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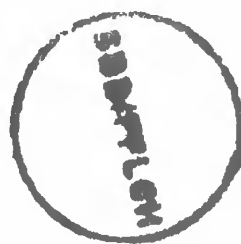
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Evelyn Pomroy Lytle, Ph. D.

«OS NOVÍSSIMOS DO HOMEM», de Rolim de Moura,  
— Um poema bíblico da épica portuguesa —

U. S. P.  
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***EDITOR'S NOTE:***

In the transcripts, in archaic Portuguese, the reader will come across such words as "algua", "hua", "nenhua", written without the diacritical mark, the tilde, which should, in some instances, be used over the letter "u", as well as over the letters "e" and "q", in other times. This omission is due to an unsurmountable difficulty in composition, i. e., the inexistence of the appropriate type casting mold.

## APRESENTAÇÃO

Quando meu querido e sempre pranteado irmão Walter me encaminhou, como sua recomendada, Evelyn P. Lytle, eu não contava receber, depois, um trabalho com a profundidade que encontrei na leitura de sua monografia sobre *Os Novíssimos do Homem*, de Ro'im de Moura.

Haviam-se conhecido na pequena cidade de Princeton, em Nova Jersey, onde êle realizava pesquisas junto ao "Palmer Physical Laboratory", e, ela, cursos que seguiu no "Princeton Theological Seminary", onde recebeu, após especialização, o grau de "Master"; mas o profundo interêsse e conhecimento dêste meu irmão pela teologia, a que dedicou tanto de sua vida quanto à física que lecionou nesta Universidade, permitiu-lhe recomendar a nossa ilustre visitante como altamente capacitada para a pesquisa que pretendia realizar.

Não existia, ainda, nessa ocasião, a disciplina de História das Idéias que tenho, hoje, ao meu cargo. Mas, já nesse tempo era eu professor junto ao Departamento de Filosofia, e responsável, dentre outras disciplinas que me eram ocasionalmente atribuídas, pelo ensino de Ética. Também de tradição reformada e calvinista, habituado aos textos bíblicos e à problemática da existência nêles proposta, meu encontro com Evelyn P. Lytle já se tornava duplamente promissor: conhecia ela, muito bem, a língua, a ponto de trabalhar livremente com o português arcaico, e trazia, também, conhecimentos bíblicos que haveriam de permitir-lhe a reconstrução de todo um quadro próprio ao pensamento teológico português em que o pêso da tradição medieval resistia às tentações e provocações do movimento renascentista, das quais, entretanto, não conseguia apartar-se inteiramente.

Sua intenção era certamente ambiciosa, a ponto de não ter eu, inicialmente, acreditado na exequibilidade de seu propósito. A obra de Rolim de Moura, lamentavelmente mal conhecida da própria literatura portuguesa, é, usualmente, referida apenas por seu estilo épico. Mas do mesmo modo como assim tem sido referida, continua ainda desconhecida de sua melhor e maior peculiaridade, que é a de ser um poema único, ao tempo, inteiramente religioso e bíblico, voltado para a história sagrada. E não haverá, talvez, em toda a literatura portuguesa, outro poema com a amplitude temática de natureza bíblica como *Os Novíssimos do Homem*. Surpreendeu-me, pois, a disposição de Evelyn Lytle, para realizar uma pesquisa que não se havia ainda sequer tentado na história de nossa literatura. Mas, com que surpresa maior vi, depois, os resultados. Não se trata, portanto, de uma pesquisa unicamente literária, ou de interesse apenas para a literatura portuguesa e sua história. Muito além, tem ela um interesse relevante para a história das idéias, em razão do quanto então se aprende sobre as idéias religiosas herdadas na Idade Média e reelaboradas com as indicações bíblicas de que se teria servido Rolim de Moura, no panorama mais amplo de uma inspiração épica que se alimentava de raízes além dos pirineus.

Mas era necessário descrever esse panorama para somente com referência aos seus demais autores compreender-se melhor a posição de Rolim de Moura, sobretudo quando Fidelino de Figueiredo, José Saraiva, Oscar Lopes e outros especialistas da literatura portuguesa têm insistido em ressaltar o traço épico característico do período situado entre Camões e os meados do século XVII. Essa descrição se encontra inteligentemente resumida, nas proporções de sua propriedade, pela autora desta monografia. Dizer mais, seria desequilibrar o tema de seu trabalho, concentrado em Rolim de Moura, e, em especial em um apenas de seus poemas. Dizer menos, ou nada dizer, seria faltar à inserção do poema no desenvolvimento de uma literatura de natureza épica, mas que também não é somente portuguesa. Como bem justifica a autora, não são apenas *Os Lusíadas* que tiveram toda a enorme responsabilidade pelo florescimento deste novo gênero, de então; mas, também, a *Gerusalemme Liberata*, que, assim, nos permite conhecer os vínculos da épica lusitana



com o renascimento italiano, e, em última análise, com a intensificação do gosto por Homero e Virgílio.

Outra observação que não passou despercebida à autora, é o fato de a quase totalidade dos poemas produzidos entre 1572 e 1640 serem de conteúdo predominantemente histórico, ou mesmo só histórico, e que bem se compreende sabendo-se que Portugal passava, então, por um tempo de grande esplendor e prosperidade, com inúmeros episódios e aventuras que fecundavam a imaginação poética. Mas, precisamente com esta observação é que a autora ressalta, convenientemente, a peculiaridade do poema *Os Novíssimos do Homem*, de Francisco Child Rolim de Moura, poema bíblico no qual veio associar-se, à literatura épica, um outro grande acontecimento daquele período, além do Renascimento: a revolução religiosa, com a Reforma e a Contra-Reforma.

E' o que se encontra neste excelente plano de trabalho, no qual a autora nos facilita a compreensão de Rolim de Moura, dentro de sua época, iniciando a apresentação de *Os Novíssimos do Homem* através de uma visão resumida dos principais poemas épicos seus contemporâneos, com ênfase especial dos elementos mitológicos e religiosos que neles se encontram, pois “desta maneira será possível estabelecer-se com mais clareza tanto a evolução da épica religiosa como o lugar e a importância de *Os Novíssimos do Homem*, no desenvolvimento da épica portuguesa”.

Jerônimo Côrte Real (1540-88) inicia esta série de poetas com duas obras dedicadas a diversos momentos da epopéia marítima lusitana, nos quais, embora rejeitando Apolo, Minerva e as Musas, e fazendo sua invocação a Cristo, não escapa ao recurso de diversos elementos mitológicos; e, não é de extranhar-se, considerando-se sua referência expressa já na *Carta ao Lector* que acompanha o poema *Successo do segundo cerco de Diu* (1574). Seguem-se a *Elegiada* (1588) de Luis Pereira Brandão; e, Francisco de Andrade com *O primeiro cerco que os turcos puseram à fortaleza de Dio nas partes da India, defendido pelos Portugueses* (1589); Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, autor de *O Condestabre de Portugal* (1610); Vasco Mouzinho de Quevedo Castelo Branco, com o *Afonso Africano* (1611);

Francisco de Sá Menezes, com *Malaca conquistada* (1634); Manuel Tomás, com *Insulana* (1635); Manuel de Galhegos, com o *Templo da Memoria* (1635); Gabriel Pereira de Castro, com *Ulyssea, ou Lisboa Edificada* (1636), e que chegou a ser considerada superior a *Os Lusíadas*, quando de seu aparecimento; e, ainda, Antonio de Sousa de Macedo, com *Ulissipo* (1640), inspirado de um patriotismo exarcebado pelo domínio espanhol, e que veio a ser publicado, como se vê, no ano da restauração.

Ora, 1640 foi também o ano da morte de Rolim de Moura (1572-1640), a quem, então, dedica a autora tôda a sua atenção. Pouco se sabe da vida dêste poeta, de família fidalga, Senhor de Azambuja, “bom gasalhado” na côrte e tido como homem de letras e de armas, “de espada e penna”, como dele dizia Balthazar Alvares, em 1623. Poeta de grande riquêsa literária e bastante estimado, a julgar pelo testemunho de José Maria da Costa e Silva em seu *Ensaio biographico-crítico sobre os melhores poetas portuguezes* (1854), Rolim de Moura escreveu também poesias em espanhol, o que não era incomum em seu tempo; e, dentre suas obras em prosa, incluem-se, mais, *Ascendencia de la casa de Azambuja* e *Arte de Tourear*.

Seu maior poema, *Os Novíssimos do Homem*, teve a mesma sorte de muitos outros: recebido, encomiásticamente quando de sua publicação, caíu logo no esquecimento, levando Costa e Silva a referir-o como “um dos livros mais dificultosos de encontrar”, o que se explicaria por duas razões: “primeira, a tristeza do assumpto, segunda a fraqueza da execução.” Embora sempre mencionado nos estudos mais recentes relativos à épica portugêsa, nunca se deu ao seu poema — que permaneceu sempre mal conhecido — a importância que realmente tem, sobretudo pela unicidade do conteúdo que o distingue de tôda a vasta tradição épica do tempo. E é precisamente esta descoberta que a história da literatura portugêsa fica a dever à iustre autora desta monografia, mórmente em razão do rigor metodológico com que trabalhou, longa e pacientemente, naqueles textos que se vão perdendo nas bibliotecas, até que redescobertos e novamente trazidos com a dimensão nova da importância histórica que tiveram, e que têm, agora, para a história das idéias.

E' que Rolim de Moura não era apenas o poeta, nem a pena vasia de tudo o quanto outras penas escreveram. Ao contrário, sabe-se ter sido homem de muito conhecimento, bem informado em história e na tradição hebraico-cristã, também conhecedor da civilização clássica, do pensamento cristão, das descobertas de uma ciência nova e do quanto, historicamente, constituiu a ciência, devoto da literatura e da história de Portugal. Mas, em razão dessa própria formação eclética ainda possível ao seu tempo, Homero, Virgílio e Dante vieram a ser-lhe guias no desenvolvimento que deu ao tema do Homem e do plano divino de sua redenção. E' certo que neste maremoto de novidades e exumações do passado que constituiu o renascimento, ao qual faltou o senso da medida, da proporção e, como é mistér repetir, um instrumento judicatório, tôdas estas inspirações, e mais, também a de Tasso, se distribuíam desigualmente, pelas águas agitadas da épica portugêsa nas quais navegava, também, Rolim de Moura. Mas é precisamente nessa desigualdade, como agora a vemos, que está todo o interêsse histórico da literatura, que é também história das idéias. E esta constitui, a meu ver, a melhor razão para reiterar a dívida que temos para com a autora desta monografia, pelo rigoroso método com que veio a distinguir em *Os Novíssimos do Homem*, as diversas inspirações por vêzes pessoalmente reelaboradas, como ocorre nas indicações bíblicas de Rolim de Moura.

Não seria próprio desta apresentação resumir, nem o poema, nem a análise dêle procedida pela autora, e não é essa a nossa intenção. Entretanto, para que melhor se possa compreender o alto interêsse desta monografia, mórmente à vista do quanto antes já dissemos, parece-nos oportuno indicar, abreviadamente, a estrutura e o conteúdo do poema analisado à luz das coordenadas próprias da épica portugêsa e dos motivos, por vêzes pagãos e mitológicos, nela introduzidos.

Este poema, *Os Novíssimos do Homem*, constitui-se de quatro cantos, compostos em *oitavas reais*: Morte, Juízo, Inferno e Paraíso. Nêle, Adão e Cristo são os heróis: a cena, é tôda a Creação, que se estende pela totalidade do tempo. Trata-se de um épico de

remorso, arrependimento, purificação, contemplação e alegria, em meio de alegorias amplamente utilizadas. Literalmente, é a narrativa do pecado, castigo e purificação de Adão, da qual se abrem as perspectivas de uma *oportunidade* para uma escatologia da história através de uma visão da história da humanidade do ponto de vista de Deus — e de uma descrição do universo. Alegòricamente, trata-se, neste poema, do emprêgo abusivo do livre arbitrio, pelo homem, com suas conseqüências funestas, e do caminho da regeneração. Moralmente, êste poema é uma exortação contra o pecado e um guia para o arrependimento. Anagògicamente, apresenta-se o mundo como Deus o criou, isto é, o mundo inocente; e, depois, o mundo perverso que o sucedeu, e o inferno que se seguiu, mas com a visão do purgatório e até mesmo do céu na qual se representam as esperanças da vida do além preparada para os que passam pela redenção.

Como era natural esperar-se, por correspondência aos poetas congêneres, há uma tentativa de harmonizar a poesia clássica e as fábulas dos deuses, com fé cristã. Entretanto, em *Os Novíssimos do Homem*, a preocupação peculiar se traduz no sentido de cristianizar o sobrenatural pagão, nada comprometendo da verdade bíblica quando a harmonização com a poesia clássica houvesse de contrariar a fé cristã.

Neste estudo, propõe-se a autora, primordialmente, três ordens de problemas: (a) determinar a medida em que a Bíblia é utilizada como fonte, pelo poeta; (b) discernir a originalidade, ou personalismo do poeta, na maneira por que se serve a Bíblia; (c) indicar o lugar e a significação do poema, em seu tempo. E', portanto, a problemática oriunda do próprio poema que veio determinar o plano a seguir e obedecido pela autora, através de uma análise rigorosa e paciente dêstes quatro cantos, em paralelo com suas fontes, especialmente bíblicas.

Na conclusão, ressalta a autora o ritmo mais lento de desenvolvimento da épica religiosa, comparadamente à épica secular. De outro lado, vê-se a procura de inspiração, inicialmente, na interpretação religiosa de *Os Lusíadas* e na *Gerusalemme liberata*.

Dos vários poemas referidos no início de sua monografia quatro dêles, a *Elegiada*, *Afonso Africano*, *Malaca conquistada* e *Ulisipo*, já traziam um conteúdo religioso apreciável. Entretanto, o que torna único, e peculiar, o poema de Rolim de Moura, é que somente de *Os Novíssimos do Homem*, se poderá dizer ser um poema inteiramente religioso, bíblico, ímpar na língua portuguesa, e consagrado, em sua totalidade, à história sagrada e à doutrina cristã. Mas o que é mais notável e merece, certamente, destaque especial, é que tôdas as fontes das quais se serviu Rolim de Moura, relativas ao pensamento ou geografia clássica, à mitologia, ou ao Portugal seu contemporâneo, são reavaliadas e investidas de uma aura de realidade e autoridade bíblicas. E se porventura alguma outra autoridade houver de ser invocada, ela será, sempre, a *Summa*, de São Tomás — como se vê nos cantos III e IV — mantendo-se, assim, sempre vigente e imaculado o caráter cristão do poema.

Na utilização da bíblia pelo poeta, distinguiu a autora três modos: (a) há, às vezes, modificação de uma passagem ou de um texto únicos; (b) outras vezes, há a fusão de conteúdo narrativo e teológico, como de *Genesis*, 1:3, com o resto da história e teologia bíblicas, mórmente do Novo Testamento; (c) a criação, finalmente, de cenas inteiras partindo-se de inúmeros textos da bíblia, com dominância, ou preponderância, ao menos, de alguns textos do Novo Testamento; vendo-se, então, neste procedimento, considerável participação dos dotes artísticos e imaginativos do poeta.

Ainda, mediante técnicas especiais de transmutação, correspondência e alusão, os elementos não bíblicos aos quais recorre Rolim de Moura são assimilados por tal modo a nunca perderem sua correlação com a Bíblia, como se vê, por exemplo, com os empréstimos tomados a Dante ou a Tasso.

Um poeta, portanto, essencialmente cristão; ou o poema ao menos. Cristão de seu tempo, ao modo épico português, mas certamente sincero. E há mais: um poeta, ainda, intensamente patriota. Sente-se, gràvemente, em seu poema, a alusão aos dias soturnos pelos quais passava Portugal, então sob o domínio espanhol, a ponto de justifi-

car-se a sua inclusão na literatura que, para usarmos a expressão de Hernani Cidade, era “de resistência”. E nem mesmo a clássica figura da prostituta do Apocalipse, da qual já se servira Dante com o mesmo propósito, escapa ao poeta português: ela simbolizava, para Rolim de Moura, toda a vergonha que se abatia, então, sobre a sua terra.

Tôda essa riquêsa extraordinária e ímpar na épica portuguêsã veio a ser-nos revelada por Evelyn P. Lytle. Compreenderão, agora, os que me lêem, por que disse, no início, com tanto entusiasmo, que tendo-me sentido hesitante quanto ao que me parecia ser uma intenção ambiciosa, com surpresa maior vi, depois, os resultados que também o leitor encontrará nesta preciosa monografia.

Linneu de Camargo Schützer

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## INTRODUCTION

Francisco Child Rolim de Moura made his chief poetic contribution in the period of Portuguese letters which has come to be called "seiscentista." *Os Novísimos do Homem* was not only his creation; it was also, like all works of art, a product of experiments in the epic which preceded it. The previous accomplishments of others help to explain the character of his work and provide the basis for an evaluation of it.

From Camões on down to the middle of the seventeenth century the epic enjoyed more prestige in Portugal than any other literary form. Ultimately, in Portugal — as in Italy and France — this superiority of the epic was due to the Renaissance revival of Homer and especially of Virgil. As for the immediate causes, the enthusiasm for the epic was due to the success of Camões, "modelo do classicismo peninsular,"<sup>1</sup> and to the success of the epic theory and practice of Tasso. All those who cultivated heroic verse after Camões felt his influence and were inspired by him, even by those who sought to correct and excel him. After 1581, *Jerusalem Delivered*, "that true monument of the Counter-Reformation,"<sup>2</sup> came to vie with the *Lusiadas* in influence.

The period when the "frequencia do gôsto épico"<sup>3</sup> was most intense was between 1572 and the Restoration. Fidelino de Figueiredo lists nineteen titles in his essay on the Portuguese epic.<sup>4</sup> According to Saraiva and Lopes, at least thirty epics were produced during these sixty-eight years.<sup>5</sup> Eugenio Asensio claims that at least twice that number were written between 1580 and 1640.<sup>6</sup>

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(1) Fidelino de Figueiredo, *A epica portuguesa no seculo XVI* (Portugal, 1932), p. 14.

(2) Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (New York, 1958), II, 323.

(3) Figueiredo, *Características da literatura portuguesa* (Lisboa, 1923), p. 23.

(4) Figueiredo, *A epica portuguesa no seculo XVI*, p. 16.

(5) José Saraiva e Óscar Lopes, *História da literatura portuguesa* (Porto, [195-]), p. 38.

(6) Eugenio Asensio, "España en la épica filipina (Al margen de un libro de H. Cidade)," *Revista de Filología Española*, XXXIII (1949), 86.

Of the dozen or so epics which have most survived from the period 1572-1640, the majority are secular. One, *Afonso Africano*, is partly historical, partly religious. *Os Novíssimos do Homem* is not only the first example of a religious epic; it also has the distinction of being the only Biblical epic in Portuguese. Two other religious epics were published by Portuguese poets during the period, but they were composed in Spanish: *Poema del Angelico Doctor Sancto Tomas* (1625) by Manuel Tomás and *El Macabeu* (1638) by Miguel da Silveira.

We shall comment briefly on those epics whose existence has been most clearly persistent down to the present day. For the most part our observations on each of the epics will be limited to the date of publication and the thematic content, with special emphasis given to the religious and mythological elements whenever they figure significantly in the work. In this way it will be possible to ascertain more fully both the evolution of the religious epic and the place and importance of *Os Novíssimos do Homem* in the development of the Portuguese epic.

## THE EPICS

### JERÓNIMO CORTE REAL (1540-1588)

*Successo Do Segundo cerco de Diu.* 1574.

*O Naufrágio e lastimoso sucesso da perdição de Manuel de Sousa Sepúlveda.*<sup>7</sup> 1594, posthumous edition.

The titles of the Portuguese epics by Corte Real indicate the thematic content. They deal with the enterprises of the empire in the East. The "Carta ao Lector" accompanying the *Segundo cerco de Diu* expresses the great pride which the poet takes in the importance of Portugal's achievements: "Se Virgilio tratara dos verdadeiros vencimentos dos Portuguezes (assi em Portugal, como na India) como escreveo os fabulosos de Eneas, fizera emmudecer, e pasmar aos que depois de nos no mundo succederão."<sup>8</sup> We are told

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(7) Because the primary source was not available to me I have had to depend upon secondary sources.

(8) Lisboa 1574, p. iv.



that the author is scrupulous in his fidelity to the historical sources on which the poems are based.<sup>9</sup>

Corte Real dedicates *Segundo cerco de Diu* to King Sebastian, as Camões had dedicated his epic, and foresees many military victories for him over the infidels (Canto XXI). He rejects "Apolo, e Minerva" as "Musas / Que os antigos Poetas invocarão" and invokes the incarnate and redeeming Christ:

O gram Calvario invoco, invoco a fonte  
Do Sanctissimo Sangue nelle aberta:  
Onde foram lavadas nossas culpas:  
Onde foram remidas nossas almas.  
A Vós, ó bom Jesus, Verbo encarnado  
Nas Virginaes entranhas de Maria,  
(p. 1)

The main action of the twenty-one cantos deals with the heroic defense of Diu against the Turks for seven months by João de Mascarenhas and the decisive defeat, in 1546, of the "Rey de Cambaya" by the arrival of reinforcements under the leadership of the Viceroy of India, João de Castro.

While the "folhas volantes, "which listed notices of shipwrecks and which came to be circulated in the late sixteenth century, furnished an episode for the *Lusíadas*,<sup>10</sup> Corte Real based an entire poem on the news of the loss of Manuel de Sousa Sepúlveda, who was enroute to India.<sup>11</sup> As we would expect, Corte Real expands the original scant account to epic length by his own imaginative additions. The joyous festivities of the betrothal of the protagonists Manuel de Sousa and Leonor de Sá, representative of the Portuguese nobility, and the subsequent events which envelop all the characters in collective tragedy seem to allegorize for the poet the disastrous end to the hopes centered in Sebastian in 1578. In a passage reminiscent of Paulo da Gama's interpretation of the banners on the Portuguese

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(9) Hernani Cidade, "Literatura: século XVI," in *História de Portugal* (Barcelos, 1958), V, 554.

(10) Figueiredo, *Literatura portuguesa* (Rio, 1941), p. 142.

(11) Figueiredo (pp. 141-142) says that notices of ship-wrecked persons began to be collected and published in the eighteenth century. The earliest to be published, in 1735 and 1736, was *História trágico-marítima* by Bernardo Gomes de Brito. The episode is given under the title: *Relação da mui notável perda do galeão grande de S. João*.

flag-ship to the Catwal of Calicut,<sup>12</sup> in the poem on Manuel de Sousa a “sabio varão” relates the history of Portugal, including the disaster at Alcazar-Kebir, when the flower of Portuguese nobility was slain “entre Canalha vil degenerada.”

In both the poems written in Portuguese, Corte Real makes use of the *merveilleux*. Although he repudiates the pagan muses and makes frequent references to Christ in the *Segundo cerco de Diu*, the poet introduces Nereids, Tritons, Phorcys, Aurora and Apollo (identified as the sun), and personifications such as Zephyrus. In the allegorical “Merecimento’s” long prophetic interpretation of the paintings in the Templo da Vitória to João de Castro, the anthropomorphic gods Vulcan and Jupiter appear (Cantos XX-XXI). The 1594 poem uses the supernatural much more extensively. In order to expand to epic length the account of the protagonist contained in his source he not only weaves classical elements into the narrative, but he also contrives entire episodes out of the ingredients of classical lore. In contrast to the *Segundo cerco de Diu*, the pagan gods predominate here. Proteus, Pan, and Phoebus — their passions and jealousies roused by the beauty of Leonor — protest their love to her in long, plaintive monologues. Love, armed by Venus and protected by “Démesis,” slays Luis Falcão, the suitor preferred for Leonor by her father, Panteleão de Sá.

LUÍS PEREIRA BRANDÃO (ca. 1540-?)

*Elegiada*. 1588.

Whether or not it is true that Luís Pereira Brandão, veteran and captive in Alcazar-Kebir, “nunca mais despiu o luto pela morte do seu rei,”<sup>13</sup> we know that ten years after the fateful disaster, his *Elegiada* was published in Lisbon. In 1580 Philip II had become ruler of the dual Monarchy and within three years, Albert, the Cardinal-Archduke of Austria had begun to govern the Kingdom of Portugal. It is to the Cardinal-Archduke that Luís Pereira dedicates the elegy that he wrote in the form of epic.

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(12) *Os Lusíadas*, VIII, 1 f.

(13) *Cidade*.

The poet relates with great detail and feeling the events in which he and his compatriots participated under Sebastian in Africa. Invoking the Virgin Mary for his Muse, he says that his subject far surpasses that of either Homer or Virgil:

Cante Homero o que chorou Dardania  
Cante depois Virgilio o amor de Dido:  
Inventem danos da fatal insania,  
Por ser seu nome mais engrandecido:  
Que eu choro o Rey da triste Lusitania  
Sentido, até das pedras sem sentido,  
Cuja estoria certa e dolorosa  
Excede toda a outra fabulosa.

(p. 9)

In addition Luís Pereira gives the entire reign of “O Desejoso,” and “hum velho” recalls for Sebastian, in the first of the eighteen cantos, the history of Portugal down to his birth and the regency of Catherine of Austria.

An allegorical intent is apparent in the elaboration of the historical action. The poet introduces both the Christian and pagan supernatural and engages them in conflict. The “lei de Christo” is on the side of the “gente Lusitana” and Lucifer, in league with infernal monsters, dragons and serpents, fights on the side of the “feo Maluco.”

FRANCISCO DE ANDRADE (ca. 1540-1614)

*O primeiro cerco que os Turcos puseram à fortaleza de Dio  
nas partes da Índia, defendido pelos Portugueses.*<sup>14</sup>  
1589.

Most commentators on the long poem composed by Francisco de Andrade are agreed that of all Portuguese epics it is unquestionably the best example of the “concepção que reduz o poema épico a uma crónica em oitava rima.”<sup>15</sup> The title itself

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(14) Because the primary source was not available to me I have had to depend upon secondary sources.

(15) Saraiva e Lopes, p. 384.

suggests a prose work rather than verse. The preoccupation with giving a complete and scrupulously accurate account — in respect to even minute details — of the first siege of Diu, testifies to the author's true vocation. The invocation of the "Eterno Pai," the concern with moral and religious values, and the moral tone which permeates the work — all these bear witness to the background and family environment of the writer.

Two brothers of Francisco de Andrade had distinguished themselves in the service of the King and the Church. Frei Tomé de Jesús, who was gifted in the art of sacred oratory, accompanied Sebastian to Africa, was captured, and died there in prison. The second brother, Diogo de Paiva de Andrade (whose name passed on to Francisco's son), served with distinction as the Portuguese delegate to the Council of Trent. At the time of writing the *Primeiro Cerco de Dio*, and until his death, Francisco de Andrade was Guarda-mor da Torre do Tombo and Cronista-mor do Reino. In 1613 the first edition of his *Crónica de D. João III*<sup>16</sup> was published.

For the subject of his poem, the chronicler turned poet draws upon the third part of his history of João III. The episode he chooses is one of the most heroic in Portuguese history — the defense, in 1538, of the fortress at Diu against the Turks. After several months of fighting under extremely heavy odds, António da Silveira, governor of the fortress, led his soldiers to victory over Coje Sofar Mostafá.

Except for Pluto, who by tradition is closely identified with the Hebrew-Christian Devil, the poem is singularly free of the anthropomorphic gods of the classical world. The pagan entities which are introduced are largely ornamental; for example, "Eolo," who lives in a palace and keeps the winds imprisoned in a "Cárcere dos Ventos". "Sono" is personified as in Greek mythology.

#### FRANCISCO RODRIGUES LOBO (1580?-1622)

##### *O Condestabre de Portugal*. 1610.

Although Rodrigues Lobo is one of the outstanding lyric poets and prose writers of the "seiscentista" period, his only experiment

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(16) Complete title: *Chronica do muy alto e muyto poderoso Rey destes Reynos de Portugal Dom João o III deste nome*.

with the epic is generally regarded as one of his least successful works. The writing of the *Condestabre* was completed early in his brief career, six years before it appeared in published form.<sup>17</sup>

The twenty "livros" celebrate the life of Nuno Álvares Pereira, principal backer of João I, "o Messias de Lisboa," and valiant defender against the political intrigues of Leonor Teles and the invasions of Juan I of Castile. Perhaps we may assume that much of the biographical material was given to the poet by the friend to whom he dedicated the poem, Theodósio, the fifth Duke of Braganza and the father of the future João IV.

Rodrigues Lobo rejects the "favor da incerta fonte" of the classical Muses and invokes the aid of the Virgin for his task: "Para que do grão Nuno os feitos conte / A vós invoco só fonte de graça" (p. 7). Beginning with the marriage of Nuno and ending with his death, the poet traces in infinite detail the episodes — historical and legendary — which account for his fame and importance in Portuguese history. Of these the most famous is the intrepid attack he made with seven thousand men, at Aljubarrota on August 14, 1385, against Juan I of Castile and his army of thirteen thousand, a victory which secured Portugal from Castilian designs for two hundred years.

One of the few instances when the poet departs from the historical action to make use of the supernatural occurs in Book XIX when he wishes to show the entire history of the House of Braganza. In a secret room of the Castle of Leiria a "donzella" shows Nuno, "por hum fingimento," a "livro de alto preço," which is guarded by a dragon. In the book are prophesied all the descendents of the founder Afonso and his wife Beatriz, the daughter of the Condestabre.

VASCO MOUZINHO DE QUEVEDO CASTELO BRANCO  
(?-?)

*Afonso Africano*.<sup>18</sup> 1611.

*Afonso Africano* enjoyed a wide popularity in the seventeenth century. It is the first Portuguese epic to be composed more under the sway of Tasso than of Camões. Perhaps it was responsible for

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(17) Saraiva e Lopes, p. 394.

(18) Because the primary source was not available to me I have had to depend upon secondary sources.

the interpretation of the *Lusíadas* as a religious allegory. It continues to be appreciated as one of the best epics, after the *Lusíadas*, in Portuguese heroic verse.

The twelve cantos of the poem constitute a hybrid form, a combination of the historical epic and the sustained religious allegory. As history it relates the late fifteenth-century conquests of Arzila and Tangier by "O Africano," Afonso V, grandson of João I, Mestre de Avis. In the decisive campaigns, João, o "Príncipe Perfeito," accompanied his father and fought with his thirty thousand men. The entire history of Portugal's invasion of Africa, from "O Africano" on down to Alcazar-Kebir, is predicted by one of the vanquished, "Eudolo." According to his version, Sebastian himself predicts his tragic end.

As religious allegory the poem depicts the battle of the human soul with enemies within and without and the larger and collective battle waged between God and the forces of evil. Afonso V is the hero, the "Varão Forte," who in response to the challenge of a dream of the "Donzella Formosa," representing "Fé," sets sail to conquer both "Arzila," the "Cidade" of his own soul, and the rival Moorish forces, the "Demonios," who are also bent on taking the city. The voyage to Arzila is perilous. The dangers of the "Oceano," the "tentações infernais" unleashed by "Eudolo," must be suffered and subdued. João must undergo testing in the "Ilha de Deleites" until "Eudolo" himself is vanquished. Once at the destination, "Sete Cristãos," representing the Christian virtues, contend in mortal struggle with seven "Mouros," the seven deadly sins, to take possession of the city. Through the providence of Heaven the heroes are able to defeat the power of Lucifer and the Infidels. The Christians take the three "Baluartes," the "Potências da alma," and finally the "Cidadela," the "Coração."

FRANCISCO DE SÁ DE MENESES (?-1664)

*Malaca conquistada.*<sup>19</sup> 1634.

This poem, like *Afonso Africano*, has its chief inspiration in *Jerusalem Delivered*. Historical material of epic proportions is joined

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(19) Because the primary source was not available to me I have had to depend upon secondary sources.

with religious allegory. There are also the familiar supernatural characters, the machinery, the classical allusions.

In the years of Manuel's vast program of maritime expeditions to India and Portugal's control of the Indian Ocean, Afonso de Albuquerque, already famous for his conquest of Goa, attacks and conquers yet another prime objective, Malaca. Interwoven with the heroic action of the conquest are a variety of digressions. One of the most artistically important of these deals with the shipwrecked Garcia. Washed ashore, he is discovered by "Titônia," descendent of Aurora and the Princess of Cathay. Like Reinaldo in *Jerusalem Delivered*, Garcia is so entranced with the beautiful princess that his mission is forgotten until the astrologer "Etol" comes in search of him. There is also Christian *merveilleux*: the "Anjo Custódio" — who appears so frequently in Tasso — comes to protect the Portuguese from the maleficence of "Asmodeu."

#### MANUEL TOMÁS (1585?-1665?)

*Insulana*. 1635.

Manuel Tomás had already published his epic on St. Thomas Aquinas when he turned to the historical subject of the *Insulana*. For the writing of the poem, he seeks the help of the Virgin, and there is considerable homiletic and theological commentary throughout. Perhaps there is in the poem a wish to prophesy the Restoration under the House of Braganza. In 1649 the poet published another epic, *O Phaenix da Lusitania, ou acclamaçam do Serenissimo Rey de Portugal Dom Ioam IV*.

In fulfillment of one of the numerous maritime expeditions of Henry the Navigator, the youthful captain João Gonçalves, o Zarco, sails (ca. 1420) with João de Amores, his Spanish pilot, in search of Guinea. Instead, he discovers Madeira and within a short time takes peaceful possession of it. In the "Casa do Tempo" (IV-VII) a "velho venerando," who says he is Time, shows Zarco "altos quadros" of illustrious men from the beginning of recorded history. The portraits include prophets, philosophers and scientists, rulers and leaders, artists and architects. The "velho" also reveals to Zarco his descendants and the subsequent history of Madeira. One of the most

readable parts of the poem is the pilot's story<sup>20</sup> of a pair of English lovers, Roberto Machin and Ana de Arfet, who had first discovered the island (Books II and IV).

MANUEL DE GALHEGOS (1597-1665)

*Templo da Memoria / poema epithalamico, nas felicissimas bodas do excelentissimo Senhor Duque de Bragança, e de Barcelos.*<sup>21</sup> 1635.

Galhegos, whom Saraiva and Lopes call the "mais importante teorizador do poema épico neste período,"<sup>22</sup> had already published his Spanish epic, *Gigantomaquia* (1628)<sup>23</sup> when *Templo da Memoria* appeared. For the former he chose a theme from classical mythology — the revolt of the Titans against Jupiter. For his only poem in Portuguese<sup>24</sup> he selected an historical subject and gave it, according to Saraiva and Lopes, an "estrutura mitológica."<sup>25</sup>

In the first and last of the four Books the poet celebrates the betrothal of the future Monarch of the Restoration, João IV, and Luisa de Gusmão. In the rest of the poem Galhegos writes of the glories of the military prowess of the Houses of Braganza and Medina Sidónia. Heitor Martins suggests that by virtue of this emphasis on the significance of the union, "o Templo da Memoria é o verdadeiro poema épico da monarquia dual."<sup>26</sup>

GABRIEL PEREIRA DE CASTRO (1571-1632)

*Ulyssea, ou Lisboa Edificada.* 1636.

*Ulyssea* is today regarded as one of the most important epic poems composed in the period. In the early nineteenth century José

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(20) Perhaps the story was a source for *Epanáfora amorosa* (1660) of Francisco Manuel de Melo.

(21) Because the primary source was not available to me I have had to depend upon secondary sources.

(22) Saraiva e Lopes, p. 387.

(23) Heitor Martins, *Manuel de Galhegos; um poeta entre a Monarquia Dual e a Restauração* (Portugal, 1964), pp. 43-44.

(24) Martins, p. 42.

(25) Saraiva e Lopes, p. 353.

(26) Martins, p. 69.



Agostinho de Macedo ranked it above the *Lusíadas*. When the work first appeared it was generally considered superior to the *Lusíadas*. Encomiastic poems by Pereira de Castro's countrymen — including Manuel de Galhegos and Bernarda de Lacerda — were published with the poem. His friend Lope de Vega offered a sonnet:

Lisboa por el Griego edificada  
Ya de ser, Fenix inmortal presuma,  
Pues deue más a tu diuina pluma  
(Docto Gabriel) que a su famosa espada.

Voraz el tiempo con la diestra ayrada  
No ay Imperio mortal, que no consuma,  
Peró [sic] la vida de tu heroyca suma  
Es alma ilustremente reseruada.

Mas ay que quando más enriqueciste  
Tu Patria, que su Artífice te llama,  
Por la segunda vida que le diste:

Cipres funesto tu Laurel enrrama,  
Si bien ganaste en lo q más perdiste,  
Pues quando mueres tu nacio tu fama.

In his *Discurso Poético*, which was published with *Ulyssea*, Galhegos further praised the poet's talents and the perfections of the poem. Because he praised the poem to the point of comparing *Os Lusíadas* unfavorably with it,<sup>27</sup> he has suffered undeserved criticism. The long overdue justification of his critical position has come in Heitor Martins' study of the poet.<sup>28</sup> According to the view of Galhegos, *Ulyssea* is one of the few epic poems which "mereção o nome de perfe;itos . . . como Deus o [Pereira de Castro] dotou de hum engenho vnico para todas as faculdades alcãçou o primeiro lugar entre os heroicos, & colocou este soberano poema diante de todos os, q celebra [sic] a antiguidade."<sup>29</sup>

For inspiration in his writing of the legendary founding of Lisbon by Ulysses, Pereira de Castro calls upon the "Muza," whom he does not identify:

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(27) Lisboa, 1636, back of § 2 [Foha 2].

(28) Martins, p. 83.

(29) "Discurso Poetico," in *Ulyssea*, p. § [Folha].

Lembrame Muza as causas, & me inspira  
Como por tantos mares, o prudente  
Grego vencendo de Neptuno a ira;  
Chegou do Tejo à tumida corrente:  
Ouuirá o som da Lusitana lira  
O negro Ocaso, & lucido Oriente,  
Se tu dás ser a meu sugeito falto,  
Para que caiba em mim furor tam alto.

(I, 2)

In the dedicatory stanzas to Felipe IV, Monarch of “ambas as Hespanhas” (I, 4), he declares his intention:

Daime vosso fauor, que nele espero  
Cantar de Vlysses, imitando a Homero.

(I, 8)

The poet devotes a few stanzas to the founding of the city. Most of the poem deals with the events leading up to the founding, the narration by Ulysses of his previous experiences. The poetic world of Pereira de Castro is a mythological one modeled largely on the *Odyssey* — the characters, places, episodes, techniques and devices. Still, there are relations with both the transcendent Christian world and the historical world of the Peninsula. The portrayal of Jupiter exhorting the gods in Olympus tends to suggest in a general way the God of the Bible and the sinning angels:

Na parte mais sublime, & leuantada  
Do estelifero Olympo omnipatente [sic],  
De assentos de cristal, & de ouro ornada  
Falla cos Deoses Iupiter potente,  
Com graue aspeito, & fronte carregada  
Enojado os reprende asperamente,  
Todos escuitão, & ele o que sentia  
(Tremendo o Ceo de Ouulo) lhe dizia.  
Não soffro eternos Deoses que se veja  
No Ceo tal desconcerto, & indecencia,  
Como entrardes com armas, na peleja  
Fazendo vossa a humana competencia,  
Deixai a emulação, & a baixa inveja,  
Nos Ceos exercitai vossa potencia,  
Ser forte hum Deos com homens he fraqueza,  
Indigne acção de altiua fortaleza.

(X, 1-2)

When Ulysses first saw Lisbon, “achaua / Agouros de mais alta monarchia, / Falalhe o Tejo, & canta docemente / Legea altas victorias de Oriente” (VII, Arg.). The last lines of the poem refer to contemporary political and religious conflicts. Before the power of Jupiter in heaven and the monarchy on earth, “Treme o Ingles, o Belga, o Otomano” (X, 139).

ANTÓNIO DE SOUSA DE MACEDO (1606-1682)

*Ulissipo*. 1640.

One of Portugal's most ardent and active patriots, Sousa de Macedo, turned to poetry as well as prose to express his devotion. *Flores de España, Excelências de Portugal* (1631) demonstrated the great esteem with which he held the land, people, institutions and customs, the literature and language. In 1645, while serving as ambassador to England, he published *Lusitania Liberata; ab injusto Castellanorum dominio*, a work whose title is reminiscent of Tasso's great poem, and dedicated it to the “Legitimo Principi, Serenissimo Joanni, IV.” Between these two prose works he composed his epic of fourteen cantos on the legendary founding of Lisbon by Ulysses.

His treatment of the subject is not a mere repetition of *Ulyssea*. From the invocation of the “Suprema Intelligencia” on, the author's Christian theology and belief transmute the pagan classical heroes and elements so that they have Christian values. “Muito obrou [Ulyssea], e sofreo; e e vão o inferno / Se quiz oppor contra o poder divino” (I, 1). “O Rey Tartareo” is the adversary, but the hero has the might of Heaven to defend him and help him establish the city “ab eterno decretada.” Even the defeated “Polymiòn” concedes to his victor: “Venceste, ò Grego; porem não venceste; / Que sò foi da fortuna esta vitoria, / Mas usa della tu, pois mereceste / Que o Ceo te concedesse tanta gloria” (XIV, 73).

Sousa de Macedo gives much more attention to the actual discovery of Lisbon than does Pereira de Castro; for example, early in the poem, in Canto III, when Ulysses and his companions first observe the climate, green fields, fertile earth and vegetation of the land. During the nuptial festivities for the several pairs of lovers in the Praça Real, an “alta profecia / Prmicias [sic] das vitorias figurava

/ Que o Portugues valor alcançaria” (X). “Declara o sabio [Chiròn] a serie velerosa / Dos Lusitanos que a memoria acclama / Em profecia” (XII).

## FRANCISCO CHILD ROLIM DE MOURA (1572-1640)

### Life

We know very little about the life of Francisco Child Rolim de Moura. Most of the available information is in Barbosa Machado's *Bibliotheca lusitana historica, critica e cronologica*, a work published more than one hundred and fifty years after the poet's death, and in Costa e Silva's study of him in *Ensaio Biographico-Critico sobre os melhores Poetas Portuguezes*. Later writers repeat, for the most part, what Barbosa and Costa e Silva give.

Like the majority of the epic poets we have considered in the foregoing pages, Rolim de Moura was a native of Lisbon. He was born in 1572 and died on November 12, 1640, less than a month before the Duke of Braganza was crowned the Monarch of the Restoration. He was buried in the Capella Mòr of the Igreja da Misericórdia in the town of Azambuja. He was descended from a very old and noble family related to the Braganza line and was the son of Antonio Rolim de Moura and Guiomar da Sylveira. He was Lord of the towns of Azambuja and Montargil. His father had accompanied Sebastian to Africa and had been imprisoned before being released to spend his last days in Fez.

According to Costa e Silva, Rolim de Moura was an outstanding student of classical languages, poetry, philosophy and science. His contemporaries regarded him as being distinguished in the mathematical sciences. He would be familiar, of course, with the achievements of Pero Nunes, who died when Rolim de Moura was six years old. Although *Os Novíssimos do Homem* was completed by 1616, ten years before the publication of the astronomical section of the *Anacephaleoses* by Manoel Bocarro Frances, we wonder whether his studies in this field brought him into contact with the University of Coimbra professor.

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(30) Diogo Barbosa Machado (II, Lisboa, 1747, p. 244) adds: “ao lado do Evengelho — sem epitafio.”

His love of letters was combined with an exceptional skill in the use of arms, including dueling. He fulfilled the ideal of arms and letters so singularly developed in Spain<sup>31</sup> and exalted in Portugal by António Ferreira, to name only one.<sup>32</sup> Balthasar Alvarez, author of the first “aprovação” of *Os Novíssimos* in 1623, writes of Rolim de Moura: “Quanto mais que professando o Author antes armas que letras, assaz fôra parar com intento na eperança de algua ocasião, em que podesse segundar o valor de seus passados, no intento christão da conquista da Casa Sancta; e quando menos parar na grande parte, que forão na tomada desta Cidade aos Mouros, que de hua, ou outra maneira, bem mostrava nesta obra como faria, que a par vivessem a espada e a penna.”<sup>33</sup>

Sometime after the completion of his formal education he entered public life. He was admitted to the Court, where he was always “bom gasalhado.”<sup>34</sup> He held a number of positions. One of these was the presidency of the Junta das Lizirias, an organization formed during the Spanish regime. He continued, however, in his “momentos ociosos”, the cultivation of letters. He was still writing around 1635, for in that year his sonnet in praise of Galhegos’ *Templo da Memoria* appeared.

We can only conjecture the extent to which this patriotic son of one of Sebastian’s companions in arms, this pious Catholic, this avid student of astronomy must have felt his life circumscribed by the political, intellectual and religious climate in which he lived. Instead of freedom of speech and action, there were, on the one hand, the restrictions of the Spanish regimes of Felipe II and Felipe III. On the other, there were the restrictions imposed by the all-absorbing scholastic theology.<sup>35</sup> We have some hints of the struggle in Rolim de Moura. Although he keeps the old Ptolemaic cosmology, he often describes it in lines charged with a modern scientific spirit. There is

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(31) Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York, 1953), p. 178.

(32) For example, in “Carta X a D. Simão da Silveira.”

(33) *Obras de D. Francisco Child Rolim de Moura* (Lisboa, 1853), p. xxx. Hereafter cited as *Obras*.

(34) José Maria Costa e Silva, “Ensaio biographico-critico sobre os melhores poetas portuguezes,” (Cap. II, Liv. IX) in *Obras de D. Francisco Child Rolim de Moura*, p. viii. Because the primary source was not available to me I have used the secondary one in this and subsequent citations.

(35) Beginning in 1564 the regulations of the Council of Trent were applied faithfully in Portugal.

the indictment of the political situation in the allegory of the harlot — an indictment which, together with other veiled criticisms, places the poem with the “literatura da resistencia” about which Hernani Cidade speaks.<sup>36</sup>

### Works

Costa e Silva says that although Rolim de Moura was always “estimado pelas suas composições poeticas, . . . quasi todas se perderam, ou existem sepultadas no pó das Bibliothecas particulares, á excepção dos Novísimos, Poema em quarto Cantos, em formato de 4.º, que foi publicado na Typographia de Pedro Chrasbeck [sic] em 1623.”<sup>37</sup> From the scant sources at our disposal we know of fourteen prose and verse pieces which the poet wrote in addition to his epic. Although *Os Novísimos do Homem* was first published in Lisbon in 1623, the writing of it was completed, as far as we can ascertain, by 1616, the date of the first “aprovação”. This first edition contained, in addition to four *aprovações*, dated between April 13, 1616, and February 7, 1623, three encomiastic poems and a dedication dated December 12, 1622, to Manoel Child Rolim de Moura, a child of the poet’s second marriage. A second edition was published in 1853 in Lisbon by Escriptorio da Bibliotheca Portugueza under the title *Obras de D. Francisco Child de Moura*. In 1626<sup>38</sup> a poem in Spanish, “Soneto em applauso da Gigantomachia de Manuel de Galhegos”, accompanied the publication of the epic.<sup>39</sup>

(36) Cidade, *A literatura autonomista sob os Filipes* (Lisboa, 1947).

(37) Costa e Silva, pp. viii-ix.

(38) Inasmuch as the *Gigantomachia* was not published until 1626, the date given by Barbosa Machado — 1620 — would seem to be in error.

(39) De nativo valor pechos armados  
Armas fatales, monstros arrogantes,  
Com gigantea fuerça entre Gigantes  
Los montes sobre montes colocados.  
Impulsos de Elementos perturbados  
Cielos ardiendo, balas fulminantes,  
Y de las Deidades militantes  
Intactos hilos d'Atropos cortados.  
Efeitos son al vivo resumidos  
Merabillas aonde las menores  
Ya no temen que el Tiempo las consuma.  
Si a logar mas sublime por vencidos,  
Del que conquistariam vencedores  
Volaron muertos solo en una pluma.

(*Obras*, p. xxvi)

According to Domingo García Peres' *Catálogo razonado biográfico y bibliográfico de los autores portugueses que escribieron en castellano* (1890), Rolim de Moura "escribió 'Poesias'. MS. Dedicadas á D. Pedro Fernández de Castro en Lisboa, 8 de enero de 1632. — 4.º, consta de eglogas, estancias, sonetos, octavas, vueltas, cartas."<sup>40</sup>

García Peres writes that these poems fill one hundred nineteen pages and that "la mayor parte" is written in Spanish. He gives only one title, the *romance* "Definicion [sic] de la ausencia," and just the first and last stanzas of it.<sup>41</sup> His Portuguese sonnet eulogizing Galhegos' *Templo da Memoria* appeared with the epic in 1635.<sup>42</sup> Barbosa Machado speaks of four sonnets which "na Biblioteca do Cardeal de Souza entre os M.S. se conservão."<sup>43</sup> The first of these, about "huma Cruz collocada sobre hum monte," begins: "Da vitoria mayor Sacro Trofeo." The second sonnet deals with "Noute de Natal," and begins: "Renova hoje do Sol a claridade." The third speaks of "huma saudade," and begins: "Memorias que en mi pecho detenidas."

Barbosa Machado gives only the first line of the fourth sonnet: "Dourava o Sol a nuvem que cubria."<sup>44</sup>

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(40) Madrid, p. 653 (*Apêndice*).

(41) Mudas ânsias de mi mal,  
Tormentos nunca entendidos,  
Que de bienes poseidos  
Haceis veneno mortal.  
Aun temo que en algun dia  
Acusen en tu rigor  
Falsos testigos de amor  
Esta fé por heregia.

(p. 653)

(42) Bem foi de nova Musa novo intento  
Pôr em medida aquella dilatada  
Fama, que, em regios troncos sustentada,  
C'os ramos toca o alto Firmamento.  
O portentoso, e grande pensamento  
Harmonica pintura sublimada,  
O curso ao Lethes tem, ao Tempo a espada  
Suspensos do rigor do movimento.  
A mesma admiração aqui se admira  
Fôra gloria da Inveja o invejar-te  
Por nos mostrar que a tanto se atrevera,  
Ao som das armas clausulaste a Lyra  
Á bella Venus, ao soberbo Marte  
Opposição fizeste em sua esphera.

(*Obras*, p. xxvii)

(43) Barbosa Machado, p. 245. Because the manuscripts of the sonnets were not available to me I have had to depend upon the information given by Barbosa Machado.

(44) Barbosa Machado.

The only prose work by Rolim de Moura for which we have found a publication date is the *Cômentarios de Juan da Vega explicados por D. Francisco Rolim de Moura Senhor da Caza da Azambuja*. It was published in 1628 by Craesbeeck in Lisbon. Barbosa Machado speaks of a published genealogical work which carries neither a date nor place of publication, but the “Dedicatoria consta ser composta no anno de 1633”: *Ascendencia de la Caza da Azambuja*. Four additional prose works, including critical essays, exist in manuscript form: *Apologia em defesa dos Novissimos contra os descuidos, que nelles lhe arguirão seus emulos*; *Advertencias a alguns errors de Luiz de Camoens em os Lusiadas*; *Aforimos a seu filho D. Manoel Childe Rolim de Moura*; *Ley para os dezafios*, and *Arte de Tourear*.

### Criticism

Costa e Silva comments in his *Ensaio Biographico-Critico Sobre os melhores Poetas Portuguezes* (1854) on the reception of *Os Novissimos do Homem* by contemporaries: “O Poema . . . foi recebido pelo publico com tanto applauso encomiastico, que suscitou tão vivas discussões, está hoje perfeitamente esquecido, sendo um dos livros mais difficultosos de encontrar, nem me consta que delle se fizesse segunda edição.” He goes on to suggest two reasons for the fate of the poem: “Primeira a tristeza do assumpto, segunda a fraqueza da execução.”<sup>45</sup>

The appraisal of Balthasar Alvarez, Jesuit author of the first “aprovação” of *Os Novissimos*, is fairly typical of the few critical comments which are available in published works. Of the poem’s inspiration, content, erudition, originality, diction and style he writes:

Vi esta Poesia . . . que se bem no argumento della declara sua piedade, o peito christão, não menos se conhece feliz em o proseguir, obedecendo-lhe a esse intento o mais das sciencias humanas, valendo-se das Divinas Escripturas, e do melhor que dellas recolherão os Sagrados Theologos, como que se com os professores de huas e outras letras gastará os annos. Obra na invenção e traça engenhosa, nas sentenças grave, rica nas palavras, no estylo subida e elegante; e em breve, obra a cujo Author a sciencia e

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(45) Costa e Silva, p. x-xi.



eloquencia podem agradecer que, em tão estreito theatro, tão vivamente as mostrasse. No que tenho efficaz motivo de o approvar, e fundamento seguro de esperar toda a aceitação dos que a lerem.<sup>46</sup>

Three encomiastic poems appeared in both the 1623 and 1853 editions of *Os Novíssimos*. They were written by Nuno de Mendonça and João d'Almeida, both of the Conselho d'El Rei Nosso Senhor, and by Manoel da Cunha, an official of the Holy Office. Another contemporary, Jacinto Cordeiro, praises the poet in Stanza 9 of *Elogio de Poetas Lusitanos* (1631), a reply to Lope de Vega's *Laurel de Apolo*:

D. Francisco Rolim cuyo decoro  
Las Musas Españolas y Toscanas  
Respetan Cisne quando el Tajo en oro  
Urna ofrece a las suyas Lusitana:  
Que de Aganipe despreciando el coro  
Zelos le piden yá las Castellanas  
De que escriba su heroica gallardia  
Sin darles de barato solo un dia.<sup>47</sup>

In 1635 Manuel de Galhegos praised *Os Novíssimos*, the author and his family in *Templo da Memoria* (Livro 4, Estância 194):

Vòs tambem ò Rolim Senhor insigne  
Do primeiro Solar da Lusitania  
Fazey que em vòs meu livro se termine  
Acabe-o felizmente a vossa Urania,  
E ouvindo-ves cantar Homero tema  
Que he Virgilio que acaba o seu Poema.<sup>48</sup>

In the middle of the century Francisco Manuel de Melo, in *Hospital das Letras*, makes two references to Rolim de Moura. The first of these deals with *Os Novíssimos*:

Auctor. Estes são os seus *Novíssimos do Homem*,  
poema mixto, e ainda mixto com muitas  
partes de moral e heroico.

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(46) *Obras*, p .xxx.

(47) Barbosa Machado, p. 245. Because the primary source was not available to me I have had to use the secondary one.

(48) Barbosa Machado. Because the primary source was not available to me I have had to use the secondary one.

Lipsio. O julguei mais doudo que agradavel;  
cure-se de melancholia, e ficará para  
viver muitos annos.

Later on Melo assigns both Rolim de Moura and Manuel de Galhegos the same malady: they have been presumptuous enough to criticize the *Lusíadas* unfavorably.<sup>49</sup>

Subsequent to the comments of Francisco Manuel de Melo, writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries — bibliographers, literary historians, anthologists, and now and then a critical essayist — have remembered Rolim de Moura.<sup>50</sup> There is the already mentioned work of José María Costa e Silva. Although the name of Rolim de Moura appears in twentieth-century studies on the development of the Portuguese epic, there is slight, if any, critical commentary on *Os Novíssimos do Homem*.

### OS NOVÍSSIMOS DO HOMEM

Unlike other Portuguese writers of the epic from Camões until the Restoration, Rolim de Moura did not base his poem on any of the great national heroes, either historical or legendary. He looked beyond national historical subjects and, like Dante before him and Milton later, chose for his theme man and God's plan for his redemption.

To the magnitude of this task the poet brought an extensive assimilation of the cultural influences which preceded him in civilization: above all, Hebraic-Christian history and tradition; classical antiquity; the conclusion of many centuries of Christian thought as expounded by scholars and theologians; science and theory; and literature. To this he added the fortunes of Portugal in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Like other writers of heroic verse in the period between Camões and the Restoration, Rolim de Moura looked upon Homer and especially upon Virgil as models for his poem. Surely he knew also the allegorical interpretations of the *Fourth Eclogue*, sometimes called the Messianic Eclogue, and of the *Aeneid*. His great

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(49) Francisco Manuel de Melo, *Apólogos dialogais* (Lisboa, 1900), III, 70, 91.

(50) See Barbosa Machado, p. 245.

indebtedness to Dante is everywhere apparent in the *Novíssimos do Homem*. Although the Portuguese poet lacked the gifts indispensable to the creation of a work of genius, he had, unquestionably the *Divine Comedy* ever before him as an ideal source of inspiration. More immediately he had the *Lusíadas* and the religious allegorical interpretation of it which was current in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There was the other great epic of the period, *Jerusalem Delivered*, which came to supersede in some instances the influence of the *Lusíadas* in Portugal. There were the numerous Portuguese epics, particularly the historical-religious allegory *Afonso Africano*. Whatever the poems were which most influenced the poem's conception, *Os Novíssimos do Homem* deals — as Tasso had said an epic poem should deal — with a story drawn from true religion, that is, from that of either the Old or New Testament.<sup>51</sup>

Drawing from both Testaments, Rolim de Moura composed, in *oitavas reais*, four cantos: "Morte," "Juízo," "Inferno," and "Paraíso." For inspiration he invokes, in ambiguous terms, a figure who stands for both Urania and the Virgin.<sup>52</sup> Chief among the characters are God, Satan, Adam and Abel. On the human level of meaning, the hero is Adam; on the transcendental level, the incarnate and redeeming Christ.<sup>53</sup> All Creation is the scene. The time is the whole of time.

Like Dante, Rolim de Moura had a vital message for men. *Os Novíssimos do Homem* is the epic of remorse, repentance, purification, contemplation and joy. It depicts both the sinfulness of men, who forget in their presumptuousness that they are creatures, and the corruption of the world; and it shows the way to regeneration. Incidentally, it indicates the enormous God-given capacity for creative

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(51) Torquato Tasso (*Discorsi Dell'arte poetica; e del poema eroico*, Bari, 1964, p. 8): "A mio giudizio, conclude che l'argomento de l'epico debba esser tratto da istoria non gentile, ma cristiana od ebrea."

(52) Oh Musa, vós aonde o ser humano  
Se fez de eterna graça viva fonte,  
Vós, que não só Estrella do Oceano,  
E verde Planta sois d'Excelso monte;  
Mas lá no eterno Empyrio soberano  
D'onde não ha quem as grandezas conte,  
De Estrellas coroada, e Sol vestida,  
Sois dos Coros Angelicos servida.

(I, ii)

(53) The identification of the hero presents the problems later encountered also in *Paradise Lost*.

thought and action, which, for example, enabled men to discover, explore, and conquer new worlds.

To accomplish his purpose, the poet used an old means — the allegory. It is evident that he intended four meanings: the literal, the allegorical, the moral and the anagogical. In its literal sense, *Os Novíssimos do Homem* is the narrative of the disobedience of Adam and Eve and their consequent expulsion from the Garden of Eden; the convocation by Satan of the infernal council to plot against both God and man; Adam's visions of Christ on the Cross, of four Old Testament heroes of faith, and of the Last Judgment; the journey — with Abel as God's appointed guide for Adam — beginning with the road leading to Hell, then through Hell, where Satan rages in chains, Limbus, Purgatory and Heaven. The poem closes with Adam's vision of the "Divina Essencia," Christ and the Virgin. In the course of the development of the narrative Rolim de Moura presents the history of mankind, viewed from the standpoint of God, and a picture of the universe.

In its allegorical interpretation, the *Novíssimos* deals with man's misuse of his free will, his consequent predicament and suffering, and the finding, with celestial aid, of the way to regeneration. The Garden represents man's original state of innocence. The Serpent, who seduces Eve, typifies the forces of evil which conspire against man and his obedience to the Creator. God provides deliverance through faith in the redeeming work of Christ. Abel, who represents both Reason and Revelation, discloses to Adam the true nature of sin; the hideous creatures and monsters on the way to Hell and the punishments of Hell stand for the sins themselves. Adam turns away from them in horror. He has still to cleanse his soul and prepare it for the vision in Paradise. The torments of Purgatory typify the penances that the soul must endure in order to be purified. When the soul has regained its original innocence, it is led by Revelation upward through the heavens until it beholds God and has a vision of the Virgin. There is no longer a need for Revelation; Abel quietly disappears, leaving Adam to contemplate the Divine Mystery.

In its moral sense the poem is an exhortation against sin and a warning of the consequences of sin; it is a guide to repentance; it is an inspiration to obedience, faith, and contemplation. Anagogically, the Garden of Eden represents the world as God intended it to be;

the road to Hell and Hell itself, the wicked world as Rolim de Moura had come to know it; Purgatory, the deliverance of the penitent; Heaven, the life beyond prepared for the redeemed "from the foundation of the world."

Rolim de Moura based his epic narrative on the Genesis story of Adam. In accordance with accepted principles of Biblical exegesis the poet interpreted the story in the light of the New Testament. His use of the Bible and authoritative theological expositions of it, particularly the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas, enabled him to fulfill a two-fold purpose: communicate to his audience the central doctrines of the Christian faith; expand and mold the narrative to conform with the requirements of classical epic.

From the invocation on, the poet undertook the task of harmonizing classical poetry and fables of the gods with the Christian faith. He had the same experience as Tasso before him and Milton after him, both of whom came to grief, as Ernst Robert Curtius has said, over the *genre faux* of Christian epic.<sup>54</sup> But his attempt is distinguished from those of all other writers of the Portuguese epic by the extent and character of his preoccupation with the "Christianizing" of the pagan supernatural.

In our study of *Os Novíssimos do Homem* we shall give primary attention to the pointing out of differences and similarities between the four cantos and the Bible (including authoritative commentaries on it, above all, the *Summa Theologica*). Because the entire poem is a distinctively Christian "allegorical" interpretation and elaboration of the story of Adam, one of our constant tasks has been to ascertain the poet's interpretation of Scripture. The conclusions which we have reached in this regard are not intended, however, to be focal; they are a means to an end, instrumental to the realization of our ultimate objectives. Incidentally, we shall indicate sources other than the Bible which contributed substantially to the poem, particularly classical thought and tradition, the *Divine Comedy*, and *Jerusalem Delivered*.

It is hoped that the present work will fulfill three objectives: determine the extent to which Rolim de Moura, as a Christian writer

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(54) Curtius, p. 462. Frank Pierce discusses this "genre faux" in "Some Aspects of the Spanish 'Religious Epic' of the Golden Age," *Hispanic Review*, XII (1944), 4-8.

of Biblical epic, uses the Bible as the chief source of his poem; show the originality of the poet by indicating the way he uses the Bible to accomplish, within the limits of Tridentine orthodoxy, both his didactic and literary intentions; indicate the place and importance of the poet in his time.

## CANTO 1

### MORTE

#### 1 The Creation of the World and Man

Rolim de Moura devotes the first three stanzas, following the prelude to the poem, to the creation of the universe and man. While he adheres closely to the essentials of the account in Genesis, he passes over many of the details. He gives a very brief summary of Genesis 1 and 2: the creation by the Supreme Architect of the heavens and the earth from chaos, the sun, the beasts and birds, and man — the climax of God's work.

Ja aquella Magestade incomprehensivel  
Do Cahos tinha os dois globos separados,  
Ja tinha a maior luz feito visivel  
Quanto o Summo Architecto os tinha ornados;  
Ja a Machina Celeste incorruptivel  
Começava seus cursos encontrados,  
Ja tem feras a Terra, e no Ar voão  
As inquietas aves, que o povoão.

(I, iv)<sup>1</sup>

dando-lhe fórma n'hum instante  
O fez u'alma immortal seu semelhante.

(I, v, 7-8)

The notable addition which the imagination of the poet makes to Genesis is the provision by God of a "Logar, (sem ser logar)" (I, v, 4) for man, who has been created in his image. From the beginning God destines the soul of man to be an "eterna moradora" (I, vi, 4) in a "Mundo mais bello, e mais perfeito" (I, vi, 3) than the earth if he will be obedient in meeting the condition, if he will not eat of the fruit of the "árvore . . . vedada" (I, vi, 6).

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(1) Citations from *Os Novíssimos do Homem* in my text are from the *Obras de D. Francisco Child Rolim de Moura* (Lisboa, 1853).

Although there is nothing explicit in Genesis 1 and 2 on heaven as a place where the redeemed will ultimately dwell, there are in the Bible abundant texts on the subject. Some of the most familiar of these texts are in the Gospels. Shortly after predicting his own death, Jesus seeks to comfort the disciples: “Na casa de meu Pai há muitas moradas; se não fosse assim, eu vo-lo teria dito; vou preparar-vos lugar” (João 14:2). During the week of his Passion, Jesus tells the disciples in a parable: “Então dirá o Rei aos que estiverem à sua direita: Vinde, benditos de meu Pai, possui por herança o reino que vos está preparando desde a fundação do mundo” (Mat. 25:34).

## 2 The Garden of Eden

While Rolim de Moura adds comparatively little to Genesis in his account of the creation, he greatly expands the very scant description of the Garden of Eden given in Genesis 2:9-11. To the picture of the Biblical Garden, he adds features common to long-established traditions of landscape description<sup>2</sup> from Theocritus and Virgil on down.

The Garden is first seen through the eyes of Satan, the “Rei Triste,” and his “ministros crueis” (I, xxxiv, 5). They marvel at all the excellencies of the Garden. To them “tudo estava / Fazendo inveja á mesma fermosura” (I, xxvii, 3-4). More than once they acknowledge that “tudo era / Hum sigilo da Mão, que o fizera (I, xxx, 7-8). They see in the heavens “Fazendo então o Sol com igualdade / Geral repartição da claridade” (I, xxv, 7-8); the animals and birds; the vegetation — “A flôr, e fruto vê-se que esmaltava / Dos levantados troncos a verdura” (I, xxvii, 5-6); the “liquidos cristaes puros e bellos” (I, xxviii, 7) of the river which waters the Garden and which separates into four streams. They envy the “clima . . . benino” (I, xxv, 4), the “grã pureza” (I, xxvi, 3) of the air, the soft breezes of Zephyrus which seem to

Ondear com brandura as flôres bellas,  
E quando brandamente as dividia

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(2) Rolim de Moura's description of the Earthly Paradise conforms to the schema of the antique *locus amoenus*: water, trees, garden, birds, flowers, and soft breezes. To these the poet adds fruit, and animals. See Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York, 1953), pp. 197-198.



Ir em si transformando o cheiro dellas;

(I, xxx, 2-4)

But of all the wonders of the Garden one tree, planted in the center,  
is preeminent.

Hua arvore se vê, que a todas passa  
Em flôr, em fruto, em beleza, e graça.

(I, xxxi, 7-8)

D'hum ramo estava á Terra despedindo  
De sulphurinos raios flamma immensa,  
Com que elementos puros confundindo  
Maculados os frutos nos dispensa;  
D'outro tronco supremo está sahindo  
Hum Rio que esta perda recompensa,  
Que hum Cordeiro de sangue derramava,  
Com que este grande incendio se apagava.

(I, xxxii)

This vivid pictorial image of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil appears all the more striking when we contrast it with the text in Genesis on which the image is based: "E o Senhor Deus fez brotar da terra toda a árvore agradável à vista, e boa para comida; e a árvore da vida no meio da jardim, e a árvore da ciencia do bem e do mal" (2:9). The poet not only shifts the location of the tree, giving it the prominent position of the Tree of Life,<sup>3</sup> which is omitted entirely from the canto, but he also attempts to present the tree in such a way that its symbolical significance is compounded.

To produce this effect he brings together in meaningful unity a mosaic of symbols common to the Bible and the Christian tradition: fire, corrupt fruit, a river of blood, and the slain but triumphant Lamb of God. If these symbols were not so traditional, the total impression might seem grotesque. Because they are familiar to the reader, it is conceivable that the image might be taken for one in the Apocalypse of John. Indeed, of the numerous passages in the Bible which could have suggested the composite image to Rolim de Moura, perhaps two of the most likely ones are in Revelation:

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(3) Perhaps the position of the tree which Nebuchadnezzar saw in a dream figured in the poet's representation: "Vi uma árvore no meio da Terra, cuja altura era grande; ... A sua folhagem era formosa, e o seu fruto abundante" (Dan. 4:10, 12).

E ouvi uma grande voz no céu, que dizia: Agora chegada está a salvação, e a força, e o reino do nosso Deus, e o poder do seu Cristo; porque já o acusador de nossos irmãos é derribado .... E Eles o venceram pelo sangue do Cordeiro (Apoc. 12:10-11). E Mostrou-me o rio ... que procedia do trono de Deus e do Cordeiro (Apoc. 22:1).

Another passage which might have contributed to the symbolic whole is in the Sermon on the Mount: “Toda a árvore boa produz bons frutos, e toda a árvore má produz frutos maus. Não pode a árvore boa dar maus frutos; nem a árvore má dar fruto bons. Toda a árvore que não dá bom fruto corta-se e lança-se no fogo” (Mat. 7:17-19).

### 3 The Temptation of Eve

For the basis of the seduction of Eve by Satan, in the form of a serpent, Rolim de Moura depends on the Genesis narrative, as he does in the sections on the creation and the Garden of Eden. But he expands the material given there and at the same time adds much that has no basis whatsoever in Scripture. In contrast to the five verses on the temptation in Genesis, there are thirty-eight *oitavas reais* on the subject in the canto.

The explanation for this expanding of the scene between the two principal actors, Eve and Satan, may be found in the use which the poet makes of the speech of Satan; it leads up to and culminates in Eve's decision to eat the forbidden fruit of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. The stanza in which the disobedience occurs — not only Eve's but also Adam's — may be regarded as the pivotal chapter of the canto. All that precedes it foreshadows the yielding to temptation; all that follows it is a consequence of man's disobedience to God's command. Man, who has been created in the likeness of God, succumbs to the wiles of the tempter and is banished from the Garden.

The specific content of the speech of Satan also helps to explain the lengthening of this scene. In twenty-two of the thirty-four stanzas Satan is dazzling Eve with the overwhelming spectacle of seas and lands and vast domains which may be hers if she will only eat the forbidden fruit. It is essentially the same temptation which Satan is

to use later — though hopelessly and in vain — in his temptation of Jesus in the desert (Mat. 4:8-9), and, incidentally, the same temptation which is also to give inspiration to Milton for one of his great scenes.

But the imaginative additions which the author of *Os Novíssimos do Homem* makes to the Biblical passage are far more extensive than those of Milton. Almost from the moment that the Portuguese poet's Satan holds up an imaginary map to Eve in the Garden, he seems to forsake for a time the business of temptation so that the poet can trace the bounds not of the ancient world but of the world of the early seventeenth century, bounds which his own country had helped to extend with such prodigious undertakings in the days of her chief glory. When the poet finally halts his journey — reluctant, it seems, that he cannot finish — he does so “sem que esta descrição nada comprehenda / De quanto o largo Mundo mais se estenda” (I, lxii, 7-8).

From the outset the double purpose of Satan, the “Rei Triste,” has been clear: “offender o Rei da Gloria” and to conspire “hua victoria d’Almas, que para o Ceo tinha creadas” (I, xviii, 4, 6-7). Seizing now the opportunity of finding Eve alone — and restive, perhaps, at being confined to the Garden (“os limites delle vendo,” (I, xxv, 3) — Satan turns to her, his voice “cheia d’enganos: . . . / Com accentos fingidos mais que humanos” (I, xxxv, 4-6),

E diz-lhe: Oh perfeição, cuja excellência  
Inveja faz á mesma natureza!  
Por que uses em teu damno da prudencia  
Que encerra dessa fórma a grã belleza?  
Por que despresas tanta preeminencia  
Quanta te representa tal grandeza,  
E a razão natural que te he dotada  
D'alma immortal potencia inseparada?  
(I, xxxvi)

Olha que só te enleva, e te esvanece  
A falta de ter bem considerado  
O quão erradamente se escolhesse  
Trocando-se o mandar por ser mandado;  
Podereis Deoses ser, se se colhasse  
O Pomo, que por isso he só vedado,

E ficará de vós então sabido  
O bem e o mal, que nelle está escondido.  
(I, xxxvii)

These two stanzas, which introduce Satan's speech, are carefully based on Genesis: "É assim que Deus disse: Não comereis de toda a árvore do jardim? . . . Certamente não morrereis. Porque Deus sabe que no dia em que dele comerdes se abrirão os vossos olhos, e sereis como Deus, sabendo o bem e o mal" (3:1, 4-5). The last four lines of stanza xxxvii are so close to the Biblical phrasing that they are, apart from the altered arrangement, almost paraphrases. The parts of the stanzas which do not have explicit counterparts in Genesis — for instance, the subtle and methodical flattery of Eve — represent imaginative additions within the limits of what can be inferred from the speech, as well as from the description of the serpent, who "era mais astuta que todas as alimarias do campo que o Senhor Deus tinha feito" (3:1). Towards the close of his speech, after his long survey of the world, Satan returns, in the main, to a reiteration of these basic themes and to a further amplification and elaboration of them.

E vendo a mulher que aquela árvore era boa para se comer, e agradável aos olhos, e árvore desejável para dar entendimento, tomou do seu fruto, e comeu, e deu também a seu marido, e ele comeu com ela. Então foram abertos os olhos de ambos, e conheceram que estavam nus; e coseram folhas de figueira, e fizeram para si aventais" (Gên. 3:6-7).

The climactic lines of the poetic version of man's first disobedience and fall are essentially the same as the original; the ones leading up to them are the poet's imaginative additions.

Torna a mover-se (ja da mente insana)  
A solida verdade despedida,  
Para o Pomo vedado caminhando  
Do receio os desejos triumphando.  
(I, lxxi, 5-8)

Ja lhe tardava o bem que pretendia  
E só da dilação a magoa sente,  
Ja o braço homecida s'estendia

Pouco, a quem tanto deve, obediente;  
O Pomo colhe, e faz quando comia  
Que coma Adão com ella juntamente,  
E foi assi, que os olhos logo abrirão  
Mas para se vêr taes como se virão.  
(I, lxxii)

The tempter has accomplished his purpose by making disobedience appear as the way to something good and beneficial. Having eaten of the Tree of Knowledge, Adam and Eve immediately pass from a state of innocence into knowledge; but since it is not a knowledge of the type they have been led by Satan to expect, they suffer disillusionment and recognize their nakedness of soul as well as of body.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4 The Judgment of God

After the disobedience of Adam and Eve in the Garden, the newly created heavens and earth, according to the poet, join with God in his displeasure at the ingratitude of Adam and Eve:

Tremeo da nova Terra ao Firmamento  
Quanto tamanho circulo encerrava,  
Tudo offendeo o grande sentimento  
Que tal ingratidão representava;  
O sol d'hum temor frio macilento  
Perdeo da bella luz que antes mostrava  
Das sete partes seis, e mais perdera  
Se mais sem se extinguir perder podera.  
(I, lxiii)

Although there is no reference in Genesis to a manifestation of displeasure by nature, this type of response by the universe to events which are related in some way to God's divine plan is not uncommon

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(4) Because a number of the stanzas which Rolim de Moura devotes to the temptation of Eve imply her frailties, the question of antifeminism may be raised. In view of the fact that the poet's portrayal is consistent with the Scriptural account, it would seem that an antifeminist attitude on his part cannot be deduced — any more than Dante's portrayal of Eve can be interpreted as antifeminism. It will be remembered that Dante reproves Eve as though Adam had not eaten of the forbidden fruit (*Purgatory* XXXIV, 116; XXIX, 23-30).

in the Bible. The prophet Habakkuk says, in his prayer to God, that “Os montes . . . tremeram: . . . deu o abismo a sua voz, levantou as mãos ao alto” (Hab. 3:10). Paul tells the Romans: “Sabemos que toda a criação geme e está juntamente com dores de parto até agora. E não só ela, mas nós mesmos, que temos as primícias do Espírito, também gememos em nós mesmos, esperando a adoção, a saber, a redenção do nosso corpo” (Rom. 8:22-23). The poet’s lines about the sun are reminiscent of moments in Biblical history when the light of the sun is diminished: the intervention of God in judgment upon Egypt, “e o sol encobrirei com uma nuvem” (Ez. 32:7); the crucifixion of Jesus, “E houve trevas em toda a terra até a hora nona, escurecendo-se o sol” (Luc. 23:44-45); the final judgment, at which time Jesus says: “o sol escurecerá” (Mat. 24:29).

Unlike God, who, according to Genesis 3:8, is walking “no jardim pela viração do dia” when he calls to Adam and Eve to confront them with their sin, the God of Rolim de Moura’s poem is seen as

A Divina Justiça, que se offende  
De soberba mortal tão insolente,  
Na Dextra a Espada, que a razão defende,  
Na outra o grande Sceptro preeminente,  
(I, lxxvi, 1-4)

One of the many Biblical allusions which recall the picture of a just God seated upon a throne and reigning over the entire universe is that given by the psalmist: “Cinge a tua espada à coxa, ó Valente, com a tua gloria e a tua majestade. . . . O teu trono, ó Deus, é eterno e perpetuo; o cetro do teu reino é um cetro de equidade” (Sal. 45:3,6). The description of the poet also suggests the Revelation to John, who sees Jesus as the royal Christ and hears him say: “E o que vivo e fui morto, mas eis aquí estou vivo para todo o sempre. Amem. E tenho as chaves da morte e do inferno” (Apoc. 1:18).

The judgment of this God sitting upon a throne comes quickly:

Morrão, morrão, dizia, juntamente  
Almas e corpos, tudo alli pereça,

Em tal execução tão preeminente  
Preeminencia Infinita se conheça;

(I, lxxix, 1-4)

This entire sentence of death has no explicit counterpart in Genesis, where God, after hearing their confessions of guilt, first pronounces the penalties Adam and Eve will have to pay for their transgression and then drives them from the Garden (3:9-22).

The sentence of destruction, however, does have a close Biblical correspondence which follows shortly in Genesis. By the time of Noah, man's corruption, begun in Adam, has so contaminated his whole being that God is represented as being sorry that he ever created man. For this reason he decides to wipe out this sinful race by the Flood — with the exception of Noah and his family — and to begin a new race. “E disse o Senhor: Destruirei, de sobre a face da terra, o homem que criei, desde o homem até ao animal, até ao reptil, e até a ave dos ceus; porque me arrependo do os haver feito. Noé porem achou graça aos olhos do Senhor” (6:7-8).

The mercy later to be shown by God in sparing Noah and his family first appears in his judgment of Adam and Eve. Through the reasoned plea of “Misericordia” — on behalf of both God and man — in the Tribunal of Justice, God abrogates the sentence of death on Adam and Eve and spares them:

Eu não digo, Senhor, que sem castigo  
Passe, tamanho excesso tão danoso,  
Que são iguaes em Vós sómente digo  
Brandas Entranhas, Peito Valeroso;  
E se a Justiça só levar comsigo  
O que tendes, Senhor, de rigoroso,  
Seria (o que não he) Vossa Clemencia  
Vencida dentro em Vós d'outra potencia.

(I, lxxxviii)

Disse; e o Padre Eterno dilatando  
Por hum pouco a resposta, que esperavão,  
Gravemente a Cabeça meneando  
A que todos os Coros se humilhavão,  
Do Sacrosancto Peito a Voz lançando  
Tacs Divinas Palavras se formavão:  
Ouvido tenho, e d'ambas o respeito  
Observado será com justo effeito.

(I, lxxxix)

While the figure of “Misericórdia” recalls — among abundant instances in the Old Testament — the mercy of God in sparing Noah, it also points toward’s God’s fulfillment of his promised faithfulness through the redeeming work of Christ, the “Second Adam”:

Se pela ofensa de um [Adão] só, a morte reinou por esse, muito mais os que recebem a abundancia da graça, e do dom da justiça, reinarão em vida por um só — Jesús Cristo. Pois assim como por uma só ofensa veio o juízo sobre todos os homens para condenação, assim também por um só ato de justiça veio a graça sobre todos os homens para justificação de vida. Porque, como pela desobediencia de um só homem, muitos foram feitos pecadores, assim pela obediencia de um, muitos serão feitos justos (Rom. 5:17-19).

Both the interrogation of Adam and Eve and the penalties which are pronounced on them in Genesis are paraphrased, in general, by Rolim de Moura. For example, God asks Adam: “O fruto da mortifera amargura; / Tens tu comido delle, por ventura?” (I, ci, 7-8).

Si, respondeo, e porque não achava  
Com que poder melhor justificar-se,  
Co’a Mulher seus errors desculpava;  
(I, cii, 1-3)

E tu, Adão, que contra meus mandados  
Tão levemente aos seus obedecias,  
Trocando este devido pensamento  
Por palavras de leve fundamento;  
(I, cv, 5-8)

Da Terra viverás sempre morrendo,  
E ella inda de ti como affrontada  
(Mas a tantos trabalhos respondendo)  
Se mostrará d’espinhos povoada,  
Irá sempre em abrolhos convertendo  
O que antes dava sem ser cultivada,  
Até que em teu suor mal sustentado  
Te convertas em pó de que és creado.  
(I, cvi)

## 5 Satan, the “Rei triste do triste Reino”

The section of the canto which deals with Satan and Hell is closely patterned on that of the infernal council in Tasso’s *Jerusalem*



*Delivered* (IV). It incorporates more allusions to classical mythology than does any other single section. The “eternos moradores” (I, cxvi, 1) of the “cavernas horridas” (I, xx, 1) of the “profundo Reino (I, xvi, 2), who are summoned to plot vengeance on God through man’s destruction (I, xviii, 4-8), are pictured as howling and hissing as they enter the council chamber to take their fiery seats (I, xii, 3):

Hum arrastrando a colla já se via,  
Qual escamosa, e perfida Serpente,  
Acolá vôa a sanguinosa Harpia,  
Aqui ruge o Leão da Libia ardente;  
Outro que a todos juntos parecia,  
Sendo de qualquer delles differente,  
Tem de marinho monstro a fôrma brava,  
Mas são de fogo as ondas que cortava.  
(I, x)

Alli ferinos pés, corpos humanos  
Se vião com disforme respondencia,  
Os Centauros crueis, Tygres Hircanos,  
Medonhos monstros cheios de inclemencia,  
Huivos, sibilos, roncoshumanos  
Fazião a terrible apparencia  
Dos medonhos aspeitos temerosa,  
Se cousa ha no temor tão espantosa.  
(I, xi)

To preside over this infernal congregation and to arouse its members to action comes Plutus. On his head is a crown which is so dark that by contrast the cavern of Hell shines brightly (I, xiv, 5-6): “Plutão no meio alli dos mais válidos, / O sceptro ardente intrepido sustendo” (I, xii, 5-6).

Os scintillantes olhos tanto ardião  
Que cometas infaustos semelhavão,  
Na grã cabeça e barba se esparzião  
Cinzas, que fogo ainda sustentavão:  
Os anhelitos roncoshumanos  
Grossos fumos, que o ar inficionavão,  
Lívida a côr, os beiços retornados,  
Em negro sangue os dentes tem banhados.  
(I, xiii)

This description is one of the most obvious examples of Tasso's influence on Rolim de Moura. Tasso describes "Pluton":

Orrida maestá nel fèro aspetto  
terrore accresce, e piú superbo il rende;  
rosseggian gli occhi, e di veneno infetto  
come infausta cometa, ilguardo splende;  
gl'involva il mento, e su l'irsuto petto  
inspida e folta la gran barba scende;  
e in guisa di voragine profunda  
s'apre la bocca d'atro sangue immonda.

(IV, 7)

Although Plutus and the names given to the monsters who dwell in Rolim de Moura's Hell are nowhere mentioned in connection with hell in the Bible, there are ample references in Scripture which suggest the picture presented by the poet. Isaiah speaks of Israel addressing the king of Babylon, their former captor: "E contudo levado serás ao inferno, ao mais profundo do abismo" (14:15). The writers of the Gospels record the warning of Jesus to the disciples:

Portanto, se a tua mão ou o teu pé te escandalizar, corta-o, e atira-o para longe de ti: melhor te é entrar na vida coxo, ou aleijado, do que, tendo duas mãos ou dois pés, seres lançado no fogo eterno. E, se o teu olho te escandalizar, arranca-o, e atira-o para longe de ti. Melhor te é entrar na vida com um só olho, do que, tendo dois olhos, seres lançado no fogo do inferno (Mat. 18:8-9).

In his condemnation of the scribes and Pharisees, Jesus says, "Serpentes, raça de víboras! como escapareis da condenação do inferno?" (Mat. 23:32). To the angel of the church in Pergamos, John is instructed to write: "Eu sei as tuas obras, e onde habitas, que é onde está o trono de Satanaz" (Apoc. 2:13). John also writes of the angel who "prende o dragão, a antiga serpente, que é o Diabo e Satanaz" (Apoc. 20:1-2).

There are also in the Bible many references to the powers, intentions, and work of Satan. When in the desert the devil tempts Jesus with all the kingdoms of the world, Jesus says to him: "Vai-te, Satanaz, porque está escrito: Ao Senhor teu Deus adorarás, e só a

ele servirás” (Mat. 4:10). Paul warns the church in Ephesus: “Revestí-vos de toda a armadura de Deus, para que possais estar firmes contra as astutas ciladas do diabo” (Ef. 6:11). Peter cautions the spiritual shepherds of the church, “Sede sobrios; vigiai; porque o diabo, vosso adversário, anda em derredor, bramando como leão, buscando a quem possa tragar” (I Ped. 5:8).



## CANTO II

### JUIZO

#### 1 Adam's Vision of Christ on the Cross

Following his sin and consequent expulsion from the Garden, Adam sees a series of visions while in a state of trance. "N'hum extasi lhe faz que veja em vida / A morte pela culpa merecida" (II, cxii, 5-8). The first vision is that of Christ on the Cross; the second is that of four great figures of the Old Testament; the third is that of the last judgment.

Nowhere in the Bible is there a reference to Adam as having a trance in which he sees visions. There are a few accounts of trances in Scripture — notably those of Peter and Paul — in which visions are seen and voices heard (At. 10:10-12; 22:17-18), and probably these accounts suggested not only a means of communicating Biblical truth but also a device for handling the basic structure of Cantos II, III and IV.

The first thirteen of the eighty-two stanzas of Canto II deal with the suffering repentance which the crucifixion of Christ inspired in Adam. He views his great "crime commettido" in the light of the Cross.

Em cruz pendente, la da Extelsa Altura,  
Se mostra Christo a Adão, que arrependido,  
Com enchentes de lagrimas procura  
Deixar lavado o crime commettido;

(II, Argumento)

While the vision of Christ on the Cross is based on the Gospels, a repénance on the part of Adam is nowhere explicitly stated in tht Bible. The poet, however, bases Adam's thoughts during the vision on the central theme of the Christian faith — especially as they are stated by Paul in his letter to the Romans (1-6). For Paul the righteousness of God is manifested once for all when he asserts

that Jesus Christ on the Cross is the means whereby men may be delivered by faith from their sins. God is righteous in judging sin; he is also righteous in fulfilling his agelong purpose to bring into being a redeemed humanity.

“Da visão que alumia o pensamento” (II, ii, 6), Adam says:

Aqui, Senhor, aonde mais me offende  
Vosso temor em passo tão estreito,  
Aqui da Féo fogo mais se acende  
Quando melhor conheço meu defeito;  
(II, iii, 1-4)

Lembro-vos que se foi amor crear-me,  
Que he essencia d'amor ser compassivo,  
E posto que eu faltei quando convinha  
Não põe limite em Vós a falta minha.  
(II, iv, 5-8)

Quanto fôra melhor perdes a vida  
Que a tão custoso perço resgata-la!  
Mas que digo, Senhor? pois ella he tida  
Por tal, que vindes Vós a restaura-la!  
(II, viii, 1-4)

Grandezas são á Fé communicadas  
E a Vós as dessa Cruz só reservadas.  
(II, xii, 7-8)

To the suffering experienced by Adam over his own sin is added that which is occasioned by the realization that “a grande descendencia” will “queixar-se / Castigada por seu atrevimento” (II, xvii, 5-6). This realization also has a basis in Romans 5:12-21, where Paul discusses the solidarity of fallen humanity in Adam and of redeemed humanity in Christ.

In Rolim de Moura's treatment of Adam after the Fall, he deals not only with his spirit; he also deals with the second element of the essential nature of man, that is, his character as a creature of the natural order.

Assi Adão, que Deos favorecendo  
Sente d'amor o fogo deleitoso,  
Onde ás passadas culpas vai fazendo  
Sacrificio suave e rigoroso,  
Não passa só chorando, nem gemendo

O cuidado de crime tão danoso,  
Mas de hua penitência áspera e forte  
Era a misera vida a mesma morte.

(II, xiv)

In Genesis, God's punishment of Adam consists in the suffering, toil, and hardship that he will have to endure the rest of his life:

Porquanto ... comeste da árvore de que te ordenei, dizendo:  
Não comerás dela; maldita é a terra por causa de ti; com dor  
comerás dela todos os dias da tua vida. Espinhos, e cardos também,  
te produzirá, e comerás a erva do campo. No suor do teu rosto  
comerás o teu pão, até que te tornes à terra; porque dela foste  
tomado; porquanto és pó, e em pó te tornarás (Gên. 3:17-19).

Rolim de Moura makes use of these verses, but in such a way that a very strong element of ascetic selfpunishment or mortification is introduced. Not only do "os espinhos das brenhas onde andava / Por mil partes a carne lhe rompião" (II, xxi, 3-4), but also the animal skins in which he is clothed are lined with "ásperas silvas ... / Cujos bicos que as veias vão rompendo / Ficão fontes de sangue parecendo" (II, xx, 5,7-8). This element of self-mortification is emphasized even more when the poet adds matter which has neither any connection whatsoever with the Biblical passage in question nor with the Bible in general.

Rompe com dura pedra o brando peito  
Aonde as tristes lagrimas dizião  
Na ardente fragoa deste amor perfeito  
Mais co'ellas as chammas s'acendião:

(II, xxiii, 1-4)

Não hua vez, mas muitas lhe sucede  
Que desfazendo o peito a pedra dura  
Do Horizonte o Sol se lhe despede,  
E da Terra despois a sombra escura:

(II, xxiv, 1-4)

## 2 Adam's vision of Four Old Testament Heroes of Faith

When Adam comes to feel that he can endure no more, when he is overcome with a desire to "enterrarse vivo" (II, xxx, 8), he has

a second vision. A woman of “*estranha beleza*” appears before him. This “*Mulher de Regia Magestade*” comes to help him — as Beatrice comes at the hest of the Virgin to help Dante — in his efforts to purge himself. She holds in her hand a candle of such brightness that the “*segredos do Ceo*” can be seen by its light.

She conducts him among “*mil ruínas temerosas*” (II, xxv, 2) to an immense cave located near three “*fontes saudosas*” and a mountain which lifts itself so high that it seems to be joined to Heaven and the stars. The entrance to the cave leads into an area of “*grandeza desusada*,” having four sides and as many towers which “*ao Ceo subir querião*” (II, xxxviii, 8). There are Doric columns, decorated with jasper, which are set on “*bases romanas*” and which have Corinthian capitals (II, xxxix, 1-4).

While neither the vision of the “*Mulher de Regia Magestade*” nor the cave setting derive from Scripture, the visions which Adam sees on each of the walls have a Biblical basis. In “*profética esculptura*” he sees depicted a series of episodes in the lives of four great Old Testament figures. He gives only the name of one of them, Abraham. The others we recognize from the Biblical clue he provides: Solomon, Joseph, and Jonah. The choice of personalities and scenes appears to have been determined by the chief spiritual lessons which each of the series has in common, that is, man’s obedience and disobedience to the will of God, and God’s faithfulness to man in preserving and forgiving.

The poet follows closely, with scant elaboration, the corresponding Biblical narratives for each of the series. In the case of Abraham, for instance, all the main elements of the original narrative appear in the poem. When the supreme trial of the old Hebrew patriarch’s faith occurs, he proves himself ready to obey God and to offer his only son Isaac as a burnt offering. Because of his willingness to obey, God spares Isaac by providing a ram for the offering. He promises that Abraham’s descendants will number as the stars and that they will be a blessing to all the nations of the earth. How carefully the poetic version parallels Genesis may be seen in the example below. It should be noted that the mountain in the poem does not represent an elaboration, for in Genesis 22:2 God tells Abraham that the sacrifice is to be made on a mountain.



E tomou Abraão a lenha  
do holocausto, e pô-la  
sobre Isaque seu filho;  
e ele tomou o fogo e o  
cutelo na sua mão, e  
foram ambos juntos.

(Gên. 22:6)

Com bem igual mysterio e ornamento  
Na terceira parede se esculpia  
Hum Monte, onde afigura o pensamento  
Que sua altura as nuvens excedia;  
Por elle caminhava a passo lento  
Hum venerando velho, a quem seguia  
Hum menino, que a lenha lhe levava,  
Elle o cutello, e o fogo que faltava.

(II, li)

### 3 Adam's Vision of the Last Judgment

The final vision which Adam has is of the last judgment: "Tribunal d'onde a Summa Magestade / Nega entrada á Divina Piedade" (II, lxx, 7-8). The poet tells us that in this court "Abrem-se livros," but he makes no specific reference to the Book of Life in which the names of the righteous are inscribed. Instead he concentrates solely on the one which records the deeds of the wicked:

Não só crimes atrozes commettidos,  
Mas pensamentos mal encaminhados  
E momentos em ocio despendidos:

(II, lxii, 2-4)

The last judgment — the bringing of all men under judgment by God through Christ at the end of the world — is an essential part of the Gospel and has its background in prophetic books of the Old Testament beginning with Amos 5:18,20. Christ, the Apostles, including Paul, and the four Evangelists all write of this day, although with variations at times in their conceptions. Peter says that Jesus commanded the disciples to preach that he was "o que por Deus foi constituido juiz dos vivos e dos mortos" (At. 10:42). Of his vision of the judgment, John writes:

E vi um grande trono branco, e o que estava assentado sobre ele, de cuja presença fugiu a terra e o céu; e não se achou lugar para eles. E vi os mortos, grandes e pequenos, que estavam diante do trono, e abriram-se os livros; e abriu-se outro livro, que é o da vida; e os mortos foram julgados pelas coisas que estavam escritas nos livros, segundo as suas obras (Apoc. 20:11-12).

When a “mesma consciencia dos peccados / Pede descarga” and “são alli ouvidos / Os inimigos d'alma que accusavão / As culpas,” Adam begs for time — for a day or at least an hour — in which to weep for that which “não foi sempre chorado,” but he is refused this request. Instead, judgment on him is pressed even further when his own sins rise up to accuse him:

Tu nos approvast:,  
Fomos de ti nascidas e creadas;  
Onde nos queres deixar desamparadas?  
(II, lxxiii, 1-4)

Stricken by the weight of his punishment, Adam looks to his body and natural faculties to offer some defense. But they serve only to make him all the more wretched; he discovers to his horror that they have been corrupted by his transgression.

Torna a buscar o corpo que informava,  
Quer com sua fraqueza defender-se,  
Vê que fetida terra feita estava  
A materia por quem tal chega a ver-se;  
(II, lxxiv, 1-2)

Os instrumentos busca dos sentidos,  
Informes todos acha, e tão mudados  
Que servem só de vêr quão mal perdidos  
Forão, podendo ser tão bem ganhados;  
(II, lxxv, 1-4)

The corruption of the flesh seen as a consequence of and punishment for the primal sin of rebellion against God is a possible interpretation of Paul's epistle to the Romans:

Porquanto, tendo conhecido a Deus, não o glorificaram como Deus, nem lhe deram graças, antes em seus discursos se desvaneceram,

e o seu coração insensato se obscureceu. Dizendo-se sábios, tornaram-se loucos. E mudaram a glória do Deus incorruptível em semelhança da imagem do homem corruptível, e de aves, e de quadrúpedes, e de reptéis (Rom. 1:21-23).

In the poem a “calliginosa nevoa” clouds Adam’s eyes from seeing God; his ears, made to hear God’s law, cannot, for “estradas de bichos parecião, / Tantos entram nelles, e sahião!” (II, lxxxvi); his tongue, “fria . . . no concavo da boca está mostrando / Tão diferente uso em sua estancia, / Que secca e negra as fauces apegavão / Á terra, e as aranhas que a cercavão” (II, lxxviii). His sense of touch and smell are similarly affected. For the particular aspects of corruption which the poet gives in his description, there is no counterpart in the Bible. It is true that instances of permanent or temporary impairment and deterioration of sight, hearing, and the power of speech occur in the Bible, but such loss is never accompanied by the grotesque aspects which Rolim de Moura pictures. A notable example is the temporary loss of sight experienced by Paul on the road to Damascus (At. 9:8-9, 18):

E Saulo levantou-se da terra, e, abrindo os olhos, não via a ninguém. E, guiando-o pela mão, o conduziram a Damasco. E esteve três dias sem ver, e não comeu nem bebeu . . . E logo lhe caíram dos olhos como que umas escamas, e recuperou a vista; e, levantando-se, foi batizado.



## CANTO III

### INFERNO

#### 1 The Universe

At the outset of the Third Canto we see Abel, the righteous second son of Adam, in Paradise. A rare vision comes to him of his father on Earth. He sees Adam in a faint brought on by the terror which had overcome him in his vision of the last judgment (II, lxxxii). Compassion for his “desterrado Pai” moves Abel to pray to God on his behalf.

o discurso humano como alcança  
Sòmente o que os censorios representarão,  
Seguindo dos objectos a mudança  
Imigos segue, que mil damnos tentão,  
Na fé que unida a si traz a esperança  
Opposições diversas atormentão,  
E quando premio e pena estão presentes  
Vencem-se desta vista os accidentes.

(III, v)

God in his grace sends Abel to help Adam. In speaking of Abel's journey to Earth, Rolim de Moura gives a description of the Universe. Later on in Canto III and in the *Paraizo*, he will elaborate on this description; now, allowing a few details to suffice for the Empyrean and Celestial Spheres, he focuses his attention on the Earth.

Ja despedido os Ceos passa, e ja dece  
Ao Ceo, que de mais luzes se guarnece.  
(III, vi, 7-8)

D'aqui as outras que com moto errado  
Vão sempre em diferenças concertadas  
Deixa, e logo no Mundo elementado

Toca do fogo as chamas levantadas;  
Entra naquella espaço que occupado  
He de tres regiões tão encontradas,  
Que a ponderosa neve, e os tribulentos  
Raios, tem nelle proprios aposentos.

(III, vii)

The conception of the universe which the poet presents here corresponds only generally with references in Genesis and other books of the Old Testament. The poem concurs with the Old Testament when it makes heaven the place where God's immediate presence is manifested.<sup>1</sup> But the poet does not follow the Old Testament when he divides heaven into "Ceos" or spheres. The Old Testament has only heaven (literally, "the heavens") in contrast to the earth. Genesis<sup>2</sup> shows the heavens as a dome covering the earth, a flat disk surrounded by water. In the visible heavens are the stars and planets (Gên. 1:14-17). In the part of the heavens next to the earth is the atmosphere, in which clouds float and through which birds fly and from which the rain descends when the windows of heaven are opened (Gên. 1:20; 7:11; 8:2; 27:28).

Although the heaven of the New Testament is generally like that of the Old, in Paul's time it was commonly divided into several different regions. No fixed, definite conception of these several strata prevailed, but the highest, the region outside the whole universe of matter, was regarded as God's dwelling place. Paul describes Christ as ascending far above the heavens (Ef. 4:10); and he speaks of being caught up into the third heaven and into paradise (II Cor. 12:1-4). It is primarily, then, this conception held by the later Jews, rather than the Old Testament one, that most informs the poem. Abel descends from the highest heaven, paradise, the abode of God, and passes through the spheres of the constellations and planets to reach earth.

Although the "tres regiões" into which the "Mundo elementado" is divided may be related in general to the Biblical concepts

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(1) Gên. 28:17; Sal. 80:14; Is. 66:1.

(2) Other Old Testament references: Sal. 78:23; 104:2; Is. 40:22; II Reis 7:2; Ez. 32:7,8.

mentioned above, they seem to owe more to Ptolemaic cosmology. The first region is the geocentric globe, which consists of earth and water; the second region is the sphere of air which surrounds the earth; and the third region is the sphere of fire which is between the sphere of air and the starry heavens. Fire, one of the four substances once believed to constitute all physical matter, is not mentioned in the Biblical story of creation; it is mentioned, however, in countless other instances throughout the Bible.

## 2 "Innocente Abel," God's Chosen Guide for Adam

Unlike the "Mulher de Regia Magestade, "the spiritual guide who had come in a vision to Adam, Abel suddenly appears before his old father. Adam awakens suddenly, from the faint into which he had fallen, to behold Abel, whose presence shines brighter than the morning sun. Before this — ever since Abel's death at the hands of his envious brother Cain — Adam had imagined, no doubt, that Abel was either "asleep in the grave" (Jó 3:11, 13-14) or, possibly, that he was in Sheol, a dark, gloomy region beneath the earth in which the dead lived on.<sup>3</sup> Yet now Abel is here before him in visible spiritual form and speaking to him. He has not arisen from either a grave or Sheol, but rather he has descended from the Epyrean, the Paradise of God.

Whether Abel went immediately to Heaven or whether he first passed through some intermediate state is not made clear in the poem. The fact that Rolim de Moura is silent on this point leads us to infer that at death Abel went immediately to his reward, that is, to a blessed and eternal existence with God. For this conception the poet draws primarily upon the New Testament.

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(3) The most informative pictures of Sheol in the Old Testament are in Jó 3:17-29; Is. 14:9-11; and Ez. 32:17-32. It is with rare exception that anyone ever returns from this cavern to earth. Samuel was brought back to converse with Saul through the powers of a sorceress, but in a form invisible to Saul (I Sam. 28).

St. Thomas writes that the dead may appear to the living "by the special dispensation of God, in order that the souls of the dead may enter into the affairs of the living (this is to be accounted as miraculous.)" *Summa Theologica*, trans. Dominican Fathers of English Province (New York, 1947), Part I, Question 89, Article 8, Reply Objection 2.

Although it presents more than one eschatological view, there are statements which speak of the dead as going immediately to their reward. For example, on the day of his crucifixion, Jesus says to the repentant criminal, “Em verdade te digo que hoje estarás comigo no Paraíso” (Luc. 23:43). Paul thought of death as departing and being with Christ (Fil. 1:23).

The “luz pura” of Abel’s presence leaves Adam dazzled, bewildered and troubled in heart.

Assi o bello espirito ditoso  
De condensão mais pura ja cercado  
A Imagem d’hum Corpo Glorioso  
Do ar circumvisinho tem formado,  
A cujo resplendor raro, espantoso  
Adão (que de improviso foi tocado)  
Despertando, lhe fica da luz pura  
O coração turbado, a vista escura.

The form in which Abel appears derives largely from the New Testament. The poet speaks of the “Corpo Glorioso” of Abel, a term which Paul uses in his letter to the Philippians (3:20-21): “O Senhor Jesús Christo. Que transformará o nosso corpo abatido, para ser conforme o seu corpo glorioso, segundo o seu eficaz poder de sujeitar também a si tôdas as coisas.” Jesus said that in the future life men would be “como os anjos” (Mar. 12: 25; cp. Luc. 20:36). The spiritualized resurrection of John (11:25-26) points in the same direction.

Seeing the wonder and confusion of his “velho Pai,” Abel immediately explains his mission. God in his grace has sent him to lead Adam out of his miserable condition and struggle with sin to repentance, obedience and peace. He has been sent to guide him — much as Virgil and Beatrice did Dante — through Hell, Limbus and Purgatory, and then on up from Earth through the heavens into Paradise.

Aquella Providencia a quem obedecem  
Do Ceo Empyrio á Tartarea Porta  
Espiritos, viventes, e elementos,  
Me manda a ti por seus justos intentos.  
(III, xi, 5-8)



Anima-te, que lá te está aguardando  
O premio dessas lagrimas vertidas,  
Que quando por ser mais são mais pesadas  
Mais levemente ao Ceo são levantadas.

(III, xii, 5-8)

E por que proseguindo o justo intento  
(Que he a dôr de teus erros conhecida)  
Seja satisfação do pensamento  
A mesma pena dessa austera vida,  
Ainda que o mortal temperamento  
Naturalmente esta jornada impida,  
Penetrarás o Cristalino Muro  
Depois de ter passado o Reino escuro.

(III, xiii)

Alli verás sem ser da fé guiado  
Qual foi em teu favor a Summa Essencia,  
Que estando de justiça condemnado  
Dispensou na rasão sua clemencia;  
E ficarás de ti mesmo assombrado  
Vendo o rigor daquela Omnipotencia  
Mais (para chorar mais) arrependido  
E para obedecer mais advertido.

(III, xiv)

Apart from the facts that Abel is the son of Adam and that Abel was killed by his brother, there is no suggestion in the Bible of any of the other experiences mentioned above. Yet there are passages in Scripture which may lend to the poetic version the credibility desired by the poet. In the first place, Adam was still alive when his first son, Cain, killed Abel (Gên. 4:25). Secondly, Abel was an important enough Hebrew figure to serve as Adam's guide. Christ speaks of him, during the week of his Passion, when he tells the scribes and Pharisees that they pay highest honors to dead prophets — Abel and Zacharias, son of Barachias, but persecute the living ones (Mat. 23:34-35). The author of the letter to the Hebrews begins with Abel when enumerating the supreme Old Testament examples of men of faith (11:4). The same author says that by virtue of Abel's faith and righteousness, "depois de morto, ainda fala" (Heb. 11:4). As the righteousness of Abel merits him special importance in Biblical

history, it also qualifies him in the poem to serve as God's spokesman in communicating to Adam the "novíssimos do homem."

### 3 The Road to Hell

After Abel, the "ditoso Espírito," explains to Adam God's purposes for their making the journey, the two depart for the "Reino das Trevas" with Abel leading the way. Before reaching Hell itself, they must travel a long, dark "caminho" (III, xv-xxxvi) which leads to the door through which Hell is entered. The sun is shining when they start out, but very soon darkness overtakes them. Adam frequently stumbles as he gropes his way. As they come nearer the great "concavidade," Adam becomes more frightened. He confesses to his guide that reason tells him that he cannot believe his eyes. He realizes that the love of God has kept him from being cast "vivo em fogo sepultado," but he is at a loss to know how to help himself. Not even his will power helps him, he says, in this "caminho escuro e tenebroso." Abel interrupts his lament saying, "Seguramente podes seguir . . . A razão inclina/O que o Grande Decreto determina" (III, xx, 5-8).

The way becomes increasingly terrifying to Adam. Each new horror frightens him more than the last. Breathing "fumo e fogo," they pass through a wasteland. They come to a "rio escuro" whose waves beat against black rocks. Finally, among cliffs, precipices and grottoes, the door to Hell comes into view. At closer range, they hear echos of the cries and wails which come from the inside of Hell. On both sides the door is guarded by "negras Furias" who embrace "Odio" and blood-stained "Discordia." In a place close by, the members of a fearful group commingle: "Scillas, [uma] Hydra, Gorgões, e grã Chimera, / Trifauce monstruosa, e cruel fera" (xxiv, xxxv). The description of the door constitutes Rolim de Moura's most conspicuous debt to Dante:

Era de negra côr, áspera e dura  
Que ferreas barras toda atrevessão,  
Onde igneos bicos esta contextura  
Com temerosa vista penetravão;  
Dá libre entrada a toda a creatura,

Cerrada sempre os de dentro achavão,  
Esta letra com sangue tinha escrita:  
“Aqui toda a esperança se limita!”

(III, xxvi)

Almost immediately the attention of Adam and Abel is fastened upon the most terrible spectacle yet. Looking up to the top of some overhanging cliffs they see a woman sitting upon a monstrous dragon.

Sobre este grão prospecto cavernoso  
Hua Mulher sentada se mostrava  
N’hum animal em tudo monstruoso  
Que sobre vaías aguas caminhava;  
De sangue e fogo o mixto temeroso  
Parece que na cor representava,  
Ou aquelles incendios com que fica  
A tarde que secura prognostica.

Esta fórma, que em fórma desusada  
(Onde sete cabeças se mostravão)  
Estava com dez pontas figurada  
Que nodosas entenas semelhavão,  
Da Atlante a grandeza celebrada  
Com que apenas as nuvens se igualavão,  
Á vista de tão grã monstruosidade  
Ficará imperceptível quantidade.

Ella da mesma côr do monstro horrendo  
N’hum roupa adornada se vestia  
Do metal que mais nobre parecendo  
Mais vilezas nos mostra cada dia;  
E delle varios ramos vão tecendo  
Tudo o que a bordadura não cobria,  
Onde as perolas grossas se esparzião  
Que fructos destes torncos parecião.

As joias que nas partes ordinarias  
Estavão com policia repartidas;  
C’os esmaltes que tem de côres varias  
As mesmas côres ficão mais subidas;  
Assi não só Celestes Luminarias  
Se julgarão do Sol sendo feridas,  
Mas se a vista se crêra parecerão  
Que quantas joias são, tantos Soes erão.

Na mão hum aureo vaso levantava,  
(Divisa apropriada a taes sujeitos)  
Que d'abominações cheio mostrava,  
E de lascivias mil torpes effeitos;  
O sangue bebe só que deirramava  
O tyranno poder dos firmes peitos  
Dos Martyres daquelle Sol Eterno  
Sustentação do Ceo, terror do Inferno.

(III, xxvii-xxxi)

On the lower ledges of the cliffs Adam and Abel see a horrendous pack of creatures: Old Age and its infirmities; pale Diseases; Poverty, that "cruel incitadora da vileza"; insatiable Death; Hunger, which "vergonhosos crimes commettia"; bloody and implacable War; and finally, on the top most ledge, Falsehood "mais feia e mais damnosa" (III, xxxii-xxxiii).

While Rolim de Moura devotes nineteen stanzas of Canto III to Hell, he gives twenty-two stanzas to the "caminho escuro e trabalhoso" leading to Hell. The comparative number of stanzas would in itself seem to suggest something about his commitment to temporal concerns. The content and ordering of these twenty-two leave no doubt that he had come to certain moral conclusions and convictions about life by the time he was working on the poem, and that he felt strongly compelled to write about them.

In the part of Canto I which deals with the temptation of Eve, we have seen Rolim de Moura's great and obvious pride in the achievements of his country in the days of its chief glory. When he conceived and composed the Third Canto, could it not be that he was thinking in a special way of seventeenth-century Portugal, as well as of life everywhere and in all times? Regardless of how one may view the character of Portuguese life under the Spanish crown, the poet makes eminently clear the discovery he has made in his own experience: hell is not confined to the next life; there is plenty of it in this life also.

If all the perilous rocks and waters and the entire assortment of malevolent spirits and loathesome evils, of unearthly monsters and creatures which fill this "caminho" are not to be encountered in the Bible, many, at least are met there. For the ones which are not, there are counterparts. In either case, the metaphorical meanings

are comparable to those which the poet suggests. In the Bible there are rough and stony paths,<sup>4</sup> wastelands and deserts;<sup>5</sup> strange rivers;<sup>6</sup> rocks, cliffs, precipices;<sup>7</sup> caves and grottoes;<sup>8</sup> demons and evil spirits;<sup>9</sup> monsters and serpents;<sup>10</sup> and gates of hell.<sup>11</sup>

Lamenting his miserable state, Job speaks of a “Terra escuríssima, com a mesma escuridão, terra da sombra da morte e sem ordem alguma” (10:22), of “desertos, sem caminho,” and of walking “às apalpadelas, sem terem luz” (12:24-45), of “pedras da escuridão (28:3), and of “cavernas da terra e das rochas” (30:6). When condemning Judah’s apostasy, Jeremiah recalls the journey of the Children of Israel through the “deserto, por uma terra de charnecas e de covas, por uma terra de seguidão e sombra de morte” (2:6). Isaiah speaks of “veredas tortuosas” (59:8), and, in his description of Edom under judgment, of black waters and rocks, of smoke and fire: “E os seus ribeiros se transformarão em peiz, e o seu pó em enxofre . . . Nem de noite nem de dia se apagará; para sempre o seu fumo subirá” (34:9-10). The extent to which the words of Job, Isaiah and Jeremiah are echoed in those of the poet is clear in the following example:

O velho Pai traz elle [Abel] caminhando  
Sobre hua mão o corpo sustentava  
Em quanto outra a via vai tentando,  
Aonde ora em passos se encurvava,  
Ora direito n’outros vai passando  
E bem claro estas trevas lhe mostravão  
As que o Reino das Trevas occupavão.  
Havendo ja espaço que seguião  
Este caminho triste e trabalhoso,  
N’hum plano secco e árido se vião  
Que córta hum Rio escuro, e caudaloso;  
Por horridas cavernas se sumião

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- (4) Sal. 91:12, Is. 59:8; Mat. 4:6.  
(5) Ex. 14:11; Jó 12:24; Sal. 95:8; Jer. 2:6; Heb. 11:38; I Cor. 10:5.  
(6) Ex. 7:17; Sal. 46:3; Is. 34:9; At. 27:41.  
(7) Jó 28:3; Apoc. 6:16.  
(8) I Sam. 22:1; Jó 30:6; Jer. 2:6; Heb. 11:38.  
(9) Deut. 32:17; Is. 34:11-15; Mar. 1:32-34; At. 19:12; Ef. 6:12.  
(10) Gên. 3:1; Lev. 17:7; Jer. 51:37; Is. 34:7, 13-24; II Crôn. 11:15; Apoc. 17:1-14; 20:2.  
(11) Mat. 7:13; Luc. 13:24.

As negras aguas, cujo furioso  
Romper nas duras Rochas parecia,  
Que quanto ha de horror tudo excedia.  
Distilla hua neblina, que se acende  
No mesmo ar, de que he todo occupado,  
E com virtude tal influe e gira  
Que sempre fumo e fogo se respira.

(III, xxii-xxiv)

While Scyllas, Hydras, Gorgons, Chimaera, and the Furies are never mentioned in the Bible, dragons appear frequently and, on occasion, satyrs and unicorns. For example, both Jeremiah and Isaiah speak of dragons in prophesies of judgment. Both Babylon and Edom shall become a “morada de dragões, espanto e assobio” (Jer. 51:37, the “morada” or “habitação de dragões” (Is. 34:13). The same pronouncement of judgment by Isaiah contains references to satyrs and unicorns, “Os unicornios descerão” and “O sátiro clamará” (7, 14).

Rolim de Moura’s portrayal of the “Mulher sentada . . . / N’um animal em tudo monstruoso” (III, xxvii-xxxi) preserves with few exceptions both the essentials and the accessory details of the original in the Apocalypse (17:3-6). At the same time the poetic version far exceeds that of John’s in elaboration.

E vi uma mulher assentada sobre uma besta de cor de  
escarlata, que estava cheia de nomes de blasfemia, e tinha sete  
cabeças e dez chifres.

E a mulher estava vestida de púrpura e de escarlata, e  
adornada com ouro, e pedras preciosos e pérolas; e tinha na sua  
mão um cálice de ouro cheio das abominações e da imundicia da  
sua prostituição.

E na sua testa estava escrito o nome: Misterio, a grande  
Babilonia, a mãe das prostituições e abominações da terra.

E vi que a mulher estava embriagada do sangue dos santos, e  
do sangue das testemunhas de Jesús. E, vendo-a eu, maravilhei-me  
com grande admiração.

The features which the poet chooses to omit are ones which would otherwise conflict with the historical point of view in regard to the Bible, the interest in universality, and the concern with

making the poem have a special relevance for his country. For the explicit reference to Christ, the poet substitutes "Sol Eterno." He omits the inscription on the forehead of the harlot, who, in her shameless depravity symbolizes for John the Roman Empire.<sup>12</sup> One is led to think that the woman symbolizes for Rolim de Moura the debasement and dishonor which have befallen Portugal in these years. It is quite possible that he took courage from Dante as well as from John, for some three hundred years before, Dante, using the same figure, bitterly lamented and denounced the disorder in Italy and the world:

Ahi serva Italia, di dolore ostello,  
Nave senza nocchiere in gran tempesta,  
Non donna di provincie, ma bordello!  
(Purgatório, VI, 76-78)

Only a few of the details of the original are changed. The poet gives the same color to both the woman and the beast, with the apparent intention of making them synonymous. At the same time he changes the purple and scarlet of the Biblical harlot to a color which suggests violence and destruction, that is, blood mixed with fire. "Metal" replaces the "ouro" on the garments of the woman, to insinuate, perhaps, the economic impoverishment to which his country was now reduced.

The imaginative additions to the Biblical version are various: increased attention to color ("C'os esmaltes que tem de côres várias / As mesmas côres ficão mais subidas"); descriptive adjectives ("perolas grossas"); parenthetical commentary ("Divisa apropriada a taes sujeitos"); similes ("dez pontas . . . que nodosas entenas semelhavão"). In the first stanza of the portrayal, the poet uses a simile which makes clear his wish to make the allegorical image less remote and therefore more meaningful to the reader: "Parece que na côr representava . . . aquelles incendios com que fica / A tarde que secura prognostica." To accomplish the same purpose, the poet makes a shift in tense to the present: "Ela . . . / N'huma roupa adornada se vestia / Do metal que mais nobre parecendo / Mais vilezas nos mostra cada dia."

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(12) The beast symbolizes the satanic state.

At times the New Testament seems to regard certain beings which are not demons, but which are hostile to the Christian, as personal beings. Usually, however, the personification is purely literary. For example, when Paul speaks of death as not being able to separate us from the love of God (Rom. 8:38-39), probably he is not regarding death as a personal being. In the same way, Rolim de Moura personifies seven forces which bring suffering and destruction to men. Because they come immediately after the description of the harlot, they exemplify the consequences of sin and corruption. At the same time, on another level of meaning, they may point to the moral and social conditions of his times which the poet deplored the most. Two on the list seem to him to be worse than all the rest, for they are pictured as the begetters of other sins: Poverty, that “cruel incitadora da vileza,” and Hunger, that intolerable perpetrator of “vergonhosos crimes.”

#### 4 The Journey through Hell

The experiences of Adam and Abel in the Third Canto of *Os Novíssimos do Homem*, and also in the Fourth Canto, have no counterparts whatsoever in the Bible. Neither Adam nor Abel ever made a journey to the other world — to hell, limbus and purgatory and then on up from earth, through the heavens to paradise, the dwelling place of God. There are many passages in the Bible, however, which deal with the life after death, and Rolim de Moura, guided by Catholic tradition and exegesis, makes use of them at every step of the way.

According to the conception of the poet, Hell (III, xxxvii-lv), Limbus (III, lvi-lxvii), and Purgatory (III, lxviii-lxx) occupy separate or fairly separate regions inside the Earth. Hell is a vast cavity in the shape of an inverted cone. It extends down to the Earth's center. The descent to the floor of Hell is marked by nine main “estancias” or sections, each of which incorporates a varying number of smaller sections. Rivers of fire separate them from one another. The closer to the apex one comes the bigger become the “estancias” and the fires and the more infernal the sounds and odors. In a “canto” of the floor of Hell there is a small



opening which leads into a dark and fearful passageway. This passageway opens eventually into the "cova" of Limbus. The poet does not indicate how Adam and Abel get from Limbus to Purgatory; he speaks only of "aquell' outra prisão que alli ficava / Aonde o mesmo fogo se está vendo" (III, lxviii). It appears that Purgatory is to be regarded as a separate region.

In each of the nine sections of Hell some particular kind of sin is punished. In the first two "estancias" are the carnal sins — Sloth (III, xxxvii) and Lust (III, xxxviii). Sloth is occupied by the superstitious and those easily duped, those who are too indifferent and lazy to care about God's law. Lust is inhabited by the self-deceivers, those who go against their reason and deliberately exchange "a justa vida" for "hum amor illicito." The third "estancia" is given over to Injustices meted by those of the "Santo Oficio" who abuse the power invested in them (III, xl), injustices which, the poet says, are due to "malicia." Now, in the fourth and fifth "estancias," come the sins of Violence: the "Grã Pecado" (III, xli), the sin against God, and Murder (III, xlii), the sin against one's fellowman. The sins of Malice follow in the sixth and seventh "estancias": Treachery (III, xliii) and Deceit (III, xlvi-xlvii); in the first, the souls of traitors to king and country, and in the second, all manner of despisers of truth. Next to the last, in the eighth "estancia" the undefined "Infinitos Logares" (III, lxviii) with their "diferentes tormentos." Finally, the "estancia" of Pride (III, l-lv), where "Plutão,"<sup>13</sup> the arch-sinner Satan, rages in chains.

In addition to the structural framework of Hell which the poet gives, there are many terms and images which he uses to describe it: "logar," "centro do horror," "infernol e grã cadeia," "concauidade," "caverna." Although the spiritual torment of conscience is mentioned in III, xliv, where he says that the wicked "terão . . . da propria consciencia / Outra pena maior, e mais interna," fire is the form of punishment which is emphasized.

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(13) This use of the name "Plutão" represents, no doubt, no more than a wish to remind the reader of the contrasting portrait of Satan in Canto I. It is noteworthy that there are only two references to anthropomorphic mythological figures in the sections on Hell, Limbus and Purgatory.

throughout. “Chammas,” “fogos,” and “incendios” are the terms which predominate.

In the Old Testament there is no specific concept of the final state of those who are condemned in the last judgment, but there are ideas and images which came to be used later in connection with the punishment of the wicked. Perhaps the most important in this respect is Isaiah 66:24, which appears to suggest an eternal punishment in the flesh: “E sairão, e verão os corpos mortos dos homens que prevaricaram contra mim; porque o seu bicho nunca morrerá, nem o seu fogo se apagará; e serão um horror para toda a carne.” II Kings 23:10 shows that in the valley of Hinnom (Hebrew, *Ge’ Hinnom*) children were sacrificed to Moloch by fire. From the name of the valley comes the name of the place of eternal punishment in the New Testament, “Gehenna.” Of the many descriptions of the torments which took place in Hinnom, the image of fire is the most common.<sup>14</sup>

Jesus often uses the term “inferno,” the Portuguese Bible’s equivalent of “Gehenna.”<sup>15</sup> He quotes Isaiah 66:24.<sup>16</sup> In another instance, Jesus says, “Qualquer que lhe disser a seu irmão: Louco, será réu do fogo do inferno” (Mat. 5:22). Related images which Jesus uses are “fornalha de fogo” (Mat. 13:42) and “trevas exteriores” (Mat. 8:12). Peter uses the terms “cadeias da escuridão” and “inferno” (II Ped. 2:4). Jesus and the apostles did not intend for any of these figures of speech to be taken literally. The use of the pictorial method to describe hell shows their wish to make a remote reality real to themselves and others. Unlike the Greeks, who used images merely for the illustration of a general truth or for the adornment of speech, the Hebrews regarded images as necessary to give an appropriate description of a reality which could not be described otherwise in an effective way.

Because there is justice even in Hell (“Que ainda aqui com justa Lei governa,” III, xlv), gradations in the comparative gravity of the sins are marked by the rivers of fire, the sizes of the fires and the intensity of the heat cast off from them. Satan,

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(14) *A Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. James Hastings (New York, 1919), II, 120.

(15) “Inferno” is also the Portuguese Bible’s equivalent of the Greek word, *Hades*.

(16) Mar. 9:43-48.

doomed to occupy the pit of Hell, is punished more than all the others.

Mas lá no mais interno do profundo  
Logar, que o centro na sua noite encerra,  
Lá onde nasce aquelle furibundo  
Fogo, que em bocas rompe sobre a terra,  
Estava o grande imigo que o mundo  
Faz tão cruel e entranhavel guerra,  
Que nunca póde nelle o mortal dano  
A sêde mitigar do sangue humano.

(III, lii)

But the poet does not rely completely on externals to make his meaning clear. He adds:

Emfim não póde haver culpa tão feia  
Nem traça nova d'animo damnado  
Que ja nesta infernal e grã cadeia  
Não tenha seu tormento aparelhado,  
O desejo que em males se receia,  
O fingimento misero e coitado,  
A inveja tão falta de desculpa,  
Que quanto cresce a pena, cresce a culpa.

(III, xlix)

Nor does he leave any room for doubt on the duration of punishment for the wicked: "Ser-lhe-ha cada momento cem mil annos / Sem esperarem fim de tantos dannos" (III, xxxix, 7-8). Satan "vive e morre eternamente" (III, liii). On the question of the origin of these infernal fires and of sin itself, he points to Satan:

Lá onde nasce aquelle furibundo  
Fogo, que em bocas rompe sobre a terra,  
(III, lii, 3-4)

grossos vapôres occupavão  
O ar espesso e negro, d'onde nascem  
Taes corrupções corruptas de tal sorte  
Que assemelhavão ser morte da morte.  
(III, li, 5-8)

There is some basis for believing that Jesus thought of degrees in the punishment of the wicked (Luc. 12: 47-48; Mat.

11:22-24). The weight of evidence in the New Testament indicates that all the wicked are condemned to eternal torment. Jesus repeats several times the phrase: “o fogo que nunca se apaga” (Mar. 9:43-48). In the only instance when Paul speaks on the nature of the final state of the wicked, he thinks of it as being “eterna perdição, ante a face do Senhor e a gloria do seu poder” (Tess. 1:9).<sup>17</sup>

There are various ideas in the Bible regarding the origin of sin. In general, the New Testament considers, as did Jeremiah (7:24; 11:8; 16:12; 18:12; 23:17), the evil heart as the origin of sin. Jesus often assumes this corruption: “Se vós, pois, sendo maus” (Mat. 7:11). Defilement does not come from without, he says. On the contrary, “do interior do coração dos homens saem os maus pensamentos . . . Todos estes males prodecem de dentro e contaminam o homem” (Mar. 7:21-23). There are, however, allusions to Satan as the source of sin: “Então Satanaz se levantou contra Israel, e incitou Daví a numerar a Israel” (I Crôn. 21:1); “E acabada a ceia, tendo já o diabo posto no coração de Judas Iscariotes . . . que o traisse” (João 13:2).

In the formulation of the sins to be punished in Hell, Ro'im de Moura follows in a general way the Aristote'ian-Thomistic classification of the cardinal sins. It is apparent that his poetic model is the *Inferno* of Dante,<sup>18</sup> but only in broad outline. Here, as elsewhere in the poem — particularly the parts on Hell, Limbus, Purgatory and Paradise — the representation of the Portuguese poet does not compare, of course, with the complex dialectic order we observe in the *Divine Comedy*. He borrows just enough to gain

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(17) For Paul, and for John (João 3:3,5) also, the punishment of the wicked consists of being excluded from the kingdom of God.

(18) While in the *Purgatorio* Dante uses the entire formulation of the seven cardinal sins long-established by Christian doctrine, his classification of sins in the *Inferno* draws upon both Aristotelian (Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask, New York, 1953, p. 367) and Thomistic formulations. Occupying the upper Hell are four of the capital sins which were known by moral philosophers of antiquity — Lust, Gluttony, Avarice, and Anger. In the lower Hell, Dante turns especially to St. Thomas for the treatment of his second and third great classes, Violence, due to Bestiality, and Fraud, due to Malice. Apparently Dante wishes to view sin in the *Inferno* from a universal, philosophical and moral standpoint, while in the *Purgatorio* he wishes to consider it from a distinctively Christian viewpoint.

an aura of authentication for his own poem, and to permit, at the same time, freedom for formulating the sins which in his own opinion reflected most the historical moment in which he lived.<sup>19</sup>

The structure of Rolim de Moura's Hell corresponds generally with the upper and lower Hells of Dante — containing, respectively, the Sins of Incontinence, due to lack of self-discipline, and the Sins of Violence and Fraud, due respectively to Bestiality and Malice. In his arrangement and definition of the forms of these sins, at times Rolim de Moura is in at least partial accordance with Dante's system; just as often he freely departs from it.

There are three examples of complete accordance. Rolim de Moura, like Dante, places Lust in second position in the descent to the bottom of Hell. The Sins of Malice which Rolim de Moura single out are the same as those of Dante, that is Treachery and Fraud. Both Rolim de Moura and Dante assign Satan, the arch-personification of Pride, to the pit of Hell. An example of partial accordance with Dante's system is the subdivision of the Sins of Violence (in the fourth and fifth "estancias" in *Os Novíssimos*) into the "Grã Pecado" and Murder rather than into the Dantesque subdivision (in the seventh circle) containing sins directed against oneself as well as against one's neighbor and God. Another example of variation in Rolim de Moura is his placement of Malice in the sixth and seventh "estancias." While Dante relegates the Sins of Malice to the sixth and seventh positions in his catalogue, he makes them occupy the eighth and ninth, the last circles. Unlike Dante, who assigns Sloth to the vestibule of Hell, Rolim de Moura places Sloth in the first "estancia" of Hell. This sin was no doubt about as contemptible to him as it was to Dante. But while Dante makes both Heaven and Hell reject those guilty of spiritual laziness and lukewarmness, Rolim de Moura prefers to assign the sin to Hell. Departing completely from the example of Dante, the Portuguese poet omits any reference whatsoever to Avarice and Gluttony. Can it be that the omission of these two cardinal sins was prompted by the thought that the contemporary

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(19) Morton W. Bloomfield (*The Seven Deadly Sins*, Michigan, 1952, p. 35) points out the strong concern within Christianity for finding moral lessons in history. Citing Dante as one example, he says: "Throughout the *Divine Comedy* Dante finds warnings both in past and contemporary events."

impoverishment in temporal goods rendered unlikely the committing of either one?

In place of Gluttony, which Dante puts in the third circle, Rolim de Moura puts, in the third “estancia,” Injustices which are due to Malice, a sin he assigns also to lower Hell, as does Dante. He singles out for particular attention the abuses of the “Divino Officio”:

Mostrava-se outro fogo que succede  
De maior intensão e mór effeito,  
Para aquelles a que a malicia impede  
Guardar em tudo a todos seu direito;  
Estes como de Deos se lhe concede  
Dar á distributiva justo effeito,  
Usando mal de tão Divino Officio  
Terá tão cruel pena o cruel vicio.

(III, xl)

Is not “Santo Officio,” rather than “Divino Officio,” the real meaning intended by the poet here? If not, then why separate it, and so cautiously, from other sins of Malice — Treachery and Fraud — assigned to lower Hell? In this connection, it is also rather curious that he omits any specific reference to heresy in Hell. This would not seem strange at all if Dante did not make room for it there.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the omission speaks for a liberal attitude toward speculative thought on matters — astronomical theory, for example (pp. 22-23) — which were not condoned by the church.

In stanza *xlvi* Rolim de Moura refers in an exceedingly ambiguous way to the sins of the “*Infinitos Logares*” of the eighth “estancia.” We can only know the severity with which he judges them; for him they deserve a punishment almost as dire as that of Satan. It may be that they were sins which he saw in both Church and State, sins which he abhorred and longed to denounce publicly — as Dante had done before him — but dared not do so.

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(20) Although heretics do not properly belong to Dante's system they occupy the sixth circle in his Hell. They, together with the slothful and the inhabitants of Limbus, are inside Hell, yet they belong outside the three great classes of sins presented — Incontinence, Malice and Fraud.

In the Bible and in Christian thought, the Sin of Pride is usually<sup>21</sup> regarded as being primary, the sin from which all the subtler sins of selfishness proceed. Paul's exposition of man's pride summarizes the entire Biblical conception of sin: "E mudaram da imagem de homem corruptivel" (Rom. 1:23). When Jesus and Paul enumerate the various forms of sins, they do not follow consistently any one pattern as far as carnal and spiritual sins are concerned. In Mark (7:21-22), Jesus lists them indiscriminately: "Porque do interior do coração dos homens saem os maus pensamentos, os adulterios, as prostituições, os homicidios, Os furtos, a avareza, as maldades, o engano, a dissolução, a enveja, a blasfemia, a soberba, a loucura." In II Corinthians (12:20-21),<sup>22</sup> the apostle lists each class separately:

Porque receio que, quando chegar, vos não ache como eu quereria, e eu seja achado de vós como não quererieis: que de alguma maneira haja pendencias, invejas, iras, porfias, detrações, mexericos, orgulhos, tumultos;

Que, quando for outra vez, o meu Deus me humilhe para convosco, e chore por muitos daqueles que dantes pecaram, e não se arrependaram da imundicia, e prostituição, e deshonestidade que cometeram.

## 5 The Visits to Limbus and Purgatory

Upon leaving Hell, Adam is led by his celestial guide to Limbus (III, lxvii). We have already seen that it is inside the Earth. It is entered through an "escura via" leading from Hell.<sup>23</sup> It is described as being a "cova sem nenhum tormento," as a "fria sepultura." In the "triste escuridade" of this place, Abel tells Adam that those who abide here are "Aquelles a que a dura morte

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(21) "It cannot be claimed that Christian thought is absolutely consistent in regarding pride as the basic sin. Wherever the classical view of man predominates, whether in early Greek theology, or medieval or modern liberal thought, the tendency is to equate sin with sensuality. The definition of sin as pride is consistently maintained in the strain of theology generally known as Augustinian." Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, I (New York, 1945), 186.

(22) Cf. Rom. 1:28-32; I Côr. 5:10-11; Col. 3:5-8; Gal. 5:19-21; Ef. 5:3-5.

(23) Unlike Dante, Rolim de Moura does not place Limbus inside Hell.

impede / Ser seu livre alvedrio conhecido" (III, lxxv, 5-6). For them there is no punishment other than the one of having to remain for "a longa eternidade." He emphasizes, as he did in Hell the justice of God:

E como tudo lá se pésa e mede  
Com modo exacto e tão devido,  
Quanto o logar e assistencia pede  
Ou da pena, ou do premio merecido,  
Como sem culpa propria então perecem,  
Nem Inferno, nem Gloria estes merecem.

(III, lxxv, 1-4; 7-8)

Rolim de Moura gives here only a partial view of Catholic teaching on limbus. Instead of dealing with the souls of both the Old Testament righteous and the souls of those who die before reaching an age of accountability, he omits entirely any reference to the former group. This omission is doubtless not to be interpreted as failure on the part of the poet to adhere to orthodoxy; it would seem that — as in other instances — he simply did not wish to violate the chronology of Biblical history to which the poem conforms. To have included a reference here to the souls of Old Testament figures, who were to be saved by their faith after Christ's resurrection from the dead, would have introduced into the poem a distortion of Biblical history.

One of the Biblical passages on which the doctrine of limbus is based is John 3:5: "Jesús respondeu: Na verdade, na verdade te digo que aquele que não nascer da agua e do Espirito, não pode entrar no reino de Deus." When it is assumed that a reference to the rite of baptism is contained in this passage, then it follows that unbaptized persons cannot be admitted to heaven, cannot enter the kingdom of God. But Rolim de Moura says nothing about baptism; he speaks only of those who have died before having the opportunity to exercise their free will. This position seems to indicate that the poet, in the poem at least, did not give fundamental importance to this sacrament as a condition of salvation. On the other hand, we do not suggest that he denies the efficacy of the sacrament of baptism.



As there are “duas deformidades” of sin, so are there “dois castigos distintos” (III, lxix, 2,4). While those who are guilty of mortal sins go to Hell, those who are guilty of venial sins go to Purgatory (III, lxviii-lxix). The latter “pagão alli las penas que devião / As que ás temporaes culpas respondião” (III, lxix, 7-8). The great difference between Hell and Purgatory consists in the hope the inhabitants of Purgatory have of eventually going to Heaven:

Na esperança só differençava  
Dos que no Reino escuro estão ardendo,  
Que até naquellas penas desusadas  
Tem logar esperanças bem fundadas.  
(III, lxviii, 6-8)

Rolim de Moura's treatment of purgatory in the poem harmonizes with those passages in Scripture on which the doctrine is based. One of the most important of these passages is II Maccabees 12:42-55. Judas Maccabeus and his companions in arms prayed to God that an idolatrous sin committed by some of their slain comrades would be wholly forgotten. They prayed also that their dead comrades would some day be received into heaven. The Apocryphal account tells us that they prayed in this way because they believed that there were some sins which were not wicked enough to condemn a soul to hell. Certain texts in both the Old and New Testaments are used to attest to the belief in purgatory.<sup>24</sup> According to St. Thomas' exposition of I. Corinthians 3:15, the man who builds on wood, hay and stubble, that is, venial sins, “shall be saved; yet so as by fire”; he will suffer punishment, but not everlasting punishment.<sup>25</sup>

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(24) Is. 4:3-4; I Cor. 3:13-15; 15:29.

(25) *Summa*, Part II (First Part), Q. 89, Art. 2.



## CANTO IV

### PARAIZO

#### 1 The Ascent to the Empyrean

In Canto IV, Adam continues the journey with Abel which had begun in Canto III. Leaving the subterranean world containing Hell, Limbus and Purgatory, they ascend up through the heavenly spheres to the Empyrean, the realm of God, the angels and the blest. Abel says that God, the "Summo Factor", has willed that Adam have this experience so that he may realize more than ever before "seu amor benigno e manso" (III, lxx, 2-3). To receive this vision, Adam is in a trance-like state; after the heavenly vision Rolim de Moura speaks of him "tornando em si, que fóra estava" (IV, xxxiii, 6). Apparently we are to suppose that Adam has here a vision analogous to that granted to St. Paul when he was rapt to the third heaven (II, 12:1-4).

From Purgatory, Adam and Abel ascend swiftly to the outer border of the Empyrean. Before entering this realm of pure spirit, they stop so that Adam may survey the heavenly spheres through which they have travelled. The description of these spheres (IV, lxxxvii) is based primarily on the Ptolemaic model and the various views of scholastic philosophers. While the Bible contains passages which reveal an interest in the astronomical aspects of the universe, it does not contain the speculative detail found in the poem. When we remember Dante's description of these spheres, we are struck with the complete absence of spiritual allegorizing in this part of the *Novíssimos*. It appears that it is the purely scientific aspects of the heavens which absorb Rolim de Moura, the mathematician. More than once Adam speculates — with the passion of the moderns — on the physical universe as understood by

a second-century astronomer.<sup>1</sup> So much so that his celestial guide tries to hurry him along:

Alli Abel lhe diz: Se dilatarte  
Nestes Orbes primeiros determinas,  
Até vêr demonstrado em cada parte  
As especulações a que te inclinas,  
Impossivel será d'aqui apartarte  
No tempo que çonvém, e que imaginas;  
(IV, iii, 1-6)

Although Abel does not mention each of the nine spheres by name, he describes them and their heavenly bodies as they are beheld from the Empyrean. Beginning, then, with the first sphere or heaven, the one nearest to the Earth, he gives them in ascending order: the first, the Moon; the second, Mercury; the third, Venus; the fourth, the Sun; the fifth, Mars; the sixth, Jupiter; the seventh, Saturn; the eighth, all the fixed stars or constellations; the ninth, the *Primum Mobile*, which, as the outermost sphere in the material world, joins the world of pure spirit, the Empyrean. The *Primum Mobile* is the only sphere without a heavenly body.

According to Abel, who speaks for the poet, all the spheres are of the same substance:

Estes epaços onde vês perdido  
O lume de que está resplandecendo  
São da mesma materia condensada,  
Mas não reflecte a luz de que he tocado.  
(IV, vi, 5-8)

In speaking of the “*Movel Primeiro*,” he returns to the subject:

Não he deste a substancia diferente  
Dos oito que até aqui temos contados,

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(1) The poem received its first imprimatur on April 13, 1616. A few weeks before, on February 26, Galileo had been enjoined from discussing Copernicanism in any way under penalties of the Holy Office. In 1624, his request for a revocation of the injunction was refused. On June 16, 1633, he was condemned by the Inquisition for his alleged failure to comply with the injunction.

Chamar-lhe-hão quinta essencia propriamente  
Por corpos que não são elementados,  
Poder-se-hão corromper difficilmente,  
Lucidos, leves são, e conglobados,  
Onde unida á dureza a claridade  
Faz de mór perfeição tanta beldade.

(IV, xxxv)

All the spheres circle around the Earth together, the first eight revolving with the Primum Mobile, which imparts its movement to them:

Esta tambem a volta vai fazendo  
Que o primeiro motor faz apressado,  
Posto que vá contra elle procedendo  
O movimento seu determinado;  
Ficar-se-ha da rasão só percebendo  
De quem he subtilmente especulado  
Que seu vêr, e seu modo de mover-se  
Por est'outras só póde conhecer-se.

Agora estás entrado onde a grandeza  
Da Machina total tão excellente  
De hua imperceptivel ligeireza  
Em seus Polos movida do Oriente  
Sobre o centro da grande redondeza  
Todos leva traz si regularmente;  
Basta affirmar-te, para conhecê-la,  
Que não chega o sentido a percebê-la.

(IV, xxxii-xxxiii)

In addition to having the movement imparted by the ninth sphere, each of the other eight has an independent motion of its own. Occasionally, the poet refers to such astronomical complexities as the computation of orbits described by planets according to an elaborate system of epicycles (IV, xii, xvii, xxii).

Presumably all of the heavenly bodies exercise influences of one kind or another on the Earth (IV, xxxvi, 1-4). The Moon, for example, by virtue of its size and proximity to Earth, influences more than any other planet, life on the terrestrial globe:

Porém com seu diametro mais breve  
Tem effeitos de nós mais conhecidos,

Como o cristal, que a luz em si recebe  
E delle os raios sahem mais unidos;  
Assi este Planeta, porque teve  
Logar mais baixo, são nelle influidos  
Com que commove mais nossos sujeitos.

(IV, v)

But there are not only physical differentiations which cause Adam to be astonished (IV, xv, 8); there are also moral ones. Two of the planets, Venus and Jupiter, are regarded as being especially benevolent; two, Mars and Saturn, are considered malevolent.

Olha bem que benigna e radiante  
He a luz do Planeta a que chegamos  
A natureza humana semelhante  
Seu temperado influxo que logramos,  
Faz-lhe ficar da Terra tão distante,  
Que esta grandeza sua lá ignoramos,  
Mas de tão longe o julga a mortal gente  
(Attributo do bom) por excellente.

(IV, xviii)

Aqui verás agora, lhe dizia,  
Nesta erratica Estrella derradeira  
A maligna influencia, secca e fria,  
E que em mais tempo faz a volta inteira;  
Opposta em natureza á luz do dia,  
Do silencio da noite companheira,  
Infortuna maior, cuja presença  
Só o que encontra a vida nos dispensa.

E qual a Venus Jupiter precede  
Na benigna influencia temperada,  
Assi a Marte este Saturno excede  
Na má radiação, e depravada;  
Polo mesmo caminho os passos mede  
Da ordem dos mais Orbes declarada  
O combusto Mercurio só tirando  
Que com cinco ou dois centros vai voltando.

(IV, xx, xxi)

As we have pointed out in Part 1 of Canto III, the later Jews divided the heavens into different strata, but no single

conception of these prevailed. Sometimes the third heaven of which Paul speaks, in II Corinthians 12:2, is understood to be paradise, the heaven higher than either the starry heaven or the aerial heaven.<sup>2</sup>

As far as the stars are concerned, their relationship to the Creator, their number and grouping in constellations interested Biblical writers from early times on through the period of New Testament history. The stars, the sun, and the moon were recognized as the handiwork of God and were believed to be under his control (Gên. 1:14-19; Sal. 8:3; Is. 13:10; Jer. 31:35). Job speaks of Arcturus, Orion, the Pleiades, and the zodiac (9:9; 38:31-32). Planets are known and named: Chiun, or Siccuth, the Hebrew words for Saturn<sup>3</sup> (Am. 5:26; cf. At. 7:43); Lucifer, the planet Venus, as the morning star (Is. 14:12; Apoc. 22:16; cf. II Ped. 1:19). In the New Testament, usually references to the day-star and the morning star carry a figurative meaning; for example, the “resplandecente estrela da manhã” (Apoc. 22:16) probably refers to Christ as the herald to his people of the eternal day.

Although the Bible does not describe the substance of the heavens and of the heavenly bodies, it often refers to their brightness, variety and permanence. An angel reveals to Daniel that those who are wise “resplenderão, como o esplendor do firmamento” and that those who turn many to righteousness “refulgirão como as estrelas sempre e eternamente” (Dan. 12:3). When Paul contrasts the nature of the earthly body with that of the resurrection body, he makes a comparison with the stars: “E há corpos celestes e corpos terrestres, mas uma é a glória dos celestes e outra a dos terrestres. Uma é a glória do sol, e outra a glória da lua, e outra a glória das estrelas; porque uma estrela difere em glória de outra estrela” (I Cor. 15:40-41). There is also a recognition of astronomical laws which govern the operations and functions of the stars in the ordinary economy of nature. In Genesis 1:14-15:

E disse Deus, Haja luminares na expansão dos céus, para haver separação entre o dia e a noite e sejam eles para sinais e para

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(2) See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Part I, Question 68, Article 4.

(3) *A Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. James Hastings (New York, 1919), I, 383.

tempos determinados e para dias e anos. E sejam para luminares na expansão dos céus, para alumiar a terra. E assim foi.

Deborah speaks poetically of divine assistance against Sisera as if the stars, forsaking their usual orbits, had fought against the enemy: “Desde os céus pelejaram, até as estrelas desde os lugares dos seus cursos pelejaram contra Sísera” (Jui. 5:20). God asks Job: “Sabes tu as ordenanças dos céus?” (Jó. 38-33).

Among the idolatrous Israelites and the heathen, the stars were believed to exercise influence, not only in nature (Jó 38:31-32), but also over the lives and affairs of men. It was commonly thought, for example, that the moon may affect the health for good or ill.<sup>4</sup>

## 2 The Empyrean

### The “Bemaventurdaos”

At the appearance of : “nova luz que mil luzes difundião” — lights which seemed to be “stradas . . . / Daquelle Throno Excelso Incomprehensivel” (IV, xxxvii, 4-7) — Adam and Abel enter the Empyrean. The splendor and glory of this realm is so overwhelming to Adam that for a time he is blinded and confused:

Entrão: e como quando o Sol cá temos  
D'hua nuvem cuberb e ecclypsado,  
Que os olhos tendo nella elle apparece,  
Tremula fica a vista e se escurece;  
(IV, xxxviii, 5-8)

Assi elle ficou quasi perdendo  
Não só a fraca vista com que entrára,  
Mas a mesma rasão escurecendo  
S'estava só de vêr orde chegára:  
(IV, xxxix, 1-4)

qual mortal o considera,  
Vê ja como estas cousas comparadas  
Nem chegão nunca a ser, nem nomeadas.  
(IV, xli, 6-8)

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(4) *A Dictionary of the Bible*, III, 34.



Once Adam's eyes become more accustomed to the heavenly brilliance which has dazzled them, he sees a "grande cópia d'assentos . . . / Que não ocupa algua Deidade" (IV, x'iii, 5-6). When he inquires about these seats, Abel says that they represent but one of the many "segrêdos do céu" which God now permits him to disclose (IV, xlv). Because Adam is prepared — by repentance and purification — to receive the revelation, Abel unfolds to him the development of holy history, that is, that history which came to be recorded in the Bible: the covenant relationship between God and man and the consummation of the redemptive purpose for man in Jesus Christ. For this concept of holy history, there is warrant in Scripture. For example, Paul says: "Varões irmãos, filhos da geração de Abraão, e os que dentre vós temem a Deus, a vós vos é enviada a palavra desta salvação" (At. 13:26; cf. Ef. 1:13).

In seventeen stanzas (IV, xliii-lx), the whole of divine history — from the creation to Christ and the Apostles — is disclosed. It is, in effect, a summary, in elaborated and universalized form, of Adam's spiritual journey with God: "Morte," the vision of Christ on the Cross, "Juizo," the alternatives of "Inferno" and "Paraizo." Abel discourses on the following great Biblical themes: the eternal existence of the "Essencia Omnipotente" (IV, xlv-xlvi); the creation of paradise and the angels (IV, xlvii); the rebellion of an angel of high rank against God and the war between his followers and the victorious hosts of God (IV, xlviii); the creation of the world and man (IV, lii); the varying degrees of blessedness in heaven for the righteous (IV, liii, lvi); the varying degrees of punishment for the wicked in hell, limbus and purgatory (IV, liv-lv); the person and work of Jesus Christ, the Second Adam (IV, lvii-lix); the beatitude of the Apostles, the Evangelists and of all those who believe in and follow Christ (IV, lviii-lx).

As a part of his presentation of holy history, Abel speaks to Adam of all those who inhabit Heaven. It will be seen that in doing so he consistently obeys a hierarchical arrangement. He first points out the "Assentos" which are reserved for the "Bemaventurados" (IV, xliii, lii-liv; lvi-lx), then the circles of angels (IV, lxi-lxxi), and

finally the thrones of the “Essencia Incomprehensivel” and the Virgin (IV, lxxiii-lxxviii). Within each of the three groups making up this hierarchy, there is also a hierarchy composed of three.

Beginning with the first and lowest hierarchy in the scale, Abel speaks of the “Assento” which

Guardada está da Summa Sapiencia  
Para hum Homem que o Mundo duvidava,  
Se no humano o Divino lhe escondece  
Tanto (humano) Divino lhe parece.  
  
Porque alli onde mais de Divindade  
Maior porção da Graça se permite,  
Esteja aquelle que em tão tenra idade  
Vencêra o mortal, cego appetite;  
Delle fiará Deos sua verdade  
Para que com seu credito acredita  
Apostolo, Discipulo, Innocente,  
Martyr, Confessor, Virgem, Penitente.  
  
Aquelle emfim que do preceito dado  
Remirá o segundo atrevimento,  
Com que (além delle ser por ti quebrado)  
A ser Deos levantaste o pensamento;  
Porque a soberba tal tendo chegado  
Do Homem vão o criminoso intento,  
Tão humilde convem que outro s'achasse,  
Que o nome, a que aspiraste, elle engeitasse.  
(IV, lvii, 5-8; lviii-lix)

In addition to the “Assento” reserved for Christ among the “Bemaventurados,” a throne also belongs to him in the third and highest hierarchy:

Alli onde de todo se escurece  
A pura vista, e pura natureza,  
Do sujeito que destes te parece  
Estar dotado de maior belleza,  
Ab eterno se vê que resplandece  
Hum Ser Humano posto em tal pureza,  
Que os Anjos serão della preferidos,  
Quanto os Homens dos Anjos excedidos.  
(IV, lxxvii)

Here again Rolim de Moura stresses the two natures of Christ, as he had done earlier, when Adam was offered, after his sin in the Garden of Eden, the hope of salvation through the atoning efficacy of the Cross: "Alli vio n'huma Cruz tão lastimoso / Hum Homem, quão Divino se mostrava, / Pois tocando-lhe o sangue que derrama / N'alma dá nova vida, o peito inflama" (II, i, 5-8). The "Homem Divino," who reveals the character of God, also reveals, as "the Second Adam" (IV, lix), the true character of man. Because of this twofold significance of Christ, men will believe (IV, lviii, 6-8).

Of special interest in these stanzas is the way Rolim de Moura attempts to convey orthodox conceptions of Christ. In order to portray Christ as the historical Jesus who lived and ministered on earth, we may suppose that he decided to use exclusively the designation "Homem." The same purpose may have led presumably to the placing of one of his two seats with the redeemed, the "Bemaventurados." At the same time, the theological necessity for portraying Christ's divine nature as well as his human nature would account for the use of the adjective "divino," as a modifier of "Homem." The same theological necessity would seem also to account for the throne of Christ in the hierarchy of the "Essencia Divina." While Rolim de Moura took pains to do theological justice to the two natures of Christ, it must be pointed out that in his providing of the two seats for Christ, he inadvertently did violence (from the standpoint of orthodoxy) to the equally important Christological conception of the unity of the two natures in one person.

Although artistic and, to a certain extent, theological canons suffer as a consequence of the choice of method, the poet's use of the designation "Homem" and his emphasis upon the two natures of Christ have, unquestionably, ample basis in Scripture. The use of "Homem" and "Homem Divino" as designations for Christ correspond more to Jesus' favorite designation for himself — "Son of Man," than to any other Biblical title for him. "Son of Man" has traditionally been taken as expressing his human nature, as "Son of God" expresses his divine nature. Whether or not the poet realized that the designation "Son of Man," as used by Jesus in

some contexts, also carries with it the idea of deity,<sup>5</sup> we do not know. In any case, he no doubt had in mind statements which Jesus made about himself and statements made about him by his disciples: “E agora glorifica-se tu, ó Pai, junto de ti mesmo, com aquela gloria que tinha contigo antes que o mundo existisse” (João 17:5);

E o Verbo se fez carne, e habitou entre nós, e vimos a sua gloria do unigênito do Pai, cheio de graça e de verdade (João 1:14); Estes [sinais], porem, foram escritos para que creiais que Jesús é o Cristo, o Filho de Deus, e para que crendo, tenhais vida em seu nome (João 20:31).

In the fifty-eighth stanza, Abel tells Adam that God will “fiará . . . sua verdade” in Christ so that

com seu credito acredite,  
Apostolo, Discipulo, Innocente,  
Martyr, Confessor, Virgem, Penitente.  
(IV, lviii, 5-8)

Later, in the final stanza (IV, lx) of the panoramic view of divine history, he speaks again of the Apostles and, for the first time, speaks specifically of the Evangelists:

Aquell’outras Cadeiras, lhe dizia,  
Onde vem a cerrar os quatro lados,  
Occuparão aquelles que algum dia  
Quatro Raios da Fé serão chamados;  
Logo aquell’outras dez a companhia  
Terá dos outros, que serão buscados  
Para estender a Luz mal conhecida,  
Que he só caminho desta eterna vida.  
(IV, lx)

These represent the “vencedores do mortal combate” (IV, lvi, i) who will inherit Heaven. The “assentos” reserved for them are

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(5) Jesus used the designation “Son of Man” in two contexts: when He was referring to his earthly ministry (Mat. 8:20; 11:19); and when He was referring to himself as the coming apocalyptic Son of Man (Mat. 10:23; Mar. 8:38; Luc. 12:8).

described in such a way as to suggest a hierarchical grouping. Beginning with the most remote “assentos” and working toward the “Grande Centro” are the penitents, the Virgin, the martyrs, the disciples, the Evangelists and the Apostles. All these will receive their reward:

Com palmas virginaes alli sentados  
Serão com bens eternos premiados.  
(IV, lvi, 7-8)

Although there is not a hierarchy of the redeemed as such mentioned in the Bible, there is perhaps a suggestion of degrees of blessedness. For example, the reference which Jesus makes to the symbolical “mansions” in heaven: “Na casa de meu Pai há muitas moradas” (João 14:2). The Bible does clearly teach that the redeemed will ultimately dwell in heaven. After speaking of the heavenly mansions, Jesus gives the following assurance to all believers: “Vou preparar-vos lugar. E, se eu for, e vos preparar lugar, virei outra vez, e vos levarei para mim mesmo, para que onde eu estiver estejais vós também” (João 14:2-3). In Ephesians (1:9-11), Paul writes that God

descobrimo-nos o misterio da sua vontade, segundo o seu beneplácito, que propusera em si mesmo. De tornar a congregar em Cristo todas as coisas, na dispensação da plenitude dos tempos, tanto as que estão nos céus como as que estão na terra; Nele, digo, em quem também fomos feitos herança.

In the same way as Jesus is given two different places in Heaven, so is the Virgin. There is an “assento” reserved for her among the “Bemaveutrados” (IV, lviii, 8), and there is a throne for her in close proximity to the “Thronos mais superiores” of the “Essencia Incomprehensivel” and the “Ser Humano”:

Sobre esses Thronos mais superiores  
Terá seu Throno aquella Creatura,  
Aonde Graças ha tanto maiores,  
Qual a de quem foi Mai, e Virgem Pura;  
(IV, lxxviii, 1-4)

The seat for the Virgin among the Apostles and other believers indicates that she too is the recipient of Christ's atoning work. The throne symbolizes her position as Mother of God and her coronation as Queen of Heaven. She is the object not only of adoration, but also of invocation. Her blessings are manifold:

Serão de Gloria os grãos com taes favores  
Que todos, toda unindo a tanta altura,  
Não só que lhe não chega elles não negão,  
Mas que onde ella começa, elles não chegão.  
(IV, lxxviii, 5-8)

As presented in Scripture, Mary is a beautiful example of a devoted and pious mother. There are Christian theologians who, on the basis of tradition, accord her the exalted position given her by Rolim de Moura.

### The Angels

As may be noticed in the outline of Abel's discourse on holy history (IV, xliii-lx), the poet uses the occasion to add to the picture previously drawn of Satan and to explain, as he had not done before, the necessity for the Incarnation and redeeming work of Christ. In Canto I, Rolim de Moura showed Satan first as the Tempter of Eve, then as the arrogant and mighty "Rey do Averno," presiding over the infernal council; in Canto III, the poet showed him still chief of sinners, but doomed to everlasting punishment in Hell. Now, in the final canto, we learn that part of his biography which precedes the plot against man in the Garden. He was created as an angel of high rank, but envy and pride led him to conspire against God. Other angels, who joined him in his treachery, took up the evil cause. But the angelic hosts who were faithful to God defeated them in battle and drove them from Heaven (IV, xlvii-li).

The poet's presentation of Satan and the angels under his leadership coincides with passages in the Bible. The wicked angels could not have been created evil, for God saw everything that He

had created, and it was very good (Gên. 1:31). But some of the angels sinned and fell from the state in which they were created and were, as a consequence, consigned to Hell: “E aos anjos que não guardaram o seu principado, mas deixaram a sua própria habitação, reservou [o Senhor] na escuridão, e em prisões eternas até ao juízo daquele grande dia” (Jud. 6; cf. II Ped. 2:4).

The sin of Satan, as well as of the other wicked angels, has generally been thought to be their attempt to transcend their proper state and to become like God. This definition is implied in Isaiah’s condemnation of Bablylon, in which the pride of Babylon is compared and identified with “Lucifer’s” pride:

Como caiste do céu, ó estrela da manhã, filha da alva! como foste lançado por terra, tu que debilitavas as nações! E tu dizias no teu coração: Eu subirei ao céu, acima das estrelas de Deus exaltarei o meu trono, e no monte da congregação me assentarei, da banda dos lados do norte. Subirei acima das mais altas nuvens, e serei semelhante ao Altíssimo (Is. 14:12-14).

In addition to the stanzas which deal with the Fallen Angels, Rolim de Moura devotes eleven stanzas to a discourse on the good angels who dwell in heaven (IV, lxi-lxxi). He gives a careful exposition of the hierarchical divisions of the angels and of the characteristics which describe the nature of their beings. They were created by God before the creation of the physical universe and man. They are spiritual and incorporeal. They are endowed with intelligence and free will, and they are immortal. Some of them are more richly endowed than others, but all are happy serving and praising God according to their several gifts:

D’alli se mostra logo divididas  
Aquellas Jerarchias, que gozando  
Estão (a nove Coros reduzidas)  
Essa Divina Luz que vão cercando;  
Da qual pelas Substancias repartidas  
Suas illustrações ficão obrando  
(Inda que differentes) tal effeito,  
Que não deseja mais qualquer sujeito.

(IV, lxi)

There are three orders or “Jerarchias” of angels. Each of these orders has within it three well-defined classes. According to their rank the angels are stationed around God’s Presence, “esse Grande Centro que comprehende tudo” (IV, lxxv, 3-4). The “Jerarchias” form three circles, each of which is divided into three subcircles. In the first hierarchy are the Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones. Nearest to God are the Seraphim, who praise and glorify him with perfect love:

os Seraphins, que amor acende  
Da Divina Visão, d’onde he nascido,  
Com ardor tão suave e tão perfeito,  
Que não se apartão nunca deste effeito.  
(IV, lxxv, 5-8)

Next are the Cherubim, who “mais conhecem / Da verdade que sempre se vê” in the “Luz mais bella” (IV, lxxvi, 3-4). They are charged especially with the instruction of the angels who are subordinate to them and with the inspiration of human thought upwards to God. The Thrones communicate to men “a verdade pura, inteira,” and, as the executors of the “Juizos de Deos,” they uphold the “Grã Cadeira” (IV, lxxvii).

In the second circle, which is larger than the first, are the angels of the second order: the Dominations, Principalities and Powers. They are charged with holding in check the forces of evil so that the “immensa crueldade” of these forces “não supere da força á humanidade (IV, lxxviii, 7-8). Abel says that the powers of this same order of angels assist heads of government, for “Tanto importa que aos subditos bem rejão” (IV, lxxix, 8).

Rolim de Moura’s treatment of the good angels is based on the Bible. There are many passages which warrant his description of the nature of their beings.<sup>6</sup> In general, there is agreement between the poet’s organization of the angels and the Bible’s. The precise division into three orders of the angels, according to their

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(6) They are spiritual and incorporeal: Sal. 103:4; Heb. 1:4. They are rational, moral and immortal: Jó 5:1; Sal. 89:5; Mat. 24:36; Mat. 25:31; Luc. 20:35-36. They are always ready to serve God according to the measure of their gifts: Sal. 103:20; Col. 1:16; Ef. 1:21.



importance is based on Paul's enumerations (Col. 1:16; Ef. 1:21), and, more especially, on subsequent versions of the Apostle's enumerations.<sup>7</sup> According to Catholic thought, all the classes of angels given in the poem are found in Scripture, together with the office or service which distinguishes them: Seraphim (Is. 6:2,6), Cherubim (Gên. 3:24; Êx. 25:18; Heb. 9:5), Thrones (Col. 6:16), Dominations (Ef. 1:21; Col. 1:16), Principalities (Rom. 8:38; Ef. 1:21; 3:10; Col. 1:16; 2:15), Powers (Rom. 8:38; Ef. 1:21; 3:10; Col. 1:16; 2:15), Virtues (Ef. 1:21), and Archangels (I Tess. 4:16; Jud. 9).

### The "Essencia Divina" and the Virgin

At the end of the last canto (lxxiii, lxxviii), Adam, still in the company of Abel, experiences the culmination of his spiritual journey. He beholds the "Essencia Incomprehensivel" (IV, lxxiii-lxxv), then the "Ser Homem" (IV, lxxvi-lxxvii), and finally, the "Virgen Pura" (IV, lxxviii). It will be seen that in this part, as in the preceding ones on the "Bemaventurados" and the angels, Rolim de Moura employs a hierarchial arrangement. Although the poet has presented both Christ and Virgin in preceding parts of the poem, he waits until the final, climatic stanzas to present the Divine Essence.

Before attempting to speak about the "Essencia," Abel tells Adam that the subject is "impossivel" for finite creatures to understand, that such knowledge cannot be attained by natural reason. Even the angels, he says, cannot comprehend the Divine Essence (IV, lxxiii, 1-4). It is through divine revelation that Abel can proceed to give a number of the attributes of the Divine Essence.

Porém daquela Essencia Incomprehensivel  
Que potencia mortal não póde vella,  
Declarar-te o sujeito he impossivel  
Quando os Anjos não podem comprehendella;  
He hua Luz Eterna Inaccessivel,  
Não ha logar que esteja falto della,

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(7) *Summa*, Part I. Q. 108, Art. 6.

E onde não assiste deleitando  
Está por assistencia castigando.

He Substancia que tudo em Si comprehende,  
Firmeza que jamais se vio mudada,  
Ser que pelos logares não s'estende,  
Virtude em quanto ha communicada,  
Voz que sem voz os corações nos rende,  
Quem paga sempre sem nos dever nada,  
As obras muda sem mudar vontade,  
Grandeza sem nenhua quantidade.

He Circulo em tal modo fabricado,  
Que sua Universal Circumferencia  
Não tendo nenhum Centro signalado  
Tem em todo logar firme assistencia;  
He Acto Puro, Immenso, Incomparado,  
Não se comprehende em termos Sua Essencia,  
Em tudo está presente, em tudo attento,  
Sem sitio, applicação, nem movimento.

(IV, lxxiii-lxxvi)

All the attributes of the Divine Essence which Rolim de Moura gives are ones of pre-eminent importance in the Bible. The ones which predominate in the above stanzas belong to that group commonly known as the incommunicable or non-moral attributes, which stress the absolute Being of God: his self-existence, immutability, infinity, and unity. The attributes which fit into a group other than the incommunicable ones deal with God's various relationships with his creatures. Of these, the poet stresses the intellectual and moral attributes.

## CONCLUSION

Like the *Lusíadas*, most of the epics produced between 1572 and 1640 are secular, using national historical-legendary themes about Portugal and its far-flung empire. The religious epic, of a slower development, was inspired chiefly by the religious interpretation of the *Lusíadas* and by the epic of the Counter Reformation, *Jerusalem Delivered*. Apart from *Os Novíssimos do Homem*, of the epics which have most survived from the period there are four which have a significant amount of religious content: *Elegíada*, *Afonso Africano*, *Malaca conquistada*, and *Ulissipo*. These combine historical or legendary action with religious allegory. Of the four the religious allegorization is found in its most sustained form in the poem by Mouzinho de Quevedo Castelo Branco.

*Os Novíssimos do Homem* is the first Biblical epic to be written in the period and the only one to be composed in the Portuguese language. Of the religious epics written in these years in either Portuguese or Spanish Rolim de Moura's poem is unique in its attempt to deal not with a subject of limited scope — the Creation, the life of a single Old Testament figure, Christ, one of the Apostles, the Virgin — but with the whole compass of holy history and Christian doctrine.

For the creation of the main fabric of his epic Rolim de Moura weaves together innumerable strands from the Bible. In addition, as we have pointed out on occasion, he interweaves threads from sources other than the Bible and invests them with an aura of Biblical reality and authority: classical thought, literature, and mythology; scholastic philosophy, theology, and tradition; medieval literature, above all, Dante; Tasso; the cosmology of Ptolemy; the geography of the Renaissance world; the political, moral and social conditions of late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Portugal.

To accomplish his didactic and moral purpose the poet uses for the basis of his poem the brief narrative of Adam and Eve in

Genesis. In order to interpret this narrative (as well as passages from other books of the Old Testament — chiefly Job, the Psalms, the Major Prophets) from a Christian standpoint, he turns to the New Testament, above all, to the Gospels, the letters of Peter and Paul, and the Apocalypse of John. He turns also to Thomas Aquinas, and relies on him especially in parts of the Third and Fourth Canto. It is clear that the *Summa* was before him as much as the Bible.

The ways of using the Bible vary in the composition of the poem, but the didactic purpose is ever in control: fidelity to the chronology of the Bible; faithfulness to the Bible's theological and moral ideas and to accepted ecclesiastical expositions of them. The major instance where he does not entirely succeed in his adherence to orthodox doctrine — his Christological conception in Canto IV — is due to his attempt at strong visual representation rather than to unorthodoxy. As a consequence of this twofold fidelity, he presents, in the course of Adam's spiritual journey, a veritable compendium of Christian doctrine: beliefs about God, Christ, the universe, man, sin, judgment, salvation, eschatology and the future life.

In Rolim de Moura's use of the Bible, his main source, for the work of elaboration, we have seen in our study that he applies the following three methods: the modification of a single text or passage, in either the Old or New Testament, on its own terms; the blending of the narrative and theological content of Genesis 1-3 with the rest of Biblical history and theology, particularly that of the New Testament; the creation of entire scenes and sequences by drawing upon innumerable texts of the Bible, with a preponderance of ones from the New Testament.

The first of these three methods of elaboration, the modification of a single text or passage, is accomplished by paraphrase, expansion, compression, change, omission, summarization, or transference. Sometimes these exist singly; in the majority of instances they appear simultaneously in close conjunction with one another. A typical example of multiple elaboration is the portrayal of the harlot (Canto III). Unlike John in the Apocalypse, Rolim de Moura specifies her location, and omits the identification "Babylon" on her

forehead. In describing her garments and ornaments he changes several details of the original, and he adds many adjectives and similes and in general heightens the color effects.

In his application of the second method, blending Genesis 1-3 (Canto I) with the rest of the Bible, the poet maintains on the whole a more sustained parallel between the Biblical text and his poetization of it than he does in any other section of the poem. The narrative character of Genesis 1-3 invites this treatment. Yet even here the extent to which the poet molds and expands the Biblical account in accordance with his didactic and artistic purposes is notable. We have seen that while he utilizes only the essentials of the Biblical record of the creation he makes full use of the narrative on Adam and Eve. In both instances he freely blends parts of the rest of the Bible, particularly the New Testament, and, in addition, elements from various sources other than the Bible. He adds, for example, to the account of the created universe in Genesis a distinctively Christian concept of heaven. In the Garden of Eden, he not only relocates the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, but also converts it into a striking mosaic of Hebraic-Christian symbols.

The third method of Biblical elaboration is carried to its maximum degree in the second part of Canto I and in the remaining cantos of the poem. The development of more than three-fourths of the poem makes, then, a heavy demand upon the poet's assimilation of the Bible, authoritative commentary on it, and extra-Biblical sources. At the same time, it draws heavily upon his imaginative and artistic powers. Canto II, which has no basis in Genesis 1-3 — save for the character of Adam — serves as a typical example of the poet's skill in constructing entire sequences from many parts of the New Testament, and to a lesser extent, from parts of the Old Testament. In a series of visions Adam sees certain Old Testament heroes of faith and profits by their righteous example; he beholds Christ on the Cross and learns, for the most part, Pauline concepts on the redemptive work of Christ; he views the last judgment and comes to know the way of repentance.

The strands from sources other than the Bible, which the poet intertwines into his epic, are, as we have suggested from time

to time, many and various. Even to parts of the poem which rest most squarely on Biblical texts the poet freely introduces matter which is either alien or partially alien to the Bible. All of these extra-Biblical elements are assimilated by the poet in such a way that there is invariably some point of contact between them and the Bible. The techniques which predominate are transmutation, correspondence, and allusion. As a consequence of this method, even incongruous aspects are effectively offset.

Rolim de Moura's universe is patterned on both Hebraic-Christian and Ptolemaic conceptions. Because there is no incompatibility between them, the Biblical conception can readily assimilate the other. Thus, while the poet makes his structure conform to his main source, he is able to take advantage of the Ptolemaic system in the work of poetic elaboration.

There are in the Portuguese poet's description of the Garden of Eden (Canto I) certain reminiscences of Dante's Earthly Paradise, but all of them belong to the heritage common to both poets: the various conventional elements of the *locus amoenus* passed on by Theocritus and Virgil to their literary descendants. While Rolim de Moura makes use of the literary convention, he unites its features with those of the Biblical model, the description of Eden in Genesis.

Apart from the borrowing of Dante's well-known inscription on the door to Hell (Canto III), the parts of *Os Novíssimos do Homem* which most notably reflect the influence of the *Divine Comedy*, and, in turn, the influence of scholastic philosophy, are those on Hell and Paradise (Cantos III and IV). But, as our examples demonstrate, Rolim de Moura either departs from or vastly generalizes the unusually complex conceptions of Dante and thereby makes it possible to blend them more easily with the comparatively simple ones of the Bible. By following this method a derivative advantage is gained: freedom to make certain features of Hell relevant to the historical moment in which he himself lived.

We have observed the close resemblance of Rolim de Moura's Satan, and the infernal council he convenes (Canto I), with Tasso's. Although there is nowhere in the Bible a similar scene, there are many suggestions which, when taken together, furnish a basis for it.

Both poets, the one imitating the other, and both borrowing from Dante, draw upon the common Biblical source for their depiction of Satan. Both find in it some of the infernal beings which they assign to his company — demons, monsters, serpents. The collection of mythological creatures which are made to intermingle with their Biblical counterparts are to be, like them, abhorred and denounced.

Tasso had felt a necessity to compose a recension of *Jerusalem Delivered* for the purpose of expurgating it of all pagan gods and fabulous elements. Rolim de Moura did not imitate him and go to the extreme in his attempts to solve the problems of the *genre faux* of Christian epic. Like most men of the Renaissance he sought instead a way to harmonize the pagan with the Christian supernatural in the creation of his poem. He found some suggestions in the Bible itself. He could readily admit Mercury, Venus, Jupiter and Saturn even to the Paraizo because he limited their rôle to the Hebraic-Christian conceptions of the stars. Fixed in their orbits they are God's handiwork, the object of man's wondering gaze and contemplation.

. . . *Os Novísimos do Homem* is the creation of a Christian poet. It is also the work of an intense patriot. Into the tapestry of his epic on man and God's plan for his redemption, he blends material which, besides serving the didactic purpose, presents a vigorous indictment of the evil days on which his native land had fallen. It is this indictment which suggests that Rolim de Moura belongs in the company of those Portuguese writers, who as Hernani Cidade contends, protested the Spanish domination by means of a "literatura de resistência."

Early in the poem, in the long recital of the far reaches of the earth discovered, explored and conquered by the "sons of Lusus," the patriotic pride of the poet is manifest. But never again does the poet allude to these heroic days. When he refers again to Portugal, by means of the veil of allegory which half-conceals and half-reveals, it is to censure and to denounce her debasement and disorder. We see his condemnation in the loathesome creatures which huddle on the road just outside the door to Hell, in the

individualization of his classification of the sins, but above all, in the figure of the harlot of the Apocalypse — the same figure which had symbolized for Dante the dishonor which had befallen Italy.



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