

MISCELÂNEA DE ESTUDOS

EM HONRA

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ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF PORTUGUESE
BOOKS BEFORE 1640

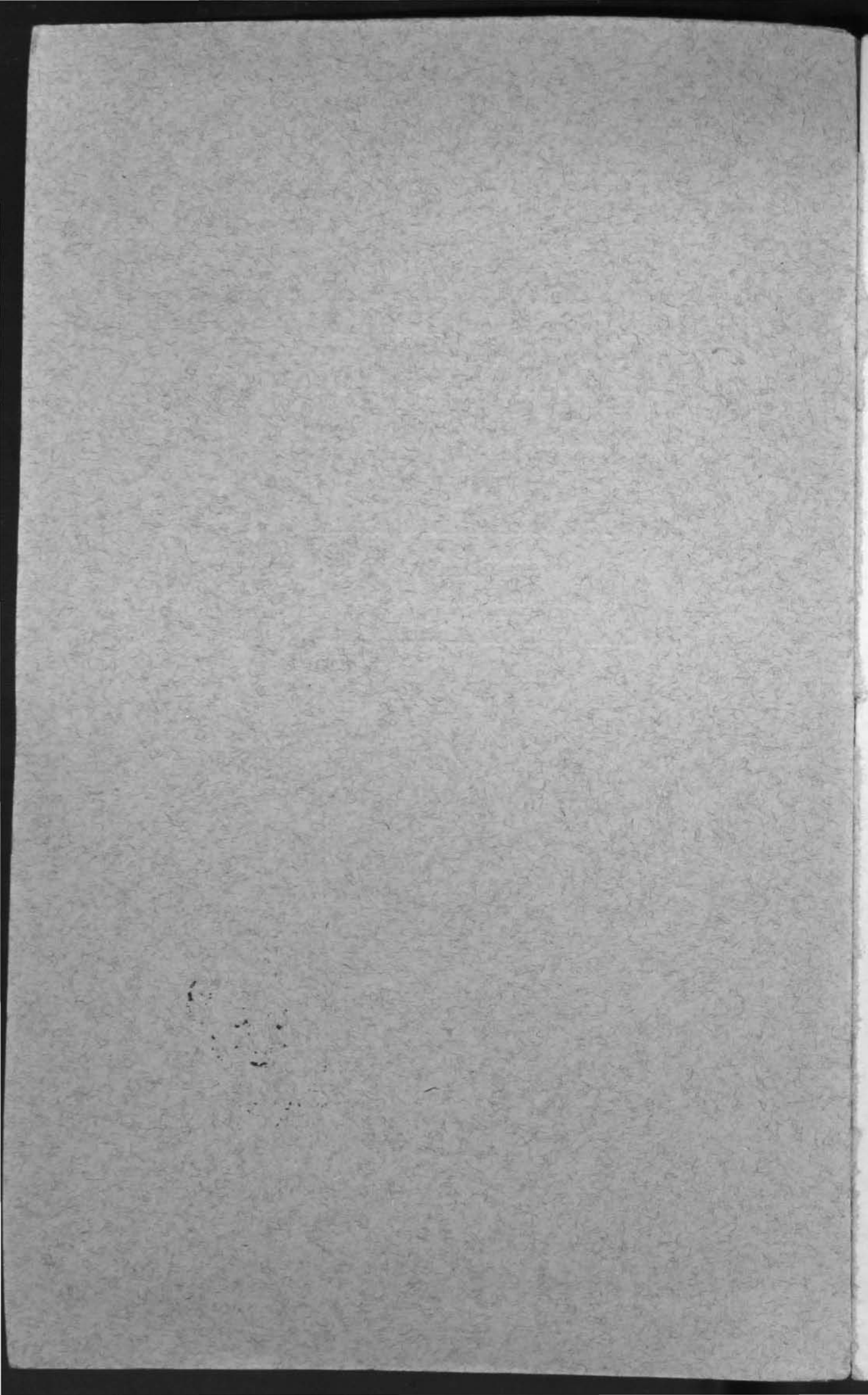


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English translations of Portuguese books before 1640



During the war we English people frequently reminded ourselves of our ancient alliance with Portugal. We might have supposed that this ancient alliance would have resulted in early literary interchanges between England and Portugal; but it appears to have affected mainly the political, social, and commercial relations between the two countries. English knights may have helped to spread some of the themes — as they did something of the spirit — of northern chivalry in Portugal; if so, they left no recognisable trace behind. The only early translation I know from the English into Portuguese¹ is one of Gower's *Confessio amantis* made by Robert Payne, an Englishman who held a canonry at Lisbon about the end of the fourteenth century. On the other hand, I know of no early translation from the Portuguese into English, and Portuguese authors seem to have begun to attract the attention of translators in this country much about the same time as did Spanish authors, that is during the second quarter of the sixteenth century. There are, indeed, various reminders that Portuguese literature, so far as this country was concerned, followed in the wake of Spanish literature. Spanish books in the original language, Spanish dictionaries, and Spanish grammars, were published in England during the sixteenth century. On the other hand no early Portuguese grammar was published here; Portuguese was only included in polyglot dictionaries during the seventeenth century²; and though a book in Portuguese professes to have

¹ There are not wanting books which profess to have been translated from English into Portuguese. For instance, the famous romance of chivalry *Tristão e Blanch* (1490) was «translated from English into the Portuguese tongue, and afterwards into the vulgar Valencian tongue»; but such statements are not to be taken seriously. Similarly, two Portuguese romances mentioned below, *Palmério of England* and *Palladine of England*, profess to have been taken from English sources.

² For example, in John Minsheu's *The Guide into Tongues*, London, 1617, and

been published in London in 1546¹, its author, who died in 1778, was not quite so old as the publisher makes out. The Portuguese language, in short, has always been much less widely known in this country than the Spanish, and, as we shall see below, rarely was a translation made directly from the Portuguese during our period.

It is creditable, therefore, that the first English translation from a Portuguese author should appear in print very soon after the first English translation from the Spanish. We owe both to the domestic circle of the great Chancellor Sir Thomas More. The first translation from the Spanish was the *Interlude of Calisto and Melebea* which was made and printed by More's brother-in-law, John Rastell, shortly before 1530. The first translation from a Portuguese author was *The legacye or embassate of the great emperour of Inde prester Iohn, vnto Emanuell kyng of Portyngale, in the yere of our lorde M.v.C. xiii*, made by More's son John, and printed by Rastell's son William in 1533, the year after the publication of Damião de Goes' Latin original². So far the honours between Spain and Portugal are fairly even, for the *Interlude* is but an extract, rewritten in English verse, from an old Spanish masterpiece, while *The legacye*, if of slightly later date, and from the Latin, is at any rate a complete translation.

Damião de Goes' account of the embassy of Prester John was published with something more than its obvious purpose. It was, of course, intended to gratify a natural curiosity as to the conditions of a remote foreign country; but at the same time it was a piece of religious and political propaganda on behalf of the author's native country. As such, it is a very fitting book to stand at the head of the early English translations of Portuguese works, for the great majority of these are either accounts of voyages and travels, or historical works in which religion or politics, or both, usually play a prominent part. I propose to deal as briefly as may be with these two groups in the order mentioned, before discussing at relatively

in the *New Dialogues or Colloquies, and, A little Dictionary of eight Languages*, London, 1639, a late edition of a work by Nicolas Barlement.

¹ Sharp, S., *Tratado das operaçoens de chirurgia . . . Trad. em portugues por J. de C(astro) S(armento)*. Londres, 1546. The English original was published in 1739.

It may be mentioned here that, while no separate work in Portuguese was published in England during our period, a few Portuguese letters and documents in the original language were included in the collections of Hakluyt and Purchas mentioned below.

² *Legatio Magni Indorum Imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis, ad Emanuelem Lusitanæ Regem, Anno Domini. M.D.XIII.* Antwerp, 1532.

greater length a small but interesting group of translations from purely literary works. Apart from a few miscellaneous items, these three groups exhaust all the available material.

The Portuguese were the pioneers in the exploration of the sea route via the Cape of Good Hope to the Indian Ocean. They were also, following closely the Spaniards' lead, pioneers in the exploration of the New World and of the sea route to the East round South America. The Portuguese were consequently, along with the Spaniards, the masters of our early navigators, and English mariners, including Drake himself, freely acknowledged their debt to both nations. It was natural that Portuguese books should be the best, and sometimes the only sources of information concerning lands which the Portuguese had special or unique facilities for studying — certain parts of America, of Africa, of the Far East, including, thanks largely to their Jesuit missionaries, China. It was equally natural that these books should be translated into other languages.

There is further confirmation of the impression that Portuguese literature followed in the wake of Spanish, as far as this country was concerned, in the English translations of these books of voyages and travels. Only four were printed separately during our period, and the earliest did not appear till 1582, by which time quite a respectable number of Spanish books of travel and navigation had been translated and printed in England. In the year just mentioned, Nicholas Lichfield published his translation of the first book only of Fernam Lopez de Castanheda's *Historia do descobrimento & conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, under the title: *The first Booke of the Historie of the Discouerie and Conquest of the East Indias, enterprised by the Portingales*. The original appeared at Coimbra in 1551, and it can be shown that Lichfield translated from an anonymous Spanish version printed at Antwerp in 1554.

In 1597 Abraham Hartwell published *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo, a Region of Africa*, which we owe to Duarte Lopez. Hartwell's translation was made from the original language, which however was not Portuguese, for Lopez did not compose the book himself. It was «drawn out of the writings and discourses» of that traveller by Filippo Pigafetta, an Italian, who reduced the matter, as he tells us, «dalla viva voce» into his native tongue, in which he published it at Rome in 1591¹.

¹ *Relatione del reame di Congo et delle circonuicine contrade. Trata dalli Scritti & ragionamenti di Odoardo Lopez Portoghese. Per Filippo Pigafetta*. It is to Pigafetta that we owe the account of Magellan's voyage of circumnavigation,

The beginning of the seventeenth century brings us into contact with the most famous English geographer, to whom we shall have to return in a moment. In 1601 Richard Hakluyt published *The Discoveries of the World from their first originall vnto the yeere of our Lord 1555. Briefly written in the Portugall tongue by Antonie Galvano*. The translation was made not by Hakluyt, but as he himself tells us, «by some honest and well affected marchant of our nation, whose name by no meanes I could attaine vnto, and that as it seemeth many yeeres ago. For it hath lien by me about these twelue yeeres». That would bring it nearer to the date of the original, which was published at Lisbon, after the author's death, in 1563. Hakluyt's title is more suited to the contents of the book than the original title, which reads: *Tratado, que compôs o nobre & notauel capitão Antonio Galvão, dos diuersos & desuayrados caminhos, por onde nos tempos passados a pimenta & especearia veyo da India ás nossas partes*. The change in the title cannot disguise the fact that the translation was made from the original Portuguese.

It is to Hakluyt also that we owe the last of these four books: *Virginia richly valued, by the description of the maine land of Florida, her next neighbour*, which he himself translated from the Portuguese, publishing it in 1609, and reissuing it with a new title in 1611. Hakluyt's title this time gives little clue to the character of the work, which is really an account of Fernando de Soto's ill-fated expedition to Florida in 1539-41, originally written by an unknown «Portugall gentleman of Elvas», and published at Evora in 1557¹. The publication of Hakluyt's translation in 1609, and his choice of title, was occasioned by the English attempts to colonise Virginia, the London Company interested in the undertaking having been recognised during that year.

These four books by themselves would hardly justify my making the accounts of voyages and travels my first group; but they must be supplemented by three times as many more translations printed in well known English collections. Richard Eden included translations of one or two short official Portuguese documents in *The Decades of the new worlde*, published in 1555. Richard Willes, in his

the English version of which was first printed in Richard Eden's *The Decades of the new worlde* mentioned below; but this account is Pigafetta's own work, and there is no excuse for including it in the list above.

¹ *Relaçam verdadeira dos trabalhos q̃ ho governador dō Fernão d'souto ꝛ certos fidalgos portugueses passaram no d'scobrimêto da prouincia da Frolida. Agora nouamête feita per hũ fidalgo Deluas.*

augmented edition of this work, which he brought out under the title *The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies* in 1577 — that is five years before the earliest of the four books mentioned above — added extracts from the letters of Luis Froes, the Jesuit missionary in Japan, taken from a Latin collection of «*Petrus Maf-feius my olde acquaynted friend*»; he also included «*Certayne reportes out of the prouince China, learned through the Portugalles there imprisoned, and chiefly by the relation of Galeotto Perera*». This latter Willes translated himself from the Italian original — for like one of the books mentioned above, the earliest printed form of this work is an Italian redaction of 1565¹. Richard Hakluyt took over Willes' translations from the Portuguese in his *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries*, published at the end of the sixteenth century; he added a few more official documents², a page from the book of Antonio Galvão which he shortly afterwards published in full, brief extracts from Garcia de Resende's life of John II of Portugal, more extracts from the letters of Luis Froes, and two translations of special interest to Englishmen. The first is the Portuguese pilot Nuno da Silva's relation of the voyage which he made as Sir Francis Drake's prisoner through the Straits of Magellan — Drake afterwards generously acknowledging that he could not have made the voyage without Silva's help. The second is a relation of further voyages and adventures of Sir Francis Drake, John Oxenham, Edward Fenton, John Drake and others, told by a Portuguese called «*Lopez Vaz*», who was taken prisoner by the navigator Captain Withrington in 1586. Neither of these translations was made from printed originals. The official original of Nuno da Silva's relation is at Simancas, and there is a copy of it in the Hydrographic Department of the Spanish Admiralty, which may or may not be that used by Hakluyt. Of the relation of Lopez Vaz I can trace neither original nor copy, and I shall be grateful to anyone who can give me information of anything that may have survived.

In addition to reprints of nearly all the translations already mentioned, nine new translations appeared in Parts II-IV of *Purchas his Pilgrims*, published in 1625. Most of these were, as the collector

¹ *Alcune cose del paese de la China saputi de certi Portughesi ch'ivi furon fati schiavi; e questo fu cavato d'un trattato che fece Galeoto Pereira Gentil huomo persona di molto credito il quale stette prigionie nel sudetto luogo Tuchiaen alcuni anni.* (Quoted from Barbosa).

² Hakluyt, like Purchas mentioned below, occasionally quotes a Portuguese document in the original language.

puts it, «abbreviated to prevent tediousness», and most of them, following his precedent, shall be dealt with summarily here, especially the first six, which are translated from printed texts.

No one seems to have undertaken the systematic investigation of Purchas' sources — the task would be a considerable one; but as far as the translations from the Portuguese are concerned, the originals are mostly to be found in London. Where the translations have been made from printed texts, the British Museum has the first editions of the originals, and of any intermediate translations used, in all cases but one; in that case it has later editions of the two texts used.

Three of the translations made from printed texts deal with the land that had already attracted the attention of Damião de Goes:

- (i) «The Voyage of Sir Francis Alvarez, a Portugall Priest, made vnto the Court of Prete Ianni, the great Christian Empeour of Ethiopia». Translated anonymously, through Ramusio's Italian version, from Alvarez's *Verdadera informaçam das terras do Preste Ioam*, printed at Lisbon in 1540.
- (ii) «A briefe Relation of the Embassage which the Patriarch Don Iohn Bermudez brought from the Emperour of Ethiopia, vulgarly called Presbyter Iohn». Translated anonymously and abridged from the *Breue relação da embaixada q̄ o Patriarcha dō Ioão Bermudez trouxe do Emperador da Ethiopia, chamado vulgarmente Preste Ioão*, printed at Lisbon in 1565.
- (iii) «Collections out of the Voyage and Historie of Friar Ioão dos Sanctos his Æthiopia Orientalis, & Varia Historia». Partly summarised and partly translated anonymously from João dos Santos' *Ethiopia Oriental, e Varia Historia de cousas notauéis do Oriente*, printed at Evora in 1609. At the end is some additional matter from various works, the authors mentioned being E. Acosta, P. Du Jarric, J. B. Grimaye, and B. Barreira.

Two of the six deal with the Far East:

- (iv) «A Treatise of China and the adioyning Regions, written by Gaspar Da Cruz a Dominican Friar». A very much abridged anonymous translation of Gaspar da Cruz's *Tractado em que se cõtam muito por estêso as cousas da China*, printed at Evora in 1569-70.
- (v) «Observations of China, Tartaria, and other Easterne parts of the World, taken out of Fernam Mendez Pinto his Pere-

grination». Partly summarised and partly translated anonymously, with the help of F. de Herrera Maldonado's Spanish version, from the first half of the *Peregrinaçam de Fernam Mendez Pinto*, printed at Lisbon in 1614.

The last of the six relates to India:

- (vi) «Indian Observations gathered out of the Letters of Nicolas Pimenta, Visiter of the Iesuites in India, and of many others of that Societie, written from diuers Indian Regions». Translated anonymously from two official letters or reports sent to Rome and there printed in 1601 and 1602 respectively. The originals not being accessible to me, I give the titles of the Mainz reprints of the same years, which I have before me: *Noua relatio historica de rebus in India Orientali a Patribus Societatis Iesu, Anno 1598 & 99 gestis. A R. P. Nicolao Pimenta*. Mainz, 1601; and *Exemplum epistolæ P. Nicolai Pimentæ prouinciæ Orientalis Indiæ Visitatoris... de statu rei christianæ in India Orientali Calendis Decembris Anno 1600 datæ*. Mainz, 1602.

The three translations from manuscript originals which Purchas includes are interesting in themselves and, in two cases, in their pedigree. «A Treatise of Brasil, written by a Portugall which had long liued there», is stated by J. C. Rodrigues in his *Bibliotheca Brasiliense* to have been made from a manuscript, now in the Evora Public Library, which he identifies as the work of the Jesuit missionary Fernão Cardim. Two of its three sections have been printed in Portuguese in modern times, but unfortunately neither of these texts is in the British Museum.

The original text of «A Rutter of Don Iohn de Castro¹, of the Voyage which the Portugals made from India to Zoez», was, so Purchas tells us, «reported to haue beene bought by Sir Walter Raleigh, at sixtie pounds, and by him caused to be done into English, out of the Portugall»; and Purchas thinks that Raleigh himself amended and annotated the translation. This original *roteiro*, I have no doubt, is now part of the Cotton collection in the British Museum (Tib. D. ix), a fine illustrated manuscript written by Gaspar Aloisius in 1543, unfortunately charred by fire round the edges.

The third text long caused me trouble, because Purchas describes it as «Don Duart De Meneses the Vice-roy, his tractate of the Portugall Indies, containing the Lawes, Customes, Reuenues, Expenses, and other matters remarkable therein: here abbreviated». Duarte

¹ Viceroy of the Portuguese Indies, 1545-48.

de Meneses, of course, never wrote a treatise on the Indies, and the original from which Purchas made the extracts he prints was a most valuable collection of official documents and returns made during Meneses' viceroyalty [1521-24]. Some portions have been printed in more recent times in Portuguese, apparently from late manuscript copies. The early original used by Purchas, after long wanderings abroad, was recovered by the British Museum in 1870 [Add. Ms. 28433]. There can be little doubt that this was Purchas' copy, for it bears on the first leaf the name of Richard Hakluyt, part of whose papers passed into the hands of Samuel Purchas.

This concludes our first group, and I now pass on to the second group, composed of historical works mainly of a propagandist nature. In these, history, politics and religion tend to become inextricably involved, as is apparent in the very first item. In 1562 Jeronimo Osorio da Fonseca, whose fame as a Latinist earned for him the title of «the Portuguese Cicero», and whose services to his country and religion were rewarded with the bishopric of Silves, published in Lisbon an official Latin epistle addressed to Queen Elizabeth (*Epistola Hieronymi Osorii ad serenissimam Elisabetam Angliæ reginam*), exhorting her to return to the Catholic faith. This was translated into English by Richard Shacklock and published at Antwerp in 1565 — there being two editions by different printers in that year. During the interval between the printing of the original letter and the translation, an official reply had been published by Dr. Walter Haddon on the English side, and Osorio issued a Latin confutation of this reply in three books in 1567. This confutation was translated into English by John Fenn and also published abroad the next year, but this time at Louvain; where the translator was a student. The contest did not end there, but our interest in it does, and other works of Osorio claim our attention. In 1576 William Blandie published in London a translation of Osorio's *De nobilitate ciuili et christiana*; and such was Osorio's fame as a Latinist that in 1580 the original text of this work, and of the author's *De gloria*, first published in Lisbon in 1542 and 1549 respectively, were printed in London. Ten years later two of Osorio's Latin letters to his friend Roger Ascham were printed in a collected London edition of Ascham's Latin letters. Osorio has therefore the distinction of being the only Portuguese author of our period to have his works printed in England in the original language.

In his earlier days Osorio had been tutor to Antonio, Prior do Crato, a grandson of King Manuel, but of doubtful birth. On the death of King Henry and the failure of the direct line of succession

in 1580, Antonio had himself proclaimed king, but he was driven out of Portugal by the Duke of Alva, the agent of his successful rival Philip II of Spain, and forced to take refuge in France and England. In 1585¹ the house of Christopher Plantin at Leyden issued Latin, French, Dutch and English editions of a propagandist tract on Antonio's behalf, written not necessarily by himself, but at any rate under his direction by one or other of his Portuguese suite. The English edition, which was translated from the Latin and French texts, is called *The Explanation of the True and Lawfull Right and Tytle, of the Most Excellent Prince, Anthonie the first of that name, King of Portugall*. Antonio's cause was at different times actively supported by Kings Henry III and IV of France, and by Queen Elizabeth of England, but it did not prosper, and he died an exile in Paris on the 26th Aug. 1595. Towards the end he repented him of his unsuccessful life, and poured out his soul in some Latin *Psalms of Confession*, which became popular in the seventeenth century, and were translated into various languages. One English version, represented now by a single copy in Archbishop Marsh's Library in Dublin, appeared during our period, and is of interest as throwing some light on the original.

In 1919 M. Legris published in the *Revue Hispanique* the Latin text of these *Psalms*, together with a French verse translation. M. Legris printed the Latin text from the earliest known edition, that of 1609, with the help of a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Mazarine. He cites an earlier edition, on Barbosa's authority, as printed at Paris «apud Federicum Borellum» in 1592, and he has no difficulty in showing that such an edition could not have existed, for according to Barbosa it contained a reference to Antonio's death, which occurred in 1595. Fortunately the English edition, as represented by the Dublin copy, states on the titlepage that it was printed in 1596, and that the translation was made from «the Latine copie, printed at Paris by Frederike Morell». Barbosa's «apud Federicum Borellum» and «1592» were simply mistranscriptions or misprints. The original came out in 1595 or 1596, and it only remains to trace a copy, if one still exists. I shall be indebted to anyone who can give me information on this point.

¹ Even before this date an English work had contained a reference to Antonio's affairs derived from a Portuguese source. At the end of the English translations of certain *Lettres interceptes* of Cardinal Perrenot de Granvelle, published in 1582, there is a version of a letter of Cypriano de Figueiredo Vasconcellos, governor of the Island of Terceira, protesting his loyalty to Antonio.

The need for securing constant French support almost inevitably involved Antonio in the internal politics of France, and we probably owe to one of his followers another propagandist tract, *The Spaniards Monarchie, and Leaguers Olygarchie. Layd open in an aduer[t]isement, written by Signor Vasco Figueiro a Gentleman of Portingale to the rebellious French*, which was «Englished by H. O.», and printed in London in 1592. The English translation was made from the French text printed in Paris the year before. I have no information as to Vasco Figueiro; but though the French edition contains the author's address to the reader, dated «De Portugal ce 3 de May 1591», I think the French text is the original, and I should look for its author in Antonio's circle of supporters.

It is certainly to Antonio's supporters that we owe three very rare tracts printed at the very beginning of the seventeenth century. These tracts — two of them, and perhaps the third, based on the letters and writings of Antonio's almoner and confessor José de Teixeira — relate to King Sebastian, who perished in the destruction of the ill-fated expedition to Africa in 1578. Many Portuguese held the King's death incredible, and believed that he would some day return. Towards the end of the century an impersonator trading on this belief, and on the recent death of Antonio, appeared in Italy, and his cause was taken up by Antonio's followers as an excuse for continuing the agitation against the Spaniards. Hence three propagandist tracts which were translated and published in English, beginning with *The Strangest Aduenture that euer happened. . . Containing a discourse concerning the successe of the King of Portugall Dom Sebastian, from the time of his voyage into Affricke, when he was lost in the battell against the infidels, in the yeare 1578, vnto the sixt of Ianuary this present 1601* — that being the year in which the translation was printed. The translator, Anthony Munday, describes the work as «first done in Spanish, then in French, and now lastly translated into English». In mentioning a Spanish original, Munday was copying from the French version which he used. I cannot trace any printed version beyond the *Adventure admirable par dessus toutes autres des siecles passez & present*, printed in 1601. A French *Histoire veritable des dernieres et piteuses adventures de Don Sebastian*, printed in 1602, appeared in English as *The True Historie of the late and lamentable adventures of Don Sebastian* in the same year; while a *Suyte d'un discours intitulé adventure admirable &c.*, also printed in 1602, became the English *A Continuation of the lamentable and admirable adventures of Dom Sebastian* in 1603. Here again the French texts seem to be the earliest printed versions. The

responsible editor of the *Suyte*, as of the *Adventure admirable*, appears to have used manuscript material, chiefly from the pen of José de Teixeira, who is given as the writer of the greater part of both tracts. The *Histoire véritable* makes no mention of sources, but it is reasonable to attribute it to the same circle of Antonio's Portuguese supporters as the other two tracts.

José de Teixeira has often been credited with another propagandist tract which appeared shortly before the three just mentioned. In 1598 there was printed in London *A Treatise Parænetical, that is to say: An Exhortation, wherein is shewed... the right way & true meanes to resist the violence of the Castilian King*. This tract was reprinted in 1625 — to foster the new English war against Spain — with some alterations and a different title: *The Spanish Pilgrime: or, an Admirable Discouery of a Romish Catholicke. Shewing how necessary and important it is, for the Protestant Kings, Princes, and Potentates of Europe, to make warre vpon the King of Spaines owne Countrey*. The title of the second edition reflects the statement in the first edition that the tract is «by a Pilgrim Spaniard, beaten by time, and persecuted by fortune. Translated out of the Castilian tongue into the French, by I. D. Dralymont Lord of Yarleme. And now Englished». Once more, the earliest printed version appears to be the French, published in 1597 under the title *Traicté parænetique, c'est à dire exhortatoire*. The translator, Jean de Montlyard, Sieur de Meleray, scarcely disguises himself under his anagram, and we may accept his statements with rather less reserve than we should have felt bound to use, had he been at greater pains to conceal his identity. According to Montlyard's preface, the Spanish original — *Trattado Parænetico* — was written at his instigation, and handed over to him by its author, a non-Castilian Spaniard who had spent a long time in Portugal and spoke the language of that country as well as he spoke his native tongue. The tract itself is signed P. Ol., so that the «Pilgrim Spaniard¹, beaten by time, and persecuted

¹ This epithet has caused the tract to be attributed also to Antonio Perez, another centre of disaffection against the Spaniards, for Perez brought out his *Pedaços de historia* — afterwards called *Relaciones* — under the pseudonym Rafael Peregrino. Mr. J. G. Underhill, in his *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*, calls the *Treatise Parænetical* a translation of the *Relaciones*, with which it has nothing whatever to do. Incidentally he makes P. Ol. responsible for the English version, instead of the Spanish original.

It may be remarked that both Antonio Perez and José de Teixeira are referred to in the *Traicté parænetique* in a way which gives the impression that neither is the author.

by fortune» is identical with the «Petrus Olim» who edited an undoubted work of Teixeira's¹. Unless therefore both Montlyard and Petrus Olim were guilty of intentional mystification, Teixeira was not the author of our present tract. Nor was any other Portuguese. But it should be added that Montlyard arouses some suspicion by mentioning in his preface the author's distress at the misfortunes of his fatherland, where that word would seem to apply most naturally to Portugal.

The *Traicté parænetique* frequently quotes — and throws some light on the authorship of — a historical work which takes us back to the days of King Sebastian and Antonio, Prior do Crato, and which has been ascribed to a Portuguese Count, and so cannot be ignored here. In 1600 there appeared in London *The Historie of the Uniting of the Kingdom of Portugall to the Crown of Castill: Containing the last warres of the Portugals against the Moores of Africke, the end of the house of Portugall, and change of that Gouvernement*. This is an anonymous translation of an Italian original published at Genoa in 1585 under the name Jeronimo de Franchi Conestaggio, which has come to be treated usually as a pseudonym of Juan de Silva, created Count of Portalegre by Philip II of Spain. If the identification of Silva with Conestaggio were correct, the *Historie* would belong to the present section, for Silva was Portuguese on his mother's side, and his Portuguese title would turn the scale in favour of his inclusion as a Portuguese author. The identification, however, appears to be the result of a misunderstanding. The author of the *Traicté parænetique* makes it clear that Conestaggio was a real person, a Genoese, and «a very great liar», and he further says of

¹ A copy now before me of Teixeira's *Speculum tyrannidis Philippi regis Castellæ in usurpanda Portugallia*, 1595, has inserted four preliminary leaves from another edition. These are signed Petrus Olim, and are dated from Lyons, 14 Aug. 1590. The *Speculum* is the third book of Teixeira's *De electionis iure quod competit viris Portugallensibus inaugurandis suis regibus ac principibus*, Lyons, 1589, which work the author is said by Brunet to have brought out in a second edition at Lyons in 1590 under the pseudonym Petrus Olim. The four leaves just mentioned clearly belong to this second edition, and Brunet has apparently confused author and editor, for Petrus Olim speaks here of Teixeira in terms which the latter could not have used of himself. Moreover, on 1 and 5 Aug. 1590 Teixeira was dating prefaces to genuine works of his from Tours.

For further mystification, it should be added that the *Speculum*, printed two years before the *Traicté parænetique* mentioned above, refers at the end to matters which are explained «in Tractatu Parænetico apud Theseum Ierpixium». Theseus Ierpixius has been stated to be one of Teixeira's pseudonyms — it is almost an anagram of a latinized form of his name.

him: «we knew him in Lisbon in the service of Antonio Caulho, and afterwards of Estienne Lercaro, a Genoese merchant». The notion that the name Jeronimo de Franchi Conestaggio was a pseudonym probably goes back to the *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez* of Innocencio Francisco da Silva. According to this authority¹, Francisco Manuel de Mello says in his *Apologos Dialogaes* that Conestaggio's history merely bore his name, whereas the «spirit and art» were Juan de Silva's. This might justify the assumption that Silva wrote the history under the pseudonym of Conestaggio. The original makes it perfectly clear that nothing of the kind was intended. A speaker in one of the dialogues says² «my friend Hieronymo Franqui Conestagio told me in Italy that his history of the uniting of Portugal to Castile merely bore the name Conestagio, whereas the spirit and art were the Count's». Here again we see that Conestaggio was a real person. He is not represented as denying the authorship of the history; the context shows that he is merely placing on another's shoulders the responsibility for the Spanish bias in his work — a bias for which he was much taken to task by Portuguese writers. We can no more attribute the history to the Count of Portalegre than to Christovão de Moura, who was another of Conestaggio's mentors, according to the *Speculum tyrannidis Philippi regis Castellæ in usurpanda Portugallia*³ mentioned in a note above. The actual history is by a Genoese, and so has no place here.

Another half-Spanish, half-Portuguese item — for it was issued by the King himself — has a better right to be included in this group of historical works. In 1602, or shortly afterwards, there appeared in London *The True Copie of an Edict, made by the King of Spaine, concerning the new Christians dwelling in Portugall*. This was «Given at Madrill, the Fowerth of Aprill, 1602», but I know of no Spanish copy, either printed or in manuscript. The English version is stated on the titlepage to be «Translated out of the Portugall language, into English, 1602». I know of no Portuguese printed copy,

¹ S. v. Jeronymo de Mendonça: «Diz Francisco Manuel de Mello nos *Apologos dialogaes*, p. 341: *A Historia da União de Portugal e Castella*, que escreveu Hieronymo Franchi de Conestaggio, d'elle só tem o nome, mas o espirito e arte é de D. João da Silva, conde de Portalegre».

² «... Porque meu amigo Hieronimo Franqui Conestagio me contava em Italia, que a sua historia da uniaõ de Portugal a Castella, delle Conestagio só tinha o nome, mas o espirito, & arte do Conde Dom Joaõ».

³ Edition of 1595, p. 67: ... in cujus compositione Angelum auricularem (ut certo scivimus ab ejusdem Conestaggii familiaribus) habuit Christophorum à Moura, qui benè noverat, quomodo Iupiter duxerat Iunonem.

but there is a manuscript copy in the Torre do Tombo¹. The English version was probably made from a manuscript copy, for the proper names have suffered even more than is usual: «de Seixas» becomes «d'Sorses», «da Zevedo» becomes «de Senedo», and so on.

Towards the end of our period there was published another English tract which recalls Antonio, Prior do Crato: *A Declaration, of the reasons, moveing Don Emanuel, borne Prince of Portugall... to forsake the Romish Religion*. This was «translated out of the French into English by I. R. M. D.», and printed in 1634. Emanuel was Antonio's grandson. His father was born out of wedlock, and he himself was born out of Portugal, so that we can hardly claim him as a Portuguese, and the mere mention of his *Declaration* will suffice here.

This completes the present group, and with an appeal for information on points left in doubt we may pass on the third group—a small but interesting group of purely literary works.

The English translations of purely literary Portuguese works made during our period form, indeed, a very small group, which but for the reader's indulgence would have to be smaller still, for the earliest form of all the works composing it is the Spanish:—the Spanish text is either the original, or the earliest surviving form, or earlier than the surviving form of the Portuguese original from which it is taken. Assuming that the reader's indulgence will not be withheld, we shall be concerned in this group with four works—a pastoral romance and three romances of chivalry. The group is a small one, but it brings us into contact with some famous Portuguese books and some famous English names.

No one is likely to quarrel with the inclusion of Jorge de Montemôr's *La Diana* among Portuguese works. Though this book first appeared in Spanish at Valencia, and incidentally started the fashion of the pastoral romance in Spain, not only was the author a Portuguese, but some passages in the book are in his native tongue. Three or four years only after *La Diana* was published, Barnaby Googe included fairly close verse renderings of two incidents from the romance in his *Eglogs, Epytaphes and Sonettes*, printed in 1563: the fifth and seventh eclogues partly summarise and partly translate incidents from the second half of the second book and the first half of the first book respectively. These extracts entitle *La Diana* to

¹ Information supplied by Snr. J. Lucio d'Azevedo, through Professor Edgar Prestage. See Jozé Anastasio de Figueiredo, *Synopsis Chronologica*, 1790, tom. 2, p. 285.

take first place in this group, although the complete work did not appear in English till 1598. In that year Bartholomew Young printed his translation of Montemôr's *La Diana*, together with the continuations of the Spaniards Alonso Perez and Gaspar Gil Polo; but he tells us in his preface that his manuscript was completed fifteen years earlier. He also makes it clear that he was far from being the only translator of the book, for he mentions «Edward Paston Esquier» as having «aptly turned out of Spanish into English «some leaves that liked him best», and he adds that if Paston had made a complete translation, this «had of all others, that ever I yet heard translate these Bookes, proved the rarest and worthiest to be embraced».

Who all these others are, whom Bartholomew Young «heard translate» *La Diana*, we do not know. He may have included among them his predecessor Barnaby Googe, as well as the more famous Sir Philip Sidney. Translations by the latter of two poems from the first book of *La Diana* were included in the 1598 edition of his *Arcadia*. They are reprinted in the numerous succeeding editions, and they also appeared, along with eight poems from Young's translation, in the two editions of *England's Helicon* (1600 and 1614), so that they must have been widely read. They may well have been known to Young at a much earlier date, for they doubtless circulated privately before, as well as after, Sidney's death in 1584.

Another translation of which Young may have been thinking, and which circulated privately, if at all, was that of Sir Thomas Wilson, who himself tells us that he translated the whole of *La Diana* while travelling in Italy and Germany in 1596. The complete draft seems to have disappeared, but an autograph copy of the first book, made between 1614 and 1620 for Sir Fulke Greville, afterwards Lord Brooke, survives in the British Museum. When printing this fragment in the *Revue Hispanique* four or five years ago, I recalled the fact that Shakespeare had borrowed, directly or indirectly, part of the plot of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* from the story of Felix and Felismena in the second book of *La Diana* — one of the stories that had already attracted the attention of Barnaby Googe. I pointed out that Sir Thomas Wilson had dedicated his translation of 1596 to Shakespeare's patron, the Earl of Southampton; that later, when making his transcript for Sir Fulke Greville, he had been unable to find more than the first book; and that it was therefore tempting to think that the complete original draft had passed into the hands of Shakespeare, who returned the first book, but retained the rest on finding a story with dramatic possibilities in the second book. In

that case, Sir Thomas Wilson in his prefatory letter rightly speaks of «the rest, which being lost are better so». But before this theory can be accepted, there must be a general massacre of the literary critics, who are almost unanimously of opinion *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* belongs to the early nineties. At that time, Sir Thomas Wilson's translation was not yet made, according to his own account; but there were several other sources from which Shakespeare could have known the story he utilised. Besides the Spanish original and the French translation, which had both been printed several times, there were various English translations in manuscript, as Bartholomew Young informs us. There was, moreover, a stage adaptation of the story selected by Shakespeare — *The History of Felix and Philismena* — which was acted at Court in 1584/5, but which is now unfortunately lost. From what we know of Shakespeare's methods, he may well have used this work of an unknown predecessor, though one or two details in his play have been thought to show that he knew the original romance.

The second item in this group is the romance of *Amadis of Gaul*, and I must particularly crave the reader's indulgence for including here this founder of the Spanish and Portuguese romances of chivalry, as the form in which we first know it is a Spanish version made towards the end of the fifteenth century. However, it can definitely be traced much further back, and a strong, if confused, tradition seems to connect a presumed Portuguese version with a certain Joham de Lobeira, who flourished in the latter half of the thirteenth century. The fact that tradition first shapes itself round a Portuguese version is my justification for including the story here.

The problems as to the origin and growth of the *Amadis* story find an echo in the various difficulties connected with its introduction into England. Like Montemôr's *La Diana*, *Amadis of Gaul* first appeared in this country in the form of extracts. Apparently rather more than half way through the twelve-month 22 July 1567 — 22 July 1568, a book called «the trasurye of Amydyce contanyng Eloquent oracions made by Thomas Pannell» was entered in the *Stationers' Register*¹, and it has hitherto been supposed that a book with a similar title — *The Treasurie of Amadis of Fraunce* — and with all the appearances of a first edition, printed by Henry Bynneman for Thomas Hacket, was published in 1568. Although Hacket did not date this book, he gave on the titlepage his address, which differs

¹ The popular title by which the register of the London Company of Stationers, or booksellers, is known.

from that found in his known books of 1568. His next surviving books are dated 1573, and they are issued from the same address as *The Treasurie of Amadis of Fraunce*. Unfortunately we do not know in what year he changed his address, so that the titlepage does not give us the clue we might have expected as to the date of *The Treasurie*. We have, however, other evidence that it must have been published some years later than has been supposed. The English *Treasurie* is translated out of French, as the title-page states. By 1556 the French *Amadis*, which ultimately ran to twenty-four books, consisted of half that number. These, especially the first eight of them, translated by Nicolas de Herberay, were regarded as models of French prose, and in 1559 an anonymous editor published in Paris *Le thresor des douze livres d'Amadis de Gaule*, containing «epistles, complaints, harangues, discourses, cartels and challenges» taken from the books published up to that time. The extracts were as much in demand as the story itself, and the *Trésor* ran through many editions, extracts from later books of the series being added after they became available in French. It was from one of the enlarged editions that Thomas Paynel made his English version, for he included, no doubt before his publisher had time to stop him, a single chapter from the thirteenth book. Now the French translation of the thirteenth book first appeared in Paris in 1571, and extracts from it were printed in the Lyons edition of the *Trésor* of the same year. Evidently Paynel's translation was made and printed after that date, unless the *Treasurie* which has come down to us is a second edition, with a supplementary chapter from the thirteenth book added. This does not seem likely, and it is probable that *Amadis of Gaul* first appeared in English roughly ten years, instead of five, after its rival *La Diana*.

The attempt to date *The Treasurie* has taken us far beyond the limits of the Portuguese *Amadis*, which must have corresponded to the first three or four books only of the existing Spanish version. We may conveniently deal with all four books here.

The first book of the English *Amadis* was entered in the *Stationers' Register* under the date 15 Jan. 1588/9. By this time, as we have seen, *La Diana* had been translated, but the translation was not printed till about ten years after this date. The honour of being the first of the two to appear in full dress in English belongs therefore to *Amadis*. Book I was translated by Anthony Munday from Nicolas de Herberay's French version, but we do not know precisely when it was published, for only two copies are known to have survived, and both of them lack the title-page. It may well have been

issued before books II-V were entered in the *Stationers' Register* under the date 10 April 1592. It certainly appeared before 1595, when book II, translated by Lazarus Pyott, was published. Books III and IV, although entered in the *Stationers' Register* in 1592, had to wait, it would seem, over a quarter of a century before they were printed. In 1618 Anthony Munday published a translation of both books, each with a separate titlepage. Next year he reprinted the existing books I and II, each with a separate titlepage, the first one being a general titlepage enabling the first four books to be sold together. Anthony Munday now states that he translated each of the four books. But the text of the second book is that of Lazarus Pyott's translation of 1595. It has therefore been assumed that Lazarus Pyott is a pseudonym of Munday's, and the assumption has involved the attribution to Munday of *The Orator*, also translated by Lazarus Pyott, from the French of Alexandre Sylvain, and printed in 1596, the year after the *Amadis*. The assumption is based on nothing more than a desire to acquit Munday of a charge of theft, and it can only be maintained by ignoring some very plain evidence that Pyott and Munday are different persons. Pyott tells us in both his books that he is a beginner, whereas we know that Munday was an old hand by 1595/6. Pyott's statement must be taken at its face value, since it is made in the dedicatory epistles — the second of his two books is addressed to a prominent nobleman of the time. Moreover it can easily be tested by comparing his work with Munday's, or still better, by comparing the translations of both men with the originals they used. Even a superficial comparison shows that two different people have been at work. Pyott's translations are just the conscientious work we should expect of a beginner. Munday's translations are of the careless slapdash kind we should expect of a practised scribbler — with a hazy knowledge of French, as it appears. It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the comparison, for recently some already convincing external evidence has acquired overwhelming force, and rendered all further argument superfluous.

Some allusive verses in the 1619 edition of Munday's translation of the third part of *Primaleon of Greece*, which have long been known, make it clear that Lazarus Pyott had at some time or other adversely criticised Munday's work, comparing it unfavourably with his own; yet misguided attempts have been made to explain away even these verses on the basis of Pyott's identity with Munday. A recently recovered fragment of the 1596 edition of the second part of *Primaleon of Greece*, which was formerly at Britwell Court, contains these verses, together with a much more direct attack on Pyott

in prose, answering the mild criticism which Pyott in his preface had directed against Munday's translation of the first book of *Amadis*. It is no longer possible even for Munday's most stubborn admirers to deny the separate existence of Lazarus Pyott. Henceforth Anthony Munday must not be confused with Pyott, whose translation of the second book of *Amadis* he stole in 1619, by which time the translator was no doubt safely dead and buried.

The other two works belonging to this literary group need not detain us long, although they too, and especially the first, are (or were) problem books. The third item in the group is the romance of *Palmerin of England*, which Cervantes would have treated with the same reverent care as the *Works of Homer*; for *Palmerin of England*, though a late comer into the field, was the most famous member of the Spanish *Palmerin* family of romances — the series which grew up during the sixteenth century in rivalry with the *Amadis* series. As with *Amadis of Gaul*, so with *Palmerin of England*: the earliest form in which we know this latter romance is a Spanish version in two parts, published in 1547-48. The Spanish version long passed as the original, from which the existing Portuguese edition of 1567 was supposed to be derived; but it has been conclusively proved that the Spanish version was taken from a lost earlier edition of the Portuguese text, which is the work of Francisco de Moraes.

From the Spanish version Jacques Vincent made a French translation, which was in two parts like the original, and was published in 1552-53. From this Anthony Munday made an English translation, also in two parts. When the English parts were published we cannot say, for no copy of either is known to have survived; but the romance was licensed on 13 Feb. 1580/1, and both parts were issued before Munday's version of the Spanish romance *Palmerin de Oliva*, the founder of the *Palmerin* series, which was in print by the beginning of 1589. *Palmerin of England*, therefore, preceded *Amadis of Gaul* in England, and doubtless for that reason it was more popular; and because it was more popular it suffered more from wear and tear. The first edition, as I have said, has not survived. A reprint of 1596 is known only from imperfect copies of both parts in the British Museum. Another reprint of 1609 is known only from a copy of the first part in a private library, though presumably it consisted of both parts. Further reprints of 1616 and 1639 are better represented, though the British Museum still lacks one of the parts.

Between his *Palmerin of England* and his *Amadis of Gaul*, both of uncertain date, Anthony Munday brought out an independent ro-

manance of chivalry, *Palladine of England*. This is an abridged version of Claude Colet's *L'Histoire Palladienne*, which appeared in Paris in 1555. Colet's story, in its turn, is a generously padded version of the first part of the Spanish romance *Don Florando de Inglaterra*, dealing with this hero's father Paladiano. And as *Don Florando de Inglaterra* is the work of an anonymous Portuguese author, published in Lisbon in 1545, *Palladine of England* is the fourth, and last, item in the present group.

The three groups already dealt with exhaust most of the available material. There remain a few works of miscellaneous character. The first is a medical treatise called *The Treasury of Health*, of which two undated editions were printed by William Copland about the middle of the sixteenth century. The same printer issued a dated edition from a different address in 1558, while there was a further reprint by Thomas East in 1585. The book is described as containing many profitable medicines gathered out of Hippocrates, Galen and Avicenna, by one Petrus Hispanus, and translated into English by Humphrey Lloyd, who, we are told, added «the causes and signs of every disease», as well as supplementary matters. Petrus Hispanus, afterwards Pope John XXI, was born in Lisbon early in the thirteenth century, so that he is of sufficiently late date to be classed as a Portuguese, in spite of the name by which he was known in the Middle Ages. His *Thesaurus pauperum*, a book of medical recipes and remedies which was printed both in Latin and in Italian during the fifteenth century, was the basis of the English *Treasury of Health*, though the sections on causes and signs added for each disease by Humphrey Lloyd tend to obscure the translated portion in the much greater bulk of the English book.

A few years after the publication of the *Treasury of Health* there appeared in London, in 1562, a translation of an early chess-manual under the title *The Pleasaunt and wittie Playe of the Cheasts renewed... Lately translated out of Italian into French, and now set furth in Englishe by James Rowbothum*. Rowbothum, the publisher, is usually given as the translator on the basis of this titlepage statement; but he himself tells us, in the dedicatory epistle which he prefixes to this work, that he «found it translated out of French into Englishe after the forme and manner in all poyntes as it is here printed». The English translator, whoever he was, made no use of the Italian version of the work. The work itself we owe to Damião de Odemira—Damiano portuguese in the text—the earliest known form being the Italian edition printed in Rome in 1512 with the title *Questo libro e da imparare giocare a scachi et de le partite*. The

English translation was made from Claude Gruget's French version, then recently published. Gruget however only translated the matter contained in the first three of the fifteen quires of the Italian book — he omitted the «Sutilitate» which have their explanatory text in Italian and Spanish — and so the English translation too is but a portion of the whole. A new edition came out in 1569, while a still further abridged form of the text appeared in 1597 as part of a book entitled *Ludus Scacchiæ: Chesse-play*. This work is described on the title-page as «Translated out of the Italian into the English tongue. Containing also therein, A pretty and pleasant Poeme of a whole Game played at Chesse. Written by G. B.». In reality it consists of about half the previous English translation from the French, with occasional slight alterations in the wording, together with a translation (here signed W. B.) of Bishop Hieronymo Vida's poem *Scacchiæ ludus*.

In 1589 John Thorius published an English translation of a treatise on government, the character of which is sufficiently explained by its title: *The Counsellor. A treatise of counsels and counsellors of princes, written in Spanish by Bartholomew Phillip*; but although the original was, as Thorius states, written in Spanish, it was the work of a Portuguese, Bartholomeu Felipe, and so it was printed at Coimbra in 1584, and falls to be included in this list.

Recently the British Museum has acquired an apparently unrecorded English translation of the *Primeira parte das chronicas da ordem dos frades menores* of Bishop Marcos da Silva (Fr. Marcos de Lisboa), first printed at Lisbon in 1557, which I place here rather than among the group of historical works above, as being purely religious, and not political history. The translation was made by William Cape and published by John Heigham at St. Omers in 1618 as *The Chronicle and Institution of the Order of the Seraphicall Father S. Francis... The first tome*. The English translation was made from D. Santeul's French version, printed at Paris in 1600; but whereas the two remaining parts of the original work soon appeared in French, only the first part seems ever to have appeared in English.

Another work which at any rate professes to be translated from the Spanish must be mentioned here. In 1619 King Philip III of Spain made a state entry into Lisbon, and the English merchants there took part in welcoming him. Of the various pamphlets produced on that occasion describing the decorations and ceremonies, one was translated into English and published in the year of the event as *The Triumphant and Sumptuous Arch erected by the Company of English Marchants residing in Lisbon, vpon the Spanish Kings*

entry made thereinto. This pamphlet is described on the titlepage as «Faithfully translated out of the Spanish originall»; but I know of no copy, printed or in manuscript, in that language. A Portuguese edition, however, is mentioned by J. Alende y Mira in his *Relaciones de solemnidades y fiestas públicas de España* (Madrid, 1903, n.º 717), and we may perhaps assume that, as the celebrations were in Lisbon, the Portuguese text was the original from which the English derives, directly or indirectly.

This is the last of the miscellaneous items ¹, and concludes the list of the English translations from the Portuguese made before 1640 which are known to me. The number of these translations is not great: including the doubtful works dealt with above, there are some forty in all, about half of which relate to Portuguese voyages and travels. Rather more than half the remainder are concerned with historical events; the rest are equally divided between literary and miscellaneous works. Compared with the English translations from the Spanish made during the same period, the total is small, but it is not disproportionately small, if the relative size of Spain and Portugal is taken into account. Spain too was nearer to England than was Portugal. The sea was an effective barrier between fairly distant countries, when voyages were longer and more uncertain than they are now; and overland, Portugal was one frontier further removed from England than Spain, politically during the first half of our period, linguistically during the whole period. This is reflected in the small number of translations of Portuguese works made from the Portuguese itself. It would be idle therefore to pretend that these translations were due to any general knowledge of the Portuguese language or any intrinsic interest in Portuguese affairs in England at this time. Portugal has all the more reason to be proud of the extent to which her various activities, especially on the sea and in distant lands, forced themselves on the attention of the English. We ourselves may take some credit for the fact that our ancestors recognised merit where they found it, while they were creating a literature with an undying reputation of its own.

London.

¹ A work quoted by Lowndes as «A most fragrant Flower; or, devoute Exposition of the Lordes Prayer. Translated by J. G., 1598», is stated by Mr. Underhill, *op. cit.*, to be taken from pt. 3 of Luis de Granada's *Compendio de doctrina christiã*. Although the *Compendio* was first printed in Portuguese at Lisbon in 1559 — Luis de Granada being resident in that capital at the time — it really belongs to Spanish bibliography, for which reason I have not considered it above. I know of no separate English work with the title given by Lowndes.

