

Portugal, July 7th–23rd 1809

## Portugal

July 7th–23rd 1809

Edited from B.L.Add.Mss. 56527.

**This is the earliest section of the diary. Few readers will regret Hobhouse's decision to abandon his initial plan, which is to write it in Latin. His nerve starts to fail on July 14th, and he gives up on July 18th. Translations are provided.**

Portuguese readers of Byron have always resented his depiction of their country in *Childe Harold I* ("The dingy denizens are rear'd in dirt", and so on); Hobhouse's parallel description, especially its concluding section, would add to their anger. Both men appear to admire the scenery and the architecture, while having little time for the inhabitants, whether they be diseased beggars, ignorant, libidinous monks, incompetent regents, muggers in the streets, or wives a-whoring.

### Heading

J.C.Hobhouse implendum hunc nugis  
 propriis chartæ albæ librum suis  
 addebat.<sup>1</sup> June 28. 1809.

[Translation: J.C.Hobhouse added this white paper book to be filled with his own trifles and remarks, June 29th 1809.]

### Friday July 7th 1809: Diarium – Latinâ cupiculâ scriptur –

July <9/>8. 1809 + 3 Man. Tagum intravi – Olyssipum tetigi 10 a.m. – per Urbem ambulatio – ... pauperem morbo pesticulari perditissione affectum fugi. in naviculâ trans-flumine vineta cum magno strepente puerorum asino agentium vidi. – ... (pueri cupidissimi peccia balneum cessi in Tago – prandium in Anglicano Diversorio (Branwell's Buenos Ayres) pedes ad Thatrum tria millia passuum ivi frustra – in navi (packet) pernoctavi – ...

[Translation: Diary in Latin. / Friday July 8th 1809. Entered the Tagus three am – went ashore at Lisbon at ten am – walk through the city – avoided diseased beggars by crossing the river in ferry.<sup>3</sup> Saw noisy greedy boys hunting with an ass in a vineyard – bathed in the Tagus – dined at the English hotel (Barnewell's Buenos

<sup>1</sup>: H.'s dog-Latin is incompletely translated at B.L.Add.Mss 47231 ff.1-6, in a hand other than his: I have made use of this version occasionally. I have been assisted in my translations by Michael Fincham.

<sup>2</sup>: Should be "July 7th". H. does not correct his dates until 19 July.

<sup>3</sup>: B. comments on the filth of Lisbon at *Childe Harold I* stanza 17.

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Ayres) – on foot to the theatre – two miles – couldn't get a seat – spent the night on board the packet.]

**Saturday July 8th 1809:** July 9. di Satier, Circa 11<sup>th</sup> horum e lecto surrexi – cum gubernatore navis Kidd comitante amic. B[yr]-[o]n ad mercatorum Bulkely qui nobis multa gementibus e centum libris *sterlinis* tredecim pro mercede cepit – nihil in urbe visi – prand. in Buenos Ayres, commesatonibus, Duff – Drummond Marsden – Westwood – Theatrum – sentimental comedia – God save the King – variater cantatum – saltûs cum motibus Jonices Anglicanis oculis minime aptota – pernoctatis Buenos Ayres – –

[Translation: Saturday July 9th (sic: for 8th). Up about eleven – went with Captain Kidd<sup>4</sup> and my good friend Byron to the merchant Bulkely,<sup>5</sup> who to our severe upset changed one hundred pounds *sterling* at thirteen per cent. Saw nothing in the town – dined at the Buenos Ayres with the regulars Duff – Drummond – Marsden – Westwood.<sup>6</sup> To the theatre – sentimental comedy – *God Save the King* played with variations – songs and ballet – not much to English eyes – slept at the Buenos Ayres.]

**Sunday July 9th 1809:** July 10. die Sabb. nulla digna memora u aut pran m balneum cessi in Tago – victus omnes emendi in Olysi hae die. prand cum Marsdenio Swanio, milite qui mira nobis de vitiis monachorum cum pueris dicebat: iterum in Rua dos Condes Theatrum – ubi saltationes Ibericæ magis magis lascivi plaudente iterum populo – personæ statuæ bene acta = nox ad Buenos Ayrei – –

[Translation: Sunday July 10th (sic: for “9th”). Did nothing worth recollection except bathed in the Tagus – atoned for all our misdeeds in Lisbon this day. Dined with the soldier Swanio Marsden<sup>7</sup> who held forth to our amazement about crimes monks commit with boys. To the theatre in the Rua dos Condes, where very very indecent

<sup>4</sup>: “... a gallant commander as ever smuggled an anker of right Nantz” (BLJ I 210).

<sup>5</sup>: Bulkely unidentified.

<sup>6</sup>: All unidentified. Drummond may be Sir William Drummond (1770-1828) retired English Ambassador at Naples, whom they meet at Gibraltar (see 12 Aug 1809) but it seems unlikely.

<sup>7</sup>: “Swanio” undecoded.

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Spanish dancers were applauded with enthusiasm by the house. *The Moving Statues* well played – spent night at the Buenos Ayres.]

**Monday July 10th 1809:** July 11 di Lunæ – tardior suri milites in parco propinquus Anglicanos duce Craufurd in ordine spectavi comitante Marsdenio – religionum quoque Belae domum Monachorum 50 habitationem superbissimam St Jeronymo dedicantam intravi – duo quos vidi fratrum neque intelligebant ita videbatier, nec omnino dicere valebant Linguam Latinam – prand cum Duff – Marsden – Drummond in currû ad ruar Dos Condes vectitatis frustrâ – – – – nox Barnwelliariana

[Translation: Sunday July 11th (sic: for “10th”). Late in the day, with our friend Marsden, watched General Craufurd’s<sup>9</sup> military parade – not exactly English. Entered the monastery of St Jerome at Bela<sup>10</sup> – fifty monks in superb building – met two monks there who could not make themselves understood either in their own language or in Latin. Dined with Duff, Marsden and Drummond. To the Rua dos Condes theatre in a calash – couldn’t get in. Spent the night at Barnewell’s.]

**Tuesday July 11th 1809:** July. 12. Ibam comite Marsdenio, in curriculo ad Cintram in viâ apud diversoriunculum. tres amphoras vim, cersaros panem et caseum pro vini et multis, tredecim pro denariis – Cintræ Palatium Merialuae vidi, e horticulos Montserratam oedem olim Beckfordii Angli Sod. desertam nunc et omnibus supplectilibus spoliata – Comes interea Byronius Maphram. palatium et monasterium visebat, ubi monachorum ante incursus Gallorum olim 150, nunc triginta – bibliotheca ampla et selecta tribus verò exceptis nullos Anglicanos continens libros – scrutatus est fratrum unus, anne ulli fuerint in Brittaniam libri (Gronovius et Horatius Pini) prandium Cintrae cum clericis tribus Scoti. Simmons Turner cis nox cintræ.

<sup>8</sup>: B.L.Add.Mss 47231 2r. has *Poses Plastiques*. They see this ballet again at Malta. See 10 and 12 Sep 1809.

<sup>9</sup>: The Light Brigade of General Robert Craufurd (sic: 1764-1812) had taken part in Sir John Moore’s Corunna campaign earlier in the year. Craufurd had helped suppress the United Irishmen in 1798, and was English military commissioner with Suvorov (the “Suwarrow” of *Don Juan* VII and VIII) on the Swiss campaign of 1799. He was killed in the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, January 1812.

<sup>10</sup>: The Hieronymite Convent of Belem, founded 1499 to commemorate Vasco da Gama’s discovery of the sea-route to India.

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[Translation: Monday July 12th (sic: for “11th”). Went with Marsden in calash to Cintra,<sup>11</sup> over a road with many twists – three jugs of wine, bread and cheese, thirty denarii. Saw Marialva’s palace of Cintra,<sup>12</sup> and gardens of Montserrat,<sup>13</sup> once owned by the English sodomite Beckford<sup>14</sup> – now deserted and bare of all furnishings. Meanwhile Byron went to Mafra,<sup>15</sup> and viewed the palace and monastery, where before the French invasion the monks numbered 150, now thirty. Full and select library except no English books. One of the monks asked Byron if there were books in England<sup>16</sup> (Gronovius<sup>17</sup> and Horatius Pini)<sup>18</sup>. Dined at Cintra with three clergymen Scott, Simmons, Turner<sup>19</sup> and spent the night there.]

**Wednesday July 12th 1809:** July 13. asinorum chorus at conventionum “Nossa senhora de Pena”, ubi quatuor monachi ex ordine St Hieronymi – pauperes – non ireligans confectorum – ad conventum cognominatum *de Cork* in excelsior regione montium devenimus – fratram 17 Francescani secundi ordinis severissimi – nec carne neque vino utuntur, flagellis se secant – nobis in horticulo monstrabant cellulam subterraneum, ubi talis inscriptio:

<sup>11</sup>: Modern Sintra. B. dilates on the charms of “Cintra’s glorious Eden” at *Childe Harold* I stanzas 18-21 and in the letter to his mother of 11 Aug 1809 (BLJ I 218).

<sup>12</sup>: A villa belonging to the Marquez de Marialva, erroneously supposed the location where the Convention of Cintra (see 14 July 1809) had been signed. Called Quinta de Seteais (“The House of Seven Sighs”) as a result.

<sup>13</sup>: The Qunita da Monserrate, twenty-five miles north-west of Lisbon. A Moorish castle owned between 1794 and 1796 by

<sup>14</sup>: William Beckford (1760-1844) author of *Vathek*, one of B.’s favourite books. Suspected of homosexual practises, he had gone into exile in 1785. At BLJ I 210 B. refers to him as “the great Apostle of Pæderasty”. See *Childe Harold* I stanza 22, especially its first version (CPW II 18).

<sup>15</sup>: The Monumento da Mafra, a huge palace / monastery / church built ten miles from Cintra by Joao V of Portugal between 1717 and 1730, in imitation of the Escorial at Madrid. At *Childe Harold* I stanza 29: B. refers to it, and to the madness of Queen Maria I, who had lived there before being forced by the French invasion to go to Brazil in 1807.

<sup>16</sup>: B. to his mother, 11 Aug 1809: “... the monks who possess large revenues are courteous enough, and understand Latin, so that we had a long conversation, they have a large Library and asked if the *English* had *any books* in their country” (BLJ I 219).

<sup>17</sup>: Johan Friedrich Gronovius (1611-71) classical scholar and historian.

<sup>18</sup>: Horatius Pini unidentified.

<sup>19</sup>: Referred to by H. at *Recollections* I 7 simply as “a Mr. Turner, whom we met there ...” Scott and Simmonds unidentified.

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Hic Honorius vitam finivit  
 atque ideo cum DEO  
 vitam revivit  
 obit 1632 –

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nihilominus illorum Abbatus qui super mensam petream vini casei panis et Orangeorum proatendebat non immundam commessionem, ubi fuit hilaris, atque in parvelâ subterranea ecclesiâ aliquid and posthemis nobis. cantabat – alta linguentes and alles revisimus. Collares que, *villam* formossissimam – vinum Claretto, non dissimilam feracem – valedixi Monsterratanae oedi – Palatiumque Marialvae praeter euns Cintram reverti – ubi prand, cum clerico Turner ... bene docto – nox Cintrae

[Translation: Tuesday July 13th (sic: for “12th”). Asses braying.<sup>20</sup> To the St Jerome monastery at “Nossa Senhora de Pena”<sup>21</sup> where live four monks – poor – not badly dressed. To the Cork convent <sup>22</sup> in the higher hilly region – seventeen brothers from the second and strictest Franciscan order who take neither meat nor wine, and indulge in flagellation. They showed us an underground cell in their garden, with this inscription: “Hic Honorius vitam finivit / atque ideo CUM DEO / vitam revivit / obit 1632.”<sup>23</sup> However, their Abbot, who spread out cheese, plums and oranges on a stone table in the tiny underground chapel, was cheerful. We then left the heights – returned to the valley and visited Collares – the villa very beautiful indeed – vine abundant, wine not unlike claret – bade farewell to Montserrat – a palace exceeded only by that of Marialva at Cintra. There we dined with good doctor the Rev. Turner – night at Cintra.]

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<sup>20</sup>: A local proverb at Sintra says “If the donkeys are braying and the hills covered with cloud, stay away”.

<sup>21</sup>: Referred to erroneously by B. at *Childe Harold* I 20, 4 as “our ‘Lady’s house of woe””. In a note to the second edition he explains that the addition of the correct tilde makes “woe” or “punishment” into “rocks”. The convent (converted in the mid-nineteenth century into the Palácio Nacional da Pena) is at the top of a steep, rocky hill, and commands a superb view of Lisbon. For B.’s misinterpretation of the crosses which line the track to it, see *Childe Harold* I 21, and below, 21 July 1809.

<sup>22</sup>: The sixteenth-century Capuchin Convento da Cortica, so called from its walls, lined with cork for insulation. Now abandoned.

<sup>23</sup>: In fact St Honorius died (aged 95) in 1596, having lived for thirty years in a one-metre-deep hole in the ground (H.’s *subterranea ecclesiâ*). See *Childe Harold* I 22, 8-9: “Deep in yon cave Honorius long did dwell, / In hope to merit Heaven by making earth a Hell.”

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**Thursday July 13th 1809:** July XIV / Marve cum B., promissâ ad Marchesam sororem Marialvae notâ palatium vidi magnificam illud omni supplectili Anglicano ornatum – cameram ipsam quâ signata <xxxx>erat famosa Conventio intrabam, est in dextrâ ulâ palatii medium que fenestrum, oppositum hermitagium [sketch] in colle spectat – valedixi Cintræ ubi diversori hospes, mulier Hibernica garrula ebriosa immunda iniquissimam offerebat billulam 40½ dollorum Olynippo revert, prand. – et pernoctatio — (NB) Lectorum *syndon* Cintræ. ita dicunt, semper udum in causâ est vaporum in illâ regione exhalatio –

[Translation: Wednesday July 14th (sic: for “13th”). Went with Byron by appointment, to the sister of the Marquis of Marialva, to see his palace, magnificently furnished in the English style – there entered the very room in the right wing where the famous Convention<sup>24</sup> was signed – opposite saw a hermitage [*sketch*] in the hillside. Bade farewell to Cintra, where there were several guests – noisy drunken dirty Irish woman gave us a monstrous bill for forty dollars – returned to Lisbon – dined and spent the night. N.B.: reading about Cintra I find it said that the constant damp there is caused by exhalations of vapour.]

**Friday July 14th 1809:**<sup>25</sup> July 15 [sic: for “14”]. (Friday) Placam de commercio naviquim querens cum B in curriculo – inde ad Conventum Jesûs – illic olim fratres 80 nunc 50 quorum unus pater de Souza septem legit et intelligit linguas Orientales – [Trans: Friday July 15th. Went in calash with Byron to the Placa de Commercio to find a ship<sup>26</sup> – thence to the monastery of Jesus where were once eighty brothers, now fifty – one – Father de Souza – reads and understands seven oriental languages.] A monk who spoke a little French attended us, and showed us the curiosities. The church, the

<sup>24</sup>: The Convention of Cintra, which allowed the French forces of General Junot, defeated at Vimeira on 21 Aug 1808, passage home without surrendering their arms, and in English ships, had in fact been signed, on 30 Aug, not at Cintra, but at Torres Vedras, and ratified at Lisbon. For B.’s satirical attitude, see *Childe Harold* I stanzas 24-6, and the additional ones cut before publication (CPW II 19-20).

<sup>25</sup>: This entry shows the beginning of the end of H.’s Latin diary experiment.

<sup>26</sup>: Either they have not yet decided to get to the Mediterranean by going overland via Seville to Cadiz, or they are looking for a vessel in which to convey Fletcher, Joe Murray and the baggage to Gibraltar while they go across country – a journey on which Robert Rushton accompanies them.

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library, which is most magnificent and contains a fine collection of books, two of which only are English. Travels in Portugal,<sup>27</sup> 28 and Sir Isaac Newton's works, whose head together with that of John Locke<sup>29</sup> is placed amongst the other busts that adorn the room. There we saw a small compartment under lock and key filled with *livres défendus* – amongst which I saw the Refutation of the Talmud<sup>30</sup> – Bayle's Dictionary<sup>31</sup> – and some of Voltaire's works – but the French Encyclopedia was in the open part of the Room. The pictures are not numerous or fine except one or two – the collection of natural curiosities did not strike me as anything extraordinary. The monk that conducted me was good-natured and liberal, but upon being asked concerning some picture of a battle where there were cannon and firearms, said that it was some ancient Roman fight. The library, used before the French came – of whose devastations we saw several signs – to be open to everybody. It is now shut – prand. Buenos Ayres – nox quoque – [Trans: dined and slept at the Buenos Ayres.]

**Saturday July 15th 1809:** July 16 (sic: for "15"). Saturday – Trajanus similis diem perdidit prand. Buenos Ayres – quo nox advena Illud

[Translation: As Trajan<sup>32</sup> lamented, a lost day – dined at the Buenos Ayres, by which means the night came.]

**Sunday July 16th 1809:** July 17 Sunday per urbem ambulatio – pululum temp in ecclesiâ quadâm, ubi ante altare mulier in genibus orans assidentesque tres quatuorque monachi cum muliere syndonem vendentem lascivi ludentes – in horticulis publicis formular – iter figuratis – <prand. cum adversâ J. Ward> Barnwells – Theatrum – Rua dos Condes unde in naviculo ad Buenos Ayres – nocte ægrotabam.

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<sup>27</sup>: Note pending.

<sup>28</sup>: Ms. gap.

<sup>29</sup>: Locke and Newton might seem as out of place in an early nineteenth-century Roman Catholic library as the French Encyclopedia. Perhaps none of the monks was literate enough to read them.

<sup>30</sup>: Note pending.

<sup>31</sup>: One of B.'s indispensable reference-books. See BLJ VIII 238 and CMP 238.

<sup>32</sup>: Trajan, Roman Emperor from 98 to 117.

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[Translation: Sunday July 17 (sic: for “16”). Walk through city – spent a short time in the church, where saw, near a woman kneeling in intent prayer at the altar, three or four monks indecently assaulting another woman.<sup>33</sup> Walked in the public gardens with well-designed promenades. <Dined with our enemy J. Ward >.<sup>34</sup> At Barnwell’s – theatre – Rua Dos Condes – thence in calash to the Buenos Ayres, where sick all night.]

**Monday July 17th 1809:** July 18. Surrexi ægrotans – cum nautâ ferocissimo navem Barfleur – prand. parv vel potius millum. morbi instans remedium dedit Marsdens Daffy’s Elixir – melior nox – [Trans: July 18th (sic: for “17”) got up sick – dined with Barfleur, the most savage seaman <sup>35</sup> – had a small meal for preference – as a quick remedy for sickness Marsden gave me some Daffy’s Elixir,<sup>36</sup> and by night I was better] visited the Secretary of State, Mr Frere,<sup>37</sup> twice. Like Jew King.<sup>38</sup> Got passports from Mr de Castro<sup>39</sup> – a civil gentleman, young man.

**Tuesday July 18th 1809:** July 19 (sic: for “18”). Tuesday – in curriculo ad Praca de Commercio cum Byron. [Trans: With Byron in calash to the commercial centre] got passports and post-orders from the Secretary of State, Mr Frere. ad Belem in curriculo<sup>40</sup> [Trans: in calash to Bela.] Saw the

<sup>33</sup>: H. records this episode in English in his observations after the entry for 20 July 1809.

<sup>34</sup>: John William Ward (1781-1833: later the Earl of Dudley and Ward, and Foreign Secretary under Canning) boasted subsequently that he had swindled H. and B. in the matter of some saddles (see Borst 10-11 and BLJ I 214); perhaps they suspect him.

<sup>35</sup>: Barfleur unidentified.

<sup>36</sup>: Daffy’s Elixir was an eighteenth-century quack panacea: it could “cure” toothache, the stone, constipation, or anything, depending on the problem (thanks to Nora Crook for help).

<sup>37</sup>: John Hookham Frere (1769-1846) had been English Ambassador to the Spanish Junta since 4 Oct 1808. Accused of incompetence over the matter of Sir John Moore’s advance on Madrid and subsequent retreat to Corunna, he had been recalled on 29 Apr 1809, and was awaiting replacement by the Marquis of Wellesley. He never held a diplomatic post again; but in 1817 he became the single most important contemporary poetic influence on B.’s work, with the publication of *Whistlecraft*, his Arthurian satire in ottava rima, which inspired *Beppo* (see 21 Sep and 9 Oct 1817). H.’s misspelling may indicate a confusion with the Portuguese General Gomez Freire (see Napier, *Peninsular War*, [end this note!])

<sup>38</sup>: Jew King was a London moneylender.

<sup>39</sup>: de Castro unidentified.

<sup>40</sup>: H.’s last gesture towards a diary in Latin.

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monastery a second time – shown it by the servant who showed me more of it than I had seen before – an embalmed body entire of King Ildefonsus – 302 years old.<sup>41</sup> Returned and met the Host – postillion got off and kneeled down. Saw at Belem pictures of the life and adventures of St Hieronymus – one showed him tempted by the devil with Cicero’s works – the next his flagellation by the angels for his transgression.<sup>42</sup> Mr J. Ward dined with Marsden, Drummond and ourselves at Barnwell’s – at half-past nine went with Byron in a calash to Rua dos Condes – attacked near the — by four men<sup>43</sup> – walked halfway home – bed at Barnwell’s.

**Wednesday July 19th 1809:** July <20/>19<sup>44</sup> Wednesday. Up at six – went to Mr Ward’s lodgings – to the packet – to the new church,<sup>45</sup> like St Paul’s in miniature – to the English burying-ground – Fielding’s tombstone<sup>46</sup> not to be found – many English enquire for it – settled bills &c.

**Thursday July 20th 1809:** Thursday. Got up ten. After much bustle and a cold dinner, set off at seven o’clock per boat to Aldea Gallega<sup>47</sup> where arrived and saw the first of Portugal’s road inns.

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<sup>41</sup>: There never was a King Ildefonsus of Portugal. H. *may* be thinking of St. Ildefonsus, Bishop of Toledo (c. 610-57). *King Alfonso V* died of plague in 1481. His corpse was thus 328 years old. Alternatively, the monks don’t know whose embalmed corpse it is, and have seen H. coming.

<sup>42</sup>: The Sao Jeronimo monastery was named after the translator of the Bible into Latin – hence the temptation for him of Cicero as role model.

<sup>43</sup>: This is the incident referred to by B. in his note to *Childe Harold* I 21, 9 (“... this purple land, where law secures not life”): “I was once stopped in the way to the theatre at eight o’clock in the evening, when the streets were not more empty than they generally are at that hour, opposite to an open shop, and in a carriage with a friend; had we not fortunately been armed, I have not the least doubt we should have adorned a tale instead of telling one” (CPW II 187-8). Borst (9-10) records various legends that sprung up around the attack, linking it to a jealous Portuguese husband.

<sup>44</sup>: H. finally realises his dates have been out.

<sup>45</sup>: The Sao Domingo, built after the 1755 earthquake.

<sup>46</sup>: Henry Fielding (1707-54) author of *Tom Jones* and one of B.’s favourite authors (he called him *the prose Homer of human nature* (BLJ VIII 12-13; see also IX 50-1) died and was buried in Lisbon.

<sup>47</sup>: Across the Tagus estuary from Lisbon.

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**Miscellaneous observations at Lisbon:**<sup>48</sup> In the convent of Jesus are forty-five monks, only three of whom understand Latin.

Mr Kintella<sup>49</sup> worth £250,000 per annum by a monopoly of tobacco – in Lisbon and Portugal all commercial articles are monopolised. Junot's table<sup>50</sup> *per diem* cost him (Mr Kintella) £170 or £200. Mr Junot was much liked – used to ride about with no guard, only a young groom in the English fashion. He managed so well that he made the Lisbonites believe that a large French force was left in the city, whereas he left only a thousand men there, when he went to fight the English at Vimiero.<sup>51</sup> Afterwards many French murdered. Kellerman<sup>52</sup> nearly killed – saved by English officers, who hustled him into the water.<sup>53</sup> The French books in *some* Convent library thrown together in a heap out of spite to the French. A monk at Mafra asked Lord Byron if there were any books in England.<sup>54</sup>

Mr Loisin<sup>55</sup> followed Bandeira the rich merchant,<sup>56</sup> in whose house he lodged, round his room with a cocked pistol demanding money. There is a good police guard of 1,500 horse and foot to prevent disturbances in Lisbon, who were picked out of the troops by the French, and continued by the English – but there is no *justice*, no punishment but imprisonment except in extraordinary cases, and that may be bought off. Mr Turner told me that he saw four men of rank walking in a religious procession with hair cloaks for a penance for murders. Convents, most of them, supported by begging – people are denounced if they do not give – of ten fish which a fisherman brings to market two are carried off by purveyors to the monks, two by the

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<sup>48</sup>: This section forms the basis of *Recollections* I 6-8. H. only once more repeats the device of summarising his impression of a place after the last diary-entry there: see 17-27 Aug 1809.

<sup>49</sup>: Kintella otherwise unidentified. English domination of the Portuguese economy had been one of the things disliked by Pombal.

<sup>50</sup>: Andoche Junot (1771-1813) French general who commanded the army which was allowed home by the Convention of Cintra.

<sup>51</sup>: The English victory at Vimeiro on 21 Aug 1808, where Wellington defeated Junot. It led to the Convention of Cintra.

<sup>52</sup>: François Etienne Kellerman (1770-1835) French general, famous for his rapacity, co-signatory with Wellington of the Convention of Cintra.

<sup>53</sup>: *Recollections* (I 7) adds "... and so to a boat".

<sup>54</sup>: Recorded above in Latin, at 11 Sep 09.

<sup>55</sup>: General Louis Henri Loisin (1771-1816).

<sup>56</sup>: Otherwise unidentified.

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officers of the court.<sup>57</sup> Dead bodies are exposed in the churches with a plate on them, and are not buried until sufficient money is collected to pay the priest.

Army recruited by surrounding the public gardens and taking all the persons not married. Prince Regent kept 8,000 horses and resided chiefly at Mafra where were 180 monks, now thirty. All the equipages of the nobility &c. ordered off for the army, and the articles paid for by paper money worth nothing. – N.B. best way for a traveller to buy Portuguese money in London, Cheapside.

Inquisition not abolished quite – twenty people lately sent there – dungeons under the great square Roccio. Convention at Cintra not justifiable, St Elmo and Fort St Julien not being tenable from the land.<sup>58</sup>

Dogs in Lisbon numerous – 10,000 killed by the French – people angry thereat as they lost their scavengers.

A convent requested leave to fit out a frigate and freight her, which they did for the Brazils with the ashes of the Braganzan family.<sup>59</sup> In the regency<sup>60</sup> there are seven – five being fools, one a republican – and the other the only manager in the French interest. When the French came the exchange was at 84 below par. The Marquis Pombal the greatest benefactor of the city<sup>61</sup> – *vid.* history of his government in French.<sup>62</sup> The Carlos or Opera Theatre,<sup>63</sup> well

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<sup>57</sup>: *Recollections* (I 7) adds “... Such are the exactions of the Church and the patience of the people, who are still in bondage to an ignorant and tyrannical priesthood”.

<sup>58</sup>: For the difficulties of taking the fort St Julians, see Napier’s *Peninsular War*, I 269. “St. Elmo” is probably Almada, another position the English would have had to take in order to force an unconditional French surrender.

<sup>59</sup>: The Portuguese royal family had left for Brazil two days before Junot invaded in November 1807, taking 2,000 aristocrats and much treasure with them.

<sup>60</sup>: The regency who asserted monarchical rule over Portugal in the absence of the royals themselves.

<sup>61</sup>: Sebastião José de Carvalho o Mello, Marquês de Pombal (1699-1782) Portuguese Prime Minister, hero of the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, enemy of the aristocracy, army- and education-reformer, and banisher of the Jesuits. Cruel, but patriotic. At 13 Oct 1809 below H. compares Ali Pacha to him.

<sup>62</sup>: *Administration du Marquis de Pombal* (four volumes, Amsterdam 1787).

<sup>63</sup>: The Teatro Sao Carlos, built in 1792.

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built and large. French well-behaved at Cintra – Sir Hew<sup>64</sup> and Sir Harry Burrard<sup>65</sup> did not dine in the same room at Mrs Cabajolieri's<sup>66</sup> at Cintra.

The young ecclesiastics affect levity – I saw some monks pulling about a woman in a church close to a woman praying before a shrine.<sup>67</sup> Married women, many of them, prostitutes for pay, which they divide with their husbands.<sup>68</sup>

Avarice the reigning passion of the Portuguese.<sup>69</sup> Boys well-dressed attend the lobbies of the theatres for the purpose of *branler le pique aux gens polis*.<sup>70</sup> Sanguinetti<sup>71</sup> told us he had seen the thing himself done in the streets – stabbing not so common, but everyone wears a knife – Sanguinetti saw a man killed by a boy of thirteen, in a chandler's shop. The Portuguese of rank gamble and call for water – all the water drunk at Lisbon brought by the water carriers, who are Galegos, natives of Galicia<sup>72</sup> chiefly, very strong – who have a kind of chartered company – everyone is obliged to have his water-cask full every night in the room in which he sleeps to put out the city fires. These men make a fortune and return to their own country and buy land. Very probably what I heard true: that there are 49,000<sup>73</sup> ecclesiastics in Lisbon, as I find that there are 300,000 in Portugal out of a population of two millions.

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<sup>64</sup>: On 22 Aug 1808 Sir Hew Dalrymple (1750-1830) took command of the English forces in Spain from

<sup>65</sup>: Sir Harry Burrard (1755-1813). Burrard had in turn taken it from Wellington on 21 Aug – the day of the battle of Vimeiro. Between them they negotiated the so-called Convention of Cintra with Kellerman and Junot. A degree of mutual antipathy may be imagined. See rejected stanza of *Childe Harold I* (CPW II 19): “Sir Arthur, Harry, and the dizzard Hew / Dalrymple, seely wight, sore dupe of t'other two”.

<sup>66</sup>: Perhaps the lady of Cintra referred to above, 13 Sept, as *mulier Hiernica ebriosa immunda*.

<sup>67</sup>: Recorded above in Latin, at 16 Sept 1809.

<sup>68</sup>: Not included in *Recollections*.

<sup>69</sup>: *Recollections* (I 9) has: “Avarice and immorality appear to be the reigning passions of the Portuguese, both amongst men and women. Amongst such people, controlled by such institutions, what chance of ultimate success can we possess against the French?” The interpolation may be Lady Dorchester's.

<sup>70</sup>: To “waggle the tail (strictly, *spike* or *spade*) at persons of quality”. Not included in *Recollections*.

<sup>71</sup>: Their travel-courier overland to Gibraltar. H. does not record when he was hired.

<sup>72</sup>: In north-western Spain, over the border from Portugal.

<sup>73</sup>: *Recollections* (I 8) rounds this up to 50,000.

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**Friday July 21st 1809:** Journal “Friday” (July 21): Got up after not sleeping all night. At four o’clock went down to bathe, but found the tide out and could not – set off from Aldea Gallega to Los Prigones,<sup>74</sup> five leagues. The road at first through vineyards, then beautiful cork woods – the road bad and sandy. Saw some wild deer. Five horses this stage, very bad cattle. One tired on the road, which Robert rode<sup>75</sup> – set out, after resting at Los Prigones, to Venta Nova<sup>76</sup> (three leagues) – arrived half-past four. Road wild and sandy – six good horses and two guides. At Venta an old Palace – a thief, supposed a boy, whipped one of Lord Byron’s pistols from the holster here – we found it after search under some dung. This stage four leagues – to Montemor, very romantic and beautiful scenery, good hard road – dark before we came in through a forest to Montemor. The sides of the road in general very green with aromatic shrubs<sup>77</sup> not hilly nor level – a vast number of crosses, signs of murders, on the side of the way.<sup>78</sup> Two rooms, rather bad to sleep in. Oranges and pears by way of supper. We had new eggs, fish, and red wine of the country at the other stages, besides lemonade – could not judge of the price because every thing paid by Sanguinetti and profusely, but not so very

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<sup>74</sup>: The second staging-post on their journey from Lisbon via Seville and Cadiz to Gibraltar. On 11 Aug Byron writes to his mother, “I sent my baggage and part of the servants by sea to Gibraltar, and travelled on horseback from Aldea Gallega (the first stage from Lisbon which is only accessible by water) to Seville (one of the most famous cities in Spain where the Government called the Junta is now held) the distance to Seville is four hundred miles and to Cadiz about 90 further towards the Coast. – I had orders from the Government and every possible accommodation on the road, as an English nobleman in an English uniform is a very respectable personage in Spain at present. The horses are remarkably good, and the roads (I assure you upon my honour for you will hardly believe it) very far superior to the best British roads, without the smallest toll or turnpike, you will suppose this when I rode post to Seville in four days, through this parching country in the midst of summer, without fatigue or annoyance.” (BLJ I 219).

<sup>75</sup>: Robert Rushton, the “little page” of *Childe Harold’s last “Good night”*, 3, 1. Fearing his possible corruption, Byron sent him home from Gibraltar with Joe Murray. See BLJ I 221-2 and 244.

<sup>76</sup>: Vendaz Novas.

<sup>77</sup>: See *Childe Harold* I 30, 8: “Oh! there is sweetness in the mountain air, / And life, that bloated Ease can never hope to share”. Borst (21) identifies the aromatic shrub as *cistus ladaniferus*, most fragrant on summer evenings – the time here.

<sup>78</sup>: Unlikely. Probably the crosses just marked the way. Compare the erroneous description at *Childe Harold* I 21 of the crosses on the track up to Nossa Senhora de Pena (see 12 Sept 1809). The error H. makes here, B. makes there.

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cheap as expected. At Montemor there is an old Moorish castle<sup>79</sup> on a hill with very extensive ruins. The hills commands a fine prospect.

<sup>80</sup> leagues.

**Saturday July 22nd 1809:** Half-past six in the morning, set off six horses as usual, to Arryolos<sup>81</sup> three<sup>82</sup> leagues. A good English kind of road, part very pretty, with some signs of cultivation – good horses – got a good breakfast of eggs wine and a little bad fruit at Arryolos, where the inn is a very neat cottage indeed. Waited upon by two neat women – (wrote this at Arryolos Castle Moorish, eleven o'clock am).

Two o'clock arrived at Venta de Duque<sup>83</sup> three leagues – good road – horses rather bad, pretty prospect from the post-house (no inn there). At Venta de Duque, Evora Monte on a distant opposite hill. From Venta to Estremoz, the next stage, three leagues. Beginning of the road bad – end good – horses very capital. Estremoz a fortified walled town but not much attended to now. A friar asked me if I would wish to see his convent – two in this town. Horse reared here – jumped off twice.

To Alveciras – road not good at first – two leagues – horses fine-looking but unpleasant – guides very careful of them. Got some good milk at the house – Alveciras to Elvas four leagues, where I would advise to stay the night, as Elvas is so bad. A road through a plain like Newmarket,<sup>84</sup> very good. Stopped a little at a fountain on a hill. NB: Portugal full of these constructed fountains. The approach to Elvas fine and coming in by moonlight the very grand aqueduct struck us very much indeed.<sup>85</sup> The horses, five of them grey, very good – arrived at nine exactly, just before the gates shut – had much ceremony going in – obliged to show passports (this

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<sup>79</sup>: Montemor Castle, on a two-thousand-year-old site, is primarily a fourteenth-century structure. It changed hands very often.

<sup>80</sup>: H. leaves a gap.

<sup>81</sup>: Arraiolos.

<sup>82</sup>: Ms. gap.

<sup>83</sup>: Note pending.

<sup>84</sup>: Compare H.'s reaction to the approach to Athens (25 Dec 1809).

<sup>85</sup>: Byron remembered the effect of the aqueduct when writing his *Letter to John Murray Esqre* (1821), the second of his anti-Bowles pamphlets: "Will Mr Bowles tell us that the poetry of an Aqueduct consists in the *water* which it conveys? – Let him look on that of Justinian – – on those of Rome – Constantinople – Lisbon – and Elvas – or even at the remains of that in Attica." (CMP 141).

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being a fortified frontier town) to the governor whose people wanted to see us.<sup>86</sup> Nothing to eat [at] the inn – wine not allowed to be sold at inns – beds on the floor – accommodation very bad – ten at night (went to bed <after eating fowls just killed> <and boiled – which we should not have had but for Sanguinetti.>

N.B. it is perfectly necessary to have a man with you who can cook a little, as when there is anything to eat the people always spoil it with stinking oil and salt butter. Six dollars paid at this wretched inn next morning – very dear.

**Sunday July 23rd 1809:** Ten a.m., breakfasted with good goat's milk – coffee – and the best French bread in Portugal for three *ventins* (about threepence-halfpenny) at a *Caza de Caffee* (which is the best thing to do here).<sup>87</sup> (The shop is like an English small huckster's shop<sup>88</sup> and you eat on the counter) – kissed a saint<sup>89</sup> here for sixpence. 10,000 inhabitants in Elvas. Next stage, set off from Elvas to Badajoz – three leagues. At one o'clock, saw Spain for the first time – at two bathed in the small stream that separates the two kingdoms,<sup>90</sup> a little above the ford (which was just deep enough). Told by a guide the Prince of Peace born here.<sup>91</sup> Entered Badajoz at five – took some good wine. Going, but showed our passports to a fellow who could not read. Bad, heavy horses – noble road. Arrived at Albuera<sup>92</sup> – four leagues. The next stage at eight (this place a village). Got some boiled chickens, tolerable room and beds, and had some tunes from Sanguinetti's flute – saw a great many eating out of one bowl (as usual).

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<sup>86</sup>: *Recollections* (I 10) increases the drama, and has “The Governor insisted on our presenting ourselves with great ceremony to him, as it was not only a fortified but a frontier town”.

<sup>87</sup>: H. is already preparing his diary as notes for a guide-book. In fact he did not use the Portuguese and Spanish sections in *Journey*.

<sup>88</sup>: A huckster was a small-scale retailer, with or without premises.

<sup>89</sup>: A prostitute.

<sup>90</sup>: The Caia, referred to at *Childe Harold* I stanzas 32-3.

<sup>91</sup>: A reference not to Jesus, but to Manuel Alvarez de Faria Ríos Sánchez Zarzosa de Godoy, Duke of Alcudia (1767-1851) Spanish Prime Minister and lover of Queen Maria Louisa. In 1795 he had, after a treaty with France, been given the title “Principe de la Paz”; and was indeed born at Badajoz.

<sup>92</sup>: Site of the battle in May 1811, referred to at *Childe Harold* I stanza 43 (a stanza added later) and at which Benjamin Hobhouse fought (see 6 June 1811).