii. 400) calls the Lower as opposed to the Upper or Etruscan Sea.

XCII.—The Poet here shows an admirable art, combining in the contrast of perfect picture the horrors of the night-storm and its imminent deadly risks; the rising of the Star of Love and the stilling of the sea; Dawn walking splendid over the Gháts or Sayhádri Mountains, and the first glorious sight of India,—

Hindustan, bágħ o bostán
(Hindustan, garden of man).

XCIV.—The reflections which end this Canto are even nobler than usual: Mac. admits the fact, quoting, however, Horace, *Sed nunc non erat his locus*. Tasso happily imitated a portion, placing almost the same words in the mouth of the Old Man of Ascalon (xvii. 61-64),—

Signor, non sotto l'ombra in spiaggia molle
Tra fonti e fior, tra ninfe a tra sirene;
Ma in cima all'erta e faticose colle
Della Virtù riposto è il nostro bene

(Not under shades, Signor! on soft sweet slope
'Mid Nymphs and Sirens, 'mid the founts and flowers;
But high on Virtue's rough and rugged cope
The Fane of Valour, man's true blessing, towers).

I prefixed a version of these five terminal Stanzas to The Highlands of the Brazil in 1869. Musgrave (p. 504) finds “the taste of the poet, perhaps, a little questionable, by indulging too much in this strain of moral reasoning”; as it is rather didactic than epic. “Camoens should have avoided this systematic close of most of his Cantos; and these reflections, however apposite, should have been

more condensed and less dispersed in his poem." . . .
 "Although they may be indubitably correct, yet they are oppressively crowded into such close connexion as to exhibit an ungraceful air of scholastic diction." And thus, I add, Prose bewrays the finest Poetry.

XCV.—Compare Sallust (*Jug.*, cap. 85) and Juvenal (*vii.* 68–70; 74–77). "My nobility," said Iphicrates to a descendant of Harmodius, "begins with me: thine ends with thee." Impertinent, if true!

XCIX.—Lamarre quotes Massillon (*part iii.*, "Sermon pour le premier Dimanche de Carême") concerning the difference between love of honour and false ambition.

NOTES TO CANTO VII.

STANZA I. 4.—*Ora sus* ("up now!" which I have rendered by a well-known formula) = "acima, tende animo," courage! Poetical in Portuguese, it is used by Ronsard,—

Or sus, mon frère en Christ, tu dis que je suis prêtre :
 J'atteste l'Éternel que je le voudrois être.

The "Indic currents" (Indus of the Heptapotamia = Panjab) and the Ganges are made to frontier India, which Barros (*i.* 4, 7) calls the great Mesopotamia. Mac. blames the Stanza for its fourfold "já."

II. 3.—The "Mother" is the Catholic Church.

IV. 1.—Camoens wrote during the very crisis of the "Reformation" (Council of Trente till 1563 and Eve of St. Bartholomew in 1572), when Europe was a battle-field of Catholics and Lutherans, now exaggerated to

Ultramontanes and Agnostics. "The Constitution of Germany," says Puffendorf, "verified the Hydra-fable with this difference, that the heads of the State bite and devour one another." Besides, the Fatherland had just produced that great dragon, Martin Luther, its third great appearance in history.

V.—Ariosto (xxvi. 35) is liberal enough to give the "hard Englander," Henry VIII., his due: Camoens considers his contemporary only as one who, "after inventing a religion of his own, made himself the head." But bluff Harry did not claim to be King of Jerusalem (ll. 1-2). The title was offered by the army to Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror; but declined, as the Duke expected the English throne. It was then bestowed upon Regnier, Count of Anjou, whose daughter Margaret was married to Henry VI.; and he assumed as armorial augmentation, argent; a cross potent between four crosslets or. The last distich alludes especially to the deaths of Fisher and More, Cromwell, Anne Ascue, and others who refused to acknowledge the Protector and Defender of the Faith. But, as is the unkind fashion in such matters, no notice is taken of Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer, and the "altera pars."

VI. 1.—The "false King" is the noble Salâh el-Din (Saladin). The "unworthy Gaul" (l. 5) is the gallant and unfortunate François I., who allied himself with Henry VIII., the German Lutherans, and Sultan Sulaymân (The Magnificent) to take the Duchy of Milan from Charles-Quint. The French and Turkish fleets united to bombard Nice; and the "Moors" of Toulon were allowed to build mosques. This liberality, so much in advance of its age, is blamed by Lamarre (p. 284) even in our day, when Paris has a "Masjid" and London talks of building one.

The first quatrain is placed by the "Sebastianistas" in their Canon of Prophecy, and forced to predict the French Revolution and its outcome, Napoleon Buona-parté. The "Vates sacer" of the Sect was one Gonçalo Eannes Bandarra, of Trancoso, Cobbler, Poet and Prophet. His ballads, which did so much to favour the Cause, were in the style of Ursula Southiel, popularly known as Mother (Mrs.) Shipton.¹

*Põe dois ós um sobre outro
E põe lhe outro a direita ;
Põe outro como o primeiro
Ahi tens a conta feita.*

(“ Place two ‘ oughts ’ one topping t’other (8 = 8)
Place another on its right ; (80)
Place another like the first, (8)
Thus the perfect sum you write ”).

This would be A.D. 808 or 1808. But D. Sebastian still remains the “Hidden Prince.” For the four impostors, (1) the King of Penamacôr”; (2) the “King of Ericeira”; (3) Gabriel de Espinosa the pastrycook, and (4) Marco Tulio the Calabrese “claimant,” see M. D’Antas’ “Les faux Don Sébastien :” also chap. iii. § 4.

VII. 3.—The Cinyps or Cinyphus, a “Wady” (winterbrook), not a “Milyánah” (ever flowing stream), rises in Bildulgerid (Bilád el-Jeríd, the Land of Palm-fronds), traverses Tripolí; and, mouching in the Mediterranean between the Syrtes, greater and lesser, forms the western boundary of the former under the names of the Kinipo, Makras, or Wady el-Kaham. Herod. (iv. 198) places it in the Euesperides or Hesperides country, now the Lebida plateau and still famous for fertility. Ovid (Pont. ii. 7, 25) and Lucan (ix. 87 and 312) make the Cinyps

¹ Her doggrel, very different from that usually accepted, was printed in 1448, and reprinted in 1641.

rise from the Hill of the Graces in the Gharian Range. The "just war" (l. 8) is supposed to be the conquest of the Milanese; but Saint Louis (No. IX.) also fought against the Paynim in Egypt and Tunis, where he died of the plague.

VIII.—Italy is here abused, after the fashion of Dante (*Purg.* vi. 76, etc.), of Petrarch (*Canzon.* xvi.), of Ariosto (*xviii.* 76) and of Tasso (*v.* 19). But these were Italians who loved the parent they blamed, and who spoke, as Henri Heine did of Germany, the "wild ravings of broken-hearted passion."

IX. 5.—Compare Mario Molza:—

Che il sepolcro di Christo è in man de' cani.

XI. 3.—Ariosto (*xvii.* 33):—

Pattólo e Ermo onde se trae l'or fino :

The stream-gold of Pactolus, says Strabo, was exhausted in the days of Augustus.

XII.—Camoens speaks of Artillery as a "fierce new invention." But in this case, as in all discoveries which have affected all mankind, we know neither the age, nor the person, nor the details connected with the origin of gunpowder and with its application to ballistics. All we do know is that the popular accounts show immense ignorance. Old German writers attributed the discovery to the Cordelier Berthold Schwarz (Constantin Anklotz or Ancklitz) and the picturesque accident of his mortar. This "Black Bartle (*der schwarze Barthel*), Lord Bacon's "chemical monk" (*Inst. Magn.* v. 2), has now a statue on the spot where the Convent of Friburg, in the Breisgau, once stood. But we can trace the explosive far backwards. According to Demmin (*p.* 59, Bell, 1877),¹

¹ The work is unfortunately full of inaccuracies, *e.g.*, "firearms used by Hagiacus and the Arabs in 690 at the Siege of Mecca"

Dr. Keller found bullets for stuffing with some incendiary composition in the Palafites or Crannogs of Switzerland. The age of gunpowder in China is absolutely unknown; and the same author tells us (p. 60) that embrasures for cannon were constructed in the Great Wall. The Hindu¹ Agni-astar (fire weapon), Agni-bán (fire arrow), and Shat-agni ("hundred-killer"), the Roman Falarica and the Byzantine Greek Fire may all have been explosives. Caligula, according to D. Cassius and J. Antiochenus, had machines that threw stones amid thunder and lightning, and "the learned Vossius" (Lib. Obs.), judging from the account of Julius Africanus (A.D. 215), suspects gunpowder. Callinicus of Heliopolis (Ba'albak) declares that the Arabs at the siege of Constantinople (A.D. 668) threw iron and stones from tubes charged

(p. 60). The translator, too, might have spared us (p. 59) "*Shat à gene* (centueur)."

¹ Of late years a determined attempt has been made to prove that gunpowder and firearms were invented in India, "the land of fireworks"; and that the former was called by the Sanskritists Agnikurna (fire-powder). The theory appears in the well-known "History of Inventions," etc., of J. Beckmann (1739-1811); and in 1798 M. Langlès read his pleadings before the Institute. Col. Tod, who was credulous as a Hindu, referred (Rajasthan) to notices of the "Nalgola" (tube-ball) in the poet Chand. Prof. Gustav Oppert ("On the Weapons, etc., of the Ancient Hindus") understands Flavius Philostratus (Life of Apollonius of Tyana) to recount that Alexander the Great would not attack the Oxydracæ tribe, between the Hyphasis and Ganges, because they were "holy men who overthrew their enemies with tempests and thunderbolts shot from their walls," *i.e.*, artillery proper. Prof. Oppert bases his belief in the invention being Indian upon two works; unhappily he builds upon the frailest foundation. His arguments in favour of his authorities' antiquity (pp. 43, 62, 67 and 72) are of the weakest, especially where we look for strength. He shows no reason why the allusions to, and the descriptions of, gunpowder and firearms should not be held modern interpolations into those absurd compositions, the Nitiprakāshika and the Shukraniti.

with combustibles. The allusions in the *Libro Ignium*, etc. of Marcus Græcus or Gracchus (A.D. 846, printed at Paris in 1806); and in the *Opus Majus* and *De Secretis Operibus* of the learned Franciscan, Roger Bacon (A.D. 1214-1292), appear in every Encyclopædia. To the former we owe the first receipt for *raquette*, a powder of sulphur (1 part), charcoal (2 p.) and sal petrosuum (6 parts).

The invention of cannon in Europe popularly dates from the end of the fourteenth century. The word is *Κάννα*, a reed, a tube (rohr); not the Germ. Kanne (a can). So the Hindus called it *Nalika* from *Nala*, a reed, possibly alluding to bamboo pieces. The earliest form was a common mortar with a touch-hole for firing, and it was at once followed by the breechloader, a wrought-iron tube closed with a wedge of wood or metal.

Cannon (top) and musketry (tufang) are specified by the historian Ferishtah during the reign of Mahmud of Ghazni (A.H. 399 = A.D. 1008); although Col. Briggs, his translator, determined to detect achronology, alters the word to "naphtha-balls and arrows," and Elphinstone (i. 541) prefers "flights of arrows." The discovery was carried by the Arabs to the farthest west, and was first adopted in Europe by Spain. The R. Armoury, Madrid, contains a "Lombarda" (long gun) and a "Cervitana" (short piece) said to have been used by D. Alfonso the Valiant (No. VI.) at the siege of Madrid in 1084. Viardot has noted that the African Arabs made cannon in A.D. 1200, and besieged Seville with great guns in A.D. 1247. In A.D. 1227 Edward III. brought from Flanders stone-throwing pieces which proved useful against the Scots. At this time gunpowder was known even to the Mongols (A.D. 1275) who, according to Deguignes (*Hist. des Huns*, iii. 162) when warring with the Chinese, used bamboo-tubes. In A.D. 1301 Amberg built a large

cannon. The French adopted artillery for dismantling fortresses (A.D. 1338); and abused the English for using it against men at Crécy (A.D. 1346): the weapon was probably of bottle-shape. I have noted that great guns were present at the Battle of the Salado (A.D. 1340). Their application to naval purposes dates (probably) from the "invasion of Chioggia" (1379-80).

Portable firearms (Knallbüschen, canon à main à épaule) were known to the Flemings about A.D. 1350. The records of Bologna call them "sclopo," whence schioppo, escopette, etc. These small hand-cannon, with rude wooden stocks, were followed by the Mönchsbüchse (Dresden Museum) with a rasp; by the wheel-lock and marcasite, or pyrites, dated Nürnberg, 1517; by the Serpentine or dog-headed matchlock; by the Dragon, the Hand-culverin, the Pétrinal (Pedernal, Poitrinal, Petronel) and by the Harquebus, Hagbut, etc. The latter word is Hackenbüchse, from the hook or metal dog worked by the trigger; the barrel was 3 feet 3 inches long, and the ball $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces: a favourite in the fifteenth century it produced the Muschettus, mouchet or musket (the sparrowhawk). Some derive "musket" from Mocketta, of Velletri, who first made the weapon in the fifteenth century.

In the East portable firearms are noticed about A.D. 1432, by De la Brocquière (Bohn, p. 301), who speaks of "small harquebuses which they (the Meccan caravan) fired off now and then." According to Castanheda, (quoted in Elliot's History of India, vi. 467, and Kerr's Collection, ii. 364), when Vasco da Gama entered Calicut, "one of the Nayr carried a culverin, which he fired off at intervals": Camoens ignores this interesting detail. Varthema (1505-6) speaks of Indian cannon, mortars, and spingards; the Egyptians, about 1515, introduced them among the Arabs of El-Yemen, who, before, had

only bows and slings. In 1538, when Diu was attacked by the Turks, these "Rumé" had field-artillery, and, possibly, "musket-bows" (matchlocks). Barbosa found there good artillery and many "bombards" (p. 60): he notices in Malabar guns and musqueteers (112, 115), and in Java major guns, long muskets, and many other fireworks, the natives being "very good artillery-men." According to Crawford, Malacca learned firearms from the Arabs before the Portuguese appeared in the archipelago (1511); he explains "Maryam," the Malay word for firearms, by the Arab name of the Virgin Mary, which leads to strange deductions (Varthema, 339-40). It is evidently from the root "ramy" (shooting), as in "ramá-ná"—he shot at us. Some twenty years before the Siege of Gibraltar red-hot balls, thrown by Mir Mohanná, of Bandar Reg, near Bushire (1762-66), set fire to one of the H. E. I. Company's cruisers, according to Lieut. Low, I.N. Chilled shot is an American (U.S.) application of our days.

The invention of fire-arms which, during the last 500 years, has done so much, and which will do even more, to mitigate the destructiveness of battle, was received, especially by the poets and the philanthropes, with a chorus of execration. "Non erat satis" (says Petrarch, *Dialogues*), "de cœlo Tonantis ira nisi homuncio de terra etiam tonuisset":—what would he have said of Benjamin Franklin's kite and results? Ariosto makes Orlando take the first invented cannon from the King of Friza, and cast into the sea with heroic contumely. Yet his Knights held it no disgrace to use hippogryphs against horses, and enchanted versus ordinary armour. The French Knights called it the "grave of honour." At last Milton rehabilitated gunpowder by making it useful to the Immortals in his sublimely grotesque Epic.

Camoens often mentions the bombard (and bombardier), meaning any big gun. The "fire-stuffed bomb" proper is supposed to have been invented about A.D. 1495; the word is an onomatopoesis from the neo-Greek *Βόμβος*. He retains the leaden ball (i. 89), although iron began to be used in A.D. 1400. He specifies the "Espera" or "Esphera" (x. 32), a short piece throwing a large ball point-blank. His "Lyon" (x. 69) bore for mouth a leonine head, after the fashion of the Culverin (*couleuvrine*, adder-muzzle). The Basilisco (x. 32, or "little King," *Βασιλικός*) was so called from the Uræus (in Egyptian Ouro, Rex), or royal serpent, whose white spot on the head suggested a diadem;¹ this piece was 20 feet long, and carried a ball of 47 to 100 lb. (Grassi, Mil. Dict.). Monster guns were then being everywhere cast, especially in India, both by natives and by renegade Europeans. Among the 600 lost by Adil Shah, King of Ahmednagar, was the famous brass cannon sent to Bijapur: it weighed 40 tons; its length was 15 feet, and calibre 2 feet. The other forms used in Camoens' day were the "Falcon," a 3 pdr., 7 feet long, and the "Falconet," a 1½ pdr.; the Sacre (from the Saker-hawk), a 4-7 pdr., 8 to 10 feet long; the Culverin of various calibres, large and small; and the demi-Culverin: the latter measured 12-14 feet, had a bore of 6½ inches, and threw a ball of 33 lb., 160 paces point-blank, with a possible range of 2,000. The Poet also repeatedly mentions the Spingard (a wall-piece or 1 pdr. matchlock). This is usually set down as an anachronism, the Ruttiers and histories men-

¹ This serpent, which appears in the Snake-stories of Lucan (ix. 700-838), is evidently the modern Násir, the Cobra di Capello, still common in the Desert around Cairo. It is the true "Cleopatra's Asp," which has been supposed to be the contemptible little Cerastes.

tioning only the Besta (cross-bow)¹ during Da Gama's Voyage of Exploration; but Barros distinctly notices their Espingardas (i. 4, 4). In the second voyage, according to Correa (p. 309), even the Moors of Malabar had small guns. It has been too hastily decided that Camoens was in error. I have, however, translated *Trabuco* (ix. 6, etc.) as a catapult or stone-throwing machine:² it may be the Spanish *trabujo*, which the Portuguese call *Bacamarte* (a blunderbuss).

XIII.—The allusion to Thrace, still under the “unspeakable Turk,” is doubly interesting in 1881, when it threatens to cause a war. The first quatrain refers to the Janissaries or Osmanli infantry, opposed to the Spahis (Sipáhi, a sepoy, an “army-man”), composing the cavalry. The former was established about 1350 by Sultan Orkhan, who named them his “Yangyí-cheri”—young or new troop. According to Varthema and Sandys, they were the “sons of Christians (and those the most completely furnished by nature) taken in their childhood from their miserable parents by a levy made every five years.” They were Circassians, Greeks, and other tributaries officered by Turks, the Scribes being called Muftis. A *corps d'élite*, they soon grew to be Prætorians and Strelitzes, and they were abolished by Sultan Mahmud (June 1826) under the normal and expeditious Asiatic process,—a massacre.

XIV.—The Poet's various translators agree with him

¹ The Cross-bow found its way from the Mediterranean sea-board into the heart of Africa, and even to the western coast of the Dark Continent. M. du Chaillu and I both noted it among the Fans or Mpangwe cannibals.

² Meyrick (vol. ii. pl. xxv.) figures the Trépied, trabuchet or trabochetta (a trap-door), and Demmin (p. 457) shows it to be a stone-thrower. So Chaucer (R. of the Rose, 3282) speaks—

Of trepeget or mangonel.

in his strictures upon all peoples save themselves. But they unite in asking what he means by his exaggerated praise of Portugal, especially for her disinterestedness and her obedience to Mother Church (SS. ii. and iii.)? F. y S. cannot but exclaim, *cousa singular, sin duda, en la gente Portuguesa!* Singular, indeed, that men cannot perceive how well the strictures which they level at other nations apply to their own. But the invective is glorious poetry, and that is the one thing needful.

XIX. 2.—This line is onomatopoeic :—

Sae (or Sahe) da large terra ña (uma, hu'a or huma) longa ponta
(Puts forth the spacious land a long thin point).

The want of "alignment" shows the extension. The fable of living on odours (l. 8) is from Pliny (N. Hist. vii. 2).

XXXII. 1.—Mac. blames Camoens for calling the vast Malabar region a *Provincia*, and proves the superior knowledge of his Poet. The twelve "Subahs" (provinces) of the Moghul Empire were, in some cases, larger than Malayalam.

XXXV. 7-8.—Calicut was not then built: this is one of the Poet's rare mistakes.

XL. 5.—Of *Não matam cousa viva* ("no living thing they kill") Mac. says, they cannot, of course, kill dead things. Prose!

XLI. 1-4.—The sentiment, which must have sounded pleasant to the Inquisition, is that of Herod. (iv. 104). His Agathyrsi Scythians had wives in common; and, as members of one family, they ignored sexual jealousy. and its resultant hate of one another.

XI.IV. 2.—The dactyl *Cătűăl* (Plur. *Cațuales* or *Catu ais*, viii. 56) is properly a dissyllable; "Kot-wál," in Hindostani a "Fort-man," or officer in charge of a Kot strong place. The secondary and modern meaning is a

a native chief of Police. The Roteiro (p. 54) translates it Alquaide or Alcayde (= Arab. El-Kaid : a governor, a leader).¹ The Ruttier also has Bále (= Wáli in Arab., a ruler); and Correa (p. 175) following Barros, adds to the "Catual, or overseer of the Treasury" a Gozil, = Vizier, Wazír. These Moslem names suggest that the officers were Moplahs. The "portable bed" (l. 5) is the native "Palki," the Port. Palanquim. Mac. finds l. 6 inexcusably cacophonous.

XLVIII.—Mac. (ii. 91) asserts that the monstrous idols of Hinduism bear no physical resemblance to the classic gods. Camoens knew better. The original gods travelled from Egypt by two main roads, eastward to India, westward to Greece.

L.—LI.—The Rajah's Palace with its sculptured gates is that of Latinus (*Æn.* vii.).

LIV. 2. — Old heraldic writers derived armorial bearings from figured banners; especially in the time of Alexander the Great. They probably began with the tattoo, and were continued by the use of animals as "Totems" among the Greeks. Mr. E. T. Rogers, the Orientalist, is preparing at Cairo for the R. A. S. a detailed account of Eastern heraldry, and has made, he tells me, some curious discoveries.

LVIII.—This Octave contains five lines ending *-ente*: evident carelessness.

LXIX.—As Mr. Stanley remarks (Correa, p. 200) Camoens shows more knowledge of El-Islam than most Anglo-Indians of the present day. *Bafo* (line 3) is a translation of Ruh' Ullah (Breath of Allah); Isá bin Maryam having been conceived by the breath of the Archangel Gabriel:—therefore not subject to death, and

¹ In Marocco the Alcaydes were governors tributary to the Miramolin (Amír el-Muminin) or Emperor; now, the word means a colonel in what they call the "Army."

crucified only in effigy, the heresy of certain Christians. "Rúh" is Hebr. Ruach, the Gr. Πνεῦμα and ψυχή, the Latin spiritus and animus, the "breath" or sign of life. Hence the long array of metaphysical visions, soul, spirit, phantom, ghost, &c.

LXXI. 8. — Marcellus (Marcus Claudius) is not happily chosen: this "Sword of Rome" was killed in an ambuscade, fighting against Hannibal.

LXXIII. 6.—Mac. blames *a Naira geração*, because he says the Nays are nobles of Calicut, whose work is confined to soldiering. Camoens again knew better.

LXXV. 4.—Mac., once more showing himself *asinus ad lyram*, teaches Camoens that the *Canarins* (natives of Malabar) belong to the sect of Pythagoras, not to that of Epicurus the *gargantão* (glutton). He is wrong, and if he were right the critique would not apply.

LXXVII.—The introduction of the "white old man," Lusú, transports the reader back to Portugal. Da Gama addressing the King of Melinde (iii. 7-21), sketches the Western Continent; describes his own country and tells her history *ab initio* to the days of D. Manoel. The Poet now takes advantage of the fancied banners, and draws the portraits of illustrious Portuguese. He has been charged with tautology in reintroducing his favourites; Viriatus and Sertorius (Cantos i. and iii.), with Lusú, Ulysses, Count Henrique, D. Afonso Henriquez, and Egas Moniz. But the show is varied with high art; and the new strokes of the masterly pencil justify, as Musgrave says, the second pictures.

LXXVIII.—Here begin the complaints, and the personal grievances (opening of Canto x. and especially St. 9), which may form pathetic poetry, but which undoubtedly detract from the Poet's manliness. Much of the matter is taken from Juvenal's viith Satire.

LXXIX. 4.—A misprint of “driven” for “riven.”
Line 8 alludes to Ovid’s Canace, who

Dextra tenet calamum, strictum tenet altera ferrum
(Her. Epist. xi. 31).

NOTES TO CANTO VIII.

STANZA I.—Here begins the historic part, which is so lengthened that Ferr. declares *The Lusians* should be called “Episodic History of Portugal written in verse.” Mac., complaining that the banners of three small craft contain far too much, prefers Virgil’s device of statues and pictures; Ovid’s portals of the Sun-palace, and Tasso’s gates leading to Armida’s Paradise.

XV. 1.—*The Consul* is Spurius Posthumius Albinus (B.C. 321), who with his colleague Titus Veturius Calvinus (Livy, ix. 1–10) was defeated at the Caudine Forks. He was sent back by his countrymen to the Samnite captors, and when these refused to receive him he struck the Fetial who conducted him and declared himself a Samnite.

XVIII. 5.—Henri was a knight of Bonneville, Cologne: his tomb is still in the Monastery of St. Vincent, but it lacks the miraculous Palm.

XIX. 4.—Prior of the Canons Regular (Augustine Friars) of Coimbra. “In periculo omnis homo miles.” When the Moors seized Leiria (iii. 55) he raised a corps of partisans, captured strong Arronches; and savagely wasted the Alemtejo. Some make him a Frenchman: Fanshaw has “’Tis Prior Teuton.” This pugnacious

and truculent ecclesiastic gradually rose to be Canon, Bishop, and Saint ; and the tomb of S. Theotonio is still shown in the Chapter Chapel, Coimbra.

XX. 5.—Son of Egas Moniz : there were, however, two of that name, *O de Riba-Douro* and *O de Gandarim*. There is no difficulty in the passage except what the Commentators make. The excellent French translation of MM. Ortaire, Fournier, and Descoules correctly has “Mem Moniz reproduit telle valeur, qui dort dans la tombe avec les os de son père.”

XXI. 6.—*Feito nunca feito* (indeed, a ne'er done deed) is pronounced Gongoric. Yet the direct Cowper can say :—

. . . What sight with seeing could I see ?

XXII. 1.—The Castilian is D. Pedro Fernandez de Castro who, offended by D. Alfonso IX. of Castile, joined the Moors and seized Abrantes. The next stanza tells his fate, a poor matter to occupy two precious octaves.

XXIV. 1, 2.—The four Moor “Kings” were of Cordova, Seville, Badajoz, and Jaen. The fighting bishop of Lisbon (l. 7) according to Fons. was D. Sueiro Veigas, not D. Matheus. At his prayer during the siege of Alcacer, whose capture was told in iii. 62, a venerable old man, clad in white with a red cross on his breast, appeared in the air, and dispelled the fears of the Portuguese (Castéra). . Camoens crowns him with palms as more appropriate to a clerk than laurel or bays.

XXVII. 6.—The three Knights-errant (*cavalleiros andantes*), who deserve mention as little as any successful prize-fighters, were Gonçalo Ribeiro, Fernando Martim de Sanctarem, and Vasco Anes : the latter was foster-brother of D. Maria of Castile, daughter of D. Afonso IV. of Portugal.

XXIX. 8 (see Canto iii. 8).—Tartessus, the “Tartesia littora” of Ovid, was, I have said, Melkarthos, Melkartheia, Karteia (Carteia), or Heraklea at the bottom of Gibraltar Bay. D. Macario Fariñas of Ronda surveyed the ruins about 260 years ago, when the mole was still standing, with the quay, the theatre, and other “illustrious remains of superb edifices.” Francis Carter (1777) found that much of the stone-work had been quarried to build the neighbouring villages. The late Mr. John Terry of “Gib.,” whose MSS. were obligingly lent to me by M. Dautez, a well-read Belgian artist long settled at the “key of the Mediterranean,” described water-walls 700 feet long: of these not a trace remains. The sea-approach is by the small but angry bar of the Guadarranque River. Up stream appears a kind of dock, and the banks show a vanishing vista of *buttes* or cairn-like buttresses. The town probably lay on both sides of the rivulet; the dwelling-houses to the East like the modern village; and the public buildings, moles, and piers, so much spoken of by the ancients, to the West, or on the right bank. The old bridge denotes the older ford. The large farm-house, Cortejo del Roccadillo, above the left bank occupies, they say, the site of a temple, and it still shows a stucco’d bath. On the hill-side higher up are the remnants of an amphitheatre whose diameter is 236 feet. No attempts have been made to excavate about this *urbs vetusta et memorabilis*, which dated its birth 270 years before Carthage. During my visit in 1872 I was told that the land belongs to the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

XXXI.—When attacking the Castilians near Valverde the “devout Captain” (Nuno the Constable) was missing, and his friends found him praying in a field. To their supplications he only replied *aun no es tiempo*

("'tis not yet time"). Ending his devotions he attacked the enemy with a fury which soon put them to flight. Had he lived in these days he would have been one of our "good Centurions" (Captains R.N., and in the Line), whose biographies are periodically published. One can hardly wonder that he died in a convent, weary of the world. Mac. cavils at line 21, and asks, How can a picture show a man saying "'Tis not yet time"?

XXXII. 8.—Vasco Porcallo, a Portuguese Governor of Villa Viçosa, being in the interests of Castile, was expelled by Pero Rodriguez de Landroal and Alvarez Cuytado, Commanders of Alcantara and Calatrava. He persuaded D. Joam I. to reinstate him; yielded the city to Spain; plundered Cuytado's house, and sent him and his wife under an escort as prisoners to Olivença. Landroal rescued his friend and abated the nuisance.

XXXIV. 1.—Paio Rodriguez Marinho, Chief Alcayde of Campo Maior, took part with Spain against D. Joam I., and treacherously seized and imprisoned Gil Fernandes, the King's Envoy. The latter eventually slew him.

XXXV.—The tale of the Seventeen is told in various ways. According to F. y S., when the Castilians were besieging Almada opposite Lisbon, seventeen of the thirsty garrison descended the hill for water, and held their own against 400 horsemen. De la Clède makes it a nobler affair. Eighteen Portuguese were surrounded near Villalobo by a host of Spaniards under D. Juan I. of Castile. The only hope was to get aid from the "Master of Avis" (D. Joam I.), but no one would move lest he be accused of running away. At last Diego Peres d'Avellar asked his comrades which were braver, to stand firm or to pierce the foe. When all answered the latter, he charged single-handed, and the astonished Castilians allowed him to pass. The remaining seventeen, after repulsing many attacks, were finally rescued;

and, says the chronicler, their action makes credible the marvels related of the twelve Paladins of France.

XXXVII. 1.—This is the unfortunate D. Pedro, killed by order of D. Afonso V. (chap. iii. § 1). He introduced the guitar into Spain and proved himself a “new Ulysses,” although the book called *Auto do Infante Dom Pedro*, containing his exploits and peregrinations, is evidently half-fabulous. The other Infante is Prince Henry the Navigator (Canto v. 4).

XXXVIII. 1.—Pedro de Menezes, first Governor of Ceuta : his son (“the other Count,” l. 3) was D. Duarte, who saved D. Afonso V.

XXXIX.—XLII.—According to his detractors Camoens seems to forget himself and to speak in his own name, as if mastered by his own grievances, when Paul da Gama was impressing a high idea of his country upon the “Catual.”

XLV.—The whole of this soothsaying business is classical, not Hindu : the pagans would have prospected the stars, not inspected entrails. Barros (i. 4, 9) preserves a legend that certain augurs showed to the Samiry Rajah, in a vase full of water, the squadron lost, and other ships sailing from afar towards India. This form of the “magic mirror” becomes the “empty diaphanous globe” of Canto x. 7. José Basilio da Gama (“O Uruguay,” Canto iii.) introduces a bowl in which the hapless Lindoya sees her vision. Cyathomantia, one of the oldest modes of divination (Genesis xlv. 5), still survives degraded to the tea-cup.

XLVII.—Compare Oneiros the Dream-god (Iliad ii. 23), and Alecto who took the form of Calybe (Æn. vii. 419). Tasso has imitated it (ix. 8) and J. B. de Gama introduces (Canto iii.) a night vision of his Red-skin hero.

XLIX. 5.—*Por ti, rudo, velo* (I wake for thee, thou sot)

in the Crasbeeck edit. of 1631 becomes *Por ti tudo velo* (I am all awake).

L. 4-8.—This quatrain has a true Eastern touch. Sa'adi, the so-called "Persian moralist," says, "You may stop a spring with your foot, but when it becomes a river an elephant shall not cross it." Lopez de Vega probably imitated Camoens in his Orpheus and Eurydice :—

*Como mirar puede ser
El Sol al amanecer,
Y quando se enciende, No !
(As easy 'tis to gaze
On Phœbus' morning rays,
But on his noon-blaze, No !).*

LI. 8. — *Agareno* ("Hagarene") is explained by Maundevile (chap. xii.). "There are Saracens who are called Ishmaelites; and some are called Agarenes of Agar; and others are called Saracens, of Sarah." To these he adds Moabites and Ammonites, whose origin was a scandalous Hebrew fable, forged to disgrace their powerful kinsmen.

LVIII.—Mac. derides the *dares e tomares* ("giving and taking"), as he calls the quarrels between the Portuguese and the Hindú Custom-house officers. Line 8 is somewhat too concise to be readily intelligible :—

*Não era d'espantar se s'espantasse, etc.
(No startling matter (to us), if he were startled).*

LXI. 1, 2.—The couplet shows the double meaning of *que* :—

*En sou bem informado, que (that) a embaixada
Que (which) de teu Rei me deste, que (that) he fingido
Porque (because) etc.*

LXII. 5.—The Portuguese, expecting to find none but savages beyond The Cape, carried by way of gifts only

preserves and confectionery, glass-beads, bells, coral, and similar articles. Even on the East African Coast they found Arabs equal to themselves in refinement and civilised appliances. The Shaykh of Melinde must have marvelled at the contrast of cannon and presents; but he had the sense to conceal his feelings. As the Roteiro tells us, the people of the Samiry Rajah loudly derided the "four red cloaks; six hats and feathers (!); four strings of coral beads; twelve Turkey-carpets (coals to Newcastle); seven drinking cups of brass (used by every Hindu peasant); a chest of sugar (owls to Athens); two barrels of oil and as many of honey." It is a grand mistake to think with some whites that "Anything is good enough for a black,"—especially in the missionary-line.

LXIII. 4.—"Omne solum forti patria,"—a noble cosmopolitan sentiment, so distasteful to a Chatham of the Georgian age.

LXV.—LXXVI.—F. y S. is lost in admiration at this speech, which is severely criticised by others. Mac. calls the first stanza a "galimatias" on account of its many Latinisms; but he makes the capital error of believing (ii. 158) that Da Gama addresses a Moslem instead of a Hindú. Critics note that the apostrophe begins with obscure paraphrases; that it "argues the point" rhetorically, but not persuasively; and that it displays a pedantic knowledge of the stars. Its object is to tell the Samiry that he is deceived by the villains around him; and this might have been done in a far simpler way. On the other hand it is full of dignity; the inversions add emphasis, and the last line, characterising Truth, the Poet's characteristic, is admirable. I may here add, on the principle "Audi alteram partem," that D. Manoel's orders to Da Gama about representing himself, when occasion might require, either as a merchant

or as a warrior (Correa, chap. vi.) fully justified the Pagan Prince in suspecting him to be an adventurer.

LXXIII. 5.—*Liquido estanho* (“liquid tin”) a Camonian metaphor for a *calmaria* (“calm at sea”). Translators shirk it or substitute nobler metals.

LXXV. 8.—“O magna vis veritatis !”

LXXVII. 7.—*Fazenda* here means cloth in the African-trade sense ; not goods or treasure.

LXXVIII. 1.—The repetition of *mandar* (to send) is held by Fons. to be a *trocadilho* (jingle); and he quotes Horace about Homer’s naps.

LXXXV.—“Si aliquem amicum existimes, cui non tantum credis quantum tibi, vehementer erras et non satis nosti vim amicitiae.”

LXXXVII.—The simile is from the *Æneid* (viii. 22) and Orlando F. (viii. 71), with added beauty of expression. But the Poet does injustice to his hero by the image, which is a true emblem of inconsistency and inconsequence ; nor does it agree with the next stanza, in which the man of action becomes the man of forethought.

LXXXIX.—The sentiment is classical, dating from the days of the old Greek General, “Insipientis est dicere non putaram,” says Cicero, whose “sapiens divinat.” Again, “Scipio vero Africanus turpe esse aiebat in re militari dicere ‘Non putaram’” (Valerius Max.). Lastly, “Turpissimum, aiebat Fabius, Imperatori (*tête-d’armée*) excusationem esse non putari” (Sen. de Ira, ii. 31). In line 8 *cuidar* (to believe, to imagine) is an old Neo-Latinism. So satiric Regnier sings :—

Il se plaist aux trésors qu’il cuide ravager.

NOTES TO CANTO IX.

STANZA I. 1.—*Tiveram* ("they held") cloth? or Factors? asks Mac., who with the common Edits. suppresses the comma after *vender-se* (l. 2). According to the Roteiro the "Mêca ships" numbered forty.

III.—VIII.—These stanzas were translated by me for Mr. Stanley's Correa (pp. 336–37).

XI. 2.—*Grita* is ancipitous. F. y S. renders it by the shouts and cries of the crews; others by the creaking and flapping of the gear: I have preferred the latter.

XIII.—Note, here and in the next stanza, the first line repeating the leading verb in the last verse of that preceding. This bears the symptoms of becoming a trick.

XIV. 1–4.—Mac. considers the quatrain a postscriptum, and justly remarks that the less said about this unworthy kidnapping the better.

XVIII. 1–3.—The joint mention of the Cyprian Goddess and the Padre Eterno is rightly blamed.

XXI. 6.—*Da mãe primeira* ("of the first mother") is an ambiguity which has caused a battle royal amongst commentators. The Edit. Princ. (1572) has *Da primeira* (*prime-ira*), which is followed by Mac., Correa and Jur. This diæresis is judged not allowable; yet Correa declares that he heard it so pronounced by the Poet. The so-called second Edit. prefers *Da mãi primeira co' o terreno seio*: it is adopted by F. y S., who adds a third from MS. *Co' o terreno que cerca o grão Proteo* (with the ground encircled by great Proteus, or the sea). The Edit. of 1759 further debases it to *com a primeira*

do terreno seio. Assuming the earliest reading, the "first" (island) would refer to Ceylon: conversely Madeira is the last (*derradeira* Canto v. 5). The "first mother" would be either earth generally or the Asiatic Continent, the fabled cradle of mankind: others less correctly refer it to Eve. When all is said, the signification remains doubtful. Venus informs her son that she has prepared in the Neptune-realm a "divine isle which confines with the terrene bosom of the first mother," or Asia wherein was the terrestrial Paradise. I have preferred this reading with Paggi:—

Che nel Regno ha pur molte, a cui confina
De la Madre primiera il terren piano.

We now enter upon the celebrated and immense episode of the Isle of Love, which occupies nearly two Cantos or one-fifth of the Poem. Let us first in fairness allow the Poet's admirers to speak for themselves: their spokesman shall be the learned "Morgado."

"Follows that most beautiful picture of the Island which Venus so conducts and disposes to receive her protégés, that the Discoverers of India may there rest and enjoy the reward of carrying out their glorious enterprise. This proves (if such question were of importance) that the Island is imaginary, not in the Indian Seas but near the term of Da Gama's voyage. (Why?) The bold conception is adorned and treated with all the graces of poetry. Nowhere has the Bard allowed his fancy to flow with more of warmth and voluptuousness. The description of the ground and its gardens; the chance meeting of the Portuguese and the Nymphs; and all the preparations for the Feast of Delight, offer the most charming pictures ever painted by the rich and amorous fancy of Camoens—pictures which a Tasso might imitate but not excel. We marvel

how the Poet, in drawing these delicious scenes, not only avoids offending delicacy, but rather excites the soul to generous sentiment by his explanation of the enchanting allegory. Surely its detractors never compared it with parallel passages in other poets; or they would have detected the higher art which covered the canvas with tints so lively, so stirring, and yet so inoffensive to pure taste. The character of Camoens, raised above the bards by tenderness of heart, united with manliness and magnanimity, here becomes conspicuous."

Humboldt¹ (pp. 224-7, vol. ii., *Cosmos*, London, Bell, 1861), after praising Camoens for his fine seapictures, notices that the vegetation of the Island belongs to Southern Europe. It is fanciful as the place itself, for, though Camoens may have landed at Zanzibar, he never found there violet or narcissus. But the picture is realised in The Brazil, where citron and pomegranate, myrtle and poplar, palm and pine grow side by side.

The "detractors" either take the violent part, like the builder of the Temple of Love (*Henriade*, ix.), who compares this Delos with a sailors' boozing-ken in Amsterdam, and at best with a Moslem Paradise. Or they charge the whole episode with being an excrescence tagged on when the proper action of the Poem had ended; and they blame the minutiae. Like all the fairest scenes that Poetry creates, this "celestial lubberland" is open to parody, and we can hardly help contrasting the immortal Nymphs with their jack-tar lovers, ill-dressed and unclean, with language unrefined and ideas undeveloped. But the same fault may be found

¹ I read that José Gomez Monteiro, in his *Treatise upon the site of the Isle of Venus*, opposes Humboldt (Burnell's "Tentative List," etc., Mangalore, 1880).

with the Island of Calypso (*Odys.* v.) and the Garden of Alcinoüs (*ibid.* viii.); with the Elysium of Virgil (*Æn.* v.) and Milton; with Dante's Terrestrial Paradise (*Purg.* xxxviii.); with Ariosto's "false Alcina's empery" (*O. F.* vi. 20, etc.); with Spenser's Mount Acidale (*F. Q.*, vi. 10) and with Tasso's Paradise of Armida (*Ger.* xvi.). The song of "the wondrous bird" perhaps makes the latter best of all: nothing can be more charming than the lines that begin:—

So in the passing of a day doth pass, etc.

The Philisters regret that the gauze of Camoens' allegory was not thicker, so as to give the festal enjoyment the requisite delicacy; for:—

Search the world o'er, man aye shall find
The nice a very nasty mind.

And not a few immodestly apologise for the Poet's departure from the strictest sobriety of description, by the latitude which the manners of his age allowed.

The reader will not forget that the Isle is allegorical. For instance, in *St.* 87:—

The Queen enjoys her loves in palace-bowers;
The Nymphs in sylvan shades amid the flowers.

Da Gama, now mated with Tethys (the Sea) who formerly proved herself a mortal foe of the Portuguese, (*vi.* 36), attains a fame of the highest degree. His followers must be satisfied with simpler rewards, praise, pay, and pension. Possibly Camoens, an "omnis homo," may have derived the idea of the immortal Brides, for there is marriage and a marriage-feast, from Hindu mythology. The Gandharbas ("celestial musicians") become the wives of distinguished mortals, and Gandharba-lagan (nymph-espousals) is the Sanskrit

term for such unions, which are legal although dispensing with clerical aid. Mickle (Dissert. cxxxix.) took the right view when he wrote. "The description is warm indeed, but it is chaste as the first loves of Adam and Eve in Milton, and entirely free from that grossness to be found in Dante, Ariosto, Spenser, and in Milton himself."

To speak as a traveller. The Isle of Love embodies the sense of self-esteem, the satisfaction, the revenge of success, and the "rapture of repose" following a successful exploit full of difficulty, hardship, pain, and danger. Every explorer knows it right well. Camoens has expressed it, has embodied it in the guise of glorious allegory. This episode is a triumph of genius and art, of tact and taste, of glowing language and of suggestive delicacy. I have rendered every line literally; and the reader will agree with me that only false shame and mock modesty can find fault with a single word.

The Commentators have further distinguished themselves by trying to discover the latitude and longitude of the Fabled Isle. As well seek for the "Topothesía" of the Gardens and Pleasaunces in the Poets who preceded ours. Generally it is connected with wretched Anjediva, the Islet near Goa where Da Gama watered, and which Camoens did not deign to mention. But a passage in Osorio (De Reb. Emm., ii.) has suggested Zanzibar Island; and I am convinced that he is right.

XXII. 5.—*Danças e choreas*, says Mac., means "dances and dances."

XXIII.—*Βύσσα*, the ox-hide, is a Greek corruption of the Semitic "Basrah," meaning a Capitol, a Hauteville, an upper town. So our "Thong Castles" of Grimsby and Sittingbourne, referred to a similar legend, are from Tunga, a land-tongue.

XXIV. 4.—*Perísterá*, the Dove-nymph; a charming

allusion. Here the song of the swan is classical : in ix. 63 it is realistic.

XXV. 1.—The oft-mentioned Cinyras was king of Idalium (Dali) in Cyprus : Jur. (vi. xxx.) confounds the Idalian hills (*Æn.* i. 691) with Trojan Ida. Adonis was killed at Idalium (*εἶδον ἄλιον ἥλιον*), where King Chalcantor first saw the sun rise. Some derive the Island's name from Kypros, a son or daughter of Cinyras, it is the Semitic "Kibris" = henna (*Lawsonia inermis*). F. y S. holds that Venus and Cupid here represent the divine love of which Boetius sang :—

O felix hominum genus
Si vestros animos Amor
Quo Cœlum regitur, regat.

Cupid's reforming Expedition allows Camoens to reflect upon D. Sebastiam's court and people ; the sporting man (*Actæon*, xxvi.) ; the selfish noble (xxvii.) ; the Jesuits, the Inquisitors, et hoc genus omne (xxviii.).

XXVII. 4.—*Philautia*, *φιλαυρία*, self-love, egotism opposed to altruism : a coinage of the Poet.

XXX. 6.—The language of the Sonnets (No. 1). The Cupid-lads appear in Orlando F. (vi. 75).

XXXI.—This highly imaginative Stanza has been much admired.

XXXIII. 1.—The fair Nymphs are, they say, licit, the plain illicit, loves. We may reverse them : *on aime les belles ; on adore les laides*.

XXXIV.—Byblis and Caunus of Miletus (*Ovid*, *Met.* ix. 453). The "Assyrian" (l. 8) may be either Ninias (not Ninus), the son of Semiramis, or Antiochus son of Seleucus : the "Judean" applies indifferently to Reuben (and Bilbah, *Gen.* xxxv. 22) or to Amnon Son of David (and Tamar, 2 *Sam.* xiii. 1-29).

XXXV.—Mac. holds this epiphonema puerile and unworthy: it is certainly extra-naïve.

XLI.—The unsavoury observations of Voltaire and Mac. are perhaps founded upon this Stanza.

XLIV.—Fame is from the *Æneid* (iv. 178). In line 2 the epithet *terceira* (a third) has a secondary meaning which the prurient pronounce “hardly honest.”

LIV.—Here begins the physical description of the Isle of Love, a gem. The Commentators make the three hills the poetic Olympus, Pindus, and Hæmus, or the Pelion, Ossa and Olympus of the Giants' wars; and the three founts Hippokrene, Aganippe and Arethusa. Both features suit the soft and beautiful scenery of Zanzibar Island (“Zanzibar,” etc., i. chap. 1). The last distich would be more literally rendered:—

And from the glittering rocks in soft descent
Coursed the canorous fugitive element.

LVI.—The forest of Camoens, compared with that of Chaucer in the Assembly of Fowles, shows the poetic effect of the gorgeous tropical scenery. It ceases to be a “*lieu commun*”; as in Tasso (iii. 75-6):—

L'un l'altro esorta che le piante atterri.

(This bids his mate to level every plant).

as in Spenser (i. 8-9) beginning with:—

The Laurell, meed of mighty conqueror.

and as in Childe Harold (i. 19):—

The horrid crags by toppling convent crowned,
The cork-trees, etc.

LVII. 6.—Cybele and Atys are celebrated in Sonnet CXC.

LVIII. 5.—I have attempted to preserve the assonance

between *Amoras* (mulberries) and *Amores* (loves). Nervi has—

Indi la dolce rubiconda mora
Che dall' istess' Amore il nome tiene.

LIX. 4-8.—F. y S. makes this difficult passage contain three figures; apostrophe to the pears; Prosopopeia converting the inanimate into animate, and Irony or sarcasm advising the trees to suffer damage, when the reverse is meant. Lamarre (p. 550) sadly distorts the sense with his *poire au corsage élançé*. The meaning seems to be “Patiently suffer the birds to eat, and thus to lighten your burden of fruit, if you would prevent your boughs breaking down with its weight.”

LX. 3.—Achæmenes is, in old Persian, Hakhámanish (Behist. Inscript. Col. 1, pp. 1, 2). It may mean friendly-minded; Hakhá (for Sakhá, a friend) + man (mind). This Heros Eponymus of the Achæmenidæ led the last migration of the Persians about B.C. 700. Camoens uses him for “Persian,” like Ovid:—

Rexit Achæmenias urbes Pater Orchemus, etc.

Orchemus being probably Uruk. Also Lucan (ii. 49), and Ausonius (Epig. xxxvii.). According to the Greeks, the progenitor of the Achæmenians was Perses, son of Perseus, son of Danaë. In line 5 the Cephissian flower is the narcissus; and Adonis (l. 7) is the anemone, born of his blood.

LXI. 1-4.—This beautiful idea is perhaps borrowed from the alliteration and rhyme of Ausonius (Idyl. xiv.):—

Ambigeres raperet ne rosis Aurora ruborem,
An daret, et flores tingeret orta dies.

It is found in Ariosto (xxxiv. 49); and reappears in Tasso (iv. 75). Mac. and Ferr. give us their measure

by pronouncing it a *trocadilho* (jingle) or *Contraposto* (conceit of contraries) sounding of *Seicentismo* and *Gongorismo*. The white violet is alluded to (l. 6); as by Horace (Od. iii. 10) "tinctus viola pallor amantium"; by Ovid (Ars Am.), "palleat omnis amans, hic est color aptus amantium"; by Petrarch (Sonn. cxlix.), "S' un pallor di viola e d' amor tinto"; and by the beautiful and hapless Mary Stuart on the death of her first husband:—

Mon pâle visage de violet teint,
Qui est l'amoureux teint.

In line 7, *O lirio roxo* (the red lily) is translated "hyacinth" and "iris": the passage is also referred to Ovid (Met. x. 215) who assigns the letters A I, A I, to the "Æbalian boy," and others to Ajax. But our liliaceous hyacinth bears no such marks, whilst the tiger-lily, St. John's lily, has. The *lirio* is contrasted (lxii. 1) with the *Cecem*, *açucena* or *assucena*, the white lily which, in Heb. and Arab. "Súsan," gave the names Susan and Susannah. Here Narcissus represents the Asphodel of the Elysian fields, the Easter-lily of our old poets; the Daffadowndilly or Daffodil.

LXVII. 5.—The canonical day between sunrise and sunset was divided into four watches: Prima (3–6 A.M.); Terza (6–9 A.M.); Sesta (9 A.M. to midday); Nona or vespers (to 3 P.M.); and, lastly, Complines. *Altas sestas* (high noon) would allude to the sun in zenith, and the hottest hours of the tropical twenty-four.

LXIII. 1.—Camoens knew that swans sing without dying: I have often heard their curious piping.

LXXIII. 5.—*Tal de mancebos ha* ("one of the youths there is") grammatically singular as shown by *vestido*, *calçado* (shod) etc., has a plural meaning: our language will not supply this subtle shade of expression.

Mac. finds the image of the ardent youth very "hycastic": it sounds like Virgil's "Procu**bu**it humi bos."

LXXVI-LXXXI. — Ephyre, daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, gave a name to Corinth. Portuguese writers detect perfect beauty in the wooing of Leonardo, which contains many of the Poet's pet expressions. Mac. brands the "Senhor Leonardo" as a "prowler." Musgrave remarks (pp. 548-9) that the address has "more ingenuity than pathos," and discerns a "metaphysical subtlety in his declaratory description (!) of his adverse fate, and of the capricious persecution to which by luckless destiny he has always been exposed, that is inconsistent with impassioned sentiment." Here the "luckless destiny" is that of a Poet again exposed to so merciless a Proser.

LXXVIII. 8.—Quoted from Petrarch (Sonnet 43):—

What wall is built between the hand and corn.
Macgregor.

Ariosto, vii. 25, has the same sentiment:—

Che tra'l frutto e la man non gli sia messo.
 (That 'twixt the fruit and hand it be not placed.)

I have preserved Camoens' quotation with its *spiga* for *spica*: it sounds better in the original on account of the similarity of the languages. Anglicè it would be:—

And thou shalt notice at the end of all
 'Twixt ear and sickle how upstands the wall.

LXXV. 5-8.—A fair specimen of Camonian inversion and involved parenthesis.

LXXXIX.—Mac. puts the dilemma as follows:—Camoens knew that the gods either did or did not exist. In the former case he should have supported their reality to the end. In the latter he should not have used them

at all. Very true! still a poetic reader would rather be wrong with Camoens than be right with his critic. But we would willingly dispense with the next stanza (xc.) explaining the heathen gods, although it is taken from Cicero (*De Nat. Deor.* ii. 24), and it may be sound anthropology. The minuteness is worthy of a German dramatist; and *per aspera ad astra* or *sic itur ad astra* (*Æn.* ix. 64) is worth the whole tirade. But, as has been said, these hermeneutics, which show the priestly hand, were probably added by ecclesiastical injunction.

XCIII. 7-8. — So Camoens' contemporary Ercilla (*La Araucana*, canto xxxvii.) :—

*Y las honras consisten no en tenerlas ;
Sinó en solo arribar a merecerlas.*

(No Honour his who doth of honours boast ;
Honour is his who doth deserve them most.)

NOTES TO CANTO X.

STANZA I. 3.—The “great Lake” is the Pacific Ocean, a Homerism (*Limne* for *Thálassa*, *Okeanòs*, or *Strabo's* *Límnothalatta*), which we have seen before. The Mexican water, which gave a name to the chief city, was called *Tihcuco*, and the valley *Tenochtitlan*: the Portuguese applied *Temistatam* to country and capital. *Larissæa*, or *Coronis*, the mother of *Æsculapius*, unfairly termed *adultera*, is from *Ovid* (*Met.* ii. 542).

III.—The banquet is that of the *Iliad* (i. 601); of the *Æneid* (i. 740); and especially of the *Pharsalia* (x. 154), where *Cleopatra* entertains *Cæsar*.

VII. 4.—Of *globo . . . rotundo* Mac. remarks that globes are mostly round, not square or triangular. Here is again the Magic Mirror (viii. 45).

VIII. 3.—“*Cithara crinitus Iopas*” (*Æn.* i. 744) and Demodokus the Odyssey-bard (viii. 62, and xiii. 27), who sang to King Alcinoüs of the Phæakes = Corcyræans, Corfu-men. Modern writers suppose the latter to be an historical personage.

IX.—This complaint, written between *æt.* 45 and 50, is “*Eheu fugaces,*” &c. (*Hor. Od.* ii. 14): it has no business here; but it is not the less beautiful.

X.—The fair Nymph plunges with a “*furentis animi vaticinatio*” into Da Gama’s second Voyage.

XVII. 1-4.—Pacheco, “Conqueror of the Indies,” levelled the bombard at the Rajah’s ensigns: it killed two of the enemy’s men, spattered him with blood, and drove him to flight.

XVIII. 1.—He, *i.e.*, the Samiry Rajah.

XXI. 2.—Mac. justly abuses “*Darius*”; and we far prefer to the 4,000 of Camoens Byron’s

Of the three hundred grant but three.

XXIV. 4-8.—This bitter apostrophe, which Mac. calls an “atrocious invective,” refers to the two Jesuit brothers, Councillors of the King, and to courtly flatterers of the type Sá de Miranda, Ferreira, Bernardes, and Caminha. In line 8 some Edits. have *Dão-nos* (they give us) for *Dão-os* (they give them, *i.e.* gifts).

XXV. 8.—“*Crudelitatis mater est avaritia et pater furor*” (*Rutilius Rus.* ii. 2).

XXVI. 1.—D. Francisco d’Almeida, first Viceroy, and his son D. Lourenço.

XXIX. 6.—*Com fogo . . e ferro . . serve*: the *fs*, observes F. y S., show the fury of the fight.

XXX. 7.—*Scæva* is from the Pharsalia (vi. 126). His

tearing out his left eye was rivalled by my heroic friend, Baroche (jun.), during the Prussian siege of Paris.

XXXII. 7.—Here the *trabuco*, mentioned with guns, appears a fire-arm, not a catapult, or stone-slinger.

XXXIV.—The bull trying his horns is from Lucan (ii. 600).

XXXVI. 6.—*She* (i.e. the fleet) of Mir Husayn, the Turk.

XXXVIII. 6.—*Que não os intendêram* ("who did not understand them") is preferred to *não nos* ("not us"); the article (*os*) referring to *juízos* (judgments), whereas the personal pronoun (*nos*) is idle.

XLI. 7, 8.—The enemies of Camoens must have made merry over a Pagan Nymph hymning "The Church" before a mixed audience, Heathen and Christian.

XLIV. 6.—*Os crises*, the Malay crease, or wave-edged dagger.

XLIX. 8.—The allusion here is to the hanging of Ruy Dias by Albuquerque; the supposed subject of Sonnet c. The older Portuguese said *Frandes* and *Ingrezes* for "Flandes" and "Inglezes."

L. 5.—El-Medinah is "abominable" because, says F. y S., *esta en ella el cuerpo del abominable Mahoma, y se usa mucha supersticion*. Not bad for an adorer of Saints and worshipper of relics!

LII. 4.—Saba is Sabæa, hod. El-Yemen. Kandáke seems to have been a dynastic or rather a queenly Ethiopian title; two Candaces being well known. One attacked Egypt in the Augustan days, and was beaten in Abyssinia by the Prefect Petronius (B.C. 22). The other received, they say, Christianity from her chief Eunuch and treasurer Juda, a disciple of St. Philip.

LIII. 5.—Musgrave (p. 564) misexplains the *desterro* (exile of Da Gama) by his second voyage in 1502. It refers to his forced retirement from the court of a mean,

jealous, and greedy King, D. Manoel, between that date and 1524. In the latter year D. Joam repaid him by the appointment of Viceroy, which came too late.

LIV. 5-7.—D. Henrique de Menezes (A.D. 1525) was free from two of the seven "mortal sins"—the "enemies of the soul."

LVII. 6.—*Abrolhos* (lit. "eye-openers") means reefs; dangerous shoals, like those near Rio de Janeiro: metaphorically it applies to "stumbling-blocks," hidden risks, "thorns in the flesh," &c.

LXII. 4.—Antonio da Sylveira (l. 4) made so great a name when governor ad interim of Diu that, according to Millié, François I. placed his portrait near that of Bayard in the Historical Gallery. "Gama's branch" (l. 6.) is his son Estevam in A.D. 1540.

LXII. 4.—The "French pirate" is Villegagnon. He was expelled from Rio de Janeiro by Martim Affonso de Souza, who governed India in A.D. 1542.

LXVII. 1.—Camoens has been blamed for playing upon the similarity of sound in *Marte* and *Martinho*. Possible that his commentators never heard of the "Fatalism of names" so familiar to the classics? See Æschylus (Act i.) for Agamemnon's treatment of "Helen" and Cymbeline (v. 5) for Leo-natus. In line 5 D. Joam de Castro (A.D. 1545) worthily ends the list of Viceroys.

LXVIII. 8.—The old term *Mostasos* from the Gr. *Μύσταξ* is found in Barbosa (p. 104), and is still used in Majorca. There are two derivations for *bigode* (mustachio) 1st the English or German soldier's usual oath, and 2nd from Goth or Visigoth. So Fidalgo and Hidalgo may be "filho de algum" (qui patrem ciere potest) or filho de Go (Goth). *Câgot*, however, is not canis gothi: the word according to Dr. H. Tuke is the Celto-Breton "cacod," meaning a leper. The twisting of the mustachio is a

well-known military practice in India. Mahmud Shah of Gujarát was called Bigarrah ("cow with the crumpled horns") because, as Varthema says, he could tie the mustachios which grew under his nose over his head as a woman would her tresses.

LXIX. 3.—(Joam de) Mascarenhas, who succeeded Sylveira at Diu, must not be confounded with the Viceroy (D. Pedro de) Mascarenhas.

LXXII. 4.—The "fierce multitude quadrupedant" alludes to the elephants of the Cambayan (Gujarátí) Melique (King), Bahadur Shah. Hydálcham (l. 6) is Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur.

LXXVII.—The solar system is according to Ptolemy. Compare with the Cosmogony of Epicurus (Lucr. lib. v.): the latter, however, is argumentative and scientific; Camoens is poetical.

LXXXII. 7, 8.—A couplet for Spiritualistic newspapers.

LXXXIV. 2.—Horace's "utile dulci."

LXXXVI. 1.—*Rapto*, that is, moving the orbs from East to West. Bacon (Inst. Magna, cap. iv.) speaks of the "rapture of the first motion." *Curso alheio* (l. 4) appears to mean varying in length: I here again preserve "alien." The slow and lagging orb (ll. 4-8) alludes to the chrySTALLINE sphere (No. 9) revolving in 49,000 years.

LXXXVII.—Here, says Mac., begin the *olhas* ("see") which number 29.

LXXXVIII. 5.—Souza, Padre Aquino and Jur., following F. y S., read *O gesto turbulento*, which does not rhyme with *horrendo*. F. and M. prefer *tremendo* and Fons. *metuendo*, a Latinism. Orion was a "turbulent": he began by an attempt upon Diana's chastity; and he was stung to death by a scorpion which found its way into the Zodiac.

XCI.—Commentators quote the Archangel Michael revealing futurity to Adam after his fall. In line 1 *Posada* is an inn opposed to a home.

XCIII. 2.—Gonçalo de Silveira the Jesuit martyred A.D. 1561.

XCIV. 6.—*Bando*, “a flock” (of birds).

XCv. (a).—I translated (line 6) after Thos. Watson :—

For there they fell where long my heart had li'ne
To wait for Love and what he should assign.

But I fear that the weaker brethren will detect an error of “lain” for “laid.”

XCvIII. 2.—Rose (Bohn, 520) “does not know why Ariosto (xv. 39) styles Egypt the ‘land of heroes.’” This passage, referring to the classical Heroöpolis, a corruption already noticed, may explain it.

XCIX. 1.—The Sinai of vulgar error.

C. 3.—The Rabytes are Arab horses.

CI. 4.—*Royalgate* = Ras el-Hadd, the “Frontier-cape” or Easternmost projection of Arabia. Line 6 alludes to D. Pedro de Castel-Branco, Governor of Hormuz.

CIV. 4.—*Lára*, by paragoge for Lar.

CVI. 2.—Jaquete is the Gulf of Cutch. *Do mar o enchente* (flux or flow) is the impetus maris, the Hindostani “ghora” (stallion) and the Anglo-Indian “Bore.” Its rush into the Gulf of Cambay is well described by Varthema and is alluded to by every traveller. America shows it in the Bay of Fundy. The phenomenon is the Anglo-Sax. Egor, the Higre, Eagre, Acker or Aker of the Severn, Trent and Humber. As “Agar” it was personified :—“Hee (Neptune) sendeth a monster called the Agar, against whose coming the waters roare, the fowles flie away, and the cattel in the field for terrour shun the banks” (Lilly’s *Galathea*, i 1).

CVIII.-CXvIII.—These stanzas contain the cele-

brated episode of Saint Thomas who is introduced, like St. John by Ariosto (xxxiv. 58), but with peculiar impropriety, worse than Saint Catherine in the Siren's mouth. Some, as Marsden, find authority for an Apostolic mission to India in St. Jerome, who, however, held it to be not a point of faith but a "matter of history, known and admitted." Others add that a Chaldaic breviary, used by Indian Christians, offers praise to God for sending St. Thomas to India and China. Assemani, followed by many, makes the doubting Apostle pass from India to China, found a church at Cambalá (Pekin), and return to "Maliapor in Malabar." In The Brazil early missionaries, especially Padre Nobrega, came upon ample traces of the Disciple, which served to explain many ethnological difficulties: they confounded him with a local god, Zomé or Sumé. It is certain that the Portuguese met in India (and Ethiopia) "Christians of Saint Thomas": their rite is quaintly described as "half Greek, half Judæan," probably from their circumcision, from their mode of communion and from their sale of the sacraments. They then numbered some 200,000 souls and declared that for 1,300 years they had been governed by a legate under the Patriarch of Baghdad. The strangers on arrival found one Ya'akúb styling himself "Matrán (Metropolitan) of all India and China." Throughout the latter Empire it is evident that Christianity was more powerful in the XVIth than in the XIXth century, and the same was probably the case with India.

According to Marco Polo (iii. xx. 4) the martyrdom took place in the Province of Ma'abar ("Place of Transit"). He says "an idolater of the tribe of Gacci (Káchhi, Cochin?) who happened to be passing that way, did not perceive the holy man, shot an arrow (*freccia*) at a peacock (N.B. a sacred bird amongst Hindus, and the Yezidis or Devil-worshippers) and struck the

Apostle in the side," the wound being thus like that of Jesus. Finding himself mortally hurt, he had only time to thank the Lord for all His mercies; and into His hands he resigned his spirit. The Venetian adds that the body was revered by Moslems as well as Christians, and that Thomas was called Ananias. Barbosa¹ tells us (p. 158) that his miraculous church was built near Coulam in Western India and that the right arm of the holy corpse would remain outside the earth (p. 176).

In A.D. 1524 the body of the Apostle, with the lance-head beside it, was found by D. Duarte de Menezes in his church near Maylapur,² one of the 3,300 built by St. Thomas; and, in 1558, it was removed to Goa by D. Constantino de Braganza. What became of it? Subsequently, says Osorio, broken tablets were brought to the Viceroy, Martim Affonso de Souza; and a learned Jew (?) interpreted the characters to mean that St. Thomas had founded a chapel at Meliapor. Dr. Burnell was the first to point out that the supposed tomb bears a Nestorian inscription in Pehlevi (circ. A.D. 800-900), like similar stones behind altars in the Travancore churches. In 1562, the Portuguese Bishop of Cochin reported to Cardinal Enrico at Rome that, when the ancient oratory of St. Thomas was being repaired, a stone cross was turned up and a Brahman (?) interpreted the inscription as follows:—"In the reign of Sagam (Sagana), Thomas was sent by the Son of God, whose disciple he was, to teach the law of Heaven in

¹ This traveller exaggerates the miracle, making the peacock turn into Saint Thomas (p. 175). Among Moslems the bird labours under the reproach of having assisted Satan to tempt Adam and Eve. With Hindus it is sacred to the god Kárttikeya (or Subrahmanya).

² The "large and beautiful church" at "Malepur" is noticed by Niccolò de' Conti, p. 7.

India; he built a church and was killed by a Brahman (?) at the altar." Andrada (Vida de D. Joam de Castro) declares that the Apostle converted the Kings of Pande, Malabar, Coromandel and their neighbours. The martyrdom was fixed on Dec. 21, A.D. 30. In 1625 when digging a foundation at Sian-fu, capital of the Shen-si Province, the workmen found a stone with a cross. The latter, covered with Chinese and Christian characters, contained the names of the Bishops and an account of their faith. "It was brought from India and, having been weakened, it was renewed under the reign of the Great Tam" (A.D. 630).

Possibly the name originated from some Nestorian missionary who travelled to India; or the "Ananias" of M. Polo may have been converted to St. Thomas by the pretensions of the Syrian and Chaldæan Churches. A whole literature has grown up around the subject: Adrien Baillet has his doubts; and the Revd. Mr. Medhurst, followed by a confident crowd, rejects all rationalistic explanation.

CVIII. 2.—Thōmē is the saintly; Thomas and Thomaz are the secular names. In line 4 the "Devil's laws" are the Vedas and Puranas; the Zoroastrian Holy Writ; the books of Confucius and the Koran.

CIX. 2.—Old Meliapor is correctly described by Camoens as being at some distance from the shore; but floods destroyed it, and the sea consumed the twelve intermediate leagues. Castéra supposes the word to mean peacock (Mailapuram = Peacock-town). It then became Sam Thomé, a townlet three or four miles South of Fort St. George, Madras. Here "Little Mount," a rocky mound, supports an ancient chapel, where they still show the *Pegadas* or prints of hands and feet made by the Saint in prayer. There is also a Saint Thomas quarter in heretical Madras.

CX.—The miracles of St. Thomas are from Barros (Dec. iii. 54, 7, 11). John de Marignolli mentions the huge log (l. 4), and brings it from Adam's Peak, Ceylon (Cathay and the Way Thither, Hakluyt's, 1866, vol. 1, lxxxix. and ii. pp. 374-79). The timber and building episode are perverted from Syriac church-literature. The Hindu King, Sagana, is taken from the mythical part of the Vijayanagara (or Vidyanagara); and his reign was not earlier than A.D. 1300. Varthema (p. 127) saw three elephants drag a ship from sea to land; and graphically describes the process (comp. Turpin; Pinkerton i. 613): he also alludes (p. 177) to the miracles of St. Thome's relic. Line 1 repeats *pregando* from cix. 7: apparently this is a later style of the Poet.

CXIII. 5.—The "threads" are the Janeo of India, and the Zunnár of Arabia and Persia. This three-stranded "Brahminical cord" of cotton, passed over the left shoulder, and hanging down the right side, is supposed to be symbolical of the Hindu Triad; and it denotes the Dwija or Twice-born. The last couplet is "Væ vobis, hypocritæ!"

CXV. 1-4.—"I will raise you up suddenly," says Rabelais, "any dead man you like, just as Apollonius of Tyana raised Achilles."

CXXII.—According to Castéra (Paris Edit. 1768) a Chinese ship was wrecked on the Pegu coast, and only a woman and a dog survived: hence the monstrous fable. He gives the name of the "subtle Queen" as "Canana." A story like that of the dog is told about a lion in Ceylon, and was probably based upon false etymology.

CXXVI. 4.—Bramás = Burmáns, Burmese. The tattooing of the Gueons or Karens (last couplet) is described as being burnt in, or rather burnt up, as by certain African tribes. In parts of New Guinea this ornament is not permitted till after murder: a man will say when

quarrelling, "Who art thou to talk thus? Where are thy tattoo-marks? Whom hast thou slain that thou darest speak to me?"

CXXVIII.—In this famous couplet the singer personifies himself as "Song." Some hold that *Será* (shall or will be, in line 6 *Será o injusto mando executado*) suggests that the shipwreck preceded instead of followed the Poet's exile to Macáo. But *ser* means either to be or to become (vulg. *estar*); and the allusion is to past time,—“shall have been.” Donner well renders the last couplet:—

Dem seiner Laute volles helles Klingen,
Mehr Ruhm hinfort als Erdenglück will bringen.

CXXX.—The Wall parts China from Tartary.

CXXXI. 3.—The "Islands of the Sea" refers to Malasia. F. y S. explains the last couplet:—"the introduction of Christianity into Japan will consecrate its silver mines to Church service (*i.e.*, be applied to missions) and thus add a spiritual value." I have noted that the forecast has been stultified by fact.

After CXXXI. there appears to be a break in the narrative, as if the following Stanzas were the result of a second visit.

CXXXIII.—The Banda Archipelago; the nutmeg (of which clove was long supposed to be the flower, Cathay, etc. ii. 473) and the nutmeg-pigeon. Camphor (l. 7) is first mentioned by the Arabs; the Classics ignored it.

CXXXIV. 2.—*Sandalo*, sandal-wood or Saunders. Sunda (l. 3) is Java.

CXXXV.—The Poet now retraces his way westward viâ Sumatra and Ceylon to Madagascar. The odorous juice (l. 5) is *Styrax Benzoin*, Gum Benjamin: it is preferred to the bitter gum (*Balsamodendron Myrrha*) named from the daughter of Cinyras.

CXXXVI.—The last quatrain alludes to the Cocode-mer which Barros (iii. 3, 7) describes as a palm growing under water: its fruit is larger than the coconut, and its shell is a mithridate more valuable than the bezoar-stone. It is now used chiefly for begging bowls.

CXXXVII. 2.—“Aloe,” in Cosmas *Ἀλὴν* (p. 336), is evidently derived not from the Heb. Ahalim, but from the Arab. El-Ud, *the* (perfumed) wood: Ibn Batutah calls it Ud el-Komar (“wood of Comorin”). This word (Úd) also gave rise to liuto, luth, lute. The confusion between Aloes-wood (*Agallochum*) and the Aloe-shrub which yields the valuable drug, is of old date. The *massa* (l. 6) is a second allusion to ambergris.

CXXXVIII. 6.—The Lusitanian is Magellan.

CXL. 3.—Holy Cross is the earliest name for The Brazil given by Cabral in A.D. 1500, because discovered on the day of the “Invention” of the Cross (May 1).

CXLI. 3.—The quasi-gigantic race is the Patagonian, meaning “Big-feet.” Camoens evidently knew the congelation of the Southern Seas; and the last couplet may be an allusion to Australia.

CXLIV.—The new titles were “Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India” (Barros, i. 4, 11).

CXLV.—Here begins the celebrated Epilogue addressed to Dom Sebastiam. The action of the Poem ends, like the Iliad, with a startling abruptness: Camoens probably intended this to give emphasis to the epiphonema “No more, my Muse! no more,” and high relief to what follows. The conclusion remarkably resembles the Persian poet Jamí’s speech to his Shah,¹

¹ Salmán and Absál now published in English (London: Quaritch, 1879), and appended to the masterly translation of “Omar Khayyám”: his name, by the by, should be written Omar-i-Khayyám.

Ya'akub Bey, which is, in fact, a warning against evil Counsellors.

CXLIII. 4-8.—*L'arte della guerra presto s'impara*, said the Italians: *La guerre ne s'apprend qu'à la guerre*, quoth Napoleon Buonaparte.

CLVI. 2—Atlas is the "Pillar of Heaven" in Herodotus (iv. 184). According to the Scholiast in Plato's *Timæus* it was 5,000 stades, or furlongs, high. Here we detect an exaggerated legend of the Tenerife Peak. In line 4 the common Edits. read *Os Mouros* (Moors) *de Marrocos*: Jur. prefers *Os muros* (the mures, the walls). This commentator argues from line 5 that Camoens had become an esteemed Poet, in favour with his King, when he himself expressly declares (St. cliv.) that he was wholly unknown to royalty. It is evidently the past for the future: "My muse, who, after writing her (coming) Sebastianade, shall have become prized and glad," &c. The last couplet of the Poem is variously understood by translators: some rendering *se veja* ("may see himself"), others "may be seen" in a reflective sense. Fanshaw has:—

That Alexander shall in you respire
Without envying the Mæonian lyre.

Mickle, as usual, shirks the difficulty, and paraphrases thus:—

I, then inspired, the wondering world should see
Great Ammon's warlike son revived in Thee;
Reviv'd unenvious of the Muse's flame
That o'er the world resounds Pelides' name.

Mitchell, however grotesque, is right:—

That another Alexander thou shouldst then be;
Who need not of Achilles feel any envy.

Aubertin also takes the second and better sense at the peril of ending his stanza with a weak word:—

That Alexander shall be seen in thee,
Nor of Achilles' fortune envious be.

Duff prefers the first :—

When Alexander himself in thee surveys
Achilles' fame no more shall envy raise.

I also originally wrote :—

That Alexander shall unenvious see
Achilles' fortunes, seeing self in Thee.

NOTES ON THE REJECTED STANZAS.

THESE Stanzas, rejected and omitted by Camoens, were discovered by Manoel de Faria y Sousa, and published in his Commentaries (Juan Sanches, 1639). The whole were extant in three manuscripts. Number I., the better of the two first, contained only six Cantos: Number II., belonging to Correia Montenegro, embraced the whole poem. The third MS., from Luiz Franco, and given by Viscount Juromenha (vol. vi. 419), had only four "rejected stanzas"; of which the first three were identical with those of Faria y Sousa; whilst the fourth was that of the established text (Canto i. 79), with a few unimportant changes of words and rhymes.

The Rejected Stanzas, now translated for the first time, number :—

MS. No. 1,	48 + 2 fragments	= 49
„ „ 2,	(Correia Montenegro's)	= 26
„ „ 3,	(Luiz Franco's)	= 4
		—
	Total	79

I will not here enter into the consideration why the Stanzas were left out. Many of them fully equal those

retained in the popular "Lusiads"; but almost all contain something opposed to public, or rather to priestly, sentiment. A cursory glance shows that not a few want the polish and finish which distinguish the Poem; and I have purposely followed suit for the sake of contrast and fidelity. Juromenha's original text is printed in *verso*, that the reader may judge how literal is my version, which, for additional security, was submitted to Mr. J. J. Aubertin, the translator of "The Lusiads."

CANTO I. (after STANZA 77) l. 2.—The holy President is Prester John.

I. (Stanza 80).—"Make no interval." So Herod. (iii. 135) says "Darius put no long distance between the word and the deed."

III. (Stanza 10).—The Sarmatæ, Sauromatæ, Sauro-Medes, or Northern Medes of Herod. (iv. 116-17) are the more modern Sarmatians, now Slavs, the latest link between the Aryan family and its so-called Indo-European (not Indo-Germanic) branch. Like Scyths they were γαλακτοφάγοι and ἰππημολγοί, milk-feeders and milkers (Hom. xiii. 6): Dion Perieg., 309, also notices these Sarmatian nomads. The Mysi, Mæsi or Mysians, pastoral Scythians of Bulgaria, emigrated with the Teucrians from Europe to Asia (Herod. vii. 20) before the Trojan War,—an event which ranges between B.C. 1335 and B.C. 1140. Cluverius (Germ. Antiq.) conjoins "Pannonii Misique." The Abii are mentioned by Homer (Il. xiii. 9) in connexion with the Hippomolgians: "Abion" may mean either "long-lived" or "without bows." Borysthenes is the Dnieper, known to Herodotus.

III. (for Stanza 29).—I confess to not-understanding this octave.

IV. (Stanza 2).—Camoens forgets to add Virgil or

Vergil (*a vergine*), also called Parthenias for the same reason.

IV. (Stanza 3) 2.—I have retained, as in Heliogabálus for Heliogab'alus, the Poet's false quantity,—Nectanébus for Nectánebus. This personage, Nakht-neb-f, the 1st King of the XXXth Egyptian dynasty, fought the Persians and was succeeded by Tachros in B.C. 369. Alexander reduced Egypt in B.C. 332.

IV. (Stanza 27).—Titan is an epithet of the Sun after Lucan (iv. 56 and vi. 743).

IV. (Stanza 35) 1.—(The lances) pierced, etc.

IV. (Stanza 40) 1.—*Sem medo*=Sans peur.

IV. (Stanza 40) 4.—Salazar plays the part of Galeotto (Sir Galahad) in Dante, and the Pander and Ribald in Ariosto (O. F. xiv. 24 and 124; xv. 6) and Chaucer. *Taful* (a parasite) is the popular Arab. "Tufayl."

IV. (Stanza 40) 6.—*Montante* (broadsword) is properly the large and heavy two-handed blade.

IV. (Stanza 40) 8.—*Espadas* (from the Lat. *Spatha*) means either swords or (suit of) spades; card-players must not understand the latter to mean "an agricultural implement."

IV. (Stanza 44) 1.—These reflections follow the battle. The birds eating corpses are the Thracian cranes of Lucan (vii. 832). This octave was probably suppressed on account of the unpleasant nature of the subject (Millié-Dubeux).

IV. (Stanza 49) 2.—The traitor-Count again refers to Julian.

IV. (Stanza 49) 3.—*Rei Joanne* (paragoge) is D. Joam III. 6.—Camoens often alludes to Fortune, possibly because Julius Cæsar paid especial veneration to the Goddess Luck.

VI. (Stanza 94) 1.—Aubertin renders this Stanza as follows:—

Behold ! then, after this o'erwhelming fear
 The good so long desired, within our range ;
 So, after joyful interval appear
 The powers of sadness,—a most certain change :
 He who would seek to make this secret clear
 Of seeing but uncertainty so strange,
 Striving to reconcile all things in vain,
 Instead of learning more, would lose his brain.

VI. (Stanza 94) 2.—This predestination-theory is after Solomon (?) "If it befall to me, as it befall to the fools, why should I labour to be more wise?" (Eccles. ii. 15). Boethius (Cons. Phil. v. Prosa 3) and Chaucer (The Nonne Prest, etc., 414, and Troilus and Cressida, iv. 995 et seq.), also discuss "Free-will." The Cabral is Fernam Alvares with whom Camoens sailed, not Pedr' Alvares who discovered The Brazil. The latter, curious to say, is not alluded to by Camoens. Simonides is from Phædrus, iv. 24.

VIII. (Stanza 32) 1.—The founder is Pero Rodrigues de Landroal.

VIII. (Stanza 32) 2.—Ducal Gemes is D. Jayme.

VIII. (Stanza 32) 3.—Trudante, Tarudant or Tero-dant, the chief town of the Sús Province in Marocco, lies some 125 miles S.-West of the Capital: it is still a considerable town.

X. (Stanza 72) 5.—*Adail de Zafim* ("guide of Zafim"): the first word is the Arab. El-Dalil, the guide; Zafim, Azaffi, Asfi or Saffi, properly Sofiyah, is a Maroccan port which still trades with England, but has declined since the building of Mogador. The learned Editor of Lancaster's *Voyages* (Hakluyt, pp 145, 152) wrongly interprets "Saffee in Barbary" by Sallee.

X. (Stanza 72) 6.—Barriga tears up the stake to which he was bound.

X. (Stanza 72) 10.—These lines are our Chevy Chase:—

"For Witherington, needs must I wayle," etc.

X. (Stanza 73) 4.—See the Ballad of Brave Lord Willoughby.

X. (Stanza 73) 6.—*Por direito* (“by shortest tract”) meaning that Magellan went neither to the right nor to the left.

X. (Stanza 73) 9.—*Agoar* means to mix with water, to weaken, to dull (colour).

X. (Stanza 73) 10.—A Prophecy not unlikely to be realised.

X. (Stanza 73) 11.—Lusbel or Luzbel is a corruption of Lucifer.

X. (Stanza 141).—Magellan.

I will end this chapter with the appreciative address to Camoens by the French poet Millevoye (Invention Poétique):—

Chantre navigateur, cher aux Nymphes du Tage,
Les Neuf Sœurs te gardaient un moins riche partage ;
Mais à travers les pleurs qu’Inès obtient encore,
Nous admirons les traits de ton Adamastor.

NOTANDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Vol. I. p. 29.—What F. y S. says of the lost Parnaso of Luis de Camoens is “in 1600, at the age of eleven, this volume (of MSS.) was borrowed from me by a youth who at once went to study at Coimbra. There was living at the time Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, who presently published his book entitled *Primavera* in prose and verse: I have ever thought that it contained some things of those that were in the other volume (the MSS.)” He then specifies the passages alluded to.

Vol. I. p. 107.—Manoel de Faria y Sousa *was* the author of the *Asia Portugueza*: the elder Saverim (p. 41) was *not*. See Adam. vol. ii. p. 326; Jur. vol. i. pp. 529, 531 and 536.

Vol. I. p. 391.—Dr. A. Burnell writes to me that he found in the Marciana Library, Venice, a letter of Dom Manoel about the voyages of A.D. 1500–1505, and events in India during those five years. He is reprinting this unique Italian document addressed to D. Ferdinand in 1505; but my copy has unfortunately not yet reached me.

CONCLUSION.

EXEGI MONUMENTUM ! It may be only wood-work, not bronze, and far less that which outlasts bronze : even wood, however, has claims upon the sympathy and affections of its handler ; and I end my work not without regret. There is something emotional in taking leave of a labour which has occupied, amid the intervals of travel and exploration, nearly the third of a life ; and in this case it touches me the more, as it is one of my last.

Yet, however severe has been the discontinuous toil, I cannot but feel a glow of pleasure at having undertaken it, at having lived so long in contact with so noble a spirit as that of my Master. I also take pride in the ambition of familiarising my fellow-countrymen with a "man and a maker," a workman and a work not readily to be rivalled in the region of literature.

It is my belief that no single publication extant gives so full and general a portrait of Camoens, his Life and his Lusiads, as this now offered to the public. My Volumes have been written where Libraries do not exist ; consequently they contain faults and imperfections manifold. But the sins of commission and omission are, I

believe, rather in details and in minutiae than in capital and essential matters : I shall be happy to amend them ; and my hope is to see critics correct me as freely and fairly as I have criticised and corrected others. Meanwhile, I confidently expect that both Translation and Commentary will prove useful to the general student ; and I venture to say that, in some departments—for instance, the Oriental and the Geographical—it will not be without attractions for the advanced scholar.

VIVE VALEQUE !

APPENDIX.

TABLE I.—Editions of the Works of Camoens	Pp. 681-689
„ II.—Tables of Translations	„ 690-697
„ III.—The Contents of The Lusiads (Indicial)...	„ 699-708
The Reviewer Reviewed	„ 709-727
Glossary	„ 729-738



TABLE I.

EDITIONS OF THE WORKS OF CAMOENS.¹

Jur.'s Numbers, Mine in Pars.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names: Remarks.
1	...	*	4to	1572	Antonio Gõçaluez: various readings are found in different copies of same date.
2	...	*	4to	1572	Antonio Gõçaluez, considered to be the 2nd Edit. ¹
3	...	*	8vo	1584	Manoel de Lyra, 1st Edit. with notes; ² very rare; text mutilated; noticed by Aquino (Adam. ii. 265-268).
4	*	4to	1586(?) 1587	Surreptitious copy? Doubtful: in the 12 <i>Autos</i> of Antonio Prestes of Santarem (Adam. ii. 268-9). ³

¹ This List is taken from Adam. ii. 255-392; Quillinan (pp. ix:-xii.), Jur. (vi. 468-470); and the Centenario de Camões," Catalogue of a Camonean collection S. Miguel, Açores. Dr. Theophilo Braga has also brought out a bibliography of Camoens.

² According to Snr. Tito de Noronha (i.), the Edit. Princeps is that of the Author; the Pelican fronting to the right (reader's left); (ii.) the 2nd Edition is the "mutilated" of 1584; (iii.) Between 1584 and 1586 appeared a surreptitious issue, a copy of the first with the same date and printer's name, but with variants and different orthography. He tells us (pp. 37-8) that 8 copies of the Princeps and 13 of the so-called Second Edition are known to exist. The only copy abroad is that of Lord Holland, and the Lisbon Library has none, even of 1584 and 1591.

³ As Adam. remarks (ii. 268), the fact of notes being added to this Edition contradicts all the biographers who make Manoel Correia the first annotator in 1613. I have already alluded to this "piscous (or fishy) edition."

Jur.'s Numbers. Mine in Paris.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names : Remarks.
5	...	*	8vo Small	1591	Manoel de Lyra, Lisbon; reprint of 1584 with some changes.
6	*	...	4to	1595	Surrupita's Editio Princeps of the "Rhythmas" (Rimas) printed by Estevam Lopez, bookseller, Lisbon. ¹
7	...	*	4to	1597	Manoel de Lyra, at cost of Estevam Lopez; promises to restore the text, but leaves it like those of 1584 and 1591.
8	*	...	4to	1598	Pedro Crasbeeck (Adam. ii. 288).
(9)	*	...	4to	1601	Doubtful, Adam. and Quillinan.
9	...	*	*	...	4to	1607	} Pedro Crasbeeck; different wood-cut in title-pages. It was a Part i. of which Part ii. appeared in 1616.
(10, 11)	*	...	4to	1607	
10	...	*	4to	1609	Pedro Crasbeeck (Adam. ii. 295).
11	...	*	4to	1612	Vicente Alvarez (not in Adam. ii. 258-96).
12	...	*	4to	1613	Pedro Crasbeeck with Commentary of the Licentiate Manoel Correia or Corrêa. In this Edit. appeared the first biography proper of Camoens, in a letter addressed to the "Lovers of Poetry," and signed Pedro de Mariz.
13	*	...	4to	1614	Vicente Alvarez.
14	*	4to	1615	Do. "Comedia dos Enfatiões; Comedia de Filodemo" and Creaçam do Homem." ²

¹ Adam. gives a long and careful account of this Edition (ii. 270-86).

² The Poem (attributed to Camoens) is supposed to have first

Jur.'s Numbers. Mine in Paris.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names : Remarks.
15	*	...	o	1616	Pedro Crasbeeck. This Edition concluded that of 1607 and reprinted the Letter of Pedro de Mariz with Emendations.
(18)	...	*	32mo	1620	Mentioned by Machado (Adam. and Quillinan).
16	*	...	4to	1621	Antonio Aluares ; a reprint of 1614 (?).
	*	...	32mo	1623	Lourenço Crasbeeck (Machado, Adam. and Quill.)
17	*	...	32mo	1626	Pedro Crasbeeck, Adam. and Quill. make this an Edit. of "The Lusiads." See Snr. Tito de Noronha (loc. cit. p. 31).
18	*	...	32mo	1629	Pedro <i>Craesbeeck</i> .
19	...	*	32mo	1631	Lourenço Crasbeeck. ¹
20	*	...	32mo	1632	Vol. 2, is that of the preceding Edition. (This Edition and the next are not mentioned in Adam. and Quill.)
21	*	...	32mo	1632	Lourenço Crasbeeck ; the Dedication declares that it is the third printed in small type.
22	...	*	32mo	1633	Do. (Adam. ii. 312).
23	...	*	Folio	1639	Juan Sanchez, Madrid ; the celebrated Edition annotated by Manoel de Faria y Sousa ; ² (Adam. ii. 313-333).

appeared in the "very curious Edition" of 1616 (Adam. ii. 301). According to Adam. (ii. 300), the two Plays were printed in Roman letter with title-pages for sale apart.

¹ This Edit. lacks the "arguments."

² This Commentator says that from the Editio Princeps of 1572 to 1639 one Edition had issued every three years ; the calculation would make the total 22.

Jur.'s Numbers. Mine in Pars.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names : Remarks.
24	...	*	32mo	1644	Paulo <i>Craesbeeck</i> .
25	12mo	1645	Pedro <i>Craesbeeck</i> .
26	...	*	*	...	24mo	1651	Do. Do. (Machado).
27	..	*	24mo	1651	<i>Craesbeeck</i> . One of the best : in 1651 also "Rimas" (24mo).
28	...	*	12mo	1663	Lourenço <i>Craesbeeck</i> .
29	*	...	12mo	1663	Do. Do.
30	*	...	4to	1666	Antonio <i>Craesbeeck de Mello</i> .
31	*	...	4to	1668	Do. Do.
32	...	*	4to	1669	Antonio <i>Craesbeeck d' Mello</i> . This Edition, by Barretto, with those of 1666, 1668 and 1669 (The <i>Lusiads</i>) complete the <i>Obras</i> (Works).
(36)	*	...	4to	1669	Antonio <i>Craesbeeck de Mello</i> (Adam. and Quillinan).
33	*	4to	1669	Do.
34	...	*	*	...	16mo	1670	Do.
(39)	*	...	16mo	1670	Do. (Quillinan.)
35	*	...	Folio	1685 to 1689	Theotonio Damaso de Mello ; with the Commentaries of (the deceased) Manoel de Faria y Sousa (Adam. ii. 341).
36	..	*	*	...	16mo	1702	Quillinan gives only The <i>Lusiads</i> , by M. L. Ferreyra.
37	*	Folio	1720	Published by Joseph Lopes Ferreyra. This Edition first prints all the <i>Obras</i> , and reprints the second biography of Camoens, published in 1624 by Dr. Manoel Severim de Faria of Evora, in his 4to, <i>Discursos</i>

¹ Jur. gives one Edit., 12mo, to 1670, containing both The *Lusiads* and *Rimas* : Adam. (ii. 340), and Quill. two, the first of The *Lusiads*, the second of the *Rimas*.

Jur.'s Numbers, Mine in Pars.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names: Remarks.
38	...	*	*	...	16mo	1721	<i>varios</i> , etc. His nephew, Gaspar de Maria Severim, had also written a Latin eulogium of the Poet, which was translated by the uncle. It has a portrait. Vol. I. Oficina Ferreyriana : Quillinan gives 2 Edits., both 12mo ; first of The Lusiads, second of the Rimas.
39	...	*	4to	1731- 32	Officina Parriniana ¹ (Naples) and Oficina de Antonio Rossi (Rome) ; the 4to annotated by Ignacio Garcez Ferreyra : Jur. does not give the date 1732. It has often been reprinted, notably in 1759.
40	...	*	16mo	1749	Manoel Coelho Amado.
41	*	12mo	1759	Bonardel and Dubeux, ² Paris.
42	*	12mo	1772	Miguel Rodrigues, Lisbon, 3 Vols. ; its errors are almost as numerous as its pages.
43	*	8vo	1779- 80	civocclxxix. Oficina Luisiana, 4 Vols. Jur. says that of 1779 was published by Messieurs Bertrands ; and does not give the date 1780. ³

¹ Adam. (ii. 352) makes Vol. I. of 1731, published by the Oficina Parriniana, Naples ; and Vol. II. of 1732 from the Oficina de Antonio Rossi, Rome.

² Good paper : small print, text full of errors, especially in rhymes.

³ Adam. (ii. 360) gives the Obras of civocccxxix. from the Oficina Luisiana and p. 364 ; another Lisbon Edit. of 1779-80. It contains an abridged Life of the Poet by Thomas José de Aquino. This third Luisiana Edit. was republished by Didot, Paris.

Jur.'s Numbers. Mine in Paris,	Obras (Works).	Lusitads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names: Remarks.
44	*	8vo	1782- 83	} Simam Thaddeo Ferreira; Jur. (vi. 468) does not give 1783. Imprensa da Universidade, Coim- bra; 2 Vols. Adam. (ii. 367) and Quill. make it an 18mo. Typografia Lacerdina, 2 Vols. J. E. Hetzig (Quill., not in Adam.).
45	...	*	24mo	1800	
46	...	*	18mo	1805 1808	P. Didot, sen., Paris; a neat illustrated reprint in 5 Vols., 12mo, of 1782 (1779-80 says Adam. ii. 369). I have used it and found it very useful.
47	*	12mo	1815	
48	...	*	16mo	18-	Berlin J. E. Hetzig (Jur. not in Adam. nor in Quill.).
49	...	*	4to	1817	Firmin-Didot, Paris; the famous Edition of the Morgado de Matheus (Adam. ii. 369-75). ¹
50	...	*	12mo	1818	François Seguin, Avignon, 2 Vols.
51	...	*	8vo	1819	Firmin-Didot (reprint of 1817).
(57)	...	*	8vo	1820	S. Smith, Paris (Quillinan).
52	...	*	18mo	1821	P. C. Dalbin et Cie, Rio de Janeiro (Quillinan makes it a 12mo.).
53	...	*	18mo	1823 ¹	J. P. Aillaud, Paris. ²
54	...	*	16mo	1827	First Edit. of M. Rolland (Typo- grafia Rollandiana).
55	...	*	16mo	1827	Royal Printing House, Lisbon.
56	*	8vo	1834	Hamburg, Langhoff (not Ham- burgh, Langhott, Quill.); Edit. of J. V. Barreto Feio and J. G.

¹ Here ends Adam's List; but he places the Edit. of 1818 (p. 379) after that of 1819 (p. 376).

² Quillinan's list ends here; the following details are from Jur.

Jur.'s Numbers. Mine in Paris.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names : Remarks.
57	..	*	24mo	1836	Monteiro ; 3 Vols. ; some copies have, others have not the Frontispiece of 1813. Second Edit. Rollandiana (Quill. 8vo).
58	...	*	8vo	1836	J. P. Aillaud, Paris.
59	...	*	8vo	1841	Laemmert, Rio de Janeiro.
60	...	*	12mo	1842	Third Edit. Rollandiana.
61	...	*	16mo	1843	Fourth Edit. Rollandiana (Conego Francisco Freire de Carvalho), followed by Mr. Aubertin.
(68)	*	*	8vo	1843	According to Quillinan, this Edit., brought out in Hamburg by MM. Barreto Feio and Monteiro, was bought by M. Baudry of the Librairie Européenne, Paris, who printed new title-pages advertising the work as printed in Lisbon, and purchaseable at his Paris Establishment. I find no Libraries at Trieste to ascertain the truth of this statement, which is ignored by Jur.
62	...	*	8vo	1846	José da Fonseca, Paris ; well known.
63	...	*	16mo	1846	Fifth Edit. Rollandiana.
64	...	*	12mo	1847	Dr. Caetano Lopes de Moura.
65	...	*	12mo	1849	Rio de Janeiro.
66	...	*	16mo	1850	Sixth Edit. Rollandiana.
67	*	18mo	1852	Part of the "Bibliotheca Portugueza," edited by Dr. F. I. Pinheiro.
68	...	*	16mo	1854	Seventh Edit. Rollandiana.
69	...	*	8vo	1855	Rio de Janeiro.

Jur.'s Numbers, Mine in Paris.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names : Remarks.
70	...	*	8vo	1855	The 1846 Edition of José da Fonseca, provided with a new frontispiece.
71	...	*	8vo	1856	Rio de Janeiro.
72	...	*	16mo	1857	The Eighth Rollandiana.
73	...	*	4to	1857	Nictheroy (The Brazil) with the indication of Paris.
74	...	*	8vo	1859	The same as that of 1847, with this difference ; the former was indicated <i>Typograf. de Firmin-Didot, Frères, R. Jacob, 14, Paris</i> ; this bears <i>Typographia de H. Firmin-Didot, Mesniel (Eure)</i> .
75	...	*	16mo	1860	Ninth Edit. Rollandiana.
76	...	*	16mo	1860	Typography of L. C. Cunha.
77	...	*	8vo	1860	Juromenha's Edition begun.
78	...	*	16mo	1863	Tenth Edit. Rollandiana.
79	...	*	8vo	1863	" <i>Selecta Camoniana</i> " by Snr. A. J. Viale.
80	...	*	16mo	1865	Eleventh Edit. Rollandiana.
81	...	*	12mo	1865	Paulino de Souza.
82	...	*	16mo	1868	Twelfth Edit. Roll.
83	...	*	16mo	1868	Typography J. C. Cunha. ¹
(90)							
The following are the Episodes.							
84	16mo	1835	Isle of Venus ; Typography of J. N. Esteves.
(91)	16mo	1835	Adamastor ; by do.
85	16mo	1835	Adamastor ; by do.
86	4to	1862	Ignes de Castro, a neat polyglott Edition, by the <i>Imprensa Nacional (National Printing Office)</i> in Portuguese, Spanish,

¹ Here Jur. ends.

Jur.'s Numbers, Mine in Paris.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names : Remarks.
87 (94)	4to	1865	Italian, French, English, and German. ¹ Ignez de Castro and Adamastor ; with a metrical translation in verse by F. A. D. Escodeca de Boisse : Neat Edition of the Imprensa Nacional.
Editions of which little is known (Jur. vi. 469).							
88 (95)	*	1601	Quoted by Manoel de Faria y Sousa.
89	...	*	1607	Do. by Barbosa Machado.
90	*	1608	Do. Faria y Sousa who calls it the Seventh.
91	*	1611	Do. do. Eighth.
92	...	*	1620	Do. Barbosa Machado.
93	...	*	4to	16... (?)	Do. Juromenha, Obras, Vol. v.
94	...	*	4to	16... (?)	Edition in the hands of Snr. Innocencio Francisco da Silva; described in Jur. (vi. 469).
95	...	*	4to	16... (?)	Do.
96	...	*	4to	16... (?)	Do.
97	...	*	32mo	18... (?)	Diamond type; ordinary blue paper. Snr. Innocencio has a sheet containing the Stanzas between Cantos iii. 96, and iv. 25. The Bibliotheca Nacional has another containing the Stanzas as far as Canto v. 91.

¹ I have remarked that Adam. in 1820 began this style of Specimens.

TABLE II.
TRANSLATIONS OF THE WORKS (ESPECIALLY THE LUSIADS)
OF CAMOENS,

(Adam. Vol. ii. ; Jur. Vols. i. and vi.).

(*The Names in Capitals denote more than one Edition.*)

Number.	Languages.	Translators.	Dates.	Remarks.
1	Hebrew	Luzetto (Moisés Chaim).	17...(?)	MS. Mickle (cxxv.) Jur. i. 211 and F. Delstrich.
1	Greek	Timotheo L. Verdier.	18...(?)	MS. missing.
7	Latin ¹	A. Bayão.	15...(?)	Ditto.
		Anonymous.	15...(?)	MS. quoted by P. Mariz and Editor of Lusiads, 1609. Ant. Mendes of Adam. ?
9	Spanish	D. Fr. Thomas de Faria.	1622	Bishop of Targa, in Africa.
		Fr. F. de S. A. de Macedo.	16...(?)	MS. copies exist.
		M. de Oliveira.	17...(?)	MS. of Canto VII.
		F. J. da Gama.	17...(?)	
		A. de C. Lopes.	18...(?)	Fragment, by a Brazilian.
		Benito Caldera.	1580	
		Luis Gomez de Tapia.	1580	Small 4to, Adam ii. 110-118.
		H. Garces.	1591	Ditto 118-128.
Francisco de Aguilar.	15...(?)	Lost? Quoted by Manoel de Faria y Sousa.		
M. C. Montenegro.	16...(?)	MS. : According to M. de Faria y Sousa the fourth.		

24	French	Lamberto Gil. E. Bravo. F. Escossura.	1818 1800 18...(?)	Also translated Select "Rimas." Two Cantos. Episode of Adamastor in the Album of M ^d me. Casal Ribeiro.
		D. Fred. Peres de Molina. Anonymous. Anonymous.	13...(?) 15...(?) 16(12)?	MS. "Obras de Camões." Quoted by Verdier. Adrien Boillet also mentions an anonymous French translator in 1612.
		M ^d lle. M. M. L. A. DUPERRON de } CASTERA. ²	1733 1735	Episode of Ignez de Castro. Second Edit. in 1768.
		Sulpice Gaubier de Barrault. ³ LA HARPE.	1772 1776	Ignez and Adamastor Episodes. The well-known critic was assisted by D'Hermilly (La Lusiade traduite par &c.). 2 vols., 8vo, Paris, 1776; 2nd Edit., 2 vols., 12mo, Paris, 1813. ⁴

¹ According to Mr. Duff (p. 460) Senhor Viale has finished a Latin hexameter version of The Lusiads for the Centenary Festival.

² Of Castera De Bure (Bibliographie) says *Traduction assez estimée*.

³ He was Town-Major at Lisbon; he translated line for line, and he was much praised by Thomas Joseph d'Aquino (Introduction to the Didot or Paris Edit. of MDCCCXV., which reprints the Third Luisiana Edit. of 1779-80), quoting the Stanza (v. 56) beginning:—

Ah! je ne puis conter sans honte et sans regrets,
Que croiant embrasser la beauté que j'aimois, &c.

⁴ This often-quoted work is not noticed by Jur.'s Tables. It is considered the third French translation in prose, and derived from a literal version of the Portuguese.

Number.	Languages.	Translators.	Dates.	Remarks.
		J. P. Claris de Florian. Voyages imaginaires. Carrion-Nisas (Marquis of) Duke of Palmella. Quetelet.	17...(?) 17...(?) 1813 1822	Ignez Episode. Fragments: published Amsterdam. Fragments. To Canto vi. ; part still in MS. Episodes of Ignez de Castro, of Adamastor, and of the Battle of Ourique ; published in the <i>Leçons de Littérature</i> , Ghent.
		Cournaud.	1817	Description of the Isle of Venus, and some fragments.
		I. B. MILLIÉ.	1825	French prose and very unfaithful: the 2nd Edit. was revised, corrected, and anno- tated by M. Dubeux, 1862: that of La- marre may be said to be the third (1879).
		B. Barrère.	1828	Some pieces founded upon Lord Strang- ford's version: the author was the famous Terrorist Bertrand Barrère, Brussels.
		Ortaire, Fournier and Descoules.	1841	With some lyric pieces translated by Ferd. Denis. A correct version.
		FR. RAGON.	1842	In verse: 2nd Edit. in 1850.
		M. Ch. Aubert.	1844	In verse; dedicated to the late M. Ville- main.
		E. Boulaud.	18...(?)	MS. ; in verse.
		Desorgues.	18 ..(?)	Translation, or imitation, of part of Canto x.: <i>Les Fêtes du Génie</i> .

		J. Esménard.	1805	Imitation of the Episode of Adamastor ; in <i>La Navigation</i> .
		Victor Perrodil.	1835	Cantos i. and x. in <i>Ottava Rima</i> .
		Emile Albert.	1859	Quoted in Brunet's last Edition (before 1870).
		J. A. D. Escodeca de Boisse.	1865	Episodes of Ignez de Castro and Adamastor.
		Fernand d'Azevedo.	1870	All The <i>Lusiads</i> . ¹
		Clovis Lamarre.	1879	Prose version (Millié revised), with biographical, historical, and literary studies, notes, &c. 1 vol. 8vo., Didier, Paris. ²
12	Italian	Anonymous.	15...(?)	Quoted in the Epitaph of Martim Gonçalves da Camara, by the Editor of The <i>Lusiads</i> in 1609 ; and by Pedro Mariz.
		Anonymous.	15...(?)	Quoted by Frei Bernardo de Brito who died in 1617.
		Anonymous.	16...(?)	Quoted by M. de F. y Sousa ; probably published in 1632, when the Commentator was in Rome.
		Carlo Antonio PAGGI.	1658	Printed at Lisbon, 2nd Edit. 1659.

¹ *Les Lusiades de Camoens, traduction nouvelle, annotée et accompagnée du texte Portugais, et précédée d'une esquisse biographique sur Camoens.* Paris : Librairie de Veuve J. P. Aillaud et Cie., 47, Rue Saint-André des Arts 17. It is one of the most correct known to me. The author is a Brazilian not a Frenchman.

² This Edition has many faults and some merits. The "Life" is one series of blunders. Camoens loses his mother when a child (p. 3) and his eye at Ceuta (p. 14) ; and D. Antonio stands for Antam de Noronha (p. 29). The *Notice sur les Lusiades* has nothing new. The *Aperçu de l'Histoire* is a copy in a continuous form of Millié's and Dubeux's scattered historical notes ; in no case have original documents been examined ; all is second-hand, and nothing is to be trusted.

Number.	Languages.	Translators.	Dates.	Remarks.
		Anonymous.	1772	Adam. ii. 146-157.
		M. A. Gazzano.	1772	Erroneously attributed to Count Lauriani.
		Count B. Robbio di S. } Rafaelle.	1772	Canto i. "The Lusiads."
		Anonymous.	1804	Published in a "collection of the best Poets" in prose; Roma, Vol. xix.
		Antonio NERVI.	1814	Reached a 5th Edition (before 1869). Now a classic. Good poetry; poor translation.
		A. Bricolani.	1826	The Lusiads.
		L. Carrer.	1850	Part of The Lusiads, including the Episode of Ignez; published in a Venetian newspaper: Octave rhyme.
		A. Galeano Ravara.	1853	Episode of Ignez; published in the <i>Album Italo-Portuguez</i> .
		F. Bellotti.	1862	Cav. Cristoforo Negri mentions two, Bertolotti and Bellotti; both mediocre and unpoetic; but the second better than the first.
		Adriano Bonaretti.	1880	Livorno: Vannini; notes.
	English.	R. Fanshaw.	1655	All before noticed.
		W. J. Mickle.	1776	
		Lord Strangford.	1803	
		F. Hemans.	1819	
		Cockle.	1818	

13	German.	Hayley.	1818	} Before noticed.
		T. Musgrave.	1826	
		Sir T. L. Mitchell.	1854	
		E. Quillinan.	1853	
		Harris.	1814	
		R. F. Burton.	1867	Canto i. and Sketch of Poet's Life in Anglo-Brazilian Times.
		Ditto	1869	Stanzas translated for Hon. Henry Stanley's Lendas da India.
		J. J. Aubertin.	1878	Translation of The Lusians.
		J. E. Hewett.	1879	Ditto.
		R. F. Duff.	1879	Ditto.
		R. F. Burton.	1880	Ditto.
				I am informed that the late Conde de Bomfim translated part or whole of The Lusians into English; but the MS. was not printed.
				Episodes of Ignez and of Adamastor.
		Canto i.		
		Published according to Wolf in 1806-7; <i>Ottava rima</i> , 2 Vols. 12mo.		
		1762	Adam. ii. 206-14.	
		1782		
		1806		
		F. A. Kuhn and C. T. Winkler (alias Theodor Hell).	1807	
		Anonymous.	1808	Canto i. Adam. ii. 221.
		A. W. Schleger.	18...(?)	Episode of Canto ix.; doubtful whether it was printed.

Number.	Languages.	Translators.	Dates.	Remarks.
		J. W. C. Müller.	18...(?)	MS.; a copy supposed to have been in the Library of Jacinto da Silva Mengo.
		J. J. C. DONNER. ¹	1833	First Edit. Stuttgart; Roman character, "Die Lusiaden des Luis de Camoens."
		L. von Arentschildt.	1852	284 Sonnets: Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1852.
		Wilhelm Storck. ²	1854	Sonnets.)
		F. Booch-Arkossy.	1852	Jur. vi. 475.
		Storck and Schlütter	1867	Idyls.
		Storck.	1874	Canzons.
2	Dutch	L. S. Pieterszoon.	1777	Based upon La Harpe's.
		W. Bilderdyk.	1808	Episode of Ignez, Jur. vi. 475.
1	Polish.	Przybylski.	1790	Published at Cracow.
1	Bohemian.	Bog-Peckla.	1836	Ditto Prague. In the Casopio Coskcho Museum (Journal of the Museum) of Bohemia, Jur. vi. 475.
1	Hungarian.	Greguss Gyula.	1865	Published The Lusiads at Pesth.
2	Danish.	H. V. Iyndbye	1828	The Lusiads: Copenhagen.
	"	Guldberg.	18...(?)	Jur. vi. 475.
2	Swedish.	C. J. Lanstrom.	1838	Canto i.
	"	Nils Loven.	1839	The Lusiads: Stockholm.
2	Russian.	A. Dmitrief.	.. (?)	Based upon La Harpe's.
		Merzliakoff. ³	1833	Episode of Ignez and other fragments.

¹ Called by Germans the *Meisterhafte Uebersetzung*. The translator was a Tübingen Professor, his three first Cantos appeared in 1827-30; The Lusiads complete in 1833; and the 3rd Edit. in 1869.

² Dr. Wilhelm Storck of Münster University published his version of the Sonnets in 1852 (Leipzig, Brockhaus); of the Idylls, assisted by Schlütter in 1867 (Münster, Adolph Russell); of the Canzons in 1874 (Paderborn: F. Schöningh), and of the Elegies, Sestines, Odes and Octaves in 1881.

³ The names of these translators are taken from Jur. vi. 475, which is full of errors. The "Camonean" Commentators are legionary. The notablest are Racine (1747); Dr. Johnson (1760), Twiss (1775), Rapin; Hugo Blair (1783), Voltaire (1785-89), Bouterwek (General Hist. of Poetry 1801-1819), Dr. John Black (1810), Mad. de Staël (Biography of Michaud, 1811), Sismondi (1813, translated by H. Hallam, 1839), Hayley (1818), Southey (1822), the Schlegels (A. W. and Fr., 1828), Ticknor (1849), Alexandre Dumas (1860), and Lacroix (1866); besides notices by Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Philarète Chasles, and a host of others.



TABLE III.
 CONTENTS OF THE LUSIADS.
 (AN INDEX.)

(MITCHELL, pp. xxv-xxix; JUROMENHA, vol. vi. xxv-xxx.)



CANTO I.

	<i>Stanzas</i>
Subject proposed (Exposition)	1, 2, 3
Invocation to the Tagus Muses	4, 5
Address to D. Sebastiam (Dedication)	6-18
Beginning of the Narrative: The Fleet is shown under sail	19
Council of Gods and Goddesses under the Presidentship of Jupiter (Arché)	20-41
The Fleet enters the Indian Seas having passed the Prasum Promontorium	42, 43
Discovers various islands there; but the seamen do not land	43, 44
Description of the natives	45-48
Their intercourse with the ships	49-55
Night scene	56-58
The Governor of Mozambique (the isle) visits Da Gama...	59-72
Bacchus resolves to destroy the Armada	73-76
His stratagem for that purpose	77-83
Da Gama disembarks; treachery of the Moors of Mozam- bique; attack on the Portuguese when landing to water	84-92
Another plot of Bacchus	93, 94
The Armada sails from Mozambique to Quiloa	95, 96
Fresh deceits on the part of the Pilot	97-100
Venus defends her Sons	102
Arrival at Mombasah	103, 104
The Poet's sad reflections on Life's uncertainty	105, 106

CANTO II.

	<i>Stanzas</i>
Treacherous invitation from the King of Mombasah for the Fleet to enter the harbour	2-4
Messengers (two convicts) sent ashore by Da Gama with the Moors to look at the town... ..	7-16
Venus and her Nereids save the Fleet	17-22
Simile of the Ants or Emmets	23
Flight of the Moors and the Mozambique Pilot	24-26
Simile of the Frogs	27
Exclamation and Prayer of Da Gama	29-32
Venus appeals to Jupiter on behalf of the Lusians ...	33-41
His reply prophesying their glory	42-55
Mercury sent to Melinde-town	56-59
His message to Da Gama in a dream directing him to leave Mombasah for Melinde	60-65
How the vessels escape	66, 67
They meet two Moorish craft	68, 69
Their account of Melinde and its King	70, 72
Hospitable reception by the King	73, 76
Address of Da Gama's interpreter	79-84
The King's reply	86-88
Night rejoicings in the ships and on shore... ..	90, 91
Visit of the King to the Fleet	92-103
Da Gama's speech	104, 105
The King requests Da Gama to describe his country and relate its history	109

CANTO III.

Invocation to Calliope	1, 2
Preamble of Da Gama's story	3-5
Geographical description of Europe	6-21
Ancient history of Portugal; Count Henrique made King; he dies and is succeeded by D. Afonso Henriquez	22-28

	<i>Stanzas</i>
Second Marriage of D. Thereza ; battle against her son at Guimaraens	29-33
The King of Castile invades Portugal ; siege of Guimaraens and fidelity of Egas Moniz	34-41
BATTLE of OURIQUE	42-52
Origin of the Portuguese shield and arms	53, 54
Leiria, Mafra, Cintra, Lisbon, Elvas, Moura, Serpa, Alcacer-do-Sal, Beja, Palmella, Cezimbra, and other strong places taken from the Moors	55-65
Siege and misfortunes of Badajoz	68, 69
Afonso at war with the Leonese	70-73
D. Sancho passes into Alemtejo, enters Andalusia and gives battle near Seville ; he relieves Beja besieged by the Moors	75-77
Gathering of the Moors to invest Santarem	77, 78
The Moors defeated by the Portuguese : D. Sancho succoured by his father	79-82
Death of the old King, D. Afonso Henriquez	83, 84
D. Sancho besieges Sylves, takes Tuy and other towns of Galicia	85-89
D. Sancho dies : his son (D. Sancho II.) succeeds him and recovers Alcacer-do-Sal	90
Character of D. Sancho II., and his bad reign	91-93
His brother, D. Afonso III., succeeds and conquers the Algarves	94, 95
Pacific rule of D. Diniz (Dionysius) who strengthens the Kingdom... ..	96-98
Succeeded by his son D. Afonso IV.	99
The Moors again assemble to invade Portugal	100, 101
The "lovely Maria" (Queen of Spain) asks succour from her father, D. Afonso IV., King of Portugal...	101-106
The two allied Sovereigns defeat the Moors	109-118
EPISODE OF IGNEZ DE CASTRO	118-135
Harsh reign of D: Pedro	136, 137
Weak character of King Fernando, causes and attenuating circumstances	138-143

CANTO IV.

	<i>Stanzas</i>
State of Portugal at death of D. Fernando	1, 2
D. Joam I. succeeds	2, 3
Character of the Queen D. Leonor... ..	4-6
The Castilians assemble in aid of her daughter, D. Beatriz, married to the King of Castile	7-11
D. Joam takes Council with his Grandees... ..	12, 13
Loyalty of D. Nuno Alvarez Pereira, "the Great Con- stable"	14-19
Enthusiastic preparations of the Portuguese for War	20-22
The Army of Santarem marches for battle	23-29
BATTLE of ALJUBARROTA	30-44
D. Nuno passes to the Alemtejo and Andalusia	45, 46
Peace between the Kings of Portugal and Castile	47
Expedition to Africa (Ceuta) : death of D. Joam I.	48-50
Reign of D. Duarte (Edward) and Captivity of his brother	51-53
Reign of D. Afonso V. : after defeating the Moors, he attacks the King of Aragon	54-59
D. Afonso V. dies, and is succeeded by D. Joam II.	60
D. Joam II. sends to explore the route to India by land	61-65
D. Manoel succeeds ; and reaps the harvest	66
His DREAM of the Rivers GANGES and INDUS	67-75
The King consults his Council ; and determines to ex- plore the sea-route	76
Intrusts the enterprise to VASCO da GAMA	77
Vasco da Gama accepts the service	78-80
Departure of the Armada ; farewell to friends	88-93
The OLD MAN'S farewell ADDRESS at Belem (Episode)... ..	94-104

CANTO V.

Departure of the Fleet from Lisbon	1-3
Madeira Island ; Coast of Barbary ; the Azenegues	4-6
The Senegal ; Cape Verde	7

	<i>Stanzas</i>
Island of Sam Thiago ; the Joloffs ; the Mandingas ...	9-14
Dorcades ; Sierra Leone ; Cape Palmas ; St. Thomas ; Congo ; the river Zaïre (or Congo)	11-13
A waterspout (<i>tromba</i>) and other wonders described ...	16-22
The seamen land at St. Helen's Bay, near the Tropic of Capricorn	24-27
A native African "interviewed"	27-30
Velloso's pleasant adventure on shore	30-36
EPISODE of ADAMASTOR off the Cape of Good Hope	37-60
The Armada lands at S. Braz	61-64
Currents encountered... ..	65-67
The Armada touches at Natal (Christmas-day), enters the Rio-dos-Reys (so called from Twelfth-day), or Do Cobre from the copper bracelets	68, 69
Praise of Portuguese loyalty under such difficulties and dangers	70-72
The Fleet pursues its way ; enters the Rio-dos-Bons Signaes (Cuama or Zambeze) ; and off Sofála con- verses with canoemen ; description of people ...	73-78
The crews attacked with scurvy	80-83
Inhospitality of Mozambique (like Mombasah)	84
Vasco da Gama compares his voyage with those most cele- brated by ancient Poets and concludes his narrative...	85-89
The King of Melinde retires to his Palace	90-91
The Poet's grand invective against his contemporaries who, unlike the noble Ancients, despise Poetry : he declares that only his Patriotism induces him to sing his Country's heroic deeds. He proves how well he understands the true merits of his Hero (94)...	92-100

CANTO VI.

Hospitality and banquets of the Melindan King	1, 2
Da Gama takes his leave with exchange of courtesies ...	3-5
Bacchus descends to the Palace of Neptune	7

	<i>Stanzas</i>
EPISODE, description of the Sea-palace	8-13
The Congress of Sea-Gods presided over by Neptune ...	16-25
The speech of Bacchus to Neptune and the Sea-Gods ...	27-34
The Sea-gods order Eolus to let loose the winds against the Portugaese	35-37
The Fleet in a tranquil sea before the storm begins ...	38, 39
Leonardo proposes a love-story	40
EPISODE: Velloso, to pass the time, relates the tale of the "Twelve of England"	43-68
A dark cloud appears: the "break of the Monsoon" rages	70-79
Prayer of Vasco da Gama	80-83
Venus summons the Sea-nymphs to her assistance ...	85-87
Orithyia, Galatea, and the Sisterhood calm Boreas and his brother blasts	88-90
Venus promises love-favours to the Winds if they will be good to the Portuguese	91
Morning appears and with it the Ghauts of India ...	93, 94
Gama kneeling thanks God for seeing Calicut his bourne	94
EPISODE; The Poet's reflections upon the true Path of Fame: Honour won by Da Gama through toil and hardship and noble deeds, not in the lap of luxury ...	95-99

CANTO VII.

The Fleet reaches Calicut Bar	1
Praises of the Portuguese, who are exhorted to crusade for the benefit of the Cross	2, 3
The nations of Europe (Germany, England, France and Italy) reproved for heresy and fainéance in shirking battle for the Holy Sepulchre	4-14
The Fleet enters Calicut Harbour	15, 16
Description of India, Ganges, Indus, the Himálayas and Ceylon, Delhi, Cambay, Narsingha, Malabar, Canara, Calicut, and the Samorim (Samiry) Rajah	17-22
The Fleet comes to anchor, and a messenger is sent on shore	23, 24

	<i>Stanzas</i>
The Messenger meets with Monsaidé, a "Moor" (Maroccan), speaking Spanish... ..	25-28
Monsaidé visits Da Gama and describes Malabar-land; how it was distributed by the Perimal... ..	29-41
Da Gama and an escort of 12 men land under charge of a Catual (Gentoo Chief)	43
The Captain and the Catual enter an Indian temple and inspect the hideous Gods	46-58
The Catual relates a prophecy that a race of strangers shall prevail	55, 56
Da Gama's interview with the Indian Rajah	57, 59
The Captain's speech... ..	60-63
Hospitality given to the Strangers	64-67
Monsaidé's description of the Portuguese to the Catual, who marvels much	68-72
The Catual visits the ships	73, 74
Paul da Gama is asked to describe the pictures and figures on flags and banners with which the Flag-ship is drest	75, 76
Paul da Gama begins his recital. It is cut short by the Poet, who invokes the Nymphs of the Tagus and the Mondego to give him courage for the Song. His miseries episodically related	78-87

CANTO VIII.

EPISODE, Description of the Banners	1-42
Night comes in and the haruspices are consulted	43-46
Bacchus in a dream appears to a priest as Mahomet	47-50
The priest consults his fellow-priests	51-53
How evil advisers mislead kings	54, 55
The Moslems bribe the Gentoo Chiefs and set them against the Portuguese	56, 57
Da Gama resolves to demand his letters of congé from the Indian king who has been set against him	58-60

	<i>Stanzas</i>
The King's speech charging the Strangers with being convicts and pirates	60-63
Da Gama's noble and spirited reply	65-75
The King orders Da Gama to be set free with leave to return to his Fleet	77-79
The Catual hinders him by removing the boats and seeks by other artifices to cause his destruction	80-92
Da Gama writes to his brother on board, directing him to send ashore the cloth by way of ransom under charge of two factors	93
The Captain returns on board	94, 95
The magic evils of Gold	96-99

CANTO IX.

The two Factors are imprisoned	1-4
Monsaidé, inspired by Divine Providence, informs Da Gama of the King's intention to destroy the Fleet by means of the Meccan ships daily expected	5-8
Da Gama detains some Indian merchants on board until his two Factors and goods are returned	9, 10
The merchants' wives and children threaten suicide and cause the Factors to be released by order of the Samorim : therefore Da Gama dismisses some of his hostages	10-12
The Armada sails, carrying with it some Malabar-men and specimens of Indian products procured by Monsaidé	13, 14
Monsaidé ends his work by becoming a Christian	15
Rapturous prospect of the Voyagers returning home	16, 17
Venus determines to afford the voyagers a place of rest in an enchanted isle upraised from the sea	18-21
She summons the Sea-nymphs, and lectures them, espe- cially upon the Art of Love	22, 23
She seeks also her son Cupid on Mount Idalium	24

	<i>Stanzas</i>
Occupation of the "Cruel Boy"	25-34
The Poet's warning against ill-placed Love	35
Venus explains her designs to Cupid	37-43
Cupid calls in Fame, the "go-between," to his assistance	44-46
The God of Love and his host discharge arrows at the sea-nymphs, especially against Tethys who was generally refractory	47-50
The Armada comes sailing in sight	51
EPISODE ; the lovely Isle of Venus described	52-63
The navigators land ; Velloso, the Impudent, persuades them to pursue the Nymphs	66-76
The passionate wooing of Leonardo	77-82
General joy, banquets and wedding-festival	83, 84
Tethys leads Da Gama and his followers to a rich edifice on a lofty hill	85-88
The allegory of the Isle of Love and of the Nymphs explained as the Honour and Praise which await noble and generous deeds	89
What the Pagan Gods are	90-92
The Portuguese exhorted to be brave and good	93-95

CANTO X.

Happy banquet given by Tethys and the Nymphs to Da Gama and his Braves	1-4
Prophetic song of the Siren describing the future exploits of the nation	5-7
The Song is interrupted by the Poet who invokes Calliope to strengthen his genius as he approaches "Finis :" His pathetic lament over declining years	8, 9
The prophetic strain continues	10-14
The ill-requited valour of Duarte Pacheco : D. Manoel blamed	15-25
The Nymph continues to sing future conquests	26-44

	<i>Stanzas</i>
Again her song fails, foretelling the cruel deed of Albuquerque who hanged Ruy Dias for intriguing with a slave-girl	45-49
The Nymph continues and concludes	50-73
General congratulations and blessings of the Choir ...	74
Tethys, after the supper and the song, leads the way up a mountain whence a globe in small volume is descried	75-79
The Ptolemaic system of the universe described	80-90
Sketch of the geography of the Eastern world	91-107
Martyrdom of St. Thomas the Apostle	108-119
Geographical description continued	120-126
Description of Cambodia ; the Poet's SHIPWRECK	127, 128
Geography resumed	129-141
Tethys bids the Braves farewell	142-143
The Armada reaches Portugal	144
Epilogue begins ; the Poet's sorrows	145
His patriotic exhortations to the young king D. Sebastiam	146-154
His Visions of Glory which ended so disastrously ...	155, 156

THE REVIEWER REVIEWED :

A POSTSCRIPT.

By ISABEL BURTON.

O wad some power the giftie gi'e us
To see oursels as others see us,
It wad frae monie a blunder free us.—BURNS.

I AM not one of those women who, when a thing turns out contrary to a friend's wishes, delight in saying, "*There!* I told you so." But, as I already remarked in a preface (which my friends have from the four quarters of the globe called "defiant" and "cock-a-doodle-doo"), I have frequently warned my husband for the past twenty years, that his *Lusiads* would be less popular than "common translations," albeit worth them all put together.

The two reviews which have distinguished themselves the most for personal spite, ignorance, and pretension, I heartily forgive for the sake of the amusement they have afforded us, and the study of the ugly side of human nature. Portuguese students, and deeply-read men and women, form "the ten" who will understand the work, and make it, as I predicted, a gem of their library. I have now to congratulate the Disciple upon a new and notable point of resemblance to his Master. The *Lusiads* has ever been, and still is, subject to the extremes of praise and dispraise; even our silly English reviews show this. The same is, and will be the case, with my husband's *Lusiads*. This version, indeed,

seems to be becoming a test, a "Shibboleth" on a large scale, dividing reviewers and critics into two camps, gentle and simple. The Gileadite still delights in the master-poems of Shakespearian England, with their glorious sentiments, set in noble and beautiful poetry. The Ephraimite feels hurt at such barefaced allusions to bygone and old-world things like Romance, Loyalty, Honour, Patriotism.

Captain Burton has certainly been made, and not for the first time, to see himself through the eyes of others. I now reverse the process,—somewhat a rare proceeding in later days. The Reviewer, like the Preacher, may always expect to have the last word. Purely literary journals rarely father an author's protest, however vilely he may have been reviled, and their reasons are of the best; for, if they once admitted demurrers to the judgments too often now delivered, their papers would contain nothing else. This time, I, the Editor, mean to have the last word; the Pew shall answer the Pulpit. For *myself*, I have only to thank the press for too much kindness and leniency, but I must take up the cudgels for the book I have edited, and declare honestly what I think about it.

They say all is fair in love and war, and the present age seems to add—in reviewing. "Oh, that mine enemy would write a book!" cries every little dabbler in pen and ink, "that I may pelt him with dead cats and rotten eggs, like an M.P. candidate, or Aunt Sally,—that I may pot him safely from behind a hedge, like a Homeruler, and quite as safely under the protection of my anonym." How *could* Miss Frances Power Cobbe, in her admirable speech against Vivisection last May, assert "that nowadays nobody will even write a review cutting up an author with the same amount of bitterness that they did in the last generation"?

But, before criticising criticism, let me briefly state *what* I claim for my husband's translation, and quietly talk over the subject with our readers. I say that it is the *only* scholarlike and complete "Lusiads," giving the double arguments, and printing the Rejected Stanzas with the original *in verso*. It not only translates, where possible, verbatim;—many have done that. It not only echoes, when feasible, the music of the mellifluous Portuguese;—any workman with a good ear would find this easy. But it is unique in preserving the *mécannique* and the *tone* of the original. By the "*mécannique*" I mean Camoens' peculiarities of vocabulary, grammar, syntax, and rhetoric, as noticed in the Commentary (i. chap. 2), and in a letter to the "Academy" (Jan 31, 1881). Some people seem to imagine, and some writers have most erroneously asserted, that a poet who died thirty-six years before Shakespeare was born may be read running, and is as intelligible as Swinburne and Tennyson. This is all very well for those who have seen only the modernised reprints. In form Camoens is archaic as Chaucer—I cannot read Chaucer without a glossary. His various readings and disputed meanings are more numerous than those of Shakespeare. There can be no greater mistake than to declare that "antiquated and uncommon terms of expression must be avoided (by Camonian translators), for the language of Camoens is always eloquent and modern."¹ It is modern only in the sense that moderns have *copied* it. The measure of difference may be obtained by comparing it with Dom Jayme (Thomaz Ribiero). The spirit of Camoens' style is *contrast*, especially the contrast of eloquent and modern with harsh and ancient. He

¹ The translator of Bouterwek's "History of Portuguese Literature," quoted by the *Saturday Review* in a critique which will presently be noticed.

delights in placing side by side the softest, clearest, directest passages, with the artificial, the inverted, the contorted. Compare, for instance, the terribly involved stanzas, Canto viii., St. 65, 6, and Canto ix. 90, with the limpid simplicity of those that follow and precede them.

I confess, when I read some parts of the *Lusiads* in Portuguese, I could not see a possibility of their being rendered in English; and, reading the various translations line by line, word by word, I saw that my husband had gallantly cleared the fence when the others had scrambled through a side hole. I challenge any one of you reviewers to read one of the difficult stanzas with me in Portuguese, and prove the contrary. My husband would have found nothing easier than to turn Camoens into smooth and flowing English verse, following at some distance Dryden and Pope. But he, and HE ONLY, has done more. He knew too well how his conscientious rendering would expose him to the dislike of the half-read reader; to

The Critics' buffet and Reviewers' spite;

and, what I especially cannot stand, the bad language of that lower sort of literary tinkers, who tinker badly after failures in pot-making. These men are fit only for light railway-literature: their brains are not formed for any profound study, and yet they must, forsooth, earn their dishonest penny by criticising works of which they know less than nothing. But Captain Burton resolved to endure all, and to copy the shades as well as the lights of the picture. So Burns, in "The Castle of Montgomerie," requested his friend to "note the irregularity of the rhymes," the object being to reproduce the effect of similar imperfections in the old verses of "Gala Water."

By "*tone*" I mean the *spirit* of a translation. It

struck me forcibly how much of the translator and how little of the original there is in translations generally, when I compared the "Night-scene" of the *Lusiads* (vi. 38-43) in three several versions read side by side with the original Portuguese. They seemed to be treating each one of different things—and why? Lord Strangford is soft and quiet and gentlemanly; Mr. Aubertin is simple, popular, and somewhat formal, a stiffness arising from being conscientiously literal. Captain Burton, by virtue of sympathy and perhaps similarity of career, seems to have raised the spirit of Camoens himself. He is too old an author not to know how offensive would be such a tone even to the well-read Reviewer of the "pragmatic-peasant" type. It seems to me like introducing a radical reformer, a "man for a' that," a young wrangler selfish and self-assertive, and utterly wanting in "Reverence—that Angel of the World," into an old feudal Hall full of high-born dames and gallant knights. Such men, to use a popular term, feel "ryled"; they are not at home; they read with jaundiced eyes; they hate the book, and therefore they abuse the writer.

I will illustrate this position by taking certain specimens of the "North Briton" Press.

My first shall be the *Scotsman* (21st Feb., 1881) whose "perfervid genius" boils with a heat that gave me a hearty laugh. How unlike a gallant Highlander! He abhors the "rotten carcass of chivalry"; he pronounces the *Lusiads* "very prolix, and often exceedingly dull, the epithets tiresome, and the machinery cumbrous." Why, of course, it was to him, poor man. Every line of his writing gave one the dimensions of his literary education; and the *Saturday* did the same. He began well in the true three-cornered Snarly-Yow style. He is ignorant of the difference between poetic and prosaic diction, which, in Italian for instance, forms almost two

languages, and which in our Elizabethan English is most distinctly marked. So he accuses my husband of having produced clumsy lines, *novel* words (alas!), involved metaphors, and intricate versification. He grudgingly grants that "*some* of the words linger in our language in the antique phraseology of Spenser," but he sickens at the idea of reviving these beautiful and unhacknied terms. To him they are like "high English" to a Sierra Leone negro. He is, however, not above the meanest art of a reviewer; quoting a cunningly detached line or two by way of specimen. In all our classical poets there are verses, couplets, and even stanzas, which, read alone, would be pronounced bald, or bad; in the poetic bouquet they play a special part; some for change, others for contrast, and so forth. It is easy to pick holes even in the Iliad: it is not so easy to judge of a poem as a whole, *especially* when one belongs to what Milton calls the "severe gnostics with little reading and less meditating." The *Scotsman* has not read the book, or, if he has, he has not understood it. It cannot be read in an hour's railway journey. It requires study. He does not seem to know that (temp. Elisæ) "Portugale" was used for Portugal, and "Portingall" for Portuguese, and that the "versatile translator" was perfectly correct. Has he never heard of a "Portingall Captain"? He begs "my pardon for hinting that there is a slight confession of literary weakness on the part of my husband in retaining the foreign (?) word Moyses, to express Moses." Oh! why will not literary gentlemen, who write with ease, condescend to read a little more before they vivisect a master of his craft? The "foreign term Moyses" is found in the "Sompnoures Tale" (vv. 177, 8):—

Loe, Moyses forty days and forty nights
Fasted.

And how can that Scotsman be ignorant that "Moises" is still a family name in England? He writes upon the principle of Dr. Fell's over-candid enemy. He says, "Capt. Burton is no poet, and his translation is nearly the most unendurable we ever saw." Doubtless to his "untutored ears," as he very properly calls those organs, "the bass of the husband and the soprano of the wife singing the praises of this book" must be the reverse of what he terms "charming." He goes on to say, "Mrs. Burton evidently feels that it is throwing pearls before swine to present to an *uncultivated* world so exquisite a production." Why did he recall to my mind a bit of doggrel, with which, as a boy, Capt. Burton answered one of his first reviewers, and which, after more than thirty years, seems so appropriate. It must out:—

Perpend what curious fate be mine,
 How queer be Fortune's rigs,
 That set my sweets before the swine,
 My pearls before the pigs!

Chaucer would have said to this boiling, bilious
 "Persone":—

For Goddis love go take some laxatyf . . .
 Of lauriol, century, and fumytere,
 Or elles of elder bery.

I find a taint of similar tone in another "North Briton," the *Manchester Examiner* (Jan. 17, 1881). There are Shakespearean scholars in Portugal: cannot Lancashire's capital produce a writer who has studied Camoens in Portuguese? The *Examiner's* reviewer was extra unfit for his task. Instead of giving specimens of "spirited and excellent stanzas," he has chosen two of moderate value, and wastes his space, time, and ink on the smallest of small verbal criticism, ever stumbling over his stumbling-block, the vocabulary; but *that* is

more manly than covering his ignorance by pages of abuse of the author. He does not like "Englished," which he fancies is emphatic; he carps at capitals—having never read of *emphatic* capitals. He weeps over Captain Burton's "disrespect for syllables"; did he never hear Swinburne say, concerning elision, that it is a "necessity, not a luxury of English verse"? Does he not know that the whole course of "our Danes' tongue," from the full, slow, and equable pronunciation of Chaucer and Spenser, has been to abbreviate? He finds fault with the line—

For mind's Art-igno'rant aye look down on Art.

What of Chaucer's

Myn Englissh eeke is in-suf-fi-ci-ent.

And if the reviewer ever owns his ignorance, does he *pronounce* it his ig-no-rance?

As regards the apostrophe indicating contraction without omitting the letters, Captain Burton dislikes the *look* of mutilated words like "mem'ry" and "el'quent." Perhaps he would do better to omit the sign of elision, and leave the articulation to the reader.

I am half a Lancashire woman (on the mother's side), and I know that Manchester is nothing in art if she be not musical, hence the *Examiner* gives a quotation from Schumann, instead of from the *Lusiads*. I want to know how the three stanzas of Burton's own composition (Cantos v. 12 a; x. 38 a, and 75 a) can be termed *interpolated*, since they are expressly railed off from the poem by a foot-line?

When he complains that "Captain Burton does not write the English of to-day, nor apparently the English which was either written or spoken at any given period(!)

of history," he unconsciously and unwittingly repeats the very words that the Portuguese critics used regarding Camoens in his day. His verbal remarks show half-reading, or ignorance, or both.

Did he never find "belle" in Chaucer and Spenser? When making "kraal" a modernism, did he not know that the Portuguese word "curral" (an inclosure for cattle) was adopted by us from the Cape Hollanders, who have used it for centuries? And by what name shall we call a reviewer who makes "blackmoor" "a product of the present day"? What! forget even Percy's "Reliques"?—

And soe in time a blackamore she bred.

Not even read "Paradise Lost"—

The realm of Bocchus to the Blackmoor sea?

Fie, for shame!

Was I right or wrong when I said Burton's *Lusiads* was "too æsthetic for the British public"? In sixty years it will be appreciated. For the last twenty years the public has begun to educate itself—in sixty years it will be educated.

Followed suit the *Liverpool Mercury* (Jan. 25, 1881), in a leader, not a leading article. The *Lusiads* is here called the Epic of Commerce, whereas commerce is one of its accidents: Chivalry is its very base. But chivalry, I regret, is not, to-day, in favour generally with the practical heads and hands of manufacturing society, except those who are stamped as Nature's gentlemen, of whom I am happy and proud to say I know not a few. Here again we find the "Dr.-Fell-feeling" strongly expressed in a general dislike to the poem. The "Manchester School" cannot love the noble poet-soldier of the *Lusiads*. Camoens is a religious writer, but not of

the Puritans, and he delights in campaigning, but knows nothing of cotton! Therefore Captain Burton is rebuked for perplexing diction and archaic language; moreover, he is charged with introducing obsolete forms for rhyme-sake, when the absolute reverse is the fact. And yet he would have been justified in so doing if he liked, and in adopting the *rims cars* of the troubadour. The rhyme-word, *as a rule*, must be, or become, remarkable; otherwise we miss one of the charms of rhyme. As regards new words, a writer may coin as many as he pleases, while the reader has a right to consider them barbarous until sanctioned by use, in whose hands are the issues of language.

But enough of my North Britons. I have, I think, shown that their objections to my husband's translation are woefully feeble, and often mistaken: what would they say if "Fairfax," one of the gems of English translation, were now to appear? At the same time, Burton's gentle, simple, unpretentious readers have all my sympathy, for one cause alone. In the ten Cantos, or 8,816 lines of his translation, he has used (according to Miss C——, 314, of which he admits 270) words or expressions which we do not commonly use in conversation to-day. I anticipated this in every line of my first preface, and studied how to remedy it.

Personally I could scarcely judge, for I had read Spenser's *Fairie Queen*, and Chaucer, Milton and other books (with a dictionary where needed) which contain all these words. And though I feel sure I speak everything except English very badly, I have had the advantage of studying several foreign languages; the words therefore come to me almost naturally. All our oldest English words derived from Latin, Scandinavian, Norman-French, or Saxon-German, were used in Camoens' time, and are found in all the poet-authors of the Elizabethan

age. Why should my husband, then, not also use them to translate a poet of that day, although he will have a narrower public? The reader *may* find it hard—the critic dare not say it is *wrong*, without showing he knows nothing of his art.

I chose the following method of getting at these words. I asked a Miss C——, an acquaintance, to read the two volumes through carefully, and to underline every word she did not perfectly understand. I have thus collected and arranged them as an alphabetic glossary, with their meaning and origin, which will enable every school-child to read the *Lusiads*, and be of an advantage to it. I chose Miss C—— because she is an intelligent middle-aged English gentlewoman, of the middling classes, having had a very excellent average education, with a refined taste for reading, yet not very deeply read: she does not know a word of any language but her own. She was therefore the fairest specimen—like practising the middle notes of the voice, they are sure to extend themselves both sides of the *solfeggio*.

When I showed the list to my husband he said, “Good gracious! for the first time in my life I see why I am not understood! You surely will not insult the public by explaining such or such a common word?” He makes the mistake of thinking that everybody is as well educated as himself, and of talking or writing accordingly; whilst I, who began my real education after I was married, think everybody far better educated than I am, and am always trying to work up to the present day.

I feel neither shocked, nor astonished, nor disappointed when we do not please, because I have always felt that we are not like other people. I live in the old feudal times and cannot merge into the present age. Captain Burton, with the same sentiments, belongs in advancement to the next century, and will not be

appreciated or understood in this. Therefore, when anything goes wrong, I feel sad and resigned, and only blame the fact that we are living *now*,—not the world—though I do regret the grand old courtesy of departed ages ; and, if anything is right or a success, I feel a glad surprise, and thankfulness that something has happened in its right place.

From North Britain to New York the physical distance is great ; the spiritual and moral, small. We find a very narrow interval between the North American and our provincial press, especially in the matter of high criticism. The United States devote more than a quarter of their public expenditure to educational purposes ; or, more exactly, they tell me, 257 per 1,000 to 34 in England and 15 in Egypt. Hence the general diffusion of letters, so general indeed, that the flood can hardly be deep. Cousin Jonathan is like a boy with a huge piece of bread and a very tiny bit of butter. Of the “little-learning” system much is to be said on both sides : its abuse is evident in the shallow self-sufficiency which takes the deepest offence when new things are placed before it, or when ignorance is brought home to it. The *New York Daily Tribune* (Feb. 20, 1881) echoes the “North Briton” views ; and, as usual, exaggerates them. When reviewing the translation he owns his ignorance of the original in these words : “The Portuguese of Camoens, however mannered, cannot surely be as mannered as the English of Captain Burton.” He then declares “Captain Burton is a linguist : he knows a great many languages and dialects, but English is not amongst the number.”

I should have thought that Americans at least, who use so many expressions which are now obsolete and provincial at home, so that we often hardly understand them, but which are nevertheless good sound Puritan

terms, would have welcomed archaisms as a reminiscence of the old home. But I remember that,

Born a goddess, dulness never dies.

Between the *Scotsman* and the *New York Tribune*, I must not forget the *Saturday Review* (May 7, 1881). How well I recognise the velvet paw of my pussy-cat friend who so lovingly chastised my last volume.—A. E. I., both in the “*Saturday*” and by proxy in *Paternoster-square*. A considerable portion of the critique is composed of characteristic *Saturday* pleasantries,—so light and so playful!—upon the subject of my preface to the *Lusiads*. Somebody wrote me that the *Saturday* only cares for its sting, and reviews the author when too ignorant to review the book. Pussy and I have often met. She was not competent to write the review, being neither a Portuguese nor a classical scholar, and from a child has had the bad habit of being encouraged to say impertinent things, which she calls “*wit*” but which never gained her a friend’s heart. She bitterly complains that *sem pavor* (without fear) is translated *sans peur*. How would she like it?

Perhaps, after all, the *Saturday Review* (like the eccentric benevolents found in novels) means most kindly when its mode and mood appear the harshest. Blake, the painter-poet, said, “Damn blesses—Bless relaxes”; and, while damning with faint praise relaxes most, to over-damn is to bless in superlative form. It is doing the author the best turn to show how little can be said against him by those anxious to say the most. Upon this subject I need write but little. My husband has answered (Commentary, chap. 5) the specific complaints, and it is useless to notice the general charges against poet and translator, from which the tone of the paper takes all weight and trust. As regards the imputation

of inaccuracy, the reader can judge how reckless and ill-advised it is, by comparing the Portuguese and English of the Rejected Stanzas ; and the two octaves quoted by Reviewer, iii. 35-36, are all but word for word translations. I have advised my husband to append to his coming Second Edition extracts from critiques *pro* and *con*. The contrast will show the two sides of the proverbial shield, in so bright a light, that the reader will be driven, nolens volens, to judge for himself. And I promise the *Saturday* a conspicuous place, in gratitude for its having abstained from the last indignity,—

I fain forgive you all the blame,
I couldn't forgive your praise.

I have now done with the *dispraisers*, whose blame is hardly likely to do damage. Before noticing, however, the directly laudatory, I will devote a few words to notices which are neither warm nor cold. The type of the latter is the *Athenæum* (March 26th, 1881), perhaps the only literary journal in England which is generally read upon the Continent. Its judgment, in this case, is fair but not sympathetic ; and, when it calls the work a "fine version" the words do not sound willingly spoken. The reviewer considers the difficult double-rhymes (*e.g.* fear a=Cythera) to be better fitted for Beppo than for the *Lusiads*. I do not. The poem is one of the least serious of Epics ; remarkably like the *Morgante Maggiore* of Pulci—not of Byron, who struck in it a different note. Camoens not only sings, he also weeps, laughs, "chaffs." Again : "our country reigneth" (*over* being understood) is a form not infrequent in Spenser. "Sort," in the sense of lot, is familiar from the days of Chaucer ; and "reduce," in its Latin meaning, to bring back, is perfectly legitimate in poetry.

Like (adj.) for "as" (conj.) was hardly a vulgarism in the days of "Good Queen Bess." Here, however, there is a misprint, and the line should be read :—

Like the Lageian gay,
Delighting [not *delighted*] Anthony with gladdening guile (C. vi. 2).

As the Errata-list shows, the proofs were carelessly corrected, the reason being a severe illness, brought on by an accident in Egypt. The Reviewer complains of "involved constructions which necessitate a second and third reading," giving the following example. I print it with the Portuguese :—

{ Que dos povos de Aurora e do famoso,
{ Whom, dight Aurora's race and reign to tame,
{ Nilo, e do Bactro Scythico, e robusto,
{ Far-famed Nyle and Bactrus' Scythic foe,
{ A victima trazia e presa rica,
{ Despoiled, 'spite victorious spoils and rare,
{ Preso da Egypcia linda, não pudica,
{ That fair Egyptian not so chaste as fair.

C. ii. 53.

Of course, it means only that Cleopatra conquered Antony, who had conquered the East. But Camoens says so in his own peculiar way, and his translator wisely (I think) preserved the characteristic. There are scores of places in the Master which require half-a-dozen perusals! and so there are in Shakespeare, in Milton, in all our best poets. Finally, when the *Athenæum* says that the Translator "gratifies the ear, like his Master, Spenser, by abundance of alliteration"—he pays him unwittingly a very high compliment. My husband, while making his version, conscientiously avoided Chaucer and Spenser, for fear of being tempted to imitation. If, therefore, any resemblance to the sweetest of English Poets, the "poets' poet," appear in The Lusiads, it is Burtonian, not Spenserian.

Among the moderates I must number the *Morning Post* (April 16). It is very complimentary; but somewhat in the style of "hunting with the hounds and running with the hare." The only objection is the use of words which the Dictionaries mark *Obs.* But the following passage shows that the reviewer has not recognised the task Capt. Burton proposed to himself:—"It may even be deemed that the Master Poet, could he rise from the repose of three centuries, would counsel his pupil occasionally to forego exactitude in favour of simplicity and sweetness." Burton absolutely declines to be sweet, simple, or poetical, when Camoens is not; he is too loyal to foist his own wares upon the public under the disguise of a translation. He has given Camoens *as he is*; and the result is a new picture, a new style, which must run the gauntlet of praise and blame, and eventually stand upon its own merits. Novelty is not at once forgiven nor accepted: we must give it time to conquer its own place. Burton's next volume, the Sonnets and Lyrics of Camoens, will be continued upon the same plan of absolute fidelity, and as Camoens, in his minor pieces, is always sweet and simple, I venture to prophesy that it will meet with general approval.

I now turn to the most grateful part of my task, to notice those who have praised us. And here, upon the very threshold, is a difficulty. We have received dozens of letters from all quarters of the globe, but they are, of course, private, and therefore sacred. I wish I might quote the highly flattering judgments expressed by the *great* poets of the day, and I hope the public will take my word for it that the terms would surprise the detractors. All these letters, which have comforted and consoled me for much silly abuse, have come from "Makers" whose opinion would lead the world could we publish them. Men of letters are among them,

great poets, Portuguese students and adepts, and classical scholars. The *little* poets snarled with the Press, or declined to give an opinion. The public must be content with the friendly and sympathetic article in *Brief News and Opinion* (January 14th, 1881), with the *Graphic* (March 5th, 1881), evidently written by one who knew his subject thoroughly, and with the *Daily Telegraph* (February 21st, 1881), the latter inspired by an author and a friend, whose marvellous Eastern poem, "The Light of Asia," has reached in the United States a thirty-third edition. To be praised by such a man is to bear the ostrich-feather of Thmei. I have only one counterword to the whole article. Captain Burton's translation was no "tranquil task." Like his Master, the Disciple wrote amid all manner of exciting media. For years he carried about a pocket volume; and, after long thinking over the several stanzas, he pencilled them and copied his version at the end of such journeys as exploring the Camaroons Volcano, sailing up the Congo River; visiting the Kings of Dahomé and Benin; shooting the Cachoeiras, or rapids and cataracts of Brazilian San Francisco; crossing the Andes, and surveying the then unknown and most perilous parts of Eastern Palestine.

One remark in the *Daily Telegraph* has particularly pleased me: "A study of Camoens would be useful in the present day as an antidote to schools of thought which banish both patriotism and romance, as far as they can, into the region of forbidden sentiments." This is *emphatically true*; and hence the Portuguese Epic has been universally recognised as wholesome and tonic reading, in fact, the very reverse of a certain "poisonous honey"; and the general directness of the Camonian style, and the straightforwardness with which the Great Portuguese calls a spade (when he *must* name it) a

spade, is a pleasant contrast to that over-development, or rather abuse of Shelleyism, which in this stage of English versification suggests the "tale full of sound and fury," and of mighty little meaning, though the words seem very strong. The verbiage, at once picturesque, melodious, and beautiful, dazzles the reader out of a clear perception of the sense. But it is the "profligate luxuriance" with which Mr. Henry M. Stanley charges the marvellous jungle of Central Africa. It is a corrupt eloquence, a debauch of language, a minimum of signification, buried in the largest possible words; and the reader, revelling in its melody and harmony, is often tempted to exclaim, "How charming! but what does it all mean?" So far from raising small objections to vocabulary, the *Daily Telegraph* admires the "inexhaustible store of musical and unworn words" that perpetually match the dignity and melody of the Portuguese.

But I must also specify Mr. Oswald Crawford (*The Academy*, June 25, 1881). A resident for many years in Portugal; a well-known writer of travels and a student of Camoens, when he delivers judgment it must be respected. And he declares, "No translator can again be expected to combine the qualifications of Captain Burton, who, like Camoens, is himself at once a traveller, a scholar, and, as he now incontestably proves himself to be, a true poet." I shall not enter into further details, but only declare that in the next edition of the *Lusiads* Mr. Crawford's valuable and appreciatory review shall appear side by side with the *Saturday*—the dock-leaf by the nettle.

This is the day of revivals; when the Elizabethan and even older forms of English are once more coming to the front. I can only express a hope that Burton's adoption of these picturesque old terms, and of such charming novices as nitid, inclyt, coolth, blooth, and so

forth, will be welcomed by the younger generation of poets. Our language will thus recover some of its lost Pleiads ; and then I shall not have the mortification to contrast one point of French, with our English, criticism. The archaic words and phrases in the late M. Littré's Old-French versions of Homer and Dante were highly approved of by all the authorities across the Channel. Captain Burton has met with ludicrous abuse. Had my husband been born anywhere but in England he would have been the subject of national gratitude and respect. As an Englishman he excites dislike and jealousy for having done and for still doing too much good work.

I have drawn up the following vocabulary of "obsolete words"—to which the dispraiser perpetually recurs—with a special object. Our readers must not be slighted by being charged with ignorance of Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Shakespeare ; but some of them will like to see the parentage of the little-used terms. Finally, I would ask, Is there any reasonable objection to any one of the following expressions ? Are they ill-sounding or incorrect ? Is there anything against them but prejudice ? I conclude the list with one of Burton's favourite quotations from Horace, who so strongly recommends the practice of revival,—

Long-obscurèd words his lore shall kindly illumine,
Dight to the light once more these specious tokens of objects,
Which fain usèd of yore by the Cato-tribe and Cethègi,
Drear old age forlore with long unuse overwhelmeth.



GLOSSARY.

- ABASSIA, proper name, Port. (from Arab. *Habesh*) Abyssinia.
- ACCOLADE, *n.* ceremony of embrace (when dubbing a knight, etc.).
- AFFY, *v.* trust, confide in, make affiance (Chaucer).
- AGNISE, *v.* (Lat. *agnoscere*, French, *agniser*) to acknowledge, confess, recognise.
- ALGATES, *adv.* nevertheless.
- ALTISONOUS, *adj.* Lat. high-sounding.
- ALS', or ALS, *adv.* also (alls, Chaucer, Spenser).
- AMIDDLE, *prep.* in the middle.
- ANENT, *prep.* against, opposite to, concerning.
- ANTRE, *n.* (Lat. *antrum*) cave (Shakespeare).
- ARBALIST, *n.* (Fr. *arbalète*) a crossbow (arblastere, Chaucer).
- ARGUTE, *adv.* Lat. sharp, clever, subtle.
- ASPEROUS, *adj.* (Lat. *asper*) sharp, fierce (aspre, rough, Chaucer).
- ASTONIED *v.* astonished (astoned, Chaucer; astoinied, Spenser).
- ASHLAR, *n.* hewn or cut stone.
- ATAMBOR, *n.* a drum; atabal, kettle-drum (tamborji, a drummer, Byron).
- ATTONCE, *adv.* at once, once for all (attone, Spenser).
- BAN, *v.* and *n.* to curse, summon, decree.
- BASH, *v.* to beat.
- BASNET, or BACINET, *n.* Fr. light basin-shaped helmet; (basanet, Spenser).
- BARDIC, *adj.* of bards.
- BASILISCO, BASILISK, *n.* a long cannon.
- BATEL, *n.* Anglo-Norman, a little boat.
- BALE, *n.* Anglo-Saxon, evil, sorrow, sickness, destruction (Chaucer).
- BEDIGHT, *past part.* decked out, adorned. *See* dight.
- BEEVE, *n.* a bull or cow.
- BEL-ACCOYLE, *n.* Fr. fair and courteous reception (Spenser).
- BEL-AMOUR, *n.* Fr. a lover, consort (Spenser).

- BELITTLE, *v.* to make little or less.
- BELLE-DAME, *n.* Fr. fair lady.
- BENEDIGHT, *adj.* (Lat. *benedictus*) blessed.
- BIEN, *adj.* Fr. good, fair, brisk, bonny.
- BIN, BENE, *v.* old form of be and been (Chaucer).
- BLENT, *part.* blended, mixed, mingled (Shakespeare).
- BLOOTH, *n.* bloom, blossom.
- BOSKY (or BUSKY, Shakespeare), *adj.* busky (from busk, a bush), wooded.
- BORE, *n.* a tidal flood.
- BOSCAGE, *n.* Fr. thicket, underwood, wood.
- BRENT, *past part.* to bren, burn (brente, Chaucer ; brunt, Spenser).
- BRUIT, *n.* Fr. noise, report, fame.
- BUSK, or BUSKE, *v.* (Ital. *buscare*) to seek, make ready, prepare.
- CANOROUS, *adj.* (Lat. *canorus*) loud and melodious.
- CAREEN, *v.* to expose one side of ship's bottom for repairs.
- CARLE, *n.* a rough fellow, a churl (Chaucer and Spenser).
- CERTES, *adv.* Fr. certainly, verily, of a truth (Chaucer).
- CHAMBER, *n.* a small, breach-loading mortar now used for firing salutes.
- CHAMPAIGN, or CAMPAIGN, *n.* Fr. flat, open country (champaine, Chaucer ; others, champion : T. Wright).
- CHIRURGEON, *n.* Fr. a surgeon.
- CLEPE, *v.* to call, name (cleped, clept, yclept, Spenser).
- CLEW, *n.* a ball of thread, a guide.
- COMPT, or COMPTE, *n.* and *v.* Fr. count, account.
- CONCH, *n.* Greek and Lat. a sea-shell (genus *Strombus*).
- CONDIGN, *adj.* (Lat. *condignus*) deserved, merited.
- CONGEE, or CONGÉ, *n.* and *v.* Lat. and neo-Lat. bow, leave-taking, salutation.
- COUNTRY-CATES, *n.* provisions or food of the country.
- COUNTY, *n.* a count, earl, noble (County Paris, Shakespeare).
- COUPED, *adj.* (Fr. *coupé*) cut off, in heraldry.
- COMPAST, *past part.* compassed, brought about, contrived.
- CRAMOISIE, or CRAMOSIN, *adj.* crimson.

- CRAPULOUS, *adj.* Lat. and Fr. sick, surfeited ; vulg. crapsick.
 CRASTINE, *adj.* (Lat. *crastinus*) of to-morrow.
 CREPITANT, *part.* Lat. snapping, crackling.
 CUSP, *n.* Lat. point of crescent's horn.
 CYMAR, *n.* simar or chimere, a light dress, loose robe, a scarf.
- DAG-TARGE, *n.* a dagger fixed upon a target or shield.
 DEBELL, *v.* Lat. to war down, conquer, debellation, conquest.
 DERRING-DO, *n.* daring (to) do ; a daring deed (Chaucer ; derring-doers, Spenser).
 DESPIGHT, or DESPITE, *n.* spite, malice ; *a.* despitous, malicious.
 DESTRIER, *n.* a war-horse, because led by the right (dexter) hand (destrer, Chaucer ; others destrere : T. Wright).
 DIAPHANOUS, *adj.* Gr. clear, transparent.
 DIGHT, *v.* and *part.* to prepare, ordain, dress, adorn, finish, clothed, arranged, decked.
 DIGNE, *adj.* worthy, noble, haughty.
 DOUCE, *adj.* Fr. sweet, gentle, agreeable.
 DOULOUR, or DOLOR, *n.* grief, pain.
 DOUR and DURE, *adj.* sullen, stern (or cross) and hard.
 DREE, *v.* to bear, endure, suffer.
 DROWSIHED, *n.* drowsiness (droweyhed, Thomson and Spenser).
- EAR, *v.* to plough.
 EATH, also EATHS, *adj.* and *adv.* easy, easily.
 EFTSOONS, EFTSONE, *adv.* soon after ; eft, *adv.* afterwards, again (Chaucer).
 EKE, *conj.* (German, *auch*) also, likewise (eeke, Spenser).
 ELD, EILD, and ELDE, *n.* old age, old people (Chaucer).
 EMPERY, *n.* Fr. empire, power.
 ESPERANCE, *n.* hope, expectation (esperaunce, Chaucer).
 ESTRADO, *n.* Span. raised space in a room.
 ESTANDART, *n.* standard, banner, flag.
 ETERNE, *adj.* eternal (Chaucer).
 EVANISH, *v.* to vanish out of.
 EYNE, or EYEN, *n.* eyes (eyhen and eyn, Chaucer).

- FACUND, *adj.* Lat. well-speaking, eloquent (facound, Chaucer ; others faconde : T. Wright).
- FAIRFAXT, *adj.* Lat. fair-haired, hence the house of Fairfax.
- FAND, *pret.* and *past part.* found, discovered (Chaucer).
- FARE, *v.* (German, *Fahren*) to go, travel ; to live (eat) ; to be in a state (good or bad) ; to behave, to happen (well or ill) ; hence fareth and fared.
- FASH, *v.* (Fr. *fâcher*) to vex, trouble, annoy.
- FAULCHION *n.* (Lat. *falx*) a chopper, a heavy sickle-shaped sword.
- FECKLESS, *adj.* (effectless?), no feck, strength ; weak, worthless.
- FELL, *adj.* keen, cruel, barbarous, felon (felle, Chaucer).
- FELTRED, *past part.* tangled, twisted (of hair).
- FERAL, FERE, FERINE, *adj.* (Lat. *ferus*) fierce, proud, wild, untamed.
- FERE, *n.* companion, friend, wife ; i-fere or ifeere, together (feere, Spenser ; pheere, Chaucer).
- FERREOUS, *adj.* (Lat. *ferreus*) of iron.
- FONE, *n.* foes, enemies (Chaucer).
- FORLORE, *adj.* (German, *verloren*) forlorn ; *v.* to desert, to deprive.
- FOYSON, or FOISON, *n.* (Spenser) (Lat. *fundere*) plenty, abundance (foisoun, Chaucer).
- FRORE, or FRORN, *adj.* (Spenser) (German, *gefroren*) frosty, frozen, frothy.
- FULGENT, *adj.* (Lat. *fulgens*) shining, glittering.
- FULGOR, *n.* Lat. dazzling, brightness.
- FULMINANT, *adj.* (Lat. *fulminans*) thundering.
- GALORE, *n.* plenty, abundance.
- GAR, *v.* (Iceland, *göra*) to do, cause, make, compel (Spenser).
- GELID *adj.* Lat. cold, very cold.
- GEST, *n.* (Lat. *gestus*) bearing, demeanour, carriage.
- GESTE, or GEST, *n.* (Lat. *gesta*) exploit, achievement (gestes, Spenser, Chaucer).
- GLAVE, or GLAIVE, *n.* (Lat. *gladius*) a form of sword.
- GLINT, *v.* to glisten, to gleam.
- GLOZING, *part.* lying, false, wheedling.

- GOUT, *n.* (Lat. *gutta*) a drop.
- GRAMARYE, *n.* (Fr. *grimoire*) magic, necromancy.
- GRAVID, *adj.* (Lat. *gravidus*) heavy with child.
- GREAVES, *n.* (Fr. *grèves*) boots, armour for lower legs, especially the shins.
- GRIDED, *past part.* (Ital. *gridare*) *n.* and *v.* a grating sound, to cut, pierce, gush. (Grided, Canto vi. 83, is a misprint for griding.)
- GUERDON, *n.* (Ger. and Lat. *Wieder-donum*) a reward, recompence (Chaucer).
- GYRE, *n.* Gr. and Lat. a circuit, a circle, wheeling motion.
- HALE, *v.* to haul, drag, pull back.
- HEST, or BEHEST, *n.* Germ. a command, order (heste, or heeste, Chaucer).
- HIGHT, or HIGHTE, *v.* to be called (named), to command, to promise (Ismen I hight, I'm called Ismen, Spenser).
- HIRSUTE, *adj.* Lat. rough with hair, hairy, coarse.
- HODIERNAL, *adj.* Lat. of this day (to-day); of the present day (time), modern.
- HOLP, or HOLPE, *v.* he (she or it) helped; holpen, helped.
- HURLING, *part.* whirling, moving violently, hurled; to hurtle, to dash, strike.
- HYTHE, or HITHE, *n.* a port, harbour.
- IGNAVE, *adj.* Lat. idle, slothful.
- IMMANE, *adj.* (Lat. *immanis*) huge, monstrous, atrocious.
- IMMUND, *adj.* Lat. impure, unclean.
- INCEPT, or INCEPTION, *n.* a beginning, commencement.
- INCLYT, *adj.* (Lat. *inclytus*) famous, renowned.
- INDIGN, or INDIGNE, *adj.* Lat. unworthy, opposed to *digne*.
- IMP. *v.* Gr. and Lat. to graft, insert (feather), increase, strengthen (Shakespeare).
- KELSON, or KEELSON, *n.* inner part of keel in wooden ship.
- KINKY, *adj.* twisted, crisply curled, woolly (hair).

- KRAAL, *n.* (Port. *curral*) cattle inclosure ; a village in South Africa.
- LAINE, *n.* Fr. wool, woollen stuff.
- LAMBENT, *adj.* Lat. licking, touching lightly.
- LEASING, *n.* lying, falsehood.
- LEAL, *adj.* loyal.
- LERE, or LEER, *adj.* (Germ. *leer*) empty ; also, *n.* lore, learning.
- LEVEN, or LEVIN, *n.* lightning (Spenser).
- LIEF, LIEVE, *adj.* dear, beloved.
- LIFT, *n.* (Germ. *luft*) sky, firmament.
- LIMN, *v.* to draw, paint, illumine.
- LITHER, *adj.* bad, corrupt (Chaucer).
- LOADSMAN, *n.* a pilot ; lodemenage, pilotage (Chaucer) ; from the loadstar (leading star) North star.
- LOND, *n.* land.
- LOSEL, *n.* (Fr. *lozel*) a worthless fellow.
- LOUT, *v.* to bend, bow (louting-low, Spenser ; loute, Chaucer).
- LOWE, or LOW, *n.* fire, flame ; lowynge, flaming.
- MARGENT, *n.* margin.
- MAUGRE, *prep.* (Fr. *malgré*) in spite of, notwithstanding (mawgre, Chaucer).
- MEADOW-MATH. *n.* a mowing (of grass) ; so after-math.
- MEINY, or MEINÉ, *n.* a retinue, followers (Chaucer, Spenser).
- MELL, *v.* to mix, to meddle (melle, Spenser, Chaucer).
- MERE, *n.* a pool or lake (Windermere).
- MISWEEN, *v.* to misjudge (Spenser).
- MOIL, *n.* and *v.* drudgery, defilement ; to labour very hard, soil, defile.
- MORION, *n.* hat like helmet with brim, but without vizor.
- MOTE, MOT, MOUGHT, *v.* may, might, or must.
- MURE, *n.* Lat. and Fr. a wall.
- MUREX, *n.* the fish producing a purple dye.
- NARD, or SPIKENARD, *n.* an odorous plant used in perfumes.
- NATHELESS, or NATHLESS, *adv.* nevertheless.

NEFAND, *adj.* (Lat. *nefandus*) not to be spoken, abominable, nefarious.

NIDE, *n.* (Lat. *nidus*) a nest, a nestful.

NIDERING, or NIDING, *adj.* infamous, dastardly.

NE, *adv.* and *conj.* not, nor, never ("Childe Harold").

NILL, *v.* (ne-will) not to will, to be unwilling, refuse, reject.

NITID, *adj.* (Lat. *nitidus*) clean, clear.

ORCAN, *n.* Fr. a hurricane.

ORC, *n.* (Lat. *orca*) grampus.

ORICHALC, *n.* Gr. and Lat. a mixed metal, brass, etc.

OVANT, *part.* (Lat. *ovans*) triumphant, rejoicing.

OWCHE, or OUCH, *n.* clasp, necklace, brooch; a jewel (ouches, jewels, onyxes, Spenser).

PARDIE, PARDÉ, or PARDIEUX (Fr. *par Dieu!* Chaucer, Spenser).

PARLEY, *v.* Fr. and Ital. to confer, speak with another.

PAVOISE, or PAVISE, *n.* Fr. large shield covering all the body.

PEREGRINE, *adj.* foreign, stranger, striking, in the Chaucerian sense of strange, strangeness.

FIGHT, *part.* pitched, fixed, placed, set (pighte, Fairfax; y-pight, Chaucer).

PILE, *n.* metal head of arrow.

PLAT, *adj.* and *adv.* flat, flatly (aplat, flatly, Chaucer).

POME, *n.* (Lat. *pomum*) an apple, a fruit.

PORTAIL, or PORTAL (Fr. *portail*) small door or gate.

PRORE, *n.* (Lat. *prora*) prow or fore part of a ship.

PUISSANT, *adj.* (Lat. *potens*) powerful.

PURFLED, *past part.* (Fr. *pourfiler*) worked, embroidered (purfiled, Chaucer).

RATH or RATHE, *adj.* early, soon.

RAZZIA, *n.* (Arab. *Ghāzīyeh*) a raid, a foray.

REAL! REAL! Port. Royal! Royal! the first words acclaiming a king.

REAVE, *v.* to bereave, rob of.

- REDE, *n.* and *v.* counsel ; to advise, explain, interpret.
 REE, *v.* to sift, explain, ree a riddle.
 REFOCILLATE, *v.* (Lat. *refocillare*) refresh by warmth, to revive.
 REGIMENT, *n.* government, rule (Spenser, Shakespeare).
 RENAY, *v.* (Fr. *renier*) to deny, renounce, refuse (reneye, Chaucer).
 RORY, RORID, or ROARY, *adj.* (Lat. *ros*) dew, dewy.
 ROY, *n.* (Fr. *roi*) a king.
 RUTILANT, *adj.* (Lat. *rutilans*) shining, lucent.
- SACROSANCT, *adj.* (*sacrosanctus*) sacred, saintly.
 SAKER, *n.* a small cannon.
 SALVAGE, *n.* and *adj.* a savage.
 SANS, *prep.* Fr. (Lat. *sine*) without.
 SANS LOYS, SANS FOYS, men without law (loy) and faith (foy) (Spenser).
 SAUNDERS, SAUNDARS, or SANDERS, *n.* sandalwood.
 SCATHE, or SCATH, *n.* and *v.* harm, waste ; to harm (skath, Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Spenser).
 SCOT, *n.* tax, fine, shot.
 SELD-SEEN, *adj.* seldom seen.
 SELLE, or SELL *n.* (Fr. *selle*) a saddle.
 SEELY, SELLY, *adj.* (Germ. *selig*) silly, simple, innocent, harmless.
 SEMPITERNAL, *adj.* (Lat. *sempiternus*) eternal, without beginning or end.
 SHAWM, or SHALM, *n.* (Fr. *chalumeau*) a clarionet, a haut-boy, a reed, pipe.
 SHEEN, *n.* and *adj.* brightness, bright-shining.
 SHEND, *v.* (Germ. *schänden*) to blame, injure, disgrace, destroy, or harm ; *past part.* shent.
 SITHENCE, SITH, or SIN, *adv.* since (sith then, since then, Spenser, Chaucer).
 SKEYNE, or SKEAN, *n.* (Gael. *sgian*) a long knife or short sword (Spenser).
 SMARAGD *n.* (Lat. *smaragdus*) the emerald.
 SPERE, or SPEER, *v.* to ask, inquire.
 SPINGARD, *n.* (Ital. *spingarda*) a hand-gun.

- SPRENT, *past part.* sprinkled.
 SPRITE, *n.* spirit, soul, shade, apparition.
 1 STOCCADO, or STOCKADO, *n.* (Fr. *estoc*) a thrust, stab.
 · STOWRE, STOUR, or STOURE (Fr. *estours*) battle, tumult, trouble.
 1 SUZERAIN, *n.* a sovereign and yet not a sovereign.
 SYNE, *n.* time.
- TANE, or TA'EN, *past part.* taken (tan, Chaucer).
 TARGE, *n.* a target, small shield (Chaucer).
 TEEN, *n.* grief, injury (tine, Spenser; teene, Chaucer).
 THERIACK, *n.* (Lat. *theriaca*, whence treacle) an antidote.
 THOLE, *v.* to bear, endure, suffer; still used in Scotland.
 THORPE, or THORP (Germ. *dorf*) a hamlet.
 1 THRID, *n.* and *v.* a thread; to thread.
 TOFORN, *prep.* before, in front (to-for and to-fore, Chaucer).
 TOQUE, *n.* (Lat. *torques*) a neck-chain.
 1 TRAVAIL, *n.* (Fr. *travail*) toil, with pain.
 TRINE, *n.* and *adj.* a trio, a triad (of three), threefold, triple.
 TROW, *v.* to think, trust, believe.
 TYNE, *v.* to lose, to be lost.
- 2 UNDIVAGOUS, *adj.* Lat. wandering over the waves.
 1 UNEATH, *adj.* and *adv.* uneasy, unable, scarcely, with difficulty (Fairfax).

- VALVARTE, *n.* a bulwark.
 VATICINATE *v.* (Lat. *vaticinare*) to foretell.
 VAVASOUR, *n.* a vassal or feudal tenant, a baron, etc. (vavaser, Chaucer).
 VAYWARD, or VAWARD, *n.* van, vanward, vanguard.
 VENERAND, *past part.* venerable.
 VERIDIC, VERIDICAL, *adj.* (Lat. *veridicus*; Fr. *véridique*) truth-telling, truthful.
 VERT and VENERIE, *n.* green, covert, and chaseable beasts.
 VITTAILE, *n.* victuals (Chaucer).

WAPPEN'D, *adj.* worn out (Shakespeare).

WEEN, *v.* to think, to fancy.

WEET, or WIT, *v.* to know.

WELKIN, *n.* (Germ. *wolke*) sky, vaults of heaven (welken, Chaucer).

WHILERE, *adj.* while ere, ere while, just now.

WASTREL, *n.* a waster, a profligate.

WIS, *v.* to know, to think ; *imperf.* and *past part.* wist.

WONE, *v.* and *n.* (Germ. *wohnen*) to dwell ; a dwelling, custom, habit (won, Spenser).

WRACK, *v.* and *n.* to wreck or rack ; a wreck, a flying cloud.

WRAITH, *n.* an apparition, ghost, spirit.

YARL, *n.* (Iceland, *jarl*) earl.

YARELY, *adv.* adroitly, handily (yare, quick, nimble, Shakespeare).

Obscurata diu populo bonus eruet atque
 Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,
 Quæ priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis,
 Nunc citus informis premit et deserta vetustas.

HOR., Epist. ii. 2, 115-18

FINIS.



OPINIONS OF THE PRESS

ABOUT

CAPTAIN BURTON'S LUSIADS OF CAMOENS.

2 Vols. 12mo. 1880.

From the *Daily Telegraph*, February 21, 1881.

CAPTAIN BURTON is well known to Englishmen as a great traveller and linguist, and the author of delightful books bearing on the strange scenes and places which it has been his lot in life to explore or visit. He it was who led, with the adventurous Speke as his second in command, that journey into the Dark Continent which culminated in the discovery of Lake Tanganyika, and his account of wanderings in strange lands has made him a modern Ulysses, while he was the first to undertake the task—perilous enough for any foreigner, above all for one not a Mohammedan—of penetrating in disguise to the sacred shrines of Mecca. In the last exploit no doubt this most enterprising and cosmopolitan of explorers was vastly assisted by his perfect knowledge of Arabic, as, indeed, of most of the languages spoken by civilised men on the face of the globe. The great voyager has just given to the book-reading public an unexpected treat in a translation of the master work of the Portuguese poet Camoens, that stirring epic of war, travel, and adventure, which he called "The Lusiads," after its heroes the Lusitanians, or "brave Portingalls," who set out to find a seaway to India. This noble poem is already known to the English public through the version of William Julius Mickle, a Scottish poet of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, we cannot afford to overlook such a contribution to our literature as Captain Burton's admirable rendering of Portugal's greatest poetical genius, and the two volumes, which deserve to be widely read wherever the English language is spoken, are all the more remarkable from the circumstances under which they came to be written. In his preface Captain Burton has explained the causes which have been powerful enough to make him diverge from his life-

work of travel and adventure to the more tranquil task of translating a literary masterpiece entombed in a little-read Continental language. Camoens, he says, is "the perfection of a traveller's study. A way-farer and a voyager from his youth; a soldier, somewhat turbulent withal, wounded, and blamed for his wounds; a doughty Sword and yet doughtier Pen, a type of the chivalrous age, a patriot of the purest water, so jealous of his country's good fame that nothing would satisfy him but to see the world bow before her perfections; a genius, the first and foremost of his day, who died in the direst poverty and distress." These are good titles to admiration in any case, and we cannot wonder that a great English traveller, himself too a poet, should have been captivated all these long years, by the charm of that beautiful Portuguese tongue and those noble and stirring sentiments which stand enshrined in Camoens' deathless pages. If it be true that Chapman's "Iliad" is a great work because of the intense love and admiration which its author had for the blind old bard of Greece, then certainly Captain Burton's labour, which has taken up twenty years of a much-occupied life, ought, for the same reason, to be able to stand the test of time, inasmuch as it is the fruit of genuine and heartfelt devotion on the part of the translator to the author and his poetic masterpiece.

Upwards of three hundred years ago Vasco da Gama set sail from Lisbon on his adventurous voyage, which ended in the colonisation of part of the "Morning-land" of India as well as of Mozambique; and since that time the Portuguese have done just what their great poet warned them not to do—they have rested contented with their "puny part of earth." Not untruly did the "great Pilgrim poet of the sea and land," whose work Captain Burton has at length given in a masterly shape to British readers, when he returned from his perilous shipwrecks and travels in the East, remark that he had come back "to die in his country and with his country." Perhaps the worst blot on the scutcheon of Portugal, even at this day, is that she allowed her greatest poetic genius to die a beggar, with a pension of five paltry pounds from King Sebastian, and dependent on the precarious bounty of patrons and friends for his daily bread.

There never was a more pathetic story than that of the life and death of Camoens, and perhaps it was the roving spirit of adventure in him which attracted our modern African explorer to the translator's desk, almost as much as the real beauties of his poem. "My Master, Camoens," Captain Burton calls him, and goes on to pay his tribute of gratitude for the real solace which the much-loved volume has been in many wanderings. "On board raft and canoe, sailing vessel and steamer, on the camel and the mule, under the tent and the jungle-tree, on the fire-peak and the snow-peak," writes the accomplished "Hadji," "Camoens (meaning all the works of the great poet) has been my companion, my consoler, my friend;" and we may remark that a study of Camoens, who is an ideal patriot, as well as a constant lover whose fair one was snatched away by death at the age of twenty, would be useful in the present day as an antidote to schools of thought which

banish both patriotism and romance, as far as they can, into the region of forbidden sentiments. Indeed, so intensely patriotic is the bard that in the opening of his epic he bids Achilles, Alexander, and all other ancient warriors and travellers, cease to "vaunt long voyage made in bygone day," as if the "better bravery" of the Lusitanian explorers fairly threw into the shade all attempts in the same line which had been made before. This may be going a little too far, but, at all events, it is a fault in the right direction.

Captain Burton has rendered a fitting tribute on behalf of England to the great poet of Portugal.

The romantic life story of Camoens is quite as attractive as his poetry, and will always procure readers for the poet whom Captain Burton justly terms the Virgil of Portugal. All English-speaking lovers of a fine poetic achievement must feel grateful to the fortune which has given them a translation equal in its majesty of diction and erudition to Fairfax's Tasso, through the twenty years' labour of love which the great English traveller has expended on his poet-traveller of Portugal.

From the *Graphic*, March 5, 1881.

IN the beginning of 1878 a new translation of the "Lusíads" of Camoens was announced from the pen of Mr. J. J. Aubertin, who had spent many years in Brazil, and had studied this author as his first master in Portuguese; and to this publication the very important feature was attached of its containing the original text, side by side with the English. At the same time it was reported in literary circles that Captain Burton, the well-known traveller, who had for several years occupied the position of Consul at Santos, in Brazil, was also engaged in a translation of the great Epic. Mr. Aubertin's work appeared in due course, and was fully noticed in these columns; nor have we found, on reperusal, any reasons for modifying the high opinion which we then expressed of his performance.

To-day we have before us the promised translation by Captain Burton, which, we can at once say, bears full evidence of having proceeded from the pen of a master. Despite its peculiarities, for which the Preface emphatically prepares us, we have found the style captivating in its character; nor can we fail to express our astonishment, on comparing this work with that of Mr. Aubertin, that two scholars, both evidently comprehending their author thoroughly, rendering him faithfully in text and feeling, and both adopting the same metre—happily that of the original—should have been able to produce two such wholly different translations. We have rarely passed a more entertaining literary morning than in studying these two works together, aided by the timely pages of the original poem furnished in Mr. Aubertin's volumes. The smooth and easy run of the versification in the stanzas of the latter contrasts charmingly with the power and picturesqueness of Captain

Burton, who in this work, as in all others that bear his name, has carved out his own independent course. In these two productions we have before us, as it were, two pictures of the same subject by two entirely different masters; as it might be, for example, a picture by Claude and a picture by Salvator Rosa.

We have referred to the peculiarities of Captain Burton's work, and we observe by a letter he has addressed to a contemporary, that he has already been called to account for his "English of the period" and his "perplexing diction." Against these charges, which he was, of course, quite prepared for, and which may doubtless avail with many readers, he defends himself with much force. He calls attention to what he terms "the linguistic medley of the original," and enumerates the various figures in which Camoens indulges in the "Lusiads," which he considers it was essential to regard. Among these the hyperbaton is (as Captain Burton says) "excessive." This figure, indeed, we find very frequent in Mr. Aubertin's translation, though as regards the others, he would seem (if he indeed acknowledged them) to have carefully smoothed them over, for the sake of his lines. But without the hyperbaton, at all events, Camoens would not be Camoens, and, abundant classical grace and dignity are very often produced by the use of it.

In the Sonnets, Captain Burton tells us, scarcely any of the figures above referred to are found; and we await with interest the appearance of these compositions of the "Portuguese Petrarch" in our English language. The whole of the "Rimas" are already promised by Burton, and an anthology of "Seventy Sonnets," accompanied by the original text, is on the eve of publication by Aubertin. A dissertation on the whole subject, in two volumes, by Burton, is also already in the press. We wish these two gentlemen as much success in their coming translations as we have felt able to accord to them in their past; and if such be the issue, surely they will have jointly contributed, as none before have done, to make the name and the works of Luiz de Camoens known and appreciated in English literature.

From the *Athenæum*, March 26, 1881.

CAPT. BURTON has devoted the leisure moments of almost twenty years to an English version of this great voyager-epic; and his command of his own language gives him many facilities for imparting to his pages something of that Eastern perfume which the Lusitanians exhale, and for causing them to re-echo the ringing trumpet-notes of their original's martial music.

For the most part, however, Capt. Burton's version is vivid, picturesque, and as interesting as his original allows. He duly enforces the sense by reproducing Camoens's emphatic verbal repetitions; he only occasionally offends by an imperfect rhyme; and he gratifies the ear, like his master, Spenser, by abundance of alliteration.

From the *Daily News*, June 23, 1881.

THE indefatigable industry and zeal of Captain Burton are so well known that it will perhaps occasion little surprise that he has found leisure, in the midst of all his travels, voyages, and literary labours, to make a new translation of Camoens, now published in two volumes (Quaritch), under the editorship of his wife, the sharer in so many of his enterprises. A noteworthy feature of this translation is the renderings of the numerous stanzas suppressed by the poet, which have not hitherto been presented to the public. Mr. Burton has with characteristic courage executed his whole task in the octave stanza of the original, which necessarily conveys a better notion of Camoens than the stately heroic couplets of Mickle; and it is hardly necessary to say that Captain Burton does not adopt the free and easy notions of that unscrupulous translator, who did not hesitate to omit long passages, and even in one case to add about 300 lines of his own invention. Captain Burton is, on the contrary, though not always absolutely faithful, at least as faithful as it is perhaps possible to be under the difficult conditions which he imposes on himself. His quaint turns of phrase, uncouth archaisms, and occasional rugged lines, will not be so all tastes; but they have an antique flavour not out of keeping with this, the oldest of all epics in the modern tongues.

From the *Academy*, June 25, 1881.

CAPT. BURTON'S translation is, beyond all comparison, the closest, the most flexible, and the most poetic version that has yet appeared of the great Portuguese epic. It is to be supposed that no one will attempt it after him, for no translator can again be expected to combine the qualifications of Capt. Burton, who, like Camoens, is himself at once a traveller, a scholar, a *littérateur*, a soldier, and as he now incontestably proves himself to be, a true poet. The truth is, that, if Camoens was to be translated at all, it was not to be done on the old lines. In most versions into foreign languages, except one into Spanish, the "*Lusiads*" appear as a bald, an artificial, and a very wearisome performance—a farrago of foreign adventure, of geography, of patriotic and inaccurate history, and of doubtful classicism. The attitude of the intelligent foreign critic has mostly been, "It must be good, for the Portuguese say so, and they ought to know. The truth is that Camoens wrote an impossible *epos*, but, being a great poet and an exquisite stylist, he left the mark of genius on his stanzas. That mark has unfortunately as a rule been effaced by the translators into staid English verse, with all the sins upon them of omission and commission common to the majority of translators. The fire that burns in this Portuguese *Odyssey* has certainly never warmed the reader of the epic in an English version. To say that in Capt. Burton's version there is all of this same fire and poetic fervour would be to

say of his translation what cannot be said of any translation of any great poet. It cannot be said even of Fairfax, or of Carey, or of Tieck, that they have mirrored more than a faint likeness of Tasso, of Dante, and of Shakespere; and of Capt. Burton all that can be said is that in his lines the English reader will find the most living image yet given of the great Portuguese *epos*. A critic may entertain reasonable doubts whether Capt. Burton's method be absolutely a fair one, but the translator may urge that by no other could his task be accomplished at all; and, after a little charitable consideration, such hard words as "to weet" and "to nill," "val-varte," "fair-faxt," "treachetour," "sprent," "salty," "whilere," "haught," and "sit-hence" will come to seem no stumbling-blocks at all. Capt. Burton's version has been called archaic, but so is the Portuguese of the original; it is the Portuguese of three hundred years ago, and even when it was written it was hardly more the language of its own day than the "Faerie Queen" was the English spoken by Spenser's contemporaries. It was, therefore, I think good judgment in Capt. Burton to turn the "Lusiads" into a somewhat archaic English. To a Portuguese, Camoens is an *omnis homo*, as Shakespeare to us. His countrymen find in him all poetic, all descriptive, all narrative, all pathetic, all romantic excellence—*nil tetigit quod non ornavit*; and the "Lusiads" furnish many a text of practical philosophy. I select from among scores of wise maxims a home-truth from the camp—a truism, perhaps, but useful, and most excellently expressed—

"A disciplina militar prestante
 Não se apprehende, Senhor, no phantasia
 Sonhando, imaginando on estudando
 Senão vendo, tratando e pelejando."

Here again the English is not far behind, if, indeed, it is not quite equal to, the strength and energy of the original:

"Senhor! the soldiers' discipline is more
 Than men may learn by mother-fancy guided;
 Not musing, dreaming, reading what they write;
 'Tis seeing, doing, fighting, teach to fight."

Capt. Burton has in the volumes before us sounded, for the first time, an echo not unworthy of the "great organ-voice" of Portugal.

OSWALD CRAWFURD.

LONDON:

BERNARD QUARITCH, 15 PICCADILLY, W.