SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON

Desanges. The work was done in 1861 and given to the Burtons as a wedding present.

Desanges will be remembered chiefly for his excellent battle-scenes, etc.

Burtons' house at Damascus, by Lord Leighton.

Burton as Haji Abdulla at Mecca, by Borgo Caratti.
(Copy by Mr. Herbert Jones in the Kensington Library.)

All the following are by Albert Letchford:

Burton as fencing master.

Views from the Burtons' house looking north, south, east and west.

Painting of the Burtons' house at Trieste:

(a) The smoking-room.
(b) The study.
(c) The drawing-room.
(d) The eastern corner of the smoking-room.
(e) Lady Burton's private chapel.
(f) Her study.
(g) Her bedroom.
(h) Burton at work in his bedroom.

Drawing of Burton after death.
Life-size unfinished portrait of Burton.

Curios:

Paper-knife and cross made from the mast of a ship against which Burton was leaning when it was struck by lightning.

Long thin cigar-case containing two cigars.
Cigar straws.
Arabian purse used on the Mecca journey.
Arabic inscription in small frame.
Pair of Arab slippers.
Pair of Arab boots.
Birch containing secret receptacle in handle, used for holding paper for notes and drawing during his travels.

THE RELICS AT CAMBERWELL

Mohammedan Diploma, Mecca, 1853. Received from the Shaykh El Islam, signifying that Burton was a good Haji and a sainlty man. This diploma seems to have acted as a kind of talisman among the Mohammedans, who, when they saw it, would kiss it and place it reverently on their foreheads. (See illustration facing p. 52.)

Fez cap with inner lining.
Assyrian (?) chalcedony seal used as a pendant.
Necklet of human bones given by the King of Dahomey to Burton as a present for his wife. (See illustration.)
Amber beads from the King of Dahomey.
Travelling pen and ink case.
Housewife fitted with cottons, needles, etc.

Old fencing shoe which for eighteen years Burton tried in vain to persuade shoemakers to match. He found, however, that the same superstition prevailed among shoemakers all over the world—they were all willing to make a new pair, but none would make a single shoe, believing that if they did so death would assuredly be their fate.

Burton's watch chain.
His well-known sword-shaped scarf pin.
Pen used by Burton prior to his death.
Flowers picked by him the day before his death.

Glass-case containing plaster models of Burton's hand and foot. These models were made by Mr. Albert Letchford after Burton's death. His hands and feet were beautifully formed, contrasting strangely with his scarred, travel-stained features.

Two writing tables, with inscriptions. These are plain deal tables covered with back canvas. The larger of the two was the one used for the writing of the "Nights." His study chair.

Letter from Cardinal Wiseman recommending Burton to the Catholic mission in Africa.

An album containing numerous photographs of the Burtons, etc., chiefly taken by Dr. Baker.
Engraving of Burton.

Carbine pistol, invented by Burton.

This weapon is fully explained in Lady Burton's "Life," Vol. I, pp. 455-7. "The principle of the weapon is to avoid the use of the shoulder on horseback. The weapon can be used either as a carbine with both hands, the left arm extended as in archery; in this case the cartridge contains eighty-four grains of gunpowder. Used with one hand, the charge must be reduced to forty-five grains. The projectile serves to blow up ammunition, to fire inflammable articles, and so forth. When explosive projectiles are used with this weapon, a special safety bullet has been provided by Captain Burton. It will neither explode if let fall on its point, nor on being fired through brushwood."

A collection of bronze coins from Midian.

These coins are very interesting, inasmuch as they are the only examples known of the type coming from Northern Arabia. They were found by Burton at Macna (Muqna), on the Gulf of Aila (Akaba), and are described in his "Land of Midian," Vol. I, pp. 92-3. They were also described by the late keeper of the Coin Department of the British Museum, Mr. Barclay V. Head, in the "Numismatic Chronicle," New Series, Vol. XVIII, 1878, pp. 274, 283-4, with a plate (XII, Nos 18-22).

The present keeper of the Coin Department, Mr. Hill, began some time ago a catalogue of Greek coins in Arabia, etc., and was anxious to find the coins mentioned in Head's article. I happened to be seeing him about a medal for the Burton Memorial Lectures, and he mentioned the fact that the coins of Burton were lost. I remembered some at Camberwell, and advised Mr. Hill to examine them. Luckily they proved to be the very ones, although one or two photographed for Head's article could not be found. Anyhow, Mr. Hill selected twenty-nine of the best, and these have now been lent by the Camberwell Library to the British Museum for an indefinite period. They consequently figure in Mr. Hill's new book, "A Catalogue of Greek
Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia,” 1922. Eight have been photographed (see Plate LV, Nos. 2-9). The description will be found on pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi of the introduction, and on pp. 78-80 of the text of the above work.

The coins are described as very barbarous, small imitations of the earlier Attic type. They are of bronze, in imitation of the silver coinage of Athens. (See illustration.) On the obverse of the majority is an eye (the remains of the head of Athene), while on the reverse is an owl. Others have himyarite inscriptions on the reverse, which have not yet been deciphered. Mr. Hill says they are as late as the first century B.C., since their fabric is that of coins which would only have come into circulation in North Arabia in the last third of the second century B.C.
APPENDIX B.

"LIVES" OF BURTON, WITH SHORT CRITICISMS, PRICES, ETC.

NOTICES OF THE VARIOUS "LIVES."

WITHOUT counting the eight-page biography privately printed either in November or December 1865, or early in 1866, already described, the first "Life" to make its appearance was that by an old Oxonian, issued in 1880.

Its full title is:—

/A Short Sketch of the Career /of/ Captain Richard F. Burton /Collected from "Men of Eminence"; from Captain and / Mrs. Burton's Own Works; from the Press, from / Personal Knowledge, and Various / Other Reliable Sources / By / An Old Oxonian / Who is Proud to Claim Him as an Oxford Man and as an / Old Friend / William Mullan and Son / London and Belfast / 1880 /

Although it cannot really be regarded as a "Life" in the proper sense of the word, it, nevertheless, contains very interesting information. Pp. [50] and 59.

The first twenty-three pages are devoted to a rough sketch of his career up to the end of 1878. This is followed by a long extract from "The World," of November 27, 1878, wherein an article called "Celebrity at Home" describes

in some detail Burton's life at Trieste. This extract stretches to p. 41.

There are now three appendices. The first of these (A) gives details of the legends tracing Burton's family to Louis XIV. The second (B) is a slightly condensed form of the account of the farewell dinner published in Volume 3 of the "Anthropological Review" of 1865. Appendix (C) is devoted to facts connected with the last hours of Napoleon. This account, which has been issued separately, is by Mrs. Ward, whose husband was in the 66th Regiment with Francis Burton, Esq.—Richard Burton's uncle, both of whom played a conspicuous part in the facts related. There is a good copy of Mrs. Ward's pamphlet in the Central Library, Camberwell.

This is followed on p. [73] by a list of Burton's works, which has already been fully described, while the last few pages are devoted to the scrap of autobiography taken from the appendix to "Palmyra in the Valley of the Indus." It forms most interesting and amusing reading, as Burton gives an account of his adventures in Sind when, disguised as a native, he played the part of a commercial traveller and shopkeeper. It also shows him in the light in which we love him best, revelling in the spirit of adventure, prying, in disguise, into the intimate secrets of the harem, speaking the various dialects of the different tribes into whose association he was thrown, and all the time accumulating in his vast brain an astonishing amount of information, some of which, in after years, was to appear in his notes to the "Nights."

This "Sketch," by an old Oxonian, is very rare, and for this reason it is lucky that the whole work was reprinted in 1886. In this year it appeared under the following title:—

/A Sketch of the Career /of/ Richard F. Burton / Collected from "Men of Eminence"; from Sir Richard and / Lady Burton's Own Works; from the Press; from Personal / Knowledge, and Various Other
Reliable Sources. / By Alfred Bates Richards, (late Editor of the "Morning Advertiser") up to 1876; / By Andrew Wilson, (Author of "The Abode of Snow") up to 1879; / By St. Clair Baddeley, / up to the present date, 1886. / London: / Waterlow & Sons Limited, London Wall. / 1886. / Pp. [vi] + 96.

From this title-page it will be seen that the only addition is the continuation of the "Career" up to 1886. The work was issued in black cardboard covers, and contains a frontispiece a photograph of Burton. Although not common, it is not nearly so rare as the 1880 work, and is usually obtainable for a few shillings. Practically every word of these pamphlets was reproduced in Lady Burton's "Life" of 1893.

In 1887 appeared the first "Life" worthy of the name. The title-page is as follows:


Vol. II:—Pp. x + 460, with twelve full-page illustrations and nineteen in the text.

Bound in black cloth, with red border top and bottom on both covers enclosing gold lettering on front cover and printer's imprint in blind on back cover.

Lettering on back in gold.

5½" x 9½". All edges uncut.

"LIVES" OF BURTON 307

In Volume I the plate facing p. 165 is described as "ill Bome Jesus, where St. Francis Xavier is buried." This is a mistake. The plate is a reproduction of a lithograph of a drawing by Burton himself of the Septuagint or Cathedral of Saint Catherine. The lithograph faces p. 60 of "Goa and the Blue Mountains." In line 12 of p. 165 the date of "Goa" should be 1851, and not 1881. In Volume II the illustration "Aukombo" is in the text of p. 198, which in the "List of Illustrations" is given by mistake as 981.

This "Life" by Hitchman is really good and contains a very full account of Burton's career as an explorer. It is the only "Life" written in Burton's own lifetime, and with his own assistance, for he lent Hitchman the numerous notes which Lady Burton had written at her husband's dictation when crossing to India in 1876.

Volume I takes us to the end of 1837, half-way through the Tanganikya journey.

Volume II begins in 1838 at Tanganikya, and goes to the middle of 1887, when Her Majesty's Jubilee had just been celebrated at Trieste under Burton's auspices.

As Hitchman says in his introduction, he received considerable help from Lady Burton, who put much matter at his disposal. When comparing this "Life" with those that came after, we cannot help being struck with the clear way in which Hitchman carries us through each of Burton's journeys without meandering off into side-channels, which both Lady Burton and Wright were greatly inclined to do. Here we have what we need—a straight and clear history of the life of Burton as an explorer and traveller. We are taken on every journey and shown by illustrations from Burton's works what was the nature of the people with whom he came into contact, and what the country was like through which he passed. This is as it should be—for surely the best way of "holding" the reader is to visualize the surroundings of the traveller, and although a good description does much, an illustration can do more.

Hitchman studied the works of Livingstone, Grant, Speke, Baker, Stanley, etc., before writing his life, so as to
get thoroughly acquainted with African travel, and the result has proved worthy of the labour, for there is not a page or a line in these 900 pages which grates or irritates as there is in both Lady Burton's and Wright's "Lives."

We can only regret the fact that Hitchman did not live to complete Burton's "Life" by another volume.

I have already stated that I consider Hitchman was the only biographer who did not write from some personal point of view, or for some other reason quite irrelevant to the real duties of the biographer. Lady Burton wrote to immortalize her husband, and would have the world look on him as perfect—and a Roman Catholic. Miss Stisted wrote under a strong sense of affection for her uncle and in defence of the truth.

Wright apparently wrote to create a sensation, and to pave the way for his "Life of John Payne."

Dodge wrote in indignation against Wright.

We will now consider each of these "Lives" in turn. Lady Burton's work appeared in 1893:


Vol. I:

Fp. [unp.] + 606.

Vol. II:

Fp. [s] + 604.

Bound in black cloth, with gold designs on both covers and gold lettering on back.

5½ x 9½.

All edges uncut.

These volumes contain a mass of information of all kinds and sorts—and perhaps that is a fairly good criticism of the whole work. Lady Burton was not a suitable person to write her husband's biography, she had neither the time, health, nor discrimination needed for such a task.

I could say much about Lady Burton's method of work, how she used the material she had, and those who helped her, but I will refrain for two reasons. Firstly, it will serve no good purpose, and, secondly, I know that Sir Richard would not wish anything unnecessary mentioned about his wife. So let us look at the work as it appeared finished.

Volume I goes to the end of 1872, after Burton's recall from Damascus. The first 130 pages, except for a note here and there, and the fact that they are written in the first person instead of the third, are the same as the first 160 odd pages of Hitchman's "Life." A portion of Mrs. Ward's pamphlet on the last hours of Napoleon is inserted, and also Burton's autobiography from the postscript of "Falconry," that was used in the 1880 and 1886 "Lives." This brings us to the end of chapter VII (p. 163). The next chapter is typical of the whole work, and a short description of it will save repetition. It starts in 1860, speaks of the "Bayonet Exercise," and describes Lady Burton's first meeting with Sir Richard. Then follows the description of the Pilgrimage. Although, as Lady Burton tells us herself, this was one of the greatest and most interesting and dangerous journeys of his life, she only gives eleven pages to it (Hitchman gave nearly eighty), and follows it up with letters written after Burton's death, and other irrelevant matters. She also inserts the complete poem, "The Kaïdah," as well as other verses. This ends the chapter.

It certainly was a good plan to have the beautiful "Kaïdah" in the "Life"—but why in a chapter which ought to be solely on the "Pilgrimage"? Why insert it when we are dealing with 1853-5? But this is typical of Lady Burton. Throughout the book she suddenly breaks off with some such remarks as "I print these few lines that occur to me"; or "These verses must go in somewhere"; or "Among other things I must not forget..."!

In each case the insertions have absolutely nothing to do with what precedes or follows.
She has also scattered letters, cuttings, extracts, etc., at random in nearly every chapter—often quite uninteresting and unimportant, thus turning the "Life" into a Burtonian scrap-book. What is worse, letters and extracts are often quoted without any reference whatsoever, or if there be one it is given in a most vague way, such as "From the Press," "To a London newspaper," etc. A chapter of twenty-six pages is devoted to Harar. Thus the two most important journeys of Burton’s life are dismissed in thirty-seven pages, in a work of over one thousand, two hundred pages!

For the above reasons it is not sufficient only to read Lady Burton’s "Life," because Hitchman is the sole biographer who pays full attention to the "Pilgrimage" and to Harar. Chapter X deals with Beatson's Horse, and is identical with Hitchman’s chapter V—both were, of course, taken from Burton’s own MSS. At numerous places original verses of Burton’s are inserted. Some of these are really interesting, e.g. the "Legend of the Lakki Hills" (Vol. II, pp. 63, 64, 65). It is a pity they were not all collected together to form a separate appendix, or to be issued as a distinct pamphlet.

At the end of Volume II there are over 170 pages of appendices. Appendix A is the Bibliography which has already been described. B is the notes to the "Kasidah." C and D are extracts from "Falconry" and the other Spinde books. E, F, and G are made up of extracts from contributions to various learned societies, letters to newspapers, etc. H is Burton’s Report on his search for Palmer, and is very interesting. The last appendix is devoted to opinions of the Press and of scholars of the "Nights." From these few remarks it will be seen that apart from Hitchman’s "Life," that of Lady Burton can only be looked upon as a great collection of notes, some of them absolutely without value or interest, others of a far more interesting nature which would be of great use to a man about to write a real "Life" of Burton. Apart from the bad arrangements of the matter, great allowance must be made for Lady Burton’s falling health, the hurry in which she wrote, and lastly the fact that she looked upon Burton as a "god upon earth."

We must now pass on to the book of Miss Stisted. Its title-page is:—


PP. [xxv] + 419, with a portrait (frontispiece). Bound in blue buckram, with gold lettering on back. 5" x 7¼". All edges cut.

This book is a "popular" account of Burton’s Life. It was written in indignation against Lady Burton’s exaggerated "Life," and more especially in strong disapproval of his so-called bed-conversion. Miss Stisted is really fully justified in her attitude, and says many rather bitter things about Lady Burton that are, nevertheless, perfectly true. Of interest are her remarks on pp. 43-4 concerning Burton’s Persian love, which Lady Burton ignores completely. There is little more to be said, except that even in this "Memoir" two whole chapters are devoted to the "Pilgrimage"—as compared with Lady Burton’s miserable eleven pages.

The outcome of Miss Stisted’s book was a work issued in the following year by W. H. Wilkins and Lady Burton entitled “The Romance of Isabel Burton.” It is of no real value, and Wilkins’s participation, I understand, was not due to genuine admiration for Lady Burton, but for reasons far more personal.

The next "Life" appeared ten years later. It was in two volumes by Thomas Wright. Numerous references have
already been made to it, and owing to its extraordinary nature some detailed criticism is necessary.

The title-page:—


Vol. I:—
Pp. 291, of which pp. [i]—[xxx] form the preliminaries.

Vol. II:—
Bound in red silky cloth, bevelled edges, and lettering on back in gold.

$9\times 6$.
Top edges gilt, others uncut.

Once again we have to deal with a "Life" which is not worthy of the name. Just as Lady Burton's book, with the exception of about the first two hundred pages, was merely an exaggerated scrap-book, so is Wright's book (particularly Vol. II) a collection of tittle-tattle, small-talk, mistakes, and absurd conclusions. Worse still, there is an air about the work of apparent depth of learning and clever research which the casual reader is liable to "swallow."

The Bibliography, covering as it does no less than eight pages, at first sight looks very complete, and as displaying a large amount of trouble and research. I have already shown that closer examination proves it to be misleading, very badly arranged, and full of mistakes.

The "Life" part of the work ends with the first volume, the second being devoted to the odd bits of information—both fact and unfact—discussions, letters, etc., which Wright collected from his numerous interviews. I shall have more to say about the contents of this volume later on.

The preface prepares the reader for what is to come, as it bluntly states that Burton took three-quarters of his "Nights" from Payne—but of this more anon. Wright speaks

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also of the misstatements of Miss Stisted, when even in this short preface he makes them himself. I have been to Mortlake several times, and it is absolutely false to state, as Wright does, that "owing to the watchfulness of the Arundell family, it is kept in perfect repair." The state of the mausoleum is a disgrace. Although Lady Burton bought up all the ground around it and left a sum of money for it to be kept in order, practically nothing has been done at all. Graves now surround it—in fact, so closely that one has to step over them to reach the mausoleum. The trees and grasses planted in front have been allowed to grow to such an extent that the whole mausoleum is nearly hidden. (In August 1920 I could only see the star and about two or three feet of the top.) But this is nothing to the inside. It is absolutely filthy, cobwebs are everywhere, the batteries and wires which worked the camel-bells are left lying about and broken. None of the lamps have been touched for years, and I actually found one Oriental lamp pulled down from the crossbars and rolling on the ground behind Lady Burton's coffin. I also discovered that the only thing the Arundells have done is to have a knob of marble, the size of a hazel-nut, restored on the tablet containing Justin McCarthy's sonnet!!

Of course it was not in this terrible state when Wright saw it, but the Arundells never have and, I have good reason for thinking, never will take any interest in it.

At one period, owing to numerous complaints, the mausoleum was "done up," but in a way that shows the spirit in which the work was undertaken. The marble of the Arab tent," instead of being cleaned properly, was actually painted with some wretched grey preparation, the remnants of which discolour it to this day. Nothing further was done until March 1921, when I had the inside cleaned and the grasses and overgrowth cut down. Reverting to the "Life," on page xviit of the preface is a sentence about meeting what he believed "to be the wishes of Lady Burton's executors" in omitting "all mention of certain events that occurred after Sir Richard's death."
I suppose it was one of the Arundells whom Wright consulted, but he omitted to interview the most important person, namely the executrix who had lived practically day and night with Lady Burton from the time of her husband’s death to that of her own—Miss Flowman (now Mrs. Guerra). As she was never approached this sentence is misleading and (to put it mildly) conveys a very false impression.

Volume I takes us to the end of 1879, thus all the most active and important part of Burton’s life is crammed into less than three hundred pages. It is a great pity, for if Wright intended giving a complete volume to his odd jumble of information, he ought to have made it a four-volume work, so as to give Burton’s travels a corresponding amount of space.

But as it is, the travels are only very briefly described, and can, of course, bear no comparison to Hitchman’s accounts. There are, however, various interesting facts in Volume I which should be noted.

In the first place (p. 57) is the statement concerning the corrected birthplace of Burton, and later information about Sir Charles Napier (p. 73). The first paragraph on p. 196 about Lady Burton is very true, although Wright treats her rather too leniently in his preface.

Wright’s idea of a pamphlet is strange, for the “pamphlet” on West African proverbs (see p. 184) is a book of over 450 pages!

Of interest is the reference to Edward Rehatsek on pp. 262–3. It is true the encyclopaedias are silent about him, but Wright must have overlooked the article by Arbuthnot in the “Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.”

Volume II is chiefly taken up with the Kāma Shaśtra Society, John Payne, and the “Arabian Nights.” With regard to the Kāma Shaśtra Society, a list of its publications is given on p. 57. The first mistake in this list, which to me is extraordinary, is giving an author to the “Arabian Nights.” Lane was the only scholar who ever entertained such a foolish idea, but evidence to the contrary was so overwhelming that the view was abandoned. Secondly, Wright gives a list of “works still in manuscript” which were to have been issued by the Society. With the single exception of the “Nigārān,” it is hard to imagine what evidence Wright had for assuming the Society was going to publish them. They were merely short extracts and essays (some only two or three pages long) sent by Rehatsek to Arbuthnot to publish in the “R.A.S. Journal,” or not, as he thought fit. There was no question as to their having anything to do with the Kāma Shaśtra Society. In the case of the “Nigārān,” it is very possible that this was Burton’s (and certainly Arbuthnot’s) intention, thus completing the trio of “Persian didactic works;” viz. the “Gulistān,” the “Behārīstān,” and the “Nigārān.” (See “Arabic Authors,” p. 188; also “Behārīstān,” p. [v].)

But Burton died in 1890, and with him died the Kāma Shaśtra Society. The MS. of the “Nigārān” was sent by Rehatsek to Arbuthnot the same year, and it arrived too late for Burton to go through it with Arbuthnot prior to issuing it. In 1892 Rehatsek died, and in July 1892 the “Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society” (pp. 582–95) printed the article (already referred to) by Arbuthnot. On p. 592 it definitely states that the “Nigārān” was now to be published by the Oriental Translation Fund of the Royal Asiatic Society.

It is obvious that Wright never saw this article, but he did see and actually quotes from the MS. of the “Nigārān.” Yet the preface of the MS. and the cardboard wrapper are both inscribed “Oriental Translation Fund. New Series.”

The list given by Wright on p. 63 (Vol. II) includes works which the Society was far more likely to have undertaken, but it is almost certain that after the publication of the new edition of the “Perfumed Garden,” the Society would have died a natural death owing to Burton having promised his wife that he would never publish any more works of a similar nature.

Of John Payne there is much that is irrelevant in a
"Life" of Burton, and Wright used pages of it for his "Life of John Payne" with but very little alteration.

This brings us to the "Arabian Nights," and to the merits of Burton's translation.

I shall deal with this at some length, as the subject is important. Wright picked out similar passages from Payne and Burton, and compared them by printing them side by side, and by putting in italics all the words in Burton's version, which also appeared in Payne, sought to prove that Burton had copied straight from Payne. He stated also that Burton had naturally used different words here and there, and in consequence Burton's translation was simply Payne's altered and spoilt. Now an assertion such as this would be bold enough from an Oriental scholar, but from a man like Wright it is really absurd. I would not think of commenting on the subject had I not talked it over with many well-known Orientalists at the India Office, British Museum, the School of Oriental Studies, Royal Asiatic Society, etc., as well as having corresponded with professors on the Continent and in America. One of the most difficult and futile things a man can do is to prove to his own and everyone else's satisfaction that a translator is guilty of flagrant and intentional plagiarism. Suppose, for example, that owing to my great admiration for Homer's "Iliad" I thought I would like to translate it afresh. After obtaining the best recognized text there would be two distinct ways of setting to work; one to translate direct from the text without looking at any previous translation, and to put into my work my own ideas, phraseology, etymological knowledge, personality, etc., and to bar from my house any commentaries, translations and notes which had been previously published. The other way, and the usual way, would be to get all the translations I could and study them carefully for several months—compare them, make notes on them, add a bit here, take away a few words there, and so on. Then I would begin what I would call my translation, using all existing translations as guides that in my estimation would show what to copy, and what to avoid.

Finally, my translation would appear, and perhaps it would be criticized by a man like Wright. We will suppose I had worked with all the assistance I could get from past translators—indeed, I am perfectly convinced my foolish critic could put the translations of two or three other men side by side with mine, and show that they very much coincided with one or the other of the earlier renderings. If, on the other hand, I had done absolutely original work, even then (assuming for the moment that I was a first-class Greek scholar) many of my phrases would correspond with the translations of Chapman, Pope, Derby, Blackie, Way, Myers, etc., etc. My foolish critic could never believe I had never looked at them.

Exactly the same applies to the "Nights" of Payne and that of Burton. It is impossible to say how much the one copied from the other. Talking to my friend. Mr. A. G. Ellis (whom Wright cites so often), he said that it was futile to compare two translations of two learned men with a view to accusing one of them of plagiarism, especially when both were fond of archaic words and phrases. If, however, one compared the translation of the "Nights" by an unknown man, of whom no Oriental scholar or society had ever heard, with that of either Burton or Payne, then, said Mr. Ellis, one would have grounds for accusing him of plagiarism if his work resembled, to a great extent, that of a recognized translator. I do not for a second wish to imply that I consider it unlikely Burton used Payne's translation. On the contrary, I have every reason to believe that he had it on his table all the time, and also that Payne similarly had Burton's "Aladdin," etc., on his desk. One only has to read Payne's notes to "Zeln-ul-Aasum" and "Aladdin" to see that he was closely following Burton with every line he wrote, because wherever Burton translates a word in a different sense from that which Payne employs, he (Payne) always makes a special note on it.

I have been very carefully through the copy of Payne's "Nights" that Burton used, and it is very little marked, although signs of considerable use are manifest.
After setting the version of Burton and that of Payne side by side, Wright makes comments on what he considers the reader will notice from his citations.

After again adversely criticizing Burton’s translation and poetry, he attempts to show that Burton used many of his words in a wrong sense.

But as Wright has given special notes on the subject it will be as well to see how far he can be relied upon.

On p. 118 (Vol. II), note (4) states that Payne’s word “hort-yard” is much better than Burton’s word “vergier.” Now as Wright quotes Murray on this same page I will use the same medium and take the New Oxford dictionary as my authority. “Vergier” is given as a twelfth-century word, and quotations are appended. “Hort-yard” is described as “an affected alteration of orchard” “a corrupted spelling of orchard.”

But this is not the only case of Wright exalting Payne to the detriment of both Burton and Murray.

It is difficult to see the object of the next note (5), for many other writers besides Shakespeare have used the word “rondure.” Amongst others are Browning, Keats, and Symonds.

In note (6) Wright maintains that Burton uses “purled” in the wrong sense, and that Payne has “embroidered,” which, he says, is the correct translation of the text.

Murray, however, states that when used in its vaguer sense “purled” means “embroidered, decorated,” and that “to purle” means (among other things) to work (a design) in embroidery, also to adorn, ornament, beautify. Numerous examples are given. Once again the futility of the charge is evident, but in note (8) Wright really excels himself.

He states that Burton’s word “cucurbit” is “completely inapt to express a common brass pot, such as that mentioned in the text.” The first point is that it is not a common brass pot which is mentioned in the text; on the contrary, it is a very special one. In the first place it is described as a “cucumber-shaped” jar, and later as a “gourd-shaped jar, whose mouth was made fast with a leaden cap.”

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Secondly, it was the former property of King Solomon, and no Moslem historian or story-teller would ever allow him to possess anything “common.”

Lane realized this and took special care to see Harvey drew it correctly. Brangwyn also noticed this peculiar-shaped vessel, but practically every other artist who illustrated this tale thought that “a common brass pot” was meant, and accordingly drew it wrongly.

Reference to Murray is very interesting. Under the word “cucurbit” the description is given as “a vessel or retort, originally gourd-shaped, used in distillation or other chemical (or alchemical) processes, or for keeping liquids, etc., in.” On turning up the word “alchemic” there is the additional information that the gourd-shaped vessel is “surmounted by a head or cap.” Even I was astonished at the perfect choice of word Burton had made; it merely serves as an example of Wright’s futile efforts to glorify Payne and scoff at Burton.

There is practically no end to Wright’s absurdities.

On the next page (119) he states (line 7) that Burton took the word “ensorcelled” from previous translators. But why should he have done so? The word dates back to 1547, and is used by Meredith in 1855, so it is a trifle (!) older than Torrens and Payne.

In the next chapter (XXIX) Wright at last shows signs of common sense, and recognizes that Burton’s knowledge was encyclopaedic, that his notes were written solely in the interests of students, and that the anthropological and general scientific value of them is undoubted. In my own opinion, it is these notes which make the book so invaluable not only to the anthropologist, the etymologist, and the historian, but to the lover of general information on every imaginable subject, as well as to the folk-tale student and “storyologist.”

Apart from the notes, many people, including Wright, have given very adverse criticisms on Burton’s mixture of obsolete words, mediaeval phrases, modern slang, Americanisms, and foreign words and expressions.
No one really acquainted with the various MSS. would make these criticisms, as the reason of Burton's enormous, if somewhat strange, vocabulary lies in the MSS. themselves. They are, above all, composite, and borrow from Turkish, Persian, Sanskrit, besides which the use of local and practically unknown words is common.

Burton's plan was to translate noun for noun and verb for verb; the modern English vocabulary was incapable of enabling him to do so, and consequently he had to resort to "a somewhat archaic English whose old-fashioned and sub-antique flavour would contrast with our modern and everyday speech, admitting at times even Latin and French terms, such as res sibilis and citronille." Thus the "motley suit of the Arabo-Egyptian" was preserved. Burton always looks upon the "Nights" as originally intended "as a text or handbook for the Râwî or professional story-teller, who would declaim the recitative in quasi-conversational tones, would intone the Saj'a (or prose rhyme), and would chant the metrical portions to the twanging of the Rabâbah or one-stringed vio."

Thus, with his object always in view, he retains the Saj'a in his translation. This would have been absolutely impossible had not Burton's vocabulary been drawn from the twelfth century onwards.

John Payne had different views from Burton about choice of words and phrases. His idea was to make a classic, and in this he has succeeded. Whether a distinctly romantic work with its multi-form variety of styles and character should be turned into a classic is for Orientalists to decide.

Payne, also with his object in view, rejected the Saj'a so as not to lose any grace or harmony in his "classic." No wonder, therefore, that Burton's strange array of weird words brought forth comments from the Press, but if biographers and critics had studied what they were writing about, they could have nothing but unanimous praise for the marvellous way in which Burton has not only retained the sense of the original, but has, by his choice of words and method of dealing with the poetry, conveyed the spirit, nature, and atmosphere of the mediaeval East.

In January 1922 I was standing in the Great Suk, or Market Place, at Tangier, listening to the story-teller, and could not help being struck with the similarity of the scene so often described by Burton. The Râwî was an old man with a small white beard, seated cross-legged on an old upturned wooden box. The Arab and Moorish audience, which consisted only of men, squatted on the ground in a semicircle with their yellow goatskin slippers placed neatly in front of them. There was not a woman even in earshot of the Râwî. As the old man continued his tales of wonder and adventure, the audience responded in a way that would have made a London theatrical manager jealous, first following the trials of the hero with sympathy and fear, then smiling with relief at his overcoming every obstacle, and finally swaying with laughter at some trick successfully played on a Kazi or Fakir.

How often has Burton described such a scene. When speaking of the "turpiloquium" of the "Nights" in his "Terminal Essay," he specially mentions the fact that the stories are told to men alone, and it was interesting and gratifying to know how true his statements were and still are.

Morocco has so far suffered very little from the often disastrous effects of civilization, and in all the villages and many of the towns of the interior things have hardly changed since the time of Haroun al Raschid.

But I must return to Wright's "Life," or rather "Criticism." On p. 184 (Vol. II) Wright compares a passage from the "Zein-ul-Asman," of the two translators. This was, of course, one of the stories which Payne translated after Burton. Now if he had put in italics every word of Payne's which appeared also in Burton's translation the account in italics would have been considerable.

Working on these lines I have compared passages from "Aleddin," which were also first translated by Burton, and
a very large number of words are identical. From this I could conclude that Payne had copied from Burton, and had here and there altered words and phrases which had (in my opinion) spoilt Burton's translation!!

What a foolish and unscrupulous conclusion this would be. Yet it is exactly what Wright did. If he really and truly thought he had a good "case" he should have put forward his views in the pages of the journal of some suitable learned society (if, indeed, anyone would have published them), and so obtained the opinions of Orientalists and men capable of judging.

After this he could bring in to his "Life" the comments his paper had caused, and deal with the matter in the open-minded way a man should who is neither a scholar nor an Orientalist. Regarded as a "Life" of Burton, Wright's work is absolutely worthless, full of misstatements, absurd conclusions, half-truths, and irrelevant matter.

On the other hand it contains many useful pieces of information and interesting anecdotes, although some of these seem to have been largely made up by Wright himself. He relates one (Vol. II, pp. 165-6) as having happened in Bologna. Why he thinks Burton should have spoken to a man he thought was a Bolognese working-man in French is hard to imagine. The truth is the incident occurred in Bologna. The part about trying him with Bolognese dialect is, of course, made up by Wright. It is merely typical of the careless way in which he worked. Even in trivial matters he makes misstatements. On p. 257 (Vol. II), in order to show to readers that he knows all about Lady Burton's private life, he gives a note saying that "she often used a typewriter." It was Mrs. Maylor (her copyist) who typed—Lady Burton never touched one in her life. This is only a small matter, but once again shows how far Wright can be relied on. One might give many other examples like those already quoted, but I must pass on to the next and last "Life" which has appeared.

In the following year (1907) Dodge issued his little "Life," with the following title-page, etc.:—

\"LIVES\" OF BURTON 323

\"The Real\" / Sir Richard Burton / By / Walter Phelps Dodge / . . . \| / With a Frontispiece / London / T. Fisher Unwin / Adelphi Terrace / 1907 / Pp. 249, with a plate (caricature of Burton from \"Vanity Fair\") Bound in slate-coloured cloth, with blind and gold. Lettering on back in gold.

2½" × 5½".

Top edges gilt, others uncut.

This little "Life" by Dodge deserves far more praise than it ever enjoyed. True, it is very short and sketchy, but the matter is well arranged and distributed throughout, which certainly cannot be said of either Lady Burton's or Wright's "Lives."

There are eighteen chapters in all. A chapter each is devoted to the Pilgrimage and Harar, which is as it should be. Then comes a chapter on the Crimea, followed by one each on "His African Discoveries" and marriage.

The next few chapters deal with the various consulates, in chronological order.

Chapter XIII describes his lesser travels, the next is devoted to his death, while a few very apt and true remarks conclude a very handy little account of the life of one of the Empire's noblest sons.

Prices of the Various "Lives."

With the exception of Lady Burton's "Life" none are of sufficient value to have been catalogued as a single lot in the sale-rooms, thus second-hand catalogue prices of the last few years are all that can be given as a guide to the value of the "Lives" in question.

Old Omnibus. 1880. (Published at about 2½/-):—

10/-.

A. B. Richards, etc. 1886. (Published at 1½/-):—

5/-, 3/6, 7/6, 25/- (presentation copy, autograph, etc.), 5/-.

Hitchman. 1887. (Published at 3½/-):—

9/6, 15/-, 12/6.
APPENDIX C.

NOTE ON THE LIFE OF ALBERT LETCHFORD.

As so little appears to be known of this artist, who was such a close friend of Sir Richard Burton, and a man of so great ability, I hope that this short account of his life will be acceptable.

Albert Letchford was born on March 10, 1866, at Trieste. From the very earliest times he was instinctively drawn to everything beautiful, and art was his only pleasure in life. At the age of seventeen he went to Venice to commence his studies in earnest. Here he made great progress, and was sent on to Florence in the following year.

It was at this period that he first met the Burtons, who were at once attracted by the charming manner, the great keenness and true artistic genius, which they saw in this tall handsome lad with beautiful deep brown eyes. Accordingly Letchford received a very large number of letters of introduction from the Burtons.

From Florence he went to Paris, and passed first at the Beaux Arts out of about four hundred entrants.

He studied under numerous artists, among whom may be mentioned Hébert, Jerome, Bonnat (who died in September 1922), and L. Oliver Merson.

While working in Paris he often visited England, and there conceived the idea of painting in the East. He accordingly went to Cairo, where he studied Eastern life in the most minute detail. He was selected to paint the Jubilee picture (1887) of all the festivities at Cairo, the
members of the committee, etc. On his return to Trieste he passed most of his time with the Burtons. Sir Richard found him much above the level of the general run of men, for, besides being an artist to his finger tips, he was very well read, and, his modesty once laid aside, proved a most interesting companion and the best of friends. He spent one winter in Bohemia as the guest of the Prince and Princess of Thurn and Taxis, for whom he painted a magnificent ceiling. Though he could have made his fortune and have become the portrait painter of the day (for he already had an invitation to the Viennese Court and a commission to paint the old Emperor Franz Josef), shyness, however, made him refuse all the invitations, and it was on his return to Trieste that Burton suggested to Letchford his illustrating the "Nights." Besides being an artist, Letchford was a musician of no mean order, and some of his finest work, now in Florence, was inspired by Beethoven’s Sonatas. An American attempted to secure one by a large offer, but Letchford loved his work too much to part with it. This was one of his failings. Had he been of a less sensitive nature and not so very modest he would have, undoubtedly, attained fortune and glory. Burton's death in 1890 was a terrible bereavement for Letchford and his sister Daisy (now Madam Nicastro). He had been like a father to both of them. They had penetrated the rough epidermis of Burton's external appearance and had found the jewel which lay beneath—both knew Burton as he really was, and accordingly reaped the benefit.

But let us pass on to Letchford's greatest work. Burton's suggestion of illustrating the "Nights" had appealed greatly to Letchford on account of the unlimited scope such a subject would give to an artist who loved the East and had a boundless imagination.

Accordingly Burton and he discussed the various passages most suitable for illustration, and Letchford started an exhaustive study of Oriental detail by working for weeks in museums and reading up works on Eastern costume, architecture, furniture, etc. His own collection, made

while in Cairo, afforded many specimens, such as arms, lamps, stools, etc., which were of the greatest use in his work.

Letchford painted one illustration to the "Nights" in Burton's lifetime, early in 1890. This was the only one in colour, and, with some slight alteration, formed No. 1 of the series begun in 1895. He was first of all commissioned to paint sixty-five illustrations, but this number was subsequently increased to seventy, without counting a portrait of Burton himself. The work was all done at Naples, and some of the landscapes are taken from the surrounding country. The rugged seacoast and fine rocks which stretch from the Bay of Naples to Castellammare and Sorrento figure in some of the pictures (viz. No. 48, "Abdullah the Fisherman and Abdullah the Merman").

The work was first done in charcoal and then painted in black and white, one set only being in colour. This is now in the possession of Madame Nicastro.

No painter has ever rendered the atmosphere of Naples so perfectly as has Albert Letchford. His sketches of Pompeii were magnificent, while his drawings of the bay of Naples and its rocks are the works of a genius.

As has already been mentioned, Letchford was no business man, and hated anything commercial. He was paid very badly for his work, and in the winter of 1897-8 he went to London to sign one thousand copies of the illustrations, which later were issued in a portfolio. He was promised payment for this and a percentage of the sales, neither of which materialized. On his return to Naples he began to illustrate the "Decamerone." Luck, however, was against him. His publishers quarrelled and the contract was broken. This was a terrible blow to Letchford, as he was about to get married. Now, however, he decided to return to Cairo, hoping for better luck. Alas! Cairo only brought an illness, to which he ultimately succumbed on July 24, 1905. He left his pictures and personal treasures in the hands of two Greek servants, whom he thought he could trust, and returned to Naples. This was early in 1905.
SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON

The Greek servants evidently saw death in his face when he left, for, a few months after he died, a relative who was passing through Cairo tried to locate the house, and, after some difficulty, succeeded in finding it. It was empty, and practically everything of value had disappeared. The Greek servants had gone, taking with them every valuable article he possessed. All that was found was some old furniture, his easel, and amongst the rubbish some crumpled bits of paper, which on inspection proved to be beautiful pen-and-ink drawings. One of these, representing the "Temptation of Eve," was a gem.

Apart from the works already mentioned but little remains of Letchford's paintings—all the bulk had been stolen by the Greeks.

His best portrait was that of Sir William Wilcox's son, which the family described as the "work of a genius."

Another fine work was his "Christ and the Beggar," now in the possession of a lady at Naples.

Letchford painted the different rooms of Burton's house at Trieste, and a picture showing Burton at work on the "Nights." There are also some views from the house, looking in different directions.

All these are now in the Camberwell Library, and have been already referred to in Appendix A.

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