

PORTUGAL

FRANCISCO OLIVEIRA

Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Clássicos (APEC)
Centro de Estudos Clássicos e Humanísticos da Universidade de Coimbra
ORCID: 0000-0003-4871-243X
(foliveir@fl.uc.pt)

1. INTRODUCTION¹

Portuguese territory was frequented by the Greeks almost 2000 years before the existence of Portugal, a country whose definitive geographical identity was established shortly after it became independent in 1139 (formally, in 1143) by the 1297 Treaty of Alcañices². It should, however, be emphasised that by the time of the Christian Reconquista (Reconquest) of territories occupied by the Moors after the Arab invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in the eighth century, a County of Portugal (*Condado Portucale*) had existed since the eleventh century, corresponding to the territory within the Kingdom of Asturias and later the Kingdom of León (from 926 to 930, Count Ramiro Ordóñez used the Latin title of “King of Portugal”). It is also significant that the western coastline of Iberia, corresponding to Portugal and Galicia, has maintained its cultural and linguistic identity since very ancient times (at the end of the ninth century the language spoken in Portuguese territory was already free of Latin). Regardless of their diverging political fates, this identity is still evident nowadays.

Evidence of contact with the Greek world is provided by archaeological finds throughout the Atlantic coastal area (in the Algarve, Álcacer do Sal, Santa Olaia, the area around Figueira da Foz and Esposende)³, and in legends that refer to the presence of the Greeks on the western coast of Iberia and Hispania or Hispaniae. Thus, Ulysses appears as the founder of *Olysip(p)o* or Lisbon, with Strabo attesting to the wanderings of various Homeric heroes through Iberia and the existence of a city called *Odyseia* (cf. STR. 3.2.13); the River Lima, to the north of Porto, would have been called Lethes; and the area immediately north of the River Minho would have been inhabited by Greeks (cf. PLIN. *Nat.* 4.112: *a Cilenis conventus Bracarum Helenni, Grovi, castelum Tude Graecorum*

¹ English translation by dr. Sheena Caldwell.

² The Portuguese borders were defined following the conquest of the Algarve in 1249 and in the Treaty of Alcañices in 1297.

³ The exhibition “Greek Vases in Portugal: Beneath the Pillars of Hercules”, which presented over fifty fragments discovered in Lusitanian territory, opened on 25 January 2007 at the National Archeological Museum in Lisbon. See Rocha Pereira, 2010.

subolis omnia (“After the Cileni, under the jurisdiction of the Bracari, we have the Heleni, the Gravii, and the castle of Tyde, all of Greek origin”).

References by Greek authors to the regions and peoples who partially or entirely inhabited the territory that would eventually become present-day Portugal, in particular the peoples named by the pagan authors as *Bracari*, *Conii*, *Kallaikoi* or *Callaeci*, *Keltikoi* or *Celtici*, *Lysitanoi* or *Lusitani*, and *Turduli*, fall within the concepts of *Hispania*, *Hispaniae* and *Iberia*⁴. As these sources are usually common, we refer to some texts from the chapter on Spain, highlighting only the passages that deal more specifically with Lusitania.

Since they are very controversial and even derived from legend, I do not intend to consider references to peoples and islands in the Atlantic Ocean, such as the *Kimmerioi* or Cimerians (cf. HOM. *Od.* 11.9-22, text 1.1. in the chapter on Spain; cf. STR. 3.2.12-13), the famous Atlantis (see text. 1.4. in the chapter on Spain) and the Fortunate Isles (μακάρων νῆσοι), which have been identified as both the Spanish Canary Islands and the Portuguese islands of Madeira, Porto Santo and the Azores.

Moreover, this is not the place to discuss chronologies or literary and archaeological sources, but only to indicate certain texts that clearly refer to territories from which an Iberian nation –Portugal– would be founded, or which illustrate how the Greek legacy has survived in Portuguese culture.

The contact between the territory destined to become the future Portugal and the Greek civilisation was increased by the presence of the Romans, from 218 BC onwards. Prolonged resistance to the invaders was led, amongst others, by Viriathus, who was betrayed and murdered in 139 BC and is considered a national hero, and Sertorius. However, the Roman conquest was consolidated and in 27 BC Augustus created the province of Lusitania, which was already largely Romanised. Hence a culture imbued with Hellenic influence was transmitted to the indigenous peoples.

In the Late Roman Empire, despite the surrender of the province to the Alans (411) and the fall of the Western Roman Empire, local culture was imbued with classical values, in particular legends, mythical names and anthroponyms. Significant figures included PAULUS OROSIUS, the author of a world history written in around 416-417; PASCASIUS DUMIENSIS, who translated the *Apothegmata Patrum* from Greek to Latin, probably between 551 and 556, and MARTINUS BRACARENSIS (d. 579), heir to the Eastern monasticism of St Martin of Tours, who came from Pannonia, to found the famous Monastery of Dumio (Braga), a great cultural centre of Hellenism which he provided with Greek codices from the East. In his book *De correctione rusticorum*, Martinus

⁴ In addition to these pre-Roman peoples there were others, including the Alans, Suevi, Visigoths, Arabs and Jews (see the chapter on Spain, 2. The Byzantine Period), as well as miscegenation involving peoples from Portuguese settlements in the East, in Africa and in Brazil.

criticised the habit of using the Roman system for naming the days of the week and imposed the Christian and Byzantine system, later incorporated into the Portuguese language (*segunda feira, terça feira, quarta feira, quinta feira, sexta feira*), a unique case amongst the Romance languages.

Even under Arab rule, from 711 to the conquest of the Algarve in 1249, contact was maintained with Greek culture and with Aristotelianism in particular, via the Arab presence and through the episcopal and monastic schools⁵ and the university, founded in 1290. Important references in the second half of the sixteenth century include the Portuguese Aristotle (PETRUS FONSECA, 1528-1599) and the *Conimbricenses*, eight commentaries on the works of Aristotle published between 1592 and 1606 as the *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricencis Societatis Iesu*, which had a significant international impact (see Coxito 1999).

Although many quotations from Greek authors, myths and heroes can be found in medieval Portuguese literature, it may be assumed that, in general, this implied indirect knowledge. However, some data and facts indicate that the Portuguese still maintained some interest in the Greek language and culture, particularly during the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century.

The Bishop of Viseu, D. Luís do Amaral (d. 1444), for example, was chosen by the Council of Basle (1433) to go on a mission to Constantinople, due to his knowledge of the Greek language. Vasco de Lucena (d. 1512) translated Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* into French in 1470 (using the Latin version by Bracciolini). Aires Barbosa (c. 1470-1540) introduced the teaching of Greek to the University of Salamanca in 1495, creating the first Chair of Greek in the Iberian Peninsula. In the 1500 edition of the *Opera* of Cataldus Parisius Siculus (1455-1514), Greek quotations were transliterated into Latin characters because no Greek fonts were available, although according to Clenardus (1493-1542), the printing press in the Santa Cruz Monastery in Coimbra had Greek characters⁶.

From the Renaissance and the age of humanism to the present day, the presence of the Greek matrix within Portuguese language and culture has remained real and very inspiring⁷. It is worth recalling certain key figures: in the 16th century Luísa Sigeia mastered the Greek language; in the period between Arcadism (Neoclassicism) and Romanticism, the Marchioness of Alorna, was "*the first Portuguese writer to appreciate the beauty of Greek vases*" (Rocha Pereira 1988, p. 203); the poet Sophia Andresen (d. 2004), and others amongst her contemporaries, considered that "*Ancient Greek is,*

⁵ There was a *Dictionarium Graecum copiosissimum* in the library of the Santa Cruz Monastery in Coimbra (founded in 1131/1132), and the library of the Cistercian Monastery in Alcobaca (founded in 1153) contained the works of Aristotle and the Greek Church Fathers.

⁶ This paragraph and some other references are citations or the abstract from F. Oliveira 2005, pp. 164-165. This article deals with the Greek heritage in Portugal from its origins to the Renaissance. For the period from the Renaissance to the present day, see F. Oliveira 2002 and A. P. Couto – F. Oliveira 2006.

⁷ For a general approach, see F. Oliveira 1999 and 2005; Rocha Pereira 1999 (a).

above all, an intellectual fatherland, where the ideal of justice, of freedom, of wisdom, of beauty was born” (Rocha Pereira 1999 (b), p. 13); Manuel Alegre (1937-), a poet who campaigned in exile to return to his country and for democracy, focussed in various poems and in particular in his book *Um barco para Ítaca* (1971, “A boat to Ithaca”) on the theme of Ulysses or Odysseus in exile, yearning to return to Ithaca, the archetypal symbol of the homeland.

No less importantly, the vocabulary and morphosyntactical structures of modern Portuguese, which began to take shape in the sixteenth century, were greatly enriched by Hellenisms imported directly from Greek or via Latin that are still a strong feature of the language today and not only in the field of medicine.

In selecting the texts below, I have sought to highlight the physical and cultural image of Portugal as a country which has always been in contact and dialogue with Hellenism since its earliest days.

From the Greek sources, for obvious reasons I have focussed on Strabo (c. 64 BC – c. 24 AD), whose work also provides earlier information, in particular from Polybius and Posidonius.



Fig. 1: Camões by an unknown painter, Goa, 1581 (https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lu%C3%ADs_de_Cam%C3%B4es) \l “/media/File:Blackletter_G.svg)

From the Portuguese language sources dating from the Renaissance and the age of humanism, I have taken examples from the work of LUÍS DE CAMÕES (c. 1524-1580), the national poet who, in the classic epic *Os Lusíadas* (“The

Lusiads”) celebrated the genesis of the Portuguese Discoveries, focussing on the discovery of the sea route to India by the navigator Vasco da Gama.

Finally, I have opted for FERNANDO PESSOA (1888-1935), the multifaceted modernist poet whose heteronym Ricardo Reis described himself as a Latinist and semi-Hellenist. In his literary works, Pessoa reveals a wide experience of classical culture and explores the question of national identity, particularly in *A Mensagem* (“The Message”), which was published in 1934. This work revisits the glories of the Portuguese past using a tripartite structure in which the poems celebrate symbols and characters from Portuguese history from the perspective of heroism and apologetics.

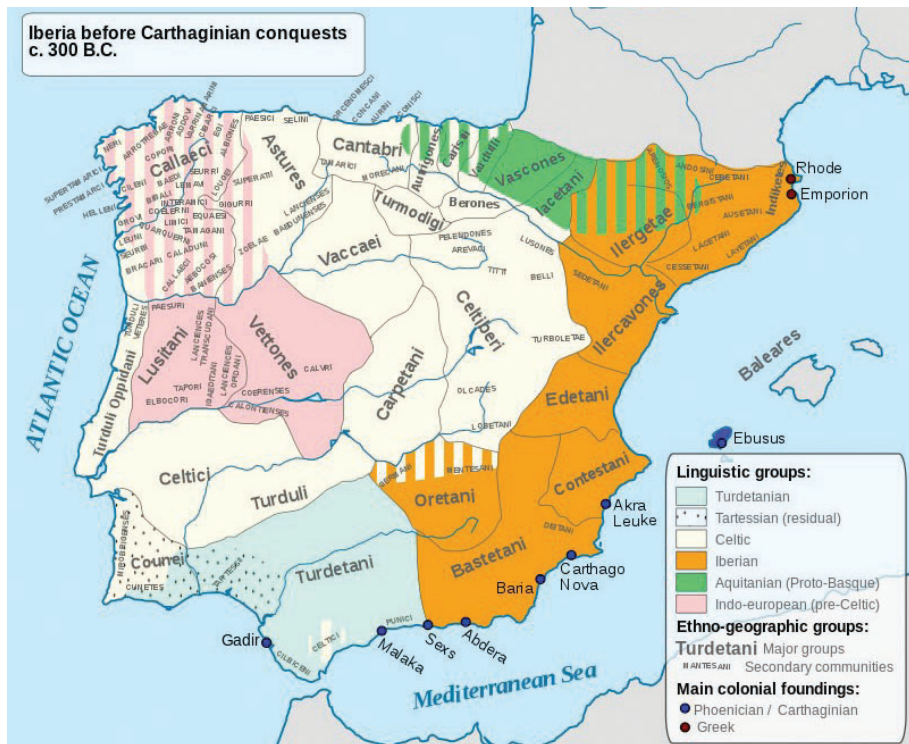


Fig. 2: Hispania and Lusitania (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lusitania> \ \ “/media/File:Iberia_300BC-en.svg)

2. TEXTS IN ANCIENT GREEK ABOUT LUSITANIA

2.1. A description of the Algarve, the land of the Conii, in southern Portugal STRABO, *Geography* 3.1.4 (A. MEINEKE, Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

Ἀναλαμβάνοντες δὲ λέγωμεν τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου ἀρξάμενοι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ δυτικώτατον οὐ τῆς Εὐρώπης μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης σημεῖον. περατοῦται μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν δυεῖν ἠπείρων

ἡ οἰκουμένη πρὸς δύσιν, τοῖς τε τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄκροις καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Λιβύης, ὧν τὰ μὲν Ἴβηρες ἔχουσι τὰ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι. προὔχει δὲ τὰ Ἴβηρικὰ ὄσον χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίοις κατὰ τὸ λεχθὲν ἄκρωτήριον. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν προσεχῆ τούτῳ χώραν τῇ Λατίνῃ φωνῇ καλοῦσι Κούνεον, σφῆνα σημαίνειν βουλόμενοι.

2.2. The region between the River Tejo and the Algarve

STRABO, *Geography* 3.1.6 (A. ΜΕΙΝΕΚΕ, Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

A description of the southern region of Portugal, inhabited by the Celts and Lusitanians: the northern border is the River Tejo, the eastern border is the River Guadiana, and the Atlantic Ocean forms the western and southern boundaries (for the full quotation, see text 1.11. of the chapter on Spain):

Τῆς δὲ συνεχοῦς τῷ ἱερῷ ἄκρωτηρίῳ παραλίας ἡ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἑσπερίου πλευροῦ τῆς Ἴβηρίας μέχρι τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Τάγου ποταμοῦ, ἡ δὲ τοῦ νοτίου μέχρι ἄλλου ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἴβηρος καὶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς αὐτοῦ. φέρεται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφ' ὧν μερῶν ἐκάτερος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐπ' εὐθείας εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν ἐκδίδωσι πολὺ μείζων ὧν θατέρου, ὁ δ' Ἴβηρος πρὸς νότον ἐπιστρέφει τὴν μεσοποταμίαν ἀφορίζων, ἣν Κελτικοὶ νέμονται τὸ πλέον καὶ τῶν Λυσιτανῶν τινὲς ἐκ τῆς περσικῆς τοῦ Τάγου μετοικισθέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων.

2.3. From the *Sacrum Promontorium* to the Guadiana and Baetis rivers

STRABO, *Geography* 3.1.9-10 (A. ΜΕΙΝΕΚΕ, Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

The area between *Gadeira* (modern Cádiz), the *Sacrum Promontorium* (Cape St. Vincent) or Holy Promontory, and the Guadiana River, which formed the border between the Baeturia region, through which the River Baetis (nowadays the Guadalquivir) flows, and the territory corresponding to the Algarve and Alentejo regions of Portugal:

... καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ἴβηρος ποταμός, δίστομος καὶ οὗτος, καὶ ὁ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνάπλους εἶθ' ὕστατον τὸ ἱερὸν ἄκρωτήριον, διέχον τῶν Γαδείρων ἐλάττους ἢ δισχιλίους σταδίους. τινὲς δ' ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἄκρωτηρίου ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἴβηρος στόμα ἐξήκοντα μιλία φασιν, ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Βαίτιος στόμα ἑκατόν, εἴτα εἰς Γάδειρα ἐβδομήκοντα.

2.4. Mineral wealth in the Alentejo

STRABO, *Geography* 3.2.3 (A. ΜΕΙΝΕΚΕ, Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

According to Strabo (see also 3.2.8), the mineral wealth in the Alentejo region, which lies between the Guadiana and Tejo rivers, was common to the whole of Iberia.

ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἴβηρος ἀνάπλους, οὔτε δὲ τηλικούτοις σκάφεσιν οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον. ὑπέρεκται δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ μεταλλείας ἔχοντα ὄρη, καθήκει δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν

Τάγον. τὰ μὲν οὖν τὰς μεταλλείας ἔχοντα χωρία ἀνάγκη τραχέα τε εἶναι καὶ παράλυπρα, οἷάπερ καὶ τὰ τῆ Καρπητανία συνάπτοντα καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι.

2.5. The coastal region between the *Sacrum Promontorium* or Holy Promontory and the River Tejo

STRABO, *Geography* 3.3.1 (A. ΜΕΙΝΕΚΕ, Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

Coastal and riverside settlements between the *Sacrum Promontorium* and the Tejo: Salacia or Alcácer do Sal; Olysipo or Lisbon; Moron or Almeirim/Santarém); the fertile Ribatejo region; the borders of Lusitania:

Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάλιν ἀκρωτηρίου τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνουσιν ἐπὶ θάτερον μέρος τῆς παραλίας τὸ πρὸς τὸν Τάγον κόλπος ἐστίν· ἔπειτε ἄκρα τὸ Βαρβάριον καὶ αἱ τοῦ Τάγου ἐκβολαὶ πλησίον, ἐφ' ἃς εὐθυπλοία ... στάδιοι δ' εἰσὶ δέκα· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἀναχύσεις, ὧν μία ἐπὶ πλείους ἢ τετρακοσίους σταδίου ἀπὸ τοῦ λεχθέντος πύργου, καθ' ἣν ὑδρεύονται εἴ που Σαλάκεια. ὁ δὲ Τάγος καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἔχει τοῦ στόματος εἴκοσί που σταδίων καὶ τὸ βάθος μέγα, ὥστε μυριαγωγὸς ἀναπλεῖσθαι. δύο δ' ἀναχύσεις ἐν τοῖς ὑπερκειμένοις ποιεῖται πεδίοις, ὅταν αἱ πλημαὶ γίνωνται, ὥστε πελαγίζειν μὲν ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίου καὶ ποιεῖν πλωτὸν τὸ πεδίον, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐπάνω ἀναχύσει καὶ νησίον ἀπολαμβάνειν ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίων τὸ μήκος, πλάτος δὲ μικρὸν ἀπολείπον τοῦ μήκου, εὐαλσὲς καὶ εὐάμπελον. κείται δ' ἡ νῆσος κατὰ Μόρωνα πόλιν εὖ κειμένην ἐν ὄρει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλησίον, ἀφεστῶσαν τῆς θαλάττης ὅσον πεντακοσίους σταδίου, ἔχουσαν δὲ καὶ χώραν ἀγαθὴν τὴν πέριξ καὶ τοὺς ἀνάπλους εὐπετεῖς μέχρι μὲν πολλοῦ καὶ μεγάλοις σκάφεσι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοῖς ποταμίοις· καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Μόρωνα δ' ἔτι μακρότερος ἀνάπλους ἐστί. ταύτη δὲ τῇ πόλει Βρούτος ὁ Καλλαϊκὸς προσαγορευθεὶς ὀρητηρίῳ χρώμενος ἐπολέμησε πρὸς τοὺς Λυσιτανοὺς καὶ κατέστρεψε τούτους. τοῖς δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλήθροις ἐπετείχισε τὴν Ὀλυσιπῶνα, ἵν' ἔχοι τοὺς ἀνάπλους ἐλευθέρους καὶ τὰς ἀνακομιδὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὥστε καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Τάγον πόλεων αὐταὶ κράτισται.

2.6. Lusitania: north of the River Tejo

STRABO, *Geography* 3.3.2-3 (A. ΜΕΙΝΕΚΕ, Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

A description of Lusitania, north of the Tejo including Gallaecia, annexed in 7 BC but rapidly separated, and the province of Lusitania, created by Augustus in 27 BC, by dividing Hispania Ulterior into Baetica and Lusitania; a reference to the campaigns led by Iunius Brutus Callaecus, who conquered the Lusitanians, between 138 and 136 BC:

3.3.2. Οἱ δὲ ὑπερκειμένοι τῶν λεχθέντων μερῶν Ὀρητανοὶ μὲν εἰσι νοτιώτατοι καὶ μέχρι τῆς παραλίας διήκοντες ἐκ μέρους τῆς ἐντὸς στηλῶν, Καρπητανοὶ δὲ μετὰ τούτους πρὸς ἄρκτους, εἶτα Ὀυέττωνες καὶ Ὀυακκαῖοι, δι' ὧν ὁ

Δούριος ρεῖ κατ' Ἀκούτειαν πόλιν τῶν Ὀυακκαίων ἔχων διάβασιν, Καλλαῖκοι δ' ὕστατοι, τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἐπέχοντες πολλήν· διὸ καὶ δυσμαχώτατοι ὄντες τῷ τε καταπολεμήσαντι τοὺς Λυσιτανοὺς αὐτοὶ παρέσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, καὶ νῦν ἤδη τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Λυσιτανῶν Καλλαῖκοὺς καλεῖσθαι παρεσκεύασαν. τῆς μὲν οὖν Ὠρητανίας κρατιστεύουσά ἐστὶ πόλις Καστουλῶν καὶ Ὠρία.

3.3.3 Τοῦ δὲ Τάγου τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον ἢ Λυσιτανία ἐστὶ μέγιστον τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πλείστοις χρόνοις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πολεμηθέν. περιέχει δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὸ μὲν νότιον πλευρὸν ὁ Τάγος, τὸ δ' ἐσπέριον καὶ τὸ ἀρκτικὸν ὁ ὠκεανός, τὸ δ' ἑωθινὸν οἱ τε Καρπητανοὶ καὶ οἱ Ὀυέττωνες καὶ Ὀυακκαῖοι καὶ Καλλαῖκοί, τὰ γνῶριμα ἔθνη· τᾶλλα δὲ οὐκ ἄξιον ὀνομάζειν διὰ τὴν μικρότητα καὶ τὴν ἀδοξίαν· ὑπεναντίως δὲ τὰ νῦν ἔθνη καὶ τούτους Λυσιτανοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν. Ὅμοροι δ' εἰσὶν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἔω μέρους οἱ μὲν Καλλαῖκοι τῷ τῶν Ἀστούρων ἔθνεϊ καὶ τοῖς Κελτίβηρσιν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν μήκος τρισχιλίων σταδίων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος πολὺ ἔλαττον, ὃ ποιεῖ τὸ ἑωθινὸν πλευρὸν εἰς τὴν ἀντικειμένην παραλίαν· ὑψηλὸν δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἑωθινὸν καὶ τραχύ, ἢ δὲ ὑποκειμένη χώρα πεδιάς πᾶσα καὶ μέχρι θαλάττης πλὴν ὀλίγων ὄρων οὐ μεγάλων·

2.7. Rivers in Lusitania

STRABO, *Geography* 3.3.4 (A. ΜΕΙΝΕΚΕ, Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

A list of rivers: the Tejo, Mondego, Vouga, Douro, Lima and Minho. The River Minho as the northern border of Lusitania:

Ἡ δ' οὖν χώρα περὶ ἧς λέγομεν εὐδαιμων τέ ἐστὶ καὶ διαρρεῖται ποταμοῖς μεγάλοις τε καὶ μικροῖς, ἅσασιν ἐκ τῶν ἑωθινῶν μερῶν, παραλλήλοις τῷ Τάγῳ· ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ ἀνάπλους οἱ πλείους καὶ ψήγμα τοῦ χρυσοῦ πλείστον. γνωριμώτατοι δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐφεξῆς τῷ Τάγῳ Μούνδας ἀνάπλους ἔχων μικροὺς καὶ Ὀυακούα ὠσαύτως· μετὰ δὲ τούτους Δούριος μακρόθεν τε ῥέων παρὰ Νομαντίαν καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας τῶν Κελτιβήρων καὶ Ὀυακκαίων κατοικίας, μεγάλοις τ' ἀναπλεόμενος σκάφεσιν ἐπὶ ὀκτακοσίους σχεδόν τι σταδίου. εἴτ' ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ καὶ μετὰ τούτους ὁ τῆς Λήθης, ὃν τινὲς Λιμαίαν οἱ δὲ Βελιώνα καλοῦσι· καὶ οὗτος δ' ἐκ Κελτιβήρων καὶ Ὀυακκαίων ρεῖ καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν Βαινίς οἱ δὲ Μίνιον φασι πολὺ μέγιστος τῶν ἐν Λυσιτανίᾳ ποταμῶν ἐπὶ ὀκτακοσίους καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναπλεόμενος σταδίου.

2.8. Characteristics of the Lusitanians

STRABO, *Geography* 3.3.5-6 (A. ΜΕΙΝΕΚΕ, Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

The Lusitanians lived from pillage and war until the Roman conquest, making incursions into the territories south of the Tejo⁸. The skills of

⁸ See Alarcão 2001, p. 311: "In 153 BC, a group of Lusitani commanded by Caucenus attacked the Conii and took Conistorgis. Describing these victories, Appian, *Ib* 56-57 refers to the Lusitani from the 'opposite bank of the Tejo'. Situated north of Ossonoba/Faro, Conistorgis was the capital of the Conii.

the Lusitanians in ambushes, and their weapons; the Spartan lifestyle of the Lusitanians living in the Douro region; the practice of divination by haruspicy⁹:

3.3.5 ... ἔθνη μὲν οὖν περὶ τριάκοντα τὴν χώραν νέμεται τὴν μεταξὺ Τάγου καὶ τῶν Ἀρτάβρων· εὐδαίμονος δὲ τῆς χώρας ὑπαρχούσης κατὰ τε καρποὺς καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων πλήθος, ὅμως οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀφέντες βίον ἐν ληστηρίοις διετέλουν καὶ συνεχεῖ πολέμῳ πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ τοὺς ὁμόρους αὐτοῖς διαβαίνοντες τὸν Τάγον, ἕως ἔπαυσαν αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι ταπεινῶσαντες καὶ κώμας ποιήσαντες τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν τὰς πλείστας, ἐνίας δὲ καὶ συνοικίζοντες βέλτιον. ἤρχον δὲ τῆς ἀνομίας ταύτης οἱ ὄρειοι, καθάπερ εἰκός· λυπρὰν γὰρ νεμόμενοι καὶ μικρὰ κεκτημένοι τῶν ἀλλοτρῶν ἐπεθύμουν, οἱ δὲ ἀμυνόμενοι τούτους ἄκυροι τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων καθίσταντο ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὥστ' ἀντὶ τοῦ γεωργεῖν ἐπολέμουν καὶ οὗτοι, καὶ συνέβαινε τὴν χώραν ἀμελουμένην στεῖραν οὖσαν τῶν ἐμφύτων ἀγαθῶν οἰκεῖσθαι ὑπὸ ληστῶν.

3.3.6 Τοὺς δ' οὖν Λυσιτανούς φασιν ἐνεδρευτικούς ἐξερευνητικούς ὀξεῖς κούφους εὐεξελίκτους· ἀσπίδιον δ' αὐτοὺς δίπουν ἔχειν τὴν διάμετρον, κοῖλον εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν, τελαμῶσιν ἐξηρημένον· οὔτε γὰρ πόρπακας οὔτ' ἀντιλαβὰς ἔχει ... παραξιφίς πρὸς τούτοις ἢ κοπίς. λινοθώρακες οἱ πλείου· σπάνιοι δὲ ἀλυσιδωτοῖς χρῶνται καὶ τριλοφίαις, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι νευρίοις κράνεσιν· οἱ πεζοὶ δὲ καὶ κνημίδας ἔχουσιν, ἀκόντια δ' ἕκαστος πλείω· τινὲς δὲ καὶ δόρατι χρῶνται· ἐπιδορατίδες δὲ χάλκεαι. ἐνίους δὲ τῶν προσοικούντων τῷ Δουρίῳ ποταμῷ λακωνικῶς διάγειν φασίν, ἀλειπτηρίοις χρωμένους δις καὶ πυρίαῖς ἐκ λίθων διαπύρων, ψυχρολουτροῦντας καὶ μονοτροφοῦντας καθαρείως καὶ λιτῶς. θυτικοὶ δ' εἰσὶ Λυσιτανοὶ τὰ τε σπλάγχνα ἐπιβλέπουσιν οὐκ ἐκτέμνοντες· προσεπιβλέπουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ πλευρᾷ φλέβας, καὶ ψηλαφῶντες δὲ τεκμαίρονται. σπλαγχνεύονται δὲ καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπων αἰχμαλώτων καλύπτοντες σάγοις· εἶθ' ὅταν πληγῇ τὰ σπλάγχνα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱεροσκόπου, μαντεύονται πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος. τῶν δ' ἀλόντων τὰς χεῖρας ἀποκόπτοντες τὰς δεξιὰς ἀνατιθέασιν.

2.9. Changes to the organisation of the province of Lusitania

STRABO, *Geography* 3.4.20 (A. MEINEKE, Teubner, Leipzig, 1877)

Changes to the provincial borders, military organisation and administration of justice between 197 and 27 BC, and the situation in Strabo's time. On the organisation of the provinces, see the testimony by Appian (text 1.19 of the chapter on Spain):

⁹ The warlike spirit of the Lusitanians was reflected in their practice of sacrificing a goat and a horse to the gods of war.

Νυνὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τῶν μὲν ἀποδειχθεισῶν τῷ δήμῳ τε καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τῶν δὲ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἡ μὲν Βαιτικὴ πρόσκειται τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ πέμπεται στρατηγὸς ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἔχων ταμίαν τε καὶ πρεσβευτήν· ὄριον δ’ αὐτῆς τεθείκασι πρὸς ἠῶ πλησίον Καστλῶνος. ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ Καίσαρός ἐστι· πέμπονται δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δύο πρεσβευταί, στρατηγικός τε καὶ ὑπατικός, ὁ μὲν στρατηγικός ἔχων σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβευτήν, δικαιοδοτήσων Λυσιτανοῖς τοῖς παρακειμένοις τῇ Βαιτικῇ καὶ διατείνουσι μέχρι τοῦ Δουρίου ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκβολῶν αὐτοῦ· καλοῦσι γὰρ οὕτω τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἰδίως ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ἐνταῦθα δ’ ἔστι καὶ ἡ Αὐγοῦστα Ἡμερίτα. ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ (αὕτη δ’ ἐστὶν ἡ πλείστη τῆς Ἰβηρίας ὑπὸ τῷ ὑπατικῷ ἡγεμόνι στρατιάν τε ἔχοντι ἀξιόλογον τριῶν πλοῦτων καὶ πρεσβευτὰς τρεῖς, ὧν ὁ μὲν δύο ἔχων τάγματα παραφρουρεῖ τὴν πέραν τοῦ Δουρίου πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους, ἦν οἱ μὲν πρότερον Λυσιτανούς ἔλεγον οἱ δὲ νῦν Καλλαϊκοὺς καλοῦσι· συνάπτει δὲ τούτοις τὰ προσάρκτια μέρη μετὰ τῶν Ἀστύρων καὶ τῶν Καντάβρων.

3. PORTUGUESE TEXTS

3.1. LUÍS DE CAMÕES (c. 1524-1580)

The poet Luís de Camões was the prime exponent of vernacular humanism and Portuguese culture. The anniversary of his death, on 10 June, is commemorated every year as the *Dia de Portugal* (Day of Portugal, Camões, and the Portuguese Communities). His outstanding work is the epic *Os Lusíadas* (“The Lusíads”), which pays tribute to the Portuguese people through the narrative of the voyage made by its hero, Vasco da Gama, to India, with the customary analepses, ekphrases and *post eventum* prophecies associated with the glorious deeds and heroes of Portugal. Faithful to the classical Greek and Latin epic models, and greatly influenced by the Castilian and Italian poets, the text abounds with Greek allusions, periphrases, epithets, geonyms, anthroponyms and mythological names.

Hence, in this small selection of examples, Vasco da Gama, like other Portuguese heroes, is compared to Heracles (4.80; cf. 4.49), the Argonauts (1.18.6; 4.87-83; 9.64.2; cf. 4.85.8 and the prosopopoeia of the sails of the Portuguese ships), and Alexander the Great (the theme of *imitatio Alexandri* in 5.95.1-2 extended to Lusitania, which created “*Cipiões, Césares, Alexandros, e dá Augustos*” (“Scipios and Caesars giveth Lusialand, / gives Alexanders and Augusti gives”). The theme of *imitatio Alexandri* appears at the beginning of the epic (*Lusíadas*, 1.3; translated by R. F. Burton):

Cessem do sábio Grego e do Troiano
 As navegações grandes que fizeram;
 Cale-se de Alexandro e de Trajano
 A fama das vitórias que tiveram;
 Que eu canto o peito illustre Lusitano,
 A quem Neptuno e Marte obedeceram.
 Cesse tudo o que a Musa antiga canta,
 Que outro valor mais alto se alevanta.

Cease the sage Grecian, and the Man of Troy
 to vaunt long Voyage made in bygone day:
 Cease Alexander, Trajan cease to joy the fame
 of victories that have pass'd away:
 The noble Lusian's stouter breast sing I, whom
 Mars and Neptune dared not disobey:
 Cease al that antique Muse hath sung, for now
 a better Brav'ry rears its bolder brow.

With regard to the physical geography of Lusitania, in Canto III in order to tell the king of Melinde about the genealogy and glories of the Portuguese, Vasco da Gama begins with the “*larga terra*” (*Lusiads* 3.5: “the wide-spread Continent”). The description of the terrestrial globe, with Europe recumbent at its centre (fig. 3), suggests the ekphrasis of a *mapa mundi* (*Lusiads* 3.6, translated by R. F. Duff):

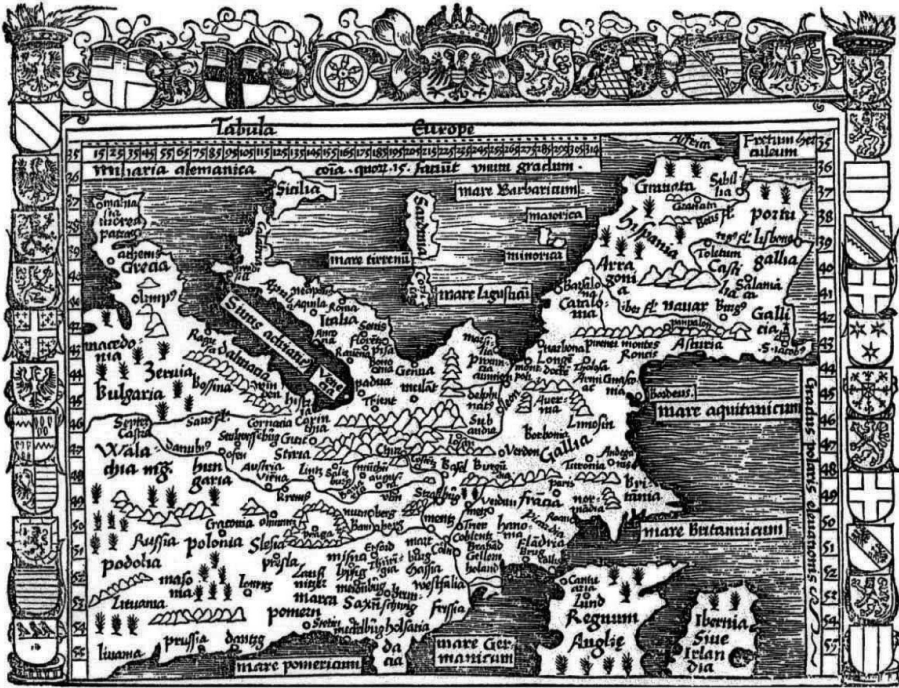


Fig. 3: S. mapa de Europa recumbens, de Münster, *Mappa Europae*, Frankfurt am Main, 1536

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>“Entre a Zona que o Cancro senhoreia, Meta Setentrional do Sol luzente, E aquela que por fria se arreceia Tanto, como a do meio por ardente, Jaz a soberba Europa, a quem rodeia, Pela parte do Arcturo e do Ocidente, Com suas salsas ondas o Oceano, E, pela Austral, o Mar Mediterraneo”.</p> | <p>“Between the zone where Cancer holds his sway, And cearly marks the utmost northern bound E’er traversed by the brilliant orb of day, And that cold clime where snows and ice abound, Much shunned like that where torrid heats are found, Europa’s fair and fertile regions lie: Her northern, western coasts are girded round By Ocean’s briny waves; whilst, gliding by, The middle sea bathes those beneath the southern sky”</p> |
|---|--|

This geographical description ranges from east to west, passing through Macedonia and “*clara Grécia*”, which achieved immortality “*não menos por armas, que por letras*” (3.13.7-8; “noble Greece ... no less by arts... than arms and wars”), ending in the kingdom of Portugal (*Lusíadas*, 3.20-21; translated by R. F. Burton):

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>3.20 “Eis aqui, quási cume da cabeça De Europa toda, o Reino Lusitano, Onde a terra se acaba e o mar começa E onde Febo repousa no Oceano. Este quis o Céu justo que floreça Nas armas contra o torpe Mauritano, Deitando-o de si fora; e lá na ardente África estar quieto o não consente”.</p> | <p>“See the head-crowning coronet is she, of general Europe, Lusitania’s reign, where endeth land and where beginneth sea, and Phoebus sinks to rest upon the main. Willed her the Heavens with all-just decree by wars to mar th’ignobile Mauritan, to cast him from herself: nor there consent he rule in peace the Fiery Continent.</p> |
| <p>3.21 “Esta é a ditosa pátria minha amada, À qual se o Céu me dá que eu sem perigo Torne, com esta empresa já acabada, Acabe-se esta luz ali comigo. Esta foi Lusitânia, derivada De Luso ou Lisa, que de Baco antigo Filhos foram, parece, ou companheiros, E nela então os incolas primeiros”.</p> | <p>“This is my happy land, my home, my pride; where, if the Heavens but grant the prayer I for glad return and every risk defied, there may my life-light fail and fade away. This was the Lusitania, name applied by Lusus or by Lysa, sons, they say, of ancient Bacchus, or his boon compeers, eke the first dwellers of her eldest years”.</p> |

This short extract contains many important themes from Camões’ work:

1) the physical presentation of Portugal as the head of Europe, a representation probably based on gynomorphic cartography, i.e. maps that represent Europe in the form of a woman reclining (see fig. 3) or standing upright, as in fig. 4, a reproduction of the *mappa Europae* by Sebastian Münster (1588), following the *Europa Virgo* by Johann Putsh (1537, reprinted 1544, 1588), a tradition which continued with Heinrich Bünting’s map of Europe (1595, 1610, 1638; see fig. 5), amongst others¹⁰;

¹⁰ Concerning the engravings reproduced here (fig. 3, 4 and 5), see S. Pinho 2007.

Fig. 4: S. Münster, *Cosmographia*, 1588

Fig. 5: H. Bünting, 1638 (name Lusitania in the helmet)



2) the location of Lusitania in the far west, i.e. the *última Hespéria*, according to the *Lusiads*, 2.108: the “ultimate Hispanian ground”;

3) the origins of the Lusitanian conquest of Africa and its links with the sea and navigation;

4) the nationalist apologetics of the poet;

5) the explanation for the name Lusitania, on the basis of the Greek mythological names Luso or Lisa¹¹. The terms *Luso(s)*, *Lusitano(s)*, *Lusitânico* and *Lusitania* are used by Camões dozens of times as synonyms for *Portugal* and *Portuguese*, in a ratio of approximately 4 to 6 in relation to the latter. This fundamental relationship with Hellenism also occurs in relation to the founding of Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, which would have been built by “Ulysses” (*Lusiadas*, 8.5) and called “Ulisseia” (4.84.1; see also 3.57.1-4, 3.58.8, 3.74.8).

¹¹ See Plin., *Nat.* 3.8: *lusum enim Liberi patris aut lyssam cum eo bacchantium nomen dedisse Lusitaniae et Pana praefectum eius universae.*

3.2. FERNANDO PESSOA (1888-1935)

Mensagem opens with the poem *Os castelos* (“The Castles”), a geographical and political description of Europe which recalls the aforementioned tradition of maps in the form of the female body, in this case reclining. As in classical physiognomy, in presenting Portugal as the face and eyes of Europe, Pessoa gives it the most important position in the portrait, as an expression of the author’s nationalist apologetics¹².



Fig.6: Retrato de Fernando Pessoa by the modernist Painter Almada Negreiros, 1964. Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa (https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Retrato_de_Fernando_Pessoa)

With regard to the iconic, legendary figures from Portuguese history, in the poem *Ulisses* (“Odysseus, Ulysses”) Pessoa refers to the legend of the founding of Lisbon by the hero from Ithaca, *Este, que aqui aportou* (“This one who called here at port”); in the poem *Padrão* (“Landmark with Escutcheon”) he proclaims the superiority of Portuguese navigation in relation to the Greeks and Romans: *Que o mar com fim será grego ou romano: / O mar sem fim é português* (“The bounded sea may be Greek or Roman: / The sea without bounds is Portuguese”); in the poem *Epitáfio de Bartolomeu Dias* (“Dias’ Epitaph”), the famous navigator

¹² The English versions come from: <https://www.inverso.pt/Mensagem/Brazao/castellos.htm> \l “inglesa (17.10.2018).

who rounded Cape Bojador and opened up routes to all the seas in the world is compared to Atlas: *Atlas, mostra alto o mundo no seu ombro* (“Atlas shows the world high on his shoulder”); in the poem *Fernão de Magalhães* (“Magellan”), the first navigator to circumnavigate the earth is presented as the conqueror of the Titans; finally, in the poem *Ascensão de Vasco da Gama* (“The Ascension of Vasco da Gama”), the man who discovered the sea route to India is referred to as an Argonaut and is deified.

4. CONCLUSION

The territory in which Portugal would eventually be established was, from the earliest of times, always open to contact with the Greeks, either directly or via the Romans. Hence, contact with Hellenic culture –its myths, gods and heroes, language, philosophical ideas and literary and artistic expression– contributed a great deal towards shaping the identity of Portugal.

At the same time, Portugal understood how to integrate within European culture shaped by the Hellenistic paideia, establishing various exchanges and receiving, but also making, significant contributions, which were extended to its the vast territories in Asia, Africa and the Americas.

The achievements of the Lusitanian people included their significant involvement in the Reconquest and the Discoveries. Within the realm of culture, there have been authentic representatives of the Lusitanian character but also intellectuals on a European and international level, such as Luís de Camões, Fernando Pessoa and José Saramago, the winner of the 1998 Nobel Prize for Literature –recalling his translation of A. Bonnar’s *Greek Civilization* (1984) and his novel *A Caverna* ‘The cavern’ (2010, referencing Plato’s cavern)– a critical voice infused with a Greek rationalism and a questioning of beliefs, principles, symbols and icons from the biblical and Graeco-Latin as well as the Portuguese and European tradition.

5. BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. de ALARCÃO, “Novas perspectivas sobre os Lusitanos (e outros mundos)”, *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* 2001 4.2 293-349.

The Lusiad of Camoens, translated into English spenserian verse by Robert French Duff, Lisbon 1880 (translation quoted); https://archive.org/stream/lusiadofcamoenst00camrich/lusiadofcamoenst00camrich_djvu.txt.

Os Lusíadas (The Lusíads), englished by Richard Francis Burton. London 1880

(translation quoted).

- L. de CAMOËNS, *The Lusiad*, transl. W. J. Mickle, ed. E. R. Hodges, 2010, Ebook #32528: https://www.gutenberg.org/files/32528/32528-h/32528-h.htm#page_130.
- A. P. COUTO, F. OLIVEIRA, “Portugal” in *Classics Teaching in Europe*, ed. J. Bulwer, London 2006, pp. 97-106.
- A. COXITO, “A projecção de Aristóteles no pensamento português” in F. Oliveira (ed.), *Raízes Greco-Latinas da Cultura Portuguesa*. Coimbra 1999, pp. 271-278.
- ESTRABÃO, *Geografia, Livro III*. Introdução, tradução do grego e notas de J. Deserto e S. H. M. Pereira. Coimbra 2016.
- MARTINHO DE BRAGA, *Instrução Pastoral sobre Superstições Populares. De correctione rusticorum*, ed., trad. A. A. Nascimento, M. J. V. Branco. Lisboa 1997.
- M. A. MUÑOZ, *Viriato. O herói Lusitano que lutou pela liberdade do seu povo*. Lisboa 2006.
- F. OLIVEIRA (ed.), *Raízes Greco-Latinas da Cultura Portuguesa*. Coimbra 1999.
- F. OLIVEIRA, “Portugal”, in *Der Neue Pauly*. Stuttgart 2002, pp. 516-526.
- F. OLIVEIRA, “Greek Heritage in Portugal” in *Atlhon. Festschrift für Hans-Joachim Glücklich*. Speyer 2005, pp. 157-166.
- F. OLIVEIRA, “Portugal”, in *Classics Teaching in Europe*, ed. J. Bulwer. London 2006.
- Fernando PESSOA, *Mensagem*, in *Obra Poética*, I vol. Lisboa 1987.
- M. H. U. PRIETO, “Personagens homéricas n’Os Lusíadas”, *Humanitas* 61 2009 165-177.
- S. T. DE PINHO, “Fórmulas de expressão cronotópica”, in *Decalógia Camonianiana*. Coimbra 2007, pp. 73-100.
- M. H. ROCHA PEREIRA, *Novos Ensaio sobre temas clássicos na literatura portuguesa*. Lisboa 1999 (a).
- M. H. ROCHA PEREIRA, “Paisagem real e paisagem espiritual da Grécia em alguns poetas portugueses contemporâneos”, *Ágora* 1 1999 (b) 11-30.
- M. H. ROCHA PEREIRA, *Greek Vases in Portugal*. Coimbra 2010.
- L. SILVA, *Viriathus and the Lusitanian Resistance to Rome 155-139 BC*. Bamsley 2013.
- STRABO, *Geographica*, ed. A. Meineke. Teubner, Leipzig 1877.
- J. WILLIAMS, *The Archaeology of Roman Surveillance in the Central Alentejo, Portugal*. Berkeley 2017.