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Milton in Portuguese
A Story in Blank Verse*Hélio J. S. Alves*

MILTON AND PORTUGUESE

John Milton's connections with Portuguese began during the poet's lifetime. As Secretary for Foreign Tongues (1649–60) in Cromwell's republic, the poet must have dealt with the envoy from the Portuguese Crown, João de Guimarães, several times during the first half of 1651, where 'his services as an interpreter were doubtless needed'.¹ The political relationship between the Protestant republic and the Catholic monarchy could hardly have been tenser in those days. The Portuguese continued to play an important role in English politics throughout the decade, under Milton's attentive purview, until the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 and the subsequent marriage of Charles II to the Portuguese princess Catherine of Braganza (1638–1705) in 1662. If the poet had political and religious grudges against the Portuguese before, his dismay at their Catholic influence on English government would have attained its peak at this stage. The religious, moral, and social threat posed by Catherine's presence as Queen of England was felt the most in the years in which Milton was completing *Paradise Lost*.

Milton's command of Romance languages such as Latin and Italian seems to have been quite thorough, but not much can be ascertained with respect to the Iberian languages, particularly Portuguese. Contemporary accounts suggest that Milton knew Spanish and that Spanish was one of the several tongues his daughters read aloud for him.² Given his experience with other Romance languages, it is probable that Milton could have had some reading knowledge of Portuguese. Experience tells us that understanding a foreign speech comes more easily to someone as well trained in the humanities as Milton, and particularly someone fluent in other languages of the same group.

Whatever Milton's proficiency in the Portuguese language, the first inkling of his debt to the literature of Portugal was noticed only about 100 years after the

¹ Parker, *Milton: A Biography*, i. 389, 393–4; ii. 987, n. 130; ii. 993, n. 148.

² Lewalski, *Life of John Milton*, 407; on Edward Phillips, see also p. 407; on Francini, see Hale, *Milton's Languages*, 7–8. For Milton's knowledge of these and other languages, see the Epilogue of the present volume.

English poet's death. In his English translation of Luís de Camões's epic poem *Os Lusíadas* [The Lusíads] (1572, trans. 1776), William Julius Mickle (1734–88) wrote that,

had the last book of the *Lusiad* been two thousand years known to the learned, every one would have owned that the two last books of the *Paradise Lost* were evidently formed upon it... the part of Michael and Adam in the last two books of the *Paradise Lost*, are in point of conduct exactly the same with the part of Thetis and Gama in the conclusion of the *Lusiad*.³

This resemblance was echoed by commentators of *Paradise Lost*, beginning with Henry John Todd (1763–1845) in his *Poetical Works of John Milton in Six Volumes* (1801), and continuing in twentieth-century criticism with C. M. Bowra and E. M. W. Tillyard.⁴ More recently, new concurrences have been found in both epics, as in the number of books or cantos (*Paradise Lost* was originally published in ten books, like *The Lusiads*); in the more substantial fact that, contrary to classical epic tradition, both these epics have first-person excursions in a few strategic and parallel locations; and, similarly, sequences.⁵ Milton's knowledge of Camões could still have come, however, from reading a translation. Richard Fanshawe (1608–66), a well-known royalist and one-time ambassador to Portugal, published the first English translation of *The Lusiads* in 1655, just in time to intervene in his countryman's writing and conception of recent epic poetry.

How close was Milton, then, to being an understanding reader (even if through someone else's voice) of Portuguese texts? Perhaps the most fruitful approach to this question involves Milton's choice of blank verse. He famously elaborated on the matter through a justification first appended to a 1668 issue of the epic. There, he invoked the example of 'Italian and Spanish poets of prime note' who 'have rejected Rime both in longer and shorter Works'.⁶ Since no analysis of Milton's predecessors in those two Romance literatures could find representative opponents of rhyme or great practitioners of blank verse, Milton's justification tended to be either ignored or attributed to the author's irritation at his publisher who solicited the rationale in the prefatory 'The Verse'.⁷ However, it was frequent in the early modern period to use 'Spain' or 'Spanish' to designate Portugal and Portuguese

³ Mickle, 'Dissertation', ii. 360–1. James Sims notes that 'Mickle was overenthusiastic, characteristically, about the similarity between Camoëns's tenth canto and Milton's eleventh and twelfth books (both composing the tenth in 1667)... But he is probably right; the short space of time between the two poems (in English) and Milton's blindness (by 1652) are the main objections' (Sims, 'Christened Classicism', 342).

⁴ In Todd's note for *PL* 11.396–99, quoted in Miner, *Paradise Lost 1668–1968*, 379; Bowra, *From Virgil to Milton*, 238–9; Tillyard, *English Epic*, 241–2.

⁵ For a review of the critical arguments about Camões in Milton, see Alves, 'Milton after Corte-Real', esp. 556–9.

⁶ Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, 55. All quotations of Milton's original are from this edition and cited parenthetically as *PL*.

⁷ The Italian exceptions were Trissino's epic *L'Italia liberata dai goti*, famous for being such a failure among readers, and Torquato Tasso's *Mondo creato*, a religious poem with which, however, Milton does not seem to have established any material contact, even though Tasso's example in epic and poetic theory must have been of paramount importance to him. For the Spanish possibilities, see Alves, 'Milton after Corte-Real'. See also Campbell, 'Milton's Spanish', 128.

authors, especially in Latin.⁸ Milton could easily have used the word *Hispani* to designate the Portuguese as a people coming from anywhere in the Iberian Peninsula, just as ‘Italian’ would have been meant for a native of any of the independent republics beyond the Alps. The union of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns during Milton’s lifetime (up to 1640) helped increase the tendency. Therefore, when writing ‘The Verse’, the poet could also have been thinking about Portuguese authors.

If ‘Spanish’ did encompass Portuguese for Milton, then who in particular could Milton have had in mind? The poetry of Portugal had a small but remarkable tradition of *verso branco* [blank verse] before Milton’s time.⁹ The masterpiece of the tragic genre not simply in Portugal, but indeed by comparison with other contemporary tragedies produced in Italy, France, and England, was composed mostly in lines of blank verse: *Castro* by António Ferreira (1528–69). Printed in a Spanish translation in 1577, even before its first Portuguese edition (1587) and without acknowledgement of its true author, it became, in this form, the first neoclassical tragedy of the Spanish literary tradition. The final and best version of the play, published with Ferreira’s other poetry in 1598, was never translated, but it was reprinted during the next century and quickly became one of the major works of Portuguese literature.

In the epic and the long poem, the practice of Jerónimo Corte-Real (d. 1588) is of importance. He published three poems—the *Second Siege of Diu*, the *Victory of Lepanto*, and *Sepúlveda*—all of which were widely read in Iberia as examples of long narrative and descriptive poetry in blank verse. The similarity Mickle detected between the two last books of *Paradise Lost* and *The Lusíads* can probably be traced back to the *Second Siege of Diu*, the surviving manuscript for which antedates the finished epic by Camões. The last two cantos (20 and 21) of Corte-Real’s epic are organized like Milton’s last two books, with an old man and the hero present ‘in point of conduct’ in the same way as Michael and Adam. There was thus something of evident importance in blank verse tragedy and epic in the Portuguese tradition before Milton.

MILTON’S *PARADISE LOST* IN PORTUGUESE

Luso-Brazilian awareness of this genealogy, however, seems slight. The first translation of *Paradise Lost* into Portuguese, published in 1789 by José Amaro da Silva (n.d.), is in prose and shows no sign of attempting to connect the original’s pentameter lines with the corpus of Portuguese poetry, as reflected also in its prefatory material and explanatory notes. Such is not the case with the next Portuguese translation of the English epic (1823). Blank verse in the Portuguese vernacular had acquired prestige, there was a growing audience for it, and Francisco Maria

⁸ For a particularly interesting discussion of this issue from first-hand sources, see Earle, *Portuguese Writers and English Readers*, pp. lxxvi–lxxxvi.

⁹ All English translations of Portuguese phrases and texts are mine, unless otherwise noted.

Targini (1756–1827) could now claim to be the first translator of Milton's greatest *poem*, since he used hendecasyllabic unrhymed lines, like the original. Still, this first translation of *Paradise Lost* into Portuguese blank verse did not necessarily come with an awareness of the national tradition in the field, even less with an attempt to advance beyond Mickle's discussion of the possible connections of the English epic with the Lusitanian literary past. Indeed, a view of the type of literary expression in blank verse represented by Milton developed, in some cases, as a seemingly updated and internationalist perspective *opposed* to the Portuguese poetic canon. José Agostinho de Macedo (1761–1831), the most trenchant polemicist of his time, clamoured furiously in 1811 against contemporary devotion to the *Quinhentistas* (sixteenth-century writers such as Camões, Ferreira, and Corte-Real); he thought that the descriptive long poem he enjoyed so much was a contemporary creation from Germany, France, and England, deriving from Milton or at least finding in him the great modern predecessor: '*O espectáculo do Universo he o despertador do verdadeiro Enthusiasmo. . . A verdadeira poesia é a Poesia descritiva: o que mais nos toca em Milton são os seus pomposos Quadros*' [The contemplation of the Universe is what fires true poetic Enthusiasm. . . True poetry is descriptive Poetry: what moves us most in Milton is his magnificent Pictures].¹⁰ For Macedo, it is the descriptions of nature and the universe that predominate in *Paradise Lost*, if not effectively, at least in the poem's greatest moments. It is apparent that he saw no such descriptive and cosmographical powers in the classic poetry of his own country, for he claimed that Portugal needed to be brought up to date in this with the other nations.

Such opposition to the virtues of natural and cosmological description in the old Portuguese poets, however, was far from generalized. Francisco de Paula Medina e Vasconcelos (1768–1824) hoped to be able to claim for himself, in the same year of 1811, only a small part of

o immortal louro
Que de Homero, Camões, Virgilio, Milton,
Tasso, Corte Real, Voltaire e Castro,
*No templo da memoria enfeitada frentes. . .*¹¹

[the immortal laurel garland that adorns, in the temple of memory, the brows of Homer, Camões, Virgil, Milton, Tasso, Corte-Real, Voltaire and Castro. . .]

The fact that Medina e Vasconcelos preferred to compose his *Georgeida* as a long epic in blank verse is meaningful in regard to the canon he expounds here. For each of the four poets who rhymed their epics (Camões, Tasso, Voltaire, and the seventeenth-century Gabriel Pereira de Castro), he names four who did not: Milton, Corte-Real, and the two masters from antiquity. His own decision to follow the latter group is significant. No distinction is made between Homer, Virgil, Milton, and a national epic tradition in blank verse. Unlike Macedo, the author of the

¹⁰ 'Prologue' to the University of Coimbra', dated 15 January 1811, in Macedo, *A Meditação*.

¹¹ Medina e Vasconcelos, *Georgeida*, 4. In the prologue (p. viii), the author states that the poem was written in 1811.

Georgeida seems to view the old Portuguese poets as part of a history that Milton came to integrate and that Medina e Vasconcelos regards himself as following. This historical argument found support in the man who was mainly responsible for recasting Portuguese classical blank verse in Romantic guise, Almeida Garrett (1799–1854): ‘É talvez Cortereal o primeiro (em data) poeta descritivo; e creou elle acaso esse genero de que tanto blasonam hoje inglezes, alemães, e até franceses, e que todavia nós tinhamos seculos antes d’elles’¹² [Corte-Real is perhaps the first (in time) descriptive poet; and he may have created that genre that the English, the Germans, and even the French are so proud of nowadays, but that we had centuries before them]. *Paradise Lost*, especially since the influential 1804 French translation by the famed descriptive and scientific poet Jacques Delille (1738–1813), became to many, like Macedo, a kind of point of origin in Europe of the descriptive long poem in blank verse.¹³ By placing Corte-Real at the outset of the European descriptive poem, ‘centuries before’, Garrett claimed for Portuguese literature, in a more detailed and specific way than Medina e Vasconcelos before him, the actual paternity of the long descriptive poem. In addition to posing this historical conception, Garrett also illustrated it by selecting, for the poetic anthology that followed, an excerpt of Corte-Real’s *Second Siege of Diu*, entitled ‘Description of the Three Parts of the Ancient World’.¹⁴ Given that the *Second Siege of Diu* with that ‘Description’ was first printed a century before *Paradise Lost*, in 1574, this may have been intended to demonstrate the originality of the Portuguese poet’s modernity in the particular field where Milton was believed to have anticipated the new genre. Reinforcing the view that Corte-Real was a predecessor of Milton is the demonic nature of the ‘Description’ and its bird’s-eye view—Corte-Real draws a large geographical picture of the world based on the flight of the Fury Allecto who had just left Hell—implying an antecedent to Milton’s description of Hell in book 1 or Satan’s flight in book 3. Garrett’s response seems motivated by a then current perception of *Paradise Lost* as a descriptive long poem where place names and cosmography set the basis for the development of a living European genre.

With the triumph of the descriptive long poem, blank verse became the order of the day in Portugal and Brazil during the first decades of the nineteenth century. The argument for ten-syllable unrhymed lines conflated late Neoclassicism and *Sensibilité*—both very much involved in the production of descriptive, scientific, and philosophical poetry—with the upsurge of Romanticism. The indigenous texts that introduced the Romantic movement into Portuguese imaginative literature were long poems in blank verse, Almeida Garrett’s own *Camões* (1825) and *D. Branca* (1826). Garrett’s prose text about Corte-Real, printed in the anthology *Parnaso Lusitano* [Lusitanian Parnassus] in the same year as *D. Branca*, and part of the first history of Portuguese literature ever written by a native, becomes in this way a marker of an engagement with current issues of literary politics in which Milton’s *Paradise Lost* played a fundamental role.

¹² Anon. [Garrett], ‘Bosquejo da Historia da Poesia e Lingua Portuguesa’, p. xxv.

¹³ For more on Delille’s and other French translations, see Chapter 8 of the present volume.

¹⁴ Anon. [Garrett], ‘Bosquejo da Historia da Poesia e Lingua Portuguesa’, 65–72.

In such a context, it is not surprising that translating into blank verse the supposedly ‘founding father’ of the contemporary long poem turned into a real concern in Luso-Brazilian literary life. The translation of *Paradise Lost* into Portuguese verse became a supreme test not only for poetic language in the context of the contemporary philosophical and cosmographical long poem but also, and perhaps even mainly, for the capacity of translations to bring into play poetic qualities and potentials from within the history of literature in Portuguese. This is the context in which Targini’s translation of 1823 and António José de Lima Leitão’s of 1840 were to be composed, as if Amaro da Silva’s 1789 prose effort never existed.¹⁵

Even though it is clear to Targini that *Paradise Lost* is an epic poem, his account of the poem’s merits swerves it towards the descriptive. It is not because of his language and diction that Milton should be praised, he writes in the preface; the poet’s thought, characters, emotions, and verisimilitude, among other elements, deserve eternal fame, it is true. But it is Milton’s descriptive powers that crown his text:

*Elle hé sim original e incomparavel na conveniencia das pinturas, na rapidez e congruencia das descripções. . . Assim os assumptos que Milton descreve, e a variedade dos quadros que apresenta fazem mudar as sombras em luz, e os vicios e licenças poeticas em elegancias, e bellezas. Eis aqui o genio do poeta.*¹⁶

[Where he is really original and incomparable is in the appropriateness of his paintings, in the quickness and congruence of the descriptions. . . In this way, the subjects which Milton describes, and the variety of pictures that he presents, change shadows into light, and vices and poetic licences into elegance and beauty. The genius of the poet lies in this.]

From this perspective, translating *Paradise Lost* into prose would be almost insulting.

For this purpose, Targini calls upon the resources of verse in the target language and invokes the epic and lyric styles of earlier Portuguese poets. Faced with the problem of the choice of language and appropriate diction to convey, most of all, the impact of Milton’s descriptive passages, Targini deliberately searches for a Portuguese poetic canon that could serve his objective. He begins his argument by dismissing other European languages of the contemporary descriptive poem, even Delille’s French, as incapable of doing justice to Milton’s imaginative range. Then, the translator takes advantage of Mickle’s suggestion of Camões’s influence over *Paradise Lost* to declare the particular aptitude of Portuguese verse to achieve the task properly. The point, once again, is to engage in cosmological description, to find the language required to reach the Miltonic descriptive sublime:

Sim, a linguagem de Camoens hé a mais adequada á versão d’aquella maxima Epopeia. Ella tem talvez o maior numero de phrases, termos, metros e armonias figurativas, para

¹⁵ These rich texts are the primary focus of the remaining discussion. It is worth noting here that the Portuguese translation history of Milton is distinctive in having two women translators, as shown in the Select Bibliography. For more on women’s translations of Milton’s works, see n. 10 in Angelica Duran and Islam Issa’s introductory Chapter 1 in the present volume.

¹⁶ Milton, *O Paraíso Perdido*, trans. Targini, pp. xx–xxi.

*descrever... a Omnipotencia Divina, o Orgulho e Vingança de um Sat[a]naz, a Innocencia, pureza, formosura, e desgraça de nossos primeiros Pais, as Regiões do Chaos, as refregas e batalhas dos Anjos rebeldes contra o Ceo, as bellezas do Paraíso, e a portentosa Creação do Universo.*¹⁷

[Yes, Camões's language is the most adequate to make a verse translation of that [i.e. Milton's] greatest of Epics. It has perhaps the greatest number of expressions, terms, measures and figurative harmonies to describe... Divine Omnipotence, the Pride and Vengeance of a Satan, the Innocence, purity, beauty and tragedy of our first Parents, the Regions of Chaos, the conflicts and battles of the rebel Angels against Heaven, the beauties of Paradise and the portentous Creation of the Universe.]

Targini goes further by inserting a certain view of Portuguese literary history into the translation. To Camões, he adds the same (Gabriel Pereira de) Castro named in the *Georgeida*. For lyric practice, (Diogo) Bernardes and Ferreira from the golden age, (António) Dinis (da Cruz e Silva) (1731–99) and (Pedro Correia) Garção (1724–72) from the century previous to his own, are his models.¹⁸ Gone are the references to classic Portuguese blank verse narrative or dramatic poems by Corte-Real and Ferreira; the latter does not appear in Targini's prologue as the author of *Castro* but rather as a writer of shorter rhymed poetry. Moreover, the epic poets he mentions, Camões and Castro, wrote only in rhymed octaves; and even the eighteenth-century Dinis, whose masterpiece *O Hissope* [The Hyssope] in blank hendecasyllables belonged to the mock epic mode, is regarded as a model of lyric poetry only. The preference for Ferreira and Dinis as writers of shorter lyrics in spite of their greater reputation in the tragic and mock heroic modes, as well as the absence of Corte-Real, suggests that this translator views the history of the descriptive long poem in a way not too dissimilar from his contemporary Macedo—that is, with Milton as the genre's founding figure. Despite the merits of the *Quinhentistas* and the usefulness of the widely circulating notion that *Paradise Lost* borrowed from *The Lusíads*, it seems then that Targini put the English poet on a pedestal, not only as the highest representative of epic poetry, but also as the founder and ultimate model of the modern descriptive long poem.

In contrast to Targini, Lima Leitão (1787–1856), by far the most often printed and the best-known translator of *Paradise Lost* into Portuguese down to the present day, says hardly anything about the translational choices he made. In the 'Prefacio do Traductor' [Translator's Preface] of the 1840 first edition, Lima Leitão makes no claims about relying on the Portuguese classics, Camões, or the masters of blank verse (Ferreira, Corte-Real, and the eighteenth-century Neoclassicists) as the prime material with which to deal with Milton's epic. Rather, he speaks of other translators, including (again) Delille, avoiding, however, any suggestion of discipleship. In the prologue, 'Ao Rei' [Dedication to the King], Lima Leitão articulates great hopes for bringing *Paradise Lost* into his native language: 'Com este trabalho... pre-tendo tambem juntar uma rosa, formosissima em si, ainda que talvez desbotada passando por minhas mãos, à immortal grinalda tecida pêlos Clássicos Portuguezes, que

¹⁷ Milton, *O Paraíso Perdido*, trans. Targini, p. xxxi.

¹⁸ Milton, *O Paraíso Perdido*, trans. Targini, p. xxxvii.

tanta honra faz à Nação e ao Throno [With this work . . . I also intend to add a rose, very beautiful in itself, although perhaps faded after passing through my hands, to the immortal garland formed by the Portuguese Classics, that does such honour to the Nation and the Throne].

For this purpose, as Lima Leitão states in the ‘Translator’s Preface’, he attempted to put *Paradise Lost* into Portuguese poetry, as opposed to François-René, Vicomte de Chateaubriand, who chose to compose a literal prose translation. *Ser tradutor poeta* [to be a translator–poet] is his ideal. In a sense, then, this is not a translation but an original work. Even though totally dependent on the Miltonic original, Lima Leitão presents his *O Paraíso Perdido* as a new Portuguese poem. Despite the requirements of courtly modesty, the translator stands forth as an author with a distinctive speech and style. His translations are ‘conversations with the Muses’, so to speak.¹⁹ Moreover, even in the moments when he cites from Portuguese canonical poets, he does so as if they are his neighbours, not his models.²⁰ In this respect, Lima Leitão is not unlike Macedo: pre-Romantic conceptions of individual independence and creativity arise with ambitions of poetic triumph. In such a context, as the translator seeks to wear the canonical ‘immortal laurel garland’, as Medina e Vasconcelos had with the *Georgeida*, a certain aloofness towards the native poetic tradition is to be expected. Yet, Portuguese historical epic had been given a new impulse in the decades just before Lima Leitão’s translation of *Paradise Lost*. Camões’s and Corte-Real’s epics became important parts of the first European literary histories, by Bouterwek (1805), Sismondi (1813), and Denis (1826).²¹ In Paris, one translator worked on both *The Lusiads* and *Sepúlveda* in French, just about at the same time as Lima Leitão was finishing *Paradise Lost* in Portuguese.²²

Are there any signs of this renewed interest or even critical effervescence in Lima Leitão’s *O Paraíso Perdido*? A look at passages where, perhaps most obviously, Lima Leitão could have taken account of the epic and descriptive classics in his mother tongue should be revealing. The creation of Pandæmonium in book 1—

Anon out of the earth a fabric huge
 Rose like an exhalation, with the sound
 Of dulcet symphonies and voices sweet,
 Built like a temple, where pilasters round
 Were set, and Doric pillars overlaid
 With golden architrave; nor did there want
 Cornice or frieze, with bossy sculptures
 (PL 1.710–6)

¹⁹ Milton, *O Paraíso Perdido*, trans. Lima Leitão, p. ii.

²⁰ In the translator’s preface, Lima Leitão calls Filinto Elísio, who had translated parts of Lucan’s *Pharsalia*, an immediate forebear as poet and translator. He also quotes from the sixteenth-century Ferreira, without, however, naming the poet.

²¹ Bouterwek, ‘Geschichte der Portugiesischen Poesie’; Sismondi, *De la littérature du Midi de l’Europe*; Denis, *Résumé de l’histoire littéraire du Portugal*.

²² The translator was Ortaire Fournier, whose version of Camões’s epic came out in 1841 (Paris: Charles Gosselin) and of Corte-Real’s in 1844 (Paris: Carrier).

—has some features in common with Corte-Real's Temple of Deceit:

<i>o templo</i>	[the temple
<i>Fabricado no alto, olha e contempla</i>	Created on high, he looks and contemplates
<i>A soberba e estranheza do edifício.</i>	The magnificence and strangeness of the building
<i>Ali se vê com mão douta, engenhosa,</i>	There is seen, as with a skilled hand, ingenious,
<i>A dórica, e jónica columna,</i>	The Doric, and Ionic column,
<i>A coríntia e composta, e juntamente</i>	The Corinthian and Composite, and close by
<i>O friso, o capitel e alta cornija...²³</i>	The frieze, the capital and high cornice...]

If the imaginative concept of musical growth 'like an exhalation' is peculiarly Milton's, the English poet still uses several words and expressions, such as 'fabric', 'temple', 'Doric pillars', 'cornice', and 'frieze', that can also be found in the passage by Corte-Real:

*Logo a compaço de um concerto insigne
De suave instrumental, de magas vozes,
Uma fábrica imensa sobre a terra,
Em ar de exalação, eis vai surgindo,
E fica em breve um templo majestoso
Rodeado de pilastras que sustentam
Vasta série de dóricas columnas
Com arquivade de oiro guarnecidas;
De relevos magníficos se adorna
Da cornija e do friso o brilho ingente.²⁴*

At first sight, Lima Leitão's translation seems to refer to the similitude between his original and the older Portuguese epic, as indicated by the emphases in the passage. But readers can soon realize that the similarity is misleading. The actual resemblances are between Milton and Corte-Real, not between the translator and his elder countryman. The author of *O Paraíso* adds adjectives and even expressions absent both from *Sepúlveda* and, what is more, from *Paradise Lost*. Lima Leitão finds the original insufficient, at this point, for a translation that aims to be a self-sustaining poem for his own times. This is especially so in terms of the visual imagination and the structuring of the verse. For example, when Milton speaks of 'cornice or frieze', almost like Corte-Real's '*o friso... e alta cornija*' (*alta* [high], is here simply a matter of architectural position, not of elevated discourse), Lima Leitão invents a '*brilho ingente*' [illustrious brilliance] that exists in neither.

Satan's voyage in book 2 is another case where the 1840 translator could find in the sixteenth-century Portuguese epic and descriptive tradition a basis on which to work. Lines 917–19 and 927–9 strongly resemble the 'Description' selected by

²³ Corte-Real, *Sepúlveda*, canto 11. For a full discussion of the similarities between the two passages, see Alves, 'Milton after Corte-Real'.

²⁴ Milton, *O Paraíso Perdido*, trans. Lima Leitão, 1.960–9, i. 31, emphasis added.

Almeida Garrett in the *Parnaso lusitano*, fourteen years before Lima Leitão's translation, to demonstrate why Corte-Real could be the founder of a poetic genre rather than, say, Milton. The English author describes Satan embarking on his voyage as

Into this wild abyss the wary fiend
 Stood on the brink of hell and looked awhile,
 Pondering his voyage . . .

 At last his sail-broad vans
 He spreads for flight, and in the surging smoke
 Uplifted spurns the ground . . .

(*PL* 2.917–29)

Corte-Real describes his Fury commencing her flight as

*A pedragosa altura do Apenino
 Monte demanda, e lá subida pára,
 Vira os olhos à parte esquerda, e nota
 Como se vai mostrando*

*Depois que a brava fúria viu aos lados
 O que de Europa e África se mostra,
 Em Ásia firma os olhos, estendendo
 As negras, serpentinhas, grandes asas;
 Daquela grande altura se abalança . . .*²⁵

The hellish figures, their look, and their flight are all elements coming most probably from Virgil's Allecto in *Aeneid* 7. However, the standing still on a high point ('*altura . . . lá subida*'), the long look at a vast universal space followed by the spreading of wings to begin the leap ('*estendendo as . . . asas*'), and the flight and voyage are, in that exact order, the same in both early modern poems, unlike the *Aeneid*. In this case, Lima Leitão seems to read Milton not too differently from what he could have found in Corte-Real (or, more likely, in Garrett's anthology), as can be seen from the emphases in Lima Leitão's description, reflective of the emphases in Corte-Real's passage:

*Então Satan aqui na orla do Inferno
 Com cautela sagaz pára e medita
 A viagem sua . . .
 Dispõe-se logo a voar, perito estende
 Asas vogantes que alta nau figuram,
 E, nos pés contra a terra balançando,
 Joga-se a léguas mil . . .*²⁶

The emphasized words are common to both Corte-Real's and Lima Leitão's texts, occasionally with no exact equivalent in the Milton passage, as in the instances of '*altura*', '*pára*', and '*balança*'. Could this be a case of a willing search for a native classical source?

²⁵ Corte-Real, *Sucesso do segundo cerco de Diu*, canto 13, pp. 215, 219, emphasis added.

²⁶ Milton, *O Paraíso Perdido*, trans. Lima Leitão, 2.1197–9, 1211–14, i. 78, emphasis added.

In the continuation of the same Miltonic passage, another coincidence with the Portuguese epic tradition occurs, this time with the better-known Camões. In Satan's speech to Chaos, the lines 'I come no spy, | With purpose to explore or to disturb | The secrets of your realm' (*PL* 2.970–2) are inspired by (and a parody of) *The Lusíads* (2.80), at least through its seventeenth-century English translation, as David Quint has shown.²⁷ Yet, Lima Leitão uses the words 'espíãõ', 'explorar', and 'turbar', which are absent from the passage in *The Lusíads*, and Milton's allusion to Camões remains visibly unnoticed. The concision of the last line in the same speech of Satan's, 'Yours be the advantage all, mine the revenge' (*PL* 2.987), which alludes to an equally concise line from *The Lusíads* (7.62.8),²⁸ catches Lima Leitão unawares. He translates *Paradise Lost* in twice the space, and misses the figurative force of the intertext:

<i>Tendes na minha emprêsa immenso</i>	[You get through my action immense
<i>ganho,</i>	gain,
<i>Quanto a mim, co'a vingança me</i>	As for me, I'll be happy with the
<i>contento.</i> ²⁹	revenge.]

PARADISE LOST AND O PARAISO PERDIDO IN MODERN PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

One of the most interesting coincidences between Milton and Camões depends on the apparently idiosyncratic use of autobiographical elements in their respective epics. The last page of an essay by Louis Martz raises the parallel perhaps in the clearest way:

This voice of the Bard within the fabric of his own poem is one of the most striking qualities of both these epics. . . . I believe this extraordinary presence of the Bard plays an essential part in the meaning and in the success of each poem. For in each the poet stands forth as the representative of an ideal, spoken by a human being who has suffered the woes of mankind and who yet believes that man can overcome his woe. Thus in the tenth canto of the *Lusiad*, we hear the poet's voice. . . . So too, in *Paradise Lost*, we hear the voice of the Bard speaking at the outset of his eighth book (1667), as he scorns the military trappings of earlier epics.³⁰

The passages quoted by Martz are from *Paradise Lost* 9.39–47 (1674) and *The Lusíads* 10.8–9. He quotes the latter from Atkinson's prose translation, but the effect is nonetheless there, especially given that the moving lines by Milton, concluding with

unless an age too late, or cold
Climate, or years damp my intended wing
Depressed, and much they may, if all be mine,
Not hers who brings it nightly to my ear

²⁷ Quint, *Epic and Empire*, 254.

²⁸ See Quint, *Epic and Empire*, 254.

²⁹ Milton, *O Paraíso Perdido*, trans. Lima Leitão, 2.1282–3, i. 80.

³⁰ Martz, 'Camoens and Milton', 58.

seem to echo the depressed musings of Camões:

and seek perhaps in vain, that I may recover the joy of writing, that is beginning to fail me. The years are closing in about me, and soon summer must give way to autumn. Fate's chill hand is descending on my muse...³¹

Much in those lines from *Paradise Lost* has its equivalent in Camões's extraordinary personal excursus in canto 10.³² The disposition (in the rhetorical sense) of the citation is also similar within the structural framework of each epic and of each canto or book. Richard Fanshawe's version of *The Lusiads*, which Milton certainly knew, even repeats the word *years* when describing Camões's melancholy in the same lines:

I sink into the Vale of years; and, past
My Summer's pride, to Autumn speed amain.
And my wits (more than years) misfortunes blast...³³

In any case, Lima Leitão seems totally unaware of the Camões connection and of the deep intimacy of the passage, as he translates Milton into these ice cold words:

<i>Se deste clima os gelos, se esta idade</i>	[If the chills of this land, if advanced
<i>Já crescida e morosa não reprimem</i>	And sluggish age do not hold back
<i>Das minhas asas o seguido voo:</i>	The continuous flight of my wings:
<i>Mas o que eu canto não é meu somente;</i>	But what I sing is not mine only,
<i>Traz-mo aos ouvidos a nocturna Urânia.</i> ³⁴	nightly Urania brings it to my ears.] ³⁵

A chasm opens between Lima Leitão's overworked '*idade crescida e morosa*' and Milton's 'years' threatened with hopelessness and death, even though the reference to the author's age appears in the excerpt from *The Lusiads* and twice in the Fanshawe translation.

Stylistic discrepancies and intertextual unawarenesses apart, Lima Leitão's poem did find some place within literature in Portuguese. One might think that such was inevitable, given the number of editions it went through. Still, it is not without significance that, when writing his modern long poem *Invenção de Orfeu* (1952), Jorge de Lima (1893–1953), one of the most important writers of twentieth-century Brazil, showed how Lima Leitão's translation of Milton could be useful to Modernist and Surrealist poetic discourse. An example comes, again, from Pandæmonium, its crowds and leaders, at the end of book 1:

³¹ Martz, 'Camoens and Milton', 58.

³² The similarities increase when we know that Atkinson's translation is inaccurate to the point of attributing to the Muse the *chill* that, in the original, belongs only to the poet. Both Milton and Camões exempt their Muses from their personal sadness and misgivings.

³³ Camões, *The Lusiads*, trans. Fanshawe, 195.

³⁴ Milton, *O Paraíso Perdido*, trans. Lima Leitão, 9.55–9, ii. 818.

³⁵ This translation and the next two are primarily those of Thomas Earle, who has the author's and editors' gratitude.

Thick swarmed, both on the ground and in the air,
Brushed with the hiss of rustling wings.

.
But far within
And in their own dimensions like themselves
The great seraphic lords and cherubim
In close recess and secret conclave sat
A thousand demigods on golden seats,
Frequent and full.

(PL 1.767–8, 792–7)

Lima Leitão's translation reads like a re-creation:

<i>A régia sala espessamente ferve Dos querubins co's réprobos enxames</i>	[The royal hall was thick with swarms Of reprobate cherubim scattered over the floor
<i>Que, pêlo solo e no âmbito esparzidos Das azas c'ò estridor no êther susurrão.</i>	And in the surrounding areas, With their wings they made the ether hum.
<i>Mais àlêm, alta câmara formando, Da multidão por teia separados, Os pares infernaes, subidos thronos Em nùmero de mil, no theor de Numes,</i>	Further on, constituting an upper house And separated from the throng by a web, The infernal lords, raised thrones More than a thousand strong, and like gods
<i>Conservando dos vultos a grandêza, Alli se assentão em cadeiras de oiro.³⁶</i>	Preserving the grandeur of their faces, There sat on golden chairs.]

From this very peculiar version of Milton, Jorge de Lima built the following lines:

<i>Os pares infernais no teor dos numes em réprobos enxames atormentam as cidades abertas...³⁷</i>	[The infernal lords, like the gods, In reprobate swarms torment The open cities...]
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Entire words and expressions here come directly from Milton's Portuguese translator. One of the first translations of *Paradise Lost* thus attained the impact of a canonical poem more than a century after it had originally been published. In this, Lima Leitão's wishes for renown and national classic status seem to have come true. An important part of the story of blank verse in Portuguese can thus be said to have ended in this way, with Milton as a key player.³⁸

³⁶ Milton, *O Paraíso Perdido*, trans. Lima Leitão, 1.1036–39, 1075–80, i. 33–4.

³⁷ Lima, *Invenção de Orfeu*, canto 6, poem 8, p. 234. The discovery of the intertextual relationship between the Modernist poet and Lima Leitão's translation belongs to Luiz Busatto in his book *Montagem em Invenção de Orfeu* (pp. 26–8). Another intertextual relationship worth noting regards the fifty plates by France's Gustave Doré that became the illustrative lingua franca in the decades following their original publication in an English *Paradise Lost*. The Doré illustrations appear in Portuguese translations of *Paradise Lost* and in those of other languages covered in the present volume as follows: Arabic, Bulgarian, Chinese, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, German, Japanese, and Spanish.

³⁸ The author and editors are grateful to Raquel Madrigal Martínez for the research that led to the development of the Select Bibliography.

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