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The background of the book cover is a painting. On the left, a muscular, reddish-brown figure is shown from the waist up, wearing a yellowish-green draped garment. The figure's head is a smooth, rounded, reddish-brown shape. In the background, a larger, more detailed figure is visible, possibly a classical statue or painting, with a red garment. The overall color palette is dark and moody, with strong contrasts between the warm tones of the figures and the dark background.

THE TROJAN WARS  
AND THE MAKING OF  
THE MODERN WORLD

*edited by*  
ADAM J. GOLDWYN

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22

# THE TROJAN WARS

## AND THE MAKING OF THE MODERN WORLD

edited by

Adam J. Goldwyn



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# The Pindaric poetry of Cruz e Silva and the Neoclassical revival among Lusitanian national heroes

RUI CARLOS FONSECA



IN 1755 LISBON was struck by a violent earthquake: many private houses and public buildings collapsed, fires broke out, and the river swallowed much of the downtown area. The king's secretary at the time, better known as Marquês de Pombal,<sup>1</sup> took effective short-term measures to contain the damage and planned long-term arrangements to rebuild the city. Thanks to him, Lisbon acquired a new and more modern architectural appearance, a well-defined geometrical layout, and an impressive ornamental square. This tragic event had important consequences not only for Portuguese society and politics, but also for poetry. The renewal of social life was accompanied by a literary revival.

In the year immediately after the earthquake, a group of enlightened scholars and poets established a literary society called *Arcádia Lusitana*<sup>2</sup> with the intention of reforming the language and poetry of the time. Towards this end, its members advocated the imitation of Greek and Latin models.<sup>3</sup> The Arcadian poets argued that although imitation does not restrain the process of creation, the safest path is to follow the one already taken by ancient authors.<sup>4</sup> Inspired by the classical tradition, these and other eighteenth-century poets adopted innovative poetic forms.

<sup>1</sup> His birth name was Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo. He worked twenty-seven years as Secretary of State (1750–1777), received the honorary title of “Marquês de Pombal” by royal decree (1770), and became “one of the greatest actors of Portuguese history” (Serrão 1996, 19). In fact, due to his innovative program for the city and to his quite known political despotism, he remained a controversial historical figure. Even today, the most influential man in the political scenario of the eighteenth century is remembered both as an exceptional ruler and a brutal tyrant. See Serrão 1987 and Serrão 1996, 11–83.

<sup>2</sup> Also known as *Arcádia Ulissiponense*, this literary society lasted twenty years (1756–1776) and was originally founded by three young poets: António Dinis da Cruz e Silva (1731–1799), Manuel Nicolau Esteves Negrão (?–1824), and Teotónio Gomes de Carvalho (1728?–1800). In the following years, many other reputed poets of the time joined them.

<sup>3</sup> Gonçalves 1999, 344.

<sup>4</sup> Cidade 1984, 257.

The theorization regarding Arcadian aesthetics and literature is based not only on contemporary French and Italian models (such as Boileau, Voltaire, Muratori, and others), but also on Greek and Latin authorities (mainly Aristotle, Longinus, Horace and Quintilian). In fact, neoclassical poets take much of the literary theories they learn from Horace's *Ars Poetica* and Aristotle's *Poetics*. Arcadian poetry is intended to be selective, the most suitable and best qualified, balanced in its style, without the rhetorical excess of Baroque's artistic formalities. It has moral and social purposes, being closely connected with contemporary events: this poetry imitates reality by praising the royal family and other conspicuous members from political life. One may find in Arcadian poetry philosophical influences (Locke and Descartes are frequently paraphrased) along with quotations of classical poets (those from epics, lyrics and drama). Mythology is one of the main aspects of Arcadian aesthetics: the wide range of mythological characters and their stories serves as poetic ornament and is always used with allegorical meaning. Moreover, the presence of mythical elements aims to dignify the life of the Arcadian bourgeois poet and the deeds of great Portuguese men, and at the same time to make them timeless.<sup>5</sup>

António Dinis da Cruz e Silva was one of the founding members of *Arcádia* and one of the most famous neoclassical poets. He left a very extensive and diversified set of lyric works: in addition to conventional poetic compositions, such as the sonnet (more than three hundred), he also reshaped Greek and Latin material (he wrote twenty-five idylls, nine dithyrambs, eight odes, forty-one anacreontic odes, four hymns, fifty-seven epigrams, two elegies, twelve metamorphoses, a mock-heroic poem, and also a dissertation on the eclogue style).<sup>6</sup> In fact, Cruz e Silva was the first among the neoclassical Portuguese poets of the eighteenth century to write Pindaric odes, poems which imitate Pindar in structure and theme both directly and indirectly.<sup>7</sup>

Forty-five odes written by the Boeotian poet come down to us. They deal with the fame of athletic winners, have a standard triadic structure, and are characterized by a strong mythological component. Taking this example, Cruz e Silva wrote forty-four Pindaric odes in order to praise the deeds of Portuguese national heroes, such as sailors, captains, soldiers, and ministers. Each of these Portuguese odes follows the same tri-

<sup>5</sup> On the Arcadian aesthetics see Saraiva & Lopes 2005, 596–603.

<sup>6</sup> The complete work of Cruz e Silva is edited in four volumes, three of them by Urbano (2000, 2001, 2003), the last one (containing the mock-heroic poem in eight books) by García Martín & Serra (2006).

<sup>7</sup> In addition to the primary Greek source, Cruz e Silva also follows Italian and French models, namely Gabriello Chiabrera's (1552–1638) and Pierre de Ronsard's (1524–1585) Pindaric poetry.



adic pattern (strophe, antistrophe and epode) and develops mythological content.<sup>8</sup> Of Cruz e Silva's forty-four Pindaric compositions, eighteen retell the myth of the Trojan War, from its beginnings with Eris to its outcome with the imperishable fame of the most conspicuous Homeric fighters.

Cruz e Silva then adjusted both the content and the rhythmic sequences of Pindaric poetry to national requirements and to the poetic conventions of his time.<sup>9</sup> As the Portuguese scholar Adelina Júlia Serpa has already noted, the Portuguese neoclassicist wanted to be like the ancient lyric poet, the interpreter of the greatest past achievements and the interpreter of national traditions symbolized in a vast gallery of heroes.<sup>10</sup> This reliance on the Pindaric model and the connection between Poetry and History are the two main topics discussed at the beginning of Cruz e Silva's first ode:

Clio, celestial guide of the Argive songs gentle Alpheus was listening to, when the swan of the river Asopus, releasing his voice, raised the victorious Athlete to the Heavens: you inspire today into the Lusitanian lyre the high sounds which he, by flying into the clouds, has spread.<sup>11</sup>

The poet opens his first Pindaric text invoking Clio, the Muse of History, who spreads the memory of men's most famous deeds and who guides them in their political affairs.<sup>12</sup> The Muse who helped the ancient Greek poet glorify the winners of athletic games is now evoked to inspire "high sounds" into the "Lusitanian lyre." This invocation to the Muse is followed first by a reference to Pindar, identified as "the swan of the river Asopus," and second by an allusion to his poetry in the periphrastic phrase "he raised the victorious Athlete to the Heavens."

Only in Ode XXXVI (str.1) is Pindar referred to by his name ("I play the great lyre that Pindar pulsed with golden plectrum"). All the other times, the Portuguese poet mentions his prime model by his great talent as a musician or his local provenance: "the Dircean swan" (II, ep.5), "the shining archer from Dirce" (III, ant.2), "the great

<sup>8</sup> On the regularity of the ancient lyric poetry, see for instance "A Discourse on the Pindarique Ode" by Congreve. On the structure and content of a Pindaric ode, see for instance Freeman 1939, 145.

<sup>9</sup> Rebelo 1979, 748.

<sup>10</sup> Serpa 1939, 47.

<sup>11</sup> Clio, celeste guia | Das Argivas Canções, que o Alfeu brando | Suspenso um tempo ouvia, | Quando do Asopo o cisne a voz soltando, | O triunfante Atleta aos Céus alçava: | Hoje na Lusa lira | Os altos sons inspira, | Que ele, voando às nuvens, derramava. (Ode I, str.1) All English translations of Cruz e Silva's poetry are my own.

<sup>12</sup> Clio is evoked again in other nine Pindaric odes: V (str.1), XVI (ant.5), XIX (ant.3), XXI (str.1), XXII (ep.1), XXV (ep.3), XXXII (str.1), XLI (str.1), XLIII (ep.3). This Muse appears once in Pindar's epideictic poetry: N. III, ep.4.

Theban swan” (VII, str.1; IX, ant.1; XVIII, str.1), “the great Theban” (XIV, ant.4), “the glorious singer” (X, ant.2), “the immortal archer” (XII, ep.4), “the singer from the river Ismenus” (XVII, ep.2), “the swan of the river Ismenus” (XXX, str.1).

Pindar “is constantly speaking of his song, and he clothes it in innumerable metaphors,”<sup>13</sup> many of which are repeated and rewritten by Cruz e Silva. The most frequent metaphors he uses for poetry in his Pindaric odes are the ones regarding the race-horse or chariot,<sup>14</sup> the ship,<sup>15</sup> metallurgical tools,<sup>16</sup> farming tools,<sup>17</sup> the flower,<sup>18</sup> the arrow,<sup>19</sup> and music.<sup>20</sup>

Cruz e Silva’s first ode, recited in 1758 on the occasion of the royal birthday celebration, pays tribute to King José the first as the rebuilder of Lisbon after the earthquake (“He came promptly to the aid of the royal city in horror because of the great danger, and rescued it from the wrathful Fortune,” ant.7). Moreover, the poet describes the peaceful and flourishing times that had prevailed in Europe since the Aix-la-Chapelle treaty, signed in 1748. The peace was broken with the Seven Years’ War that spread throughout many of the European domains between 1756 and 1763.<sup>21</sup> The political reasons for this international conflict (mainly the control over colonial trade) poetically converge in Eris, the goddess Discord.

When breaking the chains, infested Eris leaves the depths and brings with her the arduous days of the fateful season. She travels the wealthy Kingdoms in her bloody and ripped clothing, and causes anger and resentment all around and all over the people.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Freeman 1939, 151.

<sup>14</sup> “Argive car” (IV, ant.1), “Dircean car” (XIV, ant.4).

<sup>15</sup> “Argive ship” (V, ep.5), “golden sails” (XL, str.1), “powerful ship” (XLIV, ep.1).

<sup>16</sup> “Dircean incus” (X, ant.2), “Theban burin” (XXIV, ant.1), “Theban incus” (XXVI, ant.1), “Argive burin” (XXXII, ep.4).

<sup>17</sup> “nourisher hymns” (IX, str.1; XXII, ep.1), “Muses’ Delphic plow” (XXXIV, str.1).

<sup>18</sup> “flourishing and pilgrim flowers from Dirce” (XXIII, str.1), “golden flowers from Ismenus” (XXXIX, str.2).

<sup>19</sup> “golden arrows” (XXVI, ant.1; XXXV, str.2), “melodious arrows” (XXVIII, str.6), “shinning arrows” (XXX, ant.1), “I do not make arrows vibrate in vain to the wind” (XXXII, ant.3).

<sup>20</sup> “Dircean hymns” (IV, ep.1; V, ep.4; VII, ep.5; IX, str.1), “Argive songs” (XXX, str.2), “Theban hymns” (XIX, str.1), “Theban lyre” (V, str.1), “Theban music” (XXIII, ep.4), “Theban harmony” (X, ep.1), “eternal hymns” (XLIII, ant.1), “eternal harmony” (XXX, str.1).

<sup>21</sup> The Seven Years War involved two main European powers: Great Britain (supported by Prussia) and France (supported by Spain and Russia). Although Portugal was an old British ally, it maintained a relatively neutral position in this conflict.

<sup>22</sup> Quando os grilhões rompendo | Sai dos abismos a Discórdia infesta, | Atrás de si trazendo | Dos férreos dias a estação funesta. | Banhada em sangue a rasgada roupa, | Florentes Reinos corre; | E por onde discorre, | Ira acende e rancor em quanto topa. (Ode I, str.4)

This reference to Eris as troublemaker suggests a close relationship with the Trojan War, which also began due to the wrathful actions of the same goddess, since she was the only one of all the Olympian gods who was not invited to Thetis and Peleus' wedding. Both wars assumed continent-spanning proportions (they escalated into a European war and spread to all ancient Greek territory) and lasted for very long periods (seven years in one case, ten years in the other). And, most important in Cruz e Silva's mythological reading, both were caused by Eris.

The process of connecting Eris to the Homeric context of the Trojan War is reinforced by the portrait drawn in the second ode (str.2). This portrait of the goddess walking the earth and raising her head to heaven is taken and reshaped from *Iliad's* fourth book:

Already brutal Eris, by printing on earth the shape of her hideous feet, raises her irascible mood to Heavens, three times the head she shakes, and frantically the poisonous hydras she makes to move off.<sup>23</sup>

These were urged on by Ares, and the Greeks by flashing-eyed Athene, and Terror, and Rout, and Discord that rageth incessantly, sister and comrade of man-slaying Ares; she at the first rears her crest but little, yet thereafter planteth her head in heaven, while her feet tread on earth. She it was that now cast evil strife into their midst as she fared through the throng, making the groanings of men to wax.<sup>24</sup>

Cruz e Silva summarizes the Trojan War in ode VIII, recalling the founding of the city of Vila Real de Santo António in 1773 by Marquês de Pombal. The unstable Fortune (the lightly voluble Fortune, the irascible changing Fate, according to ep.1 and ant.2) is the main subject of this new text: the poet contrasts the doom of Troy with the auspicious fate of the Portuguese city. Troy is presented as moving from greatness to ruin, while by contrast, Vila Real de Santo António is presented as a nameless city which becomes famous. Cruz e Silva briefly tells the story of the ancient war from its beginnings until the fall of the Trojan walls: we are told about Priam's mighty power over the entire Hellenic world (str.2), the abduction of Helen by the Trojan prince (ant.2), the departure of the Greek army from Aulis (ep.2), the combat between Achilles and the river-god Xanthos (ep.2), the death of Hector (str.3), and finally the war's end with the destruction of Troy (ant.3), with Cruz e Silva concluding: "Of the arrogant city and

<sup>23</sup> Já brutal Discórdia, que imprimindo | Na terra a horrenda planta, | A torva catadura aos Céus levanta, | Três vezes a cabeça sacudindo, | As hidras venenosas | Frenética esparzia. (Ode II, str.2)

<sup>24</sup> Tr. Murray 1965: ὤρσε δὲ τοὺς μὲν Ἄρης, τοὺς δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη | Δεῖμός τ' ἠδὲ Φόβος καὶ Ἔρις ἄμοτον μεμαυῖα, | Ἄρεος ἀνδροφόνιοι κασιγνήτη ἑτάρη τε, | ἦ τ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα | οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει· | ἦ σφιν καὶ τότε νείκος ὁμοῖον ἔμβαλε μέσσω | ἐρχομένη καθ' ὄμιλον, ὀφέλλουσα στόνον ἀνδρῶν. (*Iliad* 4.439–445)

its amazing glory across entire Asia, nothing remains except for fields and memory” (ant.3). The massive decline of the ancient empire finds its opposite in the sumptuous foundation of the eighteenth-century Portuguese city: not so long ago it was a vile and despised field of poor fishermen, but by the eighteenth century, Vila Real de Santo António had become a fortunate city, crowned with superb buildings that proudly touch the stars (ep.3).

The third strophe interweaves two major episodes of the Trojan War with Achilles’ *aristeia* and Hector’s death. Cruz e Silva highlights the vain bravery of Hector (“Priam’s falling hope”), first as a dismayed warrior fighting in the field and then as a corpse dragged through the same field by Peleus’ son (“fury of war”) who, despite being victorious, is overwhelmed by his cruel wrath. The mighty empire of Troy falls apart with the killing of Priam’s heir; a single wrathful action from the enemy thus causes the destruction of an entire kingdom. The heroic behaviors of Hector and Achilles at war are in fact frequently reshaped in Cruz e Silva’s Pindaric poetry.

The glory of Hector as the best of the Trojan warriors is developed in ode XXIV. The poet wrote it in order to sing the remarkable heroic deeds of the Portuguese soldier called Heitor da Silveira (?–1531)<sup>25</sup>, a sixteenth-century nobleman, who distinguished himself fighting in North Africa (Morocco) and India on behalf of the Portuguese crown. As captain in the East, he defeated the Turks occupying the seaport city of Aden, a strategic place on the sea route between India and Europe. This fearless soldier lost his life fighting in Indian territory against the Turks (attack on Berte’s island in 1531). Heitor da Silveira became a reputed Portuguese hero among those who fought in India. Cruz e Silva preserves Heitor da Silveira’s memory by telling his military victories against the Moors (ode XXIV, str.6) and the Turks in Aden, Khambhat (ant.5), Diu (ep.5), and Berte (ant.6).

The similarity of the names (Hector/Heitor) gave the poet an opportunity to tell the warlike prowess of the *Iliad*’s Trojan hero. Heitor da Silveira is referred to as the “Lusitanian Hector” (ant.1) and compared with his homonymous Homeric warrior. The Portuguese soldier distinguished himself fighting the Moors and the Turks in the sixteenth century and, because of his prowess in battle, became a national hero. These two warriors, the Portuguese and the Trojan Hector, not only share the same name: they both died fighting for their countries.<sup>26</sup> The mythological excursus of Cruz e Sil-

<sup>25</sup> See “Silveira (Heitor da)”, in *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. 28, 911–12.

<sup>26</sup> Hector, along with Meleager and Amphiarus, is praised in *Ist.* VII as example of patriotic behavior. By singing the victory of Strepsiades of Thebes at the pancratium, Pindar recalls the martial death of the victor’s uncle (also called Strepsiades) and adds the names of mythical heroes who died fighting for their cities. This epinicion may seem surprising to the reader/listener, since it tells about

va's text recalls the actions of the Homeric hero in the war, mostly the ones against the Greek army, such as the fire attack against the enemy ships and the victorious combat against Patroclus (ant.2–ep.3). From these military achievements the poet goes on to recall Hector's tragic fate. He captured the moment by saying: "For a long time, he sustained the walls of Troy, but then he yielded to the higher forces of his dark fate" (str.4). Nevertheless, the exceptional merit of the Lusitanian Hector precedes the glorification of Hector at the Trojan War. As the first antistrophe shows, the poet, following the pattern laid out by Pindar, intends to praise the glory of the Lusitanian Hector. Thus, the river Tagus flows more proudly than the river Xanthos to honor its hero.

Today I intend to praise with Theban chisel the glory of the Lusitanian Hector by providing him with a place in immortal memory; he is a hero for whom the river Tagus flows more proudly than the river Xanthos honoring the Trojan Hector.<sup>27</sup>

Achilles' presence in the Trojan War is the mythological topic most frequently used in Cruz e Silva's Pindaric odes. His story, as told by the Portuguese poet, covers the period from his parents' wedding to the last years of the war. Three odes deal with Achilles' story before he came to Troy. Ode X praises the fame of Oeiras' city, where the wedding of Henrique José de Carvalho e Melo, the son of the king's Secretary, took place (1764). The poet emphasizes the "richness of this sublime union" (str.3), which is compared to Thetis and Peleus' wedding. These two celebrations are worthy of collective recognition by the Portuguese people and the Olympian gods. Oeiras' city even makes us forget "the cruel damage of Time" (str.4). This means that the city and the royal event consigned to oblivion the earthquake's catastrophic effects. By contrast, the mythological wedding, to which Eris was not invited, will cause a violent disaster over the entire Hellenistic world.<sup>28</sup>

Cruz e Silva devotes ode XI to the fame of João da Saldanha D'Oliveira (1684–1732) by contrasting him with young Achilles, student of the centaur Chiron. Thanks

an athletic victory praising warriors defeated in battle (Várzeas 2006, 213). Nevertheless, as the Boeotian poet states, "honour is laid up in recompense for the brave" (ant.2), for he who defends his land "is causing the greatest glory to grow for the race of his fellow-townsmen,—both while he liveth and when he is dead" (ep.2). Tr. Sandys 1968. Rather than praising an athletic victory, the epinician poetry also praises the excellence, the *arete*, an ideal of physical and moral superiority (Várzeas 2006, 223).

<sup>27</sup> Que hoje me entregues não em vão pretendo, | Pois na imortal memória | Com Tebano buril lavrar emprendo | Do Luso Heitor a glória; | Herói por quem o Tejo corre ufano, | Mais do que o Xanto pelo Heitor Troiano. (Ode XXIV, ant.1)

<sup>28</sup> The marriage of Peleus and Thetis is also mentioned in *P.* III, ep.4 and *N.* IV, str.9. Fitch (1924, 62) comments this episode in relation to both the ancient Greek epic and lyric poetry.

to the centaur's lessons, Achilles was able to kill his great opponent, "the brave Hector," metaphorically identified as "the strongest wall of Troy" (ant.1). This phrase is an adaptation of a sentence from Pindar: "He laid low Hektor, Troy's / invincible pillar of strength."<sup>29</sup> Unlike the young son of Peleus and Thetis, João da Saldanha did not need the teachings of a famous master to become famous: "you didn't need wise Chiron to print your glorious steps along the roadway of fame" (ep.1). He and everyone belonging to the same noble house impress by the mightiness of the name, and this name is forever known and praised by the neoclassical Portuguese poets, since many of their meetings were held at João da Saldanha D'Oliveira's house:<sup>30</sup> "the door of your golden Palace that you have opened to the maiden daughters of Zeus" (str.3).<sup>31</sup>

The hero of ode XXV is Diogo da Silveira (sixteenth century, his dates of birth and death are unknown), a Portuguese nobleman named chief-captain of the Indian fleet. As chief-captain, Diogo da Silveira became famous for his relentlessness against the enemies of the Portuguese crown. He was responsible for the destruction of many territories and populations in the East, mainly in India, such as Calicut, Khambhat (1532), Vasai, and Gujarat (Cruz e Silva mentions those victories in the third triad of ode XXV—str.3, ant.3, ep.3). Despite his reputation as a merciless captain, history also tells us about one single merciful action from him: crossing the seacoast of Aden (near the Red Sea), Diogo da Silveira intercepted an Arab ship, and was advised to seize it by no other reason but greed and easy profit and to take its large treasure. Considering the wickedness of the recommended plan, unworthy of an honorable Portuguese captain, he gave safe passage to the Arab ship and caused no harm to it. Cruz e Silva alludes to this episode at the end of ode XXV (ant.5) by saying that this Lusitanian hero followed a very different road by not wanting to steal a treasure through despicable means. For that reason, Diogo da Silveira's fame was not dishonored by an unworthy, if potentially prosperous, triumph.<sup>32</sup>

Like Achilles, Diogo da Silveira was also taken by a "tempestuous wrath" and "rushed into the East in order to cause great damage" (ant.2). However, the story of the Greek hero does not begin with his deadly wrath. The poet recalls him hidden in Lycomedes' court, and that he did not want to fight at Troy (ant.1). Only after taking off his female clothing does Achilles go to war. His mother Thetis gets worried, since she knows that both glory and a short life await him at Troy ("the best of heroes runs

<sup>29</sup> "ὄς Ἐκτορα σφάλε, Τροίας / ἄμαχον ἀστραβὴ κίονα" (*Ol.* II, str.5). Tr. Race 1997.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Urbano (ed) 2003, 155.

<sup>31</sup> Pindar also tells of Chiron's education and training of young Achilles in *N.* III, str.3–ep.3.

<sup>32</sup> See "Silveira (Diogo da)", in *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. 28, 906.

happily towards his death”, ep.1).<sup>33</sup> Cruz e Silva draws the following parallel between these two warriors: recalling the gleaming face of imperishable glory, Achilles impatiently takes off his female clothing (ant.1) and goes to fight in war and accomplishes a thousand wonders in Trojan fields (str.2), whereas Diogo da Silveira, also impatient and idle, quickly sets sail to attack the East (ant.2), thus gaining eternal glory and immortal memory (ep.3).

Achilles’ famous wrath, immortalized by Homer, is also an object of comparison in ode XVI, which narrates the heroic deeds of João Rodrigues de Sá (?–1390), one of the bravest Portuguese soldiers of the Middle Ages fighting for national independence. In the fourteenth century, until the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385), Lisbon was under siege by the Spanish.<sup>34</sup> During one of the attacks by the Spanish enemies, Rodrigues de Sá courageously defended the Portuguese ships with the help of only one of his squires. He was wounded fifteen times, but managed to overcome all his opponents. Thanks to this heroic behavior, he came to be known as “Sá das Galés” (Sá of the Galleys). Recalling this monumental episode in Portuguese history, Cruz e Silva writes that the river Tagus saw this Portuguese warrior steal the glory of Achilles against the Trojan soldiers for his courageous action in war.

Tagus, bent with the heavy weight of the Spanish ships, groaned in anger, and in the hideous battle was amazed by seeing him [Rodrigues de Sá], covered in blood, making Achilles’ glorious wrath less famous.<sup>35</sup>

Called a “wrathful knight” (ant.4)—an epithet which brings him even closer to the wrathful Achilles when killing the Trojans—Rodrigues de Sá is praised for not leaving his beloved country defenseless, despite the danger in which he found himself (ant.1).

<sup>33</sup> Nagy (2013, 98–102) focuses on Achilles as the subject of lament both in lyric and epic traditions, discussing the passage from the *Iliad* (18.54–64) where Thetis mourns her son when he is still alive. For the concept of Achilles as both epic and lyric hero, see Nagy’s chapter 4, “Achilles as Lyric Hero in the Songs of Sappho and Pindar” (2013, 90–108).

<sup>34</sup> The Battle of Aljubarrota was fought between the Portuguese and the Spanish crowns. With the help of the British allies, King João I of Portugal defeated the Spanish invaders, put an end to the national crisis of 1383–1385 (a succession crisis known as “Interregno” [Interregnum]), and reinforced his power as king, starting a new dynasty, the House of Aviz. This Portuguese victory was much due to the king’s prime commander, Nuno Álvares Pereira (1360–1431), and to his genius military tactics against a larger army. Before the battle, in 1384, João Rodrigues de Sá played an important role defending the city and the Portuguese ships from the Spanish enemies. On the Battle of Aljubarrota, see Serrão 1990, 294–313.

<sup>35</sup> O Tejo, que acurvado | Dos Hispanos baixéis c’o grave peso, | Gemia em raiva aceso, | Na horrenda batalha o viu, pasmado, | Fazer menos famoso, | Tinto de sangue, e de grande ira armado, | Do Hermónio Aquiles o furor glorioso. (Ode XVI, ep.1)

In fact, his deed protecting the ships was so remarkable that Cruz e Silva claims him a superior warrior than the Cyclops (srt.2), Greater Ajax (ant.2), and Aeneas (ep.2, str.3, ant.3). Ode XVI ends with the acknowledgement of his reputation beyond national borders: “Rome saw him glorious” (ep.5).<sup>36</sup>

Cruz e Silva’s Pindaric odes also focus on the return of Achilles after losing Patroclus (odes XII, XXII, XXVIII, XXXIII). Pedro Jacques de Magalhães’ military achievements in the Restoration War in the seventeenth century have darkened the fame of Aeacus’ progeny, namely the fame of Achilles (as one can read in ode XII, ant.1). Pedro Jacques de Magalhães (1620–1688) was a nobleman from the Royal House, a Viscount, war counselor of King Pedro II, and the General who defeated the Dutch army that kept the Brazilian fortress of Recife, in Pernambuco, under siege (1653).<sup>37</sup> He distinguished himself fighting in the Restoration War: a set of military conflicts fought against Spain between 1640 and 1668, which put an end to the Spanish Philippine dynasty in Portugal and led Portugal to full independence.

Magalhães is raised to the status of national hero by the parallel drawn with the ancient Greek hero, who faced the god-river Xanthos (ode XII, ep.3), killed the son of King Priam, and slaughtered the Trojan army (str.4). Achilles’ actions against Troy are said to be less heroic than those of Magalhães, who is sung as “a star that shines in the temple of Glory” (ant.1). In fact, this Lusitanian warrior collected countless victories by facing “great dangers” when fighting in the battles for national independence, specifically those of Linhas de Elvas in 1659 (ant.2), Canal in 1663 (str.2), Castelo Rodrigo in 1664 (ant.4), and Montes Claros in 1665 (ant.2).<sup>38</sup> The resemblance between some words and phrases underlines the military experience of these two reputed heroes: Achilles left Xanthos “scared” (ep.3), subdued Hector with his “tremendous arm” (str.4), and “disrupted the Trojan battalions” (str.4); Magalhães also “rushed” himself over Spain causing much death (ant.5); defeated Ossuna, the leader of the Spanish army in the Battle of Castelo Rodrigo, with his “wrathful arm” (ep.5); and left the Spanish mothers “scared” (str.6). Greater than the wrathful Greek hero, Magalhães even caused all of Spain to mourn and the entire city of Madrid to tremble (str.6).

Achilles’ *aristeia* along the Xanthos River is again a topic of interest in two other passages of Cruz e Silva’s Pindaric poetry. In ode XXII (ant.4), Achilles is called the “horror of the brave Xanthos” when the poet is praising Henrique de Macedo’s sea victory in India against the Moorish fleet (1528). And it is said in ode XXXIII (ep.2)

<sup>36</sup> After the Battle of Aljubarrota, Rodrigues de Sá led an embassy to Pope Boniface IX on behalf of King João I with the purpose of discussing matters related to the crown.

<sup>37</sup> See Ode XII, str.3.

<sup>38</sup> On the Restoration War, see Serrão 1982, 11–58.



that, at the sight of the Greek hero, “frightened Xanthos flows back.” This statement has as its parallel in Portuguese history the conquest of the fortified Asian city of Jor (located in the Singapore Strait). The man responsible for this victory was the Portuguese commander D. Paulo de Lima, who is now acclaimed as “a new Achilles” (ant.3) for the thousand deaths he caused among the Asian enemies.<sup>39</sup>

Achilles and Hector are the two highly praised heroes on each side of the Trojan War. Yet they are not the only ones to have fought at Troy. Other ancient warriors equally famous appear immortalized in Cruz e Silva’s Pindaric poetry, such as Odysseus, Ajax, and the two brothers Agamemnon and Menelaus. In Ode VII, Odysseus is the first character mentioned among other famous captains and sailors from Portuguese history. Cruz e Silva even describes the mythological foundation of Lisbon by Odysseus: crossing the seas in a fragile piece of wood and fleeing from Poseidon’s wrath, the cunning hero reached Lusitanian territory and raised its capital to the stars (ant.1).

Testimonies on Odysseus’ arrival on the Iberian shore are ancient but uncertain. Strabo was one of the first ancient authors who referred to the legend that the city of Lisbon was founded by Odysseus.<sup>40</sup> In fact, Odysseus is taken as the archetype of the cunning and battle-tested navigator for Portuguese sailors of the sixteenth century. Despite the uncertainty of the legend that assigns an odyssean origin to Lisbon (and it is worth noting that the mythical name of the city is Olissipo, directly derived from Odysseus’ name), the association with this Greek hero grew strong in Portuguese literature and culture and was spread as an indisputable truth.<sup>41</sup>

The military expeditions of Odysseus at Troy (Dolon’s death, the wooden horse,<sup>42</sup> and the theft of the Paladium) and his adventures at sea on his return home are episodes from Greek epics told in the mythological excursus of Ode XXVII (ant.1, ep.1, str.2), where the *πολύτροπος ἀνὴρ* is related to Lopo de Sousa Coutinho, a Portuguese soldier and writer who lived in the sixteenth century (1515–1577). At the age of eighteen, he departed from Portugal to the East, and accomplished outstanding heroic deeds in the siege of Diu. He had a unique military talent for repelling large numbers of enemies

<sup>39</sup> Although Achilles is not directly mentioned by name, his presence is implied in Ode XXVIII when we are told about Memnon’s death (ant.2).

<sup>40</sup> See, for instance, *Geography* 1.2.11, 3.2.13, 3.4.3–5.

<sup>41</sup> On the legend and its presence in Portuguese culture, see Fernandes 1985, 139–61 and Prieto 2009, 173–76. Two Portuguese epics from the seventeenth century tell Odysseus’ journeys towards Lusitanian seashore and his foundation of a city named after him: Gabriel Pereira de Castro’s *Ulisseia ou Lisboa Edificada* (1636) and António de Sousa de Macedo’s *Ulissipo* (1640).

<sup>42</sup> The wooden horse is mentioned again in Ode IX as an “arrogant machine” that gave birth to many heroes in Troy (ant.4).

with a small group of men.<sup>43</sup> Both the historical Portuguese and ancient Greek mythological characters were sailors, both were victors in war, and both returned to their countries many years after they left (Odysseus is twenty years absent from Ithaca, and Lopo de Sousa twelve from Portugal, departing in 1533 and not returning until 1545). Cruz e Silva presents Odysseus both as the destroyer of Troy and an expert sailor:

But in Phrygia, full of unmeasured fury, he shed blood, terror and cries, and then mastered the great wrath of the Sea.

[...]

His butcher sword had no rest in battle until he managed to make the fierce city of Ilios fall! He wandered through the fields of Thetis; and after blinding the atrocious Cyclops, he victoriously reached Ithaca, despite Poseidon!<sup>44</sup>

The neoclassical portrait of Sousa Coutinho is also intended to recall the bipartite structure of the story of Odysseus, since the poet reports the hero's victories both at war and at sea: when protecting the fortress of Diu, he "runs over the bloody fields of Mars" (ant.2), victoriously fighting with his "ferocious arm against the savage enemies" (str.3). While travelling, he meets "the revolting folks of the angry winds" and a "thousand hot thunderbolts break out" (ep.2), but he manages to "leave the stormy sea, turning the prow towards peaceful land" (ep.3).

The great Ajax, son of Telamon, was the second best Greek soldier during the Trojan War, just after Achilles. His military prowess made him worthy of being sung about in Ode XXXIV (str.2, ant.2, ep.2). The moment chosen, however, is his defeat in the quarrel with Odysseus for Achilles' divine armor.<sup>45</sup> In this poem, the author, "by enhancing patterns of immortal glory," as he states, "will record the great history of Ribeiro" (ant.1), the conqueror of the Asian kingdom of Pegu. Salvador Ribeiro de Sousa (?–1603) was a Portuguese captain who successfully defended the Portuguese and the

<sup>43</sup> As a scholar, who was much fond of ancient literature, Sousa Coutinho wrote books on the Portuguese presence in the East (his included), and translated Lucan's *Civil War* and some of Seneca's works. See "Sousa Coutinho (Lopo)", in *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. 29, 856–57.

<sup>44</sup> Mas em Frígia, de imensa fúria cheio, | Sangue, terror, e pranto derramando, | E a grão sanha do Mar depois domando. (Ode XXVII, ant.1, 8–10) | [...] | Como a talhante espada não sossega | Na bárbara campanha, | Té que o fero Ílion prostra por terra! | Como de Tétis pelos campos erra; | E em Ítaca, cegando o atroz gigante, | De Neptuno apesar entrou triunfante! (Ode XXVII, str.2, 5–10)

<sup>45</sup> Ajax's death and claim of Achilles' armor are mentioned by Pindar in *N.* VII (str. 2, ant.2) and *N.* VIII (ant.2, ep.2). It is striking how Cruz e Silva's words resemble, at a thematic level, Pindar's lines when telling of Ajax's defeat by the cunning Odysseus: "μέγιστον δ' αἰόλω ψεύδει γέρας ἀντέταται" (*N.* VIII, ant.2) ["while the greatest prize hath been forth to cunning falsehood", tr. Sandys 1968]; "Porém logo que a astúcia ornada / Da coroa por seu valor ganhada" (ode XXXIV, ep.2) ["However, he sees the ornate cunning winning the prize"].

indigenous fortresses of Pegu from Moorish attacks. Many local chiefs and indigenous warriors placed themselves under his command because Ribeiro de Sousa had secured the entire state of Burma. The Asian populations elected him king of Pegu for his brave actions protecting the land. Despite his hard-earned glory, however, the Portuguese captain refused the crown for himself and handed it over to his superiors.<sup>46</sup>

Like the Greek hero, the Portuguese commander's military merit goes unrecognized by those he led: "An avaricious, unfortunate star decreed for Ribeiro the same destiny [as Ajax]" (str.3). He handed over the entire fortune he had acquired in the East to the Portuguese king's emissaries. According to Urbano, in her commentary to ode XXXIV, "This was in fact one of the most sublime actions of loyalty and greatness of mind in Portuguese history."<sup>47</sup> The attitude did not please the inhabitants though. Because of his loyalty to his country and king, Ribeiro de Sousa perished without the prize he deserved, without any riches in Portugal.

Cruz e Silva evokes Clio at the beginning of ode XXI in order to praise the military triumphs of António Correia (c. 1487/88–1566), a nobleman who distinguished himself fighting in the East. When he was twelve years old, he managed to escape from the Moors' attack in India (Calicut), where he returned to years later, around 1519, as captain of a small crew. His great accomplishment, the one that made him famous, was the successful military expedition against the Asian island of Baharem in 1521. By that time, Correia had already led the Portuguese fleet as its chief captain. His expedition was intended to help the Persian king of Ormus and deal with the rebellion led by the king of Baharem. Correia succeeded in stopping the insurrection, killing the rebellious ruler, and establishing the sovereignty of Portugal in this Asian island.<sup>48</sup> The poet explains the subject of ode XXI by claiming that the sons of Atreus are not the only honorable men participating in the fury of war (str.1). Thus, this Lusitanian captain deserves to be immortalized in poetry because he conquered the Asian island of Baharem on behalf of the Portuguese crown (1521), just like Agamemnon and Menelaus had conquered Troy.

<sup>46</sup> See "Ribeiro de Sousa (Salvador)", in *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. 25, 619–20. See also Danvers' Chapter VI (1894, vol. 2, 122–28).

<sup>47</sup> Urbano (ed.) 2003, 362.

<sup>48</sup> As a reward for his victory, King João III allowed António Correia, by royal decree of 1540, to join the name Baharem to his own (since then he became known as António Correia Baharem), and to incorporate the memory of the triumph into his family's coat of arms. See "Baharém (António Correia)", in *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. 3, 1025–26. Cruz e Silva mentions Correia's "glorious name" that his own deeds provided him with (ode XXI, ep.4) and the splendor of his family's remodeled arms ("in memory of his deeds, the great splendor of high victory shines in his shield", str.3).

Finally, Ode XLII pays tribute to João Fernandes Vieira (1602–1681), a Portuguese soldier who fought bravely against the Dutch army and has become the hero of the Brazilian city of Pernambuco in its Restitution War (1654). He took part in the discussions of and preparations for the rise of Brazil against the Dutch army and won his first victory at the Battle of Tabocas Mountain (1645). It was such a success that he freed 50 of his slaves, who later became soldiers. He won again at the Battles of Guararapes (the first one in 1648, the second in 1649). Vieira distinguished himself in the battlefield for risking his life many times. He suffered so many wounds, endured so many attacks all alone, and put himself in danger so many times that the news of his death even spread among the enemy forces. After these victories, he besieged the Dutch fortresses in Brazil, forcing them first to surrender and then expelling them from all of Brazil.<sup>49</sup>

Vieira was born in Madeira Island, in Portugal. Cruz e Silva compares the glory of Madeira, which gave birth to a national hero, with the glory of Aegina, a Greek island which was the birthplace of many heroes who fought at Troy. Many of Aeacus' progeny came from Aegina, such as Achilles (ode XLII, ep.1) and Ajax (str.2).<sup>50</sup> Their prowess fighting in the Trojan War is said to be meaningless against Vieira's "astonishing deeds" (ant.1), which eventually took away the fame of Aeacus' sons (ant.2). In fact, the Lusitanian warrior ferociously overwhelms the Netherlands (ep.3) with a "courageous heart" (str.4), a "great wrath" and a "stormy arm" (ant.4): he gets countless victories from propitious Mars in a way that made the entire Dutch army fall in a "mortal fainting" (ep.4, ant.7).

Ode XLII is among the last of Cruz e Silva's Pindaric odes, but it goes back to the Trojan War's first years. As we can read in strophe 2, Telamon made the first attack against Troy. Apart from Aeacus' family, the poet also mentions "other great men"

<sup>49</sup> Vieira's deeds were written by at least three authors of his time: Manuel Calado, Diogo Lopes Santiago, and Rafael de Jesus. On the man, see "Vieira (João Fernandes)", in *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. 35, 242–45; on the Brazilian Restoration from the Dutch invaders, see Serrão 1982, 106–23.

<sup>50</sup> Achilles: son of Peleus, son of Aeacus; Ajax: son of Telamon, son of Aeacus. Cruz e Silva's Ode XLII can be construed as the Aeginean Pindaric odes' counterpart. See, for instance, *Ist.* VI, ep.1 and str.2: "And, as for you, ye sons of Aeacus with your golden chariots, I deem it my clearest law, to shower praises on you, when'er I set foot on this isle. For countless roads are cleft for your noble deeds, roads with their hundred feet of continuous breadth, extending even beyond the springs of the Nile, and through the land beyond the North wind. Nor is there any city so rude in speech, so strange in tongue, that it knoweth not the fame of the hero Pêleus, that happy husband of a deity, nor of Aias, nor of Telamon, his sire" (tr. Sandys 1968). On the so-called Aeginean odes, see Burnett 2005.

(str.2). Thus, Ode XLII sings the imperishable fame of many heroes who fought in the Trojan War.

Pindar makes use of heroes from the Greek mythology to praise the winners of athletic competitions. Likewise, Cruz e Silva immortalizes characters from Portuguese history: “they ascend the throne of triumphant memory” (Ode XLII, ant.2), for just as Pindar praises his own patrons’ deeds as being greater than those of the Trojan heroes, so too are those done by Cruz e Silva’s subjects. These heroes from legendary times are set as models known to the enlightened scholars of the eighteenth century to make Portuguese historical characters seem remarkable. Achilles, Hector and other reputed Greek fighters are taken as literary references only because they are the best, and depicting them as less than Lusitanian heroes is the neoclassical way of showing that national rulers are the best of the best. Cruz e Silva sings the glories of men (*klea andrōn*), thus turning epic material into lyric poetry, as Pindar did before him.<sup>51</sup>

Based “on reverence for the classical world,” Neoclassicism recovers Greek and Roman themes, “attributing them authority in understanding the modern world.”<sup>52</sup> Its main tenets include an interwoven network of many kinds of contacts, from comparisons and similarities to differences and paradoxes. From the historical to the literary domain, Neoclassicism increases the fame and stresses the deeds accomplished by mortal men by turning them into heroes of imperishable glory in victory odes.<sup>53</sup> For that purpose, the Trojan War provides Cruz e Silva with many examples of warlike excellence, courage and patriotism, which the poet recovers and transfers to Lusitanian heroes, thus attempting to glorify them. Cruz e Silva’s Pindaric poetry is a set of heroic songs, a work of patriotic worship, a lyric piece with historical content.<sup>54</sup> National heroes become indisputable guides for modern generations,<sup>55</sup> but only through imitation of the ancient heroic models.

<sup>51</sup> On the *klea andrōn* both in ancient epic and lyric poetry, see Nagy 1990, 146–214; 2013, 90–108. See also Currie’s *Pindar and the Cult of Heroes* (2005) on the process of hero-making in Homeric epic and Pindaric epinicians.

<sup>52</sup> Lyne 2007, 123, 136.

<sup>53</sup> “The reason is evident, for the design of the ode (I mean upon great occasions) is, like that of heroic poetry, to move the reader, and cause him admiration. Now, by heroic poetry the reader’s mind is exalted gradually, with a more sedate and composed majesty; but the ode, by reason of the shortness of its compass, is obliged to fly into transport at first, and to make use immediately of all its fury, and its most violent efforts, or else it would want time to work its effect” (John Dennis *apud* Simon 1971, 164).

<sup>54</sup> Cidade 1984, 289.

<sup>55</sup> Correia 2005, 28.

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