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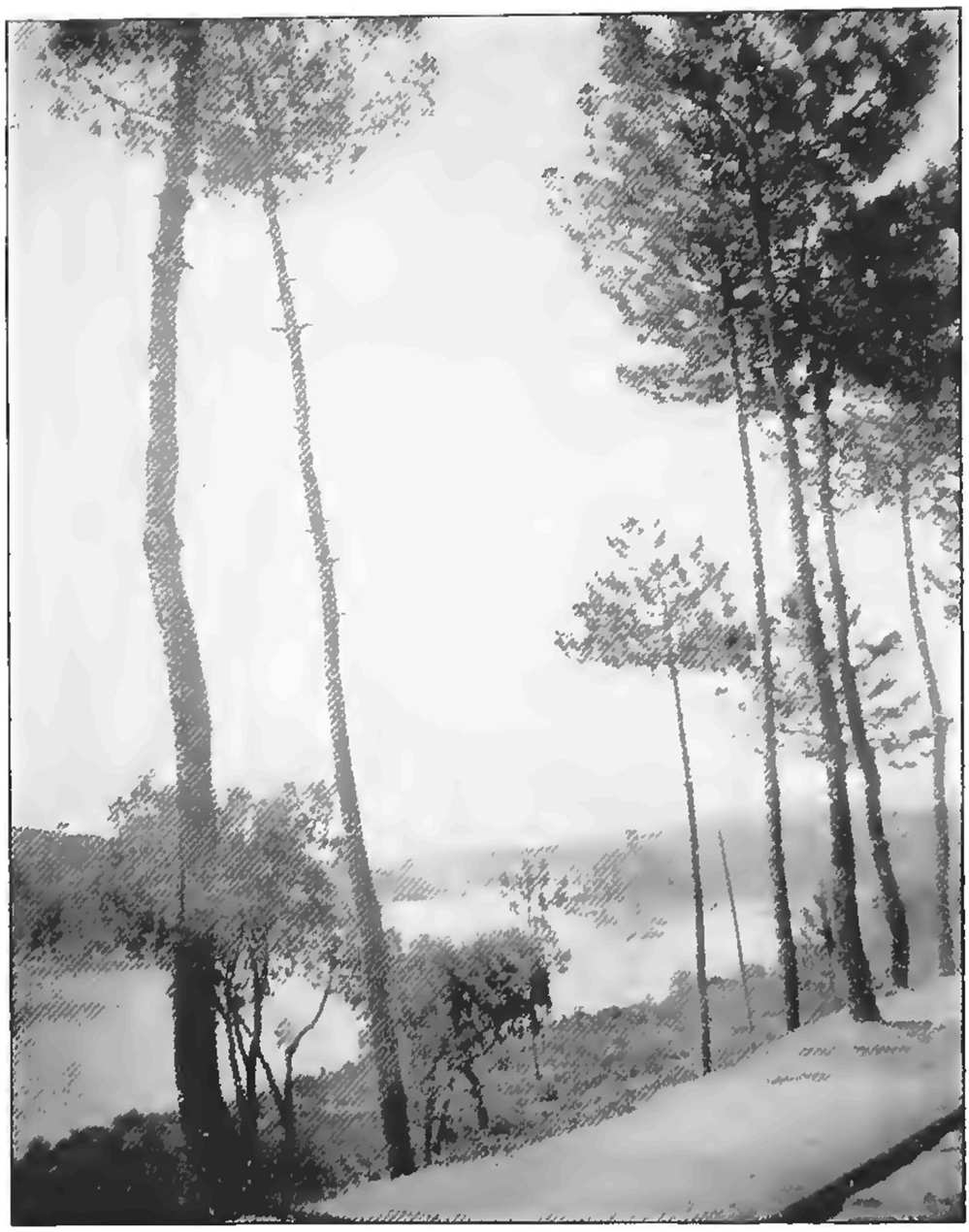
PALMERIN OF ENGLAND



THE CASTLE OF ALMOUROL
From Tancos, looking down stream.

Palmerin of England

Some Remarks on this Romance and on the Controversy concerning its Authorship

By

William Edward Purser

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PREFACE.

An endeavour has been made to bring together in this volume all that is necessary for a proper understanding and intelligent decision of the controversy concerning the origin of *Palmerin of England*. The arguments of both parties are given and examined, and new ones are urged; all the essential documentary evidence is supplied in full; and the results of my original enquiries are added. This seems the only sound method of procedure. If it had been adopted by earlier writers, the question would not still be in dispute now, nearly one hundred and twenty years after it was first mooted. The course followed has, however, one drawback—it cannot be successfully carried out in a few pages. As some who are not prepared to read a large volume may wish to know the conclusions reached, an epitome is given at the end of each of the Chapters II. to IX., while the whole case is summed up in Chapter X. To my mind, however, such generalizations are much less convincing than the details on which they are founded.

For the same reason it seems well to bring together here my views, dispersed through various passages of this treatise, as to the origin of both versions of our romance. Up to this no one seems to have formulated a clear and consistent solution of the problem. It must be understood that, though the essential point —the Portuguese origin of *Palmerin*—is proved by

several converging lines of evidence, some minor links of the following theory are not capable of demonstration :—

Palmerin of England was originally composed, in Portuguese, by Francisco de Moraes. He wrote about one quarter of the book before going to France, and the rest in that country. He had his work privately printed abroad. The edition consisted of a very limited number of copies, perhaps of only one. On his return to Portugal, he wrote the Dedication, and with it presented the romance to D. Maria. Some Portuguese connected with the court—not improbably the author of *D. Florando de Inglaterra*—obtained possession of a copy and translated it into Spanish. At that time the Ferrers were connected with a printing and publishing firm in Toledo. Miguel Ferrer was a foolish, half-educated journeyman printer, fired with ambition to pose as an author. He knew nothing of the Portuguese story. He obtained, no doubt for a consideration, directly or indirectly, from the translator, as an original work of the latter, the Spanish version, to do with as he pleased. This he proceeded to alter and mutilate, and on the strength of this mischievous revision had it published as his own composition. Luis Hurtado was then a young lad starting on his career of author, and who had had dealings with the Ferrers. To him Miguel applied for some laudatory verses to prefix to his book. Hurtado supplied them in the form of an acrostic, in which he

speaks of himself as author, but not necessarily as author of the book. When Ferrer got the panegyric, he published it as his own. Beyond supplying the four stanzas Luis Hurtado had no connection with the Spanish *Palmerin*.

Though this work occupies itself largely with the labours of my predecessors, the greater and more important portion of it is entirely original. Of this new matter a few particulars may be mentioned here.

Chapter VIII., giving the result of a comparison of the Spanish and Portuguese versions, is practically all new.

Nearly the same may be said of Chapter V., in which Torsi and many other personages in the episode of the four French ladies are identified.

The explanation of what Cervantes meant when he stated that *Palmerin* was said to have been composed by a sagacious king of Portugal has, as far as I am aware, not before appeared. It removes a terrible stumbling-block from the path of the adherents of Moraes. In this chapter, too, it is pointed out that there was a special reason why, if Hurtado had been the author, Cervantes should have known of this fact.

Ferrer's Prologues and the Acrostic had been so fully considered by Benjumea that little remained to do. But a suggestion is made as to where Ferrer got the names he gave to his patrons, who, there is reason to believe, had no existence except in his imagination.

In Chapter IV., the Portuguese case is greatly strengthened by fresh arguments, based on the description of the Tagus and of part of the south-west coast of Ireland.

It is hoped that Appendix XII. will prove useful to students of the literature of chivalry. And here I may say, that one of the greatest boons a competent scholar could confer on such students would be a revised edition of the *Discurso Preliminar* of Vol. XL. of the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*. It is a pity that a recognised text-book should be so very inaccurate, and, consequently, misleading.

A few remarks concerning the literary form of this book seem needed. The Portuguese edition of *Palmeirim* which I have used is that of 1852. References giving only the volume and page are always to be held to apply to it, unless the context shows that some other work is meant. Readers who have only the edition of 1786 will find Appendix XIII. helpful.

As regards the forms *Palmeirim* and *Palmerin*, the general principle adopted was to use the first when the reference was to the Portuguese version, and the latter in other cases. But it is not improbable that exceptions will be found.

Occasionally repetitions have been preferred to cross references.

Only translations in inverted commas are to be considered exact renderings of the original. Here

more attention has been paid to being literal than to writing idiomatic English. In other cases nothing is intended but a paraphrase giving the correct sense of the passage.

Unless otherwise stated, quotations are given just as they stand, with all their mistakes. But occasionally evident misprints have been corrected.

It will be noticed that references are unusually numerous. I have suffered so much from the parsimony in this matter of most of my predecessors, that I resolved my successors should not have the same cause of complaint against me. Moreover, giving one's authorities is a great check on inaccuracy. Most of us cannot avoid mistakes, and it is well to adopt any plan that will seriously reduce their number.

On account of the great difficulty of getting many of the works connected with the controversy—especially the Spanish *Palmerin*—I have gone into more detail, and noticed more freely apparently unimportant matters, than I should otherwise have thought necessary.

Some may think that I have spoken too highly of *Palmeirim de Inglaterra.* I might reply in the words of Southey in the analogous case of *Amadis of Gaul:* "The reader will pass rapidly where I have lingered and loitered; he who drives post through a country sees not the same beauties as the foot-traveller. But the merit of the work is not now to be ascertained,

the verdict of ages has decided that." No apology, however, is needed for admiring a tale eulogized by Cervantes, and a favourite of Keats. The ungrateful task of pointing out its defects may be left to others. But as this is probably the last occasion I shall have of making a confession of literary faith, I feel bound to say that, if the world had to choose between losing *Amadis of Gaul* or *Palmerin of England*, my vote would be given for retaining the former.

It is usual for the author to return thanks at the end of his Preface to those who have assisted him. I wish first to express my obligation to my predecessors, Mendes and Benjumea, on whose foundations we later workers have partly built, and whose claims to recognition are in danger of being overlooked. My thanks are especially due to the Rev. Thos. J. Pulvertaft, who has repeatedly procured for me information from Spain and Portugal which otherwise I could have got only by revisiting those countries, and who supplied the photograph of part of a letter of Moraes, a reproduction of which will be found facing p. 464. I have also to thank Sr. D. Angel Cabrera, of the Museo de Historia Natural, Madrid, for collating numerous passages in the 1852 edition of *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* with the corresponding ones of that of 1567, and for making the transcript, of which a modernized version is given in Appendix XI.

January, 1904.

CHAPTER I.

THE BOOK. THE QUESTION. THE AUTHORS. THE CONTROVERSIALISTS.

1. Romances of Chivalry, p. 1—2. The Amadises, p. 4—3. The Palmerins, p. 5—4. Their origin, p. 6—5. Palmerin of England. The Plot. Part I., p. 7—6. Part II., p. 9—7. Cont., p. 10—8. Cont., p. 11—9. Cont., p. 13—10. Cont., p. 14—11. Cont., p. 15—12. Cont., p. 16—13. Amadis and Palmerin compared, p. 19—14. The style of Palmeirim (Portuguese), p. 21—15. Some characteristics of Palmeirim, p. 23—16. Its chief merits, p. 24—17. Various editions, Portuguese, Spanish, French, English, Italian, p. 25—18. Continuations, p. 27—19. THE CONTROVERSY. Portuguese origin first doubted in 1786, p. 27—20. Views of Pellicer and Southey, p. 29—21. Salvá. Discovery of the Spanish edition and the acrostic, p. 30—22. Clemencin's views, p. 34—23. Gayangos, Spanish champion. His "Discurso Preliminar," 1857, p. 35—24. Mendes, Portuguese champion. His "Opusculo," 1860, p. 35—25. Reply of Gayangos in the "Revista Española," 1862, p. 36—26. Diaz de Benjumea, Portuguese champion. His "Discurso," 1876, p. 36—27. Spanish cause still triumphant, p. 37—28. THE AUTHORS. Francisco de Moraes, p. 39—29. Miguel Ferrer, p. 42—30. Luis Hurtado, p. 45—31. His works, p. 47—32. Praised, p. 53—33. Forgotten and depreciated, p. 54—34. THE CONTROVERSIALISTS. Salvá, p. 57—35. Mendes, p. 57—36. Diaz de Benjumea, p. 58—37. Gayangos. His slight knowledge of Palmerin, p. 60—38. The Editor of 1786, p. 64.

1. The sixteenth century was the golden age in the Spanish peninsula for the Romances of Chivalry. The passion for this form of literature became a regular craze. Learned, and pious men inveighed against these pernicious books, the exportation of which to the Spanish colonies was forbidden, as was also the

possession or perusal of them in those countries.[1] But all in vain. Those who were for were more than those who were against. There was a great demand, and a corresponding supply. But by the middle of the century the demand began to slacken, and the new romances published afterwards were comparatively few in number. Nor is this to be wondered at. The age of chivalry was long past. The literature connected with it offered little variety. Another, with wider and more diversified interests, and represented by writers of the first rank, was ready to take its place. It was natural that men should let the dead past bury its dead, and turn to the living present. And so romances of chivalry went out of fashion, and when Cervantes published *Don Quixote* he found the public ready to burn that to which it had a short time before bowed down. He may possibly have hastened the extinction of these romances; it would certainly have taken place without his help. *Don Quixote* did, however, give them a bad name among the general public, and this has clung to them ever since. To most people one of these stories is a farrago of nonsense, a sort of long-winded pretentious version of Jack the Giant Killer. This is because they get their notions about these books from critics and commentators who have never read the works they criticise or describe. Nothing is simpler than to turn

[1] El Emperador D. Carlos y el Principe Gobernador en Valladolid á 29 de Septiembre de 1543.

Porque de llevarse á las Indias libros de Romance, que traten de materias profanas y fabulosas y historias fingidas se siguen muchas inconvenientes: Mandamos á los Vireyes, Audiencias y Gobernadores, que no los consientan imprimir, vender, tener ni llevar á sus distritos, y provean que ningun Español ni Indio los lea. *Recopilacion de leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, Vol. 1., Bk. 1., Tit: 24, Law iiii., p. 214 (Ed. 1791).

one of these tales into ridicule. Chaucer, who gives us in the beautiful *Knightes Tale* and the *Squieres Tale* what might be extracts from a romance of chivalry, does so in *Sir Thopas*. There is much justice in the indignant outburst of Diego Gracian against the authors of these stories: "Well, what would he (*sc.* Alexander) say if he saw what these openly and foolishly relate as true (*fingen*) in these their books, how one person by himself kills twenty, another thirty, another, with six hundred wounds and left for dead, gets up immediately, and next day, being well again and having recovered his strength, challenges and kills two giants, and afterwards goes off loaded with gold and silver and pearls more than a ship could carry."[1] But to condemn these romances solely on account of similar absurdities is not sound criticism. Adopting this line, we might condemn the *Iliad*. There is a great deal more in such works than these ridiculous exaggerations. In the best of them we have an interesting story told in admirable language, an ingenious plot, characters well drawn, exciting and tragic episodes, and, except in one point, the most excellent moral teaching. The standard which the knights set before themselves is exceedingly high, too high, indeed, to be attained except in a romance. Courtesy, truth, courage, piety, and a never-failing spirit of self-sacrifice are the characteristics of the personages who are not depicted as reprobates. The educational value of the romances of chivalry ought to have been very great. In one respect, it is true, they leave much to be desired. With rare exceptions, such as *Las Sergas de Esplandian*, they are

[1] Prologue to the *Morales de Plutarco*. Alcalá de Henares. 1548.

disfigured by licentious passages. The authors gave a true picture of their age, which was a licentious one, and which was less anxious to conceal its vices than is ours. But the numerous class of readers who nowadays accept with complacency the abominable filth of the modern French and Italian schools of fiction will find the immorality of the romances of chivalry very flat and insipid, and has, certainly, no right to throw the first stone at them. Of course, it is not meant that all these romances are good. On the contrary, as with our novels, the great majority of them are said to be worthless. Let them be condemned, but let not the good suffer on their account. This was how Cervantes proceeded, who in his Prologue to *Don Quixote* tells us his object in writing that work was to deprive books of chivalry of their credit. He passed a considerable number of them in review, sentenced the bad to the flames, and directed the good to be preserved.[1]

2. Among those saved from the *auto-da-fe* were the two romances which stand pre-eminent in excellence among their fellows—*Amadis of Gaul*, and the subject of the present monograph—*Palmerin of England*. Both belong to what Don Pascual de Gayangos calls the Greek-Asiatic Cycle[2] because the heroes are mostly emperors of Constantinople or kings of neighbouring states, and the adventures take place mostly in Asiatic countries, though these reasons are applicable in only a very modified form to *Amadis of Gaul* itself. The Cycle is subdivided into two branches, the Amadises and the Palmerins. The former records the

[1] *Don Quixote*, I., Chap. 6. In Chapter 47 this class of literature is again criticized.

[2] *Discurso Preliminar*. *Bib de Aut. Esp.*, XL., p. xxi.

wondrous feats of arms of Amadis, son of Perion, king of Gaul (Wales), and his descendants, and includes an intolerable number of continuations of the original work.[1] The authorship of this is in dispute. In its present form *Amadis* was written in the last half of the fifteenth and published early in the following century. But the first three books existed in a collected form, now lost, long before that. I cannot express any decided opinion as to whether this original was in Spanish or Portuguese, and am inclined *ad interim* to accept the views of Fitzmaurice-Kelly that "the probability is that the lost original was written in Portuguese by Joham de Lobeira (1261-1325) . . . the story . . . in the first instance, derives from France."

3. In the Palmerins are related the marvellous exploits and love affairs of Palmerin de Oliva, emperor of Constantinople, and his descendants. This great monarch was so called because, when an infant, he was exposed "among the palms and olive-trees."[3] This branch consists of eight books, each called after its principal hero. The first is that of Palmerin de Oliva. The second is that of Primaleon, son of Palmerin. Another son of Palmerin, by the Queen of Tarsis, Polendos (*Italian*, Polendo) gave his name to the third book. The fourth is devoted to Platir, son of Primaleon, while Flortir, son of Platir, has secured immortality in the fifth. A daughter of Palmerin de Oliva, called Flérida,

[1] *Ib.* p. lxvi., *et seq.* Baret, *De L'Amadis de Gaule* (1873), p. 223 *et seq.*

[2] *A History of Spanish Literature*, p. 123.

[3] *Palmerin de Oliva* (Ed. 1540), Chapter IX. (wrongly numbered X.)

married Don Duardos, son of Fadrique, king of Great Britain, and became the mother of Palmerin of England and his brother, Floriano of the Desert, the heroes of the sixth book, *Palmeirim* or *Palmerin de Inglaterra.*[1] This is the romance *Palmerin of England* of which this work treats. The seventh book is called after Dom Duardos II., son of Palmerin of England, and the eighth after Dom Clarisol de Bretanha, son of this Dom Duardos. These last two books profess to be "parts" of *Palmerin of England.* There exist other "parts," or continuations, of this romance, which will be found mentioned in App. III. But here I am following Gayangos as far as possible.[2] *Dom Duardos II.* was published in 1587, and *Dom Clarisol* in 1602. They are among the latest romances of chivalry.

4. It is doubtful whether *Polendo* and *Flortir* were originally Spanish or Italian.[3] There is no dispute concerning the authorship of *Platir* and the last two of the series. *Platir* was written in Spanish, by an unknown author; and the remaining two in Portuguese. *Palmerin de Oliva* and *Primaleon* are generally considered of little merit, indeed the former[4] was condemned by the investigation committee to be burnt till not even the ashes remained, a sentence more easily given than executed. Consequently the contending parties, the Spaniards and Portuguese, show little vigour in pressing their respective claims. Again I do not venture to decide the question. But the

[1] Palmeirim is the Portuguese, Palmerin the Spanish form of the name.

[2] *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., p. xxxix., *et seq.* The substitution of Polendo for Don Polindo will be explained later on.

[3] See App. I. (1) and XII.

[4] It is curious that judgment was not passed on *Primaleon.* Baret is wrong in saying it was consigned to the flames (p. 21).

burden of proof is on the Portuguese, and a heavy burden it will prove. *Primâ facie* Spain seems to have the better title to both works. The case stands very differently as regards *Palmerin of England*. This is a really admirable book, a worthy rival of *Amadis of Gaul*, and naturally the question whether it was composed by a Spaniard or a Portuguese is hotly contested, each nation being anxious to secure this "Palm of England" for its own. The following pages will be devoted to a consideration of this controversy, which has been conducted with much more zeal than knowledge. But as this "prose poem" is little known, it will not be out of place to give here a brief sketch of the plot, before considering the arguments adduced by the disputants.

5. Don Duardos, son of Fadrique, king of England, having married Flérida, daugher of Palmeirim de Oliva,[1] returned home. One day, in her company, he went out into a forest, and there devoted himself to the pleasures of the chase. In pursuit of an enchanted boar he arrived at the castle of the giant Dramusiando, where he was imprisoned by Eutropa, the giant's aunt and a famous magician. Next day Flérida, greatly distressed at the disappearance of her husband, gave birth to two sons, Palmeirim of England and Floriano of the Desert, the heroes of the tale. Scarcely were the boys baptised when a savage, who had been looking on, carried them off intending them as food for his hunting lions. His wife, however, insisted on bringing the children up with her son. Flérida was brought back to London, and news was sent to Constantinople to the loss of D. Duardos. Immediately all the principal

[1] I follow the Portuguese version, which is fuller than the Spanish, and so adopt the Portuguese names.

knights went off in quest of the vanished prince: even elderly kings abandoned their realms to take part in the search, so that "the roads, and highways, and forests were full of knights errant and beautiful damsels who were following this adventure." However, all efforts to deliver the captive were in vain. First, the castle was enchanted, and could be found only when Eutropa pleased, and secondly, when it was found, the rescuer had to fulfil certain conditions which must, without exaggeration, be described as onerous. To begin with, he had to tilt against Don Duardos himself, who was one of the best jousters in Christendom and elsewhere. If the challenger was not defeated, he had at once to engage in mortal combat with the terrible giant Pandaro, and if he overcame him, had, without delay, to meet the still more terrible giant Daliagão of the Dark Cavern; and if fortune still befriended him, he had immediately after to encounter Dramusiando. Now, as this giant was at the time, perhaps, the finest fighting-man in the world, it is obvious that the odds were not in favour of the rescuer. And so the castle gradually became peopled with the knights who had failed in the attempt to deliver Don Duardos. In the meantime Palmeirim and Floriano had grown into boyhood. One day Polendos, son of Palmeirim de Oliva, cruising off the coast, found the elder brother and brought him to Constantinople, where he was set to wait on his cousin Polinarda, the daughter of Primalião (Primaleon), with whom he in due course fell in love, and who is the principal heroine. Shortly after Floriano was taken to London by a knight of the court of Fadrique, and was made over to his mother Flérida to attend on her. It is almost needless to say that in neither case was it known

who the boy was. In process of time Palmeirim and Floriano are armed knights and go in search of Don Duardos. Floriano almost succeeds, but just when it looks as if he were to succumb to Dramusiando, he is carried off in a dark cloud by his half-brother Daliarte, who, besides being a gallant knight, was a mighty enchanter, "che veramente delle magiche frode seppe il gioco." Ultimately Palmeirim attempts the task, and with the help of an enchanted shield given him by the Lady of the Lake of the Three Fairies, is successful. With this the first part of the Portuguese version ends. The second part, which takes up four-fifths of the book, is much more interesting.

6. It describes how after the deliverance of the captives they go to London, where Daliarte declares who Palmeirim and Floriano are. Next, a gay company of knights and ladies make an excursion to the castle of Dramusiando, in the course of which they come to a bridge which a stranger, whose shield bore the picture of a lady of unsurpassed beauty and the legend "Miraguarda," offered to defend against all comers. Many accepted his challenge eagerly, but the unknown champion unhorsed one after the other. Finally Floriano opposed him. The issue was indecisive. Darkness settled down, and both combatants drew off mortified at the result. Palmeirim had been anxious to try his fortune, but Daliarte dissuaded him, and afterwards told him that the challenger was Florendos, brother of Polinarda; Miraguarda was the daughter of a count in Hespanha[1]; her fatal beauty had thrown the whole realm into disorder, till her father placed her in retirement in charge of the giant Almourol,

[1] Included Spain and Portugal, but not Navarre.

who lived in a castle in the Tagus called after him. Here Florendos had seen her, and, of course, had fallen in love with her. She had sent him to England to effect the deliverance of Don Duardos. When he arrived, Palmeirim had already accomplished the task. After the jousting at the bridge Florendos returned to Almourol, and defended a pass against all who dared to gainsay the sovereign merits of Miraguarda. A shield with a picture of her was hung from a tree, and round about were placed the shields of those vanquished by her champion. On his return Florendos changed his name, so that Palmeirim, who in the course of his wanderings came to Almourol, did not recognise him, and a desperate battle took place between the two cousins. Night closed in, and the struggle was still undecided, though Palmeirim was in somewhat better case. Grievously wounded, the combatants retired, resolving as soon as possible to return and "fight to a finish." But Miraguarda was so annoyed at her champion not being victorious that, as soon as he had somewhat recovered, she ordered him to leave the castle, and not to bear arms for a year. With many tears he departed, and became a shepherd. His squire placed his shield and armour below the shield of Miraguarda, and was engaged in piteous lamentations when Palmeirim, healed of his wounds, returned, and greatly grieved when he heard that his antagonist had been Florendos. As he could do nothing to mend matters he left for Constantinople, and shortly afterwards the giant Dramusiando arrived at Almourol, fell in love with Miraguarda, constituted himself her champion, and with great success occupied the post lately held by Florendos.

7. In the meantime Floriano had been captured by

a galley of the Grand Turk and taken to the capital of that potentate, whose daughter Targiana lost her heart to this Don Juan, and, indeed, went further in that direction than was proper. In spite of this, Targiana is the most interesting and lovable female character in the romance. However, in this instance she behaved badly, and the more so as she already had a devoted lover whom she was thus betraying. This was Albayzar, son of the Soldan of Babylon, whom he afterwards succeeded. Before Floriano arrived Targiana had sent Albayzar to the castle of Almourol to win the shield of Miraguarda. When he got there, he found Dramusiando defending it, and a terrible battle took place between these splendid knights. The day closed before either had been victorious. They separated, determined to come back next day and fight it out. During the night Albayzar reflected that the issue was very doubtful, and adopted an easier way of gaining his object. He returned quietly, took the shield, and set off on his way to Constantinople without waiting for Dramusiando. That noble giant, exceedingly wroth at this disgraceful trick, left Almourol, and followed in hot but unsuccessful pursuit. It is but fair to say that this is the only unbecoming act recorded of Albayzar, who was otherwise a brave and gallant knight, though proud and arrogant.

8. On his arrival at Constantinople Albayzar placed the shield of Miraguarda below one with the picture of Targiana, declared he had won it in fair fight, and offered to meet anyone who denied the superlative beauty of his mistress. The knights of the emperor's court in vain accepted his challenge ; he was invariably victorious. While this was happening Targiana and Floriano had got tired of each other, and when a

report reached her of the exploits of Albayzar, she proposed to Floriano to go to Constantinople and see him. Under pretence of paying a visit to her aunt, the Queen of Syria, she obtained permission from the Grand Turk to leave the court, and proceeded to Constantinople with Floriano. This expedition was the cause of the terrible catastrophe which is the culminating point of the romance. On the road Floriano engaged in combat with a knight who turned out to be Palmeirim. During the contest Targiana was carried off by a stranger, but was rescued by a knight in black armour, who was on his way to challenge Albayzar, and was brought by him to Constantinople. Her lover was overjoyed to see her, and felt sure of victory in her presence. It was agreed between him and the stranger that if the latter were overcome he should submit to any decision Targiana might give concerning him, and if he were victorious, Albayzar should return to the castle of Almourol, and in like manner submit to the sentence of Miraguarda. The battle was long, and fierce, and doubtful; but at the end the Black Knight was the victor, and, to the unspeakable joy of the emperor and his court, on his helmet being removed, he was found to be Florendos.

Happy day, and mighty hour,
When our Shepherd, in his power,
Mailed and horsed, with lance and sword,
To his Ancestors restored
Like a reappearing Star,
Like a glory from afar,
First shall head the Flock of War!

Targiana was now received by the emperor with the honour due to her position. While Florendos and Albayzar were recovering from their wounds, Palmei-

rim, Floriano, and Dramusiando arrived. One day a damsel presented herself in the palace with a wondrous vase, and stated that Lionarda, princess of Thrace, was enchanted, and that the spell could only be broken by the knight whom certain changes in the contents of the vase would show to be first in arms and faithful love. The knight so designated, on effecting the disenchantment, would have the right to marry the princess and become king of Thrace, or to give her in marriage to some fit person. Of course Palmeirim was found to be the hero for whom this adventure was reserved. He accomplished it successfully, but as he was devoted to Polinarda he declined Lionarda's hand, and arranged that she should pay a visit to the court of the emperor, when he proposed to marry her to his brother Floriano.

9. But before Palmeirim started on this expedition the first mutterings of the coming storm were heard. A damsel arrived at court accompanied by three ferocious giants, and presented a message from the Soldan of Persia, the Grand Turk, and others, threatening the emperor with war unless he gave Polinarda in marriage to the Soldan, married Florendos to the Soldan's sister, and handed over Floriano, who had by deceit brought Targiana to Constantinople, to the Grand Turk. The emperor refused, and then the three giants challenged his knights. The challenge was promptly accepted by Palmeirim, Floriano, and Dramusiando, who, after a stubborn contest, killed their antagonists. After this Florendos and Albayzar leave for the Castle of Almourol, and Targiana is sent back under escort of Polendos and some hundred princes and knights to the Grand Turk, who treacherously imprisons them, to the great grief of

poor Targiana. When Albayzar appeared before Miraguarda, she ordered him to go to the court of the king of Hespanha, and to stay there till the Grand Turk released his prisoners. This monarch sent an ambassador to the emperor, asking him to send back Albayzar, when he would release Polendos and his companions. The emperor declined, saying that when they had been released, Albayzar should also be set free.

10. About this time a venerable old man came to court and implored the emperor to send Floriano with him to redress a most grievous wrong. The emperor foolishly consented, without inquiry, and the venerable old man departed with Floriano, and after a long and hurried journey arrived at a castle, where they were courteously received by a young lady, a giantess, who said she would let Floriano know next day why he had been summoned. At night one of her maids, showing signs of affection, gave him a ring, and asked him to wear it as a pledge of her love. The ring was enchanted, and as soon as Floriano put it on his finger he fell into a profound sleep, from which he could not wake till the ring was removed. The young giantess was Arlança, daughter of Colambrar, whose sons had been killed by Floriano. The venerable old man was Alfernao, a second-rate magician, who had recommended this plan to Colambrar as the best way of getting Floriano into her power. The following day Floriano was embarked, in order to be brought to the island where Colambrar lived; but a violent storm drove the ship out of its course, and Arlança, thinking the gods were taking vengeance on her for what she was doing, removed the ring, on which Floriano awoke. Finally the storm abated, and he landed with Arlança

and her attendants, not far from Malaga, and meeting various adventures, went to the castle of Almourol, and thence to the court of the king of Hespanha, where he jousted with and overthrew Albayzar. Then passing through Navarre, where he effected the marriage of Arnalta, the queen, with whom he had once had an intrigue, with Dragonalte, he arrived at the court of France. His adventures here form the principal part of the episode of the four French ladies, which will be considered more fully later on (Chapter V.), as it is justly held to furnish a strong argument in favour of the Portuguese origin of the book. Finally he returned in safety to Constantinople, bringing Arlança with him. Meanwhile the Grand Turk had released his prisoners, and Albayzar had gone home, passing through Constantinople, and leaving it with threatening words. His subsequent marriage with Targiana afforded an opportunity for forming a league, in which the Soldan of Persia, the kings of Trebizond, Bithinia, and Caspia, and others joined, the object of which was the destruction of the Imperial City.

11. The emperor Palmeirim had now grown very old, and was anxious before his death to see his grandchildren and the other young people married. For this purpose he invited various kings and princes, with their families, to come to Constantinople. With the king of Hespanha came Miraguarda. The weddings were celebrated with great rejoicings, when Polinarda was married to Palmeirim of England, Lionarda to Floriano, Miraguarda to Florendos, Arlança to Dramusiando, and other ladies to the knights of their choice. Their happiness was not to be of very long duration. The final catastrophe was rapidly approaching. But in the meanwhile a remarkable event

happened. The court was in the country, amusing itself with hawking, when Lionarda was suddenly carried off through the air by two griffins. Floriano went in search of her, and after many months discovered where she lay enchanted, with the help of Daliarte broke the spell, and brought her home. When he arrived at Constantinople he found the city already besieged by the Turks and their allies, under command of Albayzar.

12. The emperor had been warned by Targiana that the hostile fleet was nearly ready to sail, and messages had been sent to the different Christian countries for help. Before this arrived, the Turkish fleet appeared off Constantinople, and attempted a landing. This failed; but the losses of the Christians were so great that it was considered best to remain inside the fortifications till help came, and meanwhile to let the enemy land. When the Turks had disembarked they burnt their fleet, to show their resolution to conquer or to die. Various acts of courtesy now passed between the two hostile forces. The Turkish chiefs were invited to a ball at the palace, and Targiana paid a last and sorrowful visit to the empress and her ladies, whom she was never to meet again. For the succours had arrived, and preparations were being made for a great and decisive battle. So on a beautiful Sunday morning in April Don Duardos led out his forces, and the two armies met with a mighty shock. The night separated them. The grief and consternation in Constantinople were overwhelming. Many of the valiant princes and knights, whose fortunes during so many years we have been following, lay dead on the field, while others, grievously wounded, seemed fated soon to bear them company. Shortly after the great

emperor Palmeirim died. His obsequies were performed with much pomp and genuine sorrow, as was due to such a perfect monarch. When the armies had rested some days, the Christians moved out for the final struggle, all dressed in black, without music or gay devices, at a sad funereal pace. The lugubrious appearance of the enemy, too, spoke of the deadly nature of the previous battle :

S' Africa pianse, Italia non ne rise.

But just as the opposing forces were ready to join, a dense cloud covered Constantinople and the field, so that nothing could be seen. This was caused by Daliarte, whose mystical lore had told him that the battle was to end in the victory of the Turks, the capture of the city, and the death of Primalião, D. Duardos, and the rest of its defenders. To save the princesses and other ladies he caused the cloud, under cover of which he carried them off to the Perilous Isle. When the darkness had passed away, the Christians returned to the city, and were plunged in despair at finding their houses left unto them desolate. During the next three days the women, with the aged and infirm, were removed to the neighbouring fortresses, the walls of Constantinople were pulled down, and then the defenders once more set themselves in array, and the fierce and final battle began. When night descended, it appeared that Daliarte's lore had deceived him, for though but few of the Christians survived, the whole Turkish army had been annihilated. Shortly after the battle Daliarte returned, directed the inhabitants to arrange for the government of the city, as the condition of Primalião and Florendos seemed desperate, and then removed the dead and wounded

chiefs to the Perilous Isle, where the former were buried with due solemnity in the Sepulchre of Princes, and the latter ultimately recovered and returned to their homes. The sons born of the marriages already mentioned were left to be brought up by Daliarte. Brief hints are given of their future careers, the relative merits of the authentic writers and trustworthy chroniclers who treat of these being judiciously examined. Some of the widowed ladies remained permanently in the Perilous Isle, which is now enchanted ; for Daliarte, when he left it, used to enchant it, so that it remained invisible ; and in his old age, having passed over into Ireland, he was slain before he had time to undo the enchantment. It is believed that the island is to-day in the state in which he left it, and it would be well worth seeing, if in our day there were anyone who by his knowledge could disenchant it and see if there are in it the emperor Palmeirim de Oliva, and those princes and knights who were there buried, with the queens and ladies who remained alive accompanying the empress, whom one may envy, for such singular friendship and such famous deeds are worthy of great praise and that they should be greatly envied.[1]

[1] So the edition of 1786 ends; it differs somewhat from that of 1567. Another sketch of the plot of *Palmerin* will be found in Dunlop (*The History of Fiction*, ed. 1816, II., 62). Vol. XVIII. of the *Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque* contains another and much longer account. I cannot say where the writer got many of his statements, and especially his ending of the story. They are not in any version I have seen. He introduces an enchanter, called Le Roux, and a knight, Darinel, said to be the first offspring of Primaleon and Gridonia. A Prince Darinel "yssu du sang de Primaleon de Grèce" is the hero of the *Quatriesme Livre de Primaleon de Grèce* (Lyon, 1583), supposed to be taken from the Italian, by Gabriel Chappuys (Graesse. *Trésor*, V., 114), but, perhaps, an original composition of that author—"pourrait être tout entier de l'imagination de Gabriel Chapuis, qui n'étaitpas brillante."—*Mélanges*, XVI., 210.

13. From this summary, into which an attempt has been made to condense the essential points of a book of about two-thirds the length of *Don Quixote*, it will be seen that the story has a well-marked plot which becomes more interesting the nearer it gets to the end. Dunlop (II., 74) says :—" I know no work of the kind where interest and suspense, with regard to the conclusion, are kept up with greater success." In this he is only following the opinion of Southey (*Palmerin of England*, I., p. xl.). I would go further, and say that no romance of chivalry (of the age) with which I am acquainted approaches, even remotely, *Palmerin of England*, in the skill and success with which the ending is handled. In this respect *Palmerin* is much superior to *Amadis of Gaul*, as we now have it, in which the story is protracted long after it should have been closed. But *Amadis* has merits of its own ; and a comparison of the two works, with a view to deciding which is the superior, would be out of place here, besides being futile, for there is no common standard to which their excellencies and defects can be reduced. The broad difference between the two has been happily expressed by Dunlop in the place above quoted, where he says :—" If in the rival work of Amadis de Gaul there be more fire and animation, in Palmerin there is infinitely more variety, delicacy, and sweetness." But I am not sure that he is right as regards the variety. *Amadis* is certainly muchmore dramaticthan *Palmerin*. This may be due to its being based on poems meant to be recited. In the famous scrutiny, in Chapter VI. of *Don Quixote*, Cervantes praises both works highly, without instituting any definite comparison between the two. From an attentive examination of all he says, it would not appear that he assigned to one a

higher place than to the other. In this it will be well at present to imitate the great master. The moral tone of *Palmerin* is much higher than that of *Amadis*.[1] In the latter, female virtue in the unmarried is practically unknown, at least of no importance. Most of the heroines go astray; Elisena, Oriana, Olinda, Briolanja, the daughter of the Count of Selandia, besides others of lesser note, such as Aldeva, Julianda, Solisa, Brandalisa, and Celinda, may be taken as examples. The general state of things in this respect seems to have been much the same as that we are told exists among the lower agricultural population of Galicia and the north of Portugal.[2] In *Palmerin* the principal heroines behave with the utmost propriety, as do many others. There are too many licentious passages, but misconduct is reprobated. In only one instance is it justified, and here Ariosto seems to have been imitated. Again, in both books there are good and bad knights; but nowhere do the former make their horses trample on a fallen foe,[3] or strike him in the face with the pommel of their swords, as is done in *Amadis* (pp. 40, 42, 52, 267, 271).

[1] Gayangos (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., p. xliv.) contrasts the bashful modesty (*pudorosa modestia*) of *Amadis* with the licentiousness of *Primaleon*. There is nothing to choose between the two books. Flérida was not worse than Oriana. For what can be said in defence of the latter the *Études morales et littéraires, Epopées et romans chevaleresques* of Léon de Monge may be consulted. As regards Gridonia and Sidela, see App. XII. Brantôme (*Les Dames Galantes*, II., 171) says the French ladies were corrupted by "des Amadis de Gaules." If they were, it was not by the real *Amadis*, but by the obscene French paraphrase of des Essarts.

[2] Emilia Pardo Bazán, *De mi Tierra*, p. 128. J. P. Oliveira Martins, *Portugal Contemporaneo*, II., 189.

[3] "And there Sir Breuse overthrew Sir Gawaine, and then he rode over him and overthwart him twenty times, to have destroyed him; and when Sir Tristram saw him do so villainous a deed, he hurled out against him."—*Morte Darthur*, IX., 26.

14. One point the two books have in common—the styles in which they are written are excellent. I use the plural, as the style of *Amadis* is very different from that of *Palmeirim*. The latter work has always been regarded as one of the Portuguese classics,[1] and justly so. Faria y Sousa (1590-1649) writes: "Even in the time of Don Juan II., Don Manuel, and Don Juan III. there was still much rudeness in the language when Francisco de Moraes appeared with his Palmerin of England, who (which ?) at once gave greater brilliancy to our language. (Aun en los años de los Reyes Don Juan II, y Don Manuel y Don Juan III permanecia mucho desto (seems to refer to rudeness in the language) quando aparecieron Francisco de Morales (*sic*) con su Palmeirin de Inglaterra, que subito dió mejor luz á nuestra . . . lengua . . .)"[2] An earlier writer, quoted by Mendes (*Opusculo*, p. 77), Pero de Magalhães Gandavo, in his *Orthographia*[3] (Lisbon, 1590) says: "See the style of . . . Francisco de Moraes . . . and other illustrious men who distinguished themselves so in prose, making known by their rare genius the secret of the gravity and beauty of our Portuguese language. (Vede o estylo da linguagem de . . . Francisco de Moraes e de outros illustres varões, que na prosa tanto se asinalaram descubrindo com seus ingenhos peregrinos o segredo da gravidade e formosura deste nosso portugues.)" Cervantes[4] says: "The language is polished

[1] See Southey, *Palmerin of England*, vol. I., p. xxxvi.; App. I. (2); Herculano, *Opusculos*, vol. III., Tomo I., 17, (ed. 1891.) *A batalha de Ourique*.

[2] *Europa Portuguesa*, vol. III., pt. IV., chap. IX., 381.

[3] Really in a Dialogue between a Portuguese and Spaniard, which follows the *Orthographia*, and in which the Portuguese language is defended.

[4] *Don Quixote*, Ormsby's translation (1885) I., 157. I agree with Southey (*Palmerin of England*, I., xiv.) that Cervantes was referring to the Portuguese version.

and clear, studying and observing the style befitting the speaker with propriety and judgment." Mendes, at p. 56 of his *Opusculo*, remarks: "The harmony of our author's prose is to be noted, the rhythm (*compasso*) of his sentences, the propriety and richness of his terms and phrases, the simplicity joined to force and clearness." Pointing out the defects of Moraes, he says (p. 69): "His style, though generally admirable, is at times slovenly and incorrect . . . his style is fluent and vigorous (*nervoso*), his diction pure and varied; he is full of the most beautiful images, but the abundance of his expressions from time to time degenerates into profusion and prolixity; he repeats the words in the same sentence without precision." In my opinion the style is singularly pleasing. Anyone who really wishes to appreciate *Palmerin* properly must read it in Portuguese. The translations give but a poor idea of what the original really is. We miss in them its easy and natural flow, the harmonious collocation of harmonious words, the nice balancing of the periods, and the general aptness and elegance of the diction. Naturally, in so long a work, uneven passages are found, though the same general style is preserved throughout in a surprising manner. Grammatical mistakes are not uncommon, due at times, no doubt, as Mendes suggests, to the early editions being bad. In places the sense is obscure. But, in spite of these occasional defects, *Palmeirim* must always rank as one of the most brilliant and beautiful examples of Portuguese prose. It is not to be regretted that Moraes wrote in his native tongue. The soft Portuguese was the proper dress for *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, as the more vigorous Castilian was for *Amadís de Gaula*.

15. A critical examination in detail of our romance is not needed here. I can notice only such points as bear on the question of its authorship. Mendes has in various parts of his *Opusculo* (pp. 19, 22, 55, 69) noticed the salient characteristics of the work, and his remarks appear to me to be generally just and appropriate. He is only partially correct when he says (p. 69) that Moraes is not able to touch the tender chord of love, though in this Southey is of the same opinion (*Palmerin of England*, I., p. xxxvii.). It is true that the loves of Palmeirim and Polinarda are rather insipid; but in Paudricia, Floramão and Florendos we are given types of true lovers. It would be strange if Moraes, who was himself a "fond lover" (as shown by his *Desculpa de uns amores*), and had the pen of a ready writer, could not express his own feelings. The fact is that Moraes almost always painted unreturned love, and the reason for this was, probably, that he had just been jilted himself. It is doubtful whether Mendes is right in saying (p. 69) that the strong point of Moraes was his imagination, if by that he means the power of inventing incidents. He does not deny that Moraes borrowed from others (p. 19), even from certain chroniclers mentioned by that author, and who never had any existence except in his fancy. It was not old chronicles, but *Amadis of Gaul*, *Las Sergas*, *Clarimundo*, and other romances that were laid under contribution, and that with little moderation. The conclusion of *Palmeirim*, in which the Perilous Isle is left enchanted, is called by Mendes (p. 26) a touch worthy of the creative imagination of Moraes. But this idea is taken from the penultimate chapter of *Las Sergas*. The siege of Constantinople by the Turkish army is derived

from the same source. In both works we have the battle at the landing, and then the two pitched battles ending in the defeat of the invaders. But how differently is the theme treated! Montalvo leaves us cold and uninterested, while Moraes, by his acquaintance with human nature and "the knowledge of his art," rivets our attention and excites alternately the most varied feelings of joy, confidence, hope, anxiety, passionate grief, terror, and despair. Moraes, in borrowing, was only doing what the other authors of romances did. The main incidents were looked on as common property. Each writer appropriated as many of them as he saw fit; and the great difference between the works was not so much in the raw material as in the way it had been worked up.

16. Before going on to another subject, it may be well to recapitulate briefly the chief merits of the Portuguese version of *Palmerin*. The first is the admirable style; the second is the charming tone of genial good nature which prevails throughout. To this one exception must be made. When Moraes had got about one-fourth of the way through the book, he was "cross'd in hopeless love," and after that he never missed an opportunity of speaking ill of women. This, however, was merely the ebullition of mortified vanity. He still remained devoted to them (III., 241).[1] His real sentiment was that of the poet:

> Perfida, nec merito, nobis, nec amica merenti,
> Perfida, sed, quamvis perfida, cara tamen!

The third merit is the cleverly managed plot, in which the interest goes on increasing, up to the end, with the

[1] In this passage "seu jugo" has been omitted before "não podiam," in the edition of 1852.

progress of the story; and the fourth, the well-drawn characters. The principal men and women are real personages, not mere dummies; and they are all different. Polinarda, Miraguarda, Lionarda, Targiana, Arnalta, Paudricia, represent as many distinct types. So, too, the emperor Palmeirim, Primalião, Palmeirim of England, Floriano, Florendos, the giant Dramusiando, Albayzar, and Floramão. And, except in the case of Miraguarda and Floramão, no lengthy description of them is given. A few brief indications are scattered here and there through the book, and for anything more the sayings and doings of the personages must suffice.

17. Five editions of the Portuguese version of *Palmerin of England* have appeared, of which four are still in existence, those of 1567, 1592; 1786, and 1852. The fifth has vanished, and we know of it only from the editor of the edition of 1786, who saw it and made use of it. It appears to have been dedicated, in the early part of 1544, to Dona Maria, sister of the king D. João III.[1] A poor Spanish translation, imperfect and badly printed, was issued from the press of Fernando de Santa Catalina in Toledo, in two volumes, the first in 1547, and the second in the following year. As far as is known, this is the only Spanish edition that has ever appeared. From it a free translation was made in French by Jacques Vincent, which was dedicated to Diana of Poitiers. The first book came out in 1552, and the second in 1553. It is distinctly said to be "traduit du Castillan," and examination shows this to be correct.[2] In 1574 a revised

[1] The reasons for these assertions will be found in Chapter II., *infra*.

[2] App. I. (3).

edition was issued. In 1829 M. Eugène Garay de Monglave published in French an abridged translation from the Portuguese. It is of no value. An English translation was made from the French, professedly by Anthony Munday. The date is not known. Here is what Southey says about this production :—" He began it with some care, but he soon resigned the task to others less qualified than himself; for certain it is, that at least three-fourths of the book were translated by one who neither understood French nor English, nor the story which he was translating."[1] Poor English *Palmerin of England !*—a translation by one who understood neither French nor English from a free French translation of a bad and imperfect Spanish translation! Yet there seems to have been some demand for the book, as other editions followed. In 1807 Robert Southey published a version of Munday's work "corrected from the original Portuguese," to which he prefixed an exceedingly valuable Preface, though subsequent discoveries have shown some of his conclusions to be wrong. It is to be regretted that he did not consign Munday to the flames, and translate the whole work *de novo*. His version is usually fairly accurate, but there are omissions, including the whole of the episode of the four French ladies, eleven chapters in all, which, of course, greatly diminishes the value of the work to the student. The style seems rather stiff and affected. It certainly wants the ease and grace of the original Portuguese. The first Italian edition was published in Venice by Francesco Portinaris. It is, undoubtedly, taken from the Spanish, as is said in the title—*Tradotto*

[1] Preface to *Palmerin of England*, p. xlii.

di Spagnolo in lingua Toscana. The first volume appeared in 1553, the second in 1554. The translator seems to have been Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano.[1] Several further editions were issued. No mention is made of any German translation.

18. It was only natural that such a popular romance should be continued. The first to try his hand was the indefatigable Mambrino Roseo with a Third Book, which Melzi[2] thinks was not printed before 1558. Munday translated this into English. The copy of his work in the British Museum is dated 1602. On the whole, it would seem a fairly accurate reproduction, except at the end. The Portuguese continuations, *Dom Duardos Segundo*, by Diogo Fernandez, and *Dom Clarisol de Bretanha*, by Balthasar Gonçalvez Lobato, appeared in Lisbon in 1587 and 1602 respectively. Other continuations in manuscript exist. In App. III. a detailed statement of the various editions and continuations of *Palmerin* will be found.

19. Such is a brief account of this remarkable work. It is now time to consider the still more remarkable controversy that has arisen concerning the authorship of it. I have assumed that it was originally written in Portuguese, by Francisco de Moraes, but this is very far from being the common opinion. Indeed it is held now by a very small minority, though at one time it was generally current. Don Pascual de Gayangos, in the *Discurso Preliminar* to his edition of *Amadís de Gaula* says:—"*Palmerin of England* was generally attributed to the Portuguese Francisco de Moraes, though some are found who make don Juan II. of Portugal,

[1] Quadrio, *Della Storia e della Ragione d'ogni Poesia*, IV., 516.
[2] Melzi (G.), *Bibliografia dei Romanzi e Poemi Cavallereschi d'Italia*, Milano, 1838, p. 323.

or the infante don Luis, the author."[1] Ticknor says: "For a long time it was supposed to have been first written in Portuguese, and was generally attributed to Francisco Moraes."[2] This opinion, probably, existed only in Portugal, and in the other countries no one had any distinct views on the subject. Cervantes, indeed, in the scrutiny states that *Palmerin* was said (*fama*) to have been composed by a sagacious king of Portugal, and Quadrio (IV., 515) is even more precise, for he informs us that "this romance, which is considered the most perfect of antique chivalry, was composed in the Spanish language by a king of Portugal." Still it may be said that the general opinion, so far as any existed, attributed the work to Moraes. The first person to question this view appears to have been, strange to say, a Portuguese—the editor of the Lisbon edition of 1786. For this he wrote a very useful Preface, in which, after some biographical and literary notices of Moraes, he quotes the passages in de Bure, in which the French versions of 1553 and 1574, translated from the Castilian are mentioned, and goes on to say (para. 12): "This notice of Mr. Bure leads us to believe that long before Moraes wrote this book, it existed already in French, as a translation from the Spanish; what Moraes says in his Dedication[4] not being altogether fiction. (Este noticia de Mr. Bure nos leva a crer que muito antes que Moraes escrevesse este livro, o havia já em Francez, como traducção do Hespanhol;

[1] *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., p. xli.

[2] *Hist. of Spanish Literature.* Ed. 1888, I., 248.

[3] *Bibliographie Instructive; Belles Lettres*, II., 175. Suppl. I., 564.

[4] This Dedication will be found in App. V. Moraes nowhere in it says that he translated from the French.

não sendo inteira ficção o que Moraes diz na Dedicatoria)." At that time the Spanish version had been lost, at least none of the critics was aware of the existence of a copy. The editor had then some justification for his remark. The earliest Portuguese edition, of which he knew the date, was that of 1567. The French version, which professed to be taken from the Spanish (Castilian), was of 1552-53. It was not unnatural, then, to think that the book of Moraes was posterior to the French translation. The editor was mistaken, as we know now; but his remark is of great value, as showing his desire to be just, and the absence of any inclination on his part to pervert facts at the dictates of a pseudo patriotism.

20. Pellicer, in his notes to *Don Quixote*, published in 1797, referring to *Palmerin of England*, says the editor of the edition of 1786 "tries to prove (*intenta probar*) not only that the work was written in Portuguese, but that it was written by Francisco de Moraes, who published it in Evora in 1567. However, he himself adds that Mr. Le Bure mentions a French translation made from the Spanish and printed in the year 1553, from which it might be doubted if it was originally composed in the Portuguese language. Cervantes, as a matter of fact (*á la verdad*), does not recognize Francisco Moraes as its author."[1] The "tries to prove" is an entire mistake. The editor of 1786 did not try to prove what Pellicer says, nor anything of the sort. At the beginning of his Preface he follows the common opinion and treats Moraes as the author. He does not write as if there were any dispute about the matter or anything to prove. But towards the end he considers the effect of the passages in de Bure, and deduces from

[1] Pellicer, *Don Quixote*, Ed. 1797, I., 60.

them that the work existed before Moraes wrote his book.

Southey, in the Preface to his edition of *Palmerin*, of 1807, observes : " The Portuguese writers all believe Moraes to have been the author, except the last editor, who finding the earlier dates of the translations in de Bure, admitted them to be conclusive without further thought " (p. xiv.). Southey believed the Portuguese romance to be the original, in spite of its late appearance (p. x.), and that, beyond a doubt, the account Moraes gives of discovering the manuscript implies that the story is his own (p. xi.). As to the earlier dates of the translations, he says the solution of the difficulty is that they were printed before the original. Similar instances have occurred in our own days (p. xi.). He instances *Vathek* and Coleridge's *Wallenstein*. There is no improbability in supposing that he (Moraes) wrote the book in France and delayed publishing it till he returned to his own country, and that in the meantime it was translated (p. xii.). Southey was of opinion that the word " Castilian," used by the French translator, was a blunder for " Spanish," and that " Spanish " might be used generically for all the languages of the peninsula, as " Spain " is for the whole peninsula (p. xiii.). He says : " The Spaniards, however, as far as I am aware, lay no claim to the romance " (p. xiii.), and adds : " There is internal evidence that *Palmerin of England* is the work of a Portuguese, and that that Portuguese is Francisco de Moraes " (p. xv.).

21. So matters remained for nearly twenty years. In 1823 " Ferdinand the Desired " was king of Spain. A

[1] See the Dedication to D. Maria in App. v.

large French army entered the country and re-established the almost absolute power of this monarch, which had been greatly limited by movements more or less revolutionary. A reign of terror succeeded, and many eminent Spaniards had to seek an asylum abroad. Among them was a gentleman of Valencia, Don Vicente Salvá, who came to London, and there opened a library. In 1826 he published a "Catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese Books, with occasional literary and biographical remarks by Vincent Salva, Spanish and Classical Library, 124, Regent-street, London." A second part was published in 1829. In this Catalogue appeared the long-missing Spanish version of *Palmerin of England.* It is thus described in Part I., p 162, after the titles given in Spanish :—

"2 vols. small folio. Black letter. Extremely rare. In the 1st vol. 4 leaves are missing and two are torn : in the 2d two leaves are wanting and three are torn."

And at p. 156 of Part II. :—

"2 vols. small folio. Black Letter. The first volume has the title page beautifully supplied in manuscript. Five leaves are missing and two are torn : in the second vol. two leaves are wanting and three are torn. £14."

Concerning this book Salvá says (Pt. I., p. 163) : "The author of this work is Michael Ferrer, as appears from the dedications of the 1st and 2nd volumes, notwithstanding which Nicholas Antonio does not class him among the Spanish writers, nor had he any knowledge of his being the author of *Palmerin de Inglaterra.* It appears that he knew nothing of this edition, nor of any other of the same work in Spanish."[1]

[1] Nicolas Antonio was born in 1617 and died in 1684 In 1659 he was appointed General Agent of Philip IV. at Rome, where he resided nineteen years. This residence would explain his knowledge of the

In Part II., p. 156-157, he says :—

"Miguel Ferrer, the editor of this work, calls it in the prologues to the two volumes *Este mi pequeño fruto, este mi trabajo*. These and similar expressions of his led me to announce it, in the first part of my catalogue, as the indisputable production of Ferrer.[1] I have, however, been undeceived by my son, who has since discovered that *Palmerin* is the offspring, not of Ferrer, but of Luis Hurtado. The stanzas in the beginning of the first volume will be found to contain an acrostick, which runs thus : *Luis Hurtado autor al lector da salud*. Hurtado was also the author of several other books which afford no reason to doubt of this claim for *Palmerin's* origin. One of them was printed at Toledo in 1577 by Juan Ferrer, probably a brother of Diego Ferrer, who published the *Palmerin de Inglaterra*, and, perhaps, of Miguel Ferrer, the bookseller or publisher, and in all likelihood also a printer. . . . . It would not be easy to assign a reason for the author's wish to conceal his name, since Hurtado most probably was still living when *Palmerin* appeared. Not only the true origin of *Palmerin*, but also the edition of Toledo of 1547 was hitherto wholly unknown. Thus Cervantes in the place which I shall cite presently, attributes the work to one of the kings of Portugal,

Italian editions he mentions. Ticknor, in the edition of 1863, gives twenty years, in that of 1888, eighteen years. In the former, probably, the "Monitum ad Lectorem" of the *Bib. Hisp. Nova* was supposed to be followed, in the latter, para 22 of D. Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar's *Vida de D Nicolas Antonio*, prefixed to the latter's *Censura de Historias Fabulosas* (Valencia, 1742), or the "Prologus" to the *Bib. Hisp. Vetus*, p. xv. Nineteen seems correct.

[1] Salvá's remarks up to this are most valuable, as showing what Ferrer's prologues conveyed to a man who had no reason for twisting them from their natural meaning. The discovery of the acrostic supplied that reason. The prologues are given *in extenso* in App. x.

supposed by some to be John II., according to Faria de Souza. Antonio with many others, and amongst them the editor of the portuguese edition of 1785 (*sic*), ascribes it to Francisco de Moraes. Pellicer, who undertook to disprove his claim in his notes to *Don Quixote*, has not alleged the incontestable proof afforded by the spanish edition of 1547, older by ten (*sic*) years than that of Moraes; indeed he had not the slightest idea of its existence. Southey and Dunlop both give the edition of Lyons of 1553 as the first that appeared, and both assert that the work was originally written in portuguese by Moraes; that they are not aware of it ever having been printed in Spanish, and that the Spaniards do not lay claim to the credit of it.[1] . . . . The limits of a note prevent my saying more. Those who may be desirous of further information on this subject, will find it treated on at large in my remarks *on the Spanish works of Chivalry* in the IVth vol. of the Repertorio Americano, from page 42 to 46."[2] The work referred to in the last sentence was a periodical published in London. Salvá's remarks will be found in the number for August 1827. They are in Spanish, and to the same effect as what he says in the Catalogue. They quote the acrostic, parts of Ferrer's prologues, *Don Quixote*, etc., but contain nothing requiring further notice here, except the following sentence, which is important as showing that even after the discovery of the acrostic Salvá for some time considered that Ferrer claimed to be the author. It was not till later that he

[1] The reader will note the extraordinary oblivion into which the Spanish and, we are told, original version of this remarkable work, *Palmerin*, fell in the alleged land of its birth. Even Antonio, the great bibliographer, a Spaniard himself, born about seventy years after it appeared, knew nothing of it except through the Italian translation, Oblivion as great as it was just!

[2] App. I. (4).

discovered he was only the editor. He says on p. 46: "It is not easy to explain whether the author wished to remain unknown for good reasons, or whether he sold the manuscript to Miguel Ferrer allowing him to pass as author, for Luis Hurtado was most probably still alive when *Palmerin* appeared. (No es facil explicar si el autor quiso ocultarse por buenas razones, o si vendió el manuscrito á Miguel Ferrer, consintiendo que sonase como autor, pues Luis Hurtado debía vivir cuando el *Palmerin* salió á luz)." The manner in which Salvá's son, Don Pedro Salvá y Mallen, discovered the acrostic, and some interesting notices of the Spanish *Palmerin* will be found in Don Pedro's *Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá* (Valencia, 1872, II., p. 86). They need not detain us.

22. In 1833-39 Clemencin brought out his great edition of *Don Quixote*, some years after Salvá's *Catalogues* and the *Repertorio Americano* had been published. Strange to say, he makes no mention of the re-appearance of the Spanish version, nor of the grand acrostic. He says (I., 125 *et seq.*) there was no doubt there had been a Spanish version, and that its loss was a remarkable fact. No one, as far as he knew, pointed out where a copy was to be found. He was of opinion that the work was originally written in Portuguese, but the edition of 1567 was not the original, and that consequently Moraes was not the author, but a mere editor, with the insignia of a plagiarist (reducido á la clase de editor con sus puntas y collar de plagiario), who had done nothing more than introduce some account of his love-affairs in France, as appeared from the remarks of the modern editor in his prologue; a point which could be easily cleared up by comparing the translation of Jacques Vincent with

that of Moraes. Well, a comparison of the two shows that Jacques Vincent's translations does contain an account of these love-affairs, that is the episode of the four French ladies, which is rather awkward for Clemencin and others who deny the authorship of Moraes. It is clear that the commentator's knowledge of the *Palmerin* literature was not up to date. His opinion that there was an earlier Portuguese edition than that of 1567 should be noted.

23. About thirty years after Salvá's discovery, an edition of *Amadís de Gaula* and *Las Sergas de Esplandian* appeared in Vol. XL. of Rivadeneyra's *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. The editor was Don Pascual de Gayangos, who prefixed to these romances a very valuable *Discurso Preliminar* treating of books of chivalry, and also a descriptive catalogue of such as had appeared in Spanish and Portuguese up to the year 1800. In his Prologue, dated January 1857, he tells us that this *Discurso* is formed from "leaves torn from a book which about the year 1840 (por los años de 1840), and to divert myself from more serious and troublesome literary labours I began to write, in London, about the origin and progress of romantic fiction in Spain." On p. xxxix. of this Preliminary Discourse he begins to treat of the *Palmerins*, and on p. xli. notices briefly the authorship of *Palmerin of England*.[1] Relying on the acrostic and Salvá's remarks, he declared the romance to be the work of Luis Hurtado, and that Moraes was only the translator.

24. In 1860 a Brazilian, Senhor Manuel Odorico Mendes, published in Lisbon a Portuguese pamphlet,

[1] It is not clear that he does not give the name of the book incorrectly. There is no *Don* before *Palmerin*.

entitled *Opusculo acerca do Palmeirim de Inglaterra e do seu Autor*, in which he maintained that Moraes was the original composer of the work. He expressed a touching confidence that no one would in future plausibly argue against this writer (ninguem mais disputará plausivelmente contra o nosso Francisco de Moraes). O sancta simplicitas! But, perhaps, he meant by the adverb, "with reason," and not, "with a show of reason."

25. In 1862 the redoubtable Don Pascual de Gayangos was again in the field. In the *Revista Española* of the 15th April and 1st May (Nos. 2 and 3) of that year, he published two articles with the title *Del Palmerin de Inglaterra y de su verdadero Autor*, in which with much plausibility, to his own satisfaction, he refutes the arguments of Mendes, and triumphantly maintains his previous assertion that Hurtado was the original composer. I say with much plausibility, because even the author of the article on Moraes in the Supplement to Innocencio's great Biographical Dictionary (IX., p. 350) says he was not able to get these articles himself; but, according to what a friend wrote to him, the argument of Sr. Gayangos is "vigorous (*nervoso*), conclusive, and esteemed irrefutable." This is not my opinion; nor was it that of the next writer who took part in the controversy.[1]

26. This was Don Nicolás Diaz de Benjumea, a native of Seville. This lively and ingenious author

[1] Watts, in his translation of *Don Quixote* (I., 84, ed. 1895) refers to a pamphlet by Gayangos, bearing this title, and published in 1862. This is not in the National Library at Madrid, nor in the British Museum. At least I failed to get it. I found the *Revista Española* in the former library. From Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* (ed. 1863, vol. III., p. 462), I gather that this pamphlet was a reprint of the articles in the *Revista Española*.

was, like most of those who have studied the romance, filled with admiration for it, and devoted much time and trouble to examining the question of its authorship. The result was a treatise written in Spanish, dedicated to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Lisbon, and published in 1876,[1] in which he supports Mendes, adds fresh arguments of his own in the same sense, demolishes Sr. Gayangos and the ridiculous fetish of the acrostic, shows the Spanish claim is preposterous, and clearly proves that the work was originally written in Portuguese by Francisco de Moraes.

27. In spite of all this the Spanish case still triumphs. In Portugal,[2] indeed, Moraes is considered the author. Mendes has succeeded in converting Innocencio and Varnhagen; and Ferdinand Denis, in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (Vol. XXXVI., *s.v.* Moraes),[3] ranges himself under the banner of the *quinas*. On the other side there are redoubtable champions, as Ticknor, Ormsby, and Watts in English-speaking countries; Braunfels and Graesse in Germany; in France, Brunet, Baret, and Gustave Pawlowski in *La Grande Encyclopédie*; in Italy, Melzi; in Spain, Juan Valera, Barrera y Leirado, Aribau,[4] and not least puissant in arms, the Clorinda of this motley host, Doña Emilia Pardo Bazán. If it is asked how all these writers, concerning whose ability, critical acumen, and good faith it would be wrong to express doubt, have gone so grievously

[1] App. I. (5).

[2] For articles by Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos and Theofilo Braga, with which I became too late acquainted, see App. I. and II.

[3] This article contains several statements about Moraes for which there is no evidence.

[4] See the *Revista Critica* for July and August, 1899. His remarks were written in the very early days of the controversy. Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos very properly adds Ferdinand Wolf and Liebrecht to the German contingent (*Versuch*, p. 2). See App. I. (6).

astray, the answer is simple. The case is an illustration of the old saying about the blind leading the blind. In an evil hour Don Pascual de Gayangos, who knew next to nothing about *Palmerin*, blindly followed Don Vicente Salvá, who was blinded by national partiality and parental pride in the cleverness of Don Pedro. So did Ticknor, who was equally ignorant as regards the origin of the work, and Baret, and Melzi, and others, while some have taken Don Pascual as their guide. But it would be unjust to blame most of them. An adequate enquiry into the origin of *Palmerin* is not the work of everyone, on account of the difficulty of procuring the necessary materials. It involves the expenditure of much time and no little money. And if most people think these can be better spent than in enquiring who was the author of a work no one reads, they are not without justification. And we must trust to others sometimes; and Ticknor and Gayangos certainly seemed deserving of trust.[1] It is probable, too, that many of those who lightly attribute the work to Hurtado never heard of the treatises of Mendes and Benjumea. There are signs, however, of a change. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, in his *History of Spanish Literature* (p. 124), speaks of "Luis Hurtado's (or, perhaps, Francisco de Moraes') *Palmerín de Inglaterra*." We must be grateful to him for the doubt expressed, and hope that in the next edition of his

[1] I have said Ticknor was ignorant about *Palmerin*. He says: "The only question was whether it was originally French or Portuguese." There was no such question. He adds that the Portuguese by Moraes "claimed to be translated from the French." No such claim was made. And that: "In general Moraes . . was thought to have furnished his manuscript to the French translator" (Barbosa, *Bib. Lus.*, Tom. II., p. 209). As far as I am aware, this was a mere hypothesis of Southey. He calls the magician Deliante, instead of Daliarte. *Hist. of Spanish Lit.* (1888), I., pp. 248-249. See App. I. (7).

valuable work he may be able to devote a few lines to the controversy. There are rumours of a new edition of the Spanish *Palmerin*. When it appears the baselessness of the claim made for Hurtado will be clear to all who are willing to see.

28. It appears, then, that for a long time *Palmerin* was attributed to Moraes, and for a brief period to Miguel Ferrer, who was dethroned in favour of Luis Hurtado. A brief account of these writers is essential to a proper decision of the controversy. The birthplace of Francisco de Moraes is not known. He belonged to the family of the Moraes of Castello de Bragança, in the province of Tras-os-Montes. The year of his birth is also unknown, but he is said to have died in 1572; and as he fell desperately in love with a young French lady, called Torsi, about 1540, and in his account of this event[1] tells us that there was a great disproportion between their ages ("a pouca conformidade de idades"), and that he had spent the best years of his youth in the service of love, we may reasonably presume that he was born about the end of the 15th century. His father was Sebastião de Moraes Valcaçar, of the order of Christ, who lived at Lisbon and had an entailed estate at Xabregas, where Queen Catherine erected a palace, buying the site from him. Barbosa says he (Sebastião) was the Grand Treasurer of the kingdom. Francisco's mother was Juliana de Moraes. Nothing is known of his early life. He is first found in Paris, in the suite of D. Francisco de Noronha, the Portuguese ambassador, who had gone there in 1540. D. Francisco, apparently, ceased to fill this post towards

[1] *Desculpa de uns amores*, pp. 43, 39.
[2] *Bib. Lust.*, IV., 138.

the end of 1543 or beginning of 1544, and Moraes seems to have returned about the same time to Portugal. According to Barbosa, Moraes was the author of a Report which would show that he must have been again in France in 1547. But in this matter no reliance can be placed on Barbosa. Moraes was private treasurer to D. João III.[1] He was called Francisco de Moraes Cabral o Palmeirim [2] on account of having written *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*. He was a commander (*commendador*) of the Order of Christ, and took the vows of the order (*profesou*) in 1566. He married Barbara Madeira, daughter of Gil Madeira, and had a large family. Among his children were Vasco de Moraes, commander of the galleys of Mina (Elmina), who perished in the battle of Alcacer (1578), Gonçalo de Moraes, abbot of Santa Valha, and Isabel de Moraes, who married Manoel de Moraes Pimentel, and was the mother of Fr. Diogo de Santa Anna, Austin friar, an important person in the present enquiry. A grand-daughter of Moraes married John Tilly, an English Roman Catholic gentleman. The celebrated Jesuit Balthasar Tellez, or Telles (1595-1675), was their son. John Tilly is said to have fled from the persecution of Queen Elizabeth and to have gone to Flanders, where the Archduke Albert made him comptroller (*vedor*), and afterwards brought him to Lisbon and appointed him consul of the English,

[1] See *infra*, Chapter VI., The "Fama" of Cervantes, para. 11. *Versuch*, p. 20.

[2] Mendes (*Opusculo*, p. 13) says: "When the King D. João III. gave him for himself and his descendants the appellative of *Moraes Palmeirim*." I can find no authority for this statement. All we know is that Moraes was called *the Palmeirim*, and that many of his descendants adopted this distinctive name. *Familias de Portugal*, by Belchior Leitão de Andrade, XIII., p. 964-65.

Scottish, and Irish nations.[1] This Archduke seems to have been the viceroy to whom the edition of 1592 of *Palmeirim* was dedicated. In 1572 Moraes was assassinated at the entrance to the public square in Evora. The reason is not known. Benjumea favours us in this matter with, perhaps, the wildest of his wild suggestions. On p. 51 of his *Discurso* he says: "And, perhaps, the freedom with which he dared to paint the character of Torsi was the cause of his disastrous end at Evora, where the Portuguese court then was, at the hands of some indignant French gentleman." Moraes said nothing about Torsi that would justify any such resentment, let alone some twenty years after *Palmeirim* had appeared in French, and when Torsi was no longer young, and, probably, no longer beautiful. Much more likely is the reason given by Pinto de Mattos,[2] who writes: "In the library of C. Castello Branco there are manuscripts of the XVIIth century which attribute the assassination of Francisco de Moraes to a servant of the house of Bragança, whose family (*prosapia*) the author of *Palmeirim* had offended in the person of Barbadao de Veiros. The insult was contained (*ultraje fôra feito*) in one of the *Dialogues*, which was current in manuscript, and was printed in 1624 very differently from what it

[1] Belchior Leitão de Andrade, XIII., p. 966, 67. Innocencio, I., 328. Barbosa, who did not trouble himself much about explaining contradictions in his *Biblioteca Lusitana*, has confounded in one place (II. 209) Francisco de Moraes Sardinha, son of Doctor Alvaro de Moraes, with our author. At least he makes the said doctor father of the latter. Barhosa also says our Moraes was maternal uncle of Balthasar Tellez, whose mother's name is given (I. 458) as Francisca de Moraes. According to Benjumea (*Discurso*, p. 85), Antonia, daughter of Francisco, was her mother. The existence of two persons of the name of Francisco de Moraes should be noted.

[2] *Manual Biographico Portuguez*, by Rieardo Pinto de Mattos, p. 408.

had been (*era*)." Besides *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, Moraes wrote the *Dialogues* referred to, three in number, and first published in 1624. They will be found reprinted in the editions of *Palmeirim* of 1786 and 1852. The interlocutors are (1) a nobleman (*fidalgo*) and a squire; (2) a knight (*cavalleiro*) and a doctor of laws, and (3) a female huckster and a groom. On the same occasion (in 1624) was printed a letter from Dom Ignacio (de Noronha) to D. João III., drawn up (*notada*) by Moraes. This was probably written in December 1555, (See Chapter II., para. 3). The volume concluded with the *Desculpa de uns amores*, an apology for, or rather an account of his having fallen in love with Torsi. Barbosa attributes also to Moraes the romance of *Primalião*, which was certainly not his, and three Reports (*Relacões*) now missing.[1]

29. Of Miguel Ferrer, the *ad interim* author of *Palmerin*, we know little. He was one of a family of that name found in Toledo, in the middle of the 16th century, engaged in the printing and book trade. The others were Juan and Diogo Ferrer. Haebler thinks the last was uncle of Juan and Miguel, the printer-brothers, and employer of Juan and Santa Catalina. From 1547 on Juan is met with in books; probably he succeeded Fernando de Santa Catalina, who had died in the previous year. First in 1562 does Miguel Ferrer's name appear in place of his brother's, who up to that had usually alone represented the firm, though we know Migue had even then a share in it (*anderselben betheiligt war*). He carried on work till 1568, when he is shown as dead. So far Haebler.

[1] For further notices of Moraes and his works see App. IV.

[2] *Spanische und Portugiesische Bücherzeichen des xv. und xvi. Jahrhunderts*, p. xxvi.

Pérez Pastor gives, among other presses in Toledo, that of

Fernando de Santa Catalina, 1538-48.
Juan Ferrer, 1548-1560.
Miguel Ferrer, 1561-1572.

These dates are those found in the books in which these printers' names occur.[1] He further says that "the brothers Ferrer and Fernando de Santa Catalina showed (*dieron muestras*) their skill and good taste in the various works which they printed in the first half of the 16th century."[2] Gayangos tells us that *Palmerin* began to be printed in 1547 in the establishment of Fernando de Santa Catalina. The first part was printed that year, the second in 1548, the printer who superintended the work (*que la dirigía*) having died in the meantime, as is shown by the note "deceased" in the colophon. There is nothing to show when *Palmerin* began to be printed, or to warrant the expression

[1] *La Imprenta en Toledo*, p. xix. D. Marcelino Gutiérrez del Caño, in the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* for Nov. 1900, p. 671, gives a somewhat different account: Fernando de Santa Catalina, Impresor y librero, 1531-1548; Juan Ferrer, 1548-62; Hermanos Ferrer, ——1552; Miguel Ferrer, 1563-1572.

[2] *Ib.* p. xxi. On pp. 89, 91, *Palmerin of England* is mentioned under the years 1547 and 1548. Pérez Pastor suggests that the shield hanging from a tree on the title-page bears the arms of Alonso Carrillo, to whom Vol. I. is dedicated. This suggestion is not supported by any evidence. The same arms are on the same shield in Vol II. dedicated to Galasso Rotulo. The block afterwards went to Alcalá de Henares. It was used in 1562 for the *Chronica del Cid*, published there by Luys Gutierrez and printed by Sebastian Martinez; and in 1585 it represented Joshua in the *Triumpho de los Nueve*, published in the same place by Luys Mendez and printed by Juan Iñiguez de Lequerica. (See Catalogue of the Heredia sale, III. 3117 and II. 2442.) In the latter instance the shield is missing. This is, perhaps, the fault of the Catalogue. See also Salvá y Mallen, II., No. 1642. It ought to be easy for a Spaniard to find out the arms of the Toledan Carrillos. Pérez Pastor knew of Alonso only through Gayangos.

"meanwhile," as Santa Catalina is shown as deceased in the colophon of both volumes. Gayangos then goes on to say that the publisher (*editor*), or rather dealer in books (*mercader de libros*), according to the phraseology of that time, was Miguel Ferrer, a personage well known in Toledo and elsewhere as having defrayed the cost of printing many and very good books, who died in 1572, exercising the noble art of printing in the said city. Later on he says that certain expressions used by Miguel Ferrer in his prologues, *this little fruit of mine*, *this my labour* (*trabajo*), refer only to the part he had in publishing or printing the book (*á la parte editorial o tipográfica que en ello tuvo*).[1] It is difficult to see what exactly Gayangos means. He would seem to mean, judging from the expressions "mercader de libros" and "having defrayed the cost of printing," that Miguel Ferrer paid the expenses of printing *Palmerin*. That this was not the case is clear from the colophon of the second volume, which shows that it was Diego Ferrer who paid (*A costa de Diego Ferrer mercader de libros*). Gayangos gives Miguel as the *mercader de libros*, the book itself Diego.[2] I think the book the better authority, and prefer the German's dates of the death of Santa Catalina and Miguel Ferrer to those of the Spaniard. Miguel Ferrer, then, was a working printer. From his prologues it is evident that he was an uneducated or half-educated man, who wished to pose as an author, and was quite incapable of writing *Palmerin*, though he was quite able to spoil other men's work. Even the prologues are probably not entirely by him, and I do not hereby refer to the portion known to have been stolen. But they contain

[1] *Revista Española*, p. 83, 84.
[2] See *Versuch*, p. 42, note (1). App. 1. (8).

enough folly to show clearly what Miguel Ferrer was intellectually.

30. Luis Hurtado, whom the Spanish school now put forward as the original composer of our romance, was a native of Toledo. He speaks in his *Memorial* on Toledo, written in 1576,[1] of his old and noble family. In the same work he calls himself "the humble chaplain and servant" of the Ayuntamiento and Senate of Toledo, and twice states he has been twenty-three years in charge of San Vizente ("como hombre q^e^ ha veinte y tres años q^e^ en la Yglesia de San Vizente Martir con proprias obejas ha servido"—"San Vizente un curado con un beneficio Anesso que posioyo —Luis Hurtado de Toledo veinte y tres años.") He is the author of a work called: *Las Trecientas del Triumpho de virtudes en defensa de illustres mugeres.*[2] In this he states that he was writing in 1582, and that for ten lustres the world had harassed him. The exact words are :—

> Despues de la culpa de Adan remediada
> Mil y quinientos sin cuenta notada
> Y dos con ochenta vueltas iguales

And further on :—

> Al tiempo que cuento, el orbe en que vivo
> Me habie trabajado diez lustros de años.[3]

[1] The title of this work is :—"Memorial de algunas cosas notables que tiene la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo." It was addressed to Philip II. There is a copy in the Academia de la Historia, Madrid, which I have consulted (Mark, C. 93). The original was in the Escorial, according to Gayangos (*Rev. Esp.*, p. 194). The work was, apparently, never printed.

[2] The title is given somewhat differently by Salvá y Mallen, I., 508.

[3] *Las Trecientas* (*Trescientas*), with other works of Luis Hurtado, is treated of by D. Antonio Neira de Mosquera in the *Semanario Pintoresco Español* for 1853. It was then, in manuscript, in the University library of Santiago. Also by Gayangos, *Rev. Esp.*, p. 194, Barrera, p. 189, Gallardo, III., col. 249, Salvá y Mallen, I., 508.

Barrera, quoting these lines, says it is clear the author had completed fifty years in 1582; but as in a calculation by lustres we must not be too exact, he might have been fifty-two then, and we fix the date of his birth about 1530.[1] This seems only fair. Gayangos thinks so too, though later on[2] he is of opinion that ten lustres might mean nearly eleven, and so Luis Hurtado might have been born about 1527. In cases like this figures are useless, if we are to hold that ten may mean nearly eleven. In the same volume as *Las Trecientas* is another work by Luis Hurtado, called *El Teatro Pastoril*, in which Gayangos thinks the author is represented by the shepherd Lusardo, who, describing his life, says he was born of noble but not rich parents; that in his youth he followed the profession of arms, later that of his parents, commerce, and that when little more than twenty-two he entered the Church.[3] If, then, he was born in 1530, he would have taken this final step in 1552 or 1553. From his *Memorial* we see that in 1576 he had been in charge of San Vizente some

[1] *Catálogo*, p. 190.

[2] *Rev. Esp.*, pp. 195, 197.

[3] "Yo soy nacido . . . de padres nobles, aunque no encumbrados mayorales. Mis tiernos años fueron empleados en el ejercicio de las armas . . . Volví después al ejercicio de mis padres, de la mercancía; y al fin . . . el Supremo Amor me recibió por sacerdote de su templo poco más de los veintidós años pasados del curso de mi jornada." Gayangos found it difficult to reconcile the jousting with Charles V. in 1538, and the participation in the expedition to Algiers in 1541, mentioned in the same work, with Hurtado's birth in 1530, or even 1527. Lusardo a little further on says: Esta es, amado Lucindo, la narración de mi fortunosa carrera la cual me ha traído á tal edad y estado, que ya se me han caído mis tejas de la cubierta de mi cabeza (el pelo), mellado parte de las piedras de mi molino (dientes) y cubierto de blanca nieve la falda de la más estimada sierra de mi majada (canas)." Is this what Gayangos and Vedia call the "extremely pure and chaste style" of Hurtado? In fatuity and poverty of invention it surpasses the babble of Sir Piercie Shafton. *Rev. Esp.* pp. 196, 197.

twenty-three years, or say, since 1553.[1] These two calculations confirm the opinion that Hurtado was born in 1530. This is always assuming that he obtained the benefice of San Vizente shortly after he embraced the ecclesiastical profession. According to Gayangos he was at first chaplain of the nuns of the Convent of Santo Domingo el Real in Toledo.[2] I have gone into the date of the birth of Hurtado at much length because of its great importance. The printing of the first volume of the Spanish *Palmerin* was completed in July 1547. If Hurtado was born at the very beginning of 1530, he was only seventeen years and a half old at the later date. The printing of the work must have taken some time, and the composition still more. So, if Luis Hurtado is the author, he must have written the book when he was quite a boy. But, say the Portuguese controversialists, *Palmerin* could not have been written by a boy; therefore, Hurtado is not the author. The date of his death is not known, but Gayangos infers he was alive in 1598, as Pedro Rodriguez printed his *Historia de San Joseph*, in octaves, in Toledo, with that date.[3]

31. Besides *Palmerin*, various works have been attributed to Hurtado: a ballad on an incident in the Trojan war, given by Duran at p. 317, vol. x., of the *Bib. de Aut. Españoles*, who says that the author flourished in the first and second half of the sixteenth century. This is, no doubt, the poem said by Gayangos (*Rev. Esp.*, p. 191), to be found in the *Cancionero de Romances*, printed at Antwerp in 1550, and to have

[1] App. I. (9).
[2] *Rev. Esp.*, pp. 191, 196.
[3] *Rev. Esp.*, p. 198. Hurtado must have been alive several years later if Valdivielso was referring to him in the Prologue to the *Vida y Muerte del Patriarca San Josef*. See App. I.

been composed probably before 1547. This ballad is mentioned by Wolf (*Ueber eine Sammlung spanischer Romanzen*, p. 124). He also cites three *Glosses*, to as many other ballads, by Hurtado (xix., p. 8). As far as I am aware, there is no proof that the ballad or glosses are by our Luis Hurtado. I have not been able to get the Antwerp *Cancionero* of 1550, but in that of 1555 the author is described simply as Luys Hurtado, and Duran adds nothing. Now, about this time lived another Luis Hurtado, also a poet, some of whose verses in *tercia rima* may be seen in Diego Gracian's *Morales de Plutarco*. Probably to distinguish these two authors, the latter is called Luys Hurtado "de Madrid," while our Luys Hurtado has "de Toledo" tacked on to his name.[1] It has to be shown that the ballad and glosses are not by the Madrid writer. It is by no means improbable that they are. Hurtado is no uncommon surname among authors, so the authorship of the glosses is still more uncertain than that of the ballad. The next work attributed to Luis Hurtado is also in dispute. This is the *Tragedia Policiana*, an imitation of the *Celestina*. It was published in Toledo, in Nov. 1547,[2] by Diego Lopez, without the author's name. In this edition are found some verses. The initial letters of certain lines of these form the words "El Bacheller Sebastjan Fernandez." On this account Gayangos and Vedia attribute the work to the Bachiller. In March[3] 1548,

[1] There was a third Luys Hurtado, he of Ecija, mentioned by Barrera (p. 191) as taking part in a poetic competition in 1616. Salvá y Mallen (II. No. 3981) mentions Luis Hurtado of Madrid and the *tercetos*.

[2] Gayangos says this was before the first part of *Palmerin* had been completely printed, another mistake on the part of this supposed great authority on that romance.—*Rev. Esp.*, p. 191.

[3] Not May 1548, as said by Gayangos, *loc. cit.*

another edition appeared in Toledo, but from the press of Santa Catalina, containing certain verses under the heading "Luis Hurtado al Lector," which led Wolf (*Ueber eine Sammlung spanischer Romanzen*, p. 125, and *Ein spanisches Frohnleichnamsspiel vom Todtentanz*, pp. 11-13) to award the work to Hurtado. He thought they left hardly a doubt that the writer of them was the composer of the work. This view has been taken by Gayangos in the *Revista Española*, p. 192,[1] and by Barrera in his *Catálogo*, p. 193. But Ticknor (I., 249) thinks there is "some confusion about this Policiana recorded by Barrera (p. 193) and the Policiana of Fernandez minutely described by Gayangos in the translation of this work (Tom. I., pp. 525-528). Indeed the whole account of Hurtado is very strange." Perfectly true: indeed, wherever Hurtado's name appears something strange will probably also appear. Ticknor (I., 282) attributes the work to Fernandez, and so does Menéndez y Pelayo in his introduction (p. lii.) to the Vigo edition of the *Celestina* (1900). I have not been able to get the work, and express no opinion on the question, beyond saying that the verses do not strike me as so conclusive as they did Wolf. However, he is an excellent authority; let us accept his view for the present and proceed.[2] According to Gayangos the reprint of 1548 was probably made without Hurtado's consent.[3] No weight need be attached to this opinion till some reason for it is given. The prologue of the first edition makes great professions of purity, but the Spanish translators of Ticknor (I., 527)

[1] His words are, speaking of the three stanzas and the epigraph "Luis Hurtado al Lector," "de cuyo contexto se deduce haber sido su verdadero autor."

[2] For further remarks on this matter and on Luis Hurtado's works, see App. I.

[3] *Rev. Esp.*, pp. 191, 192.

say the book is equal in obscenity and coarseness to any of the *Celestina* class. The question naturally arises why Luis Hurtado should put his name to this pornographic work and conceal it in *Palmerin,* which was being printed about the same time. Not only does he put his name to it, but he does so by writing verses in which he praises it and himself, and adds them in the second edition, when they had not appeared in the first; and then we are asked to believe that the second edition was published against his will, and that by a firm which was at the same time printing his *Palmerin.* Truly the advocates of Luis Hurtado present us with not a few difficulties—and afford no help in surmounting them.

In 1553 [1] a book was published in Valladolid entitled: "Comedia de Preteo y Tibaldo . . . compuesta por el comendador Peralvarez de Ayllon, agora de nuevo acabada por Luys Hurtado." At the end is added the "Egloga Sylviana del Galardon de Amor." This *Egloga* is not found in the edition of *Preteo y Tibaldo* brought out by Juan Ferrer in January 1553. But it is included in the *Epistolario* of Juan de Segura, published at Alcalá de Henares in 1553. "Asse añadido en esta impression una egloga: en que por subtil estilo el poeta Castellano Luis Hurtado tracta del gualardon y premio de Amor." So, then, Luis Hurtado appears to have completed Peralvarez de Ayllon's *Comedia de Preteo y Tibaldo* and to have composed himself the *Egloga Sylviana.*[2]

In 1557 he published, again through Juan Ferrer, his "Cortes de casto amor: y cortes d'la muerte con

[1] The year is doubtful. See further Salvá y Mallen, I., 507, and Barrera, p. 189.

[2] Salvá y Mallen, I., 506. Pérez Pastor, No. 264. Gayangos y Vedia, II., 527 *et seq.* See also App. I.

algunas obras en metro y prosa; de las que compuso Luis Hurtado de Toledo. . . ." This work was dedicated to Philip II. The book contains the following compositions:—

Cortes de casto amor . . . .
El coloquio de la prueba de leales . . . .
El hospital de galanes enamorados . . . .
El hospital de damas de amor heridas . . . .
El espejo de gentileza para damas y galanes cortesanos . . . .
Ficcion deleitosa y triunfo de amor . . . .
Tres epistolas amorosas contrahechas por Luys Hurtado en sentido spiritual.
Las cortes que hizo la muerte. . . .

The *Cortes de casto amor* is in prose and verse, the rest in verse. In the dedication of the *Cortes de la muerte*, which forms the second part of the book, Hurtado says it was commenced by Michael de Caravajal of Plasencia, and he (Hurtado) finished it (agradando tal estilo yo las proseguí y acabé). This work will be found in Vol. xxxv. of the *Bib. de Aut. Españoles*. The two parts appear to have been dedicated separately.[1] The volume containing *Las Trecientas* includes also the following compositions:—

El teatro pastoril, á la pastora Ismenia dedicado.
El templo de amor, á la misma señora.
El hospital de necios. . . .
La escuela de auisados. A la clara Sophia.
La sponsalia de amor y sabiduria, de quien nacieron agradecimiento y nobleza.

[1] Salvá y Mallen, I., 507, Barrera, p. 189. Pérez Pastor, No. 282. See also App. I. The two *Hospitals* are in dispute.

The last piece was dedicated to D. Luis de Vargas y Manrique, the friend of Cervantes. According to Neira de Mosquera, D. Isabel de Manrique was Ismenia, and Clara Sophia.[1] Hurtado is also said to have made a prose translation of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid.[2]

[1] Barrera, p. 191. *Rev. Esp.* (1862) pp. 198, 199. *Semanario Pintoresco Español* (1853), p. 221, *et seq.*

[2] This is the general opinion. It is, therefore, with much diffidence that I express a doubt whether it is correct. None of the authorities mentions any edition in which Hurtado is said to be the author. Antonio (*Bib. Nov.*, II., 44) has: "edidit versibus vulgaris linguæ: *Las Transformaciones de Ovidio.* Toleti apud Franciscum de Guzman." But Hurtado's version is said to have been in prose. Pellicer y Saforcado (*Ensayo de una Bibliotheca de Traductores Españoles,* II., 22) speaking of Sigler's translation, published in 1580, says that Sigler had forgotten that Hurtado had published many years before a prose version. He calls Bellero's Antwerp edition of 1595 a reprint of Hurtado's work. In the *Revista Española* (p. 194) Gayangos writes that about this time (1576) Hurtado seems to have made a prose translation of the Metamorphoses of Ovid. At the end of the edition of 1622 is found a sonnet with added lines (*con estrambote*) by Luis Hurtado to the readers, recommending the work. This is all I find in my notes; but according to Salvá y Mallen (I., 298), Gayangos in his pamphlet on *Palmerin* points out (*indica*) that this last edition, that of Bellero, and one of Francisco Guzman, contain Hurtado's version. Pérez Pastor (*La Imprenta en Toledo*, No. 354) gives the edition of 1577-8, printed by Francisco de Guzman, and none other. He adds: "N.B.—Entre las piezas de preliminares se cuenta un Soneto de Luis Hurtado de Toledo.

Nota ms. de D. Bart. J. Gallardo.

El Sr. Gayangos cree que esta versión es de Luis Hurtado de Toledo."

Barrera (p. 189) thinks that about 1552 Hurtado wrote his translation, which he had printed in Toledo by Francisco de Guzman, with a long prologue which casts no light on his biography. On p. 192 he refers to the sonnet "con estrambote" in the edition of 1622: "recomienda el libro,

El cual ha corregido y enmendado
Con letras de su imprenta delicadas
Francisco de Guzman el de Toledo."

Now it is obvious that these verses belong to the edition of 1577-8, and also that the claim made for Luis Hurtado is based on it. But are these verses those of an author? That Hurtado should praise his own work is not improbable; but it is difficult to believe that he would say that it was corrected and amended by the printer. What the verses suggest to me is, that Francisco de Guzman had brought out a new and amended edition of a work not by Hurtado, and that the latter was puffing it. It appears that a prose translation, by Jorge Bustamante,

In 1598 Pedro Rodriguez published in Toledo a poem in octaves, entitled *Historia de San Joseph*, which is said to be by Hurtado.[1] It appears then that, besides *Palmerin*, the following works have been attributed to Hurtado :—

1547. Tragedia Policiana (prose).

Before 1550. A ballad on an episode in the Trojan war and glosses (verse).

1557. Cortes de casto amor, Cortes de la muerte, etc. (prose and verse).

1576. Memorial de Toledo (prose, not printed).

1577-8. Translation of the Metamorphoses of Ovid (prose).

1582. Las Trecientas del Triunpho de Virtudes, etc. (prose and verse, not printed).

1598. Historia de San Joseph (verse).

32. Of Hurtado Barrera writes :—" Among the eminent Spanish geniuses whose merit has not been well recognized or appreciated in the space of about three centuries, thanks to the carelessness and perverted taste of our men of learning formerly (*antiguos eruditos*), ought to be reckoned among the foremost the most

of the *Metamorphoses*, was published in Seville in 1550 (third edition), and in Antwerp in 1551. It was probably the existence of this version that made Barrera place Hurtado's alleged translation about 1552. Salvá y Mallen (I., 298), who mentions the work of Bustamante, is of opinion (*sospecho*) that the editions of Toledo (Guzman), Antwerp (Bellero), and Madrid (1622), are reprints of Bustamante's version, but he could not be sure, as he had not been able to compare them. The verses quoted by Barrera seem to me to corroborate Salvá y Mallen's doubt. If it is correct, we have another instance of somebody else's work being attributed to Hurtado. In 1567 Francisco de Guzman published the *Chronica y Vida de Rey Sant Lvys de Francia*, a translation from the French, for which Hurtado wrote two sonnets (Pérez Pastor, No. 314). Other sonnets are mentioned by the same bibliographer (Nos. 359, 370, 371). One (No. 359) is given. It is neither better nor worse than most of its class.

[1] App. I.

ingenious (*ingeniosisimo*) Luis Hurtado of Toledo, the author of *Palmerin of England*, to whom as dramatic writer a distinguished place belongs in our Catalogue." Gayangos and Vedia in their translation of Ticknor (II., 534), speaking of the *Egloga Sylviana*, write:—"In this as in the other works of Luis Hurtado are noticed great facility and freedom, as well as an extremely pure and chaste style." And Gayangos, in the *Revista Española* (p. 191) observes:—"It is not the case of a common or unknown writer, author only of the work to which his claim is disputed, but the question turns exactly on one who, considering the quality and number of his writings, can and ought to be counted among the most prolific and distinguished of that century." The publisher of *Las Cortes de la Muerte* in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* speaks highly of that work,[1] which, however, has, at the best, been only finished by Hurtado.

33. That this author wrote a good deal is clear, though he was not quite "ein Held an Fruchtbarkeit wie Calderon und Lope." He had influential friends, and dedicated at least three of his works to no less a person than the king of Spain. Under these circumstances, it is singular that such a great genius should have sunk into such oblivion, an oblivion strongly resembling that into which his alleged master-piece, the Spanish *Palmerin*, also fell. How unknown he was may be seen from the fact that in Ticknor (Index, ed. 1888,)[2] he is said to have flourished 1522. This author knew,

[1] In my opinion parts of the work well deserve this praise, but others do not. The authors were not equal tô their task. The scenes where the Moors and Jews are brought in are silly, while all connected with the Portuguese is buffoonery, out of place on so solemn an occasion.

[2] In the edition of 1849 the year is 1550.

at first, nothing about him (I., 237, ed. 1849), besides that he was said to have written *Palmerin*, except what he got from Antonio, who merely says Hurtado was a native of Toledo and *curio* of St. Vicente, and mentions his *Metamorphoses*, *Egloga Silviana*, *Cortes del Casto Amor y de la Muerte*, *Historia de San Joseph*, and *Preteo y Tibaldo* in conjunction with Petrus Alvarez de Aillon.[1] Aribau ? does not even mention the *Tragedia Policiana* among the imitations of *La Celestina*.[2] In the seventy large volumes of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* only one work wholly by this glory of Spanish literature is found, and that is merely a ballad, and may not be his. As to his merits, if some critics have praised him, others are less eulogistic. Even Gayangos and Vedia have to admit the obscenity and coarseness of the *Tragedia Policiana* (I., 526), of which Ticknor says, speaking apparently, however, not from personal knowledge, "it seems to be at once a close and poor imitation" of the *Celestina* (I., 284, ed. 1888). "Happy strokes (*rasgos*) of dialogue are spoilt by the absurd and puerile *denoument*," according to Menéndez y Pelayo.[3] Lemcke tells us that the work has no interest except as one of the greatest bibliographical rareties.[4] *Palmerin* and the *Tragedia* were printed about the same time. The former is distinguished for delicacy and sweetness and comparative purity ; the latter for its indecency and coarseness. In the former the skilful ending is one of its great merits; the ending of the *Tragedia* is absurd and puerile. Truly

[1] *Bib. Nov.*, II., 44.
[2] *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, III., p. xx.
[3] Introduction to the *Celestina*, p. lii., ed. 1900. Vigo.
[4] *Handbuch der Spanischen Literatur*, I., 154

a "marvellous boy" this Hurtado! The *Preteo and Tibaldo* and the *Egloga Sylviana* are declared by Fitzmaurice-Kelly to be insipid pastorals,[1] and the latter has not even the merit of originality.[2] The *Memorial*, to my mind, is a commonplace report that any intelligent clerk could write, and I speak as one not devoid of experience in such matters. Neira de Mosquera calls the *Trecientas* languid and affected. (*Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 1853, p. 221); in the *Templo Pastoril* Luis Hurtado "tires himself in vain" (*ib.*, p. 222); the subject of the *Sponsalia de Amor* is wanting in novelty (*ib.*). On the other hand he praises the *Hospital de Necios* highly:—"Regularizada en el plan, salpicada de picantes y epigramáticas sales, y llevada á cabo por medio de una fábula entretenida, ofrece la espontaneidad vigorosa de los pensamientos madurados por la esperiencia y la observación" (*ib.*). But he also says (p. 221): —"á pesar de resentirse de la hinchazón gongórica y del rebuscamiento amanerado de que usaban los escritores españoles á mediados del siglo XVI." It is, however, only right to say that it is not always clear how far the critics are here speaking from a personal examination of the works on which they pass judgment. Of the *Teatro Pastoril* the reader can judge for himself from the extracts given on page 46. One might expect that the precocious genius who wrote *Palmerin of England* would give some striking proofs of originality later on. But nothing of the sort occurred. He imitates, completes other men's works, translates, and follows the depraved fashion of the day. The real fact seems to be that Hurtado was a very second-rate author, who till quite recently has been treated

[1] *History of Spanish Literature*, p. 165.
[2] See Gayangos and Vedia, II., 533.

by posterity as he deserved. The discovery of the Spanish *Palmerin* brought him into notice,[1] and he became a brilliant luminary in the sky of Spanish literature by the following simple course of reasoning: *Palmerin* is a remarkable book; the author must have been a remarkable writer; Luis Hurtado was the author; therefore Louis Hurtado must have been a remarkable writer. But, in justice to him, it must be said that, probably, no one would be more astonished than he, if he could hear that he was supposed to be the author of *Palmerin*.

34. A few remarks about the writers who have taken the principal parts in the controversy concerning *Palmerin of England* may be acceptable. Salvá (D. Vicente Salvá y Pérez) was born in Valencia, and studied Greek with such success that, when twenty, he was appointed professor in the university of Alcalá de Henares. The French invasion in 1808 forced him to return to Valencia, where he commenced business as a bookseller in the following year. In 1822 he was sent as deputy to the Cortes. Next year he was obliged to go into exile, and settled in London. In 1830 he transferred his business to Paris. In 1847 he returned to Spain, taking his library with him. He died in Paris in 1849. He wrote much. His principal works are a *Gramática Castellana* and an edition of the Spanish Academy Dictionary. (See E. de Ochoa's *Apuntes para una Biblioteca de Autores Españoles Contemporáneos*, Paris, 1840, II., 721, and the Prologue to Salvá y Mallen's *Catálogo*.)

35. Manuel Odorico Mendes was the first who came forward and showed that in the notorious acrostic

[1] See *Versuch*, p. 54.

D. Pedro Salvá had discovered nothing but a mare's nest. Mendes was a Brazilian. He was born in January 1799, in S. Luis de Maranhão, and died suddenly in a railway carriage in London, in August 1864. He entered the university of Coimbra, but returned to Brazil, in 1824, before finishing his studies. Here he plunged into politics, edited various newspapers, became deputy, was strongly republican at first, but later on adopted more moderate views. In 1847 he returned to Europe and devoted himself to literature. His principal works are translations of Virgil, the *Iliad*, and Voltaire's tragedies *Mérope* and *Tancrède*, the *Opusculo acerca do Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, and the *Hymn to the Evening* (*Hymno á Tarde*). This last was written in 1832, and is spoken of highly. The *Opusculo* is a valuable work, to which subsequent enquirers will always remain much indebted. It is, however, imperfect, as Mendes, though well acquainted with the Portuguese version, had no opportunity of consulting the Toledan edition. His chief defect is making important assertions without verifying their accuracy. Some of these, if correct, would do more harm to the cause he was defending than to that he was attacking.[1]

36. Nicolás Diaz de Benjumea, the second champion of the Portuguese claim, was born at Seville in March 1828, and died in Barcelona in March 1884. In 1848 he published a book on Andalusian customs. The following year he procceded to Madrid and studied jurisprudence. Shortly after he had finished the prescribed course he went to London, and made friends

[1] For further information about Mendes, Innocencio may be consulted (VI., 72 and XVI., 278), who refers to various biographical notices. A few lines are devoted to Mendes in the *Brazileiros Illustres* of Pinheiro Chagas.

with a rich Englishman, an enthusiastic admirer of Cervantes, and in consequence devoted himself to a study of the works of that author, and especially of *Don Quixote*, about which he wrote extensively. He appears to have returned to Spain some time in the early sixties, and occupied himself principally with periodical publications. About this time he was made a member of the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon. He went back to London, and returned to Spain (after the revolution of September 1868), residing first in Seville, then in Madrid, and ultimately in Barcelona, and continuing his literary labours, principally in the periodical press. The municipality of Seville has placed a commemorative tablet in his honour at No. 7 of the Calle Conde de Ibarra. His principal works are the *Costumbres Andaluzas*, *La Estafeta de Urganda* (1861), *El Correo de Alquife* (1866), *El Mensaje de Merlin* (1875), *Gibraltar á España* (the English translation is dated 1863), *El Solterón ó un gran problema social* (2nd edition, 1873), *La Verdad sobre el Quijote* (1878), and the *Discurso sobre el Palmerin de Inglaterra* (1876). The dates are taken from the catalogue of the British Museum, which possesses other works of this writer. The *Solterón* is an amusing plea in favor of marriage, by a confirmed old bachelor. *Gibraltar á España* is chiefly interesting as showing how an intelligent foreigner may live a long time in a country and yet remain in the densest ignorance of its national sentiments. But we are concerned here only with the *Discurso*. This work is much longer than that of Mendes. It is written in a bright and lively strain, and is full of shrewd critical remarks. Benjumea had the great advantage of being able to compare the Portuguese

and Spanish versions, and, of course, at once saw that the latter was a translation of the former. His principal defects are, that he contradicts himself on importants points, and allows his too vivid imagination to run away with him. No hypothesis is too wild for this author. He is skilful in amplifying, and one must know one's subject well in order to tell with him what is fact and what is merely supposition.[1] His *Discurso* was printed in Lisbon in 1876, and the proofs were certainly not revised by him. It is mentioned in Vol. IX. (p. 350) of Innocencio[2] as presented to the Royal Academy of Sciences, but not yet published; and we are told of a minute comparison of the two versions, and "repeated examples of parallel passages," of which but slight traces can be found in the *Discurso* as we now have it.[3]

37. Don Pascual de Gayangos is the chief leader of those who maintain the Spanish origin of *Palmerin of England*. It is needless to say much about his works and life here, for this distinguished scholar had a world-wide reputation, and any good biographical dictionary in any language will include his name. Suffice it to say that he was born in Seville in 1809, and died in London in October 1897, from injuries received in being run over by a van. He married an English lady, and spent much time in England, some of his most important work being done in the British Museum. From one point of view, no better champion could a bad cause have had; for Sr. Gayangos was so esteemed, and had such a reputation, and his *Pre-*

[1] App. I. (10).
[2] The date of this volume is 1870.
[3] This notice of Benjumea's life is taken principally from *El Liberal* (Sevilla) for Feb. 10th, 1902. There is much vagueness, and some inexactness, in the information supplied by this paper.

liminary Discourse, in spite of its many inaccuracies, was such a valuable contribution to the literature of chivalry, that people were ready to accept what he said without any more enquiry. From another point of view, he was as bad an advocate as his opponents could desire, for he did not know his case. The fact is, Gayangos knew next to nothing about *Palmerin of England.* I shall now proceed to give my reasons for saying so. In the first place, he admits in his *Discurso Preliminar*[1] that he had not read the Spanish version, and that he knew only of Don Pedro Salvá's copy. This was quite natural, as the copy in the Grenville Library of the British Museum had not been acquired when Gayangos was first in London.[2] Mendes, too, did not see the Spanish version, and this renders the *Opusculo* incomplete. But there is a great difference between his case and that of Gayangos. Mendes did get Varnhagen to examine the Spanish version for him (*Opusculo*, p. 8). Gayangos seems to have depended entirely on what Salvá had seen fit to say in the *Repertorio Americano* (*Discurso Preliminar*, p. xli). Mendes bases his arguments principally on the Portuguese version, Gayangos his on the prologues and colophons of the Spanish edition. Mendes knew the Portuguese *Palmerin* right well. It is not absolutely certain that Gayangos had ever read it. His exact words are :—" No habiendo podido leer mas que la version, algun tanto alterada, que de él hizo el portugués Francisco de Moraes." This certainly gives one the impression that he had read it ; but no one would imagine he had, judging from the mistakes he makes about it. Benjumea, on pp. 13, 14 of his *Discurso*, has

[1] *Bib. de Aut. Esp.* XL. p. xlii., note (2).
[2] Grenville died Dec. 1846. *Dict. Nat. Biography.*

pointed out some extraordinary ones, and says :—" Let the reader judge whether such mistakes are consistent with a perusal of the poem." These mistakes are the following :—

I. On p. xli. of the *Discurso Preliminar* is this sentence :—" Of this marriage[1] were born Floriano of the Desert, Pompides, who became king of Scotland, Daliarte, and finally (*por ultimo*) Palmerin of England." Chapter III. of the romance shows Floriano and Palmerin were twins (I., 25).

II. Palmerin was not the last-born, but was born before Floriano (*ib.* and II.' 329).

III. Pompides and Daliarte were not sons of Flérida. They were the sons of D. Duardos and Argonida (I., 24, 85, 298). The mistake about Pompides is the less excusable, as the circumstances to which he owed his birth are very curious, and are recorded in Book III., Chapters VI. and VII. of *Primaleon*, which Gayangos leads us to believe he had read. Other mistakes are these :—

IV. On p. xli. of his *Discurso* he speaks of *Don Palmerin de Inglaterra*. In no version is there any *Don*.

V. On p. xlii. he says D. Duardos II. was the son of Flérida. He was the son of Polinarda, as stated not only in Lobato's work, but on p. 395 of Vol. III. of *Palmerin of England*.

VI. On p. xlv. he gives a genealogical table which seems taken from Ferrario (II., facing p. 362). So little did he know about *Palmerin of England* that he did not even copy the table correctly, and makes Florendos son, instead of brother, of Platir. The origin of the

[1] Of D. Duardos and Flérida.

table seems proved by the fact that Gayangos uses the Italian form *Tarsi* instead of the Spanish *Tarsis* which is found both in *Palmerin de Oliva*, ff. 68 and 78, and in *Primaleon*, f. 7, *et seq.*[1]

VII. In the *Revista Española* (pp. 189, 190) he misquotes Mendes, who said Arnalta was not allowed to be married with the other three ladies (*Opusculo*, p. 12) and writes :—" Arnalta de Navarra á quien el autor no quiso siquiera conceder las dulzuras de matrimonio." From this it is clear that Gayangos did not know that Arnalta was married. Yet the circumstances of her marriage were not commonplace (II., chap. 130), and she and her husband Dragonalte are repeatedly mentioned, and her daughter's name is given (III., 394).

Besides these mistakes, he apparently follows Pellicer in saying that the editor of 1786 tries to prove[2] (*pretende probar*) that Moraes was the author of *Palmerin*, and his remarks would lead any one who did not know better to imagine that the editor had no idea that there had been a Spanish version in existence. On p. lxxii., he misquotes the same editor as regards the edition of *Palmeirim* "printed abroad."[3] His reason for not giving a more detailed account of this romance (p. xlii., note (2) seems to me quite inadequate, as he says the Portuguese version is only slightly altered from the Spanish; especially as he declares it and

[1] In the same table he tells us that Polendos was the son of the queen of Tarsi; on p. xli. he says he was her husband; on p. xxxix. he makes Polinarda his mother. In the *Revista Española* (p. 191) he calls the lady Tarsi, instead of queen of Tarsis, and says she was the widow of Polendos. We shall have to come back to this extraordinary passage when treating of the episode of the four French ladies, when the mistake Gayangos makes about *Don Polindo* will also be noticed.

[2] *Discurso Preliminar*, p. xlii., note (1). See before p. 29

[3] See App. VII.

Amadis to be in his opinion the best of the books of chivalry. Why did he not give the plot of the work Cervantes praised, instead of the one he condemned to the flames? As to other mistakes in the *Discurso Preliminar*, it is not necessary to spend much time over them; but it may be pointed out that the genealogical table on p. xxxviii. is also wrong, as Maneli was not the son of Don Galaor, but of Cildadan, king of Ireland (*Amadís de Gaula*, p. 154). "The magnificent epics of Saadi and Ferdusi" (p. iii.) is, perhaps, merely a slip.

38. It only remains now to mention one more person connected with *Palmeirim*, that is the editor of the Lisbon edition of 1786. He is the only one of all who have written on the subject who can be spoken of with almost unqualified praise.[1] His life of Moraes, given in App. IV., shows his sobriety and regard for accuracy. It is impossible to avoid mistakes; but a writer who gives his authorities will seldom be seriously inaccurate; in any case he shows his desire to be correct, and affords the means of checking his statements. In this respect our editor is admirable. For every important statement he quotes his authority. His impartiality and good-faith are shown by his remarks already mentioned (p. 28), that a statement by de Bure made him think that a French translation from the Castilian existed long before Moraes wrote his *Palmeirim*. He did not bow blindly to authority, as is shown by his rejecting Barbosa's assertion that Moraes was the author of *Primaleon*, and omitting any mention of the three *Relacões* attributed to him by that bibliographer.

[1] This was written before I had seen the *Versuch*, and does not apply to its authoress.

On one point, and that, unfortunately, an important one, the editor wrote without reflexion, as we shall see in the next chapter. From Innocencio (I., 17) we know that he was Agostinho José da Costa de Macedo,[1] Regius Professor of Rational and Moral Philosophy, second Librarian of the Public Library, Lisbon, and member of the Royal Academy of Sciences. He was born in 1745, and died, totally blind, in 1822. No celebrated work is attributed to him, but the Preface to *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* is of great value.[2]

[1] Mendes (*Opusculo*, p. 75) says he was Francisco José Dias, whose name I cannot find in Innocencio. Benjumea (*Discurso*, p. 26) calls him Simon Tadeo Ferreira, who was only the publisher.

[2] Innocencio speaks very severely of a catalogue of which Macedo was author (II., 55). Of this I know nothing. My remarks refer to his Preface only.

CHAPTER II.

THE DEDICATION TO D. MARIA.

1. Preliminary historical data, p. 66—2. D. Maria, p. 67—3. The Noronhas, p. 69—4. Whence the Dedication came, p. 70—5. Mendes and Gayangos *contra*, p. 72—6. Benjumea's views, p. 73—7. Cont., p. 75—8. The edition "printed abroad," p. 76—9. Editor of 1786 implies it was the second, p. 77—10. Reasons for thinking it the first, p. 78—11. Cont. Probably privately printed, p. 79—12. Mendes misquotes Antonio, p. 81—13. Attacks editor of 1786, p. 83—14. The Inquisition bogey, p. 85—15. The Dedication not a forgery, p. 87—16. Its veracity. Views of Gayangos, p. 89—17. Reply thereto, p. 91—18. Anonymity of romances of chivalry, p. 93—19. Chronicle of D. Duardos, p. 95—20. Is the same as Primaleon, p. 97—21. Reply to Gayangos cont., p. 101—22. Dedication not to be deemed false on account of fiction about old chronicle, p. 102—23. Characteristics of the Dedication, p. 104—24. Its date, p. 105—25. Argument of Mendes, p. 105—26. Answer of Gayangos, p. 107—27. Reply thereto of Benjumea, p. 108—28. Reasoning of Mendes is bad, but his conclusion sound, p. 108—29. The edition "printed abroad." Views of Gayangos, p. 111—30. Reply thereto, p. 112—31. The Dedication brought into connection with the edition "printed abroad," p. 114—32. Summary of conclusions of this chapter, p. 115—33. Questions proposed to Spanish advocates, p. 117.

1. This is one of the most important documents in the present controversy, and deserves very careful consideration, as it affords strong reason for believing that a Portuguese version of *Palmerin of England* existed several years before the Spanish edition appeared. In order to understand it properly we must keep in mind a few facts and dates of Portuguese history. D. Manuel the Fortunate married Isabella, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and, on

her death, her sister Maria, by whom he had a large family. Among their children were John, who succeeded to the throne, as João III., in December 1521,[1] and died in 1557, and Henry, grand inquisitor, cardinal, and finally, on the death of D. Sebastian, king, who died in 1580. In November 1518[2] D. Manuel, being again a widower, married D. Leonor, sister of Charles V., by whom he had a daughter, Maria, the lady to whom Moraes dedicated his book. In May 1523 D. Leonor returned to Spain,[3] and in 1530 married Francis I., king of France. He died March 31, 1547. D. Leonor, finding her position in France very unpleasant, went in October 1548[4] to Brussels, to her sister, D. Maria, dowager queen of Hungary, then regent of the Netherlands. In 1555 she accompanied Charles V. to Spain, and died in February 1558, at Talaveruela[5] (Talavera la Real), near Badajoz, on her return from an interview with her daughter, D. Maria, at the latter town.

2. D. Maria[6] was born in 1521. Ladies of her rank are not rarely flattered. But she does appear to have been an accomplished, amiable, and good-looking princess. Pacheco (f. 88) says she spoke and wrote Latin as if it had been her mother tongue. According to Faria y Sousa (*Europa Portuguesa*, Tom. III., Pt. IV.,

[1] Fr. Luis de Sousa, *Annaes de D. João III.*, pp. 19, 20 (Ed. 1844.)
[2] *Ib.*, p. 19.
[3] Andrade, *Chronica de D. João*, Pt. I., Ch. 39, p. 143. (Ed. 1796.)
[4] Anselme, *La Maison Royale*, I., 132. Le Baron de Ruble, *Le Mariage de Jeanne d'Albret*, p. 232. Sismondi wrongly implies 1547, *Histoire des Français*, XVII., pp. 291, 2.
[5] Anselme, *ib.*; Pacheco, *Vida de . Doña Maria* (1675), f. 83. Mariana (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XXXI., p. 393) erroneously says Valladolid.
[6] Mrs. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos has recently published an excellent work on this lady, entitled *A Infanta D. Maria de Portugal* (1521-1577) *e as suas damas.* Porto, 1902. She treats of the Dedication in the *Versuch*, p. 11 *et seq.*

Chap. VI., p. 358), she wrote Latin and maintained a permanent academy of learned ladies. Among these were the sisters Louisa and Angela Sigea, the latter a great musician; Joanna Vaz (called by some Anna Vaz or Anna Paz), and probably Gil Vicente's daughter, Paula. Brantôme (*Les Dames Galantes*, II., p. 352-3) tells us that he saw her in Lisbon. At forty-five she was "une très-belle et agréable fille," very wise (*très-sage*) and virtuous. Her picture will be found in Vol. I. of Lord Ronald Gower's *Three Hundred French Portraits*. It represents a rather pleasing face, apparently the same as that of the portrait given in the book of Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos, but at an earlier age. This portrait is taken from the painting (No. 1,489, Cat. 1900) in the Museo del Prado. (See *A Infanta D. Maria*, p. 7 *et seq.* and Note 39.) In spite of all her merits, the matrimonial schemes on her behalf came to nothing, and she died unmarried in 1577. She had one fault, a fault generally considered a virtue in match-making—she was a great heiress. She had a bad brother, too, João III., and to prevent her money leaving the country, he took care she did not get married.[1] At one moment it seemed as if she was to become the wife of Philip II., but, fortunately for her, Edward VI. died in the nick of time, and she was promptly "flung overboard" for sour-faced Queen Mary. She must not be confounded with her niece, D. Maria, daughter of João III., whose betrothal to Philip, son of Charles V., afterwards Philip II., was the cause of great indignation to Francis I., which was assuaged with much ability by D. Francisco de

[1] Pacheco, speaking of João III., puts the case very neatly: "Dar estado á la señora Infanta era debido, no darle juzgole util; para lo primero había razón, para lo segundo razones." (f. 78).

Noronha, the Portuguese ambassador at the court of France in 1543;[1] and D. Maria, daughter of Edward, duke of Guimarães, also a most learned lady and model of all virtues, who married Alexander, prince of Parma, and, judging from a story told by Motley (*Rise of the Dutch Republic*, I., p. 430), surpassed in propriety even Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's heroine, Virginie, in the fatal shipwreck.

3. D. Francisco de Noronha, son of the first count of Linhares, D. Antonio de Noronha, was, according to the Viscount de Santarem's *Quadro Elementar*, ambassador in France in November 1543, and was again appointed such in December 1548.[2] Sousa, quoted in 1786 by the editor of the Portuguese *Palmeirim*, states that D. Francisco left for the French court in 1540.[3] The first embassy seems to have ended before April 1544. The second, which was for a special purpose, probably terminated almost immediately, certainly not later than February 1550. Don Antonio died March 10, 1551.[4] His rightful successor was his son, D. Ignacio, but he refused to attend the court in order that the king might judge of his fitness, and finally renounced his right in favour of his brother, D. Francisco, by a letter of December 1555, which is probably that given among the minor works of Francisco de Moraes, and said to be *notada* by him. The title appears to have been conferred on D. Francisco in September 1556. The present counts of Linhares belong to a different family.[5]

[1] Andrade, *Chronica de D. João III.*, Pt. III., Chap. 90, p. 416. Braga goes astray here (*Questões de Litteratura e Arte Portugueza*, p. 251).

[2] App. VI.

[3] App. IV.

[4] A. Braamcamp Freire. *Brasões da Sala de Cintra*, III., p. 444.

[5] *Ib.*, II., pp. 463, 467, 468.

4. Before considering what the Dedication says, it will be well to decide two questions: (1) is this document authentic or a forgery? and (2), if authentic, how far are the statements it contains true? In respect of the first question, one naturally begins by enquiring whence the Dedication came. We have got it from the Portuguese edition of 1592. At that time Portugal was simply a province of Spain, and the viceroy was the Austrian archduke Albert, who was also a cardinal. To him Afonso Fernandes, the publisher (or *livreiro*, as he calls himself), dedicated his edition. His dedication, as far as it relates to the present question, will be found in App. v. In it he says: "I resolved in this second impression to dedicate to Your Highness this book of Palmeirim de Inglaterra which . . . . contains excellent sayings with an elegant style, for which reason the Most Serene Princess, D. Maria, who is now in Heaven as full of glory as she was on earth of virtues, accepted it and esteemed it greatly, it being dedicated to her the first time by its author." By *the first time* Afonso Fernandes may have merely meant that *Palmeirim* was dedicated to D. Maria when written, and may not have referred to any edition; but the more probable supposition is that he meant the Evora edition of 1567. He could not have overlooked this. The words *first time* must be read in connection with *this second impression.* As far as is known, there was no edition of *Palmeirim* printed in Portugal before 1567. We may, then, safely assume that Afonso Fernandes meant that he found the Dedication in the Evora edition. It is, of course, evident to the careful reader that it was not written for that edition, though it may be doubted whether this was recognised in 1592. But the Dedi-

cation would be printed in the edition of 1567, just as it has been in those of 1592, 1786, and 1852. It is true that in 1786 the editor said the copies of the edition of 1567 he had examined wanted the title-page and Dedication (*carecem de rosto e Dedicatoria*); but that does not mean that they never contained these, but simply that in 1786 they were no longer in perfect condition. It is most improbable, almost incredible, that a book of the 16th century should not have had a dedication.[1] An examination of the edition of 1567 leaves no doubt that it must have had a title-page, or dedication, or both. I have seen two copies, one in the Royal Library in the Ajuda Palace, near Lisbon, and the other in the National Library at Madrid. Both contain the beginning of the story, and that is found on folio ii. Consequently, there was another folio, now missing. Neither copy at present has the title-page or dedication. At least one of these, probably both, was on the missing folio i. An examination of books printed about the time of the Evora edition will show that it was not uncommon for books having a title-page and dedication to begin the story on folio i. If, then, books in which the story began on folio i. had, on preliminary sheets, title-pages and dedications, how much more likely that a book beginning on folio ii. would have these essentials?[2]

[1] App. I. (11).

[2] For instance, in *Platir* (1533) the story begins on folio i., and there are six preliminary leaves. In *Don Florando* (Lisbon, 1545) there are two leaves before folio i. on which the tale begins. In the first volume of the Toledan edition of *Palmerin* (1547) the commencement of the story is on folio i., and there are two preliminary folios containing the title-page and Ferrer's Prologue. In the Portuguese edition of 1592, and in the continuations of 1587 and 1602, there are two preliminary folios, and the story begins on folio i. In the Venice edition of *Primaleon* (1534) there are eight folios besides the title-page, before the story begins on an unnumbered folio followed by folio ii.

5. It has been necessary to go into this matter at some length because Mendes (*Opusculo*, p. 14) has made the following statement, for which he had no warrant except the words of the editor of 1786 already noticed, and which amounted to nothing more than that one or more leaves were missing in the copies he had examined of the edition of 1567 :—"The dedication was not in the first edition, nor in the second;[1] only in the third did Affonso Fernandes publish it in 1592 : Cervantes had no notice of it when he composed his *Don Quixote*, finished long before being sent to press." The reason Mendes had for making these assertions about the Dedication and *Don Quixote* is perfectly plain. In Part I., Chapter VI., of that work, Cervantes had stated of *Palmerin* that it was said a sagacious king of Portugal had composed it (*es fama que le compuso un discreto rey de Portugal*). The question then presented itself to Mendes, and a very difficult question, too, for him, how Cervantes came to make this statement if Moraes claimed and was well known to be the author.[2] Not seeing how to answer it otherwise, he said the first editions came out without dedication ; but as to the third edition, or that of 1592, as this reply was impossible, he disposed of it by saying that *Don Quixote* was not given to the press till long after it had been composed. Gayangos, who leaves unnoticed some inaccuracies of Mendes injurious to the Spanish cause, was not likely to object to this misstatement which favoured it so greatly. On the contrary, he repeats much of what Mendes says, only in different language, and heightens its effect by additional touches of his own. On p. 86 of the

[1] App. I. (12.)
[2] In Chap. VI. this question is considered at length.

Revista Española we read, that in 1567 a printer of Evora, a Spaniard by birth, published the first known edition of the Portuguese *Palmerin*, "siendo de advertir que ni en la portada ni en los preliminares del libro se hace la más mínima mención de Francisco de Moraes como autor o traductor de ella, á pesar de que este no murió, según parece, hasta 1572." So then, according to Gayangos, there was not the least mention of Moraes in the title-page or preliminary leaves of the edition of 1567, either as author or translator, though he apparently did not die till 1572. This is pure invention. We may reasonably conclude that the editor of 1592 did see the title-page and preliminary leaves referred to, but there is not one particle of evidence to show that anyone has seen them since, certainly not Gayangos, or has left on record what they contained or did not contain. Further on Gayangos says that the Dedication was not printed in the edition of 1567 (*no llegó á imprimirse*). He, however, corrects Mendes as to *Don Quixote* (p. 91); and even Benjumea has to admit that the Brazilian was wrong here, for that is the pith of his remarks on pp. 36, 37, of his *Discurso*, and almost all the rest is a needless digression; though he gilds the pill by saying: "The able critic, Sr. Mendez, parries the blow in a masterly manner," the blow being the question raised by the passage in *Don Quixote*, and the masterly manner being giving as a fact what is, at best, a mere supposition based on nothing.

6. But what were Benjumea's own views about the Dedication? On p. 11 he says:—"It is certain that, in 1567, when an edition of *Palmerin* appeared which contained a dedication by Francisco de Moraes. . . ." But on pp. 33, 34, treating of *Palmerin*, he writes:—". . . the publisher (*editor*), Andres de Burgos, on

printing it in 1567, in Evora, . . . presents it without dedication and without the name of this author," that is, of Moraes. "About this there appears to be no doubt, although two remarkable circumstances are mentioned," one being that the copies of this edition are much damaged, and the other that there is talk of a previous edition. I am afraid that in this matter Benjumea's opinion is not of much value. On p. 24 the following remarkable passage will be found: —"In 1567, that is to say, twenty years after *Palmerin de Inglaterra* was being read in Spain, a printer of Evora, called Andres de Burgos, printed and dedicated this poem to the most serene prince Alberto, viceroy of Portugal, at that time eight years old.[1] This edition was generally considered as the original (*primitiva*) in Portugal, and was published anonymously. Twenty-five years afterwards, that is, in 1592, when the said prince was already thirty-three years old, the bookseller Alonso Fernandez reprinted it, and dedicated it to him, placing in front of it a prologue by Francisco de Moraes, whom he calls *author of the book*, and in which he dedicated it to the princess Doña Maria, infanta of Portugal, daughter of the king Don Manuel." We naturally ask where was the king, D. Sebastian, in 1567, that the country should want a viceroy? And why should a king who was thirteen years old have a viceroy only eight years of age? The whole passage seems very wrong indeed. However, it appears that, on p. 24, Benjumea thinks the edition of 1567 had a dedication, only it was by Andres de Burgos to the eight-year old viceroy, and not by Francisco de Moraes to the infanta Doña Maria. Thus, then, on p. 11, there

[1] App. I. (12).

was a dedication by Francisco de Moraes; on p. 24, there was a dedication, but it was by Andres de Burgos to the prince Alberto, and on p. 34, there appears to be no doubt there was no dedication at all.[1]

7. The important question where Afonso Fernandes got the Dedication is not even mentioned by Mendes, let alone answered. Gayangos was not bound to give any reply, and gives none. He speaks of the Dedication with suspicion as "this prologue, then, which is said to be by Francisco de Moraes" (*Rev. Esp.*, p. 86). But Benjumea does state his views, and, as this seems his last "wobble" regarding the Dedication, we may welcome him as a repentant sinner. He says (*Discurso*, p. 34):—"But that which admits of no doubt is, that the prologue and dedication which appeared in the edition made (*que hizo*) by Alonzo Fernandez, in 1592, could not be forged or invented by the publisher (*editor*) nor by anyone else, but were the work of Moraes, and must have existed (*hallarse*) among his papers, or in some other edition which is not known, or in that already mentioned of Evora." Noting merely that there is no reason to believe that there was any prologue separate from the Dedication, I agree with what Benjumea says here. But I will be more precise, and say the Dedication was found in the Evora edition; and no one would have called this in question if Mendes,

[1] On this last page Benjumea further says that Mendes explains why the edition of Evora appeared anonymously, and refutes this explanation, whereas Mendes is speaking of the edition "printed abroad" (*Opusculo*, p. 13). Lower down the former has the following: "since most works have no dedication" (*bues la mayor parte de las obras no tienen dedicación*), a statement utterly opposed to facts as regards works of the sixteenth century, and, indeed, incompatible with what he himself says on p. 15 of his *Discurso*. From my last paragraph the exceeding difficulty of dealing with Benjumea's arguments is seen. On several points he had neither accurate knowledge nor clear views.

in order to get out of the difficulty about the *fama* of Cervantes, had not declared, in spite of all evidence and probabilities to the contrary, that the edition of 1567 appeared without the Dedication.

8. It may be asked whether there was no other edition to which Fernandes might have been alluding, besides that of 1567. There was another, but it is not likely he meant it. Its date is of the greatest importance. We know of it only through the editor of 1786, who made use of it for his edition. This is what he tells us in his preface about it and the other editions he used[1]:—"This work was printed for the first time at Evora, in the establishment of André de Burgos, in gothic type; the very rare copies of this edition which we could examine (*ver*), belonging to the Library of the Real Casa das Necessidades and the College of S. Bernardo of Coimbra, want the title-page and Dedication. In the extensive Library of the Convent of S. Francisco da Cidade is preserved, although in a very damaged and imperfect state, an edition of this work in type between gothic and round (*sc.* Black Letter and Roman), which shows some signs of having been printed abroad. It agrees with the first (*primeira*), except for some slight differences in the orthography and in the position of some words. It was printed a third time (the publisher (*editor*) says it was the second) in Lisbon, in the year 1592 . . . This edition differs from the two preceding ones . . . ." In this passage the editor distinctly says that the edition of 1567 was the first, and implies that that "printed abroad" was the second. This statement is, naturally, very disagreeable to Mendes, whose opinion is that

[1] A copy of his remarks are given in App. VII.

the edition "printed abroad" dates from 1543-44 (*Opusculo*, pp. 13, 14), an opinion which I fully share with him. On page 16, he proceeds to "demolish completely" this mistake of the editor. His arguments are not put with logical precision, but we can see what he means. Afonso Fernandes must have known of the edition of 1567. He knew of only one edition anterior to 1592. He would be more likely to know of a later than of an earlier edition. Therefore the edition of 1567 must be later than that "printed abroad." An earlier edition will be exhausted sooner than a later one. In 1592, the edition "printed abroad" was exhausted, and that of 1567 was not. Therefore the former was earlier than the latter. I agree with the conclusions, but must admit that the premises, some of which Mendes leaves to our imagination, are not proved.

9. The editor of 1786 was, according to Gayangos (*Rev. Esp.*, p. 90), no ordinary man (*no era hombre vulgar*). He was, as already said, no mean critic, relatively accurate, and essentially fair-minded; he had no theory to prove, and was engaged in no controversy. Everything he says is entitled, therefore, to respectful consideration; and in this case especially, as he had the two editions before him and we have not, and know nothing of that "printed abroad" except what he tells us. But we are not bound to accept his conclusions without examining his reasons, and he gives no reason for considering the S. Francisco edition the earlier. He makes no mention of the date, from which we may conclude that he did not know it. He could not tell where the book was printed, which shows the colophon was missing, and it is generally in this the date is given. He speaks of no title-page or dedication. They

are usually lost before the colophon. He does tell us that the book was very damaged and imperfect. Naturally, the beginning and end would suffer first. He had, then, apparently, no grounds for assigning to this edition an earlier or later date than to that of Evora. Nor had he any object in deciding on their relative priority. Why, then, did he do so? My opinion is that he was writing without reflecting on the importance his words would have in the future; and as he believed Afonso Fernandes was referring to the Evora edition in the words "*primeira vez*," he, too, called that edition the first, and the S. Francisco one the second, as it nearly agreed with the former, while that of 1592 was a bowdlerized edition and agreed with neither. I think it more likely that he was acting thoughtlessly, than that he was, without necessity, deciding a question for the correct determination of which he himself shows he had not sufficient data.

10. My reasons for thinking the S. Francisco edition the earlier are these:—*Palmeirim* was a very popular book in Portugal. This is admitted by Gayangos (*Rev. Esp.*, pp. 90, 91), and is stated by Diogo Fernandez in the Prologue to his continuation. André de Burgos was a well-known printer. It is, then, incredible that Afonso Fernandes, in 1592, should not have known of the edition of 1567, of which numerous copies must have been in the hands of the public. He speaks of only one earlier edition, from which we conclude that he knew of none other. How was it he did not know of the edition printed abroad? The reason Mendes gives, that it had disappeared because it was the earlier, and was taken up at home and abroad with avidity, does not seem to me sufficient. An ordinary edition of a popular work, widely distributed, does not

disappear in fifty years (1543-1592); there must have been some other reason. I think there were two:—(1) That the book was printed abroad. The editor of 1786 says that it showed signs of having been so printed; as he was a librarian, his opinion is entitled to more weight than that of a mere layman. Afonso Fernandes would know what the presses in Portugal were doing, but not what works were being printed in foreign countries. He would have ordinarily to see a copy of any such work in order to know of it. He had not seen any such copy of *Palmeirim*. (2) The reason he had not was, that the edition "printed abroad" was not an ordinary one. It was a special edition, of which only a limited number of copies had been printed for private circulation. This is only a hypothesis, but it seems to me a reasonable one. It also affords an explanation of a difficulty connected with the origin of the Spanish work, namely, how Ferrer could have had the audacity to pass off as his own the work of Moraes. Ferrer knew nothing of the Portuguese version, for the same reason that Afonso Fernandes did not. Some one who had got hold of a copy translated it, and sold the maunscript, as his composition, to Ferrer, who, having mangled it, published it as his own.[1]

11. Portuguese literature was not in vogue abroad in the 16th century as was that of Spain.[2] The local presses were quite sufficient to supply the home demand.[3] A Portuguese work, then, would not be

[1] See App. XII. *Don Florando.*

[2] A similar statement will be found in the *Versuch*, p. 64.

[3] I am aware that some Portuguese works were printed abroad, as the *Ordenações* of D. Manuel, in Seville, by Cronberger, 1539, but such cases were rare. According to Tito de Noronha, *A Imprensa Portugueza durante o Seculo XVI.* (p. 13) only 900 works were printed in Portugal during the sixteenth century:—

Theology and mysticism, 406; literature, poetry, &c., 160;

printed abroad except for some special reason, and this would be particularly the case in respect of a work like *Palmeirim*, after 1567, when translations already existed in Spanish, French, and Italian. It appears to me highly unlikely that any Portuguese edition would be printed abroad after the early fifties. But it is quite probable that Moraes, who tells us he composed the book in France, for that is what his words imply, would find it convenient to have it printed abroad, where the facilities for printing were greater than in Portugal, and at a time when he had more leisure to supervise the work than he would have when leading the life of a courtier at home; especially as he would be anxious to present his book, complete, immediately on his return, to D. Maria. Here is a special and sufficient reason for a foreign edition. This would be, practically, a privately printed one; and even nowadays the number of copies issued of books so printed is very limited, and it is not unreasonable to assume that the same rule held good then. But this special reason existed before 1567; I can discover none at any later date, and so conclude that the edition "printed abroad" was earlier than that of 1567, and, consequently, than that of 1592. Indeed, a Portuguese edition of *Palmeirim* printed abroad after

polygraphy, 127; history, voyages, &c., 101; law and legislation, 60; natural and exact sciences, 46.

He quotes (pp. 34-36) the *Summario* of Christovão d'Oliveira to show that in Lisbon, in 1551, there were 54 *livreiros*, probably including bookbinders, &c., and says their business must have been of little importance in a country which had only six teachers of "grammar," thirty-four masters to teach boys to read, and two women to teach girls to read. He states that André de Burgos was a Spaniard, and at one time resided in Seville. The auther had seen works printed by him there, 1543-47 (p. 24). He worked in Portugal from 1552 to 1583. In 1583 his widow appears (p. 22). He printed five books, in Evora, (1553-56) as "Impressor do cardeal infante," and twenty-seven (1557-83) as "Impressor e cavalleiro da casa do cardeal infante" (p. 25).

that year, when the romances of chivalry had nearly completely gone out of fashion, is almost unthinkable. My hypothesis, then, is practically the same as that of Mendes, to whom the credit for it belongs, namely, that Moraes composed his work in France, had it printed abroad, and presented it, on his return home, to D. Maria. The S. Francisco copy was part of this edition he had printed abroad. I add, on my own part, that probably only a few copies were printed for private circulation, which would explain how Afonso Fernandes did not know of the existence of this edition. But the question whether the S. Francisco edition is of earlier date than that of 1567 is of only secondary importance; for even if it is not earlier, and assuming that the Dedication is authentic and trustworthy, there must have been some edition prior to 1567;[1] or, at least, the work must have existed in manuscript long before that year, for the Dedication speaks of D. João III. as alive, and contains references to events much anterior to his death in 1557. The object of the last four paragraphs has been to strengthen the authority of that document, by showing independently that there was an edition corresponding to that the existence of which is implied by the Dedication.

12. With reference to the foreign edition Mendes makes use of an argument which is bad. Commenting on the remark of the editor of 1786, that the S. Francisco edition showed signs of having been printed abroad, he says:—"Yes, it was printed abroad, probably in Paris, where Moraes composed it between

[1] It will be remembered that Clemencin also thought that there was a Portuguese edition before that of 1567—but not by Moraes. See Chap. I., para. 22.

the years 1540 and 1543, but it appeared without (the name of the) author or dedication, as was asserted in his *Anonymus scripsit* by the learned D. Nicolas Antonio, who belonging to Seville, and being one of the best critics of the Iberian peninsula, does not mention Hurtado, though his name is in the acrostic of 1547. And why does he not mention (*trata de*) Hurtado and omits (the name of) the author ? It is because he knew of the earlier edition in which Moraes does not give his name, and (*mas*) was sure that Hurtado was not the original author." (*Opusculo*, p. 14.) Deciphering acrostics was not D. Nicolas Antonio's business, and unless he had deciphered the acrostic, how could he have known from it that Hurtado claimed to be the author ? The discovery was not made till 1826. When Mendes says that Antonio asserted (*affirmou*) that the foreign edition appeared without (the name of the) author or dedication, he is not stating facts. The exact words of D. Nicolas are: —" ANONYMUS, scripsit : *Libro del famosissimo, y muy valeroso Cavallero Palmerin de Ingalaterra hijo del Rey D. Duarte.* Conversus hic in Italicum ex Hispano sermone Venetiis extat 1584. in 8. editore, ac forsan interprete, Lucio Spineda : recoctus ibidem anno 1609. 8. tribus partibus."[1] It will be noticed that Antonio is writing in Latin and gives the name of the book in Spanish, and says that the work was translated from Spanish into Italian. Where, then, does Mendes find that he is speaking of the Portuguese edition " printed abroad " ? If he had been, he would have given the title in that language. The only thing Portuguese

[1] *Bib. Nov.*, II., 396, ed. 1788. The only difference, not orthographic, in the edition of 1672 (II., 684) is the absence of the words " editore ac forsan." In the edition of 1788 Moraes is given as author in I., 450.

about the whole entry is the word "Duarte," and the use of it shows Antonio had not either the Spanish or Portuguese version before him, as they invariably use the word "Duardos." All Antonio knew of the work was from the Italian translations, as is clear from the name he gives it, which is not that of any Spanish or Portuguese known edition, but is a translation into Spanish of the beginning of the title of the Italian edition of 1553-54:[1] "*Il Primo Libro del famosissimo et molto valoroso cavalliero Palmerino d'Inghilterra figliuolo del Re Don Duardo* . . . . ." Antonio would become acquainted with the Italian translations during his long stay in Italy.[2]

13. On pp. 16, 17, of his *Opusculo*, Mendes, pursuing his argument noticed in para. 8, regarding the relative priority of the two editions, says:—"Let us continue. The *imperito* (ignorant, inexperienced, unskilful) editor of 1786, mentioning the version of Jacques Vicente, discourses thus:—'This notice of Bure leads us to believe that, long before Moraes wrote this book, it

[1] The edition of 1584, according to Melzi (p. 323), is a reprint of that of 1554-5. This is practically a reprint of that of 1553-4, the only difference being on the first page of each chapter, where the use of a vignette for the first letter rendered a resetting of the type necessary. Five words, too, are left out at the end. But the titles are not the same. Perhaps, in 1584, the title of the edition of 1553-4, was again adopted. That Antonio got this title from the Italian is also the opinion of the authoress of the *Versuch*, p. 9, note (1), and of Southey, *Palmerin of England*, I. xiii.; but they do not specify any particular Italian edition.

[2] As regards Portuguese claims, it is not always safe to say that Antonio, the eminent *Spanish* bibliographer, supports them, as he often speaks not from personal knowledge, but from information supplied by Portuguese writers. Much of what he wrote is based on notes drawn up by Jorge Cardoso (the author of the *Agiologio Lusitano*) for a *Bibliotheca Lusitana* he had planned:—"Cujus operis seu collectionis & adversariorum ad opus codex autographus Cardosi, ejusdem R. P. Fr. Emmanuelis accurata industria ampliatus, sero mihi ostensus post editionem hujus meæ *Bibliothecæ*, magno mihi adjumento fuit ad formandas *Additiones* in scriptoribus præcipue Lusitanis."—*Bib. Nov.* I., 537. See Barbosa, *Bib. Lus.*, II, 801.

existed already in French as a translation from the Spanish, not being entire fiction what Moraes says in his dedication.' And such a statement makes me think (*crer*) how superficial was he who made it. What, quoting the dedication, did he not deign to combine the dates? did he not verify the epoch of the two embassies? did he not see that the author speaks of João III. as alive, and that, consequently, the dedication itself was anterior to the edition of 1567, as the king died in 1554 (*sic*)? Nothing of the sort: possessed by the fixed idea that the edition of Evora was the first, he subordinates all his reasonings to this error; and I am of opinion that it was here Salvá derived his hope of securing for Ferrer, or Hurtado, or some Spaniard or other, the invention of our great classic and most (very) elegant prose writer." The editor of 1786 would probably not have made this remark if he had not believed the edition of 1567 to have been the first, and he was careless in not seeing that the Dedication implied the existence of the work long before 1567. But no comparison of dates would have enabled him to say whether the Spanish or Portuguese version was the earlier, as the date of the former was not known till 1826, or forty years after he wrote. Nor could he, assuming that Mendes was right in saying that neither the edition "printed abroad" nor that of 1567 contained the Dedication, have from it decided on their relative priority. Salvá may have derived hopes from his remark; but the claim for Ferrer or Hurtado would have been made in any case. Proceeding, Mendes writes that the Dedication affirms that the original (of *Palmeirim*) was a copy of French and English chronicles. If the Dedication is attentively read, it will be seen that no mention is made of the language

or country of origin of the chronicle which Moraes declares he discovered.

14. According to Mendes (p. 14), the first two editions contained no Dedication. He explains this fact as regards the earlier one by saying that it was printed abroad, and the Dedication was in manuscript, pending permission of D. Maria, as without leave no book could be dedicated to a royal personage. This seems reasonable; but the question naturally arises why the edition of 1567 did not contain the Dedication and so was, probably, anonymous. Considering the favour with which *Palmeirim* was received, one would have expected the contrary. Mendes does not notice this point, but Benjumea, misunderstanding Mendes, does (*Discurso*, p. 34). He says: "It is more likely Moraes did not wish to make himself known then, either for fear of the Inquisition recently established by the king D. Juan, or for other reasons. Although his monarch might load him with favours and even grant him and his descendants the title (*titulo*) of *Palmerin*,[1] besides other gifts (*mercedes*), it was one thing what the court, and another what the ecclesiastical tribunal might think." Mendes (*Opusculo*, p. 14) states that the Inquisition placed *Palmeirim* on its expurgatory indexes, and, on p. 15, he attributes much the same statement to Sr. Nunes de Carvalho, a Coimbra professor. There is no ground for the opinion of Benjumea, and the statements of Mendes and Carvalho are baseless. The Inquisition was introduced in a modified form in Portugal in 1536,[2] not by the Church, but by D. João III. In spite of his efforts it was not fully

[1] There is no reason to believe that the king gave him any such *titulo*.

[2] Herculano, *Historia da Origem e Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, II., 179, 182.

established till 1547,[1] when the Vatican, having sucked the *christãos-novos* dry, abandoned them to the mercy of the king. He did not introduce that tribunal in order to set up an *imperium in imperio* which would overthrow the royal authority, but to strengthen his own hands in plundering and murdering his subjects of Jewish extraction; and, to make sure of its being a ready tool, he appointed his brother Henry, although under canonical age, Inquisitor-General (*Inquisidor-mór*).[2] If the king, then, approved of the book dedicated to his sister, Moraes would have had nothing to fear from the Inquisition. It is true that a decree was issued in Spain in 1543, forbidding the printing, importation, and reading of tales and romances in the American colonies, just as in 1529 lawyers had been forbidden to go to the colonies to practice their profession.[4] But the Inquisition did not make *autos-de-fe* either of men or books without some other reason than that they were, respectively, lawyers and romances. It is also undoubted that many of the clergy thundered against these tales, but from that to the Inquisition interfering was a long step. If the Holy Office had objected, permission would never have been given to print the books. The fact that for a long time the Inquisition did not exercise any preventive censorship does not invalidate this argument. The continuations of *Palmeirim* of 1587 and 1602 distinctly profess to be printed with the sanction of the

[1] *Ib.*, III., 325, 328.
[2] *Ib.* II. 232.
[3] *Supra*, p. 2 (note).
[4] "Ansimismo . . . por la presente mandamos é defendemos, que destos nuestros reinos no vayan ni pasen á las dichas tierras . . ni letrados ni procuradores para usar de sus oficios."—Quintana, *Vida de Pizarro* (Appendices) *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XIX., p. 494; Prescott, *Mexico*, B. VII., Chap. II., note 23 (p. 532). Ed. 1899.

Inquisition. Some of these romances were dedicated to high ecclesiastics, as this very *Palmeirim* (it is true, in an altered form), in 1592, to the Cardinal Albert; and, in 1525, *Lisuarte de Grecia* by Feliciano de Silva to Diego de Deza, Archbishop of Seville,[1] who succeeded Torquemada as Inquisitor-General, and executed his office in such an atrocious way that, in 1506, in consequence of a popular outbreak in Cordova, he had to retire.[2] According to Gayangos (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., p. lxxiii.), the 1586 (7) edition of *Cristalian de España* was dedicated to Philip II. Would the Cura (*que era—tan buen cristiano*) have declared that a casket should be made like that Alexander found among the spoils of Darius, in order therein to keep a book on the Index?[3] Or would André de Burgos, who was "printer and knight of the household of the Cardinal Infante" (the same Henry, *Inquisidor-mór*, already mentioned), have printed such a book in 1567? Finally, I have examined the Indexes, both Prohibitory and Expurgatory, of 1581, 1597, 1624 (Lisbon); 1583, 1584, 1640 (Madrid), and 1632 (Seville), and *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* is *not* in them. *Palmeirim de Oliva* is, but only in respect of two words (*semelhantes supersticões*) in Chapter 90, which were to be erased. The only romance of chivalry condemned root and branch which I noticed was the *Cavalleria Celestial* or *Pie de la Rosa Fragrante*, a religious romance.[4]

15. The object of this long discussion has been to

[1] *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., pp. xxvi., xxviii.

[2] Llorente, *Historia Crítica de la Inquisición de España*, II., 235. Madrid, 1822.

[3] *Don Quixote*, I., Chapter 6.

[4] *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., pp. lviii. and lxxxiv.—"assi el pie, como las hojas se prohib. que son dos cuerpos." *Index Novissimus*, p. 863. Madrid, 1640.

show that the edition of 1567 might have had a dedication, and almost certainly had, and that, if Afonso Fernandes is speaking the truth, he got the Dedication to D. Maria from that edition. But was he speaking the truth, or telling a deliberate lie and making use of a forged document, for this is not a case in which a mistake in good faith is possible? Well, people are not dishonest without some reason for being so, and, however much we may seek for such a reason in respect of Afonso Fernandes, we can find none. The Dedication is exactly in the style of Moraes in *Palmeirim*, and could not have been forged without much knowledge, skill, and trouble; and no one had any object in taking that trouble. In 1592 there must have been many copies still extant, in a perfect state of preservation, of the edition of 1567, and from them the falsehood of Afonso Fernandes would have been at once shown. Then, as no one had any object in being dishonest, and as dishonesty would have involved extra trouble, and would have been at once detected, it is only fair to assume that the editor of 1592 was speaking the truth. Was, then, this Dedication forged for the edition of 1567? It is incredible that it should have been. It purports to have been addressed to a member of the royal family of Portugal still reigning in 1567, for D. Sebastian, D. Maria's grand-nephew, was then king. It professes to be at least ten years old, as it refers to D. João III. as still alive. Would André de Burgos, who, as before said, was "printer and knight of the household of the Cardinal Infante," have dared to have published such a document without the consent of D. Maria, who was still living? Certainly not. And why should he publish a forgery relating to D. Maria, or why should she consent to his doing

so? There was no reason. The only person who could have any object in such a forgery was Moraes. We can understand his reason for telling lies when his book first appeared, if it was a translation, but not for his committing a forgery in 1567, when his authorship was generally admitted. To endeavour to strengthen his case by a forgery would have been a confession of weakness. He could not have done so without the consent of D. Maria, who probably would not have given it; and if she had, it would have been noised abroad in a few days. In 1567 Moraes was full of years and honours, and was not at all likely to imperil his reputation by any such act of dishonesty and folly. We may be quite sure that the Dedication was not forged for the edition of 1567, but had been long in existence, and that André de Burgos got it from Moraes or D. Maria, or, at least, printed it with their consent. Those who are well acquainted with *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* will see at once that the Dedication and the *Disculpa de uns amores* are by the person who wrote the romance. Not only the style, but the cast of thought is the same in all three. As Benjumea says in his admirable 18th chapter: "The story (*fábula*) being known, the reader of the preface of Moraes (*i.e.*, the Dedication) cannot fail to recognise the same pen, the same lofty and judicious genius, the same moderation, gravity, and discretion, which are seen in the whole course of the former."

16. I have, so far, tried to show that the Dedication is authentic, by which is meant that it was really written by Moraes and presented by him to D. Maria, during the life-time of D. João III. But it by no means follows that the statements contained in it are true. If Moraes were only the translator, and were

passing himself off as the composer, it would be quite natural that he should misstate facts in his dedication. Mendes never considered this point, and apparently never thought of the possibility of the document being impugned, though it was only natural to expect that the Spanish partizans would try to discredit evidence so damaging to their cause. This is what Gayangos did. He first says, speaking of the edition of 1567, that neither in the title-page nor in the preliminary sheets is there the least mention of Moraes either as author or translator.[1] In front of the edition of 1592 appeared the prologue addressed by Moraes to D. Maria, "which it is to be supposed he would have attached (*pusiera*) to his translation, and which was not printed (*no llegó á imprimirse*) because it did not exist (*hallarse*) in the manuscript used (*que sirvió*) for that first edition, or for other reasons to us unknown." He then observes that in this prologue, said to be by Moraes, *author of the book*, the Portuguese writers (*literatos*) find irrefragable proof that *Palmerin de Inglaterra* was first written in Portuguese (*Rev. Esp.*, p. 86). He next quotes the prologue (dedication) from *Eu me achei* to *fruto*,[2] translating into Spanish, and proposes to see what truth there is in the statement of Moraes. He says it is well known that writers of books of chivalry, with inconsiderable exceptions, concealed their names; at times, because they felt a certain shame at announcing themselves as authors of books well-known to be fabulous, again, because they feared to be the mark of the criticism and censure of their contemporaries. Next he refers to the censure of these books by the Church and learned, and says that to this has to be

[1] See *supra*, p. 73.
[2] App. v.

attributed the sort of hypocrisy with which in prologues and dedications these writers endeavoured to divest themselves of the responsibility for their fictitious chronicles, alleging them to be translations from the Greek, Arabic, or Syriac, and telling wondrous tales of how they came into their hands (*ib.*, pp. 86, 87). After giving many instances of this he asks why, when the falsity of such statements is shown, we should believe what Francisco de Moraes says, and that not in an edition made during his life-time, but in a much later and unauthorised one (*desautorizada*). There is no trace of Albert de Renes, nor of Jacques Biut and Henry Frust.[1] Moraes "speaks of a chronicle of D. Duardos which no one has seen printed or in manuscript, and says it was current in Portugal translated into Castilian, and finally adds that he saw another Palmerin, son of D. Duardos, which was the one (*misma*) *he decided to translate*. Frankly, what appears to result from all this is that Moraes, during his residence in the court of France, found a copy of the Castilian *Palmerin* in the possession of someone and turned it into Portuguese. That the book was already known in France is sufficiently proved by the fact that it was translated into French in 1553" (*ib.* pp. 87, 88).

17. The question whether the Dedication appeared in the life-time of Moraes has been already considered (paras. 4, 15). It is not clear what Gayangos means by *desautorizada*. If he is referring to alterations in the edition of 1592, his remark is quite irrelevant; if he

[1] Here, as usual, Gayangos blunders. The names of the two *autenticos escriptores* are Jaymes (de) Biut and Anrico Frustro, and not as he gives them. These chrouiclers are not mentioned in the Dedication, but on pp. 392 and 395, Vol. III., of the Portuguese version. Ferrer omitted them, and much else, probably to save space.

means that this edition was published without consent of Moraes, this is quite true, as the author had been dead twenty years when it appeared. But it was no more *unauthorised* than a new edition of *Ivanhoe* would be now. It is necessary to notice this here, as the word is suggestive of something not quite above board. The only answer to the question put by Gayangos is, that on no account can we or ought we to believe this story of Moraes.[1] It is pure fiction, and totally opposed to the Portuguese case, which is that *Palmeirim* is an original work by Moraes, as well as to the Spanish case which attributes *Palmerin* to Hurtado. At first sight one would think that Gayangos was trying to darken counsel by suggesting that the claim of Moraes rested on the truth of this tale. But he has some excuse, for the editor of 1786 says :—" This notice of Mr. Bure leads us to believe that, long before Moraes wrote this book, it existed already in French, as a translation from the Spanish, not being entire fiction what Moraes says in his dedication." Mendes, too, (p. 19) says :—" I will not deny that he availed himself of the papers of Albert de Rennes, or of the chronicles of Joannes d'Esbrec, Jaymes Biut, and Anrico Frusto, whom he calls authentic writers; although such names are not found in any catalogue, or any historical dictionary, nor is there any notice of them in France." He then goes on to observe that he even believes the work could not have been " created (*creado*) in three to four years," that is, that Moraes must have had help. One can fancy the merry twinkle in the eyes of the latter if he had seen these remarks of the Brazilian critic. Benjumea, as usual, " wobbles."

[1] Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcelles regards the whole story as an invention.—*Versuch*, pp. 16, 17.

But at the end (*Discurso*, p. 79) he says that the question whether the book was a compilation or a translation from the foreign chronicles, or an original composition, ought not to embarrass any critic. In spite of all Moraes may say, it is easily seen that the tale is drawn from the arsenal of his own imagination. On the two following pages he considers the question in interesting, but for our purpose needless detail. But on p. 25 he declares that the chronicle of Don Duardos might have existed, and so might Albert de Renes, and is diffuse in suggestions. He remarks (*ib.*) that: "In my opinion (*concepto*) the prologue, or confession made by Moraes, bears all the signs, marks, and appearances of being candid (*ingenua*), and there is nothing in it which affords room for well-grounded suspicions." On p. 73 he thinks the chronicle which Moraes alleges (*pretende*) he found in the possession of Albert de Renes could not have been in French, as he would not have understood it. More probably it was in English (!) It is needless to go further in this matter. I agree with the final opinion of Benjumea, and with Southey, who says that beyond a doubt the account which Moraes gives of discovering the manuscript implies that the story is his own (*Preface*, p. xi.)

18. There are, however, a few collateral points which must be noticed. Benjumea in Chapter IX. of his *Discurso*, one of the best in the book, notices the reasons Gayangos gives why writers of romances of chivalry concealed their names, and denies that it was because they felt any shame at announcing themselves as authors of works well-known to be fabulous, or feared criticism or censure. Some wrote anonymously because they knew they were inferior plagiarists, but many gave their names. The authors had nothing to

fear from criticism or censure, as if some condemned the books, others praised them.[1] Such authors in order to justify their extraordinary and portentous fictions pretended (*suponian*) to have found them written in remote chronicles of great (*famosos*), if unknown, authors.—We must carefully distinguish between the omission of the authors' names in their romances, and the tales told about the discovery of old chronicles. How far the names really were omitted is not clear, though probably in the majority of cases they were. But even in these cases the authors were often well-known. We cannot say why the names did not appear. The custom of the publishing trade may have had something to say to it. The reasons given by Gayangos can have applied but rarely. Authors are seldom ashamed of their work. On the contrary, they are as proud of the too often worthless progeny of their brain as a young mother is of her squinting baby. The writers of romances were not at all bashful. They are always speaking of their work as this "grande historia,"[1] and sometimes they, or their publishers, even get poets, in barbarous Latin or doggrel vernacular, to eulogize the writers and their tales and to recommend the purchase of the latter. Even now it is quite common for books, even good books, to be published pseudonymously, which is practically the same as anonymously. If the authors are moved by shame, it is not shame that their works are fiction. The reason

[1] "Destos caballerescos libros, aborrecidos de tantos y alabados de muchos más."—*Don Quixote*, Prologue, Pt. I. "Guevara, the learned and fortunate courtier of Charles the Fifth, declared that men did read nothing in his time but such shameful books as 'Amadis de Gaula, 'Tristan,' 'Primaleon,' and the like."—Ticknor, II., 164 (ed. 1888).

[2] The Portuguese *Palmeirim* is an exception. These words do not occur in it, that I know; certainly not in the edition of 1852.

Gayangos gives for the fact that authors of romances claimed to have translated their works from old chronicles in Greek, Arabic, Syriac, etc., is not correct. The real reason is stated by Delicado, the revisor of *Primaleon*, who in the Venetian edition of 1534 (Introd., fol. iii.) writes: "Porque estas cosas que cuentan los componedores en la lengua Española si bien dizen que son fechos de Estrangeros dizen lo por dar mas autoridad a la obra llamãdola Greciana por ser semejança de sus antigos hechos." It was to give more credit to their stories, and not because they were ashamed of them, or to avoid responsibility, that authors resorted to this fiction.

19. A more important question, as regards our enquiry, is whether we are to consider what Moraes says about the chronicle of D. Duardos as fiction, for if we are, it seems a needless and clumsy addition to the obligatory fable. He says that he saw in France some French and English chronicles, "among them I saw that the princesses and ladies praised extremely that of D. Duardos, which is current in these parts (*nessas partes anda*) translated into Castilian, and is esteemed by many." Gayangos says that no one has ever seen this chronicle which Moraes said was current in Portugal (so he renders *nessas partes*) translated into Castilian, and clearly implies that there never was such a work. In his *Opusculo* (p. 17) Mendes mentions this chronicle, but his remark is not of any importance here. Benjumea (*Discurso*, p. 25) says there might have been a chronicle of *D. Duardos*, though neither Gayangos nor anyone else had seen it or had any information about it. On p. 72 we have a good specimen of this critic's manner:—"*Don Duardos*, a knight whose chronicler was a Portuguese; for he (*i.e.*,

Moraes) says the story was current in Paris (so Benjumea renders *nessas partes*)[1] translated into Castilian, and it may be suspected that this translation was made by an editor like Ferrer, from a Portuguese text due, perhaps, to the son of the señora *Augustobriga*, authoress of *Primaleon*. The manner in which Moraes expresses himself implies that the chronicle of *Don Duardos* was so well known in Portugal, that it was not necessary to give any more marks or references in order to conjecture what book was in question, Besides this, the phrase 'which is current in those parts' ('*que anda en esas partes*') implies that it was not a French composition, and the expression 'translated into Castilian' that it was not a Spanish original, as then he would not have said *translated*, but written or 'composed in Castilian.' Well, if it was not Spanish nor French, and the language in which it had crossed the Pyrenees was Spanish, what could the original have been but Portuguese? This indication of Moraes, to which I call attention, is of much value for the decision of the questions concerning the authenticity of the chronicles of the royal family of the *Palmerins*, and even of the trunk and root of the *Amadises*, which (the trunk and root), without any doubt, proceed also from Lusitania." Who would think that all this referred to a chronicle which Gayangos said no one had ever seen, and of which Benjumea knew absolutely nothing, for on p. 75 he makes the startling suggestion that the first part of *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* "might be the chronicle of *Don Duardos* which so pleased the French ladies, and which Moraes would have written in Spanish, and have

[1] App I. (13.)

published in Spanish, in Paris" ? From p. 24 it would appear that Benjumea did not understand the words *pola affeição de seu pai se estimaria*, as he makes them apply to D. Maria's father, D. Manuel, translating *seu* by *vuestro*, and stating on p. 25 that the affection of D. Manuel for the romances of chivalry is certain; whereas they really refer to Palmerin of England and his father, D. Duardos, as is shown by the fact that Moraes addressed D. Maria in the second person plural, not in the third person singular.

20. From the last paragraph it is clear that neither Mendes, Gayangos, nor Benjumea knew what Moraes meant by the chronicle of *D. Duardos*. The last of the trio ought to have known, as in Chapter XIII. of the *Discurso* he considers the merits of Southey as a translator and critic of *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, and that writer, on p. xxviii. of his Preface, speaking of *Primaleon*, says that this is the book of which Moraes speaks as the chronicle of D. Duardos. He does not give his reasons for this assertion, but I will give mine for thinking he is right. The presumption is that Moraes would not, in the middle of his plausible story about the "famoso chronista" Albert de Renes, make an utterly baseless statement about the circulation in Portugal of a non-existent work. Every reader in the country would be aware of its falseness, and this would naturally take away all credit from the rest of the story. It is, then, probable that Moraes was referring to some work much in vogue in Portugal, known as *D. Duardos*, and written in Spanish (Castilian). Now, *Primaleon* was very popular in Portugal. Theophilo Braga, on p. 236 of his *Amadis de Gaula*, quotes the *Espelho de Casados*, by João de Barros (not the Portuguese Livy), written about 1540, to the effect

that :—" When the youths begin to have some knowledge of the world, they waste their time on books most unnecessary and of little profit to them (*si*) or others, as the fabulous history of *Amadis*, the fables (*patranhas*) of the *Santo Grial*, the insipidities (*semsaborias*) of *Palmeirim* and *Primaliom* and *Florisendo*. . . ." The *Palmeirim* referred to is, no doubt, *Palmerin de Oliva.* The editor of 1786 says in para. 2, clause viii., of his Preface :—" O Memorial das Proezas,[1] generally attributed to Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos, and printed in Coimbra by João de Barreira, in 1567, which is the same year in which our *Palmeirim* was printed at Evora, expressly mentions the book of *Primalião* as a work then current with general acceptance. In Chapter 13 he says :—'She (the Nymph) took a book and began to read it aloud; this was the story of Primaleão and D. Duardos, which was much in vogue then, for everything has its time. . . . Whence it happened that they (the Nymphs) began to talk about who was the better lover, Primaleão or D. Duardos.'" On p. lxxi. of Vol. XL. of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Gayangos gives nine editions of *Primaleon*, but not one of them in Portuguese. We can, then, only assume that the book was known in Portugal in Spanish, especially as the first French translation dates from 1550.[2] The title of the book is : " Libro segundo de

[1] This work, *Memorial das Proezas da Segunda Tavola Redonda*, by Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos, was republished in Lisbon in 1867. The passage quoted is on p. 63. The discussion was of some length. It is supposed to have taken place in the reign of Sagramor, immediate successor of King Arthur (!). For some account of this romance see App. XII.

[2] This is the year of the first edition (of little more than Book I.) given by Graesse (*Trésor*), and of the first in the British Museum. It was published by Estienne Groulleau and translated by François de Vernassal.

Palmerin que trata de los grandes fechos de Primaleon y polendos sus fijos : y assi mismo de los de don Duardos principe de ynglaterra. . . ." This is the title of the edition of 1524, as given by Gayangos, as he doubts the existence of an earlier one of 1516.[1] The object in quoting the title is to show that it contains the name of D. Duardos as well as of Primaleon ; and there is no reason why the Portuguese should not have known it by the name of the former, which would remind them of their great king D. Duarte, and be much more popular than an outlandish name like Primaleon. And in confirmation of this opinion may be cited the Tragi-Comedy of Gil Vicente, called *Dom Duardos*, founded on episodes in *Primaleon*, and written in Spanish. Among the characters are D. Duardos, the emperor Palmeirim, Primalion, *his son*, and Flerida. The heading says it was represented before (*ao*) the most serene prince and powerful king D. João III. Its date is not known.[2] From all this I think it is shown that *Primaleon* was a favourite book, extensively read in Portugal ; that it must have been current in Spanish ; that the relative merit of the heroes, Primaleon and D. Duardos, was a subject of discussion ; that the title would justify the book being spoken of as D. Duardos, especially in a foreign

[1] There was an earlier edition, published at Salamanca in 1512. The title is: "Libro segundo del Emperador Palmerin en que se recuentan los grandes y hazañosos fechos de Primaleon y Polendus sus hijos y otros buenos cavalleros estrangeros que a su corte venieron." Salvá y Mallen, II., 90. D. Duardos is mentioned in the title, according to Gayangos, of the edition of 1516.

[2] *Obras de Gil Vicente*, Lisbon, 1852, Vol. II., p. 181. Braga treats of the work in his *Gil Vicente*, p. 348. His statement: "Gil Vicente tratou logo este episodio, que depois se desdobrou nas mãos de Francisco de Moraes na novella do *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*" is not correct, if it means that both works treat of the same episode. The remarks of this writer, as regards books of chivalry, must be received with great caution.

country like Portugal, where historical associations would make that name more popular; and, further, that there is a dramatic work by a great contemporary Portuguese writer founded on episodes in *Primaleon*, and called *Dom Duardos*. These reasons leave no doubt in my mind of the correctness of Southey's opinion.[1] If it is right, so far from the mention of the chronicle of *D. Duardos* by Moraes casting doubt on his veracity, it is evidence in favour of it and of his accuracy. If it is asked how Moraes came to say that the book was translated into Castilian, the answer is simple. *Primaleon*, according to custom, professes to be a translation, this time from the Greek. There are, however, two other objections—one, that Moraes says he saw the ladies praised among the French and English chronicles that of D. Duardos, and how could this apply to *Primaleon*, a work composed in Greek? But as the book deals so much with the adventures of the English prince, it might fairly be spoken of as an English chronicle.[2] The second objection is more difficult to answer. It is that, though *Primaleon* is mentioned at least six times in *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, I., II., 24, 41, 85, 236; III., 247), it is never called *D. Duardos*. After all, it simply comes to this, that of two permissible names Moraes preferred to use one in a formal work and the other in a private communication.[3]

[1] This is also the view taken by Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos. *Versuch*, p. 13.

[2] The first Book of *Primaleon* is mostly taken up with the exploits of Polendos, the remaining two with those of Primaleon and D. Duardos. The last hero is at least as important as Primaleon, and, judging from the impression left on my mind, has as much space devoted to him.

[3] Those acquainted with romances of chivalry will not be disturbed by finding mention of a "history of Don Duardos" in *Primaleon*. Relating how Pompides became king of Scotland, an episode also treated of in *Palmerin of England* (Chapter CXXXII.), though somewhat

21. But, even if Gayangos were right so far as saying (1) that the Dedication did not appear before the *unauthorized* edition of 1592; (2) that the story about Albert de Renes is not true; (3) that there was no such chronicle as that of D. Duardos; and (4) that Moraes said he saw a chronicle of Palmerin, son of D. Duardos, which he decided to translate; by no process of reasoning can he deduce therefrom that Moraes translated from the Spanish version. Gayangos may think he did, but these grounds do not warrant the conclusion; for all they come to is this: the Dedication is of doubtful authority; there are false statements in it; it is said in it that the writer translated his book. From these premises one clearly cannot deduce (as Gayangos does); therefore, he translated from the Spanish. The argument "that the book was already known in France is sufficiently proved by the fact that it was translated into French in 1553" is simply begging the question. Certainly if, when Moraes wrote his book, *Palmerin* was already known in France, his work was not the original. But that it was known is just what the Portuguese advocates deny, and their opponents have to prove, not by mere assertion, but by rebutting the arguments to the contrary. Gayangos is also too reticent as regards the year when he supposes Moraes made his translation, so that we have no way of testing the justness of the word "already." Before leaving this subject attention must be called to some words in the Dedication which show Moraes did not mean to say that he translated from the Spanish

differently, the earlier romance says: "Como se cuenta en la grande hystoria de don Duardos su padre."—Book III., Chapter VII. In Chapter XLVI. of the same Book, to be impartial it has: "Mas a la fin Frisol caso conella: y en la grande hystoria de Primaleon se cuenta muy largamente."—See App. I. (14.)

version, dating from 1547-48. He is speaking of the chronicle he tells us he translated, and his words are: "so damaged by the antiquity of its origin that with much difficulty I could read it." It was time-worn, a description which would have been unsuitable, even if applied by Moraes in the year of his death, 1572, to a work written when Hurtado was in his nurse's arms in 1530, and much more so, if any comparison is possible, when the interval, even according to the Spanish view of the case, was considerably less.

22. It may be said that as the statement of Moraes that he found an old chronicle of *Palmeirim* among the papers of Albert de Renes, and translated it, is admittedly false, no credence can be given to the rest of his Dedication. But this is not so. Such a statement was an almost obligatory form of presenting a romance of chivalry to the readers, and its object was to make the work more interesting by introducing a foreign element, to invest it with an air of mystery, and to render less incredible the preposterous adventures recorded in it; in short, to give it more credit, as Delicado says (*supra*, page 95). Such an introduction was purely conventional, and does not imply any failure to recognize the claims of veracity. No presumption, favourable or unfavourable, as regards the truth of the other statements in the Dedication, arises from the fiction about the manuscript of Albert de Renes. They must be considered on their merits. It is not necessary to prove at length that this form of introduction was almost universal. Those acquainted with the literature of chivalry, as represented in romances, are well aware of this fact. Gayangos, in his *Discurso Preliminar* (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., page xlvi.) says: "And the invariable custom of the writers of this class of

books being known, who, without any exception that we know, always pretended to have found their originals in Chaldean, Greek, Hungarian, or English, . . ." And some years later he states that it is well known that authors of books of chivalry, with inconsiderable exceptions, concealed their names; and, further on, that they used to allege that their fictitious chronicles were translations from the Greek, Arabic, or Syriac, and to tell wondrous tales of how they came into their hands (*Rev. Esp.*, pp. 86, 87). So obligatory was this procedure that Cervantes followed it in *Don Quixote*, and in Part I., Chapter 9, he tells us one of these wondrous tales, explaining how the Arabic note-books (*cartapacios*) of that work, written by Cide Hamete Benegeli, *historiador arábigo*, came into his possession.[1] Curiously enough, among the exceptions is the Spanish version of *Palmerin of England*. This does not claim to be a translation. Paradoxical as it may seem, the failure to do so causes a suspicion that it is a translation, while the statement of Moraes that his work is a translation raises a presumption in favor of his being the original composer. Why did the Spanish author

[1] *Cf.* Pulci, *Il Morgante Maggiore*, XIX., 153, 154:—

"Tanto è, ch'io voglio andar pel solco ritto:
Che in sul cantar d'Orlando non si truova
Di questo fatto di Margutte scritto,
Ed ecci aggiunto come cosa nuova,
Che un certo libro si trovò in Egitto,
Che questa storia di Morgante appruova:
E l'autor si chiama Alfamenonne,
Che fece gli statuti delle donne.

"E fu trovato in lingua persiana,
Tradotto po'in arabica e'n caldea;
Poi fu recato in lingua soriana,
E di poi in lingua greca, e poi in ebrea,
Poi nell' antica famosa romana,
Finalmente vulgar si riducea;
Dunque è certo la torre di Nembrotto,
Tanto ch'egli è pur fiorentin ridotto."

deviate from the well-recognized custom? Was it the result of a guilty conscience? There is a saying that you should not speak of a rope in the house of a man who has been hanged.

23. Having considered the authenticity and general trustworthiness of the Dedication we can now proceed to examine its statements in more detail. One can hardly fail to be struck by its sobriety and straightforwardness, and by the modesty of the author. Nearly the whole of the first half is devoted to explaining why he dedicated his work to D. Maria. He is very laudatory, but not more so than a courtier might justly be when addressing an accomplished young lady, a princess from whose mother, he says, he had received marks of kindness.[1] There is the usual, almost obligatory reference to a classical writer, but only to one, the Dedication in this respect forming a striking contrast to Ferrer's Prologues. Next Moraes explains how he came to make his translation from a time-worn chronicle which he found among the papers of the *famoso chronista* Albert de Renes. He then replies to those who objected to frivolous literature being addressed to so exalted a person; and goes on to say that the facts are given accurately, but the words are his own, and speaks modestly of his literary ability. He explains that he wrote in Portuguese because he thought this would please D. Maria, and he considered that language inferior to none other of Christendom in richness; and concludes with a becoming expression of willingness to accept criticism without complaining.

[1] Andrade, *Chronica de D. João* III., Pt. III., Chapter 90, p. 416, tells us that D. Antonio de Noronha was a relation of D. Manuel, husband of D. Leonor, afterwards wife of Francis I., and so a *persona grata* to the latter monarch. Moraes was attached to the Noronha family. Hence a reason for the kindness shown him by D. Leonor.

24. The Dedication is not dated. But, if it is trustworthy, the year it was written can be fixed with almost complete certainty. In the heading D. Maria is spoken of as sister of the king, and in the body of the Dedication he is spoken of as her brother. Therefore it was written between 1521 and 1557. D. Leonor is called "the Most Christian Queen of France," which points to some time not before 1530. The title of Conde de Linhares is not given to D. Francisco de Noronha, from which we conclude that the date is not later than 1556. (See para. 3.) Moraes was a courtier and a diplomatist, and was addressing a princess, and would, therefore, be exact in the use of titles, especially when speaking of her mother. He says :—"The obligation I am under to your Highness as daughter of the Most Christian Queen of France, your mother." But Francis I. died on March 31, 1547, and on his death Catherine de' Medici, wife of his successor Henry II., became Most Christian Queen of France. It appears to me that this title could not with propriety be given to D. Leonor after her husband's death.[1] If I am right, the Dedication could not be of later date than, say, April 1547, or some three months before the first volume of the Spanish version was completely printed. But the date can be put back further by nearly three years, and as Mendes has tried to do so, it will be well to hear what he has to say, especially as the answer of Gayangos and the reply of Benjumea have to be considered.

25. The argument of Mendes begins on p. 4 of his *Opusculo*. He says it is certain Moraes was in the court of Francis I.; for in his dedication, addressing

[1] This argument is used in the *Versuch* too, p. 11.

D. Maria, he states that he was in France a short time ago (*os dias passados*), in the service of Dom Franciso de Noronha, "ambassador of the king our lord and your brother," when he found the chronicle of *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* and translated it, "wishing to dedicate (*dirigir*) it to Your Highness." According to the *Quadro Elementar* of the Viscount de Santarem, Vol. III., D. Franciso de Noronha was ambassador in France in November 1543. In April, July, and August 1544, D. João III. wrote to the bishop of Tangier, who was then ambassador in France. On December 13, 1548, the same D. Francisco de Noronha was again appointed ambassador. He was, then, twice ambassador, once up to 1543, and again beginning in 49 (*sic*). "Now, when Moraes asserts that he had been in France a short time ago (*os dias passados*), a phrase indicative of his recent arrival, and when he adds that he was dedicating the *Palmeirim*, among other reasons, because he had in France received favours from the Most Christian Queen, widow of D. Manuel and mother of D. Maria herself (*por haver em França recebido mercês da rainha christianissima, viuva de D. Manuel e mãe da mesma D. Maria*), it follows that the reference is not to the second embassy, because in it (*d'essa vez*) the count could not have been in Paris till long after the death of Francis I., which occurred in March 1547, and when his widow no longer resided in Paris: for it is an undisputed fact that this lady, on the death of her husband, immediately[1] went to Flanders, whence she accompanied her brother Charles V. to Spain. It being established (*assentado*) that Moraes was in France only up to 1543 (*sic*) and that, on his arrival in Portugal, he presented his *Palmeirim* to the daughter

[1] Really October 1548. See para. 1.

of D. Manuel, this would be (*deita isso*) at the beginning of 1544. How does it happen that the translator of a work that appeared in 1547 dedicated his version in 1544? This sole consideration demolishes the whole of Salvá's edifice." (*Opusculo*, pp. 4, 5.)

26. D. Pascual de Gayangos replies to this argument, first by casting doubts on the trustworthiness of the dedication to D. Maria, a point we have already considered, and secondly by the following remarks:—"On such weak grounds does the Brazilian writer (*literato*) base his principal argument against the priority of the Spanish *Palmerin*. . . . He wants to prove that Moraes was in Paris before the year 43, that he there composed his *Palmerin*, and that consequently the Toledan, Luis Hurtado, who called himself author,[1] was nothing more than the translator of the book. But for this it was necessary to show by a series of syllogisms, that before the year 1547 Hurtado had in his hands the original (not printed) by Moraes; that the French translator, Jaques Vincent, when he translated the book into his language confounded, or rather could not distinguish between Castilian and Portuguese, and that the same happened to Mambrino Roseo, the Italian translator, both of whom (*todos los cuales*) must, of course, have had before them (*á la vista*) the original manuscript of Moraes, or, at the least, copies of it, seeing it was not printed till 1567, circumstances all so improbable that they scarcely deserve refutation." He then goes on to say that Mendes saw this, and so devoted a large part of his work to prove that the first Portuguese edition was not that of 1567 (*Revista Española*, pp. 88, 89).

[1] He did call himself *author*, but not, as far as we know, of *Palmerin of England*.

27. Benjumea naturally objects to this curious reply (*Discurso*, p. 32). He says Gayangos passes over the *dias pasados* as if he were walking on red-hot coals. He then repeats the argument of Mendes, and asserts it is most important (*principalisimo*), in spite of the dictum of Gayangos that they are *débiles razones ;* and the proof is, that he is reduced to ask that it may be shown, that Hurtado was in possession of the original manuscript (*el original*, no impreso) of Moraes. If it proved that Moraes could have written, or did write the book at the time of his first journey with the ambassador Noronha, it is a matter of utter indifference how a copy, printed or manuscript, got to Toledo. This is perfectly true. If it is shown that a Portuguese version existed in 1543 or 1544, it is for those who claim a Spanish priority to show grounds for believing that there was a Spanish version of earlier date. They cannot prove that the Spanish *Palmerin* of 1547 is earlier than the Portuguese of 1543-44 by simply saying : "Show us how the latter got to Toledo," which is the substance of the argument of Gayangos.[1] As to his remarks about the French and Italian translations, "they scarcely deserve refutation." No one now denies [2] that these were made from the Spanish edition of 1547 ; then why need the translators have had before them any Portuguese version, let alone the original manuscript, or a copy of it ?

28. But, in spite of Benjumea's approval and the weakness of the defence made by Gayangos, the argument of Mendes will not bear examination. The premise is false, and even if correct, it would not

[1] As a matter of fact, there was no necessity that the Portuguese version, original or a copy, should get to Toledo. The translation might have been made in Portugal, as I believe it was.

[2] Mendes did not. See *Opusculo*, p. 15.

warrant his conclusion. The whole argument rests on the statement that Moraes had received favours *in France* from the Most Christian Queen. But he says nothing of the sort.[1] His words are: "The obligation under which I am to Your Highness, as daughter of the Most Christian Queen of France, your mother, from whom I already received favours." As Moraes was born about the end of the 15th or beginning of the following century, and D. Leonor was in Portugal from November 1518, the time of her marriage to D. Manuel, till May 1523,[2] it is clear that the favours might have been received in Portugal. Again, even if the words *in France* had been used, it does not appear, from all Moraes says, why the favours might not have been received during the first embassy, and the book have been written during the second. In reality, the line of argument adopted by Mendes is quite futile. Two facts admit of no doubt. First, the Spanish version dates from 1547-48. Secondly, it is a translation from the Portuguese, or the Portuguese is a translation from it. For this I can vouch, having compared both versions carefully from beginning to end, and as the extracts given in Chapter VIII. will show. If the dedication to D. Maria is trustworthy, and Moraes claims to be the author of *Palmeirim*, he must be referring to the first embassy, which was before 1547; but, if he claims to be only the translator from the Spanish, he must be alluding to the second embassy, which began at the very end of 1548. Now, Moraes never said he had translated from the Spanish, and, as far as I am aware, no one ever asserted he

[1] App. I. (15).

[2] Fr. Luis de Sousa. *Annaes de D. João III.*, p. 19. Andrade, *Chronica de D. João III.*, Pt. I., Chap. 39, p. 143.

did say so. Consequently, he must be referring to the first embassy. Those, then, who consider the Dedication trustworthy will agree with Mendes that the words *os dias passados*, and the reference in it to D. Francisco de Noronha, coupled with the information afforded by the *Quadro Elementar*[1] concerning the embassies of that diplomatist, show that the Dedication is not of later date than 1544, and afford evidence of the existence of a Portuguese version at that time; for we cannot suppose that the Dedication was written before the book dedicated had been composed. To those who do not admit the Dedication to be trustworthy, it is useless to quote it. With them other arguments must be used. There is not the slightest doubt that Moraes was in France. Barbosa distinctly says so, and attributes to him two Reports on French subjects.[2] Independently of this untrustworthy writer, the fact is clear from the *Desculpa de uns amores*, a posthumous work of Moraes, which also shows that he was there in the time of D. Leonor, or when D. Francisco was in France on his first embassy. This is evident from the passage: "It appears she had heard the words some time or other from some Spanish lady who had come with the queen (*Parece, que as palavras . . . ouvio alguma hora a alguma dama castelhana, que com a rainha veio*"),[3] which can refer only to D. Leonor. Besides, we know otherwise that the lady

[1] The necessary extracts from this work are given in App. VI.

[2] See App. IV. A letter from Moraes, dated Melun, December 10, 1541, is still in existence. See App. II.

[3] *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, Lisbon, 1852. Vol. III, App. p. 44. The following passage in the *Desculpa* may be compared with what Moraes says in the Dedication about writing *Palmeirim* in Portuguese: "I composed another vilancete in Portuguese, for I consider I do wrong to my nature to love as a Portuguese and to record it in Castilian."—*Ib.*, pp. 41, 42.

who had heard the words was in attendance on her, as will be shown afterwards, when I come to treat of the episode of the four French ladies which is found in *Palmeirim*. There is nothing which even hints at a second visit of Moraes to France, with D. Francisco de Noronha.

29. I have already stated (para. 14) that Mendes was of opinion that the S. Francisco edition, that "printed abroad," was the one for which the Dedication was written. Let us now see what Gayangos has to say about this edition, on which he casts doubts, as he did on the Dedication. After his curious remarks given in para. 26, he goes on to say that Mendes saw this (the objections to his arguments) and so devoted a large space of his work to prove the edition of 1567 was not the first, but that there was an earlier edition, printed abroad and dedicated to D. Maria. If this is proved, the question, as far as Gayangos is concerned, is settled. He will not admit Hurtado's paternity simply on the strength of his having announced himself as the author by some acrostic verses, "as it is known how little scrupulous the writers of the 16th and previous centuries were in attributing to themselves and appropriating the works of others. But till it is clearly proved that such an edition did exist, or till such bibliographical indications (*señas*) of it are given as convince us, we must, in accordance with sound criticism, maintain our opinion that the Castilian book preceded the Portuguese." (*Rev. Esp.*, p. 89.) Mendes says that the first edition was that in the convent of S. Francisco, printed abroad in type between black letter and Roman, and probably in Paris, between the years 1540 and 1543. But what proof does he give that any such edition ever existed ?

Where is such a precious document now? Why is it not submitted to the judgment of those learned in the typography of that age? It is hard to believe that a Portuguese book should be printed in 1540, in the capital of France, in type used, as far as we know, only at Antwerp in an odd impression after that date, such as *El Cancionero de romances* and *La Propalladia* of Torres Naharro (1550). What happened to the whole edition that in 1567 there were no more copies of it, causing the editor of 1592 to call his the second and not the third; and finally, that none of the Portuguese continuators of *Palmerin de Inglaterra* knew of it or mentioned it? Books, especially in Castilian and Portuguese literature, there are, of which only an odd copy is preserved, and it would not be difficult to mention one or other of which the edition has been completely lost, but is this likely of a work so popular in Portugal as *Palmerin de Inglaterra*? (pp. 90-91).

30. Gayangos has totally misunderstood Mendes, whose weak point was not mistrust of his own arguments. He did not feel doubts about his opinion that the Dedication was written in 1543 or 1544, and therefore try to prove the existence of an edition earlier than that of 1567. Both propositions are parts of one and the same argument, namely, that the Dedication was written in 1543-44 for the earlier edition, which was that "printed abroad," and they must not be separated, as Gayangos has done. The answers to his questions are these. The proof that some such early edition existed is the statement of the editor of 1786, who saw it and used it for his work. and on the strength of it called his edition the fourth. As Gayangos says (*ib.*, p. 90), he was no common person. He had no object in making a false statement as

regards the existence of this earlier edition. He was so impartial that, on account of an entry in a French book, quoted by him on his own initiative, he says that he is led to believe that a Spanish version might have existed before the work of Moraes. What further evidence can any sane and fair-minded critic want? Doubts may exist as to whether the book did show signs of being printed abroad and about the type, for we do not know how far the editor was qualified to decide these matters of opinion, though, as he was a librarian in the public library at Lisbon, it is reasonable to assume that he had some knowledge of such points; but of the existence of some old Portuguese edition, not that of 1567 or 1592, there is no doubt whatsoever. As to where the book is now, we can only say we do not know. When I was in Lisbon, in April 1902, I enquired for it, and was told it ought to be in the National Library, but certainly was not there. When the convents were suppressed, many things they contained vanished. It is not produced for the opinion of the learned because it cannot be found. It is a mere conjecture of Mendes that the book was printed in Paris. It is a matter of indifference where it was printed, in Paris, or Antwerp, or anywhere else. There is no evidence to show that no copy of it existed in 1567. Its non-existence then is a gratuitous supposition of Gayangos. I do not know why the editor of 1592 called his the second edition. He may have meant the second edition printed in Portugal. Or only a few copies of the foreign edition may have been printed for D. Maria and the personal friends of Moraes, and the editor was not aware of their existence. All his statement implies is that the foreign edition is of later date than 1592, which is far more difficult to believe

than that the statement is erroneous (para. 11). The continuers of *Palmeirim* did not mention it for the same reason that they did not mention the editions of 1567 and 1592, because they had no reason for doing so. As to the question whether it is likely that a work so popular in Portugal as *Palmerin de Inglaterra* would be lost, it can only be answered that it is what has almost happened. Two of the three copies mentioned by the editor of 1786 have disappeared, that "printed abroad" and the Coimbra copy of the edition of 1567.[1] Gayangos must have been well aware that, in spite of the popularity of romances of chivalry in the 16th century, there were special reasons for their destruction, so that only rare copies are now found, scattered about in great public libraries or hidden away in the collections of bibliophiles. How completely *Palmeirim* had disappeared is shown by the fact that, in 1786, the editor could find only two mutilated copies of the edition of 1567. Little wonder, then, that he found only one of the earlier issue.

31. From what is said in the Dedication there is good reason to believe it was written in 1544. If there was a dedication of that date, there would also be a book dedicated. The Dedication shows the work was written abroad. From a trustworthy witness we know that an old edition existed in 1786 which, in his opinion, showed signs of having been printed abroad. It is a reasonable hypothesis that a book written

[1] On enquiry, I ascertained through a friend from the Librarian and the Officiating Librarian of the University of Coimbra that the copy of the Monastery of S. Bernardo, referred to by the editor of 1786, has disappeared. The books of the Monastery were, for the most part, transferred to the University, but some were sold, and many of these went abroad. The earliest edition in the University Library is that of 1592.

abroad would be printed abroad, and that this edition is the one for which the Dedication of 1544 was written.

32. The principal points connected with the Dedication of *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* to D. Maria have now been considered, and it will be well to give a summary of what has been said in this chapter, before going on to another subject. The arguments used have been directed to show that :—

(1)—The Dedication is found in the edition of 1592, or less than fifty years after Moraes is supposed to have written the book (para. 4).

(2)—It was not forged for this edition (para. 15).

(3)—The publisher says that his was the second edition ; the "first time" the book was dedicated by the the author to D. Maria (para. 4).

(4)—The "first time" must refer to the edition of 1567 (para. 4).

(5)—The numbering of the folios shows that the edition of 1567 might have contained a dedication (para. 4).

(6)—It would, according to the universal custom of the time, have done so (para. 4).

(7)—There is no reason why there should not have been a dedication in it, or why it should have appeared anonymously. The assertion that *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* was on the Index is not correct (para. 14).

(8)—There is not one particle of evidence to support the statement of Mendes that the edition of 1567 appeared without a dedication. He had never seen this edition. He made this statement in order to get out of a difficulty occasioned by the remark in *Don Quixote* that it was said (*fama*) that

Palmerin was composed by a king of Portugal (para. 5).

(9)—The fact that the publisher in 1592 prefixed to his edition a dedication to D. Maria, coupled with what is said in clauses 2 to 8, shows that he got the Dedication from the edition of 1567 (paras. 4 and 15).

(10)—If the Dedication was in the edition of 1567, it could not be a forgery, but is an authentic document (para. 15).

(11)—There is no reason to doubt the truth of what is said in the Dedication, except as regards the one statement that the work was translated from an old chronicle. This is a purely conventional fiction, found in almost all romances of chivalry, and in no way impugns the veracity of the writer in other matters (paras. 16 to 22).

(12)—The statements in the Dedication, combined with other information available concerning the embassies of D. Francisco de Noronha to France, afford strong grounds for believing that it was written in the first half of 1544, and that, consequently, as the existence of a dedication implies the existence of the work dedicated, a Portuguese version of *Palmerin* had been written some three years before the first volume of the Spanish edition had been printed (paras. 24 to 28).

(13)—A statement of the editor of 1786, who is a trustworthy witness, shows that there existed then a copy of an old edition, other than those of 1567 and 1592, which showed signs of having been printed abroad. It is a reasonable hypothesis that it was for this edition that the Dedication was originally written (paras. 29 to 31).

33. If the Spanish advocates do not admit the correctness of these conclusions, they are bound to give clear answers, with their reasons, to the following questions :—

(1)—Is the Dedication an authentic document or a forgery ? If the latter, who forged it ? when ? and for what purpose ?

(2)—If it is authentic, are the statements in it true or false, excluding that concerning the finding of the chronicle with Albert de Renes ?

(3)—If true, how do you explain the words *os dias passados* read along with the reference to the embassy of D. Francisco de Noronha ? When do you think the Dedication was written, if not in 1544 ?

(4)—Do you admit the existence in 1786 of the edition of the Convent of S. Francisco ? If not, what are your reasons for imputing a falsehood to the editor of 1786 ?

(5)—If you do, what date do you assign to this edition ?

When these questions have been answered, and reasons given for the answers, it will be possible to see whether the Portuguese case has been rebutted, or even weakened.

CHAPTER III.

THE ARGUMENT FROM NATIONAL PARTIALITY.

1. National partiality appears in *Palmerin*. Hespanha included Portugal. Portuguese more likely to speak disparagingly of Hespanha than Spaniard, p. 118—2. Arguments of Mendes: Miraguarda. Benjumea's reply, p. 120—3. Her nationality not known, p. 123—4. No predilection for her, p. 124—5. Her character, p. 125—6. The giant Almourol, p. 127—7. Arnalta, p. 127—8. The daughters of duke Calistrao, p. 129—9. Damsel, relative of Miraguarda, p. 129—10. Benjumea's suggestion about introduction of a king of Portugal, p. 129—11. Eulogy of Frisol, p. 130—12. Cardiga, p. 133—13. Evidence of partiality in description of (*a*) the country, p. 133—14. (*b*) the royal family, p. 134—15. (*c*) the government, p. 137—16. (*a*) the court, p. 137—17. (*e*) the ladies, p. 139—18. (*f*) the knights, p. 140—19. Summary of conclusions, p. 141.

1. *Palmerin of England* is a work of considerable size. It is not, as Benjumea says (*Discurso*, p. 64), as long as *Don Quixote*, but it is about two-thirds the length of that book. It is almost certain that in so many pages the author of a work, the scene of which was largely laid in Spain and Portugal, and who was himself a Spaniard or Portuguese, would, intentionally or inadvertently, say something from which his nationality could be presumed. This is what has happened in the present instance. We have passages showing national partiality or prejudice from which a presumption arises that the author was a Portuguese. When considering this point we must carefully keep in mind that the events recorded in *Palmerin* are supposed to have taken place when Spain and Portugal were still united. The term

Hespanha (Sp. *España*) did not refer only to the country known in the middle of the 16th century as Spain, but probably included the whole of the peninsula except Navarre. It certainly included Lusitania or Portugal, as may be seen from the following passage. Florendos and his companions are described as being "cast on the coast of Hespanha, and so advanced in it that they were almost at the boundary of the warlike Lusitania, a province then inhabited by many and very valiant knights, and where by the influence of the planet which rules it, very famous ones have always existed; although at that time those of most renown had gone in search of Recindos, their natural king and lord, of whom nothing was then known, seeing he was imprisoned by Dramusiando, as already said. And the sailors and pilot, recognising the country, resolved to disembark in the city of Altarocha, afterwards called Lisbon, the name of which is said to be derived from the founders."[1] Again: "They tell me there is a hazardous enterprise in Hespanha at the castle of Almourol," (I., 439); and there is no doubt this castle was in Lusitania, as the description given in I., 330, clearly implies.[2] It is said to be close to Thomar (II., 240). It is still standing, and is a long way inside the Portu-

[1] "Acharam-se tão longe d' Inglaterra como aquelles que eram lançados na costa de Hespanha e tão mettidos nella, que quasi estavam no fim *da terra* da belicosa Lusitania, provincia então povoada de *muitos e* mui esforçados cavalleiros, onde por virtude do planeta que a rege, os houve sempre mui famosos; posto que naquelle tempo os que maior fama tinham eram idos em busca de Recindos seu natural rei e senhor, de que se então não sabia por estar na prisão de Dramusiando, como se já disse. E, reconhecendo os marinheiros e piloto a terra, determinaram sahir na cidade de Altarocha, que depois chamaram Lisboa, cujo nome dizem, que se derivou dos fundadores della." (I., 329). The Spanish omits the words in italics, and has *buenos* for *famosos*, and *Altaroca* for *Altarocha*. Otherwise both versions agree.

[2] In this passage it is stated to be in the Tagus (*no meio d'agua*), but later on as situated on the bank of the river (*assentado na borda*); I., 373. Perhaps, *na borda* means here "towards one side."

guese frontier.[1] But though we must be careful not to apply what is said about Hespanha to Spain alone, unless the context shows that Portugal is not included, still, if we have to decide whether a writer of the 16th century (when Spain and Portugal had long been separate kingdoms, and regarded each other with no little dislike, due to frequent wars between them) who praises Portugal and speaks disparagingly of Hespanha, even though referring to a time when both nations formed one kingdom, would more probably belong to the smaller portion which had separated from the larger and no longer bore the joint name, or to the larger portion which still retained it, I think it cannot be doubted that the former is the more likely. In other words, a native of Portugal, speaking of *Hespanha*, even if alluding to a time when that name included Portugal, is more likely to express himself slightingly than a native of Spain. After these preliminary remarks we shall be in a position to judge of what *Palmerin* discloses to us concerning the nationality of the author.

2. Of course, Mendes did not overlook this obvious line of argument which strengthens his case. The manner in which he and Benjumea have treated it, and the manner in which Gayangos has avoided it, going off at a tangent, are very characteristic of the way the whole controversy has been conducted.

[1] Appendix VIII. See also I., 410; II., 390 and III. 396. There is no passage found in both versions, except I., 330, from which we can deduce that Almourol was in Lusitania. In III., 61, and III., 74, where the Portuguese version speaks of Miraguarda as in *Lusitania* and *Portugal*, which implies that the castle of Almourol was so too, the Spanish has *España*. The passage (I., 37c), where Miraguarda is spoken of as in Lusitania, reads differently in the Spanish version, as in place of *guerreira Lusitania* we find *guerra despaña*. This absurdity is repeated in the Italian translation, which shows it was made from the Spanish. The French paraphrases.

Mendes begins by saying that Miraguarda (one of the principal heroines) was a Portuguese, and "he who studies *Palmeirim*, at every step recognises the predilection of the author for her." (*Opusculo*, p. 9). In proof of this special liking he quotes Chapters 60 and 61[1] to show the impression her beauty made on Palmeirim, although devoted to Polinarda, who would appear to be the principal heroine. As regards the first passage, Mendes should not have concluded his quotation where he did, but should have given the next sentence :—"It appears to me not much that he should overcome all, as he has so clearly reason on his side; but I should like to see what he will do with me, who have still greater reason on mine," by which Palmeirim meant that the beauty of Polinarda was greater than that of Miraguarda. On the same page (10) he quotes the passage in Chapter 150[2] (he says 149) describing the arrival at Constantinople of the fleet with the kings of France and Hespanha, and Miraguarda, and how "in a galleon which made the greatest show in the fleet came the beautiful Miraguarda . . . for as Recindos was certain that it was the intention of the emperor to marry her to his grandson Florendos, heir to the empire, he wished to treat her with such distinction that, with consent of Arnedos, her vessel was made the admiral-ship (*capitana*), and in it alone, as the principal ship, were placed the standard at the maintop (*gavea*) and the lantern in the stern."[3] As another proof of the predilection of the author for Miraguarda he mentions the fact of her being married, though a simple lady (*fidalga*), before Lionarda and Polinarda, a

[1] I., 374; I., 383.
[2] III., 197.
[3] The Spanish omits "and the lantern in the stern."

queen and princess, to Florendos, who was inferior in prowess to Floriano and Palmeirim; and this in order "to do more honour to Miraguarda"[1] (pp. 10, 11). What has Gayangos got to say to all this? Absolutely nothing. *Tacet.* But Benjumea promptly contradicts his fellow-champion—and himself. On p. 43 of his *Discurso* he tells us that, as regards beauty, Miraguarda is certainly the first, but at the same time the colours in which she is painted do little credit to her character; and on p. 45 he says she occupies a very secondary position among the beauties who figure in *Palmerin.* "As regards high birth, dignity, beauty, and adornment of virtues, and the fame of the knight who served her, *Polinarda,* daughter of *Primaleon,* heir to the empire of Constantinople, occupies the first place, and is mistress of the thoughts of *Palmerin of England,* the protagonist of the tale. Among the *dramatis personæ*, *Targiana*, the daughter of the Grand Turk *Albayzar*,[2] is of more importance for the conduct and development of the plot, and defending her beauty he combats and defeats many more knights than *Florendos* does in defence of *Miraguarda.* As a character nothing speaks well for this lady of diabolical nature, *isenta* or self-possessed, vain, proud and puffed up with a high opinion of her person, who had no other gift than bodily and physical beauty. A hyena in human form could not be more insensible or devoid of love, for besides not recognising, nor even rewarding with her approval the fidelity and services of the faithful lover *Florendos*, her only delight was to see knights mangled,

[1] III., 211.

[2] Albayzar was not the Grand Turk. He was Soldan of Babylon and husband of Targiana, daughter of the Grand Turk, I., 438; II., 38, 119, 136; III., 243. The passage in the *Discurso* seems corrupt. I give what appears to me its meaning.

and the environs of her castle stained with blood in the battles fought on account of her beauty."[1] This is a sad account of Miraguarda, and shows there was at least one person who did not recognise the author's predilection for her. But why is Benjumea so bitter? The following sentence explains: "Finally, even if she had been an angel and the principal female character, Miraguarda was a Spaniard. . . ."

3. Now, the fact of the matter is, that there is nothing in the book to show whether Miraguarda was a Portuguese or a Spaniard. We are first introduced to her (Vol. I., p. 310) when Daliarte makes known who the lady was of a knight who had successfully defended a bridge against all comers. "Her name is Miraguarda . . . (She) is a native of Hespanha, daughter of the count Arlao,[2] a person of much worth, and she herself of such extreme beauty, that no one has once seen her, who would not desire to risk his life to see her a second time." The only reason for saying she was a Portuguese is that she resided in the castle of Almourol, which, undoubtedly, was in Lusitania. But Almourol was not her original home. On account of the fatal consequences of her extraordinary beauty, which threatened the destruction of the realm through the rivalry and feuds of her lovers, in which some principal nobles and famous knights perished, her father, who frequented the court of Hespanha, sent for the giant Almourol, and asked him to take charge of her till she proper time came for her marriage. Accordingly, she

[1] "Mirò, quasi in teatro od in agone,
L'aspra tragedia dello stato umano,
I veri assalti, e il fero orror di morte,
E i gran giochi del caso e della sorte."
La Ger. Lib. xx., 73.

[2] Not Arnao, as Benjumea has it (*Discurso*, p. 45).

was sent to the castle of Almourol with some knights of her father's household, and matrons and damsels to attend on her and keep her company (I., 334-35). The sole ground for thinking her a Spaniard is that her father frequented the court of Hespanha. There is no further clue to her nationality, and this is not sufficient to determine it, because, as before said, Hespanha included Spain and Portugal. It would be easy to say something on both sides of the question ; but it would be mere speculation.

4. I cannot see any special predilection for Miraguarda. The honours shown to her were quite natural, and are explained in the book, or admit of easy explanation. Her ship was made the admiral-ship because, as is stated, she was going to marry the heir to the empire of Greece. For the same reason it was not unnatural that she should be married before Polinarda and Lionarda, especially as her husband was the emperor's grandson in the male line, while the husbands of the others were only grandsons in the female line, and, moreover, foreigners. The emperor is said to have had Florendos married first in order "to show more honour to Miraguarda" (III., 211). His reason for showing her honour was gratitude, as she had effected the release of his son, Polendos, and other Christian knights held in captivity by the Grand Turk, as related on p. 14 of this book (II., 243, 244). Any predilection shown would be for Portugal, in making a Portuguese lady a principal heroine, but for that heroine no special predilection is apparent. Of the four ladies who may be considered heroines in *Palmerin*, Polinarda was a Greek, Lionarda a native of Thrace, Targiana a Turk, and Miraguarda a Spaniard or Portuguese.

5. Benjumea's character of Miraguarda is not altogether just. She did not occupy a secondary position She was certainly inferior to Polinarda in birth, but not in beauty.[1] As to dignity and virtues, we have no means of judging. Polinarda is a very insipid character. She was fond of Palmeirim and anxious to marry him. and exhibits warm affection with good sense in a nocturnal interview they had (Chapter 135). Out of caprice she forbids him to appear before her (I., 106), and she speaks in a very nasty and unlady like way to Lionarda about Targiana and Floriano (II., 387). If it were not for these traits she would be merely a bran doll. From the adventure of the enchanted vase being entrusted to Palmeirim (II., 94) we know he was superior in prowess to Florendos, but otherwise this is hardly apparent, as the battle they fought was drawn, though Florendos remained in somewhat worse plight (I., 377). In renown, no doubt, Palmeirim was superior. There is nothing to show that Albayzar conquered more shields in the name of Targiana than Florendos did in that of Miraguarda. The former won a multitude (*multidão*) of shields (II., 81), the latter more than two hundred (I., 372), and finally Albayzar's and all his multitude (Chapter 89). Miraguarda was certainly not an amiable character. She was cold, selfish, and heartless, and, puffed up by a consciousness of her own beauty, she thought nothing too good for her. No doubt, "she loved the games men played with death" (II., 251), though not necessarily "where death must win." If she looked on at battles, it was only what all the

[1] On this point see I., 304, 383; II., 39, 101, 363; III. 303. The respective opinions of Palmeirim and Florendos are in I., 374 and 376. In II., 363, Polinarda is given the post of honour, but her right is doubted. Both she and Miraguarda are placed after Iseo la Brunda, the beloved of Tristan, la Beale Isoud, showing the author's good taste.

ladies did. Even the gentle Targiana watched the fight between her lover and Florendos and stayed to the end, and it was well for Albayzar that she did so (II., 86). In fact, the knights considered themselves aggrieved if the ladies for whom they were risking their lives did not encourage them by their presence (III., 82). And then we must consider the dreary life Miraguarda led, shut up in the castle of Almourol, with only that worthy but rather dull giant and a few attendants for company, and not allowed to receive visitors (II., 255). She was not wholly bad, as is shown by her treatment of Albayzar, who had expected a much worse fate, and deserved severe punishment for stealing her shield. She was harsh only to her friends (*os seus*), to others she was neither harsh nor mild (II., 240, 248). She had a modest confidence (*seguridade honesta*), grace, and frank openness, agreeing with her appearance. But after we have said all we can in favour of Miraguarda, it must be admitted that Benjumea's estimate of her is much nearer the truth than that of Mendes.[1] I have no doubt that Moraes had Torsi in mind when he drew the character of Miraguarda, not as she really was, but as his wounded feelings represented her after she had rejected his addresses. His description of Torsi is not unlike that of the other heroine (III., 73, 74) :—" And among them all it was Torsi who made most impression (*obrigou*) on him, for, besides that she was very beautiful, he found her nature similar to his own, for, as has been said already elsewhere, Albayzar was proud, haughty, and a despiser of everything." In any case, nothing

[1] The character of Miraguarda is best seen in the following passages; I., 331, 333, 371, 372, 377, 378, 382, 405; II., 74, 115, 240, 242 to 246, 248, 250, 251, 261, 428; III., 204, 211.

can be concluded as regards the nationality of the author from the account he gives of Miraguarda, for we are left completely in the dark as to whether she was a Spaniard or a Portuguese.

6. In his next illustration Mendes is more successful. He mentions (*Opusculo*, p. 11) the conduct of the giant Almourol in the first great battle, who is faithful unto death; having defended Recindos valiantly, he dies with him; "proving, let us say with Camões,

> Aquella portugueza alta excellencia
> Na lealdade firme e obediencia."

And when the dead kings and knights are interred in the Perilous Isle, the giant, "armed with a lance," is placed "at the head of the tomb[1] of the aged emperor Palmeirim as if to defend him." We may reasonably assume that Almourol was a Portuguese, as he owned the castle called after him, and situated in Lusitania, and close to which was one built by his father (III., 214). Most pathetic is the description of the death of Almourol (III., 332-336), whose "brute fidelity" (*fiel brutalidade*) was accompanied by such constancy "that he could not be induced to leave the battle." The passage relating to the Perilous Isle is, however, not found in the Spanish version, and so cannot be used as an argument in the present case.

7. Proceeding, Mendes next mentions cases where the author speaks ill of Spaniards (p. 12). He cites first "poor Arnalta, queen of Navarre . . . the only one represented as licentious and inconstant, and to whom he did not even concede the honour of being married along with the other ladies, who surpassed her,

[1] Really at the back, with a lifted mace, III., 393.

as she was only the fourth in beauty. . . . Is it credible that the Spaniard Hurtado would seek out a Spanish lady in order to impute to her the basest actions and sentiments, and would select a Portuguese as an example of pride and dignity and self-possession *izenção*) ? " Gayangos does not attempt to answer these remarks. He does not pass them by unnoticed. On the contrary, he misquotes Mendes and shows his ignorance of the tale, as already said on page 63. He lumps them with others referring to the local knowledge of the author, and says such anomalies are common (*Rev. Esp.*, 189-190). Benjumea simply refers to Arnalta as a personage belonging to España (*Discurso*, p. 45). Now, it is quite clear that Arnalta had nothing to say to Hespanha. She was queen of Navarre, and when *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* was written a kingdom of Navarre still existed. In the romance it is treated of as distinct from Hespanha. Recindos was king of Hespanha, but Arnalta was queen of Navarre. The auxiliary forces sent to the emperor Palmeirim from Navarre were quite separate from those sent from Hespanha (III., 279). In Vol. III., p. 87, we read :— "After having left Hespanha and passed through Navarre"; and on p. 120 :—"I saw the ladies of England, Greece, Hespanha, Arnalta in Navarre.[1] . . ." The ancient kingdom of Navarre comprised territory both north and south of the Pyrenees, or, say, in France and Spain. Arnalta might just as well have been a Frenchwoman as a Spaniard, especially as when Moraes wrote the kingdom consisted of only the northern or French portion, the southern having been

[1] See also I., 410. The passage in III., 193, does not necessarily mean that Navarre was in Hespanha. This appears from II., 200, and Chapter 110.

conquered by Ferdinand the Catholic in 1512, and incorporated with the Spanish monarchy. Indeed, if Moraes meant to represent anyone by Arnalta, it was, probably, a Frenchwoman. But there is no reason to believe he was doing more than inventing an imaginary character. Any way, there is not the slightest ground for saying Arnalta was a Spaniard.

8. The next instance Mendes gives (p. 12) is that of three knights who had wooed the daughters of duke Calistrao of Aragon; "but when they hoped for a reward for their services and to marry them, the ladies married three servants of their father, very unequal to them in every respect." Here the author certainly speaks ill of the fair ones, who he says were "beautiful in their appearance and deceitful in their deeds" (II., 452); and they must be held to have been Spaniards. We do not know to what country the knights belonged.

9. Finally, Mendes refers to a certain Portuguese damsel who misbehaved, as the sole instance of the kind attributed to a lady of that nation, and finds that the author makes excuses for her. The only clue we have to her nationality is her statement (Chapter 128) that she was related to Miraguarda, and as we do not know the country of Miraguarda, we cannot say whether the damsel was Spanish or Portuguese.

10. Benjumea, after noticing the arguments from local knowledge adduced by Mendes, which will be considered later on, says many objections may be opposed, and asks (*Discurso*, p. 44) what prevented the author from bringing a king or prince of Portugal to the elegant and chivalrous court of Constantinople. Nay, more, he might very well have supposed Portugal independent of Spain. It appears to me there were

good reasons why Moraes should not do so. Unless we were to hold that the events recorded in the story took place after 1140, it would have been an anachronism, and such mistakes are to be avoided if possible. The only exception is in the case of firearms, and in respect of them an anachronism would seem to have been almost obligatory in epics and romances. But a more cogent reason is that, if a king of Portugal had been introduced, it would have been necessary to represent him as a very secondary personage, like Recindos, king of Hespanha, and Moraes was too experienced a courtier to commit such a blunder in a book he was dedicating to a member of the royal family. I think he contrived, without introducing any independent king of Portugal, to pay a delicate compliment to D. João III., and if the latter had been too obtuse to see it, there would have been no difficulty in directing his attention thereto.

11. In the course of the story many kings and potentates die. Recindos of Hespanha, Arnedos of France, Dragonalte of Navarre, and others fall in the final battles. Amid the clash of arms there was, perhaps, no time for funeral orations; but Trineo, emperor of Germany (II., 144), and Fadrique, king of England (III., 59), "die in their beds,"[1] and no lengthy mention is made of their virtues. Palmeirim de Oliva, the great emperor of Constantinople, also passes away (III., 344); but though he is said to have been the most excellent prince of his age in virtues and deeds, and so the signs of mourning at his death surpassed those at any other (III., 346), he is treated very little better than Trineo and Fadrique. But the death of another

[1] Like the heroes of *Tirante el Blanco*. *D. Quixote*, I., chapter 6.

king is recorded (II., 23), of whom we have the following glowing panegyric, an admirable description of a good king, in admirable language: "Whose death his subjects greatly felt, for his qualities were worthy that they should. He supported them with justice and treated them with love; he ruled them with benignity, rewarded services, and punished faults as they deserved; he showed moderation in anger; he was calm in sudden haps, beloved of his own, feared by foreigners, desirous of peace, valiant in war. Finally, he was endowed with all the perfections which he ought to possess who has to hold the government of kingdoms; and above all he was king and man, a circumstance rarely found in weak humanity."[1] The monarch thus distinguished was Frisol, king of Hungary, of whom scarcely anything is heard in the book,[2] and who cannot have been eulogized in this manner without cause. The cause was, I think, that the royal family of Portugal, when Moraes wrote, claimed descent from the kings of Hungary. Duarte Galvão, a 15th century writer, in his *Chronica del Rey D. Affonso Henriques* (Chapter II., p. 3) says:—"This King, D. Affonso Anriques, who was the first King of Portugal, was grandson of the King of Hungary, on the side of his father, the Count D. Anrique, who was the legitimate son of the King of Hungary." The Portuguese

[1] Cuja morte seus vassallos grandemente sentiram, que suas qualidades eram dignas d' isso. Sustinha-os em justiça, e tratava-os com amor, senhoreava-os com benignidade, galardoava os serviços, punia os erros segundo mereciam, mostrava temperança na ira, moderado nos accidentes, amado dos seus, temido dos estranhos, desejoso de paz, esforçado na guerra.. Finalmente era dotado de todalas perfeições, que deve ter quem a governança de reinos ha de ter; e sobretudo rei e homem, cousa que poucas vezes na fraqueza humana se acha." The Spanish version adds "y señoríos" after "reinos," and omits from "and above all" to the end.

[2] He was an important character in *Palmerin de Oliva*.

romance *Clarimundo* was written by "an historian so serious and of such credit as the celebrated Juan de Barros," who, "there is no doubt, intended under the fictitious name of Clarimundo to represent the high deeds and glorious conquests of Enrique de Besançon or of Borgoña, and of his son don Alfonso Enriquez, from whom the ancient Portuguese branch descended."[1] Camões, in the *Lusiads* (III., 25), also refers to this belief:—

> Destes Henrique, dizem que segundo
> Filho de hum Rei da Hungria exprimentado,
> Portugal houve em sorte . . . .

and again (VIII., 9),

> Olha est'outra bandeira e vê pintado
> O grão progenitor dos Reis primeiros:
> Nós Hungaro o fazemos.

I can see no other reason why Frisol should be selected for such high praise, and it seems an intelligible one and not far-fetched. But it is only right to point out that his successor, Estrelante, who was killed in one of the final battles (III., 371), is not particularly noticed, and was placed below Recindos and Arnedos in the Sepulchre of Princes (III., 392).[2] This was probably because he was quite a young man, while they were of an earlier generation, and also because Estrelante had only recently ascended the throne (III., 318). He was one of the twelve, or rather thirteen champions (III., 297). The auxiliary forces sent by Hungary equalled those of Germany and France, and exceeded those of any of the other states (III., 278, 279).

[1] *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., pp. xlvii., xlviii., lxxiii. For some remarks on this romance see App. XII.

[2] This passage is not in the Spanish version.

12. Benjumea continues his objections (*Discurso*, p. 45) by saying that, while from Spain (España) come Recindos, his wife, Beroldo and Onistaldo, his sons, excellent knights, and Amalta (*sic*) of Navarre, Portugal sends only the ugly giant Almourol and the giantess Cardiga. "This, too, is no proof of great predilection for his native country." Predilection is not so much shown by introducing characters, as by the way the author speaks of those introduced. Arnalta did not come from Spain, as already stated (para. 7). The royal family belonged to Hespanha, that is to Spain and Portugal, but must be considered Spaniards. There is no reason to believe that Cardiga was a Portuguese, though Mendes too says she was (*Opusculo*, p. 11). The first time we meet her is in Constantinople, when Miraguarda begs the emperor to give Cardiga, daughter of the giant Bataru,[1] who belonged to his household, as wife to the giant Almourol (III., 213). The phrase *que em sua casa andava* is ambiguous, as *sua* might possibly refer to Miraguarda, but this is unlikely, as we should have heard of Cardiga before if it did, and there would have been no need to ask the emperor to give her to Almourol. But in any case, there is nothing to justify the statement that Cardiga came from Portugal, though certainly she went there.

13. I have now considered all that Mendes has said in this line of argument, except one passage to which I shall refer presently, and also the comments of Gayangos and Benjumea. The flight of fancy with which the latter concludes his Chapter XIV. need not be further noticed. I propose now to examine more exactly the remarks made in the book concerning Spain and Portugal, in order to see whether we can

[1] See App. I. (14).

discover in them any partiality for either country. These remarks refer to the country in general, the royal family, the government, the court, the ladies and the knights. As regards the country in general, the author does not speak in terms of praise or blame of Hespanha. He speaks in high terms of praise of Portugal (I., 329), in the passage already quoted in para. 1. This is the only one available for our purpose, for that cited by Mendes at the bottom of page 9 of his *Opusculo*, and which is taken from Vol. I., p. 330, runs differently in the Spanish version; instead of *da guerreira Lusitania*, we have only *de Lusitania*. On p. 370 of the same volume are two sentences laudatory of Portugal. The first is:—"but after he knew that he was in the warlike Lusitania," which is represented in the Spanish by "but when he knew that he was in the war of Spain" (*en la guerra despaña*), which is nonsense, as there was then no war going on in Spain. It may be a misprint for *guerrera España*, or an imitation of the *guerra de Gaula* in *Amadis of Gaul* (pp. 14, 18, 40). The second is:—"But when he disembarked he knew that he was in the city of Porto in Portugal, then already as noble as it was hoped it would become in the future" (*já então tão nobre como se esperava que ao diante fosse*), a sentence which suggests some mistake. The Spanish omits the whole of the portion in italics, probably because the translator did not understand it. The difference in the two versions renders these passages of no use for our purpose. As a cognate point it may be mentioned that the troops sent by Hespanha in aid of the emperor Palmeirim were less in number than those sent by France, Germany, or Hungary (III., 278).

14. The royal family is always spoken of respectfully,

sometimes praised. But Recindos occupied a secondary position. His valour (I., 99, 236) and his courtesy (II., 402) are lauded, and he must have had excellent qualities to excite such feelings of fidelity in the giant Almourol[1] (para. 6). The heroism of his son, Beroldo is described as "worthy of himself and of the son of such a father"[2] (III., 361). At the end, when already old, he, foremost fighting, fell in the first battle after the landing of the Turks and their allies (III., 332), and was buried at the left hand of the emperor in the Sepulchre of Princes (III., 392). The queen was a nonentity, as were almost all the other queens, and seems to have stood rather in awe of her husband (II., 390). We are not even told her name, but neither are we told the names of the queens of England and Hungary. From *Primaleon* (Book I., Chapter XXX.) it appears she was called Melisa, and from *Palmerin de Oliva* (Chapter 174) that she was daughter of Frisol, the king of Hungary already mentioned. There was one daughter, Belisanda, who is once named (I., 456). She was not thought worthy of having any knight to do doughty deeds for her sake, and no mention is made of her marriage, though we are told all this about the daughters of Arnedos, king of France. The three sons were Beroldo, Onistaldo, and Dramiante, all knights of metal true. Of Dramiante we hear least. At the end his arms are described (III., 320), and then he disappears. Onistaldo, who was of an impetuous nature, (I., 222) fell in the first battle (III., 333). Though he once encountered Beroldo without advantage on either side (I., 230), he was inferior to him in reputa-

[1] "Recindos, who wished to repay his loyalty by aiding him, as was always his wont," III., 332.

[2] The Spanish version has the common-place "worthy of fame."

tion, as is shown by his not being selected as one of the champions in the fight of the Twelve against Twelve[1] (III., 297). Beroldo was the most distinguished of the three brothers. The passage in which he is described as doing deeds worthy of himself and of the son of such a father has already been quoted. In Vol. I., p. 73, he is highly praised, and is spoken of as even a better knight than his father, Recindos, who, in his day, was one of the most excellent of the world. In this passage the Spanish omits the part relating to Recindos and mutilates other portions. In the first battle after the landing, when he had heard of the death of his father and brother, "like a being brutish (*cousa bruta*) and devoid of reason, he rushed into the thickest of the foes" and did wondrous deeds. "As Beroldo was beloved of many, many strove to be with him in that peril" (III., 334). Though grievously wounded, he survived both battles and returned home to rule over Hespanha. But in all-round excellence as a knight he did not occupy a very foremost position. He was one of the Twelve, but he attained not to the first three, Palmerin, Floriano (II., 268) and Florendos (I., 308). He was inferior to Dramusiando and Albayzar, and he succumbed even to Floramão, king of Sardinia (I., 135), who in his turn was defeated by Albayzar (II., 49), who fought a drawn battle with the giant (I., 443). As it is recorded of Onistaldo that he was impetuous, so a personal trait of Beroldo is mentioned. He prided himself on being elegant and

[1] These twelve were a baker's dozen, as thirteen knights are named. This is one of several mistakes in the book, and has not been corrected in the Spanish version. The battle of the twelve Portuguese with twelve English knights is well known from Canto VI. of the *Lusiads*. The *Memorial das Proezas* speaks of them as thirteen, p. 324. A similar fight is recorded in *Las Sergas* (Chapter 153). The famous Disfida di Barletta took place about forty years before Moraes wrote.

handsomely dressed (*se prezava de loução e ataviado*),[1] and in order to be the better served he always had with him two or three squires (II., 347). On the whole, it cannot be said that the author shows any special affection for the royal family of Hespanha.

15. He is not very complimentary to the government of the country. Floriano, on his way to and from the castle of Almourol with his troop of damsels, had several adventures with ill-conditioned knights who wanted to relieve him of part of his charge, or were using violence to a relative of Miraguarda, or who tried to steal the shield of that beauty. He sends the survivors to the court of Hespanha to receive sentence from the queen. In the course of a speech addressed to some of them the king says:—"The more I hear of the Knight of the Damsels, the more obliged I am to him, for he goes about correcting and amending by his strength that to which I in my negligence do not attend" (II., 450). It would be, however, unjust to let it be thought that it was only in Hespanha such lawless deeds were possible. A very similar state of affairs seems to have existed in the dominions of that most excellent of princes, Palmerin de Oliva, emperor of Constantinople, as may be seen in Chapters 86 and 87 of our authentic history.

16. Now let us see what its author says about the

[1] In this characteristic he resembles the English duke Astolfo in Bojardo's *Orlando Innamorato* (I. 60),

Leggiadro nel vestire e nel sembiante.

The three last lines of this stanza are a happy description of the way the English were "muddling" and "pegging away" lately in South Africa.

Chè molte fiate cadde del ferrante:
Quel solea dir ch'egli era per sciagura,
E tornava a cader senza paura.

court of Hespanha. The king and queen were at Toledo when Floriano arrived and sent his squire to ask permission to joust with any of the knights, who cared to break a lance in defence of the beauty of his mistress. The squire came to the apartment of the queen where the king was dining with her, and "casting his eyes on all the household (*casa*), though he saw many ladies, and some of them beautiful, yet clearly it appeared to him that all he saw was as it were nothing in comparison with the grandeur of the court of the emperor in which he had already been"[1] (II., 389). On the next page we read:—"The king and queen were much pleased that such an adventure should take place at their court (*casa*), as it was unusual; for everything was reserved for the court of the emperor where all the famous knights desired to go in order to make trial of their deeds; and if any such adventures did take place in Hespanha, it was at the castle of Almourol, and so the court was without them (*carecia dellas*)." On p. 396, a similar remark is made:—"The queen was glad to see such an occurrence and adventure at her palace (*casa*), and the ladies too, as it was something new at that court." All this is depreciatory; and it is almost needless to say that the knights of the court of Hespanha went down like ninepins before the English prince, Floriano.[2]

[1] The Spanish omits the words "the grandeur of." Similar passages will be found in *Amadis de Gaula*, pp. 116, 235, and in the *Memorial das Proezas* (p. 311), by Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos. In the last case the reference is also to the court of Spain, then Moorish.

[2] These passages, and especially the first, illustrate the meaning of my remarks at the end of para. 1 of this chapter. It is incredible that Moraes would have ever written in this way of the court of Portugal. And why should Hurtado do so of the court of Hespanha at Toledo? But Moraes might speak thus about the latter court. He was not always able to remember that Spain and Portugal were not separate kingdoms at the time of *Palmerin of England*. *Infra*, Chap. IV., para. 6.

17. Now about the ladies. Surely if Hurtado is the author, as he was a young man at an age when every woman appears an angel, he will pay his country-women some pretty compliments. From the mysogynist Moraes nothing can be expected but vulgar abuse. It must be confessed that the reflection of the squire, that all he saw at the court of Hespanha was as nothing to the court of Constantinople, is not promising. We are told that Floriano was off Malaga with Arlança and her attendants (II., 309). Next day, not considering that place, which was in possession of the Moors, very safe, he landed at a port belonging to Recindos (II., 313). They then proceeded by land, and on the very first day met four ladies, residents of a town close by (II., 322), who, as is seen from this itinerary, were clearly Spaniards. Floriano fights with certain knights who were in attendance on these ladies and is victorious. In accordance with the terms of the contest, the latter have to accompany him on his way to the castle of Almourol. Before they got there, they had all misconducted themselves, and though the author speaks of them as *arrependidas* (II., 408), another passage shows that their repentance was not very sincere. Contrast this behaviour with that of the four French ladies in Chapters 137 to 147, on whom all the blandishments of Floriano were employed in vain. Then there was the conduct of the daughters of the duke Calistrao of Aragon, perhaps considered still more disreputable, who, as already mentioned (para. 8), married their father's servants. Of course, the ladies of Hespanha come in for their share of the hard words applied to the fair sex generally in the second part of the story. But this we need not consider further ; they are not treated worse than others.

18. The passage (I., 329), in which the author speaks of valiant Portuguese knights, has been quoted in para. 1. In Chapter 137 (III., 64) he tells us how the French knights were unwilling, on account of the risks involved, to take part in the adventure of the four ladies. "Still some *Portuguese and Castilians* . . . . wished to essay this adventure, and as they are by nature of an amorous disposition, *especially the Portuguese* . . . some were found to do battle." The Spanish omits the words in italics, and for "as they" has "as some." Here the Portuguese version speaks well of both nations, the Spanish makes no mention of either. On p. 338 (Vol. III.) it is related how more than two hundred knights accompanied Palmeirim "of whom, like true and faithful friends, many perished, amongst them Ascarol . . . most of them *espanhoes*, whom the death of their king made to despise life." For "like true and faithful friends," the Spanish has "like very faithful friends and true vassals." The word *espanhoes* would apply to both Spaniards and Portuguese. The three knights who wished to relieve Floriano of part of his bevy of ladies, and were sent by him to the court of the king of Hespanha, describe themselves as belonging to the court, and one of them was much esteemed there (II., 416). Of the two knights who tried to steal the shield of Miraguarda, one was killed. The other was sent to the court of Recindos, where he had to confess his fault in the presence of his friends (II., 448). I do not cite Rocamor, Ferabroca, and Grutafora, as they were giants (II., 451). The impression left on one's mind is that all these knights were Spaniards, but as it cannot be proved that they were, we must not assume it as a fact. What is clear is, that very disreputable knights were thought well of in the court of Recindos, king of Hespanha.

19. What has been said in this chapter may be now summed up:—

(1)—The author was either a Spaniard or a Portuguese. In such a long work he would probably give some clue to his nationality by the favourable or unfavourable way he speaks of Spain or Portugal (para. 1).

(2)—Hespanha did not refer to Spain alone, but included Lusitania or Portugal (para. 1).

(3)—After the separation of the two countries, a Portuguese would be more likely to speak ill of Hespanha than would a Spaniard (para. 1).

(4)—Only passages found in both versions can be used for purposes of argument (para. 6).

(5)—In them the author speaks very highly of Portugal. He never does so of Spain (para. 13).

(6)—He speaks well of the royal family of Hespanha, but assigns it a secondary position. He just mentions the princess, and places the best of the princes comparatively low as regards strength and skill in arms (para. 14).

(7)—He speaks disparagingly of the court of Hespanha, and not favourably of the government of the country (paras. 15, 16).

(8)—In the only two cases in which we can be sure the ladies were Spaniards, they are represented in a very unfavourable light (paras. 8, 17).

(9)—Portuguese knights are praised, so are the knights who were members of the reigning house, and who must be considered Spaniards. In other cases the evidence is not sufficient to prove the nationality of the knights (paras. 1, 14, 18).

(10)—There is nothing to show whether Miraguarda, and one of her relations who is mentioned un-

favourably, were Spaniards or Portuguese. The author exhibits no predilection for Miraguarda (paras. 2 to 5, 9).

(11)—There is no reason to think Arnalta was a Spaniard, or Cardiga a Portuguese (paras. 7, 12).

(12)—The giant Almourol probably was a Portuguese. His fidelity is praised (para. 6).

(13)—The extraordinary eulogy of Frisol, king of Hungary, is intelligible if the author was a Portuguese, otherwise not (para. 11).

In short, the evidence afforded by the way he speaks of things Spanish and Portuguese is in favour of his belonging to the latter nationality.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ARGUMENT FROM LOCAL KNOWLEDGE.

1. What the argument means, p. 143—2. Its treatment by Mendes and Gayangos, p. 144—3. By Benjumea, p. 144—4. Absence of local details in *Palmerin*, p. 145—5. Spain, p. 147—6. Portugal, p. 149—7. The Tagus, p. 152—8. Ireland. Giants. Woods, p. 153—9. Ireland continued. Brandon's Head. Smerwick. Mountain of the Three Sisters, p. 156—10. St. Brendan. Moraes would have heard of him, p. 157—11. The Spanish writer substitutes St. Cyprian, whom Ferrer knew, p. 158—12. Question presented by paras. 8 to 11, p. 159—13. Author was acquainted with the sea, and so, probably, Moraes, p. 160—14. Summary of conclusions, p. 162.

1. This argument is based on the assumption that, if the scene of a story is laid in two countries, to one or other of which the author belongs, though it is not known to which, the probability is that he is a native of that country of which he shows a local knowledge, and not of that with which he exhibits no acquaintance. In the present instance, if in *Palmerin of England* we find minute and accurate details of Portuguese, and not of Spanish topography, the presumption is that Moraes was the author. But if such details are found only of Spain, and not of Portugal, we may reasonably suppose that Hurtado, or some other Spaniard, composed the book. This argument has been used by Mendes in a rather vague and superficial manner, and by Benjumea, and is, undoubtedly, sound. But only such passages can be used in support of it as are found in both versions. As usual, the controversialists have paid no attention to the fact that there is a good deal of difference between the two.

2. The argument of Mendes is based practically on one passage in *Palmeirim*. Two others referred to by him (*Opusculo*, p. 9) belong rather to the question of national partiality, and are considered in para. 13 of Chapter III. On p. 11 he quotes one taken from Vol. III., p. 214, relating to a place in Portugal, called Tancos,[1] and asks if anyone but a Portuguese would interrupt an account of royal festivities to speak of such an insignificant hamlet as it then was. To me he seems to mean that no one but a person with local knowledge would do so. Unfortunately, this passage is not in the Spanish version, and so the argument fails. The vague and summary manner of Mendes gave Gayangos some justification for assuming that what he meant was, that the author was a Portuguese because the scene is laid in Portugal and not in Spain, and so he says (*Rev. Esp.*, p. 190): "In no book of chivalry, as far as we know, does the scene pass in Spain, though the authors were for the most part born in our Peninsula," and then he cites various cases to prove this. If Gayangos had been acquainted with *Palmerin*, he would have known that Spain, as well as Portugal, is the theatre of no small part of the events recorded in that work. Mendes had read it, and could not have been so foolish as the assumption of Gayangos implies.[2]

3. Benjumea is clearer, but he thinks the choice of scene is in favour of the Portuguese origin of the tale:

[1] App. I. (16).

[2] According to Gayangos himself, some of the adventures of *Lisuarte de Grecia* do occur in Spain.—*Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., p. xxviii. In Portuguese romances, as *Clarimundo*, *Don Florando*, and the *Memorial das Proezas*, some of the events recorded take place in Portugal. So also in *Palmeirim*, suggesting, undoubtedly, a Portuguese origin of the tale. In my opinion, the scene is of little, the description of the scene of great importance.

After noticing the vague and indefinite way in which the author speaks of the different countries, he says (*Discurso*, p. 43) :—" But this same abstract colour which is generally observed in it (the poem) attracts attention to the rather minute and, moreover, exact description which it gives, not of the castle of Almourol, but of its situation and surroundings. If any country is described in *Palmerin* with a special combination of historical and geographical details, it is, without doubt, Portugal, and particularly the region and neighbourhood of the *castle of Miraguarda*, while traditions and local legends are not wanting which suggest that the author was well acquainted with the material he was treating; and seeing that this deviation (*tal escepcion*) from his ordinary method is made only in favour of Portugal, it might be said that, in reality, the author was a Portuguese. At least, one cannot imagine why a Spanish author with complete liberty to choose the scene of a story (*fábula*), should show such predilection for a foreign country." Here Benjumea is going off on quite a different tack. After referring to various passages, he continues (p. 44) :—" Such minute details are not found in *Palmerin* in respect of any other locality, and if they exist, are completely arbitrary, as happens when speaking of ports and castles in England, Scotland and Ireland. We see, besides, that the author knew not only the country and its natural features, which are described in a manner agreeing with facts (*verdad*), but also its traditions and history." Further on he says that this is the only indication in *Palmerin* regarding the scene of the story which can make us think the author was a Portuguese.

4. As Benjumea observes, there is an almost complete absence of local colour in *Palmerin*, as in other romances

of chivalry. In them one country is described in just the same terms as another; and the personages speak and act as if there was no such thing as difference of nation, manners or religion, except that the Christians frequently call on the Virgin, and the others, at odd times, on Mahound or their Gods. Local details, too, are almost entirely wanting. In *Palmerin*, the cities of Buda, in Hungary, and Cologne, in Germany, are mentioned. In England we hear of London, an important city; Sorlinga (I., 175), a place near the sea-port of S. Micheo (Sant Mateo in the Spanish version); and Esbrique (I., 56), a city which, if the latter (II., fol. lxiiii.) can be believed, was the seat of an archbishop.[1] Wales (Galez) and Cornwall are mentioned (I., 142), and the Cape of the Long Ships (*Longas Náos*, I., 153). The names of some English knights are given: Bravor d'Esbroque or Esborque, killed in the episode of the four French ladies (III., 131); Estrope de Beltrão, hurled to the ground by Graciano; and Carlonte, son of the Duke of Buckingham, who was similarly treated by Beroldo (I., 287). The Portuguese has Boquingão, the Spanish Bonquinon. The former is, no doubt, right. In the *Desculpa* Moraes expresses his jealousy of the English ambassador, who at the time seems to have been Lord William Howard, brother-in-law of the daughter of the last Duke of Buckingham, who was executed in 1521.[2]

[1] This looks like a foolish change by Ferrer. The Spanish has "Enesto vino el Arçobispo de Esbreque que los desposo" for the Portuguese (III., 23), "E logo os receberam." Esbrique seems to have been in England (though this cannot be proved), yet the archbishop betroths a Scottish princess.

[2] Moraes is supposed to have been in France from the end of 1540, or beginning of 1541, to the end of 1543, or the early part of 1544. During that time the English ambassadors were (1) Sir John Wallop, Feb. 1540 to Feb. 1541; (2) Lord William Howard, Jan. 1541 to Nov. 1541; (3) William Paget, despatched in Sept. 1541. Gairdner, *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Vol. XVI., pp. 851, 905, 962.

In France we hear of Paris and Dijon ; and the names of many other French towns and provinces occur in the chapters devoted to the four French ladies. Dijon is said to have been originally called Sonia. I can find nothing to confirm this statement ; but if *Sonia* is a misprint for *Donia*, the following passage from p. iv. of the Avant-Propos of Legoux de Gerland's *Dissertation sur l'origine de la ville de Dijon* may have some bearing on the point :—" L' histoire qu'on nous raconte du Bourg Dogne et de l'émigration de son Peuple, à qui l'on fait parcourir si aisément l'Asie pour retourner dans son Pays par les Palus Méotides est le rêve dont un Auteur a bien voulu amuser notre imagination." The great empire of Greece or Constantinople is not treated in a more liberal fashion than France. Let us now see what is said about Spain, and afterwards consider the case of Portugal and Ireland, the only two countries of which any exact topographical details are given.[1]

5. As regards Spain, we are told that Malaga was in possession of the Moors (II., 309), which raises an interesting and, for me, insoluble question as to when the events in this " authentic " history are supposed to have taken place.[2] Those who wish to see Benjumea's daring views on the subject will find them on page 46 of his *Discurso*. Then, a Spanish town, named Arjeda, is mentioned. There may be such a town, but I can find no trace of it, and cannot even guess at what place is meant. Finally, a city, Brusia, is said to be

[1] This paragraph does not contain all the places mentioned in *Palmerin*.

[2] From a passage in Vol. III., p. 293, we conclude that it was between four hundred and five hundred years after the time of Amadis, who was long before Arthur. (*Amadís de Gaula*, Chap. I.) The Spanish omits the fifteen lines from *porque* to *roupa*.

now called Toledo (II., 389). Luis Hurtado is put forward as the author of *Palmerin*. He was a native of Toledo, and lived all his life there, as far as we are acquainted with his biography. He ought to have known whether Toledo was ever called Brusia or not. I have consulted the following authors and can find no warrant for the statement:—Lucas de Tuy, Pedro de Alcocer (or Alcozer), Pedro de Rojas (Count de Mora), Ponz, Parro, Pisa, Ford, Gamero, and the *España Sagrada*. The nearest approach to Brusia I can find is *Ferrezola*, in the following passage from Pedro de Alcocer (Book I., Chapter 7):—"The name which don Lucas de Tuy and Iuã Gil of çamora write that this city had formerly, to wit, Ferrezola from the name of the said Ferecio its founder."[1] What Lucas de Tuy (*Chronicon Mundi*, p. 58, ed. 1608) says is simply:—"Ferrezola, id est, Toletum." Gamero (Pt. I., Book I., p. 88) speaks of *Fereciola* or *Serezola*. The name *Brusia* might come from Brutus, as some held that the city was founded by the consuls "Tolemone and Bruto," and the bishop of Gerona says its founder was "D. Junio Bruto." Ludovicus Nonius, in Chapter LIX. of his *Hispania*, noticing these opinions, declares that the names of these consuls are not found in the Fasti, and that Livy shows Toledo was founded before D. Junius Brutus. But even if the opinions were wrong, they might have influenced our author. Most probably, however, he knew nothing about the former name of Toledo, and merely wanted to give

[1] According to Alcocer, Ferecio was a magician who fled from Galicia, and founded Toledo, which he called Taygeto, from a city (Taygeta) in Laconia, of which he was a native, and on account of the resemblance of its name to that of the river (Tagus). Taygeto was corrupted into Toleto, as Livy, Ptolemy and others have it. Chapter VI., fol. xi. (v.), xii.

greater plausibility to the story by his statement, and, knowing Toledo was famed for magical arts, adopted a name resembling *bruxear* (to practise witchcraft). This is, however, only guesswork. The fact remains that there is no reason to believe that Toledo was ever called Brusia. Luis Hurtado, as has been already stated, wrote a description of Toledo. This does not help us, for he says[1] that he does not treat of the origin or foundation of this city, as Pedro de Alcozer had long anticipated him. These three local details are all we are given concerning Spain: the first is of no importance on account of its vagueness, the second seems purely imaginary, and the third, if not also imaginary, savours as much of local ignorance as of local knowledge.

6. When we come to Portugal, we meet with more topographical details and see the author was writing of what he personally knew. On page 329, Vol. I., the warlike (*belicosa*) Lusitania is mentioned, and Florendos lands at Altarocha, afterwards called Lisbon, "whose name, they say, is derived from the founders." Lisbon may have been called Altarocha, but I doubt it,[2] and believe the author has, in this statement, again been giving loose rein to his imagination. The name would naturally be suggested to one who knew Lisbon, by the situation of the city on a range of hills. The derivation of the name *Lisbon* (Olisipo) from Ulysses

[1] In his address to the Ayuntamiento. He more than once mentions Pedro de Alcozer, whom we may, then, consider the best authority up to 1576, when Hurtado wrote his *Memorial*. Some think that no such Pedro de Alcozer existed, and that the real author was the canon Juan de Vergara, but Gamero is said to have refuted this opinion. Pérez Pastor (No. 270); D. Tomás Muñoz y Romero, *Diccionario bibliográfico-histórico de España*, p. 259. Madrid, 1858.

[2] So does the *Versuch*, p. 26.

is well known.[1] On the next page the author speaks of the kingdom of Portugal, which would seem to show that he was not always able to remember that Portugal was then only a province. He also tells us how the gentle waters of the Tagus irrigated the principal fields of Lusitania, with which statement the *Lusiads* (III., 55 and IV., 23) may be compared, and then describes the castle of Almourol, showing a thorough acquaintance with it: "He had not gone far when he saw in the middle of the water, on a little island formed by the river, a rocky castle, so well posted and warlike, that it was well worthy of being seen and still more of being dreaded by him who should find himself involved in its perils." The Spanish version omits the words "and warlike," which appear needed to complete the sense of what follows. Any one who has seen the castle will admit that it would have been impossible to express better in so few words its situation and the impression its appearance produces.[2] Later on (II., 240) it is said to be near the town of Riocraro, now called Thomar, which former name it bore in old days on account of the river which flows through (*por*) it. I cannot say whether Thomar was ever called Riocraro. The assertion that it was bears a marked resemblance to that which attributes the old name of Altarocha to Lisbon. But it shows that the writer was acquainted with the Nabão, which passes through Thomar, and whose clear, swift-flowing waters fully justify the name

[1] Camões, speaking of Lisbon (*Os Lusiadas* III., 57), says:—

> E tu, nobre Lisboa . . . . .
> Que edificada foste do facundo,
> Por cujo engano foi Dardania accesa.

[2] A short account of this castle is given in Appendix VIII.

Riocraro.[1] The castle of Almourol is not far from Thomar. On pages 213 and 214 of Vol. III., the giant is said to have owned another castle, a league lower down the Tagus, built by his father and called the Beautiful Tower (*Torre Bella*), which Almourol settled on Cardiga on their marriage, and desired should be called after her, and where she resided subsequent to his death, bringing up his son. Now, Cardiga is no imaginary name. Two hamlets so called, and apparently in the neighbourhood of Thomar, are mentioned by Cardoso in his *Diccionario Geografico*.[2] On page 214 is found the passage quoted by Mendes (*Opusculo*, p. 11) and by Benjumea (*Discurso*, p. 44), relating to the death by drowning of the son above-mentioned in the pool, or whirlpool (*pego*), of Tranconio, corrupted afterwards into Tancos, from which the settlement (*povoação*) "made in our days on the edge of the said pool" derived its name. This passage, used by them as an argument in favour of the Portuguese nationality of the author, is not found in the Spanish version, which supplies the thirteen lines of which it consists by the words *Tornando a nuestra historia dize que*. The reader of *Palmeirim* can judge for himself whether it is an addition in the Portuguese version, or an omission in the Spanish. For my part, looking at the context, I am satisfied it is the latter. In any case, we see that Moraes was well acquainted with the locality. He

[1] In the *Archivo Pittoresco* (X, p. 74) it is said: ". . na margem esquerda do rio Thomar, que mais tarde trocou este nome, que os arabes lhe pozeram para significar a pureza de suas aguas, pelo de Nabão, que hoje tem." I can find no warrant for this meaning of Thomar in any dictionary of classical Arabic I have consulted, though *mar* might be a sort of cockney rendering of *má*, water.

[2] In João Bautista de Castro's *Mappa de Portugal* (I. 56), Cardiga, Barquinha, and Tancos are mentioned, in this order, as ports on the north bank of the Tagus.

gives us information about Tancos for which he is not indebted to Ferrer or Hurtado. If he knew about such an insignificant hamlet, he may be assumed to have known about more important places in the neighbourhood, and not to have got his information only from the Spaniards, while there is nothing to show that they knew anything except what they might have learnt from him. The "city of Porto in Portugal" is mentioned in Vol. I., p. 370, and this finishes the names of places in that country which are given in the book. Instead of the vague, imaginary statements made regarding Spain, there are clear and distinct indications of minute local knowledge of parts of Portugal. Surely Toledo offered as much scope for topographical, historical, and legendary disquisition as the country about the castle of Almourol, and it also, not only the latter, was the scene of many events recorded in *Palmerin* (Chapters 123, 124, and 129).

7. The Tagus is mentioned on fourteen occasions. Twice (I., 330, 451) its gentle (*mansas*) waters are spoken of, and twice (I., 373, II., 191) their gentleness (*mansidão*). Once (II., 247) they are described as quiet (*socegadas*), and once (II., 421) as running without any strong current (*impeto*), as it was summer, or as *mansas* in the Spanish version. In the remaining eight passages nothing is said about their condition. These terms are undoubtedly suitable to the lower reaches of the river in Portugal, to which they refer. They are very inappropriate to that part with which Ferrer and Hurtado must have been best acquainted, that is, the rocky gorge at the foot of Toledo, where the Tagus swirls and boils. It is singular that they make no mention of it when speaking of Toledo. They could not, indeed, follow the advice of

Cervantes[1] in the Prologue to *Don Quixote* concerning the Tagus, because it had not yet been given, but they might have anticipated it, as Luis Hurtado did in Chapter 20 of his account of Toledo, where he says:—"The principal river of the city is the very impetuous (*Ympisimo* (*sic*)) and clear Tajo of golden sands." He ought certainly to have given us the golden sands in *Palmerin*. That they are not mentioned is strong evidence that the composer was not a Spaniard, as Spanish authors, when speaking of the Tagus, rarely omitted them. The gentle Tagus seems to have been a stock term with the Portuguese writers, as Camões applies it even to the river at Toledo (*Os Lusiadas*, IV., 10).

> Tambem vem lá do reino de Toledo,
> Cidade nobre e antigua, a quem cercando
> O Tejo em torno vai suave e ledo.[2]

8. The last country to be noticed is Ireland. There is no reason to believe that Moraes was ever there himself, but in the courts of Portugal or France he might easily have heard of it from Englishmen or Irish exiles. Besides, there was frequent communication between the west coasts of the peninsula and Ireland;[3] and as Lisbon was in the 16th century one of the principal ports of Europe, Moraes had every opportunity of hearing

[1] Who himself says:—

> "rióla Tajo,
> Que en vez de arena granos de oro lleva."

Viaje del Parnaso, Chap. VIII.

See also *Persiles y Sigismunda*, Book III., Chapters VII. and VIII.

[2] So, too, Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos in the *Proezas da Segunda Tavola Redonda* (p. 329): "E ali esquece logo e despreza a sua amada Toledo, que com tanta meguice rodea."

[3] In 1534 an order was issued prohibiting the use in Portugal of English and Irish nags (*facas*). Andrade, *Chronica de D. João III.* Part III., Chap. 1., p. 2.

from sea-faring men accounts of the island. It is not so clear how Ferrer or Hurtado could have obtained such information in an inland town like Toledo, and as a matter of fact, it will be seen that the Spanish writer did not possess it. The important passages concerning Ireland will be found at the beginning of Chapters 27 and 28. They describe how Floriano, going to Great Britain, was cast on the coast of Ireland, "at the foot of the mountain of S. Brandão, for they were not able to make the port of Maroique which immediately adjoins it."[1] The pilot warns Floriano not to land, on account of the terrible giant Calfurnio, who had his residence in the vicinity. This warning only increased the desire of the Knight of the Savage to see himself on shore. He disembarks, and passes along the skirt of the mountain which seems to him a very charming country, although full of those lofty words (*arvoredos*) with which Ireland is still occupied (I., 154). Soon he comes in view of the castle of Calfurnio, who just at that moment is bringing into it three ladies and some knights whom he had captured. Of course, our hero engages in mortal combat with the giant, overcomes him, and releases the prisoners. In subsequent chapters other giants, relatives of Calfurnio, are slain. It is seen, then, that part of Ireland is represented as the abode of giants and full of high woods. That this part is the west coast of Kerry is clear from the mention of the mountain of S. Brandão, which is, undoubtedly, Brandon's Head. In the epics of a conquering race it is usual to represent the people of the country invaded as giants or demons. It may be

[1] "o vento . . . os fez arribar na costa d'Irlanda ao pé do monte de S. Brandão, que não poderam tomar o porto de Maroique, que é logo hi pegado."—I., 153.

that the idea of Ireland as a home of giants is due to traditions handed down from the time when the Iberian Milesians landed in Kerry and subdued the Tuatha Dé Danann. In a description of the Irish races we find the following passage :—" Everyone who is white (of skin), brown (of hair), bold, honourable, daring, prosperous, bountiful in the bestowal of property, wealth and rings, and who is not afraid of battle or combat ; they are the descendants of the sons of Milesius in Erinn. Everyone who is fair-haired, vengeful, large ; and every plunderer ; every musical person ; the professors of musical and entertaining performances ; who are adepts in Druidical and magical arts ; they are the descendants of the Tuatha Dé Danann in Erinn." [1] Here the great size of the opponents of the Milesians is distinctly stated. But it is not necessary to go back to semi-mythical times for a reason why Ireland should be looked upon as a land of giants, for even now the Irish are a much taller race than the inhabitants of the peninsula. I had evidence of this myself some years ago, when I saw the students of the Irish College walking in the streets of Salamanca. Compared with the Spaniards they were veritable sons of Anak. The woods of Ireland were a commonplace in the 16th century and later. Thus Tasso in the *Gerusalemme Liberata* (I., 44) sings :—

> Questi dall' alte selve irsuti manda
> La divisa dal mondo ultima Irlanda.

In a little book, published in 1642, and entitled "*A*

[1] O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (1861), p. 223.

Geographicall Description of the Kingdom of Ireland. . . By a Well-willer to the peace of both kingdoms," the introductory letter to which is signed G. N., the region referred to by Moraes is thus described :—" A country mountainous, woody and wild, loftily looking into the ocean, in which are many fruitfull fields, and pleasant vallyes, beset thick with woods . . . ." (p. 3).

9. As the mountain of S. Brandão is Brandon's Head, so the port of Maroique immediately adjoining is evidently Smerwick, which lies only a few miles south. G. N., on the same page, says :—" Towards the South . . . . a commodious Port . . . . named *Smirwick*-sound or St. *Marywick*." Now no one will deny that Marywick and Maroique are the same name, as the " w " of " wick " is pronounced. The dropping of the " S " (or " St.") representing " saint " is quite common and causes no trouble. It is seen in Brandon's Head, and in Stephen's Green, a Dublin park, called by some still St. Stephen's Green, There is other evidence to show Smerwick is meant. When Floriano had rescued the three ladies, they tell him their history. Their father had been banished from the court of England, and had settled in the region where Floriano found them, and had there built, on three mountains, a castle for each of his daughters. " And for this reason the mountains are called the mountains of the Three Sisters, as you might have heard (them) named more than once " (I., 161). On p. 163 the author says that the mountains are even now called the " Mountains of the Three Sisters." Up to the present day one of the hills near Smerwick, forming the headland which has to be doubled by a ship coming into that

harbour from the south, is known as "The Three Sisters."[1]

10. The voyage of St. Brendan[2] (483-577), the founder of the great monasteries of Ardfert and Clonfert, durin which he discovered the Island of Delights, a sort of Terrestrial Paradise, was one of the most popular legends of the middle ages. It "exercised an influence on geographical science down to a late period. . . So late as the end of the sixteenth century, the Spaniards and Portuguese believed in the existence of the Isle of St. Brandan, situated in the direction of the Canaries, which was seen sometimes by accident, but which could never be found when sought for."[3] This island was supposed to lie west of the Canaries, and is marked on some old maps. During the time that Columbus was making his propositions to the court of Portugal, an inhabitant of the Canaries applied to King John II. for a vessel to go in search of the island. The name of St. Brandan, or Borodon, was from time immemorial given to this island.[4] In the enchanted island of Mayas of *Clarimundo* (p. 371), which was visible only on St. John's day, and could

[1] Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Ireland*, p. 455. Smerwick is notorious as the scene of one of those massacres which were not uncommon in the wars of the sixteenth century. Some six hundred Spanish and Italian soldiers landed here in 1580, were besieged by Lord Deputy Grey, taken prisoners and put to the sword. It is a mistake to say that the best defence that can be given for Grey is, that it was a cruel age. A great deal can be said for him besides that. But none the less, it was a horrible business. A couple of years later the Spanish commander in the Azores butchered his French and Portuguese prisoners, without having, as far as I can see, anything like the excuse Grey had.

[2] The name is spelt Brendan, Brandan or Brandon. The first is generally employed now. For the mountain the last is used. An excellent work on St. Brendan is that of the Rev. Denis O'Donoghue, entitled: *Brendaniana: St. Brendan the Voyager in Story and Legend.*

[3] Wright, *Preface to the Metrical Life of St. Brandan.* Percy Society Publications. Vol. XIV.

[4] Washington Irving, *Columbus*, III., 403-4.

not be approached on account of the rough sea surrounding it, which had been sought but could not be found, we have, probably, an allusion to the island of St. Brandan. Feijóo notices the belief that the current about the island was so violent that ships were carried away and forced to take another course, and so were not able to land. He considers that those who said they had seen the island had been deceived by a sort of optical delusion of the nature of the *Fata Morgana.*[1] Braga speaks of the early discoverers as having their minds full of enchanted islands, Antilia (Antillas), Fortunate Islands and voyages of St. Brendan (*Amadis de Gaula*, p. 149). It is then nothing strange that Moraes, a dweller in a big seaport like Lisbon, should be well acquainted with St. Brendan.

11. The Spanish writer was not so well-informed, and so, for *S. Brandão* and *Maroique*, gives us *Sancebriã* and *Maurique*,[2] both clearly wrong. What, probably, happened was, that the translator (if a Spaniard and not, as I believe, a Portuguese), or more likely still, the reviser, Ferrer, thinking the local details imaginary, and never having heard of St. Brendan, as was not unnatural in the resident of a town far away from the sea, presumed there was some mistake, and substituted a saint familiar to him, while he altered the very curious looking name of the port. It was quite what might be expected from a native of Toledo to adopt the name he did—St. Cyprian, for this is what I suppose he means by *Sancebriã*, and so the French translator of 1552-53 has rendered it.[3] Toledo was for

[1] *Teatro Critico*, IV., 254, *et seq.*

[2] More exactly, *sancebriã* and *mauriq̃*.

[3] The French (I., 77) has *Saint Cyprian* and *Moricque*; the Italian (I, 66), *Soncebriã* and *Maurique*; Munday, *St. Ciprian* and *Moricque*.

many centuries known as one of the great centres of magic. Pulci refers to this in the *Morgante Maggiore* (XXV., 259) :—

> Questa città di Tolleto solea
> Tenere studio di Negromanzia :
> Quivi di magica arte si leggea
> Pubblicamente e di Piromanzia :
> E molti geomanti sempre avea,
> E sperimenti assai d' Idromanzia.

But St. Cyprian, he of Antioch, was, before his conversion, a great magician. His life, at portentous length, may be read in the Bollandists, under Sept. 26. If Toledo had its cave of Hercules, Salamanca, not very far off, had its still more important cave of St. Cyprian, in which magical arts were said to be taught.[1] Famous, too, was a book on magic, called after the saint, a book stated never to have existed, but of which there were numerous copies, the author being the bishop of Carthage! Concerning this the curious may consult Bernardo Barreiro de W.'s *Brujos y Astrólogos de la Inquisición y el famoso libro de San Cipriano* (Coruña, 1885). Finally the hero of one of Calderon's most celebrated dramas, *El Mágico Prodigioso*, written, indeed, nearly one hundred years after *Palmerin*, was this very St. Cyprian of Antioch.[2] Moraes, who lived by the sea, writes of the great navigator, St. Brendan ; Ferrer, resident of Toledo, the home of magic, prefers St. Cyprian, the ex-magician. He speaks of one or other of the saints of that name, and even professes to quote him, towards the end of the Prologue to Vol. II. of *Palmerin*. (App. X.)

12. From all that has been said about the passage

[1] See Feijóo in the *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, LVI., p. 374.
[2] See *El Mágico Prodigioso*, edited by Morel-Fatio, p. xxviii.

relating to Ireland it is evident, that the important question has to be decided, whether the author of the Spanish translation, or his reviser, Ferrer, spoilt the correct original of Moraes, or whether the Portuguese, who had not ability enough to write a work of his own, and had to steal the Toledan hotch-potch, was still clever enough to make sense out of its nonsense. A similar question will present itself more than once before our task is finished.

13. As cognate to the argument of this chapter, it may be noted, that the author appears to have been a person well acquainted with the sea and coast scenery. Take, for instance, the following passage (I., 24), where Pridos, son of the duke of Galez, is described as riding by the sea shore "uttering a thousand lamentations along the caverns which the sea had made, for as the voice with which he gave these utterance reverberated within, they seemed to help him to hear his anguish in the very words with which he made his complaint."[1] Or this (I., 347):—"He saw how the sea had risen with the fury of the wind then blowing, and how its waves were beating with such violence in the caverns, which in the lapse of time they had made in the rocks which were there, that the noise was heard far off: although the sound inside the caves was so crashing that it seemed as if the whole cliff would fall." This recalls a verse of one of our own poets:—

> One show'd an iron coast and angry waves.
> You seem'd to hear them climb and fall
> And roar rock-thwarted under bellowing caves,
> Beneath the windy wall.

[1] The Spanish spoils the passage by exaggerations: "Haciendo muy grandes lastimas por aquellas muy grandes concavidades que la mar tenia hechas: y retumbando dentro el tono con que las decia: parecia que le ayudaban a sentir su muy gran passion con aquellas mismas palabras que el mismo se quexaba."—I. iii. (v. 2).

Perhaps, it was the Bocca do Inferno near Cascaes, not far from Lisbon, that suggested this passage in *Palmeirim*. Certainly, it would be appropriate to that part of the coast. The idea expressed in these two extracts was evidently a favourite one with the author, for he has it in a simpler form on p. 182, Vol. I. :—" At this time the giant, having become desperate, commenced to blaspheme in a loud voice, and with words that for a time went reverberating in the caverns made by the sea." And again, when speaking of music in a boat on the Tagus at the castle of Almourol :—" Which appeared much sweeter, because it was on the water and the sound went creeping up the hollows of the rocks till it struck the highest battlements of the castle."[1] (II., 254). It would be wrong, however, not to point out a similar passage in *Las Sergas*, from which the Spanish writer might have got the idea :—" La noche era muy escura, con tales vientos, que algo la mar hacian embravecer; así que, el aire que en las concavidades de las bravas peñas daba, y el ruido de las ondas, acrecentaban la dulzura de aquel son. . ." (Chapter XIX., p. 428). The following passage, too, (I., 46) shows a person acquainted with the sea :—" He used to pass the time going every day . . . along the shore where the sea beat; playing about in its waves, being a mere child (*com sua idade pouca*)." For " playing about in " (*brincando nas*), the Spanish has the

[1] In this extract the Spanish omits the words *of the rocks* and *of the castle*. The episode to which this passage belongs is clearly taken from the Portuguese romance of *Clarimundo*, Book III., Chapter xxii., 476 (See App. XII.), which raises a presumption in favour of the Portuguese version of *Palmerin of England* being the original. Southey translates in a rather bald fashion : " The music still continuing, which being on the water and echoing in the hollows of the rock, became more delightful."—III. 133. For music in a vaulted chamber, see I., 110.

much inferior "looking at" (*mirando las*). The Spanish writer shows less acquaintance with, and less love of nautical matters than the Portuguese, as is seen in his omission of the "lantern in the stern" of the admiralship (III., 197), and his failure to record the appearance of the Turkish fleet (III., 254). From this I conclude that the passages already quoted, relating to the sea, and found in both versions, were more likely to have been composed by Moraes than by the Spaniard.

14. The aim of the present chapter has been to show that:—

(1)—If the scene of a story is laid in two countries, the author will more probably belong to the one of which he shows local knowledge than to the other (para. 1).

(2)—In *Palmerin of England* there is seldom any local colouring. We are usually given names of places, but no precise details (para. 4).

(3)—No insignificant part of the story passes in Spain, at Toledo and elsewhere. The author had ample opportunity for going into particulars, but does not do so. His three local allusions appear to be wholly imaginary (paras. 5, 6).

(4)—The scene of part of the story is laid in Portugal. It is minutely described, and in accordance with real facts. There is nothing imaginary in what the author says about Portugal except, perhaps, that Lisbon and Thomar were once called Altarocha and Riocraro, and even this shows knowledge of the local peculiarities of these towns (para. 6).

(5)—His description of the Tagus is such as would be given by one familiar with the lower reaches of the river, and not by a native of Toledo (para. 7).

(6)—The Portuguese writer gives an extraordinarily accurate account of part of Ireland. His knowledge was probably due to his living in a large port like Lisbon. The Spanish version is wrong. It substitutes St. Cyprian, whose name Ferrer knew, for St. Brendan, of whom he, a dweller in the interior, was not likely to have heard, but with whom Moraes would be acquainted (paras. 8 to 12).

(7)—The author was familiar with and fond of sea-scenery and nautical matters. The Portuguese writer shows more of this characteristic than the Spaniard, and so is more likely to be the original composer (para. 13).

In short, we conclude that, though the evidence afforded by the local knowledge displayed by the author is more scanty than could be wished, yet it is sufficient to justify a strong opinion that *Palmerin of England* was the work of a sea-coast Portuguese, and not of an inland Spaniard.

CHAPTER V.

THE EPISODE OF THE FOUR FRENCH LADIES.

1. The Episode is a digression unconnected with the rest of the work, p. 164—2. It points to Moraes as author, p. 165—3. Its plot, p. 166—4. Reasons for its introduction, p. 168—5. Its description of French ways, p. 171—6. Identification of characters: Gratiamar. Author's knowledge, p. 174—7. Mansi, Telensi, Latranja, p. 175—8. Torsi: Remarks of Mendes and Gayangos, p. 178—9. Moraes on Torsi, p. 181—10. Torsi identified, p. 182—11. The Torcys, p. 183—12. Torsi of *Palmeirim* resembles Torsi of the *Desculpa*, p. 184—13. Benjumea on Torsi, p. 188—14. Similar passages in *Palmeirim* and the *Desculpa*, p. 190—15. Other names in the Episode, p. 192—16. Why given, p. 194—17. Detailed examination of names, p. 195—18. Summary of conclusions, p. 200.

1. This episode is contained in Chapters 137 to 147,[1] and makes up about one-twelfth of the whole work. It has no connection with the rest of the story, and might have been omitted without injury to it. The style is that found elsewhere. In these chapters Floriano is the principal hero, and the same tone of *badinage* prevails as is observable in other adventures where he is the protagonist. Southey, who was not acquainted with the Spanish version, and who was a strong upholder of the Portuguese origin of the work, says: "Towards the close of *Palmerin* there are eleven chapters introduced to compliment this lady[2] and three others of the same[3] court. They are so clumsily

[1] Mendes by a misprint, no doubt, has 143 (*Opusculo*, p. 7). Gayangos, who rarely consulted an original document, blindly repeats this mistake. (*Rev. Esp.*, p. 189.)

[2] Torsi.

[3] French.

inserted, and so little interesting, that I have omitted them, not merely as being unconnected with all which goes before, and all which follows, but as clumsily interrupting the story: they are not grafted, but nailed on. This I should have considered as certain proof that Moraes had not written the rest of the book, if they had not occurred in the French also: they must therefore have been in the copy from which Jaques Vincent translated" (*Palmerin of England*, Preface, pp. xv. and xvi.). The last part of this extract might be an anticipation of what Clemencin says in his edition of *Don Quixote* (I. 126), already noticed in para. 22, Chapter I.

Benjumea (*Discurso*, p. 54) says: "It is seen, besides, that this episode of the French adventure is introduced adventitiously (*pegadizo*) in the book of *Palmerin*, and without the connection and preparation which the other episodes usually show (*suelen tener*), and which so reveal the gifts of the author." It may, then, be taken that this episode is something foreign to the general plan and purport of the work.

2. This digression, which Southey rejected and thought affected prejudicially the claim of Moraes, is now considered one of the strongest pieces of evidence in his favour:—(1) There must have been some reason for this awkward insertion of so great a mass of extraneous matter. Such a reason we can find if the author was Moraes,[1] but not if he was Ferrer or Hurtado. (2) The episode shows an intimate acquaintance with French character and manners, but the one-sided acquaintance of a person whose feelings seem to have been mortified. The writer also exhibits an unusual

[1] So, too, the *Versuch*, p. 24.

knowledge of the court of France and of little-known French family names. This acquaintance and knowledge would be expected in Moraes, who had spent some time in France as member of the Portuguese embassy, but is very hard to explain in the case of the Toledans. (3) The episode is related to the private history of Moraes; for there can be no doubt that the lady called Torsi, one of the four, and the only one of them whose real name, as far as is known, is given, is the person referred to in a note attributed to Moraes, and first published more than fifty years after his death, entitled *Desculpa de uns amores*, in which he gives an account of the circumstances connected with his falling in love with a French lady, called Torsi, who was in the suite of Queen Leonor.

3. It will be advisable to give a brief account of this episode. Four French ladies, envious of the fame of Polinarda in Greece, of Miraguarda in Lusitania (or España, according to the Spanish version), and of Lionarda, in Thrace, formed a plan by which they would themselves acquire celebrity. Any knight anxious to seek adventures in the name of any one of them was to see all four, and make his choice. He was then to fight one champion of each of the other three, and if he defeated his three opponents in one day, he was to enjoy the privilege of calling himself the knight of the lady he had selected (III., 61-63, 80). These ladies were Telensi, Mansi, Latranja, and Torsi. Telensi was attached to the princess Gratiamar, the others were in the suite of the queen. Torsi was unmarried, the others married. For a long time no one was able to fulfil the conditions of their compact. At last, Floriano of the Desert, the brother of Palmerin, on his way from Hespanha to Constantinople, passed

near Dijon, where the court then was, and offered to try his fortune, on condition that, if he was successful, the ladies should stay with him for eight days, during which he would defend a certain valley against all comers, for two days in the name of each of the ladies. They thought this was mere fanfarronade and agreed. But Floriano defeated all his antagonists, and the ladies had to fulfil their bargain. They were lodged in a famous nunnery near Dijon, and Floriano encamped close by. The first four days, those of Mansi and Telensi, he was easily victorious. The fifth day he encountered his great friend, the giant Dramusiando, who had arrived and fallen in love with Latranja. This battle was indecisive, as, when Floriano had somewhat the better of it, the usual damsel rushed in calling for help, and induced Latranja to send Dramusiando with her, after Floriano had refused to go, on the ground that he was bound to defend his post two days in the name of Torsi. The damsel, having led Dramusiando about for some days, told him he had better go to Constantinople, where he was wanted, and not misemploy his time in fighting his friends. Floriano remained till the eight days were up, and defeated all those who dared to meet him. Among them were two Italians and a German, which gives the author an opportunity for making some remarks on the characters of their nations. In the evenings, first all the four ladies together came out to have a talk with Floriano, and afterwards each one separately. Each succeeded in finding out from him who he was; but all his impassioned speeches failed to make an impression on them, and, in the end, he had to leave much mortified at his defeat. There is a very remarkable difference at the close between the two versions. In the Portuguese, Floriano

is just starting when he is met by the king of France, who recognized him at last, probably because he had his shield with the device of a Savage uncovered (III., 177). Floriano, who was the nephew of the queen, stayed three days in the court of France and then continued his journey to Constantinople, meeting, in Chapter 148, with an adventure which is practically the same as one recorded in Chapter 128, when he rescued a relative of Miraguarda, with the essential difference, however, of the behaviour of the damsels. The Spanish version omits the whole of this chapter, and makes Floriano leave without being recognized. I propose considering this discrepancy later on (Chapter VIII., para. 12). The Portuguese account seems the original and correct one.

4. I am completely at a loss to understand why Ferrer or Hurtado should have introduced this long-winded and unnecessary narrative. Ferrer was a dull tradesman, and Hurtado a young lad, who, as far as we know, never were in France, and never had any special connection with that country. It is no answer to say that, just as part of the story is made to pass in England, or Hespanha, or Constantinople, so the scene of part is laid in France. The difficulty is that this episode, which has nothing to say to what goes before or follows after, is recorded at such length and in such detail. There must be some reason for this. Gayangos gives none. Assuming Moraes to be the author, the difficulty is not to find a reason, but to find the right one. The heading of the *Desculpa de uns amores* runs thus: "Apology for certain love-passages which he had in Paris with a French lady in the suite of the queen Dona Leonor, called Torsi, he being a Portuguese, for whom he composed the story of the French ladies in his

Palmeirim."[1] This heading appears to be by the editor, Manoel Carvalho, who published the *Desculpa* in 1624. The editor of the Portuguese edition of *Palmeirim*, of 1786, says that it was on account of his falling in love that Moraes introduced these jousts and tourneys in honour of the four French ladies. This is, practically, what Mendes states on page 7 of his *Opusculo* : " This misfortune was the reason why he introduced, in Chapters 137-143 (*sic*) of *Palmeirim*, certain jousts in honour of the four ladies." Both these statements are ambiguous, as it is not clear whether we should understand that the jousts recorded were in honour of the ladies, or that the jousts were recorded in their honour. The former seems the more correct reading. According to Southey (Preface, p. xv.), "Moraes had formed an attachment in France to a lady of the French court whom he calls Torsi ; this appears from the *Desculpa de huns amores*, printed with his other works. Towards the close of Palmerin there are eleven chapters introduced to compliment this lady and three others of the same court." Benjumea is of quite an opposite opinion. He says (*Discurso*, p. 53) : " There is little need to hesitate in recognising that . . . the object of Moraes was to take a sort of revenge, placing in opposition to this princess of Elide another love-free (*desamorado*) prince who would be, as it were, his avenger.[3] This prince is *Floriano of the Desert*, brother of *Palmerin* ; for just as the hero is the model of chaste and constant lovers, so *Floriano* is the contrary, for he is in love with all

[1] " Desculpa de uns amores, que tinha em Paris com uma dama franceza da rainha Dona Leonor, por nome Torsi, sendo Portuguez, pela qual fez a historia das damas francezas no seu Palmeirim."

[2] His unfortunate love-affair with Torsi.

[3] That is, avenge Moraes on Torsi, who had rejected his addresses. The allusion is to Molière's *La Princesse d'Élide*, founded on Moreto's *El Desdén con el Desdén*.

the women he sees, as long as he has them before his eyes. The adventure of the four ladies exactly fits his character, and is fitted also to make the ladies jealous of each other, as the cavalier shows himself conquered by them all, flatters them all, and in praise of them all exhausts the dictionary of gallantries." The objection to this theory is that Floriano in this case was not love-free. On the contrary, he was very much in love, in his way, with all the ladies. He was the vanquished, and not they. They slept quietly, while he lost his sleep on their account (III., 134). They made him do what they pleased; he got nothing from them but gibes in return for all his fond professions, though they may have praised him among themselves (III., 124). Under these circumstances, it is impossible to look upon him as an avenger. The other theory, that the episode was introduced in honour of Torsi, or of all the French ladies, is also difficult to maintain. The French knights are represented as contemptible lovers, with little stomach for fighting, and always beaten when they do venture on a contest; while the ladies are pourtrayed as vain, frivolous, cruel and ungrateful. It is true, they are spoken of as virtuous, their beauty is praised, and their dresses are minutely described. These compliments may, perhaps, have been considered by the ladies to have outweighed the abuse. I cannot undertake to decide. The account of the fair ones does not seem to me very flattering. And it must be remembered that Moraes had no reason to flatter them; and unless he had furnished them with a translation, they would not have understood what he had said. I think it more likely that these chapters were inserted for Portuguese readers than to do honour to the French ladies. Moraes had a personal grievance

against Torsi for having jilted him, and his extravagant demonstrations must have exposed him to the ridicule of the French courtiers. D. Leonor, mother of D. Maria to whom *Palmeirim* was dedicated, had also little reason to be satisfied with French ways, as she was slighted and neglected by the French king and court in favour of the duchess d'Estampes and others. It is easy to understand that Moraes might be glad to give vent to his feelings of resentment by a satirical and bantering description of French court society, made to a sympathetic audience. Anyway, three reasons have been given why Moraes should introduce this episode. The reader may take his choice while waiting for one, as good as the worst of the three, why Ferrer or Hurtado should do so.

5. As has been said in para. 2, the episode shows an intimate acquaintance with French character and manners. We are told (III., 86) that this adventure is written at much length in the general chronicle of the ancient deeds and notable exploits of the French, but still it does not seem to have been related with complete truth, for as this nation are above all others full of self-conceit (*mui ambeciosos de si mesmos*), all their writings are full of their own praises, and those (praises) of others they spoil and corrupt as much as they can.[1] On page 64 of the same volume it is said of the French knights, that by nature love has little part in them. They would not follow the conditions laid down by the ladies. They fell in love with one, and as soon as they saw another they transferred their affections to her, and on this pretence abandoning their amours,

[1] For the words in italics the Spanish has *se dessean alabar á si mismos*, they desire to praise themselves, and for "they spoil, &c.," to the end, it has "they omit to record them"—*dexan los por escreuir.*

they avoided the danger that might have accrued therefrom. On page 167 we read that there was no battle, as fear kept away the adventurers and *servidores*, which was sufficient proof that fear was greater than love. Still earlier, Floramão, the faithful lover, faithful even when death had destroyed all his hopes, says to one of the French knights: "You will be a Frenchman, a nation in which love has no part except when all goes well" (p. 70). Again, speaking of affection and jealousy, our author says that generally those who were least to be accused of these two things were the French, for love did not distribute to them so much of its woes that they should know what jealousy was, nor is affection so strong in any of them that it should itself teach them (*lh'os ensine*) (p. 72). Two of Torsi's lovers, knights of the court of Constantinople, having barely escaped with their lives doing battle in her name, depart. She felt no regret (*saudade*) for them, for it is not the custom in France[1] (p. 85). Her lover is badly wounded; she sheds tears, but not many, as France does not allow them (p. 114). Mansi arrayed in her finest attire is little flattered by Floriano praising her beauty more than her dress. She wished her finery to be equally praised (p. 128). Then an English and two French knights appear on the scene, and, forgetting the jealousy which seeing her in the colours of the most influential lover (*servidor mais valeroso*)[2] should have caused them, commence praising the richness of her attire, its magnificence and form, as if that was what had first made them lose their hearts. The giant Dramusiando,

[1] The Spanish has, rather pleonastically, *ni la ay ni se acostumbra.*

[2] In the Spanish *priuado* for *valeroso*. In the *Desculpa* (p. 43) Moraes uses the same word in respect of rivals in love: *valerosos . . . competidores.*

"seeing such a base class of lovers," remonstrates with Mansi, and is rudely answered by the Englishman (p. 130), who in the first joust is run through the body by Floriano. The ladies were sad; but he was carried to the nunnery and was buried, "and I think he was forgotten in as short a time as it took to vanquish him, for this is the custom in France" (p. 131). Married ladies wished to be courted (*servidas*) as well as the unmarried, "a circumstance which is much in use and causes little wonder in France; and it is not much that the rule should be observed, as it is a disease of such long standing" (p. 63). Mansi places her hand on Floriano's shoulder; he takes it, and she does not make any objection. He thought this proceeded from love and not from general custom, but "such first touches are liberally allowed in France (*mas como estes primeiros toques sejam liberaes em França*)" [1] (p. 161). In this way, anything but flattering, does the author speak of the French. It may be compared with what we read in the *Desculpa*, which no one claims for Hurtado or Ferrer. Moraes says in it that Torsi did not understand his words nor the intention (*vontade*) with which they were spoken, so as to judge whether they proceeded from the soul, or were merely conventional, devoid of sincerity, as is usual in this country (*parte*) (p. 43). The following passages in *Palmerin* are interesting as showing a resemblance between the French heroines and Miraguarda (see before, Chapter III, paras. 2, 5). The four ladies wished to prove their beauty "at the cost of the blood of many" (p. 62). They observed the days of most peril as a festival celebrated

[1] "*Il buon duca trapassando la commissione* (di baciar la mano a Madama de Tampes) *da buon francioso la baciò in bocca.*" Note to *Il Morgante Maggiore*, VI., 9. Ed. 1892. Milano.

in their honour (p. 81). The princesses desired some disaster might take place in their honour (*nomes*) too (p. 78). Before leaving this subject it may be interesting to hear what our author had to say about the German and Italians. The German knight showed how he was smitten, more by the signs and tokens of the real lover than by feigned speeches and exclamations (p. 169). He was strong and bold, but not very skilful (p. 170). When overcome, he preferred to die rather than to ask for the intercession of the ladies. When they did interfere, he was much pleased, but pretended a wrong had been done him (pp. 171, 172). The Italians did not lack words, for as they are by nature well provided with them and eloquent, they uttered more complaints in their own language than love could cause in so short a time (p. 169). By nature they can represent any exploits better than any other nation (p. 170). When one of the two was in peril, the other, in a cowardly manner, attacked Floriano at the same time (p. 170). But excuses are made for their acting contrary to their customary practice. When beaten, the one who was in a condition to do so, applied at once to the ladies for help (p. 171).[1]

6. I now come to the most interesting part of this chapter, the identification of Torsi and many other personages mentioned in the episode. The difficulty here is that fact and fiction are blended in the narrative. The events recorded seem purely imaginary;[2] of the

[1] In Chapter 44 of the *Memorial das Proezas* two Italian knights are introduced, who brag, and are beaten. The Italians do not seem to have had a much more favourable opinion of the Portuguese:—

> "In re Larbino avea molta arroganza,
> Com' hanno tutti i Portoghesi in core;"

and was promptly killed. (*Orlando Innamorato*, Pt. II., XXIII., 54.)

[2] The joustings may have been suggested by those which took place at Châtellerault, in June 1541, on occasion of the marriage of Jeanne d'Albret and the duke of Cleves.

characters introduced, some are real, others appear merely arbitrary names. As a good example of this mingling of fact and fancy, let us take the case of the two French princesses, which shows at the same time the remarkably intimate knowledge of the writer. Arnedos, king of France, who appears also in *Primaleon*, had two daughters, Florenda and Gratiamar. When the marriages take place, in Chapter 152, these ladies are, at first, not included among the brides, but in the end Florenda is married to a vassal of her father. Gratiamar, as more haughty and difficult to please, remains unwed (III., 215). Francis I. had two daughters who lived to grow up—Madeleine, born in 1520, who married James V. of Scotland in 1537, died the same year, and was buried in Edinburgh. She was dead, then, when *Palmerin* was written, and it is obvious that neither of the princesses represents her. The second daughter was Marguerite, born in 1523. In 1559 she married Emmanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, and died in 1574. Gratiamar is an anagram of Margarita. Why did she remain single till she was thirty-six? Brantôme tells us: "Elle eut le cœur grand & haut, le Roy Henry la voulut une fois marier à Monsieur de Vendosme premier Prince du sang, mais elle fit response qu'elle n'espouseroit jamais le sujet du Roy son frère; voilà pourquoy elle demeura si long-temps à prendre party."[1] Compare this with the reason why Gratiamar remained unmarried, and our writer's knowledge of Marguerite's character is at once apparent. Where could Ferrer or Hurtado get this knowledge?

7. Of the four heroines of the episode, Mansi, Telensi, Latranja and Torsi, the last can be identified with

[1] *Les Dames Illustres*, p. 312. (Leyde, 1722.)

absolute certainty, as her real name is given. The case of the others is not so clear, as the names are not real.[1] Mendes (*Opusculo*, p. 7) suggests that Mansi is meant for the duchess d'Estampes. This is possible. There is a certain similarity in the names, and it is stated (*Palmeirim*, III. 62) that Mansi had the advantage of being loved and waited on (*servida*) by the king, of which she was very proud and vain. On page 127 the affection of the king is noticed, which led him to give rich gifts to the nunnery and to the four ladies, of whom Mansi got the largest share, a fact of which she was not a little proud. On the other hand it is said she was in the household (*servia*) of the queen, and it is difficult to suppose that this could be true of the duchess. The following extract would seem to show that she was attached to the princess Marguerite. It refers to a present made to Felize du Savray "damoiselle de Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes, en don et faveur de services qu 'elle fait à la dite dame, et luy aider à recouvrer ses menues nécessitez pour estre en plus honneste estat à l'entour de la dite dame Duchesse, en la maison de mesdames la Daulphine Marguerite de France. . . ."[2] At that time there was a Mdlle. de Maci or Macy (afterwards Madame de Pont de la Haute de Magdelaine) at the French court. Her picture is found several times in Lord Ronald Gower's *Three Hundred French Portraits*. Clément Marot wrote one of his *Estrennes* to her in 1538. At the banquet after

[1] They seem the phonetic representation by a Portuguese of real French names. This para. was written before I had seen the letter dated Melun, Dec. 10, 1541, by Moraes, in which he more than once mentions Mansi and Latranja. As he also speaks of madama de Etampes and Tampes, it is clear Mansi was not the duchess. In it he calls Mansi "mimosa del-rey," as in *Palmeirim*. See App. II. for a notice of this letter. For Tampes see p. 173, note.

[2] La Borde *Les Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi*, 1528-71, II., p. 248. The year seems to be 1538.

the marriage of Jeanne d'Albret (1541) a Mlle. de Macé sat at the left of the king, with the dauphine, Diane de Poitiers, and the duchess d'Estampes; the countess de Vertus was on his right.[1] This lady is probably the same as Mlle. de Macy. In 1547 some joinery work was done in the apartments of Mlle. de Macy at Saint-Germain.[2] I think it is she who is represented by Mansi. Judging from analogy, there ought to be a considerable resemblance between the real and fictitious names, more than there is between Étampes (Estampes) and Mansi. Telensi stands, I think, for Téligny or Telligny, a name constantly met with in the memoirs of the day. One of Marot's *Estrennes* is addressed to Telligny, and work was done in Madame de Telligny's apartments at Saint-Germain at the same time as in those of Mlle. de Macy. A sieur de Téligny, a captain of the *gardes du corps*, was present at the obsequies of Francis I.[3] Billon speaks of "la gracieuse Damoyselle de Théligny en faueur de l'elegance de sa personne si tres agreable."[4] It ought to be possible to identify Telensi completely, as she is said to have been the sister of Madame Debru (de Brou). See *infra*, p. 199. I have no doubt that Latranja stands for L'Estrange. The similarity of the names is striking. A Mlle. de L'Estrange was the mistress of the Dauphin Francis who died in 1536.[5] Mézeray speaks of her as la Dame de L'Estrange.[6] The picture of a Madame de L'Estrange is in Vol. I. of Lord Ronald Gower's *Three*

[1] Le Baron de Ruble, *Le Mariage de Jeanne d'Albret*, p. 119.
[2] La Borde, *Les Comptes*, p. 318.
[3] Anselme, *Le Palais de l'Honneur*, p. 260.
[4] *Le Fort Inexpugnable de l'Honneur du Sexe Fémenin*, p. 73 (after p. 76). Paris, 1555.
[5] *Mémoires de Martin du Bellay*. Ed. Petitot. Paris, 1819. Introd. p. 137. Sismondi, *Histoire des Français XVI.*, p. 497.
[6] *Histoire de France*, II., p. 993.

Hundred French Portraits. One of Marot's *Estrennes* and one of his *Epigrammes* are addressed to her. He speaks of her "face d'ange." In 1538 the king gave Madame de L'Estrange materials for dresses.[1] I cannot say whether Mlle. de L'Estrange and Madame de L'Estrange were the same, but it seems probable. It was quite usual to call married ladies of a certain rank "mademoiselle."[2]

8. When we come to Torsi, we pass out of the region of conjecture. But before doing so, it will be instructive and amusing to hear the views of earlier commentators about this lady. Mendes says little more than has been already cited (para. 4). He notes that Moraes fell in love with a lady of Queen Leonor, called Torsi, of a family still known at the present day; that she rejected him on account of disparity in their ages, and that he mourned his repulse (*chora o seu desengano*) in the *Desculpa de uns amores;* that on account of this misfortune he introduced the episode of the four ladies, in which he always places Torsi first, and that in this fictitious narrative, in revenge for the slight he had suffered in Paris, he dilates on the inconstancy of the fair sex of the country (*Opusculo*, p. 7). To this Gayangos replies thus (*Rev. Esp.*, 190, 191): "Those who dedicated themselves to the literature of chivalry rarely fixed their sight on what surrounded them; their fancy (*fantasía*) and fiery imagination sufficed to inspire them with names and characters, scenes and adventures, without their being obliged to make use of other re-

[1] La Borde, *Les Comptes*, II., p. 402.

[2] It certainly was a little later on. I do not know about the time of Francis I. It is not certain that the statement of Moraes, that Mansi, Telensi and Latranja were married, is fact, but it seems probable. It would be well if some person better read in the literature relating to the French court about 1540 than I am, endeavoured to identify the personages mentioned in this episode.

sources. If this is so, why have the real or supposed love-affairs of Moraes to serve as argument against the recognised priority of the *Spanish Palmerin* ? Why not rather suppose that that gentleman, when relating to us his unreturned amorous passion and his consequent indignation (*despecho*), had no other intention than to make a display of (his) wit (*ingenio*), and that, as at the time no other name occurred to him, he took that of Torsi, the lady of the Knight of the Savage ?[1] For, if there had been any truth in the matter, the natural thing for Moraes to do was (as other writers and Hurtado himself would have done) to look out for some pseudonym under which to cover, while at the same time he declared the real name of the lady of his thoughts, instead of giving her almost the same as that of the widow of D. Polendos (Tarsi), who afterwards married King Paciano of Numidia, as one reads in the no less true story of her son D. Polindo." To all this trifling the answer is obvious. The priority of the Spanish *Palmerin* is not recognised ; it is in dispute. The love-affairs of Moraes are properly used as arguments if they throw light on the question, as they do. We cannot suppose the *Desculpa* to be a fancy sketch, because there is no warrant for such a foolish supposition, and because the natural course is to assume a document to be what it professes to be, in this instance a true statement of events that had really happened, and because the whole tenor and style of the narrative show it was not a case of any play, but of grim downright earnest, and that the *Desculpa* was the bitter cry of an agonized heart. The assertion that, if there had been any truth in the matter, Moraes would have used

[1] One of the names of Floriano of the Desert.

a pseudonym, appears to me exactly the contrary of what one would expect. If the *Desculpa* were a make-believe, he would have used a pseudonym ; but as it was a record of facts, he naturally gave the real name of the lady.[1] As to what Hurtado would have done, I do not know. But it is simply ludicrous setting up this shopkeeper[2] and, afterwards, parish-priest of Toledo as an *arbiter elegantiarum*, if the term may be used, in opposition to Moraes, who had spent much of his life in the courts of Portugal and France. And I do know what two other poets have done, greater even than the Hurtado of fiction as the Spaniards present him to us, now that he has become famous as the supposed author of *Palmerin of England*. Dante calls Beatrice—Beatrice, and not Felicia, and Petrarch does not speak of the lady of Vaucluse as Daphne, but as Laura. Each writer can do exactly as he sees fit in such cases, and there is no reason why Moraes should not act as the Italians did. The suggestion that Moraes could not think of a name, while capable of writing such a composition as the *Desculpa*, is preposterous. Besides, it is putting the cart before the horse. The *Desculpa* was clearly written when Moraes was in love, and in France, and that was long before 1548, when the Spanish *Palmerin* appeared. If he gave his beloved a name closely resembling that which Gayangos invented for his imaginary queen of Numidia, it was because her real name did resemble it. As a matter of fact, there was no such person as Tarsi. There was a queen of Tarsis (or of Tarsi, according to the Italians). She

[1] There is no reason to believe that the *Desculpa* was meant for publication.

[2] This is merely a supposition. Gayangos (*Rev. Esp.*, p. 191) states it as a fact. Supposition or fact, it is properly used against him. See also Gayangos and Vedia, II., 536.

was not the widow of Polendos. She did not marry Paciano. Her name does not occur once in *Don Polindo*, from beginning to end, nor is the existence of any such person even hinted at in that work. Such a method of carrying on a controversy is not legitimate. One has no more right to take away a man's literary reputation, without conscientious enquiry, than one has to impugn his moral character. Mendes had distinctly stated that the Torsi family was still known. Gayangos may have been quite right not to take his word for it ; but there was not the least difficulty in writing to Paris and making enquiries. Such a distinguished man of letters would have got a reply at once, and that reply would have been that Mendes was perfectly correct. A family called Torcy (*q.d.* Torsi, Torci) is still in existence among the French nobility. In the *Annuaire du Commerce* (*Paris*) for 1902 will be found a Marquise de Torcy and a Comtesse de Torcy, both resident in Paris. In the same *Annuaire* (*Départements*) villages of the name of Torcy are mentioned in Aisne, Aube, Côte-d'Or, Pas-de-Calais, Saône-et-Loire, Seine-et-Marne and Seine Inférieure. Whether the present Torcys belong to the same family as the lady of the *Desculpa* and *Palmeirim* is another matter. What is clear is, that there was no need to go to Numidia for the name. Benjumea devotes three chapters (xv. to xvii.) to Torsi, but attempts no identification, and does not notice what Gayangos said. His remarks will be more fitly considered later on.

9. I shall now show who Torsi was. In the *Desculpa* Moraes gives certain information about her. She was of high rank (p. 41) (*Torsi é gram pessoa, tem grão valor, e authoridade*) ; she was young, as he speaks on p. 43 of the want of conformity in their ages, and on p. 39 says he did not think love could have power at his

age (*não cuidava que em tal idade amor tivesse poder*); she was unmarried, as he talks (p. 43) of his high and influential rivals (*valerosos, e grandes competidores*), and, if she had been married, he would not have gone down on his knees to her in the queen's chamber, in view of her and her ladies (*á vista della, e de suas damas*) (p. 43). He does not actually say that she was in the queen's household, as the heading does, but this may be inferred from the last passage, and another, where he says that she had learned certain Spanish words from a Castilian lady who had come with the queen (p. 44). As he fell madly in love with her, it is only reasonable to assume that, in his opinion, she was very beautiful. She was, then, young, beautiful, of high rank, unmarried, and in Queen Leonor's household. All these conditions are met with in the Torsi of *Palmerin* (except that the queen's name was Melicia), and also in the Torcy of real life.

10. In Brantôme's *Les Dames Galantes* (II., 51) is the following passage: "J' ay ouy conter à madame de Fontaine-Chalandry, dite la belle Torcy, que la reyne Eleanor sa maitresse . . ." Here, then, we see that there was a lady named Torcy, so remarkable for her beauty that she was called *la belle Torcy*, in the service of Queen Leonor. In P. Anselme's *Histoire Généalogique et Chronologique de la Maison Royale de France* (VII., 25), this lady is again mentioned: "Louis de Montberon III. du nom, baron de Fontaines, seigneur de Chalandray, de Coudioux, de la Brosse & de Romaziere, chevalier de l'ordre du Roi, gentilhomme ordinaire de sa chambre, resta conjointement avec sa femme le 9 octobre 1589. Femme Claude Blosset, dame de Torcy, après son frère, damoiselle d'Eleonore d'Autriche, reine doüairière de France, fille

de *Jean* Blosset, seigneur de Torcy, & d'*Anne* de Cugnac, fut mariée par contrat du 4 avril 1553."[1] From this we may infer that Torcy must have been young in 1540-41, when the events recorded in the *Desculpa* took place, and that she was then unmarried. If she had been married before 1553, the author of *La Maison Royale* would have noticed this. She was of high rank, and was maid of honour to Queen Eleonore, or Leonor. Everything that Moraes says about her is confirmed by independent testimony, as is always the case when we have the means of checking his statements.

11. The Torcys were a branch of the great Norman family of Estouteville[2] mentioned in *Ivanhoe* (Chapter XXXIV). The Blossets seem to have been a Champagne family. They became allied with the Estoutevilles in this way:—Estout d'Estouteville died leaving only three daughters: Jossine, dame de Torcy, who married Jean Blosset, seigneur du Plessis-Basté; Jeanne, dame de Beaumont; and Jacqueline. Jossine had a share in Beaumont (Moréri, III. 165). Their arms, apparently quartered with those of the Estoutevilles, are given on p. 56, Part I., Vol. IX. (Ed. 1884-90) of *La Maison Royale*, where we find some more information about Torcy's relations: "Jean Blosset, seigneur et baron de Torcy-le-Grand & Torcy-le-Petit [près Arcis sur Aube], du Plessis-Pasté, &c., chevalier de l'Ordre du Roy, conseiller d'État, capitaine de cinquante hommes d'armes des ordonnances, lieutenant général au government de Paris & Isle de France, mourut sans postérité le 26 novembre 1587 . . . Il étoit fils de *Jean* Blosset, baron de Torcy, & d'*Anne* de Cugnac, & épousa: 1° *Anne* de Saint-

[1] By this marriage Torsi, apparently, had two children, Louis and Anne de Montberon. *La Maison Royale*, VII., 25.
[2] Moréri, *Le Grand Dictionnaire* (1740), *s. v.* Estouteville.

Berthevin ; 2° *Marie* de Riants veuve des seigneurs du Plessis-Marolles, et de Vou-de-Bures, et fille de *Denis* de Riants, seigneur de Villeray, président à mortier au Parlement de Paris [en 1593], & de *Gabrielle* Sapin, desquelles il n'eut point d'enfants ; & eut pour héritières ses deux soeurs *Claude* Blosset, dame de Torcy, femme de *Louis* de Montberon, seigneur de Fontaines-Chalandray (a), & *Françoise* Blosset, mère de *François* d'Orléans, *bâtard* de Longueville, marquis de Rothelin (b) & femme de *Jean* de Briqueville, seigneur de Colombières." I would ask attention to the names Beaumont, Riants, and Rothelin, as we shall meet them again in this chapter. There is reason to believe that the Torsi of Moraes, that is, Claude Blosset, was an unusually big woman ; for in 1538 Francis I. gave velvet and satin for two dresses to each of certain ladies of the households of the queen and the princess Marguerite, and while twenty-one of them got ten ells (*aulnes*) for each dress, the demoiselle Torcy got eleven.[1] Clément Marot addressed her thus in one of his *Estrennes* in 1538 :

Damoyselle de Torcy,
Cest an cy
Tel estrenne vous desire,
Qu'un bon coup vous puissiez dire
Grand mercy.[2]

It is a matter of regret that her portrait is not to be found in Lord Ronald Gower's book. The difference in spelling between Torsi and Torcy is of no importance. Indeed, in the *Mémoires* of Martin du Bellay (I., p. 469) the name is written Torsy.

12. Now let us see whether the description of Torsi of the episode in *Palmeirim* agrees with that of the

[1] La Borde, *Les Comptes*, II., 399 (Dépenses Secrètes de François I.)
[2] Oeuvres de Clément Marot, ed. by Jannet, 1884.

heroine of the *Desculpa*. It is distinctly stated on p. 74 that she was very beautiful.[1] That she was of high rank may be inferred, as it is said the four ladies generally[2] resided in the court, and each had a castle of her own name, and these castles still exist in France and are known by the same names (p. 62). Torsi attended on the queen (*ib.*). She was unmarried (*sendo donzella y por casar*), which circumstance, besides others, she thought would give her the superiority (*a faria de mais merecimento*) (p. 63). Here is a description of her character (pp. 72, 73): "Torsi, as more confident or more cruel, relied entirely on her appearance and beauty;[3] and as she would not avail herself of any other means,[4] she exhibited disdain, indifference and pride (*suas mostras eram acompanhadas de desdem, isenção e altiveza*), and, above all, a forgetfulness of all services and of the good-will with which they were done to her. She was satisfied that it could not be said of her that she attracted the affection of others by pleasant manners. Her whole being was based on self-confidence. In truth, though this may offend him who serves and loves, still, the lady who acting thus enthrals must have sovereign merit among her fellows, because, while captivating hearts, hers alone appears always free." Practically nothing is said in the *Desculpa* about the character of Torsi. Moraes speaks of her injustice and insults (p. 45). On the same page he fancies he sees her with inflamed face,

[1] The Spanish omits "very."

[2] For "generally" the Spanish has "at that time" (*en aquellos dias*).

[3] The Spanish gives "beautiful of presumption (*hermosa de presumpcion*)" for "confident," and "*esperança y confiança de su hermosura*" for "*confiança de seu parecer e fermosura.*"

[4] When she came to speak to Floriano, she appeared in a simple dress such as she used to wear in the house, "like her friends in design and very different in attire" (p. 172).

angry eyes, and tongue more free and cruel than was usual with her. And on p. 46 he speaks of the dislike (*desamor*) with which she kept him apart from her service. These are the only hints given about her disposition. In *Palmeirim* Torsi is often spoken of in the same strain as is observed in the passage already quoted from pp. 72, 73.[1] It is a singular fact that the author does not expatiate on the characters of the other three ladies, though he does notice certain of their traits,-as (p. 62) that Telensi was the most courageous (*valerosa*), Latranja was virtuous (p. 147), and Mansi the proudest and most presumptuous (p. 158); but they were all haughty and proud and despised everything (p. 62). Moraes was a foreigner and fell in love with the Torcy of real life. Of the Torsi of fiction he says that "most of the foreigners fell in love with her, as they could not deny extraordinary merit to the contempt in which she held all the world, and he who has a high spirit, or one not easily satisfied in so doubtful a case, rejoices in trying his fortune, for there is no great victory but where he who fights despairs" (p. 73). Pompides and Blandidom, two most distinguished knights of the court of Constantinople, fell victims to her charms, and would have fought with each other, like Palamon and Arcite, if the conditions of the adventure had permitted it. They go down on their knees to her (p. 75), as Moraes did in the queen's chamber (*Desculpa*, p. 43). Floriano, who in this episode seems partially to stand for the author, loved her more than any of the other ladies (pp. 163, 173). For this reason he feared her more than all, so that this love or fear prevented him speaking (p. 173). In the *Desculpa* (p. 45) he says: "The appearance of Torsi (*mostras da senhora Torsi*) had such power

[1] As, for instance, on pp. 75, 82, 113, 114, 173.

that, not content with filling me with terror, fear, and apprehension. . . ." He tells us his reason presented various grounds for abandoning his suit, and he was almost persuaded to do so, when Torsi happened to pass and looked at him, with what intent he knew not, but the treason he had committed made him imagine her angry, as is natural with the guilty, and he abhorred the arguments of his reason, and the same day he went down on his knees to her in the presence of the queen and her ladies and asked for pardon (*Desculpa*, p. 43). In *Palmeirim* Floriano tells Torsi that his soul, offended by the injuries she did him, repented of loving her so well, but this thought changes at once, "for so dearly has this repenting cost me, that, warned, I will not fall into this error again" (p. 175). A French knight, who was the cavalier of Torsi and hoped to marry her, is wounded by Floriano, and his wounds are bound up with part of her dress, and she actually sheds a few tears, which circumstances excite much jealousy in Floriano (p. 114). In the *Desculpa* (p. 46) Moraes describes his own jealousy when Torsi was friendly with M. de Châtillon and the English ambassador. And it will be noticed that it is only Torsi who excites Floriano's jealousy; it is only she whom he fears; he is not in the least bashful with the other ladies, but begins at once his seductive speeches; and he never says anything about being warned (by bitter experience) not to repent of having loved them. Torsi asks him if he was ever in love before, and he answers he had been often (p. 123). In the *Desculpa* (p. 39) Moraes says he had spent the best years of his youth in the service of love. This agreement of Torsi of the *Desculpa* with Torsi of *Palmeirim* is very remarkable. In my mind it leaves no doubt that the one is drawn from the other,

and that, as it is not denied that Moraes wrote the *Desculpa*, he also wrote the episode of the four French ladies, and that, as this episode is found in the Spanish version, the latter must have got it from some earlier Portuguese copy, printed or manuscript.

13. I now come to the remarks of Benjumea referred to in para. 8. He considers Moraes was an anachronism in the positive French court (*Discurso*, p. 47), and speaks of his romantic sentimentalism (*romanticismo*) and the prosaic coldness of Torsi, and compares him to Geoffroy de Rudel, who grew ill and died of love[1] for the countess of Tripoli, whom he knew by report only, carrying on a dialogue with a *lorette* of the *Chaussée d'Antin*, or, better still, to Don Quixote on his knees before the peasant of Toboso, who turned home and goaded on her ass, because she did not understand the amorous phrases of the knight (p. 51). This is most unjust to Torsi, who is not to be blamed if she, a beautiful French girl with many admirers, did not respond to the advances of a middle-aged Portuguese gentleman, not of her rank, and one who could not even make himself understood by her. Moraes evidently behaved like a lunatic. He himself tells us his conduct was the subject of unfavourable comments (*murmurações*, p. 39; *o mormurão la por fora*, p. 42). He seems not only to have annoyed, but to have frightened Torsi, as may be gathered from two passages in *Palmeirim*. In the first (p. 121), the ladies propose to pay Floriano a nocturnal visit, and Torsi

[1] There is no reason to believe that Geoffroy de Rudel died of love. What the Provençal story says is this: "Et enamoret se de la comtessa de Tripol ses vezer . . . E per voluntat delleis vezer el se croset e mes se en mar. E pres lo malautia en la nau e fo condug a Tripol . . ." There he died in the arms of the countess. Albert Stimming, *Der Troubadour Jaufre Rudel*, p. 40.

says: "Who do you expect would visit a man whose love changes to anger when he is most enraptured, and who says he will kill everyone?" And again (p. 177): "And then she went away as if afraid that he would lay hands on her, for this fear arose from the reputation he had acquired (*sua fama*)."[1] He had just told her his name, and under similar circumstances Telensi also professed to be frightened (p. 166); but on the former occasion it was not known, and she answered Torsi's fears by a joking remark. To return to Benjumea. He refers (*Discurso*, p. 52) to the passage in *Palmeirim* (III., 64) where Moraes talks of Portuguese knights, and says that this is the only time he mentions them. This is not correct, as they had already been mentioned (I., 329). It is to be noted, too, that in Benjumea's passage the Spanish version says nothing about Portuguese knights. For *alguns portuguezes e castelhanos*, it has simply *algunos caualleros*. He notes the knowledge of French "circumstances, names, dresses and customs" shown by the author. He points out in the dialogue between Floriano and Torsi what he calls an expression identically the same (*idéntica*) as the reply the real Torsi gave to her kneeling lover (p. 53). This expression is, "*não vos mateis tanto*" (III., 123),[2] and seems to mean "do not distress yourself so much." I can find nothing similar in the reply of the real Torsi. All she said was that she was not satisfied Moraes should love her so much, and not to do so in future. Benjumea quotes (p. 54) another phrase of the *Desculpa*, "*desbaratan la vida e atormentan el alma*," as identical with one in Chapter 167 (properly, Chapter 147) of *Palmeirim*,

[1] In both instances the Spanish version differs, but not materially.
[2] Again, on p. 135, Torsi says to him: "não vos mateis."

"*destruir la vida atormentaban el alma.*" The words in Portuguese are, "*desbaratam vida, e trespassam a alma*" (*Desculpa*, p. 46), and, "*destruir a vida, atormentavam a alma*" (III., 173). The reader may judge whether the phrases are so identical that any argument can be founded on them. It seems to me by no means clear.

14. There are, however, passages in the *Desculpa* expressing ideas found also in *Palmeirim*. The following are among them: "they made me desire death . . . but love willed that I should live" (*Desculpa*, p. 45). ". . . love wills that life shall not end, death being the most certain, or, at least, most desired remedy he could give me" (*Palmeirim*, III., 164). ". . . let the contentment of knowing for whom I suffer this evil suffice me to endure it," (*Desculpa*, p. 38). ". . . he cured his annoyances with the thought of (her) who caused them" (III., 162); and again: "my real contentment consisted in nothing but in thinking that I was going through these labours for her" (II., 300); and again: "I rejoice in my misfortune because I suffer it for her" (III., 220). Moraes tells Torsi that, though she had power to kill him or give him life, her power did not extend to what she ordered him to do, that is, to cease loving her, and he wrote a *vilancete*, of which the last lines are: "But to take away from me the intention to serve you and to love you, you have not so great power" (*Desculpa*, pp. 44, 45). Palmerin, addressing the absent Polinarda, says: ". . . or you do not wish that I should do it, in order that you may not consider me yours; but this cannot be, for I was yours always, and you cannot forbid me this, though you are able to do all things with me" (I., 376). Moraes says Torsi was speaking to another lady, apparently at

his expense. He did not know whether she thought of him enough (*lhe lembro*) to care to speak to another about him, even if it were evil (*Desculpa*, p. 44). Florendos, addressing Miraguarda in a soliloquy, says: "You do not remember (*vos lembro*) me even to do me evil" (II., 66).[1] In the *Desculpa* (p. 46) we read: "Nor did the remedy seem to consist in dying; but I began again to desire life in order to serve her who was killing me;" and lower down: "deceived I could live contented, but thus undeceived who could bear it." Palmerin says: "Do not undeceive me, for I do not wish anything that may kill me, and prevent me serving her who does not think of my life" (II., 142). Almost at the beginning of the *Desculpa* Moraes says: "To endure them (losses) for her, I well know is honour" (p. 38). Palmerin tells Polinarda: "To undergo them (labours) in order to serve you I esteem so, that it is I who remain under an obligation" (III., 46). On the next page he says that she knows his words are not sought out in order to oblige. In the *Desculpa* Moraes says Torsi did not understand his words, to be able to judge whether they sprang from his soul or were merely conventional (p. 43). Speaking of how reason counselled him to give up his suit, he has (p. 39): "If they show me any reason which may make me deviate from this thought,[2] I cast it from me as something irrational" (*lanço-a de mim, como cousa desarrasoada*). Floramão, speaking of his dead love, Altea, says: "And if where she is there is any consciousness of what happens, she will know that if at any time my fancy reminds me that I suffer in vain, I hold it for

[1] For this the Spanish has what seems to me unintelligible nonsense: "aque mi para hazer me mal seos acuerda." I. fol. ciiii. I.

[2] Apparently of his love for Torsi; but the word is used vaguely.

disloyal and cast it from me" (*a lanço de mim*) (III., 220). Again, Floramão composed poems and wrote letters to Altea and then tore them up, just as Moraes wrote poems to Torsi which he appears never to have sent (*Palmeirim*, III., 221 : *Desculpa*, pp. 40 to 42, 44 and 47). But it must be noted that this passage relating to Floramão is not found in the Spanish version. The same remark applies to his letter given in Vol. III.,p. 222 ; in which he says : "If anyone fears the misfortunes due to you (*vossos males*), it proceeds from his unfitness for so great a good fortune as is receiving them from you (*não ser pera tanto bem, como é tê-los de vós.*)" On p. 43 of the *Desculpa* Moraes says : "If my love pleases me, let it kill me, I will follow it. And so deceived (*enganado*)[1] am I, that I think if this seems a mistake to anyone, it proceeds from his unfitness (not being sufficient) for such a mistake (*não ser para tal erro*)." The similarity of these passages is deserving of notice ; but it would be wrong to attach supreme importance to it, as the ideas of lovers run in the same grooves, and the vocabulary of love is not extensive.

15. Our last point is something more positive, an examination of the other names found in the episode of the four French ladies. It is well to dispose of the adventure at once ; otherwise, this examination belongs, perhaps, more correctly to Chapter VIII., treating of the comparison of the two versions. I give these names in parallel columns : in the first column as they are found in the Portuguese edition of 1852, after the correction of some discrepancies between it and that of

[1] *Engano* and *desengano* in the language of lovers generally mean, respectively, the holding out of hope, even if false, and a straightforward repulse. Here *enganado* has its ordinary meaning of deceived.

1786; in the second column according to the Spanish version, and in the third as given in the French translation of 1552-53.

	Portuguese	Vol. III.	*Spanish*	Book II.	*French*	Book I.
1	Rober Roselim	77	Rubert Roselin	76 (1)	Rupert Roselin	157
2	Briciã / Breciã de Rocafort	77-8	Brician de Rocafort	,,	Briciã(n) de Rochefort	,,
3	Brialto	77	Brialto	,,	Brialte	,,
4	Girar	95	Girar	79 v. 2	Girard	163
5	Aliar de Normandia	96	Aliar de Normandia	80 (1)	Aliard de Normandie	,,
6	Brião / Briam de Borgonha	99	Brian de Borgoña	80 v. 1	Brian de Bourgongne	164
7	Monsiur d'Artues	100	Mosior de Artues	80 v.2	Monsieur d'Artois	,,
8	Brisar de Jenes	,,	Brisar de Genes	,,	Brisar de Gennes	165
9	Gomier de Benoes	102	Gomier de Benoes	81 (2)	Gommer de Benoit	,,
10	Bentenjer d'Uberlanda	104	Bẽtejer de Berlãda	81 v. 1	Benteier de Berlãde	166
11	Beltrã de Beamon (õ)	105	Beltran de Beamonte	81 v. 2	Bertrand de Beaumont	,,
12	Alter de Frisa	,,	Alter de Frisa	82 (1)	Alteo de Frise	,,
13	Dridem de Berdeos	,,	Dirden de Burdeos	,,	Dirdel de Bordeaux	,,
14	Galter d'Ordunha	,,	Galter de Orduña	,,	Galter de Dordonne	,,
15	Danoes de Picardia	106	Danes de Picardia	,,	Danes de Picardie	,,
16	Ricar de Tolosa	,,	Ricar de Tolosa	,,	Richard de Tolose	,,
17	Menalao de Claramõ	111	Menalao de Claramõ	83 (1)	Menelao de Clermõt	168
18	Mossior d'Arnao	,,	Mosior de Arnao	,,	Mõsieur d'Arnar	,,
19	Bravor d'Esborque	129	Brauor Esbroque	86 v. 2	Brauor	175
20	Alter d'Amiãs	,,	Alter Damians	,,	Alter d'Amiens	,,
21	Galtar d'Ambuesa	,,	Galtar de Ambuesa	,,	Galtar d'Amboise	,,
22	Baldouim de Naamus	141	Baldouin de Namus	89 (2)	Baudouin de Nainnis	179
23	Madama d'Albania	,,	Albania	,,	Madame d'Albanie	,,
24	Mossior de Lamorã	,,	Mosior de Lamorã	89 v. 1	Bamoran	,
25	Brisaque	,,	Brisa	,,	Brise	,,
26	Riem de Belie	,,	Riõ de Beize	,,	Rion de Belze	,,
27	Madama de Vertus	,,	Madama de Vertus	,,	Madame de Vertuz	,,
28	Mossior de Lusinhã	,,	Mosior de Luxemã	,,	Lusaman	180
29	Madama Xapella	,,	Madama Xapela	,,	Madame Zapelle	,,

	Portuguese	Vol. III.	*Spanish*	Book II.	*French*	Book II.
30	Riens	141	Riens	89 v. 1	Riant	180
31	Bias	,,	Bias	,,	Bias	,,
32	Alfer de Beona	142	Alfer de Beona	,,	Alfer de Baionne	,,
33	Mauvezim	,,	Maurccina	,,	Manansine	,,
34	Galar de Besiers	,,	Galar de Besieres	,,	Galard de Beziers	,,
35	Monpesier	,,	Mopensier	,,	Montpesier	.
36	Forcião Granoble	,,	Forcia de Granoble	,,	Forsian de Grenoble	,,
37	Madama Yuri •	,,	Madama Yuri	,,	Madame d'Iury	,,
38	Xarles de Guima	,,	Garmes de Lima	,,	Garmes	,,
39	Postilante	,,	Polistante	,,	Polistante	,,
40	Brisar de Guilhermo	,,	Brisar de Guillermo	,,	Brisar	,,
41	Madama Debru	,,	Madama Debru (de bru)	,,	Madame de Bru	,,
42	Gracião de Bles	,,	Gracia de Bles	,,	Gratian de Blais	,,
43	Madama de Luysio	,,	Madama de Luyson	89 v. 2	Madame de Luyson	,,
44	Lambor(t) de Xasonia	168,171	Lambrot de Saxonia	95 (1)	Lambrot de Saxonie	189
45	Brucio Verona	169 ,,	Brucio Brusio } Verona	95 (2) ,, v. 1	Brucie Verone	,,
46	Trusio Trusiu } Beroso	169,171	Trufio Trusio } Beroso	95 (2)	Trusie Beroze	190

Omitted in ed. 1574.

16. The object in giving these names is to show that many of them, especially those of the ladies, are the real names of persons who were in the court of Francis I. about the time Moraes was there; that it is scarcely credible that anyone who had not frequented that court should know of these names,[1] and still less, persons like Ferrer and Hurtado, who appear never to have been outside Toledo; that some of these names are correctly given in the Portuguese and wrongly in the Spanish,[2] raising a presumption that the former is the original, and the latter an incorrect translation; that, if it is said Moraes might have

[1] *e.g.* Nos. 1, 3, 4, 9, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, 33, 37, 41, 42, 43.
[2] As Nos. 10, 25, 26, 28, 33, 38.

corrected misprints in the Spanish version, we have another instance of the cleverness of this alleged plagiarist, similar to that mentioned in para. 12 of Chapter IV. with reference to St. Brandão and Maroique; and that such a correction is unlikely is shown by the fact that some names of the French translator are worse even than in the Spanish list.[1] But this translator was no ignorant Grub-street hack. He was the almoner of Jean de Bourbon, count d'Enghien, uncle of Henry IV., and secretary of the bishop of Puy en Velai. He translated into French the *Orlando Innamorato* from the Italian, as well as *Palmerin de Inglaterra* and *Flores y Blancaflor* from the Spanish.[2] How is it he did not make the corrections that Moraes, a foreigner, made?

17. Of these names, some are formed from those of French provinces and towns, and might have been invented by anyone with a fair knowledge of geography; such are (5) Aliar de Normandia, and (6) Brião de Borgonha. Others, such as (2) Rocafort, (11) Beamõ,[3] and (17) Claramõ,[4] are met with, slightly altered, in parts of Spain, and might have been known to the Toledans. But how could a stranger hit on (1) Roselim(n) and (30) Riens? Roselim is, no doubt, Rothelin. The French list confirms what I had already supposed, that Riens stands for Riants. Both of these names are connected with Torcy, as the quotation in para. 11 shows.

[1] See Nos. 22, 25, 33.

[2] *Mélanges*, XVIII., 27. Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos adds *Clareo y Florisea*. See *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, III., xxix.

[3] In Moréri (III., E. 165) we meet a "Jossine, Dame de Torcy, et en partie de Beaumont-le Charlit." See para. 11.

[4] Esberte de Claramonte, an Aragonese knight, lost his life in the "Passo Honroso." Pineda, *Libro del Passo Honroso*. Madrid, 1783, p. 55. It is curious, if the Spanish version is the original, that it does not use the Spanish form *Claramonte*, when it gives us *Beamonte*.

(3) Brialto stands for Bréhault,[1] (4) Girar for Girard, (9) Benoes for Benoît (as appears from the French version), a Périgord family.[2]

(8) Jenes is correctly rendered in the French by Gennes. There was one Jeanne de Bours, dame d'Ivergny, de Gennes, etc. who married Claude de Saint-Pol, or Saint-Paul, and was left a widow in 1581.[3] The name occurs often in *La Maison Royale.*

(10) Uberlanda is probably Oberland ; but what does the Spanish Berlãda represent ?

(14) D'Ordunha has not a French look. The real name is probably Dordogne, as indicated in the French translation.

(15) Danoes seems correct, and Danes wrong. A Champagne, not a Picard family, called le Danois, is mentioned in *La Maison Royale* (ed. 1884-90), Vol. IX., Pt. I., p. 816.

(18) Arnao. Two knights of this name took part in the "Passo Honroso," one an Aragonese, the other a Breton—Arnao Bojue.[4] There was a Portuguese family called Arnao, in the time of Moraes, as one Belchior Vieira Arnao, of Miranda, in the bishopric of Coimbra, was granted the arms of his ancestors in 1554.[5]

(22) Naamus is probably a misprint for Naamur, or Namur, or Nemours. The French Nainnis seems hopelessly wrong.

(23) Madama d'Albania was the wife of John Stewart,

[1] *La Maison Royale* (ed. 1884-90), Vol. IX., Pt. I., p. 655.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 886.
[3] *Ib.*, Pt. II., p. 1018.
[4] Pineda, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 57.
[5] *Archivo Heraldico-Genealogico*, by the Visconde Sanches de Baêna. No. 398.

duke of Albany. She was in the household of the Dauphine Marguerite, and was the recipient of ten ells of velvet and satin when Torcy got eleven.[1] She belonged to the family of Tour-d'Auvergne, and was a relative of Clement VII., as his niece, Catherine de' Medici, was Magdeleine de la Tour's daughter. This relationship afforded the duke an opportunity of playing an outrageous practical joke, related by Brantôme in *Les Dames Galantes* (III., 184), a story, whether true or false, worthy of Boccaccio.

(24) Lamorã I have been unable to identify. A Lamourat is mentioned by Hozier.[2]

(25) Brisaque affords another example of a name correct in the Portuguese and wrong in the Spanish. It undoubtedly stands for Brissac, a lady in Marguerite's household, and also presented with materials for dress.[3] For Brisaque the Spanish has Brisa, followed by "q̃ tãbiẽ en las . . .," where "q̃" represents "who." This is probably a misprint; but the question remains how Moraes knew this when Jacques Vincent did not.

(26) Belie. *La Maison Royale* (ed. 1884-1890), Vol. IX., Pt. I., p. 429, mentions a family Bellier of Isle-de-France. But what can Beize mean?

(27) Vertus. This is the countess of Vertus, or Vertuz, to whom Marot addressed one of his *Estrennes*. Her likeness will be found in Lord Ronald Gower's *Three Hundred French Portraits*. The count de Vertus married in 1537. The countess was Charlotte de Pisseleu. Anselme's statement that she died in 1604, aged 79, is difficult to reconcile with the date of her marriage. She appears to have been one of the wildest

[1] La Borde, II., 399.
[2] *Armorial général de la France*, Reg. II., Pt. II. s.v. Lambert.
[3] La Borde, *ib.*

of the band of young ladies whom Francis I. assembled around him, and was promptly sent about her business on the accession of Henri II. (de Ruble, *Le Mariage de Jeanne d'Albret*, p. 234). The fact that she was half-sister of the duchess d'Estampes may have had more to say to her banishment than any zeal for reformation. She has been already mentioned (p. 177).

(28) Lusinhã (q.d. Lusignan) is evidently correct. The name is found in *La Maison Royale* and in Hozier (Reg. v., Pt. II., s. v. de Mélet). The Spanish Luxemã is not impossible, as Lord Ronald Gower gives a portrait of a sieur de Lixammond, and Hozier (Reg. v., Pt. II.) has the name Luxemon-Tisserand.

(29) Xapella is, of course, (La) Chapelle. She was in the household of the queen and also get ten ells of velvet and satin.[1] Marot wrote her one of his *Estrennes* (1538) and one of his *Epigrammes*.

(31) Bias I cannot identify; but I think it stands for Bye, a lady to whom Marot addressed one of his *Estrennes* (1538). Mademoiselle Bye was the recipient of various articles for gay attire from the king.[2]

(33) Mauvezim is clearly right. The Spanish is wrong, and the French worse. How could Moraes have ever got this name from Maurecina? It stands for Mauvoisin, a lady in the queen's household, who was also presented with dress materials.[3]

(35) Monpesier is a misprint, the second "n" having been left out. In *Palmeirim* (III., 142) she is said to have been of high rank (*muito estado*). She was sister of the Guises. Lord Ronald Gower gives her portrait, and Marot wrote her an *Estrenne*.

(37) Yuri. This name is now written Ivry. A count

[1] La Borde, II., 399. [2] *Ib.*, p. 400. [3] *Ib.*, p. 399.

d'Ivry is mentioned in *La Maison Royale* (ed. 1884-1890), Vol. IX., Pt. II., pp. 489, 648. From Moréri (s. v. Estouteville) we know that a seigneur de Beyne (a branch of the Estoutevilles) was baron d'Ivry.

(38) Guima may stand for Guines. A count de Guines is found in *La Maison Royale* (I., 254), who died in 1504, and to whose grandson Erasmus dedicated one of his works. It more probably represents Guise. Xarles is, of course, Charles ; but I can find no meaning in Garmes de Lima, though there is a noble Portuguese family Lima, treated of at length in Braamcamp Freire's *Brasões da Sala de Cintra*.

(39) Postilante is apparently a pseudonym. I have not met any name even faintly resembling it. It is probably an imperfect anagram of Saint-Pol. François de Bourbon, count de Saint-Pol and duke d'Estouteville, married Adrienne, sole heiress of Jean III. d'Estouteville, in 1534. His "compagnie d' ordonnance" attended the king at the marriage of the duke of Cleves (de Ruble, *Le Mariage de Jeanne d' Albret*, p. 111). He died in 1545. Madame de Saint-Pol was living in the palace of St. Germain en Laye, about 1547-48, when repairs were made in the room of her women (La Borde, II., pp. 302, 319). Marot wrote one of his *Estrennes* (1538) to "Madame de Bernay dicte de Saint-Pol." This is probably the lady in question. Saint-Pols are numerous. There is also a family Saint-Paulet (*La Maison Royale*, ed. 1884-90, Vol. IX., Pt. II., p. 950).

(40) Guilhermo does not look French, yet a Breton family called Guillermo is mentioned in *La Maison Royale*, (*ib.*, p. 221).

(41) Madame Debru is said to have been the sister of Telensi (III., 142). *La Maison Royale* gives a baron

d' Alluye et de Brou, whose family name was Robertet. François Robertet married Jacqueline Hurault. Their daughter Françoise married Tristan de Rostaing, in 1544, bringing him the barony de Brou. François had three sisters, one of whom, Françoise, married Jean Babou in 1539.[1] I cannot say who the Madame Debru of *Palmeirim* is, and all my efforts to identify Telensi by means of her have failed.

(42) On p. 444 of the same Vol. IX., Pt. II., the Norman family of Blais is given, represented, perhaps, in *Palmeirim* by Gracião de Bles.

(43) Luysiõ, perhaps, stands for Loyson, a family mentioned by Lainé.[2] Hozier (Reg. II., Pt. I., s. v. Drouillin) gives one Barbe Loison, wife of the seigneur de Fauriel, who lived about the time Moraes was in France. The " i " is found in the edition of 1567. This may be a misprint. It must be remembered that, while we have the names according to the first Spanish and French editions, those of the Portuguese versions come to us at second-hand, and in every fresh issue fresh mistakes and misprints occur. The three last names are those of German and Italian knights and need not detain us.

18. It only remains now to sum up the principal points of this chapter :—

(1)—The episode of the four French ladies is found in both the Spanish and Portuguese versions. It deals with events supposed to have occurred in the court of France. It is of great length. It is a digression having no connection with the rest of the story (para. 1).

[1] *La Maison Royale*, VI., 559. VIII., 182, 943.
[2] *Archives généalogiques et historiques de la Noblesse de France*, Vol. V.

(2)—There must have been some special reason for its insertion. The author exhibits an intimate acquaintance with French ways, but the acquaintance of a person whose judgment has been warped by some personal pique (paras. 2, 5).

(3)—The author shows a remarkable knowledge of the character of one of the French princesses (para. 6). He introduces a large number of ladies who are known to have been at the court of Francis I. (paras. 7, 15 to 17).

(4)—We know that Moraes was at this court, probably from about the end of 1540 to the end of 1543. He had thus the means of acquiring the knowledge displayed in the episode (see Chapter I., para. 28).

(5) He has left a note, the *Desculpa de uns amores*, showing that he fell in love with a lady of the French court, whom he calls Torsi, who rejected his addresses (para. 4), and that his behaviour on this occasion excited adverse comment (para. 13). We have here a reason for his prejudiced judgments on French society (para. 8).

(6) This misadventure supplies reasons for the introduction of the episode (para. 4).

(7)—So far as is known, neither Ferrer nor Hurtado had any means of acquiring the knowledge shown in it. No reason is apparent why they should have written it. It is impossible to explain its prejudiced tone, if one or the other was the author (para. 2).

(8)—Torsi of the *Desculpa* was a real person who can be clearly identified. From independent evidence we know that the account given of her is correct (paras. 10, 11).

(9)—One of the four French ladies in *Palmeirim* is called Torsi. The author shows a marked

preference for her. The description given of her agrees with that of the Torsi of the *Desculpa* (paras. 8, 12).

(10)—Various passages in the episode and other parts of *Palmeirim* are quoted as resembling some found in the *Desculpa* (para. 14).

(11)—A letter of Moraes to the count de Linhares, dated Dec. 10, 1541, from Melun, is still in the Torre do Tombo. In this letter two more of the four French ladies, Mansi and Latranja, are mentioned more than once, and the former is said to be the favourite of the king, as is also stated in *Palmeirim* (para. 7).

(12)—From all this we conclude that Moraes, the writer of the *Desculpa* and of the letter, was also the writer of the episode, and that, as this is found in the Spanish *Palmerin*, that version is not the original, but is derived from an earlier one by Moraes (para. 12).

CHAPTER VI.

THE *FAMA* OF CERVANTES.

1. The statement of Cervantes, p. 203—2. What it implies. Unsatisfactory answer of Gayangos to Mendes, p. 204—3. Benjumea's views: *Fama* was Spanish, not Portuguese. Damaging to Spanish claim, p. 207—4. Cont. Its injurious effect on the Portuguese claim explained away. Reply of Mendes noticed. Answer of Gayangos to Mendes, p. 209—5. Cont. Benjumea's explanation of the *Fama*, p. 210—6. This explanation not satisfactory, p. 211—7. The *Fama* was of Portuguese origin; none existed in Spain, p. 213—8. Of which version Cervantes was speaking, p. 213—9. He might have seen the Portuguese *Palmeirim* in Lisbon, p. 215—10. The "sagacious king" was D. João III., p. 217—11. As appears from a pamphlet by Fr. Diogo de Santa Anna, grandson of Moraes, p. 219—12. Summary of Chapter, p. 222.

1. "Este libro, señor compadre, tiene autoridad por dos cosas: la una, porque él por sí es muy bueno, y la otra, porque es fama que le compuso un discreto rey de Portugal." Thus spoke the Cura to the Barber, señor Maese Nicolás, referring to *Palmerin of England*, when making the famous examination of the library of Don Quixote. In the present chapter I propose to consider what Cervantes meant by the last clause of a sentence which looks simple enough and yet is exceedingly difficult to translate satisfactorily. The difficulty lies in the words *autoridad*, *fama* and *discreto*. Ormsby says:—"This book, gossip, is of authority for two reasons, first because it is very good, and secondly because it is said to have been written by a wise and witty king of Portugal." Watts has:—"This book, gossip, deserves respect for two things: one, because in itself it is very good; and the other, because it is

reputed to have been composed by a clever King of Portugal." I would translate :—" This book, gossip, is of much repute for two reasons, the one, that it is good in itself, and the other, that the story goes that it was composed by a sagacious king of Portugal." It is a matter of minor importance, however, what the exact meaning is of *autoridad* and *discreto ;* for us the interest of this sentence lies in the word *fama*. Mendes and Gayangos do not say what they understood Cervantes to mean by the word ; but Benjumea, who discusses the matter in great detail, attributes to it the meaning of general or universal belief (*Discurso*, p. 14). In this I differ with him.

2. The important bearing of the statement of the Cura on the present controversy is evident. No one will deny that he is merely the channel through which Cervantes expresses his own views. Nor will any one deny that Cervantes had a very intimate and extensive acquaintance with romances of chivalry. Not only does Chapter 6 of *Don Quixote*, with its generally correct criticisms, prove this, but the whole book is a parody showing the author's knowledge of this branch of literature. Cervantes may not be always accurate, but his right to speak with authority cannot be impeached. How, then, does it happen that such a master stated that *it was said, it was reputed, it was the general and universal belief* that *Palmerin* was of Portuguese origin ? And this within less than sixty years after the appearance of the Spanish edition, as the first volume of it is dated July 1547, and *Don Quixote* was issued for sale in January 1605 (*Revue Hispanique*, Nov. 1897). This point was made by Mendes, who says (*Opusculo*, p. 13) :—" The Spanish work appeared in 1547, the birth-year of Miguel de

Cervantes, who knew of it; for it is inadmissible to suppose the contrary in respect of one who had made such a study of the subject (*materia*), and who praises *Palmeirim* above all books of chivalry, and who compares it with the poems of Homer. And by what singular caprice should the Spaniard Cervantes, a contemporary of Hurtado, make a present to a foreign literature of a work which would do such honour to his country?" To this Gayangos replies (*Rev. Esp.*, p. 92) that Cervantes could not be acquainted with all books of chivalry; he mentioned those he remembered having read, and which were most in vogue in his time. He made several mistakes in his examination of the library of Don Quixote, as pointed out by Pellicer and Clemencin. It is not strange, then, that he did not know the real author of *Palmerin*. Nearly three centuries elapsed without Nicolás Antonio and others perceiving that the verses contained, according to the custom of the day,[1] the solution of the enigma and the name of the author. Besides, if the fact that Cervantes did not know the Spanish author proves the work was not originally Spanish, his ignorance of its being attributed in Portugal, rightly or wrongly, to Francisco de Moraes, would prove equally that it was not written in Portugal. It would be interesting to see this last argument put in the form of a syllogism. It is a perfect *non sequitur*. Moreover, there is no proof of the ignorance Gayangos attributes to Cervantes.[2] The rest of his reply is beside the point. What matter does it make whether Cervantes was acquainted, or not, with all books of chivalry?

[1] This "custom" has to be proved. Isolated instances do not form a custom.

[2] Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos says that, as a matter of fact, Cervantes appears not to have known of the claims of Moraes. But she is following Benjumea. *Versuch*, p. 47.

He was acquainted with *Palmerin*, and that is all that is wanted. If he mentioned only works in vogue in his time, his remarks about *Palmerin* are more likely to be correct than if he were speaking of a work not in vogue. Granted that he made mistakes, as did his critics Clemencin and Pellicer, still, that is no proof that his present statement is incorrect. For what does he say? That the book is of authority, or deserves respect, because it is said, or reputed, to have been composed by a wise, or clever, king of Portugal. It is hard to see how he could be wrong as regards the existence of this *fama*. It has always been held that Cervantes implied that his opinion coincided with what was said, viz., that *Palmerin* was composed by a king of Portugal; and both Spaniards and Portuguese agree that this opinion was erroneous. Certainly, he may have been entirely mistaken; though the fact that he was mistaken as to the person of the author does not prove that he was so in respect of his nationality. Still, the main question remains: how did the Spaniard, Cervantes, speaking of a book with which he was well acquainted, express himself in a way which implies that he shared the opinion of others that the book was of Portuguese origin? How was he ignorant of the Spanish claim, or, if not ignorant, why did he ignore it?[1] To this question the reply of Gayangos is no answer.

[1] Cervantes had special facilities for knowing whether Hurtado was the author of *Palmerin*, or not. D. Luis de Vargas y Manrique, the poet, was a great friend of Cervantes, and brother of D. Isabel, the Ismenia to whom Luis Hurtado dedicated the *Teatro Pastoril* and other works. Hurtado dedicated the *Sponsalia de amor y sabiduría* to D. Luis, who wrote a sonnet in praise of *Las Trecientas*. Several members of the family, which Hurtado appears to have known intimately, appear in the *Teatro Pastoril*. *Supra* p. 52, Barrera, p. 191, Gallardo, III., col. 250.

3. Benjumea has devoted a great deal of space to the remark of the Cura. Much of what he says is excellent, but it is rather difficult to group his observations and ascertain exactly what they are meant to prove. He says (*Discurso*, p. 14) that Cervantes did not attribute *Palmerin* to Portugal because it was his individual opinion that it belonged to that country, but because everyone believed it did. Such a belief could not have arisen first when he was writing the chapter about the examination of the library. For a belief to become general time is needed. Fifty years is a reasonable period to allow (p. 15). So it is to be assumed that the belief took shape at the same time as the Spanish version of *Palmerin* appeared, that is, 1547. Perhaps, it arose in Toledo, which Cervantes visited, and he appropriately used the word *fama* of "an old event and notice almost traditional." It is inconceivable that, if the author were a Spaniard, an opinion which attributed the work to a Portuguese should become current, and, much more so, that it should add value (*autoridad*) to the book in the estimation of some. Cervantes could not print as a general belief that which no one believed (p. 15). In order to refute the testimony of so trustworthy a witness as Cervantes, it would be necessary to show that no such *fama*, or public voice, existed—an absurd and impossible task, as Cervantes could not suppose (*imaginar*) a popular opinion that did not exist, nor had he any need to make use of a fictitious public testimony where his private opinion sufficed (p. 16). In no contemporary document has the statement of Cervantes been contradicted, or Ferrer, or Hurtado, been named as author. From his infancy Cervantes was so fond of reading that he must have read the Toledo edition

with the dedication. We cannot suppose he read the work in Portuguese. Even if he had, the statements of Moraes were not so definite as those of the supposed authors of the Spanish edition. It was the custom of both good and bad authors to put dedications to their works.[1] Such dedications were greedily perused. If read in the present case, why was not Ferrer considered the author? Even if the acrostic was not discovered, he was not modest, and in both volumes clearly claimed to be the author. Why was he not believed? (p. 15). How did the opinion prevail that the work was of Portuguese origin? How did the belief that an unknown king of Portugal was the author maintain itself so many years in Spain, when Ferrer in Toledo openly claimed to have composed the work? There must have been some strong and incontrovertible reason for giving the honour of having composed a good book current in Spanish to an anonymous Portugese, and refusing it to a Spaniard who loudly claimed it (p. 16). The only thing which, in a certain measure, justifies the intrusion of Ferrer is that he found the poem without the name of the author; and this explains how it was said (*fama*) that the Portuguese themselves attributed it to a king of Portugal (p. 23). The belief that it was written by a king of Portugal is of Spanish origin; at least, Cervantes was the first to notice it. Faria y Sousa was later. He adopted the belief because he lived in Spain, and gave it up when he heard of the prologue of Moraes.[2] Mendes says that this opinion

[1] This is what the words "Siendo esto costumbre recibida asi entre los buenos como entre los malos autores," on p. 15, seem to mean.

[2] Faria y Sousa (Manuel de) was born in 1590, and died in 1649. He resided in Spain foi many years before his death. I cannot find that he ever adopted the belief referred to by Benjumea. He distinctly

never had proselytes in Portugal, and, as a matter of fact, Benjumea never found any author who did maintain it. As it was not maintained in Portugal, it could hardly become that public voice of which Cervantes speaks, and so those seem wrong who say Cervantes followed Faria y Sousa. The probability is that as the work was a good one, and the author was known (*reconociendo*) to be a Portuguese, it was attributed to a prince, the opinion being based on the advice it contains for the good government of states and the conduct of kings (p. 26).[1]

4. So far Benjumea has been considering the passage as it favours the Portuguese claim. He next examines its adverse effect. He asks: if Cervantes published *Don Quixote* in 1605, when the edition of 1592 had already disclosed Moraes as author, how did he attribute *Palmerin* to a king of Portugal? He then (p. 36) notices the "able reply" of Mendes which has been already discussed (Chapter II., para. 5), and admits Cervantes might have known of the edition of 1592 (p. 37); but that does not imply that he must have heard of it. He had not the means to buy books printed abroad; nor were there lists of such that he should have known of them. It is not strange that for six or eight years he should not have seen a work printed in Lisbon. Besides, he knew the Spanish version (p. 37), and had no object in being on the look-out for foreign editions. He was

says that Moraes was the author, both in his *Rimas de Camoens* (Ed., 1685-88, Tom. IV., Pt. II., p. 102), and in his *Europa Portuguesa* (Ed., 1678-80, Tom. III., Pt. IV., Chapter VIII., p. 372). In the latter he adds, speaking of *Palmerin*: "work which some believed to be by the king D. Juan II." Porcel tells us that Faria y Sousa wrote a romance of chivalry in imitation of *Palmerin*. *Retrato de Manuel de Faria y Sousa*, p. 10.

[1] The *Versuch* (p. 5) does not think this reason sound. See App. I. (17).

not a bibliographer. Communication swere not then so frequent that he should know of all books printed in Portugal. To-day whole editions printed at our doors pass unnoticed. Sr. Gayangos himself says Cervantes could not have known of all books of chivalry, how much less of all reprints, and of a book already forgotten, and printed in a foreign language? When explaining why Hurtado did not protest when Moraes was granted by the king the appellative *Palmerin*,[1] Sr. Gayangos says communications were not so frequent between Lisbon and Toledo that notice should reach the ears of the injured author that a Portuguese version of his work had been published. This reply seems exactly made for the case of Cervantes, who had even less time to hear of the edition of 1592 —namely, from then till the year Sr. Gayangos supposes the chapter of the examination of the library was written, or seven years—than had Hurtado to hear of the Portuguese version, amounting to, at least, thirteen years, that is, from the edition of 1567 to the death of Hurtado.[2] In short, when, in 1605, Cervantes published that *Palmerin* was the work of a king of Portugal, he did not know of the Lisbon edition, or had not read the prologue in which Moraes claims to be the author (p. 38).

5. Finally Benjumea sums up to the following effect:—With these preliminary observations (*antecedentes*) it is now possible to explain how the *fama* arose to which Cervantes alludes. It was necessary that neither he, nor Hurtado, nor even Ferrer, should have heard anything to the contrary, in order that Cervantes should

[1] As already said (*supra*, p. 40), there is no proof of any such grant.
[2] This would imply that Hurtado died in 1580. In reality, the last notice we have of him dates from 1582, perhaps from 1598.

adopt the primitive opinion, and that the others should appropriate the poem with such impunity. *Palmerin* issues in Spanish from the presses of Toledo, and as no one believes the assertions of Ferrer, or attaches any weight to the acrostic, for reasons which will be given later on, the poem passes for anonymous; and as there are signs in it that it is a translation from the Portuguese, it is attributed to a king of Portugal, on account of the affection entertained for, and part taken in other books of chivalry by some monarchs of that country, and because it was thought that *Palmerin de Oliva*, the grandfather of the British (*Palmerin*), had its birth in the neighbouring kingdom.[1] Hence the fact that this *fama* was purely Spanish, for if, till Moraes appeared as author, it was possible to believe (even) among the Portuguese that the work had been composed by a king, and it was even said to be the fruit of the mind (*genio*) of D. Juan II., as soon as the name of Moraes appeared, all these conjectures fell to the ground before the confession made in his dedication. In Spain, on the contrary, where this fact was not known or did not excite interest, the old belief which ascribed the work to a Portuguese monarch continued to exist (p. 39).

6. All this is very ingenious, but, certainly, not convincing. As usual, Benjumea halts between two opinions. On one page he approves of the statement that the opinion that a king of Portugal was the author had no proselytes in that country, and later on speaks of it being possible to believe (even) among the Portuguese that the work had been composed by a king, and was even said to be by D. Juan II., but that all these conjectures fell to the ground (in Portugal) when the

[1] There is no ground for believing that this opinion prevailed in Spain. The *Versuch* (p. 5) approves of these reasons of Benjumea.

name of Moraes appeared (in 1592). Portugal is a small country; Moraes was well known; *Palmeirim* was exceedingly popular, as may be seen from the Prologue to the continuation by Diogo Fernandez, published in 1587; Moraes, who died in 1572, was known as *Moraes o Palmeirim*; how, then, can it be supposed that the Portuguese had to wait till 1592 to know that he claimed to be the author? Everybody must have been aware of the fact. Then, it is difficult to see how the opinion arose and maintained itself in Spain. Granted that no one believed Ferrer, and that his book was thought to be a translation from the Portuguese, why should the Spaniards attribute it to a king, when everybody in Portugal knew it was said to be by Moraes? Communications between Spain and the adjoining kingdom may not have been much developed, but they must have been at least moderately frequent, at first on account of the family relations between the courts, and later on for political reasons, when, after 1580, Portugal became a Spanish province; and in the course of some fifty years the Spaniards ought to have become aware that the Portuguese attributed this Portuguese work to Francisco de Moraes. Owing to the intimate family connection between the royal houses of Spain and Portugal, it would have become known in the capital of Spain, very soon after *Palmeirim* first appeared in Portugal, that this work, dedicated to a Portuguese princess, was by Moraes. And the capitals were then as much as now, probably more so, the centres of literary light and leading, at least as far as regards the *belles lettres*. It is not easy to admit that in Spain the work could be generally ascribed to a king of Portugal, when a contrary opinion was current in the latter country.

7. My view is just the opposite of that of Benjumea and Mendes. I believe the *fama* was of Portuguese origin, and existed only in Portugal. I doubt if there was any *fama* at all in Spain. Here, the alleged birthplace of *Palmerin*, the book does not seem to have enjoyed any popularity. Within fifty years three Portuguese editions, including that "printed abroad," appeared, and a continuation had been written; in France two translations were made and published; in Italy at least five editions or reprints were issued, and a third part was written. But Spain appears to have been quite satisfied with the first and only edition. Benjumea attributes this to its being a detestable translation (*Discurso*, p. 79).[1] Much of it is bad; but this can hardly be the whole reason, as the foreign translations mentioned were made from this detestable version, and Munday's English translation, which ran into several editions, was certainly not better than the Spanish. If the work had been popular, a revised version might have been brought out, like Delicado's Venetian edition of *Primaleon*. Probably the Spaniards were becoming satiated with this class of literature, and the badness of the Spanish *Palmerin* made them less favourably disposed towards the book. Whatever the reason, *Palmerin* could not boast of any popularity in Spain. It seems to me much more likely that it was practically forgotten there when Cervantes wrote *Don Quixote*, at least fifty years after the only Spanish edition had been published, than that any general belief existed regarding a foreign author.

8. An interesting and relevant question is which

[1] App. I. (18).

version of *Palmerin* was in the library of Don Quixote. It is not rash to assume that it was the one with which Cervantes himself was best acquainted. But which was that? Clemencin says (I., 126) that the copy in the library of Don Quixote would be in Spanish, the examination not pointing to the contrary. This is a natural conclusion, but not decisive. Don Quixote was no country boor like Tony Lumpkin. Away from knight-errantry he was an intelligent and well-instructed gentleman. From Chapter 62 of Part II. it is seen that he knew a little Italian (*Toscano*), and prided himself on singing verses of Ariosto. If, then, he understood Portuguese, a language much more akin to Spanish than is Italian, and still more like Spanish in the middle of the sixteenth century than now, it would be nothing wonderful. I have little or no doubt that Cervantes was speaking of the Portuguese version. Southey was also of this opinion, because Cervantes mentioned the belief that the romance was written by a king of Portugal. (Preface to *Palmerin of England*, p. xiv.).[1] Mendes, indeed, says (*Opusculo*, p. 13) that Cervantes knew of the Spanish version. This is not improbable. He might have known of it as well as of the Portuguese version, and, perhaps, that is what Mendes means. Benjumea (*Discurso*, p. 15) says we cannot suppose Cervantes read *Palmerin* in Portuguese, and (p. 37) that he knew the book in Spanish. But he leaves us in the dark as to the grounds he has for making these assertions. My reason for thinking Cervantes refers to the Portuguese version is, that he could not possibly have employed the terms of praise he uses, if he had known

[1] It must be remembered that Southey wrote before the discovery of the Spanish edition.

the work only in Spanish. Benjumea is exaggerating when he declares (*Discurso*, p. 8) that "the edition of Toledo of 1547 is a *translation*, and, mark well, a *diabolical and detestable translation*, or better said, a martyrdom and torture and profanation of the clear, vigorous, flowing, original and most elegant Lusitanian story;" but a good deal of the Spanish version is very poor stuff. If Cervantes had known only it, I am afraid the "Palm of England" would have shared the fate of *Palmerin de Oliva*, and would not have escaped the fire.

9. No reflecting person is likely to deny, in spite of the dictum of Benjumea, that Cervantes might have been acquainted with the Portuguese version. On his return from Algiers he re-enlisted, and his *tercio*, or regiment (supposed to have been that of D. Lope de Figueroa), was employed in the Azores and Portugal against the forces of the Prior of Crato and their allies. He served in the campaigns of 1581 to 1583,[1] and was, probably, engaged in the great battle fought in 1582 off the island of Terceira, one of the Azores, in which the Spaniards, under their famous admiral Alvaro de Bazán, marquis of Santa Cruz, were completely victorious over the French. We are told of his receiving payment of fifty ducats at Thomar in 1581;[2] that he stayed with his regiment more than two years in Portugal;[3] while a German authority,[4] or rather, author, goes into more detail, and states that in

[1] *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, I., xviii.

[2] Benjumea. *La Verdad sobre el Quijote* (1878), p. 107. He says that the *cedula* for this sum, and another for the same amount, paid in Cartagena, were recently found in Seville. Philip II. did hold Cortes in Thomar in April 1581.

[3] Prosper Mérimée. Introduction to Biart's translation of *Don Quixote*, p. 23.

[4] Edmund Zoller. Introduction to translation of *Don Quixote*, p. 11

winter-quarters at Lisbon he was invited out into the best society ("In den Winterquartieren zu Lissabon zog man ihn in die vornehmsten Gesellschaften"). Unfortunately, this writer cannot be trusted implicitly, as he also informs us that Cervantes fought in the Azores from 1585 to 1593. To come to a more reliable source of information, Navarrete (*Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*) says that the first expedition of Alvaro de Bazán left Lisbon on July 10, 1582 (p. 60), and returned there on Sept. 10 (p. 61). It sailed again on June 23, 1583, with twenty *banderas* of the *tercio* of Figueroa (*ib.*). "His residence and detention in Portugal due to this cause enabled him (Cervantes) to study and become acquainted with that country, and the customs and habits of its people (p. 63)." "The residence of Cervantes in Portugal . . . is in our opinion well proved" (p. 391). Fitzmaurice-Kelly says in his *Life of Cervantes*, p. 102:—"That he (Cervantes) served against the Portuguese is certain . . . . Cervantes returned with Santa Cruz and served in Portugal another twelve-month." In his *History of Spanish Literature* (p. 216) he is less confident, saying merely: "It is surmised that he served in Portugal and at the Azores . . . he returned to Spain, at latest, in the autumn of 1582 (*sic*)." Even if there is no positive proof that Cervantes was in Lisbon in the early eighties, all we know about his life then shows him in a position, and mixed up in affairs, which were very likely to bring him there. Then, there is the tradition of his having been in that capital, and tradition, till it is shown to be false or suspicious, is evidence of a fact. The oft-quoted passage in *Persiles and Sigismunda* (III., I) seems to me of much weight. The description it gives of Lisbon and the Portuguese bears all the signs of being by an

eye-witness. His knowledge of the Portuguese language is notorious, and may be seen from Chapter 12, Book III. of the same work, where he says it alone can vie in sweetness and charm with the Valencian.

10. In Lisbon Cervantes, who was a great reader, and very fond of books of chivalry, in spite of his declaration that he wrote *Don Quixote* with the purpose of destroying their credit, would naturally come across *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, then enjoying a great popularity in Portugal. In Lisbon, too, he would hear the gossip to which he referred, when he said it was *fama* that the book had been composed by a sagacious king of Portugal. Before stating what that gossip was, it will be well to consider who the "sagacious king" could have been. Camões, in the Lusiads (IX., 44), speaks of *Fama* as

> A deosa Gigantea, temeraria,
> Jactante, mentirosa e verdadeira—

sometimes true, sometimes false; and even when false, it is only proper to assume, until the contrary is proved, that the falsehoods are not absolutely impossible. In other words, if the *fama* were true, to which king of Portugal could it refer? The passage in Faria y Sousa has already been quoted (para. 3), where, speaking of *Palmerin of England*, he says:—"A work which some believed to be by the king, D. Juan II." As *Palmeirim* mentions *Primaleon* by name several times,[1] and has largely borrowed from it, and no earlier edition of this romance is at present known than that of 1512,[2] while D. Juan II. died in 1495, we may confidently say that he is an impossible king. The same objection does not

[1] I., 11, 24, 41, 85, 236; III., 247.
[2] Salvá y Mallen. *Catálogo*, II., 90.

apply to D. Manuel, as he lived till 1521; but there is no trace of *Palmerin* till twenty-three years after his death, and it is highly unlikely that a courtier would have dedicated to D. Maria, as his own, a work written by her deceased father. Moreover, the circumstances recorded in the episode of the four French ladies show that the book must have been written much later than his time. D. Sebastian is out of the question, as he was not born till several years after the appearance of even the Spanish version. As far as age and dates go, there is nothing to be said against the cardinal-king, Henry; but, as he was in his dotage when he came to the throne, he could not be called a *discreto rey*. Pellicer says:—"D. Nicolas Antonio attributes it in part to the infante D. Luis, father of D. Antonio, Prior of Ocrato" (*Don Quixote*, Vol. I., p. 60). What Antonio says is, that "it is said" part of *Palmerin* is by him (*Bib. Nova.* II., 59)[1] As D. Luis did not die till 1555, he might have had something to say to the work, but he was never king, and so the *fama* cannot allude to him. There remains, then, only D. João III., to whom the report could plausibly apply; and, strange to say, it was to him it did apply, as we know from excellent independent evidence. It may, indeed, be objected that D. João III. was not a sagacious king, and certainly that is not the character given him by Herculano, who says he was a fanatic, and never able to acquire the rudiments of science or even of Latin (*Inquisição*, I., p. 182). "Without affirming D. João III. to have been an

[1] "Hujusmet esse dicitur viri Principis aliqua pars fabulosæ historiæ *Palmerini*, quæ Francisci de Moraes nomen præ se fert. . . . Cardosus in schedis ad *Bibliothecam Lusitanam*." This last clause explains why Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos could not find *Palmeirim* attributed to D. Luis in the original edition of Antonio (1672). *Versuch*, p. 6.

idiot, we imagine his intelligence was below mediocrity. (*Sem acreditarmos que D. João III. fosse idiota, suppomo-lo uma intelligencia abaixo da mediocridade*") (I., p. 188). It appears to me, from what is said on page 8 of Andrade's *Chronica*, that D. João learnt nothing, whatever his abilities were. But his fanaticism may have commended him to Cervantes, who applauded the expulsion of the Moors from Spain (*Don Quixote*, II., Chapters 54 and 65; *Persiles y Sigismunda*, Book III., Chapter II. See also *Coloquio de los Perros*, in the *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, I., 242); and Herculano himself says (I., 181) that the chroniclers who wrote under the influence of the immediate successors of this prince, having the lash of the censorship before their eyes, paint him as endowed with high intelligence and qualities worthy of a king. Opinions concerning D. João III. were very contradictory, and Cervantes cannot be blamed or considered ignorant for taking the most favourable view, and speaking of him as a sagacious king.[1]

II. In the National Library at Lisbon there is a small manuscript volume[2] which treats of one Bento de Moraes Pimentel. It is dated 1638, and contains thirty-five leaves. On leaves 15 and 16 we find a notice of Francisco de Moraes, the author of *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, which I give in App. IX. At the end, on the reverse of leaf 35, is the following certificate :— "And I certify that what is contained in this memorial is true and by me (*E certifico ser verdade oque neste*

[1] As regards D. João III. and *Clarimundo*, see App. XII.

[2] This manuscript was brought to my notice by Sr. Guilherme J. C. Henriques (da Carnota) of Alemquer, author of a very interesting book on Damião de Goes (*Ineditos Goesianos*), besides other less important works.

memorial se contem e por mim feito). Fr. Dioguo de Sta. Anna." According to Barbosa (I., 630; IV., 138, 139), Fr. Diogo de Santa Anna was the son of Izabel de Moraes, daughter of Francisco de Moraes, our author, and, consequently, his grandson. He was an Austin friar, and spent a considerable portion of his life in missionary labours in the East. He died at Goa in 1646. Innocencio (IX., 129) says documents not very creditable to his character have appeared. But his character is not of much importance in the present case. He does not himself say that he was grandson of Francisco de Moraes, but that he knew his grandsons (*seus netos que eu conhecy*). He may have thought that his warm defence of his grandfather would be better served by not mentioning their relationship. He does not deny it; and there seems no special reason to distrust Barbosa in this matter. One thing, however, is certain, namely, that the friar did not inherit his reputed grandfather's ability to write clear and elegant Portuguese. The important part of the Memorial, as regards our enquiry, is this: "And what is said at the present time (for there was not wanting who ignorantly said it) that the King D. João III. composed this book,[1] and ordered it to be printed in the name of his esteemed and favourite private treasurer, is flattery, and is envy, and is (a) very unnecessary theft, and ill-founded; for so great a King had no need of this adulation, being already dead; and because it was notorious that the said Francisco de Moraes Palmeirim was held in such repute as refiner of that court, that besides this book he had almost finished another when he died, in which

[1] *Palmeirim de Inglaterra.*

he treated of all the usages of the courts of the other kingdoms, also refined, and of the believing and catholic as well as of the infidel and the barbarian, and his grandchildren, whom I knew, were learning to read, and speaking thus so as to declare it, by the fragments of these their (his) rareties, and were telling (of) them (the rareties) to their contemporaries, as brought up with them, and such a statement would never have been made except now, when time is involving what has already passed in obscurity, and it is clear if such a book had been composed by so great a King, that this composition would be famous even in the presence of the remaining Kings of Europe."[1] The pith of this is that D. João III. was said to be the real author, and Francisco de Moraes only the reputed author of *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*. In fact, it was a counterpart of the great Bacon-Shakespeare case. Just as Bacon wrote certain plays and saw fit to conceal his name, allowing the Stratford actor to pass as their author, so D. João III. composed *Palmeirim* and let Moraes have the credit of it. When Fr. Diogo says that the statement could only have been made now, when time was involving what had passed in obscurity, he seems to be contradicting his previous assertion that it was flattery and was envy. For men do not flatter nor envy the dead, and both the king and Francisco de Moraes had been long dead, the former

[1] Much of this jargon is obscure. I have translated *assi politicos* by "also refined," on account of the earlier phrase *policia do Reino*, where *policia* seems to mean "polish." I understand the extraordinary passage about the grandchildren to mean that they were learning to read from mutilated portions of the works of Moraes, about which they spoke to their contemporaries and fellow learners, and that this was the manner in which Santa Anna saw fit to explain his knowledge of the matter ("speaking thus, so as to declare it"), instead, perhaps, of saying he, too, was a grandson of Moraes.

about eighty, the latter more than sixty years before the date of the friar's pamphlet. We may be quite sure that the rumour arose during the lifetime of D. João, and among the courtiers, a class of whom Moraes speaks with much asperity (II., 159, 163). It is hardly necessary to say that there is not the slightest reason to believe that D. João III. had any direct part in the composition of *Palmeirim*. From what has been said about his mental capacity, he would seem to have been nearly as little able to write such a book as Ferrer was. The Portuguese version has been written from beginning to end by one person, and there is internal evidence, in the episode of the four French ladies, to show that that person was Francisco de Moraes.

12. The chief points of this chapter may now be epitomized:—

(1)—In Chapter 6 of *Don Quixote* Cervantes stated that *Palmerin of England* was of authority (*tiene autoridad*) because it was said (*es fama*) to have been composed by a sagacious king of Portugal (para. 1).

(2)—This statement implied the belief of Cervantes that the work was of Portuguese origin; also that he was ignorant of, or ignored the claims of Ferrer, or Hurtado, or Moraes, to be the author (para. 2).

(3)—The unsatisfactory nature of the replies of Mendes, Gayangos, and Benjumea to this silence concerning the claims of their clients was considered (paras. 3-6).

(4)—Benjumea and Mendes held that the *fama* was of purely Spanish origin, and had no proselytes in Portugal, though the former is not consistent with himself (para. 3).

(5)—My view is that the work was not popular in Spain, and so it is unlikely that there would be any *fama* in that country about its origin, and still less about a Portuguese origin contrary to the opinion current in Portugal, where the romance was very popular. Consequently, the *fama* was Portuguese (para. 7).

(6)—Clemencin, Mendes, and Benjumea thought Cervantes was speaking of the Spanish version. I endeavour to show that he might have been referring to the Portuguese version, as stated by Southey; and that he probably was, as he could not have praised the work so highly if he had known only the Toledan edition (para. 8).

(7)—From what we know of his life, Cervantes probably was in Lisbon, where he would become acquainted with the Portuguese *Palmeirim* and the gossip about its authorship (para. 9).

(8)—It was considered to which of the kings of Portugal the *fama* could apply, and he was found to be D. João III. (para. 10).

(9)—Finally, it was shown from a work by the grandson of Moraes that there was a report, due to flattery and envy, and false, that D. João III. composed the book, and had it published in the name of his private treasurer, Francisco de Moraes (para. 11).

This explanation of the *fama* is clear, and simple, and probable. It avoids all the difficulties, absurdities, and false assumptions involved in the other explanations. It is easy to understand how, when the king and his treasurer were long dead, Cervantes, a foreigner residing for only a short time in Portugal, and so not likely to make any serious enquiry into the matter,

might know that Moraes was the reputed author, and yet accept the gossip that the work had been really composed by D. João III., and record it in *Don Quixote*. But an explanation is still needed of how he could have done so, if he had known and credited the claims of Ferrer or Hurtado.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PROLOGUES AND THE ACROSTIC.

1. Points for enquiry. Doubt about existence of Ferrer's patrons, p. 225—2. Part of his first Prologue stolen, p. 226—3. His Prologues compared with Dedication of Moraes. Nature of Acrostic, p. 228—4. Ferrer claimed to be the author of *Palmerin*, p. 231—5. Views of Mendes, Gayangos, and Benjumea as to what Ferrer claimed, p. 233—6. Cont. Contradictory views of Benjumea, p. 235—7. The Acrostic, p. 238—8. Cont. Nature of the verses, p. 239—9. Position of Hurtado shown by them: View of Mendes, p. 240—10. Cont. View of Gayangos, p. 241—11. Cont. View of Benjumea, p. 241—12. Cont. View of the present author, p. 244—13. The Heading of the Acrostic, p. 249—14. Summary of Chapter, p. 251.

1. In this chapter we have to consider: (1) What character does Ferrer claim for himself in his Prologues? (2) What character does Luis Hurtado claim for himself in the Acrostic? It will also be necessary to see how far the claims made by, or for these writers are substantiated. Benjumea has gone into this matter in great detail; and my task will principally consist in examining his views which, as usual, are very contradictory. It will be remembered that the Spanish version is in two volumes. Each has its separate prologue. That of the first is directed to the "very magnificent señor don Alonso Carrillo, etc.," and the second to the "very magnificent Señor Galasso Rotulo, etc.," without the "don." The first professes to be "made by Miguel ferrel his servant (*servidor y criado suyo*)," the latter to be "made by Miguel Ferrer." Both are given in full in App. x. As regards these

very magnificent Señors Benjumea acutely observes, that "everything leads one to believe that the Mæcenases were purely nominal, and that no such Galasso Rotulo or Alonso Carrillo existed to accept the work; and the reason of this doubt, which I have always felt, is, that while they were so noble and magnificent, the dedicator devotes to them no phrase of adulation or flattery, nor does he refer to the glorious deeds of themselves or their ancestors, as was the custom of dedicators. But even supposing they were real and actual persons existing in Spain, which is doubtful, as he does not indicate their titles, rank or class . . . ." (*Discurso*, pp. 59, 60). It is difficult to know what Benjumea can mean by saying no phrase of adulation or flattery is devoted to these magnificences, as the contrary is the case; but the omission of their titles is very remarkable and suspicious. It is clear that if such persons did exist, they were not of exalted rank. In Chapter 44 of his *Memorial* about Toledo, Hurtado mentions the Carrillos as one of the noble families of that city, but I noticed nothing about the Rotulos. I can express no opinion as to whether the names are those of real or imaginary personages.[1] But here is one of the suspicious circumstances connected with the Spanish version.

2. Benjumea also points out (p. 58) that Ferrer has stolen part of his (first) prologue from D. Diego Gracian de Aldrete, the translator of the *Morals of Plutarch*, who

[1] About this time an important person in the printing-trade in Toledo was Hernán Carrillo Rotulo, printer of the Bulls of the Holy Crusade from 1534-86 (Pérez Pastor, p. xviii). Was it his name suggested those used by Ferrer? The Christian name, Alonso, would be taken from that of the famous archbishop of Toledo—Alonso de Carrillo (1446-82). The rival of the hero of *El Amante Liberal* of Cervantes is called Rótulo.

complained of the theft, not because he objected to his words being appropriated, but because they were used for giving credit to such vain literature. He appears to have seen the book in 1548, and, as Benjumea says, he was the first, or, perhaps, the only one who spoke of *Palmerin de Inglaterra* shortly after its literary birth. As such a notice is of interest, I give it below in a note.[1] He then asks if it is credible that the intellect which conceived and the pen which wrote so choice (*raro*) and excellent a book had not sufficient invention to address a few words to their protector or Mæcenas. "What does this show? That Miguel Ferrer, poor in invention and lacking genius, had not even enough to compile a wretched prologue. Aldrete denounced him and pilloried him as a daring plagiarist, without saying even from what field he was robbing the fruit; and when he thus attacked him in public, he kept silence, because as publisher (*editor*) he did not care a straw whether people thought him learned and able or not." Benjumea's style is not as correct here as it is usually, but his meaning is clear. Ferrer could not have written *Palmerin*, because he stole part

[1] The words of Diego Gracian are:—"Así los dias pasados en Monçón, estando allí el Príncipe nuestro señor en cortes, un caballero me mostró en uno destos libros de ficción nuevamente compuesto (intitulado Palmerin de Inglaterra) en el prólogo dél, todo un comienzo de un prólogo mio á la letra que comienza, Demetrio Phalereo, etc., el cual habrá quinze años compuse en la prefación de los Apophthegmas que yo entonces dirigí á su Magestad que también va ahora al principio destos Morales, del cual no me pesara habérmelo usurpado otro, si le hubiera empleado en otro libro de doctrina, ó de provecho." I quote from the Alcalá de Henares edition of 1548, and have modernized the spelling. The Prologue is not dated. In 1548 Diego Gracian dedicated three parts of his work to the emperor Charles V. The fourth part was not ready, and was not printed till the first edition of the three parts having been exhausted, a second was called for. The Cortes were held in Monçón (Monzón in Aragon) in 1548, and Diego Gracian attended them. See Salamanca edition of 1571, where this Prologue is repeated with trifling additions. The *Apophthegmas* were published in 1533. See App. I. (19).

of Diego Gracian's prologue, and as he was merely publisher, he did not mind being pilloried as a thief. This argument is not good. No one denies, at least as far as I am aware, that Cervantes wrote *Don Quixote*, and yet Cervantes has taken a large part of his dedication of that work to the Duque de Béjar, from Medina's preface and Herrera's dedication to the Marqués de Ayamonte of the *Obras de Garcilasso de la Vega con anotaciones de Fernando de Herrera.* The amount appropriated by Cervantes is, relatively to the size of his dedication, at least as great as that taken by Ferrer, whose pilferings extend from "Demetrio Phalereo" down to "servicio de vuestra merced," or about one-fourth of the whole prologue. The only difference is that Ferrer has boldly transferred *en bloc* what he took, while Cervantes skilfully interwove his illicit gleanings.[1] As to Ferrer being publisher (*editor*), we shall soon see that Benjumea denies him this position. However, here we have another "shady" matter connected with the Spanish version.

3. Benjumea is on firmer ground when he compares the prologues of the two rivals (Chapter XVIII., p. 55). That of Moraes is the more sensible, fashioned more in accordance with the style of the literature of chivalry (*estilo caballeresco*), and bearing most relation to the story. When one knows the tale one cannot fail to recognize in the preface of Moraes the same pen, the same lofty and judicious mind (*ingenio*), the same moderation, gravity and discretion. This is perfectly true, referring, as Benjumea does, to the Portuguese version of *Palmeirim.* He goes on to ask what is the preface of Ferrer. "At the beginning a shameless

[1] I am aware that doubts have been expressed as to the authenticity of the dedication; but they do not seem valid.

plagiarism . . . later on and always a tangle of quotations unconnected, unseasonable and out of place; a shoddy dissertation, an undigested farrago of sentences taken from the writers of antiquity, and which are here utterly out of place (*ahi vienen al caso como los cerros de Úbeda*), showing that the author is a person inept, without literary education, and even without common sense . . . *de tales barbas como el prólogo no corresponden 'tobajas' como la historia del Palmerin.*"[1] Again perfectly true, and yet we find this same foolish pen in the Spanish version, meddling and muddling, and doing its best to make other men's work ridiculous. Benjumea next asks:—"Well, what shall we say of Luis Hurtado, the concealed in an acrostic, as if the story were a crime of high treason? He who could express such lofty thoughts in prose, takes to bad verses, and why? To let himself out like a mountebank in ridiculous praises of a book which is of such merit as not to need them; to print like a greedy trader, like a Jew who thinks only of lucre, the following sentence:—

> I will tell you, reader. just one thing:
> Do not omit to get (*haber*) this treatise.

Certainly it is hard to believe that a (*el*) consummate artist should descend from the sublime regions of the tale (*ficcion*) to a realism so exaggerated and imprudent, which reveals the *auri sacra fames* inspiring this publisher's hotchpotch (*gatuperio*)" (p. 56). "Moraes is prudent and modest." He "expresses himself with the greatest discretion regarding the merit of, and moral benefit which the public would derive from, a new book of chivalry at a time when such works had begun to

[1] App. I. (20).

be regarded unfavourably and judged still worse. He does not adopt . . . the tone in which Hurtado praises *Palmerin* up to the skies, calling it a lofty book altogether eloquent (*libro alto, en todo facundo*). which is going to deprive all the Paladins of their glory and place in the shade

Roland and Amadis who have already perished."

Thus Benjumea discourses (p. 57) about the great poet Luis Hurtado. He notes too the air of mystery which Moraes tries to give his work by saying he translated it, his pen hurrying along in the unrestrained style of a consummate writer of *ergas*, leaving us in doubt whether he took his book from a manuscript, or whether it was the fruit of his own invention ; and he contrasts this procedure with the declaration of a printer, who disregarding all these fabulous origins, confesses that he gave birth to *Palmerin* in his leisure moments. I have already noticed this point (Chapter II., para. 22), and can only repeat that Moraes, in saying he translated *Palmeirim*, was following the regular custom of all original composers of books of chivalry, and that Ferrer, in not doing so, deviated from that custom, causing a suspicion that he was afraid to follow it and talk of a translation, because he knew his was not the original version. This is not exactly the view taken by Benjumea, who once more "wobbles." He says (p. 56) :—" The baldness and the absence of the marvellous in the prologues of Ferrer and Hurtado are the best proof that neither the one nor the other wished to deceive the public, appropriating the work of some one else and passing themselves off as the authors of *Palmerin ;* and on the other hand, the double and contradictory confessions of the two Toledans ought to

have made people think that the one spoke as translator, and the other as the author of the panegyric in verse, in which case it is neither strange nor repugnant that both claim a certain degree or share (*parte de intervencion*) in the Castilian edition." Further on p. 57) he tells us that "among the strange circumstances of this controversy the strangest is, that the innocent Ferrer and Hurtado have never said or thought of saying that they were the authors of Palmerin, but said exactly the contrary." This is a very remarkable statement. As regards Hurtado, I will examine it later on. As it concerns Ferrer, I do not agree with it, and for reasons most of which are set forth by Benjumea himself.

4. I have had the passages in Ferrer's Prologues bearing on the authorship of the work printed in italics. In the Prologue to the first volume we find :—"I desired to dedicate this little fruit to you (*vuestra merced*), in order that it might acquire the needful favour, not daring without that to launch it forth in such wild waves of so tempestuous a sea of the mordant tongues of the idle readers." Further on he speaks of his "daring (*atrevimiento*)," and of his "fear (which has not been small) of placing this little fruit of mine in the scales (*examen*) of your great discretion. That as other writers feared the old custom of the public (*vulgo*) of speaking ill, so I have been trembling . . . " ; and still further on he talks of "preferring to be considered unlearned (*indocto*) and bold. . . . " It is in the Prologue to the second volume that the most important passage occurs :—"I have said all this to you in order to justify myself, because that I being one who learnt a trade wherewith to support life, occupied my time in writing stories." What was it he had said ? That

old writings are full of examples of excellent artificers who were fond of writing, and who produced marvellous histories in hours snatched from their labours. Lower down we find :—" I fully resolved to impose on you the labour of examining, correcting and polishing these rough sketches (*borrones*) so desirous of being good. . . ." Again he returns to his " wild waves," saying :—" I wished to place this labour of mine in your hands, in order that, with your usual generosity (*como generoso*), you may deliver it from so dangerous a sea, where the wild waves of mordant tongues roll so high." It is to me perfectly clear that Ferrer by these passages meant to say that he was the author of the book. This is the impression that will be left on the mind of everyone who has not an object in asserting the contrary. We must take words in their natural or conventional sense, and not twist them in order to show they might mean something else. When Salvá found the Spanish version, he at once declared Ferrer was the author. He said :—" Miguel Ferrer, the editor of this work, calls it in the prologues to the two volumes, *este mi pequeño fruto*, *este mi trabajo*. These and similar expressions of his led me to announce it, in the first part of my catalogue, as the indisputable production of Ferrer." [1] The reader will note the word " indisputable." Adolfo de Castro (Note O. *El Buscapie*, ed. 1848) says that Miguel Ferrer composed *Palmerin*, as is inferred (*se infiere*) from the dedications, and speaks of him as the real author of this book of chivalry.[2]

[1] Catalogue, Part II., p. 156. Hurtado uses the same words, when addressing Philip II., in his *Memorial . . . de Toledo* : " v. M. reciba el fruto de este mi pequeño trabajo." He also speaks of the " fruto de mi ingenio." Diego Gracian, too, writes of his " pequeño servicio y trabajo," in his Prologue cited in para. 2.

[2] App. I. (21).

As soon as the acrostic was deciphered, the partizans of the Spanish claim abandoned Ferrer at once, and very naturally, for it was impossible to really believe that the man who put his name to the Prologues could be the same who composed "the clear and polished speeches which keep up and observe the style becoming the speaker with much fitness and judgment" (*Don Quixote*, I., vi.).

5. Mendes does not express himself very clearly about Ferrer's claim; but I understand his opinion agrees with that of Sr. Antonio Nunes de Carvalho, a professor in the university of Coimbra, of whom Mendes (*Opusculo*, p. 14) tells that he was in London and showed Vicente Salvá "that Miguel Ferrer was simply the printer of the second part, who succeeded Fernando de Sant-Catherina, the printer of the first part;[1] that Hurtado was the Castilian translator, and, perhaps, from fear of the Inquisition, avoided naming himself clearly and concealed himself in the acrostic." The professor also told Mendes that Moraes made use of an old chronicle existing in French or Provençal, and that *Palmeirim* was on the Index of the Inquisition.[2] No wonder Salvá would not retract, if the professor communicated this curious information also to him. Mendes adds:—"The information (*noticias*) of Sr. Nunes de Carvalho, in accordance with mine, causes the suspicion that Salvá wanted forcibly (to appropriate) *Palmeirim* for the Spanish literature: he first

[1] Perhaps, it was from this passage in Mendes that Gayangos got the mistake he makes about the death of Santa Catalina, noticed on page 43.

[2] It would have been much better if the professor had informed Mendes of the letter, dated Dec. 10, 1541, from Moraes to the Conde de Linhares. Gayangos would, perhaps, not have replied to Mendes if this letter had been mentioned. See App. II.

offered it to Ferrer, relying on the words *this little fruit, other writers, my defects, my labour*, as if Ferrer could not apply these words to translators and printers, but only to authors; afterwards they lost their magic, and Salvá, relying on the word *author*,[1] proceeded to forget Ferrer and to salute Hurtado; but he did not stop to think over the acrostic; the initials were enough for him." This is no satisfactory examination of what Ferrer did say. Nor is any explanation given of how Ferrer came to write a prologue to the first part, of which part he was neither translator nor even printer. However, from this it appears that Mendes considered Ferrer the printer of the second part and Hurtado the translator into Spanish of the work. Gayangos says (*Rev. Esp.*, p. 84) :—"The publisher (*editor*), or rather the dealer in books (*mercader de libros*), according to the phraseology of that time, was called Miguel Ferrer. . . . In the prologue which precedes each of the two parts, Miguel Ferrer, addressing the readers, talks of *este mi pequeño fruto, este mi trabajo*, phrases which have been taken as showing (*como indicio*) that the work was his, but which refer only to the publishing (*editorial*) or typographical part which he had in it." I have already shown (para. 2) that Benjumea also considered Miguel Ferrer *editor*. This does not prevent his refuting in a most convincing manner the assertion of his countryman.[2]

[1] Refers to the word "author" in the acrostic.

[2] The Spanish word *editor* is ambiguous. It means both publisher and what we call "editor," the person who prepares another man's work for publication. Gayangos evidently means "publisher," from his speaking of *mercader de libros* and typography. It is not so clear what Benjumea means in the passage quoted in para. 2. From his saying that Diego Gracian's accusation of plagiarism suited his (Ferrer's) business (*iba á su negocio*), I think he must have meant that Ferrer was publisher, as it is difficult to see how such a charge could suit or benefit him as

6. On page 15 he asks :—"And if these dedications were read, how was it possible not to take Ferrer for the real author ? (*Y leyendo las tales dedicatorias ¿ como no se tuvo á Ferrer por autor verdadero ?*)" But it is on page 19 he commences his triumphal onslaught on Gayangos. He there says :—"But the way in which we have pushed Ferrer aside is besides curious, for between his *open* confession and the *hidden and bashful* one of the other (Hurtado), more credit has been given to the second than to the first, without any reason whatever ; and it is clear that as one of the two had to win, when the victory was decided in favour of Hurtado, it was necessary to find some way of getting rid of Ferrer. And what was this way ? It was that Ferrer was publisher (*editor*), or, as Sr. Gayangos says, *mercader de libros* according to the phraseology of that time. So then, when he addresses himself to his Mæcenases Carrillo and Rótulo, (not *to the readers*, as is erroneously said in the *Revista Española*)[1] and speaks of his *pequeño fruto* and his *trabajo*, it is to be understood, observes our academician, that these phrases which have been taken[2] as showing the work was his . . . . refer only to the publishing (*editorial*) or typographical part which he had in it. Here Sr.

editor, while it might act as a sort of advertisement for the book, and so help its sale. But on the next page (*Discurso*, p. 59) he undoubtly speaks of him as editor, as he compares him with Juan Matheo who corrected *Palmerin de Oliva* and dedicated it to the Conde de Tripol. With anyone else this would be proof that *editor* on p. 58 had the meaning of our word "editor." But not with Benjumea. Indeed, on p. 59 he speaks of *Palmerin* as being a translation by Ferrer, which would show that by *editor* he meant translator. I may at once say that, in my opinion, Ferrer was editor, that is, he made certain alterations in the Spanish version, and on the strength of them claimed to be the composer of the work.

[1] This is important.

[2] Benjumea says that D. Vicente Salvá or D. Adolfo de Castro is alluded to in the Spanish *alguno tomó ya*.

Gayangos seeks to pass summary judgment, in order to get rid of a competitor who is in his way, and avails himself of a mutilated and incomplete quotation." Further on (p. 20) he says:—" Miguel, after repeating *a dozen times* (*nueve veces*) that the poem is his work, calling it his *fruit*, *labour* and *daring*, writes thus to Galasso Rotulo:—" I have said all this to your grace (or magnificence) in order to justify myself, because that I being one who *learnt a trade* wherewith to support life, occupied my time in *writing stories*." As is seen, the declaration is clear and definite. There is no room for doubt whether the *labour* which he dedicated is the *impression* or publishing (*editorial*) part, or the composition (*creacion*). The double participation is clearly seen, and the two professions are marked off by him perfectly. He says he was a printer, and that he was gaining his livelihood by the art of printing which he had learnt; but at the same time, no doubt in his leisure moments, by way of diversion and yielding to the bent of his talent, he occupied himself with writing stories. . . . It might be answered that *writing stories* has to be interpreted as meaning *translating*, but besides that there is no reason to give this more restricted meaning to the phrase, we see that Ferrer himself endeavoured to make this interpretation impossible, praising his own invention, enamoured of his talent and skill as author, and comparing himself to no one less than the *Gracchi*, *Pliny*, *Cæsar*, and the *Scipios*. . . No author could be more pertinacious than Ferrer appears to be in avoiding that the reader should suspect that he was the translator and not the author of *Palmerin*, for not content with citing great personages, he alludes to others of humble condition and of his rank of tradesman and artisan, as if to say, although

a printer, he did not cease to have the invention and gifts (necessary) to *compose* and write *stories*" (p. 21). I am quite unable to reconcile this assertion of Benjumea, which appears to me irrefragable, that no author could be more pertinacious than Ferrer appears to be in avoiding that the reader should suspect that he was the translator and not the author of *Palmerin*, with the statement already quoted from p. 57 of the *Discurso*, that "the innocent Ferrer and Hurtado have never said or thought of saying that they were the authors of *Palmerin*, but said exactly the contrary." Benjumea gives no explanation. He contents himself with writing (p. 59) of Ferrer:—"But does he really say that *Palmerin* is his work? The reader is already acquainted with the words of Ferrer, '*este mi pequeño fruto, este mi trabajo*,' and the statement that he occupied himself with writing stories (*historias*); but with the antecedents we now possess, these words are clearly explained (*se explican perfectamente*). *Palmerin*, turned into Castilian, was his *pequeño fruto*. . . . The translation was the *trabajo* he was dedicating. . . ." I am unable to admit the later opinion of Benjumea. I consider his earlier view, agreeing with that of Salvá and Adolfo de Castro correct, and that Ferrer did claim to be the original author of the work. If he had meant to say that he had translated it, he could have easily made this plain. There is not the slightest mention of a translation in the Spanish *Palmerin*, as there is in the French, Italian, and English versions. The authors he quotes as justifying his conduct were original writers, not translators. He was making a false claim; but that is quite another matter. In my opinion, he was not the translator; and if he had meant to say he was, his statement would have been equally false. It appears,

then, that Mendes considers Ferrer was the printer of the work (perhaps only of the second part), and Hurtado was the translator; Gayangos thinks Ferrer was the publisher (*editor*) and printer, and Hurtado was the original author of *Palmerin*; while Benjumea regards Ferrer as the translator, and Hurtado as author of no more than the acrostic verses.[1] He is also of opinion, at one time, that Ferrer claimed to be publisher, at another, editor, again, composer, and finally, translator of *Palmerin*.

7. We have considered what these critics had to say about Ferrer's claim. It is now time to see what they say specially about Hurtado's, or, in other words, about the famous acrostic.[2] It is strange that thirty-two rather poor lines should have raised Luis Hurtado to a pinnacle of fame. Only for a time, however; for truth will prevail in the end, and he will sink back to the place to which his own works entitle him. But we must be just to him; it is not he, but the critics who are responsible for the perversion of right that has taken place. The verses will be found at full length in App. x., at the end of Ferrer's first prologue. It will be noted that after the dedication to D. Alonso Carrillo come the words "Fin del Prologo," and then the heading "El auctor al lector," next the four stanzas, the whole closing with "Deo Gracias." At the end of the second prologue are the words "Laus Deo." The position of the words "Deo Gracias" seems to me to show that the whole of the first preface, including the prologue and the verses, are to be looked upon as one whole, and not as the work of two pens, though it consists of two parts. In the first a definite individual,

[1] App. I. (22).
[2] The *Versuch* treats of the acrostic on p. 42 *et seq.*

Miguel Ferrer, addresses a definite individual, D. Alonso Carrillo; in the second a person not named, the author, addresses an indefinite person, the reader. I agree with Benjumea when he says (*Discurso*, p. 12) that the discovery by D. Pedro Salvá of the acrostic was ingenious, as the heading "The author to the reader," coming after Ferrer's claim that the work was the fruit of his genius, was enough to throw any one off the scent, as it led one to think that the author, having done with his Mæcenas, was now addressing himself to the public. This is what naturally suggests itself to the reader who is not aware that the verses contain a secret, and is what Ferrer, I have no doubt, meant to be suggested. As he had wrongfully appropriated the story of Moraes, he now did the same to the verses of Hurtado, with or without the latter's consent.

8. These verses are of the nature of a puff, and possess about as much literary merit as those inserted in the advertisement columns of the daily press by enterprising tradesmen rich enough to keep a poet. They are evidently modelled on those of Alonso Proaza, "corrector of the impression," to the author of *Las Sergas de Esplandian* (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., 561); or Hurtado may have borrowed from the elegiacs at the end of *Palmerin de Oliva*, concerning which Wolf writes, that the barbarous Latin verses "foretell undying fame (*palmarum nomen in orbe manet*) to the hero whose praises they chant, as the illustrious ancestor of a new race of heroes (*Inclitus . . . pater palmarum*); but above all things urgently recommend the purchase of the book."[1] Mendes (*Opusculo*, p. 6) very justly observes that the verses of Hurtado contain nothing

[1] *Studien zur Geschichte der spanischen und portugiesischen Nationalliteratur*, p. 185.

poetical, differing therein from the few which Moraes has inserted in his prose works. He adds that in them Hurtado puffs up the book in a way unworthy of an author, though suitable enough for a translator. The remarks of Benjumea are to the same effect and have been already quoted (para. 3). But, no doubt, to a man of Ferrer's culture, these verses may have appeared excellent; and the bragging and the impertinent recommendation to get the book must have added to their merit in the eyes of this tradesman and would-be author. And so, when he got them from Hurtado, he had no hesitation in inserting them as his own.

9. However, the principal question is what Hurtado says about himself in these verses, what position he assigns to himself in respect of *Palmerin de Inglaterra*. The acrostic sentence runs: *Luys Hurtado autor al lector da salud*—"Luis Hurtado, author, greets the reader." These few words have been the chief reason for reversing the belief of two and a-half centuries, and transferring the authorship of *Palmerin* from Moraes to Luis Hurtado. From the very first, however, there were people who refused to accept the acrostic as conclusive. As already stated (para. 5), Sr. Nunes de Carvalho at once objected. Mendes does the same. He says (*Opusculo*, p. 5):—"First, in these stanzas he (Hurtado) confesses he translated (*verteu*) the work; secondly, the word 'author' refers only to the acrostic, which is certainly by Hurtado; and, even assuming it does refer to the poem, an author is he who makes something, and a translation is something"; and he gives instances of translators being called authors, and adds:—"Most weak and inconclusive is the proof which is based on a word of ambiguous meaning." On page 7 he remarks:—"The line *Stealing the fruit of the*

orchards of others (*Robando la fruta de agenos huertos*) is full proof that he (Hurtado) did not compose the original work; but it is the first stanza which removes even the shadow of a doubt. Hurtado certainly (*sim*) was the original author of the acrostic, and we shall not deny him the glory of inventing it."

10. It is a pity Mendes did not explain how the first stanza showed that the Spanish version of *Palmerin* was a translation, as, perhaps, if he had, Gayangos might have urged something to the contrary, and it would be interesting to hear what reply could be made. As it is, Gayangos (*Rev. Esp.*, p. 84) contents himself with re-asserting that the real author's name is given in the acrostic, and that the discovery of D. Pedro Salvá seems to have placed out of doubt who the real author was. *Pace* Gayangos, it does no such thing. The doubt still exists, and is supported by arguments which must be refuted. He does not refute them by merely repeating the disputed thesis. He next gives the verses, printing the first letter of each line in italics, and observes that Mendes considers that some phrases in the octaves and the line *Robando la fruta de agenos huertos* show that Hurtado stole (*hurtó*) the Portuguese *Palmerin*. He says nothing in refutation, promises to return to this point, and fails to do so.

11. Benjumea, of course, takes the side of Mendes, and supplies his deficiencies, examining at much length the acrostic in Chapters XX. and XXI. of his *Discurso*, having stated at the end of Chapter XIX. that "the lines . . . do not say that *Palmerin* is his (Hurtado's) or Ferrer's, but that it is a translation; and the impartial reader must recognize this by merely looking

at the first octave." He then quotes the first six lines :—

> "Reading this book, discreet reader,
> *I saw* it was the mirror of famous deeds,
> And seeing it is of profit to the loving
> This work *was taken* in hand.
> I found that (it) is highly worthy of all praise
> A book so lofty altogether eloquent."

and says :—" If Luis Hurtado were the author of *Palmerin*, he would not say 'I saw (*vi*) it was the mirror,' but 'Thou wilt see (*verás*) it is the mirror of famous deeds,' for it is the height of absurdity and ridiculousness that an author should lay himself out to pourtray models of famous deeds, and not know this (*lo*) till he had finished his work and read it. Hurtado gives (us) to understand that *Palmerin* in a foreign tongue fell into his hands ; he read it, saw that it was a mirror of famous deeds, and gave his opinion recommending that it should be translated, for there is nothing in the lines which even hint (*indiquen*) that he took part in the task. If he had been translator, he would have said, 'I took (*puse*) the work in hand.'" He thinks that Ferrer was in possession of a Portuguese copy which he gave to Hurtado to examine, who encouraged him to translate it, and that this is what the first four lines refer to. He asks what does "seeing its profitableness, this work was taken in hand mean ? It is impossible that anyone should believe that a book was written after it was composed and read. The work (*labor*), therefore, is the translation." Then follows an argument which is not well expressed, as it seems to say, that if *labor* meant the original composition of the work it meant the printing. What is intended to be said is, no doubt, that, if Ferrer is held to be the

composer of the book, then, *labor* meant the printing of it. Benjumea next notices the line *Robando la fruta de agenos huertos* and the remarks of Gayangos, and observes that Mendes should not have relied on it, as the innocent Hurtado, by the context of the octaves, not only does not say that the work is his or Ferrer's, but clearly says it was by someone else (*obra extrangera*). This line is the weakest argument in favour of the Portuguese case. He examines the line and the context, and considers that the meaning is that the reader was to appropriate, or profit by, the fruit of another's genius.[1] The word *robando* is not the correct one, but, perhaps, the exigencies of the acrostic caused its use. In Chapter XXI. he continues to treat of the acrostic and writes:—"But it will be said: the acrostic which says 'Luis Hurtado autor al lector' remains in full force, and as this acrostic comes immediately after the heading '*el autor al lector*,' it is evident that Hurtado gave himself out as author of *Palmerin* in terms, clear and decisive."[2] To this he replies that "Luis Hurtado was not bound to know beforehand what heading the printer or publisher (*editor*) would see fit to give to the acrostic verses. Hurtado, at his request, composed the poetry; he would send it to the printing-office and not know what heading it would have when printed. Secondly, even if he had known it, no one was better aware than Hurtado that the publisher (*editor*) and translator Ferrer, who had just finished speaking in the prologue, was the

[1] The *Versuch* (p. 50) agrees with Benjumea's interpretation. It notes that Braga concurs with Mendes. I think Benjumea right.

[2] This is the argument used by Barreray Leirado (p, 190), who says the heading destroys the possible supposition that the acrostic-sentence refers to the verses and not to *Palmerin*. Benjumea's reply disposes of this argument. The *Versuch* (p. 50) disagrees with Barrera y Leirado. See further App. I. (23).

person who called himself the *author* of that work (*trabajo*) or his translation, or in other words: *the author of the work* (*labor*) which *had been taken in hand*, according to the expression of his lines. It is natural that, when Miguel Ferrer had just finished speaking and saying that the text was his work and fruit, in which he did not lie, the public, if it decided for anyone, should decide for him who first appeared and declared his participation in the work, and not for him who seemed secretly to deny it. Thirdly, the word *author* used by Hurtado does not mean that he was the author of *Palmerin*. The more correct interpretation is that he was author of the acrostic-lines, or that, being a man of letters (*escritor*), he wished to make this clear to the public; perhaps, because there were other persons of his name. It is the same as if he had said: Luis Hurtado, man of letters, poet, or author, greets the reader. If he had written *Palmerin*, he could easily have declared the fact specifically by adding another octave and using up the forty letters contained in the following phrase: Luis Hurtado, autor del *Palmerin*, á los lectores. Probably (*de creer es*), being then a young man, he wished to perpetuate his name on this occasion presenting itself to him, letting the curious know that he had been the author of the acrostic-lines. It was a mere ebullition of youthful vanity."

12. I have stated the opinions of previous critics at great length, because the Spanish partizans practically base their case on the acrostic, though Gayangos admits it is not in itself a secure foundation (Chapter II., para. 29); and, also, because the matter is obscure and the more light is thrown on it, the better. From what has been said it will be seen that the words

Luys Hurtado autor al lector da salud admit of four interpretations :—

(1) That of the Spanish school, that Luis Hurtado was the author of the Spanish version, which is the original.

(2) That of Mendes, that he was the author of the Spanish version, which is a translation.

(3) That of Mendes and Benjumea, that he was the author of the acrostic only.[1]

(4) That he was by profession an author.[2]

In my opinion, the meaning in (3) or (4) is the correct one. It is difficult to say which of these is the more likely, but, perhaps, (3) is to be preferred. For the present, we need not consider whether the Spanish version is a translation or not, but confine ourselves to seeing whether Hurtado meant to say that he was the author of the Toledan *Palmerin*. To decide this point we have three sources of information—(1) The work itself; (2) Ferrer's prologues; (3) The acrostic.

(1) *The work itself.* Mendes and Gayangos had no opportunity of seeing the Spanish *Palmerin*, and consequently judged from imperfect data. Benjumea's examination was superficial; otherwise, he would have seen that this version is not the work of one man, but of two. Indeed, at times I have thought that I could observe the pen of a third writer in it. The bulk of the work is by one who could both think and express himself clearly, and who, if it is a translation from the Portuguese, had a good, if not perfect, knowledge of that language and of Spanish. The rest is by an

[1] This is the interpretation Mendes seems to favour, but he admits the second also, as Benjumea admits the fourth.

[2] In support of this explanation, the edition of 1553 of *Preteo y Tibaldo* may be quoted, in which there is an address by "Luys Hurtado poeta castellano al discreto lector." Pérez Pastor, No. 264.

ignorant uneducated man, who could not think, let alone express himself, clearly. The two styles are in places as easily distinguishable as oil and water in a glass. The reader can satisfy himself on this point by looking at the specimens given in Chapter VIII., paras. 18 to 20. Comparing Ferrer's prologues with passages by the second writer, I find such a similarity that I conclude both are by the same person. It appears to me that Ferrer was an uneducated man who, as printer and, perhaps, partner in a publishing and book-selling firm, had much to do with books, and was fired with an ambition to figure as an author. Somehow the story came into his hands, and he proceeded to mangle and mutilate it, and to substitute in places his own imbecile notions for those of the author, and on the strength of this mischief he claimed to be the original composer. This is confirmed by what is found in

(2) *Ferrer's prologues.* In these Ferrer, undoubtedly, claims to be the author of the work. As before said (para. 4), when Salvá found the Spanish edition he at once declared Ferrer to be the author. Why did he do this, if that was not the natural interpretation of the prologues? It is absurd to say that Ferrer is referring to the publishing and typographical part he took in the work. He was not the publisher. The colophon of Vol. II. states that Diego Ferrer, dealer in books, was the publisher (*A costa de Diego Ferrer mercader de libros*). And who ever heard of a journeyman printer writing long prologues, and introducing heroes, philosophers and saints, in order to excuse himself for the part he took in the mechanical work of printing a book, which in one of the very same prologues is praised up to the skies? The whole tenor of the pro-

logues shows Ferrer claimed to be the author. The passages in the first prologue: "That as other writers (*escriptores*) feared the old custom of the public of speaking ill, so I have been trembling . . . ," and that in the second prologue: "I have said all this to you in order to justify myself, because that I being one who learnt a trade wherewith to support life, occupied my time in writing stories," clearly apply to the literary part of the work; and the critic who says they do not must be a re-incarnation of the learned brother who discovered that in the clause: "*Item*, I charge and command my said three sons to wear no sort of silver fringe upon or about their said coats," the words "silver fringe" must be held to mean "silver broomsticks."

(3) *The acrostic.* If the lines quoted in para. 11 were submitted to persons who knew nothing of any dispute, and these were asked the character of the writer, would one out of ten say he was the author of the work he belauded? I think not. An author would not usually say: "Reading this work, I saw it was a mirror of famous deeds." I do not deny that it is conceivable that he might, as an abbreviation of "When I had finished writing the work, I read it over and found it was a mirror of famous deeds;" but it would be unnatural to do so. The exigencies of versification or of the acrostic-sentence did not compel him to write in the way he did. As Benjumea pointed out, he might have put "thou wilt see," for "I saw." I cannot agree with Mendes and Benjumea that the verses say that the Spanish *Palmerin* is a translation. They might mean that, but it is not the only possible interpretation. They may perfectly well mean simply that Hurtado read that version and found it a mirror

of famous deeds. But they do naturally suggest that the writer of them was an outsider, and this is confirmed by the whole tenor of the verses, as said by those critics. We have no means of deciding to what *labor* in the fourth line refers. This and the preceding line may denote that *Palmerin* was taken in hand because it was seen that such a work (*labor*) would be profitable; or they may mean that Hurtado wrote the stanzas because he saw that they would be profitable by praising the book, and in this case they would be the *labor*. I attach no importance to the use of *se puso la mano* ((the work) was taken in hand) for *puse la mano* (I took in hand), as the line had to begin with an "S," and only the daring poet

> qui, par une heureuse licence,
> Fait rimer cassonade avec indifférence,

would venture on making a "P" stand for an "S," here. The verses are a puff, and no author of the intelligence of Luis Hurtado would puff himself in this shameless way. According to the usual, though not universal custom, he would have got some friend to extol his book.[1] The natural conclusion from the whole tone and contents of the verses is that Hurtado was not, and did not claim to be the author of the Spanish *Palmerin;* and, under these circumstances, the

[1] The acrostic may be compared with the verses under the heading *Luis Hurtado al Lector*, found in his *Tragedia Policiana*, completed in the same press of Santa Catalina on March 1, 1548. Contrast the comparative modesty of the one with the bragging of the other. In these verses Hurtado has the word *verás*, which Benjumea says he might have used in the acrostic. They also contain a reference to Romans xv. 4, as does Ferrer's first prologue. See App. I. and X. In his address to the reader in *Preteo y Tibaldo*, already mentioned (page 245), he is also modest: "Por lo cual aunque yo indigno de tal oficio: procuré añadir lo que á mi albedrío sentí que faltaba: lo cual tengo creído que por su tosco estilo hará conocer la excelencia de lo que antes estaba hecho." The orthography has been modernized.

word *autor* in the acrostic-sentence *Luys Hurtado autor al lector da salud* would mean "author of the acrostic," or "author by profession."

13. It appears to me, then, that Ferrer had a part in the literary work of *Palmerin*, that he claimed to be the author of the story, and that the verses imply that Hurtado was not the author of it. But, as Benjumea has said (para. 11), it may be urged that the acrostic-sentence "Luis Hurtado author greets the reader" still remains, and as this sentence is found in verses under the heading "The author to the reader," it implies that Luis Hurtado was the author of *Palmerin*. To me it is a matter of indifference whether it does or not. At the most, it would only imply that he was the author of the Spanish version. I am convinced that version is a translation from the Portuguese. If it is a translation, some one must have translated it, and I would just as soon have Hurtado the translator as anyone else. Bnt I do not think that it implies anything of the sort. I consider that the word *autor* in the heading refers to Ferrer, and not to Hurtado. In fact, I consider Ferrer was simply misappropriating Hurtado's verses and passing them off as his own, in much the same way as he was doing with the story itself. It must be remembered that *Palmerin* was published by Diego Ferrer, uncle of Miguel; that the latter was employed as printer in the office in which the book was printed; and that he claimed to be the author. Under these circumstances, is it credible that, if the heading "The author to the reader" had been understood to apply to Hurtado, it would have been admitted? Certainly not. It was put in, because it was held to apply to the man who in the first part of the prologue, the dedication to Alonso Carrillo, had claimed

to be the author, that is, Miguel Ferrer. If it is asked how could Hurtado permit Ferrer to appropriate his verses, it may be answered that he might have supplied them expecting that they would be inserted as his, and that, when they appeared as Ferrer's, it was too late to do anything, and that he, a lad just starting on his career of author, might not have thought it advisable to embroil himself with an influential family of printers and publishers like the Ferrers. Or he may have suspected that Ferrer would repeat his fraud in respect of *Palmerin* (of which it is difficult to believe Hurtado was ignorant), by appropriating the verses, and to secure proof of his own authorship, he may have written them in the form of an acrostic; or, for a consideration, he may have given the verses to Ferrer to do with as he pleased. But let us suppose Hurtado the translator, or, still more, the original composer of *Palmerin*, and, then, how do the Spanish partizans explain, not only how he submitted to Ferrer's appropriation of the work, but to his spoiling it, by his or some equally foolish person's silly alterations (for they will hardly assert that their great poet and stylist, Hurtado, was responsible for the ridiculous passages in *Palmerin*), and how Hurtado came to write such laudatory verses for the rogue who had disfigured and misappropriated his excellent romance? Taking everything into consideration, the only explanation could be that, in return for some advantage, he connived at Ferrer's rascality, in other words, was a rogue himself. If he did, and afterwards by the acrostic and the heading wished to establish his claim to the authorship of the work, he was a double rogue; for he first abetted Ferrer in deceiving the public, and then tried to swindle Ferrer out of that for which he

had been paid by this would-be author. If he was such a rogue, what weight can be attached to any claim he makes or anything he says? I attribute no such dishonesty to Hurtado, believing that his sole connection with *Palmerin* was writing the panegyric verses for Ferrer, and that he claimed nothing more. In any case, it is perfectly safe to say that there is not one particle of evidence that Hurtado had anything to do, either as composer or translator, with *Palmerin de Inglaterra*. It is easy to attach too much importance to the acrostic. It must be kept in mind that the essential question is not whether Luis Hurtado is the composer of *Palmerin*, but whether the Spanish version is the original or only a translation. That version would still remain after the disappearance of Hurtado, and with it the question, which must be decided on quite other evidence than an ambiguous acrostic by one, who, even if he had put forward an assertion of right (and there is nothing to show that he did), would be, at the best, an interested party, whose statements would require no little corroboration before they could be accepted.

14. In this chapter the prologues of Ferrer and the acrostic of Hurtado are considered, principally in order to decide what character these writers claim for themselves. It appears that :—

(1)—It is doubtful whether the persons to whom Ferrer addressed his prologues really existed (para. 1).

(2)—Part of the first prologue is stolen, but this does not prove that he could not have written the book (para. 2).

(3)—Comparing the dedication of Moraes with Ferrer's prologues, we see that it is simple, and customary, and in harmony with the style of the book; while

they are a farrago of inept remarks and uncalled for quotations. The verses of Hurtado are a shameless puff, utterly unbecoming an author (para. 3).

(4)--In his prologues Ferrer claimed to be the original author. This is the view held at first by Salvá, and by Adolfo de Castro, and is mine (paras. 4 and 6).

(5)—Mendes considered the prologues meant that Ferrer was the printer of part of the work (para. 5).

Gayangos thought they meant that Ferrer was publisher or printer (para. 5).

Benjumea at one time speaks of Ferrer as publisher, at another as editor (para. 5); finally he says he was the translator, after having stated that he was pertinacious in claiming to be the author (para. 6).

(6)—Hurtado's verses give the acrostic-sentence *Luys Hurtado autor al lector da salud*. These verses form part of the preface of Vol. 1., in which only Ferrer is named openly. They are headed "The author to the reader." The sentence, read with the verses, admit of four interpretations :—

(1) That of Gayangos, that Hurtado was the original author of *Palmerin* (para. 10).

(2) That of Mendes, that he was only the translator of the romance, but the composer of the verses (para. 9).

(3) That of Benjumea, that he was merely the author of the verses (para. 11).

(4) That he was an author by profession (para. 12).

(7)—My view is that Hurtado was simply the author of the acrostic, and did not claim to be anything more (para. 12).

(8)—The word *autor* in the heading of the acrostic applies to Ferrer, not Hurtado. Ferrer misappropriated Hurtado's verses, as he had misappropriated the romance, and passed both off as his own composition (para. 13).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TWO VERSIONS COMPARED.

1. Importance of such comparison. Not made by Mendes or Gayangos, p. 254—2. Benjumea's remarks. The Recapitulation in Ferrer's Vol. II., p. 255—3. Cont. Division of Parts in Spanish version arbitrary, in Portuguese, natural, p. 256—4. Cont. Difference in styles. Difficulty of good translation, p. 257—5. Cont. Alleged Portuguese forms in *Palmerin*, and in *Amadís de Gaula*, p. 259—6. Cont. Omission in Spanish version, p. 261—7. Cont. Verses in both texts, p. 262—8. Description of the Spanish edition, p. 264—9. Specimens of differences in the two versions, p. 266—10. Omissions in Spanish increase as work proceeds, p. 268—11. Additions in Spanish version considered, p. 270—12. Omissions in it, p. 273—13. Continued, p. 274—14. Continued, p. 274—15. Cont. Chapter 167, p. 276—16. Cont. Last three chapters, p. 278—17. Cont. Minor omissions, p. 280—18. The Spanish version the work of two writers. Specimens of style of first of these, p. 281—19. Cont. Of second, or Ferrer, p. 288—20. Exaggerations, p. 299—21. Corrections in the Spanish version, p. 305—22. Expletives, p. 307—23. Changes due, perhaps, to false religious scruples, p. 308—24. Devices of knights, p. 310—25. Dresses of ladies, p. 312—26. Generic for specific names. The garden of Urganda, p. 316—27. The Tagus. Parthia, p. 321—28. Saudade and Soledad, p. 322—29. Various passages showing the Portuguese version is the original :—(*a*) None, p. 327—(*b*) Ilium, p. 329—(*c*) Pombas; Manzañas, p. 330—(*d*) Maça; Manzaña, p. 331—(*e*) Redeas; Piernas, p. 332—(*f*) Latadas; Yerbas, Arboles, p. 333—(*g*) Courtiers, p. 333—(*h*) Arlança, p. 334—(*i*) Spanish ladies, p. 335—(*j*) Dellos, p. 336—(*k*) Sentiu; Oyó, p. 336—(*l*) Má; Males, p. 337—(*m*) O; Ó, p. 337—(*n*) Comtudo, p. 338—(*o*) Alvoroço; Verguenza, p. 338—(*p*) Pode ser, p. 338—(*q*) Falo: Hallo, p. 339—(*r*) Propósito not defined, p. 339—(*s*) Moças; Damas, p. 340—(*t*) Todos quatro, p. 340—(*u*) Various minor passages, p. 340—30. Recapitulation, p. 342.

1. We now come to the most important part of this work, the examination and comparison of the two

versions. As long as the Spanish *Palmerin* was missing, and the question of authorship had to be decided without it, while the probabilities were decidedly in favour of the Portuguese claim, there was still room for doubt whether the discovery of the lost version would not put another complexion on the case; but when that discovery was made, all hesitation ought to have vanished, as the probability due to other evidence is corroborated and turned into certainty by that afforded by a comparison of the two texts. Unfortunately, up to the present this vein has not been properly worked. Gayangos admits that he had not read the Spanish version (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., p. xlii., note 2), and so does Mendes (*Opusculo*, p. 8). Benjumea, however, did compare both versions, and was fully alive to the superlative importance of doing so (*Discurso*, pp. 18 and 73). It is to be regretted that he has not given the result of his examination at greater length and more effectively. What he does say is contained in Chapters XXV. and XXVI. of his *Discurso*.

2. He first notices (p. 74) that the Toledan edition appeared in two volumes, in two consecutive years, and, accordingly, presented the book in two parts. The publisher, for reasons of his own, wanted to make both volumes of equal size, and, as he was translator, when he came to what he thought was the middle, he interrupted the story at the chapter he deemed most convenient. When he issued the second volume to the public months afterwards, he saw it would have a bad effect not to give a brief recapitulation of what the reader would already have forgotten, and so added one at the beginning of the second volume—an addition needless and without grounds. This argument,

that Ferrer's book must be a translation because it contains a recapitulation at the beginning of the second volume, does not seem to me sound, even granted that the Portuguese version had none such. Surely there is no reason why a publisher (*editor*) should not put a recapitulation at the commencement of the second volume of an original work? The style of the recapitulation and of the end of Volume I. seems that of Ferrer, though it is not so bad as in many other places.

3. Benjumea's next point is more effective. He says the work contains 172 chapters, and is divided by Moraes into two parts, one of 41 chapters, and the other with 90 chapters more than the first. This division is justified by the tenor of the story, as in the first part the interest centres in D. Duardos, and in the second in his sons, while he retires into the background. But the publisher (*editor*) and translator Ferrer had settled to print the work in two volumes of approximately equal size, and, finding this division did not suit his views, paid no attention to it, and arranged the title-pages and divisions as he saw fit. It is clear his are the arbitrary ones of a translator, while those of Moraes belong to the author and harmonize with the course of the tale (Chapter XXV.). It appears to me that the first forty-one chapters are a mere introduction and that, consequently, the Portuguese division is the correct one. The Spanish division is completely arbitrary and conditioned only by the fact of the book being printed in two volumes. What Benjumea says about the title-pages will not bear examination. He points out that the second part in the Portuguese version has a heading not found in the first, and deduces from this that the first part was a

prologue of which the hero was D. Duardos, and that the story of *Palmerin* begins really with the second part. The heading of the former was, no doubt, on the title-page of the whole book, and that, as has been already said (Chapter II., para. 4), is missing. Benjumea's suggestion that this first part might be the chronicle of D. Duardos mentioned in the dedication to D. Maria has been noticed (page 96), and cannot be admitted for one moment.

4. Continuing, Benjumea points out the difference in the style and language of the two versions, and says that there is not a speech or phrase in the Portuguese which is not superior to the Spanish in elegance, clearness, purity, and conciseness. The phraseology of the former is like a channel (*cauce*) where the ideas flow transparent and without obstruction, while that of the latter is tortuous, and at every step the meaning becomes obscure. The style of the Portuguese *Palmerin* is characteristic and excellent, natural and pure, while the Spanish is wanting in unity and character (*fisonomia*), and allows the contexture and syntactical turn of the Portuguese language to shine through, being full of Portuguese peculiarities (*lusismos*), and showing the translator was so careless that the name of the Tagus (*Tajo*) is sometimes found printed *Tejo* as the river is called in Portugal (p. 76). I shall consider later on this use of the Portuguese form *Tejo*. There can be no doubt that the style of much of the Spanish version is exceedingly bad, while the work of Moraes has from the very first been considered one of the Portuguese classics, and writer after writer has praised the excellence of its style. Of Hurtado Gayangos and Vedia say, in their translation of Ticknor (II., 534), speaking of the *Egloga Sylviana del Galardon de Amor*, that in this

as in his other works are noticed great facility and freedom, as well as an extremely pure and chaste style (*si advierte gran facilidad y soltura, así como un estilo sobremanera puro y castizo*). Now, if Luis Hurtado was such an extraordinary genius that, when he was between seventeen and eighteen years old, he had already written such a book as *Palmerin*, and if in all his works his style was exceedingly pure and chaste, and, consequently, in the *Tragedia Policiana*, published about the same time as the romance, how did it happen that in the latter he could not express himself in decent Spanish? Everyone who has anything to do with translating knows how much more difficult it is to be clear, free and idiomatic in a translation than in an original work.[1] This would point to the Spanish being a translation, but is not consistent with the excellence and beauty of the Portuguese, which we are asked to believe is a translation, and of an original which we know to be bad. Braunfels says (*Amadisv on Gallien*, p. 108): "Montalvo must have been a genius of the first rank, which he was not, to obtain for a translation the reputation of a model style and of the purest Castilian. (Montalvo hätte um einer Uebersetzung den Ruhm des mustergiltigen Styls und des reinsten Kastilianisch zu verschaffen, ein Genius ersten Ranges sein müssen was er nicht war.") This argument is of great force, though not conclusive.[2] It is certainly difficult to believe that a man who had genius enough to write the Portuguese *Palmeirim* should be

[1] Più malagevole è per avventura il tradurre eccellentemente dallo altrui le cose eccellenti, che non è il farne del proprio. Leopardi, *Discorso in proposito di una orazione greca.*

[2] In Chapter I. para. 14 the style of Moraes has been considered at some length, and the opinions of various critics about it have been quoted. The passage from Braunfels is noticed in the *Versuch* too, p. 35. I am not sure that his argument is sound in the case of *Amadis*. It would be, if Montalvo's work were an original composition.

reduced to stealing another man's work, instead of composing something original. Further on I shall give extracts from both versions, so that the reader may judge for himself of their merits and defects.

5. It is a pity that Benjumea did not give examples of the Portuguese peculiarities and grammatical characteristics which he says abound in the Spanish version. Half-a-dozen of these, clearly proved, would probably convince any impartial critic that it is not the original. I cannot supply the defect; for though I may have a tolerably fair working knowledge of modern Spanish and Portuguese, I do not pretend to such a critical knowledge of the two languages as they were written in the middle of the sixteenth century, as to be able to say whether any particular form or word was then inadmissible. Anyone can see that there are forms and words in the Spanish *Palmerin*, which are now not used; but most of these I found on investigation to have been formerly current in that language; for instance: *dexalda* (I., cxxx. v.),[1] *traello emos* (II., xxiiii.), *abusion* (I., cvi. v.) and *defension* (I., cxxiiii). There is a word *enmanq̃ciera* (II., vii.), used of a horse going lame, and representing the Portuguese *emanquecêra* (II., 210), for which I can find no warrant; but as the adjective *manco* is still used, it is probable that there was a corresponding verb. It is impossible to accept Benjumea's assertion unsupported by examples, especially as we know of a similar statement which, on examination, turns out to be exceedingly wrong. In his work on *Amadis de Gaula* (p. 217, *et seq.*), Braga gives us some instances of what he calls *portu*

[1] That is, Vol. I., folio cxxx. *verso*, of the Spanish edition. The folio cvi. referred to is the one coming immediately before cx., not the one before cvii.

guezismo, something peculiar to Portugal. He mentions (quoting Herculano) the holding of Cortes by the kings of that country, at which the *ricos-homens* and *homens-bens* appeared, and refers to Chapter II. of *Amadis*, where king Perion sent for all his *ricos-hombres*. Now, there is nothing peculiar to Portugal in either the custom or the words; they belong equally to Spain.[1] His assertion that the phrases *camara cerrada* and *la camara en que vos veiades encerrado* refer to the Portuguese custom of the husband giving the bride a present seems to me baseless. No present was given. The obvious meaning is the correct one, viz., that the doors were shut, as was natural under the circumstances; and this meaning agrees with the context. That there should be anything peculiar to Portugal in an outraged woman crying out and tearing her hair is difficult to believe. The remarks (pp. 218, 219) about *saudade* and *soledad* are valuable, but those about Portuguese boys reading books are not, till Braga shows that in no other country did this occur. What the education of youths of the upper classes was elsewhere may be seen from Chaucer's description of the Squire, and from *The Lyfe of Ipomydon* (Ellis, *Early English Metrical Romances*, p. 505, ed. 1848). He seems to think that the imperative form *amalda* is peculiar to Lisbon. It is good old Spanish, as everyone knows (Araujo, *Gramática del Poema del Cid*, p. 105).[2] The Portuguese ejaculation, *Ah! Santa Maria, val* is simply the *Valme Sancta Maria* of Berceo (*Milagros*, 607, 608), and of the Arçipreste de Hita (*Cantares*, 1474), and the *val Santa Maria* of Lopez de

[1] Martinez Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes* I., 73, 80, ed. 1813.
[2] Muchos dizen *poneldo* i *envialdo* (por dezir *ponedlo* i *enviadlo*). *Diálogo de la Lengua*, p. 50.

Ayala (*Rimado del Palacio*, 254). But, perhaps, there is something peculiarly Portuguese in the position of the words. "Of the popular Portuguese phrases which show through the Spanish form," *poner mano* and *penoso* appear in the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy, of 1803; *perder las estriberas* and *perder los estribos* are used indiscriminately in *Las Sergas de Esplandian* (pp. 432, 483, 532, 536), as the corresponding Portuguese forms (*as estribeiras* and *os estribos*) are in *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* (II., 250; I., 192); *luas* are met in *El Libro de Alexandre* (81 and 1611) and in Delicado's edition of *Primaleon* (f. 107); the *fucia* of *Amadis* p. 127, is the same as the *fiucia* of pp. 141, 145, etc.; as *fiuza* it occurs in the *Libre de Apolonio* (206); as *fiusa* in the Arçipreste de Hita (*Cantares*, 792); as *fiusia* in the *Rimado del Palacio* (397, 740, 850 and *passim*), and in the *Proverbios Morales* (612, 627) of Rabbi Don Sem Tob. From these observations it will be seen how much caution is needed in accepting a statement of the existence of idioms and customs peculiar to any particular country. It would be well, however, if some competent critic did examine the two versions, as it is almost certain that in so long a work peculiarities of the original language must appear in the translation.

6. But if Benjumea omits to give examples of *lusismos*, he does cite "two passages selected among millions, from which the reader will clearly see that the text of Moraes is the original." The first refers to Chapter 64, in which we find Palmerin, on his way to Constantinople, at the edge of a fountain or pond (*estanque*), of which no previous mention was made in the Spanish version, and we have to turn to the Portuguese to see how this fountain with its trees suddenly appeared. It is easily seen that, owing to

the lamentable carelessness with which the Spanish translation was made, this descriptive passage was left out by Ferrer (*Discurso*, p. 76). Now, the lamentable carelessness here is not that of Ferrer, but of his critic; for not only is the pond mentioned before, but the Spanish adds (I., f. lxxv., v. 1): "el agua del era tã clara que se parecia todo el pescado que dentro andaua cosa para mirar." However, this is probably only a slip of the pen of Benjumea, and that he meant to refer to Chapter 18, where we do suddenly find Palmerin, coming from Constantinople, at a pond not previously mentioned in the Spanish (I., f. xviii., v. 2), which has left out three lines found on page 108 of the Portuguese version (from *Desviado* to *descer-se*). But Ferrer had, probably, nothing to say to this omission. The whole chapter, except two bits, was translated by a much cleverer man than Ferrer. The omission seems due to carelessness and not intentional.

7. The second passage given as a convincing proof is supplied by a *vilancete* found in Chapter 109, and of which Benjumea says that, on comparing it with the Spanish, we see that the Portuguese was the original, and "I quote the verses of Moraes in order that the reader may be able to compare them with those of Ferrer." If he had wanted any such comparison made, it would have been better to have quoted the verses of Ferrer, as they are got with difficulty, while those of Moraes are easily accessible to all. I will give both versions, though I do not see that a comparison will prove anything. This may be my fault, as, in an analogous case, Braga gives in Portuguese the verses *Leonoreta sin*[1] *roseta*, etc., which occur in Chapter 11, Book II., of *Amadís de Gaula* and says:—"The Spanish admits this

[1] This seems a mistake in *Amadís* for *fin*. See *Il Canzoniere Portoghese Colocci-Brancuti*, p. 103, (244-230).

Portuguese version without alteration or effort (*esforço*), which shows that ours is the earlier type" (*Amadis de Gaula*, p. 69); and I cannot see how he comes to this conclusion; for, if the Spanish admits without alteration or effort a Portuguese version, thereby showing the latter to be the original, the Portuguese must also admit without alteration or effort a Spanish version, which is consequently the original. However this may be, here are the two poems, and if the reader can find in them any proof of the originality of the Portuguese my trouble will be amply rewarded :—

Triste vida se m'ordena, pois quer vossa condição, que os males, que daes por pena, me fiquem por galardão.	Triste vida se me ordena pues quiere vuestra condicion que los males que da por pena, me queden por galardon.
Despresos e esquecimento, quem contr 'elles se defende, não os sinte, ou não entende onde chega seu tormento : mas pera quem sinte a pena inda é mór a sem razão, quererdes, que o cá morte ordena, se tome por galardão.	desprecios y oluidamiento quien contra ellos se defiende no lo siente o no entiende donde llega su tormento mas para quien siente pena es mayor la sin razon querer que el que la muerte ordena se tome por galardon.
Já, se vos vira contente deste mal e outro maior, sei que m'ensinára o amor, a passal-o levemente : mas pois vossa condição quer que em tudo sinta pena, quero eu que o qu'ella ordena me fique por galardão. II., 247-8.	y assi yo os viera contenta deste mal y otro mar [1] (*sic*) se que me enseñara amor, pasallo liuianamente mas pues vuestra condicion quiere que en todo sienta pena quiero que lo que ella ordena me quede por galardon. II., f. xiiii., v. 1.

[1] On account of this misprint the Italian has :—

S'io vi vegga contenta, ch'io potrei
Passar leggiermente questo mare
Se mi mostrasse amor la via spedita.

8. Before considering individual passages, it may be well to give some general account of the Toledan book. It is in two volumes folio, printed in black-letter, with two columns on each page; the full column contains forty-four lines, equal to about thirty-eight lines of the Portuguese edition of 1852. The first volume was completed, according to the colophon, on the 24th day of July, 1547, and the second on the 16th day of the same month in the following year. The first volume contains 101 chapters and 133 folios, the second 66 chapters and 132 folios. It thus appears that both volumes are of almost equal length, a point to be noted, and that the whole work has five chapters less than the Portuguese version. Peréz Pastor (*La Imprenta en Toledo*, p. xxi.), says: "The brothers Ferrer and Fernando de Santa Catalina gave proofs of their skill and good taste in the various works they printed in the first half of the 16th century." *Palmerin* is certainly an exception, if this statement is correct, for it is disgracefully badly printed. Genders and numbers are wrong; words will be found broken up; no attention has been paid to punctuation; sentences are run together, and at times a full stop is put in the middle of a sentence, and the following word begins with a capital letter; names are hopelessly misspelt. In fact, the workmanship is nearly as bad as it could be. But the paper and type are good. Not to be diffuse, I shall give only the numbering of the chapters and folios in proof of my assertion. The chapters are numbered thus:—

Vol. I.—1 to 46,[1] 67, 48, 49 to 63, 65, 65 to 75, 86, 77 to 90, 101, 103, 93 to 101.

Vol. II.—1, 3, 3 to 9, 5, 12, 12, 13, 18, 15, 15, 17 to

[1] In correct consecutive order.

19, 15, 21 to 26, 26, 28 to 55, 58, 57, 58 to 62, 67, 68, 65, 68.

In Vol. I. the first two folios are taken up by the title-page and Ferrer's prologue, including the acrostic, and are not numbered. The numbering begins on folio 3 with "i." In Vol. II. the first two folios are also occupied with preliminary matter. The title-page is not numbered. The numbering begins on the second folio with "ii." The numbering of the folios is as follows:—

Vol. I.—1 to 10, 9, 11, 14, 15, 15, 16, 17 to 19, 18 to 20, 23 to 36, 27, 38 to 40, 42, 43, 45, 43, 46, 47, 49, 48, 49, 50, 51, 49, 52, 56, 54 to 66, 68, 68, 69 to 85, 88 to 108, 106, 110 to 124, 123, 129 to 131.

Vol. II.—2 to 65, 64 to 69, 72 to 121, 120, 123 to 126, 125, 128 to 132.

It will be noted that, while there are only sixty-six chapters in Vol. II., one chapter is numbered 67, and two 68. The difference in the number of chapters in the two versions is due to the Spanish omitting the Portuguese chapter 148 entirely, making two chapters of the Portuguese 152 to 154, and one of chapters 167 and 168, and one of the last three chapters. Mistakes in numbering folios and chapters are not uncommon in the 16th century, and much later.[1] Two folios are wrongly numbered in the Evora edition of *Palmeirim*, and in Southey's translation (of 1807) Vol. II. begins with Chapter 50 instead of 53, and the mistake is continued up to Chapter 136. But anything so unintelligibly bad as the numbering of the Spanish version I have never seen. It is another suspicious circumstance

[1] Wolf notices the bad paging of the first (1511) edition of *Palmerin de Oliva*. *Studien*, p. 185.

connected with this book. It will be noted that these mistakes are not isolated misprints, but are interwoven. Thus, in Vol. I. we have folios 110 to 124 in correct consecutive order. Seven folios are wanting to make up 131, yet only four are available. The signatures are correct.

9. Leaving wholesale omissions in the Spanish version out of consideration, there are only two long passages in it which differ very much from the Portuguese. The one is chapter 56, which tells how Palmeirim came to the Perilous Isle, and which has been subjected to a cruel revision by Ferrer. The second is in Vol. III., from page 222 to 228, relating how the queen of Thrace was carried off and Floriano's search for her. Otherwise the two versions agree fairly well, though minor differences, due to omissions, additions, and changes, are very numerous. Omissions of a few words in the Spanish predominate immensely over additions for the greater part of the first Portuguese volume, but in the other two the difference is not so marked, though the omissions are even here more numerous. Other changes are most frequent in the last two volumes, and the reason for them is, in the vast majority of cases, undiscoverable. In order to afford some idea of the nature of the ordinary omissions, additions and changes, I give a few here:—

Omissions in the Spanish version:—

Vol. I., p. 64 l. 30 to p. 65 l. 2, *from* pois *to* servir
,, p. 65 l. 6, *from* que *to* dôr
,, p. 65 l. 14, *from* certo *to* pequenos
,, p. 65 l. 18, o muito trabalho
Vol. I., p. 65 l. 23, *from* já *to* dureza
,, p. 255 l. 5, *from* e *to* ferido
,, p. 255 l. 17, *from* que *to* vez
,, p. 255 l. 20, *from* e *to* esperava

Vol. I., p. 255 l. 24, *from* a *to* feridas

Vol. I., p. 255 l. 26, *from* sem *to* de

,, p. 255 l. 28, de que

Additions in the Spanish version :—

Vol. I., p. 390, l. 4, *after* suas *add* muy luzidas y muy fuertes.
,, ,, ,, 13 ,, a ,, grandissimo
,, ,, ,, 15 ,, com ,, muy grandissimo
,, ,, ,, 17 ,, era ,, aquel cauallero
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, merecedor *add* d'guardalle (sino) aquel valẽtissimo y esforçado principe
,, ,, ,, 21 ,, outros *add* muy esforçadamente.

These additions are all by Ferrer, and exhibit one phase of his foolishness, the use of superlatives. The addition of *aquel cauallero* in line 17 makes nonsense of the passage. On page 56 of Vol. III. we find the following additions :—

l. 15, *after* Duardos *add* principe
,, 17 ,, todolos ,, otros
,, 24 ,, cumprisse ,, que el amor y voluntad que siempre le tuuieron les guiava.
,, 27 ,, elles *add* en qualquier cosa que les sucediesse.

The following are specimens of changes. They are taken from Vol. III., p. 26. The Spanish at

l. 4, *for* se desceu *has* desseo apearse.[1]
,, 5, *for* á *to* freixos *has* junto aquella fuente.
,, 15, *for* d'alento *to* podia *has* de huelgo no la dexaua hablar
,, 28, *for* o *to* maneira *has* echando mano a la espada le dio tal golpe.

The differences between the two versions vary much in number in different parts of the book. On some pages I have noted ten, twelve, or more, and on others none. On the twelve pages, 130 to 141 of Vol. I., I

[1] The Spanish is suggestive of a translation.

found only sixteen variations worth notice, and on the four pages of Chapter XXVI. only three; while in Vol. III., on page 190 I noted fourteen, and on page 270, eleven differences. Of course, most of these individually are of no importance.

10. But when we come to examine the longer omissions we find quite a different state of things; for the further on we go in the book, the more numerous are the passages which are found in the Portuguese and are missing in the Spanish. What is the reason of this? It may be partly due to the translator getting tired and wanting to have done with his task. It may also be due to lamentable carelessness in calculating how many Spanish folios the Portuguese book would take up. The volumes of the Spanish edition are of nearly equal size. When the editor got some way into the second volume, he saw that he would not be able to get the whole of the story into the remaining folios, and proceeded to cut out whole passages ruthlessly. Here are two books, one a translation of the other; in one long and important passages found in the other are wanting; and this defect gets more pronounced towards the end of the work. Let the impartial critic ask himself which is more likely to be the translation, that with, or that without those passages. In other words, is a translator more likely to leave out portions as he gets on in his work, or to add them? In my opinion, he is very much more likely to leave them out; and, consequently, the Spanish version is much more probably the translation than is the Portuguese. To afford facilities for testing what I have said in this para. about the major omissions, I give here a list of passages of three lines and upwards which I have

noted as existing in the work of Moraes and missing in the Toledan edition :—

Vol. I., p. 64 3 lines
,, 66 3 ,,
,, 73 3 ,,
,, 108 3 ,,
,, 190, 191 9 lines
,, 260 5 ,,
,, 266 3 ,,
,, 267 3 ,,
,, 270, 271 7 ,, represented by a few words
,, 327 4 lines represented by five words

Vol. II. ,, 45 3 lines represented by five words
,, 47 3 lines represented by two words
,, 53 5 lines
,, 88, 89 9 ,,
,, 101 5 ,,
,, 102 5 ,,
,, 125 9 ,,
,, 130 3 lines represented by five words
,, ,, 4 lines
,, 133 4 lines represented by two words
,, 157 3 lines
,, 459 7 lines represented by sixteen words

Vol. III. ,, 142, 143 10 lines
,, 158 3 ,,
,, 173 9 ,,
,, 178 6 lines represented by twenty-three words

Vol. III., p. 179-187 Chapter 148. Nine PAGES
,, 188 11 lines represented by twenty-five words
,, 189 5 lines
,, 197 3 lines represented by two words
,, 214 13 lines
,, 220-222 Nearly two PAGES represented by four lines
,, 228 4 lines
, 240 4 lines represented by fourteen words
,, ,, 4 lines
,, 250-255 5½ PAGES represented by about three-quarters of a page
,, 268, 269 7 lines
,, 269 3 ,,
,, 271 8 ,,
,, 277 5 ,,
,, 285 4 ,,
,, 287, 288 7 ,,
,, 288, 289 7 ,,
,, 293 15 ,,
,, 296 4 ,,
,, 302 3 ,,
,, 312 3 ,,
,, 321 3 ,,
,, 323 5 lines represented by eleven words

Vol. III., p. 326 3 lines
,, 328 3 ,,
,, 330, 331 5 ,,
,, 339-346 Nearly seven PAGES represented by some nine lines
,, 349 7 lines
,, 356, 357 10 lines represented by five words
,, 358 3 lines
,, 359 3 ,,
,, 362, 363 8 ,,

Vol. III., p. 364 4 lines represented by three words
,, 365, 366 4 lines represented by one word
,, 367, 368 23 lines represented by twenty-two words
,, 377-398 21 PAGES represented by about three pages

11. The major additions found in the Spanish version (or omissions in the Portuguese) are these :—

Vol. I., p. 20, line 6 to 16, *from* foi salteada *to* tempo. This passage has been amplified so as to be about eight lines longer than in the Portuguese.
,, ,, 21 ,, 1 and 2, *from* se *to* encantando. About four lines in place of one.
,, ,, 59 ,, 26 to p. 60 l. 8, *from* logo *to* arredandose. About eight lines longer than the Portuguese.
,, ,, 242 ,, 20 to 28, *from* inda *to* pouco. This passage is rather more than twice as long in the Spanish. The last two passages are descriptions of battles, and have been altered by Ferrer.
,, Chapter 56 has been much altered and added to by Ferrer. I shall return to it (page 289).
,, ,, 394, line 4, *after* tendes about four lines have been added.
Vol. II., ,, 172, ,, 10, *after* pedaços, about four lines have been added.
,, ,, 190. The first volume of the Spanish ends here and the second begins. About six lines have been

			added at the end of Chapter 101, and then, at the beginning of the next chapter, we have the recapitulation mentioned by Benjumea (para. 2).
Vol. III.,	„ 53	line 11,	*after* elle nearly three lines are added.
„	„ 59	„ 23,	*after* vassallos nearly three lines are added.
„	„ 217	„ 24,	*after* ordenadas about ten lines are added.

These are all the major additions I have noticed. It will be observed that they are most frequent in Vol. I. Judging from the bad style or foolishness, they are almost all by Ferrer. I give the last as, besides being a good specimen of this writer's imbecile manner, it is interesting for two reasons. In the Portuguese version, when the marriages of the young people are arranged, the weddings take place without any previous ceremony; but in the Spanish there is a preliminary betrothal, and the addition describes the wedding celebrated next day. In Spanish romances (such as *Don Polindo*, Chapter VI.; *Palmerin de Oliva*, Chapter CVII.; *Primaleon*, III., Chapters XXX. and XXXII.; Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula*, pp. 350, 361; *Las Sergas*, p. 555) there is almost invariably a betrothal before the wedding; but in Portuguese romances (as *Clarimundo*, the *Memorial das Proezas* and the *Palmeirim* of Moraes), no mention is made of such a ceremony, though it, no doubt, took place. The other point is the use of the words *ricos lechos* by Ferrer. These, or the corresponding *rica cama*, are of constant occurrence in Spanish romances (*e.g.*, *Don Polindo*, f. 4, 23, 26; *Palmerin de Oliva*, f. 38, 39, 46; *Primaleon*, f. 31, 40, 67; *Amadís*, p. 17, 59, 95, 98 and elsewhere; in *Las Sergas*, exceptionally, only once, p. 448); but they are

not found in *Clarimundo*, nor in the Portuguese *Palmeirim* (though in the latter we have (I., 16) *um leito tão . . . . rico*), and rarely in the *Memorial das Proezas*. I think *ricos lechos* does not occur anywhere else in the Spanish *Palmerin*,[1] which would be very strange if it were the original. It is also remarkable why Moraes omitted any mention of Santa Sophia if his work is a translation; for he was fond of following *Clarimundo*, and in it the name occurs three times (pp. 216, 314, 459). Here is the Spanish wedding (II., ciii., 2):—"A otro dia fuerõ leuantados donde con el concierto del dia de antes y con singulares vestidos fueron a la yglesia mayor de la ciudad que se llama de sancto sofia a donde rescibidas las bẽdiciones conforme lo q̃ mãda la sãcta madre yglesia se tornaron a palacio a donde el dia de antes siendo seruidos con tantos manjares & instrumentos que parecia que el palacio se hassolaua passado lo de mas en muchos regozijos que los del pueblo tenian aparejados para semejante dia, a donde venida la noche despues de auer cenado fueron lleuados a ricos lechos conformes a semejantes personas." It is as easy to see that this is an addition, as it is to distinguish a patch on a garment. It does not seem necessary to give any more samples of the major Spanish additions. A few of the minor ones may be noted. In Vol. II., p. 49, l. 18, after *batalhas* is added: "en no traer figura de su amiga para presentar ante su señora no le parecia auer hecho cosa ninguna." This is badly expressed and is absurd. Vol. III., p. 126, we have two additions which the context shows ought

[1] As I have read *Clarimundo* and Ferrer's *Palmerin* only once, I cannot guarantee that an isolated case of the use of these words may not have escaped my notice. Their comparative rarety, if not total absence, is certain.

not to have been made. After *el-rei* (l. 16) is added "porq̃ desse de la espera yo he oydo marauillas y la diferencia de entrãbos a deser notable;" and after *recolha* (l. 19), "puesto que el quedo tan enamorado que querra que todo se passe en contemplaciones por debaxo de los arboles." The addition after *feridos* (p. 265, l. 7), "viendo que no podian saluarse," seems to me nonsense. That after *lhe* (p. 289, l. 12), "parecio assi y," is quite uncalled for. On the other hand, "Frisol" is, I think, properly inserted after "Estrelante" on p. 315 (l. 7 from the bottom).

12. The omissions in the Spanish version are of more importance. As before said (page 265), the Portuguese Chapter 148 is missing in it. This is not to be regretted, as this chapter is practically a repetition of Chapter 128. But the omission of the six immediately preceding lines, on p. 178, is important. According to Moraes, Floriano was about to leave when he was suddenly met by the king of France, recognized, and detained three days at court. According to the Spanish version, he went away without making himself known. This is quite inconsistent with other parts of the story. When Pompides and Blandidom come to the French court, they concealed their identity. When the king found out who they were, he reproached them, and the queen did so still more; for he (or she) could not bear that anyone connected with (*cousa de*) D. Duardos should come to his (or her) house and not make himself known (III., 85). And on page 98 it is said that the king could not believe that any son of D. Duardos would wish to conceal his identity in his court, and inflict this insult on his aunt. On page 106 Floriano distinctly says that the king will know who he is before he leaves the kingdom, for, if his fortune should not give him the oppor-

tunity of serving the king, the ladies would tell who he (Floriano) was. The remark of Dramusiando, at the top of page 158, implies that Floriano would make himself known before leaving. The words "with the device of the Savage uncovered," on page 177, the reason of which the Spanish translator did not see, or he would have left them out, were evidently inserted with the sole object of explaining how the king came to recognize Floriano, the Knight of the Savage. This omission points to the Spanish not being the original.

13. The difference between the two versions in the last paragraph is due to an omission in the Spanish, not to an addition in the Portuguese. It is not so clear whether this is also the case in respect of two pages (III., 220 to 222), found in the latter and not in the former. They contain an account of the manner of life of Floramam, which is not absolutely essential, but the absence of which detracts from the merit of the work. To enable the reader to judge for himself, I give the exact words representing the Portuguese from "*se despediu* (on page 220, last line but one from bottom) to *Floramam* (on page 222, line 10 from bottom): "se despedio y se fue a su casa acompañado de Primaleon y d'don Duardos. Cuenta la hystoria q̃ dexado Primaleon y dõ Duardos al principe Floramam en su posada se boluieron a palacio tristes de ver su mucha tristeza con que quedaua" (II., fol. ciiii.). The repetitions and the "cuenta la hystoria" should be noted. The last sentence looks decidedly like an interpolation.

14. As regards the absence from the Toledan edition of the contents of pages 250 to 255 of the Portuguese third volume, there cannot be the slightest doubt, for the fatuous mind and style of Ferrer are clearly discernible in what the Spanish substitutes for the

admirable description by Moraes of the conduct of the emperor Palmeirim and the arrival of the Turkish ambassador. I give the whole of the Spanish text representing the omitted passage (II., f. cix.). The emperor was providing for everything necessary "dando animo con su vista alos animos flacos delos ciudadanos acrecentando esfuerço en aquellos que lo auia Demanera que con su presencia no tã solamẽte animaua los flacos y pusilanimos mas esforçaua los fuertes y animosos.[1]

Capitul LIIII.

Como vino embaxada delos enemigos y d'la manera de su embaxada y de lo que sobrello se respondio y hizo.

Dela manera que oys andaua el emperador Palmerin prouando su ciudad de las cosas q̃ mas le parecia ser necessarias quando torno a su palacio le vino nueva como al puerto dela ciudad era llegada vn embaxada de parte de los moros y de Albayzar en nombre dellos y dãdole seguridad que el saldria en tierra para explicar sú embaxada. La qual por aquellos reyes y principes le fue otorgada: y saliẽdo el embaxador en tierra fue rescibido de aquellos principes y caualleros los quales le salierõ arrecebir vestidos amanera de fiesta con sus ropas de seda texidas de oro de muy estraña hechura. El qual embaxador salio. . . ." The reader may judge whether this is the pure and chaste style which Gayangos and Vedia attribute to Hurtado, or the nonsense of the author of the Spanish prologues. Apart from the ridiculous language there are two points to be noted. One is, why did the kings and princes give the ambassador a free-conduct to land? This was for the emperor to do, and it was the emperor

[1] Absurd tautology is another phase of Ferrer's foolishness.

who gave the necessary leave in the Portuguese version (III., 255). The second is that the Christian princes and knights are made to go out and receive the ambassador, dressed as if for a feast, in silk garments woven with gold of very strange fashion. That they might at times wear such robes I do not deny, though I only remember one similar instance, that of Julian (D. Duardos) in *Primaleon* (f. 130); but that they should go out in such guise to receive a hostile ambassador is absurd. As a matter of fact, it does not appear to have been the custom for princes and knights to go to meet such envoys,[1] and accordingly Moraes gives this one no escort except the people of the city. But the printer Ferrer would not know of such points of etiquette. What has happened is that, with his "lamentable carelessness," he has confounded the Christians with the ambassador, who is described in the Portuguese version as "dressed in Turkish fashion, in long robes of silk interwoven with gold of a very singular device (*invenção*)."

15. The Portuguese Chapter 167 is essential on artistic grounds and for the proper development of the story. It is highly pathetic and tragic. It records the grief and consternation in Constantinople and the Turkish camp after the first great pitched battle; the effect produced on the aged emperor Palmeirim by this disastrous combat in which so many of his relations and friends had perished; a eulogy of that great monarch, and his obsequies—the whole drawn by a master hand. Ferrer, however, saw that his space was rapidly contracting (he was already at folio 125), and so he compressed the seven pages of this

[1] On this matter, see Vol. II., pp. 278 and 381.

chapter into little more than as many lines. After following the Portuguese in saying that by agreement of Albayzar and Primaleon the dead princes were removed from the field in order that they might be given burial, he goes on :—" alos quales seles dieron como sus personas mereciã : delos llantos y sentimiẽto q̃ enla ciudad vuo dexo lo al buẽ entẽdimiẽto d'l lector por no ser prolixo en esta historia no digo mas sino q̃ fue tanto q̃ hizo tanta imprinsiõ en eñl emperador Palmerin que fue causa de su postrero fin. Y el aue encãtada dio tres bozes las mas dolorosas q̃ los hõbres vierõ." It is evident that this bald, brief, and badly written passage is a mere makeshift for the original, an attempt to fill up the gap caused by the omission of the Portuguese details, and to form a connecting link between what goes before and follows after. It is quite impossible that the composer of *Palmerin* could have disposed of the emperor in this abrupt and summary fashion, and not have said anything about his character and funeral. There are other points to be noted. The sentence beginning with " Y el aue " is a quotation from the last chapter of *Primaleon*. The emperor had an enchanted bird, which was to utter three cries when he died. In *Primaleon* his death is recorded, and also the action of the enchanted bird. Nowhere does Ferrer explain how the emperor came to die a second time. But Moraes tells us that the account in *Palmeirim* is not to be doubted, because it does not agree with that given in "his book,"[1] as the "oldest and most authentic authors" agree in stating matters as Moraes does (III., 345). Again, Targiana and the sister of the Soldan of Persia were in the

[1] *Primaleon*, as the emperor does not die in *Palmerin de Oliva*,

Turkish camp. Ferrer gives no hint as to what became of these ladies, though Targiana is one of the most important personages in the book, and one in whom the reader is most interested. Moraes, however, tells us in this chapter that she and the Persian princess were sent home. It was necessary to get them out of the way before the annihilation of the Turkish army in the second battle.

16. Finally, the greater part of the last three chapters of the Portuguese version is wanting, and only extracts from them are given; not a summary, but blocks, so that much of the information supplied by Moraes is left out. These chapters deal with the events after the final struggle; the care of the wounded; the arrival of Daliarte; the return of Targiana and the sister of the Soldan of Persia, and their departure with the corpses of Albayzar and the Soldan; the address of Daliarte to the citizens of Constantinople directing them to arrange for the government of the city till the fate of Primaleon and Florendos was decided; his departure with the bodies of the emperor and the slain chiefs, and with the wounded leaders, to the Perilous Isle, whither the ladies had been already transported before the last battle; their reception there; the burial of the dead in the Sepulchre of Princes; the recovery of the wounded; the names of the offspring of the principal characters in the book, and how the young people were brought up in the Perilous Isle; the return home of the knights and some of the ladies; and, finally, the death of Daliarte before he had time to disenchant the island. It is in the last chapter that we are introduced to "Joannes d'Esbrec, who composed the chronicle of those days, Jaymes Biut and Anrico Frustro, authentic writers

(*autenticos escriptores*)," and Tornelo Alteroso, and on a disputed point the statement of the first is preferred, "as in everything he is given most credit." It may be interesting to see how Ferrer has cut down this long narrative. He gives us the first two lines of Chapter 170, and then substitutes for the next two pages, that is, up to *quinto dia* at the bottom of p. 379, the following :—" Daliarte[1] salio al cãpo y recojo todos los muertos por dalles sepolturas : y alos que hallo biuos les puso vna manera de vnguentos con q̃ los hizo adormir para que tornados en su acuerdo los acõtescimiẽtos passados no pusiessen detrimiẽto en sus vidas. Estando en esto. . . ." The next three lines to *galés* are as in the Portuguese, and then the following three pages, to *o sabio* (l. 6, p. 383), are represented in the Spanish by the words "el qual se desembarco y juntamente con." Again not the slightest mention of Targiana. The next page, down to *imigos* (l. 3, p. 384), is practically the same in both versions. But the following twenty-four lines, down to *superioridade e*, are rendered in the Spanish by "esto digo porq̃ si." Similarly, on page 385 the Spanish give us only "Y eñste comedio sera." for the passage *Desta* to *sendo*, beginning on line 5, while the whole of the passage a little lower down, from *que por* to *razão é*, is omitted. The Spanish then follows the Portuguese with some trifling difference to *ilha perigosa* (on line 24, page 386), and immediately after concludes with the words : " Y del recebimiento que les fue hecho, y de lo que mas passo : en la tercera parte desta Hystoria se os dara muy entera relaçion," thus omitting the last

[1] From the end of Chapter 168 it would appear that Daliarte was at that time in the Perilous Isle, and not in Constantinople. Ferrer overlooked this.

twelve pages *in toto*. Let the reader decide whether it is more likely that Moraes added all these long portions to the work of Ferrer, or that Ferrer omitted them, in order to make his two volumes of equal length. One thing is plain: we have towards the end of the book close on forty pages by Moraes, of which there is not a trace in the Spanish version; these forty pages are in the same style as the rest of the book and are equal to the best portions of it. We have thus proof positive that Moraes had ability enough to write *Palmerin*. Is it likely he would take the trouble to translate into elegant Portuguese a badly written Spanish work, and add largely to it and improve it, when he had sufficient genius to produce an original composition, which, there can be no doubt, would have involved much less labour? The answer must be in the negative. As to Ferrer, we know, from the specimens of his work I have given and from those I am going to give, that he could not have written our romance; and we have no reason to believe that his coadjutors could have done so either.

17. After these major omissions it is hardly worth while to consider the minor ones; but a few may be mentioned which present some special interest. In Vol. I., in the last two lines of p. 231, the words *a serpe*, and in the middle of page 323, *disse a imperatriz* are omitted. The sense is altered in each case by the omission, which may possibly be due to the carelessness of the printer. On page 297, for the passage on lines 4 to 2 from the end, *toda* to *ouviam*, we have simply "mucha solenidad,"[1] showing the Spanish writer's neglect of the details of ceremonies in which the book

[1] See App. XII Note on *Don Florando*.

abounds. I have already (Chapter III., page 131) noticed the omission of part of the eulogy of Frisol, king of Hungary. Among the passages left out in the second volume are:—*se ha de fenecer* (p. 134); *discreta e* (p. 147), the need of which is shown by the following *sabedoria; dos mãos* (p. 149), without which the sentence has no meaning; *se tornou desfazer a nevoa, e elle* (p. 169). In Vol. III. (p. 197) we have the omission of *farol na popa*, already noticed (Chapter III., page 121; IV., 162); the sentence *que faziam* to *foram muitas* (p. 216) was probably not understood by the translator, and so was left out.[1] His omission of the sentence *que na* to *manifesta*, near the end of page 272, seems to me an improvement; not so that beginning *de Tesalia*, at the bottom of page 278, and ending *de pé*, on the next page, for by it the number of auxiliary troops is altered, and then, by faulty arithmetic, the Spanish total does not agree with the details.[2] Besides, it is incredible that Polendos should not have supplied troops, when he was king of Thessaly and the emperor's son. This is not the only occasion on which Polendos has been slighted. The Spanish omits his name at page 230 of Vol. I., and on page 274 substitutes for him Florendos, who was not present.

18. It has already been said (Chapter VII., page 245), that the Spanish version is the work of two persons at least, one who could think and express himself

[1] This is important, as we find exactly the same idea in *Clarimundo*. The words of Moraes are: "No banquete houve tantas iguarias de prazer e contentamento, que faziam ter em menos as outras, que foram muitas, onde o gosto. . . ." That is, the guests were so happy that they esteemed less the material viands. In *Clarimundo* (p. 474) we read: "Onde aquelle jantar foy mais de prazer, que de outros manjares; porque o gosto delle fazia perder o que as viandas tinhão."

[2] In the Portuguese edition of 1567, too, the total of footmen (58,000) is wrong.

clearly, and another who could not do so. Comparing it with the Portuguese version we see that much of it, especially in the first volume, is a literal translation; much is a fair rendering, but with many additions, changes, and omissions, most of them uncalled for; and part is a bad translation, or paraphrase, by the second, or foolish writer. To prove these assertions I now give some specimens of the work of the two translators, beginning with the first. For facility of comparison both versions are generally quoted. The first extract is from Vol. I., page 52, and refers to a battle. Ferrer prided himself on his skill in describing such encounters, and a specimen of his handiwork will follow for comparison with that of his fellow-translator and of Moraes.

Tão desejoso sois de vosso damno, disse Vernao, que per força me fazeis fazer o que não quizera: o meu cuidado não pode saber ninguem, se não eu, que nasci pera o ter, e elle pera me matar. E os outros perigos, fóra este, eu os estimo bem pouco: e sem dizer mais, se arredaram com tamanha furia, que nenhum errou seu encontro: e foram de qualidade, que as lanças se fizeram em muitos pedaços, e ao passar um polo outro, os cavallos se encontraram com tanta força das cabeças e peitos, que caíaram com seus senhores, que souberam sair delles com tamanho acordo e presteza, como cada um tinha nos

Tan deseoso soys de vuestro daño: dixo Vernao que por fuerça me hazeys hazer lo que no quisiera: mi cuidado no le puede saber ninguno sino yo que naci pare le tener y ella para me matar, y los otros peligros juntos deste yo los estimo bien poco; y sin mas dezir se encontraron con tamaña fuerça, que nenguno no erro su encuentro y fueron de tal calidad que las lanças se hicieron muchos pedaços y al pasar al uno por el otro los cavallos se encontraron con tanta fuerça de las cabeças y pechos que cayeron con sus señores que supieron salir dellos con tamaño acuerdo y presteza como cada uno tenia en los casos

casos onde lhe era necessario: e arrancando des espadas, começaram antre si uma tão brava batalha, que em pouco espaço fez cada um conhecer a seu contrario a valentia de sua pessoa: e assim andaram nella por algum espaço sem tomar nenhum repouso, ferindo-se por todas partes de muitos e mui pesados golpes, ajudando-se cada um de seu saber porque via que estava em parte que lhe era necessario: trazendo já os escudos tão desfeitos, que nelles havia pequena defensa: as armas per alguns lugares rotas: os elmos abollados e torcidos: e elles com feridas, inda que pequenas e poucas. Nisto se arredaram por cobrar alento; e o da serpe disse contra Vernao. Parece-me, senhor que já ora crereis que mór perigo e o que se espera de minhas mãos, que o outro em que vos põem pensamentos alheios. Bem se parece, disse Vernao, que sabeis mal o que eu tenho na vontade: que este que trago comigo sei certo que durará té me matar, e estoutro que se de vós pode esperar, acabará tão cedo, como eu saberei dar fim a essas palavras soberbas, que contra mim soltais.

adonde les era necessario arancando de las espadas començaron entresi una tan brava batalla que en poco espacio hizo cada uno conocer a su contrario la valentia de su persona: y asi andaron en ella por algun espacio sin tomar nengun reposo hiriendose por todas las partes de muchos y muy pesados golpes ayudandose cada uno de su saber porque vian que estaban en parte que le era necessario trayendo ya los escudos tan desfechos que en ellos tenian pequeña defensa: y las armas por algunos lugares rotas los yelmos abollados y rompidos y elles con algunas heridas aunque pequeñas y pocas en este se arredraron por tomar allento y el caballero dela sierpe dixo contra Vernao parece me señor que ya agora yreys creyendo que mayor peligro es el que se espera de mis manos que otro en que a vos os ponen pensamientos agenos bien se parece dixo Vernao que sabeys mal lo que yo tengo en la voluntad que este que traigo conmigo soy cierto que durara hasta me matar y estotro que de vos se puede esperar se acabara tan presto como yo sabre dar fin a essas palabras soberuiosas que contra mí soltais.—Vol. I., fol. ix., v. 2.

(Spelling partially modernized.)

In the following extract the Spanish is by Ferrer. The orthography is modernized here and further on. The Portuguese is taken from Vol. I., p. 147.

E abaixando as lanças ao som de uma trombeta, remeteram ambos a um tempo, encontrando-se em cheio com tanta força, que a lança do cavalleiro da Morte se fez em muitas rachas no escudo do cavalleiro da Fortuna, ficando tão inteiro na sella como se lhe não tocara; porém o retorno foi bem differente, que tendo de sua parte a razão da fermosura de Polinarda, deu com Floramão por cima das ancas do cavallo tão grande quéda, que o deixou sem nenhum acôrdo, que foi verdadeira mostra da aventage que havia della a Altea.

Y abajando las lanzas al son de una trompeta que los juezes mandaron tocar según la postura que tenían, arremetiendo entrambos á un tiempo, dándose tan grandes encuentros y con tanta fuerza que la lanza de Floramã fué hecha en rajas en el escudo del caballero de la Fortuna sin hacer ningún revés; mas el encontro con tanta fuerza teniendo la razón de su parte que dió con Floramã tan gran caída en el suelo que le dejó sin ningún acuerdo, que fué verdadera muestra de la ventaja que había de la hermosura de una á la otra. —(Vol. I., f. xxviii., 2.)

Según la postura, added by Ferrer, is a repetition, as the same words occur a few lines before. Here they are quite wrong. *Dar en el suelo* was a favourite expression with him, judging from his frequent use of it when a little variety would be acceptable.[1]

The next specimen is taken from the second volume (pp. 92, 93), and describes some of the circumstances connected with the death of the mother of Leonarda, princess of Thrace.

El-rei, sabido de Brandimar o caso como passava, e (*sic*), acabado de lho dizer, expirou : e alcançando por sua arte que sua filha era

El rey sabido de Brandimar el caso como pasaba, que acabado de lo decir espiró, y alcanzando por suerte que su hija estaba

[1] But see App. XII. Note on *Don Florando.*

prenhe de sete mezes, quiz aguardar que parisse, e em tanto teve preso secretamente Artibel, a quem passado o tempo, porque esperava, mandou matar; e tirando-lhe o coração polas costas, e metido nesta copa o mandou apresentar a sua filha,[1] declarando-lhe a verdade de sua morte. A princeza depois de certificada da verdade, desejosa de mais não viver, tomou a copa nas mãos, e dizendo sobre o coração d'Artibel palavras de muita dôr e piedade, a encheu de lagrimas. Cansada de praticar sua dôr, querendo mostrar por obra o amor, que lhe tivera, tirou o coração de dentro e mandou a copa com as lagrimas a seu pai, dizendo a quem a levava: Dizei a elrei que este é o derradeiro despojo da minha vida e este contentamento lhe fique em paga da crueza, que comigo usou; que a mim fica o coração de Artibel, porque a conformidade que ambos tivemos na vida, essa se veja na morte. Mandada a copa, vestindo-se de vestiduras reaes, como quem pera alguma festa se ataviava, metendo o coração de Artibel no seio entre a camisa e a carne, se deitou da mesma torre donde elle sohia entrar.

preñada en siete meses quiso aguardar que pariese, y en tanto tuvo secretamente preso á Artibel, al cual passado el tiempo por que esperaba mandó matar, sacándole el corazón por las espaldas que metido en esta copa mandó presentar á su hija declarándole la verdad de su muerte. La princesa después de certificada de la verdad, deseosa de más no vivir tomó la copa en las manos, y diciendo al corazón de Artibel palabras de mucho dolor y diciendo muchas lástimas la hinchió de lágrimas. Cansada de platicar su dolor, queriendo mostrar por obras el amor que le tuviera, sacó el corazón de dentro y envió la copa con las lágrimas á su padre, diciendo á quien la llevaba: Di al rey que esto es el postrero despojo de mi vida y este plazer le quede en pago de la crueza que conmigo usó, que á mí me queda el corazón de Artibel porque aquella conformidad que tuvimos en la vida essa sea en la muerte. Enviada la copa, vistiéndose vestiduras reales como que para alguna fiesta se aparejaba, metiendo el corazón de Artibel en el seno entre la camisa y los pechos, se echó de la misma torre por donde el solía entrar.—(Vol. I., f. cvi. I., *after* f. cviii.)

[1] *Il Decameron*, G. IV., N. I.

The following passage is from the episode of the four French ladies. It contains one of the ill-natured remarks Moraes is so fond of making about women, and shows that it was not Floriano who came off best on this occasion (Vol. III., p. 172).

O do valle,[1] contente de ver acabado o praso, que se offerecera guardar aquelle passo, quiz com palavras mostrar ás damas quão pequeno lhe parecera, pois era dar fim a pode-las servir. Mas como já fosse noite, quizeram ellas gastar pouca pratica com elle, antes recolhendo-se a seu aposento, o deixaram tão pouco contente, como d'antes costumavam : aos outros[2] despediram com mais cumprimentos, devendo-lhe menos, que esta é a razão de que suas cousas são guiadas. Elles se foram a uma villa, e ao outro dia, onde os levou sua ventura, que o desgosto e a vergonha, que passaram, lhe tirou a vontade de ir á côrte, nem de tornar a ver aquellas senhoras, donde todo seu mal nascera. O do valle lembrando-lhe que aquella noite era a derradeira esperança, que lhe ficava, de poder alcançar alguma cousa, não pôde tanto o cansaço, nem trabalho do dia, que, chegada a hora costumada, não fosse esperar sua for-

El caballero de valle alegre de ver cumplido el plazo que se ofreciera á guardar aquel valle quiso con palabras mostrar á las damas cuan pequeño le pareciera pues era dar fin a poder las servir. Mas como fuese ya noche quisieron ellas gastar poca plática con él, antes recogiéndose á su aposento le dejaron tan poco alegre como , de antes acostumbraban. A los otros despidieron con mejores razones nascido de deber les menos, que esta es la razón de que siempre sus cosas son guiadas. Ellos se fueron á un lugar, y al otro dia adonde los llevó su ventura, que la verguenza que pasaron les quitó la voluntad de ir á la Corte, ni de tornar á ver aquellas señoras, de donde todo su mal naciera. El de valle acordándose que aquella noche era la postrera esperanza que le podía quedar de alcanzar alguna cosa, no pudo tanto el trabajo ni el cansancio del día, que llegada la hora acostumbrada dejase de ir á esperar su fortuna

[1] Floriano.
[2] A German and two Italians, vanquished by Floriano.

tuna no passo das aventuras, onde mais certa achava sua desaventura que em nenhum outro. Mas o desejo, que tinha de vencer algum combate daquelles, lhe fazia soffrer tantos desgostos e confessar seu nome, crendo que o merecimento delle o ajudasse a alcançar algum favor, e de ver que aquillo era o que o damnava, determinava encubri-lo: tanta força tinha o parecer de cada uma que desbaratava sua determinação de sorte, que, se além do nome, quizeram saber sua vida e acontecimentos, tudo lhe dissera. Não tardou muito a senhora Torsi, que veiu ao mesmo logar, conforme na tenção de suas amigas e muito differente no trajo dellas. Que como sua condição tivesse pequenos alvoroços e lhe lembrasse pouco querer ganhar lh'a vontade com galanterias, sahiu de maneira que costumava tratar-se em casa.

en el paso de las aventuras, adonde más cierta hallaba su desaventura que en ningún otro. Mas el deseo que tenía de vencer algún combate de aquellos le hacía sufrir tantos sinsabores y decir su nombre, creyendo que el merecimiento dél le ayudase á alcanzar algún favor, y de ver que aquello era lo que le dañaba, determinábase encubrirle: y tanta fuerza hallaba en la hermosura de cada una que le desbarataba su determinación de manera que si allende del nombre quisieran saber su vida y lo que le había acontecido todo lo dijera. No tardó mucho Torsi que vino al mismo lugar conforme con la intención de sus amigas y muy diferente en el traje dellas; que como de su condición no fuese presuntuosa, y sele diese poco querer ganar las voluntades con galanías ni trajes salió de la manera que acostumbraba traerse por casa.—(Vol. II., f. xcv., v. 2.)

It is evident that the *no fuese presuntuosa* of the Spanish is wrong, as it disagrees entirely with Torsi's character. This may be seen by referring to Chapter v., page 185, note 3, where the word *presumpcion*, used by the Spanish writer, should be observed. In these extracts the curious and incorrect way in which Moraes changes, without expressing, the subject of the verb may be remarked.

19. These passages in the Spanish version are by the intelligent translator, whose style is as good as could be reasonably expected; there is nothing, except an occasional change from the Portuguese, which suggests a foolish, half-educated writer. This cannot be said for the following Spanish extracts, which are by Ferrer :—

Vernao que estava transportado e envolto na saudade, que aquella musica lhe fazia, teve-a tamanha da lembrança de sua senhora, que começou dizer palavras tão namoradas em si como então trazía a vontade com que as dizia.—I., 91.	Vernao que estaba trasportado y envuelto en la suavidad que aquella música le hacía tuvo tamaña templanza de su señora que comenzó á decir palabras tan enamoradas en sí como entonces traía los pensamientos las cuales decía.—I. xvii., v. I.

The wrong translation of *saudade* will be noticed.

. . . se foi contra Polendos, que acompanhado de sua força, occupado da ira e manencoria do que via, o recebeu receioso de ver tamanhas obras em homem não conhecido. E assim se encontraram tão sem dó, que . . .—I., 94.	. . . se vino contra Polendos que acompañado de su fuerza y ocupado de ira de ver tamañas fuerzas en hombre que no conocía y así se encontraron entrambos con tanta fuerza que . . .—I., xviii., I.
Junto da cidade foram recebidos de tantas invenções e cousas de folgar, como então o povo podia inventar. Chegando ao paço acharam a rainha e Flerida vestidas tão louçãas, que cuidar que já alguma hora antr'ellas houvera tristeza parecia mentira.—I., 276.	Junto de la ciudad fueron recebidos con tantas danzas y invenciones como entonces el pueblo podía hacer. Llegando á palacio hallaron á la reina y á Flérida vestidas de diferentes atavíos.—I., xlix. 2, Chapter xliv.

Agora contai o que mais quiserdes, que nenhuma cousa, disse o imperador, me pode fazer triste, nem nenhuma outra nova alegre tanto como esta.—I., 283.	El emperador le dijo: ahora cuenta lo todo muy bien lo que ha pasado: tornó el emperador á decir; ahora ninguna cosa me puede hacer á mí triste ni qué cosa me pudiera á mí hacer más alegre do lo que ahora estoy.—I., lii., 2.
Todos tres se guarneceram, primeiro que se partissem, de mui boas armas, das muitas que Darmaco costumava ter, escolhendo cada um as que lhe melhor armaram, e assim o fizeram de cavallos, que Darmaco de tudo estava provido.—I., 346.	Todos tres se metieron en la sala de las armas de Darmaco adonde hallaron muy buenas armas, porque tuvo siempre este Darmaco de estar siempre proveído de buenas armas, y armándose cada uno de las que mejor les parecieron: asimismo se proveyeron de caballos porque Darmaco de todo estaba proveído.—I., lxiv., v. 2.

In Chapters 56 and 57 there are some truly curious passages which it would be a pity not to quote. Palmerin was going along the seashore, when he saw

Antre duas pedras, onde a agua fazia remanso, um batel grande preso por uma corda fóra na terra, e dentro delle dous remos postos em seu lugar, sem nenhuma pessoa, que os governasse, de que se muito espantou.—I., 347.	Entre dos peñas adonde el agua hacía un remanso un batel muy grande atado con una cuerda á un alamo que artificialmente parecía estar allí puesto porque en toda la ribera no había otro. Muy gran espanto le puso en verle así solo sin gente que le gouernase y mirando por todas partes por ver si quien allí el barco había traído eran salidos á tomar algún refresco no solamente no vió gente mas ni aun rumor della y viendo esto . . . I., lxv., 1.

Palmerin is spirited away in this boat. His squire, Selvião, after waiting three days, sets off for London. On his way he meets Francião and Onistaldo, who fear some disaster :—

Mas depois que elle (Francião) e Onistaldo souberam o que passava, tiveram em menos seu receio; e aconselhando lhe que não fosse a Londres, temendo que aquella nova fizesse algum aballo em elrei e Flerida, lhe disseram que os aguardasse em algum lugar certo, e com isto se despediram delle com preposito de o ir buscar, atravessando o mar a todas as partes.—I., 348.

Y en llegando á elle preguntaron de Palmerin. Selvián les dió muy larga cuenta de todo lo que pasaba, mas después que él y Onistaldo lo supieron todo tuviéronlo en menos, y aconsejáronle que en ninguna manera fuese á Londres porque temían que aquella nueva daría algún sobresalto al rey y á Flérida, mas que les informase en el camino y adonde el caso les aconteciera y que el los esperase en algún cabo cierto, y él no supo darles razón donde los aguardaría, y ellos no tuviendo la vuelta cierta no se les dió mucho, salvo que le encargaron que no curase de ir á Londres ni dar aquella nueva, sino fuese á caballero con quien tuviese confianza que con su señor tenía verdadera amistad; y el selo prometió así y con esto se despidieron dél con propósito de lo ir á buscar atravesando la mar por todas partes.—I., lxv., 2.

This can hardly be called pure and chaste Castilian. Palmerin, having landed from his enchanted boat, ascends a mountain path,

Táo ingreme pera cada parte, que quem pera alguma dellas escorregasse, além de ser muito perigo, não podia parar senão d'alli mui longe. I., 349.	Tan peligroso de caminar por la angostura dél que si alguna de las partes á costa no podía dejar de ir muy lejos juntamente con el peligro de lo que le podía suceder.—I., lxv., v. 1.

Palmerin reaches the top of the hill and finds a fountain at which two lions and two tigers are chained up.

. . . as prisões delles eram de tamanho comprimento, que se podiam alargar da fonte tres braças, feitas de cadeias de metal de tanta grossura, quanto parecia necessario pera suster a força delles.—I. 352.	Quando Palmerin vido aquellas alimañas y así aprisionadas mucho fué espantado, porque bien vió que quien aquellas prisiones les había echado que tenía muy gran poder sobre ellas; y parecía le ser aquello hecho más por vía de encantamento que per otra vía, porque bien vía que los tigres no eran alimañas para poderse gobernar por razón, ni se dejar así aprisionar[1] las prisiones aunque al parecer quien las vía no pensaba que de los mármoles se podían apartar, porque parecían estar amarradas, mas estaban por tal artificio que salían de los mármoles tres varas, hechas de cadenas de metal de tamaña fortaleza quanto era necessario para tener la fuerza dellos.—I., lxvi., 2.

This is a good example of twaddle, and of inability to express it clearly. It shows what the Spaniard could do when he attempted anything original. I have

[1] Perhaps there ought to be a full stop here.

punctuated the Spanish. The next extract belongs to page 353, and is an addition by Ferrer. It is introduced to show his style. The repetitions should be noticed.

La fuente era tan hermosa y había tanto que mirar en ella que se estuvo algún tanto mirando su tan hermoso edificio, y mirandola por todas partes. . . I., lxvi., 2.

Exhausted, perhaps, by these efforts, Ferrer gradually subsides, but only gradually, as the following passages will show. Palmerin is attacked by a knight, who

Remeteu com um golpe tão grande, que um quarto do escudo, em que o recebeu fez vir ao chão.—I., 357.	Aremetió á él tirándole un golpe aquello que desarmado le vido, mas Palmerin que no estaba tan descuidado que viéndole venir no alzase el escudo, en el cual le recibió, y fué con tanta fuerza que todo lo que dél cogió le hizo venir al suelo. I., lxviii., 2.

Palmerin has a combat with the Knight of the Castle :—

O cavalleiro do Castello era de tanta bondade d'armas, que nenhuma fraqueza se conhecia nelle, nem ventagem em Palmeirim.—I., 360.	Sabréis que el caballero del castillo era tan esforzado y de tan alta bondad de su persona y tan diestro en las armas que no se conocía ninguna flaqueza en su persona á causa de ser hombre de muy grandísima bondad no se halló ventaja en Palmerin.—I., lxviii., v. 2.

I think there ought to be a comma after the last *bondad*, and that the final *no* should be *ni* ; or, perhaps, a full stop should be put after the last *persona*.

Palmerin having released Belisarte and Germão d'Orleans, and having fasted all day, was glad to get something to eat :—

E isto não é muito, pois em tempo de necessidade tudo se póde soffrer.—I., 366.

No menos Belisarte y German dorlines lo tenían necesidad porque los que allí los metieron mayor cuidado tuvieron de aprisionarlos que no de darles lo que habían necesidad, mas esto no era mucho pues la necesidad enseña á los tiempos en que todo se ha de sufrir en especial cuando falta el remedio.—I., lxix., 2.

Palmerin arrives in Portugal and is rather pleased ;

Mais depois que soube que estava na guerreira Lusitania, onde muitas vezes se desejára, pera ver se a fermosura de Miraguarda, de quem tanto se fallava, igualava em alguma parte com a senhora Polinarda.—I., 370.

Y lo fué del todo después que salió en tierra y supo que estaba en la guerra despaña donde muchas vezes deseara venir por se hallar para experimentar la hermosura de Miraguarda de que entonces tanto en extremo se hablaba por ver si igualaba en alguna parte con su señora Polinarda.—I., lxx., 1.

The phrase *guerra despaña* is wrong, as there was then no war in España. It has already been noticed, page 120.

If the affections of Palmerin had not been already engaged to Polinarda, when he saw the picture of Miraguarda,

Soubera mal determinar quem fazia vantage uma á

Que me hacía perder todo el conocimiento, tanto que

outra, Polinarda a ella, ou ella a Polinarda.—I., 383.	no sabría distinguir lo malo de lo bueno que en tal caso tocase bien determinara cual á cual hacía ventaja. I., lxxii., v. 2.

Verily, the Spanish is not so plain that he may run that readeth it. Here is one of the commonplace reflections found at the end of so many chapters :—

Porque das cousas que trazem muito damno muito medo se deve ter.—I., 394.	Es mucha razón que de las cosas que mucho daño traen muy justa cosa es que no las esperen sino que huyan dellas. I., lxxv., 2.

In Vol II. Ferrer does not venture on such long flights as in Vol. I., but he can be traced in many shorter passages. Floramão, speaking of his usual bad fortune, says :—

Quem, senhor, a teve sempre tão má em tudo, que esperança lhe póde ficar de a ter n'isto boa ?—II., 99.	Quien, señor, la tuvo tan desdichada y tan mala en nenguna manera en todo lo ¿ qué esperanza le puede quedar la ha de tener en esta buena ?—I., cx., 2.

Palmerin is disenchanting the Princess of Thrace, and is believed to be in great danger :—

A quem este receio chegava mais era a Selvião, sentindo não estar presente aos trabalhos de seu senhor, e passar por elles com verdadeiro amor como os leaes criados tem, o que os senhores mui bem sentem e mal agradecem.—II., 171.	De lo cual todos estaban en gran recelo especialmente Selvián por no hallarse con él porque aquellos trabajos quisiera ayudárselos á pasar porque la voluntad y el grande amor que tenía con su señor le hiciera pasar cualquier peligro. I., cxxiv., v. 1.

Palmerin in the midst of enchantments comes to a resolution :—

Deixando alguma esperança na fortaleza das armas.—II., 172.	Teniendo mayor confianza en la fortaleza de las armas que no esperar remedio por donde no tenía esperanza de aver le.—I., cxxiv., v. 2.

Palmerin was bursting with annoyance (*queria estalar com pesar*) :—

Que isto é natural do animo grande em cousa que muito deseja não ter paciencia.—II., 212.	Que esto es natural de los ánimos feroces en las cosas que mucho desean no tener paciencia.—II., vii., v. 1.

The adjective *feroces* is quite out of place in respect of Palmerin, as his character was mild and kind. See II., 341, 342.

The following passage refers to the singing of a *vilancete* :—

Porque, além das fallas serem singulares e cantarem concertadamente, a manhãa era pera isso muito graciosa, e juntamente por baixo das ramas das arvores vinha o tom soando com uma saudade contemplativa e namorada.—II., 246-47.	Porque allende el ser muy bien compuesto y las vozes suaves la mañana que era la mejor para ello que la naturaleza podía dar juntamente con las ramas de los altos árboles por bajo de los cuales las vozes venían sonando con un deleite contemplativo e enamorado. II. xiv., v. 1.

Floriano passes a restless night thinking of Lionarda :

E as lembranças de Lionarda eram pera tirar qualquer somno.—II., 275.	Acordarse de Leonarda le traía á una parte y á otra de la cama.—II., xx., 1.

This is bathos truly.[1]

[1] See App. XII., *D. Florando.*

I have already (paras. 11, 14) given some specimens of Ferrer's style in Vol. III. A few more follow here.

Floriano is addressing Mansi :—

Bem he que metais todalas velas de gentileza e atavios, pera que por cima delles conheçais que vossa fermosura é a que mais se deve estimar. Não foram tão agradecidas estas palavras, como elle cuidou, que de lhe gabar o parecer muitas vezes o fizera, naquella hora quisera que os arreios não foram de menos preço. —III., 128.	Bien es que metáis todas las velas de gentileza y hermosura y atavíos para que sobre todo la hermosura sepáis que se ha de estimar y tener en mucho. No fueron tan agradecidas estas palabras como el pensó, que en le volver el rostro muchas vezes se le pareciera, En aquella hora no quisiera que los arreos fueran de menos precio.—II., lxxxvi., v. 1.

This seems to me nonsense.

Speaking of the knights praising Mansi's dress we have :—

Como se aquillo (*her attire*) fora o porque s'elles primeiro perderam. — III., 130.	Como si aquello fuera lo porque ellos se enamoraron ó por la cosa que más se dejaron vencer.—II., lxxxvii., 1.

This addition, if it has any meaning, is still a silly repetition. The following is a foolish amplification badly expressed :—

Servidor d'Albania, dama mui fermosa.—III., 141.	Muy servidor de la hermosa Albania, dama entre las otras metida en la cuenta de las muy galanas y hermosas.—II., lxxxix., 2.

Latranja promises not to tell Floriano's name :—

Lhe prometeu, que seu nome não descubriria a outrem.—III. 147.	Le prometió que aquello de que ella sola se alegrara que ella sola lo sabía y que no daría parte á otrie porque no supiese su nombre.—II., xc., v. 2.

It was impossible to judge which of the combatants, Floriano and Dramusiando, had the advantage :—

Não se podia julgar qual delles levaria o melhor, nem quem tinha a vida mais segura.—III.' 154.	Quién sabría juzgar cuál dellos le perdiera primero ó cuál dellos saliera tan salvo que al fin tuviera la vida segura más que el otro.—II., xcii., I.

The emperor was very satisfied :—

O imperador estava mui contente.—III., 194.	El emperador se mostraba tan alegre como realmente lo tenía dentro en sí. II., xcviii., v. I.

On the same page in the Portuguese (previous page in the Spanish), there is a rather curious difference between the two versions. Palmerin, at parties in the palace, used to take a seat by the side of the queen of Thrace, so that he might have the satisfaction of looking at Polinarda while (as long as) the others (satisfactions, pleasures) were not attainable by him (*lhe falleciam*). The Spanish reads : "while the others (persons) danced" (*en cuanto los otros danzaban*). The emperor wishing to marry the young people commissioned D. Duardos to make a speech to them. Naturally this address is very courteous in the Portuguese version. In the Spanish the tone is foolish and improper. Thus, addressing Platir, D. Duardos says :— The emperor wishes to marry

A vós, nobre Platir, com a princeza Sidela, filha d'el-rei Tarnaes.—III., 205.	A vos, noble Platir, cuyas obras son dignas de mucho merecimiento, con la princesa Sidella de Lacedemonia, hija del rey Tarnaes que es muy contento de daros la solo por el precio de vuestra persona y por

ser nieto de su majestad, que tiene por tan grande esto que basta por todos los otros que no tenéis.

II., C., V. 2.

This seems to me one of the things one would rather have left unsaid. Albayzar, annoyed at his knights being unhorsed by Floriano, says to him :—

Que pois a fortuna lhe dera tão bom dia repouzasse o que ficava delle, que outro viria em que por ventura teria maior desgosto.

III., 288.

Que pues la fortuna le diera tan buen día que reparase lo que quedaba por pasar que allí podrían venir otros que con pesar se lo tornasen á robar.

II., CXV., V. I.

On page 317 we have a passage which reminds us of the classical scholar of the prologues :—

Estando as batalhas pera romper, parece será bem fazer memoria das armas, sobrevistas e côres dellas, direi aqui algumas, assim d'uma parte, como de outra : porque querer fazer de todas inteira relação, seria impossivel, e não fazer de algumas, fôra erro, e mais em batalha tão notavel.—II., 317.

Desta manera estaba el ejército de una parte y de la otra aparejados para romper: qué lengua por oratoria que fuese, aunque la de Marco Tulio fuese, bastaría á contar las maneras de armas, colores de las sobrevistas que aquellos caballeros preciados así de una parte como de otra sacaron, por lo cual aunque no tan por entero como el caso se requería no dejaré de poner aquí algunas que sacaron así de unos como de otros.[1]

II., CXXI., 2.

In the battle the defence of Vernao did not avail so far,

Que ao fim não acabasse seus dias e fosse tirado do campo e levado á cidade,

Que al fin de la mucha sangre que allí había perdido no diese fin y cabo á sus

[1] Cf. *Amadís de Gaula*, IV., XXVIII., p. 314.

onde tudo era desaventura e pranto.—III., 338.	postrimeros días; y ya que fué muerto fué sacado del campo con gran tristeza y llevado á la ciudad adonde toda andaba revuelta en grandes llantos y lloros y desventuras.—II., CXXV., 2.

In the final battle Dramusiando, thinking his end has come, asks D. Duardos to remember his wife Arlança and her child,

Como de cousa, que precedia de seu verdadeiro amigo Dramusiando. III., 370.	Como de cosa suya y reliquias de Dramusiando su verdadero siervo y leal amigo, el cual ofrecido á toda desaventura moría por la fe suya y de sus amigos. II., CXXX., 1.

It is a shame to attribute such rubbish to Dramusiando.

20. A common fault of half-educated writers is exaggeration and the use of superlatives and augmentative adverbs. This is a failing of which many examples are found in ths Spanish *Palmerin*. Among them are the following. Their exact position is indicated by a reference to the corresponding Portuguese passage. In Vol. I. the Spanish on

Page 37, (I., f. vi., v. 1.)	line 12, *before* tristes,	adds *muy*.
	,, 15, *for* dizendo,	has hablando la *muy* cortesmente le dixo.
	,, 23, *before* agradecimento,	adds *grandísimo*.
	,, 30, *after* castello,	,, *muy* fuerte.
Page 38,	,, 1, *before* alegre,	,, *muy*.
(I., f. vi., v. 2.)	,, 10, *for* valentia e parecer,	has *grandísima* valentía y *grande* amor.

Page 38, (I., f. vi., v. 2.)	line 15, *before* secretamente,	adds *muy*.
	,, 16, *before* pena,	,, *grandísima*.
	,, 18, *for* seu,	has aquel *muy grandísimo*.
	,, 23, *before* damnos,	adds *grandes*.
	,, 24, *for* o,	has *mucho*.
Page 39, (I., f. vii. 1.)	,, 6, ,, amor,	has *muy mucho* amor.

Pages 382 to 390 present many passages which have been exaggerated in the translation. Thus the Spanish on

Page 387, (I., f. lxxiii. v. 1, 2.)	line 5, *before* injuria,	adds *muy grande*.
	,, 7, ,, aspera,	adds *muy*.
	,, ,, ,, gran,	,, *muy*.
	,, 9, ,, robusto,	,, *muy*.
	,, ,, ,, soberbo,	,, *muy*.
	,, 10, ,, paixão,	,, *muy gran*.
	,, 12, ,, destro,	,, *muy*.
	,, 13, *for* forçoso,	has *de mucha fuerza*.
	,, ,, *before* bem,	adds *muy*.
	,, 18, ,, perigo,	,, *muy gran*.
	,, 20, *for* grande,	has *muy grandísima*.
	,, 21, ,, ,,	,, *muy grandísimo*.
	,, 24, ,, força demasiada,	,, *muy valentísimas* fuerzas.
	,, 31, *before* perigo,	adds *muy grandísimo*.
Page 388, (I., f. lxxiii., v. 2; lxxiv. 1.)	,, 4, ,, torvação,	adds *muy gran*.
	,, 6, ,, Florendos,	,, aquel *muy esforzado*.
	,, 9, ,, pequena,	adds *muy*.
	,, 13, *after* ferir,	,, *tanbravísimamente*.
	,, 17, *before* cansancio,	adds *gran*.

Page 388, (I., f. lxxiii., v. 2; lxxiv. 1.)	line 22, *for* Senhor,	has *muy esforzado.*
	,, 23, *before* victoria,	adds *grandísima.*
	,, 26, *for* ella obrigaes,	has á ella echáis *muy grandísimo* cargo.

In Vol. II. the same style is noted. The Spanish on

Page 99, (I., f. cx. 2.)	line 5, *before* vantagem,	adds *grandísima.*
	,, 6, *for* a,	has aquella *grandísima.*
	,, 7, *before* descontente,	adds *muy.*
	,, 10, *before* arvore,	,, *gran.*
	,, 14, *after* pedindo-lhe,	,, *mucho.*
Page 358, (II., f. xxxvii. 2.)	,, 2, *before* difficil,	,, *muy.*
	,, 3, ,, corucheo,	,, *muy rico.*
	,, 4, ,, diversas,	,, *muchas y.*
	,, 7, ,, claridade,	,, *gran.*
	,, 11, ,, determinar,	,, *muy bien* ver y.
	,, 12, *before* aste,	adds *muy requísimo.*
	,, ,, ,, grande,	adds *muy.*
	,, 26, ,, singulares,	,, *muy.*
Page 363, (II., f. xxxviii. 2.)	,, 21, *for* serena,	has *muy serenísima.*
	,, ,, *before* affeição,	adds *grande.*
	,, 23, ,, desembaraçado,	,, *muy.*
	,, 24, *before* fermosura,	,, *grandísima.*
Page 462, (II., f. lviii., v. 2.)	,, 3, *for* gram,	has *grandísimo.*
	,, 6, *before* maior,	adds *mucho.*
	,, 8, *for* confessar,	has *grande.*
	,, 9, ,, mais,	,, *muy más.*

The following passages are in Vol. III. The Spanish on

Page 35, (II., f. lxiiii., v. 2.)	line 15, *before* claras,	adds *muy*.
	,, 16, *for* amizade,	has *gran felicidad*, which is nonsense.
	,, 17, *before* ousadia,	adds *muy gran*.
	,, 22, ,, apousentamento,	,, en aquel *estremado*.
	,, 23, *for* pareciam muito bem,	has se parecía *muy estremadamente de bien*.
Page 241, (II., f. cvii., 2.)	,, 21, *for* si,	has todo su *muy bien* acuerdo y entero juicio.[1]
	,, 22, ,, lançar mão do cavalleiro do Salvage,	has *muy bien* abrazar á su *muy* amado caballero y marido.
	,, 24, *after* apertandose,	adds *muy reciamente*.
	,, 26, *before* bem,	adds *muy*.
Page 350, (II., f. cxxvi. 2.)	,, 11, *before* desmalhadas,	,, *muy*.
	,, ,, *after* desmalhadas,	,, y mal tratadas *en gran manera*.
	,, ,, *after* de,	adds *muy*.

[1] I have already noticed Ferrer's needless repetitions. On this page we have another example of this fault. On line 19 the Portuguese has *ignorantes;* Ferrer prefers *hombres de muy poco saber y i(g)norantes* (II., f. cvii., 2).

Page 350, (II., f. cxxvi. 2.)	line 14, *for* tudo desfizera a furia de seus contrarios,	the Spanish has hechas, los cuales fueran deshechos, por las manos de sus *grandes* enemigos.
	,, 15, *for* Todalas armas tintas,	has sus armas *muy* manchadas.

Similar exaggerations, though less frequent, will be found in Vol. I. on pages 24, 31, 339, 352, 389, 390, 399 and 445; in Vol. II. on pages 90, 155, 361 and 428; and on page 32 of Vol. III., where we have such phrases as *tan grandísima fuerza* and *estremadamente demasiadas* (for *differentes*). The effect of such exaggerations may be seen from the following passage. For facility of reference the Portuguese is also given. The italics are mine.

Quanto mais andava pola ilha mais graciosa lhe parecia a terra, e pesava-lhe vêl-a despovoada, tendo já de todo por abusão as letras do padrão. Porém não andou muito que antre o mais basto daquelles arvoredos se achou em um campo grande, descoberto á maneira de praça, tão compassado de todas as partes que em nenhuma parecia que saísse fóra de medida. No meio delle estava uma fonte levantada no ar em uma pia de pedra sustida sobre um marmore, que debaixo do

Cuanto más andaba por la isla tanto más graciosa le parecía y *mucho* más hermosa le parecía la tierra, y pesaba le *mucho* en verla así tan despoblada teniendo ya por *muy gran* burla del todo las letras del padrón. Mas no anduvo mucho que entre lo más espeso de aquellos árboles se halló en un campo *muy* grande descubierto á manera de una *muy grande* plaza tan compasado de todas las partes que en ninguna parte parecía salir de medida. En el medio dél estaba una *muy hermosa*

chão vinha. A agua saía polas bôcas de umas alimarias, que no alto da pia estavam assentadas, e era em tanta quantidade, que a que corria polo campo fazia um pequeno rio. O que mais o espantou foi vêr que aquelle lugar era o mais alto da montanha, e a agua subia alli, cousa que parecia fóra de toda a razão e regra de natureza: ao pé do marmore estavam presos dous tigres e dous leões tão medonhos, tanto pera temer como sua ferocidade mostrava.—I., 352.

fuente puesta en el aire, sostenida sobre una pila de piedra puesta sobre un pilar que de abajo del suelo venía; y el agua salía por la boca de unas alimãnas que en lo alto de la pila estaban *muy bien* asentadas; y era en tanta cantidad que la que corría por el campo hacía un rio pequeño. De lo que más se espantó fué ver que aquel lugar era lo más alto de la montaña y aquel agua subía allí, cosa que parecía fuera de toda razón y regla de naturaleza: al pie de aquel mármol estaban presos dos *muy bravos y muy ferozes* tigres y dos leones *muy fieros y* tan terribles y tanto para temer como su *gran* ferocidad lo demandaba.

I., Chapter lvi., f. lxvi. 1.

The two styles are well worthy of comparison. In this passage we have further evidence that the Spanish is a translation, in the words *de aquel mármol*. Looking back to see to what *mármol* reference is made, we find none mentioned. The Portuguese explains matters. The translator has rendered its first *marmore* by *pilar*, instead of by *mármol*.

The object of the last three paragraphs has been to prove my assertion that the Spanish version is not the work of one writer, but of two at least—the one intelligent, the other foolish; and to support my hypothesis that the latter was Ferrer, who, incapable himself of composing or translating the tale, revised, that is, spoilt the translation of the former, and on the

strength of this mischievous revision laid claim to be the author of *Palmerin*.

21. Some of the differences between the two versions look as if due to a desire on the part of the Spanish writer to correct the Portuguese text. Occasionally these changes seem desirable; but some of them are needless, and others, if made with the said intention, show a defective understanding of the original. The following are the chief alterations of this class I have noticed:—

Vol. I., p. 70. (I., f. xiv. 2.) *caballeros extrangeros* for *casados, e estrangeiros*. An eedless change. *Casados* here is opposed to *estrangeiros*, and from page 68 it appears that some "home" knights were to oppose the novices.

Vol. I., p. 98. (I., f. xviii. v. 2.) *á Pandaro y á Daligante . . . . mandó llevar á sus posadas* for *mandou levar . . . ao gigante á sua pousada*. In one respect the Spanish is more correct, as there was no reason to leave one or other of the giants uncared for. But why do we find *Daligante* for the previous *Daligan* (f. ix (*bis*). v. 2; x. v. 2)? Probably because the translator, having the Portuguese *gigante* before his eyes, carelessly made the giant's name also end in *gante*.

Vol. I., p. 101. (I., f. xix. v. 1.) *le juzgaba por uno de los buenos que había visto*, for *o julgava*. Needless. The Portuguese means "concluded who he was," as the context shows.

Vol. I., p. 443. (I., f. lxxxv. 1.) *dejaba de hacerlo* for *desejava de o vencer*. Perhaps, the Spanish reading would present itself first to most people. But there is nothing incorrect in the Portuguese.

Vol. II., p. 13. (I., f. xciii. v. 2.) *Babilonia* for *Persia*. Correction needed.

Vol. II., p. 40. (I., f. xcix. 1.) On line 5, after *Albayzar*, adds *recogidos sus escudos*. Seems meant for a correction, but is needless.

Vol. II., p. 52. (I., f. ci. 2.)	Omits Belisarte. Change needed, as Belisarte had already tilted (p. 44). How was he introduced again in the Portuguese, if it is a translation? A similar mistake about Esmeraldo (p. 41, 51) is not noticed.
Vol. II., p. 117. (I., f. cxiii. v. 2.)	The phrase *temor occulto, que se conhecia nas mostras de fóra* seems a contradiction in terms. *Occulto* stands, of course, for "interior." The Spanish omits all but *temor*.
Vol. II., p. 166. (I., f. cxxiii. v. 1)	*ribaços escuros* for *trevas escuras*, apparently thinking the latter a pleonasm. I prefer the Portuguese, all the same.
Vol. II., p. 177. (I., f. cxxiii. (bis), v. 2.)	*semejantes cosas* for *estes medos*. An improvement, avoiding the repetition of *medos*.
Vol. II., p. 322. (II., f. xxix. v. 2.)	*harta, essa* seems preferable to the Portuguese *enfadado, esse*, but I am not prepared to say that Floriano might not have used the latter.
Vol. II., p. 326. (II., f. xxx. v. 1.)	The Spanish adds, on line 3, *y caballeros para que la acompañen*, probably because the knights had been mentioned before (p. 294).
Vol. II., p. 436. (II., f. liii. v. 1.)	*del* (dél) *sus nombres* seems, at first, better than *delles seu nome*; but the latter means simply "their name," and is an example of a pleonastic possessive very common in old Portuguese.
Vol. III., p. 91. (II., f. lxxviii. v. 2)	Omits *al rei* on line 7; perhaps, because the king was not present. Needless change.
Vol. III., p. 110. (II., f. lxxxii. v. 2.)	On the first line, after *delle*, the Spanish adds *por alguna de nosotras como hizo el caballero de Salvaje por otras donzellas que llevó consigo*. This is not required, though, at first sight, the change seems desirable. The Portuguese is perfectly correct.
Vol. III., p. 245. (II., f. cviii. 2.)	The Spanish adds *estando Albayzar en Babilonia* after *arte*, on the last line but one. This change was, perhaps, made to explain how Targiana got away; but it does not do so, and is needless.

Vol. III., p. 266. (II., f. cxi. v. 1.) At the beginning of Chapter 159, Arnedos and D. Duardos are omitted in the Spanish, probably because there is no previous mention of their having been wounded. The change seems unnecessary. For D. Duardos, see page 268.

Vol. III., p. 317. (II., f. cxxi. 2.) (campo) *blanco* for *negro* (line 30). The correction appears right.

Vol. III., p. 319. (II., f. cxxi.v. 1.) The Spanish *delante del castillo* is more accurate than the Portuguese *ante ella no castello*, as the events at Almourol took place outside the castle. Only once are we admitted inside, and that is when the messenger of Arnalta was allowed to enter (II., 255). The same inaccuracy is found in some translations of *Don Quixote* (I., 6). The Portuguese might mean that Miraguarda was in the castle, but this interpretation seems strained.

It must be kept in mind that the Portuguese edition from which the Spanish was taken has been lost, and that it is impossible to compare the latter *directly* with even the Evora edition of 1567. Our comparison is confined to the Lisbon issue of 1786; and it will be strange if the editor and printers have not managed to introduce into it many errors of their own making, for which Moraes is not responsible.[1] It may be that in some cases where the Spaniard seems to be carefully correcting mistakes he is merely following the original Portuguese text.

22. The Spanish version is fonder of expletives than the Portuguese. I have noticed the following:—

Vol. I., p. 360,	line	4,	*before*	O cavalleiro	*it adds*	sabréis que
,, 362	,,	16	,,	Pera se	,,	sabréis que
,, 368	,,	12	,,	qu'estes	,,	porque sabed

[1] Thus, in one place, (line 21, p. 24, Vol. I., ed. 1852), the edition of 1567 has *luuas*, and that of 1786 *esporas*. The Spanish has *azote*. (Cf. *Amadís de Gaula*, p. 13.)

Vol. I., p. 391 line 16, *before* não			*it adds*	yo no sé, and alters phrase somewhat.
,, 442	,,	8, *after* Aqui	,,	que oís, and makes similar alteration.
Vol. II., p. 74	,,	2, *before* que	,,	como tengo dicho
,, 353	,,	29, *after* Satiafor	,,	me parece
,, 377	,,	26 ,, tanto	,,	como ya se dijo
,, 457	,,	22, *before* que	,,	porque sabed
Vol. III., p. 62	,,	29, *after* qualidades	,,	que dije

Though I mention these expletives, I do not wish to draw any conclusion from them. To the same category, perhaps, belong occasional references to "the second part of this story" which are not found in the Portuguese. In the passage corresponding to that after *viveu*, in Vol. I., p. 29, l. 12, the Spanish has (f. v. 1) *como en esta grãde hystoria se hará minciõ.* This phrase, *grande historia*, is of constant occurrence in Spanish romances.[1] Naturally, Cervantes did not fail to fasten on it. To the best of my belief, it occurs nowhere in the Portuguese version (*supra*, p. 94).

23. It will be remembered that the Inquisition was not definitely established in Portugal till 1547 (Chapter II., para. 14), or shortly after Moraes is said to have dedicated his *Palmeirim* to D. Maria. Less than fifty years later, in 1592, the first Lisbon edition appeared, and the influence of the Holy Office may be seen in the fact that this was an expurgated edition, one amended by the "Father Revisor of Books." When Diego Ferrer published the Toledan version, the

[1] E.g. *Amadís*, pp. 264, 277, 279, 286; *Las Sergas*, pp. 453, 455, 472. Cervantes uses it himself in *Persiles y Sigismunda*, p. 590, 591, 597. It is less common in Portuguese tales.

tribunal had been at work in Spain nearly seventy years, and, perhaps, to its indirect influence may be attributed certain differences found in the two versions. Perhaps, however, they are due solely to false religious scruples of the translator or of the editor. The revision is just what would be expected. All the licentious passages are left, except one chapter, which is, perhaps, more salutary than harmful, and was probably omitted to save space. The only really immoral passage,[1] that where Floriano justifies his misconduct to the hermit, is allowed to stand, while we have a number of ridiculous verbal alterations, showing not goodness, but, at the best, goody-goodiness. Such changes are the following :—

Vol. I.,	page	165,	line	22,	á dios *for* lhe (*q. d.* reason)
	,,	236	,,	3,	dios ,, fortuna[2]
	,,	458	,,	27,	do. ,, do.
	,,	467	,,	1,	mirar (a misprint ?) *for* adorar
II.	,,	6	,,	12,	á la misma muerte *for* ao diabo
	,,	54	,,	15,	mucho *for* por cousa divina
	,,	86	,,	13,	dios ,, sua senhora
	,,	172	,,	14,	*adds* después de dios *before* as lembranças de sua senhora
	,,	222	,,	1,	sua anima condenada á perpetua pena[3] *for* suas obras condemnadas perpetuamente
	,,	223	,,	12,	*adds* con mucha devoción *after* elmo
	,,	224	,,	14,	*omits* a diabrura

[1] This will be found in Chapter 106. However true part of Floriano's speech may have been, it was out of place in *Palmeirim*, especially when addressed to a pious hermit. This episode bears a strong resemblance to one in *Orlando Furioso* (XXVIII., 95), but the end is not so tragic, for the hermit, seeing that his homily was not appreciated by Floriano, discreetly retired.

[2] But the *fortuna* of I. 443, II. 130, 169 is retained in the Spanish.

[3] This change is in conformity with similar passages in *Amadis de Gaula* (pp. 28, 230) and that mawkishly pious book, *Las Sergas de Esplandian* (p. 408).

Vol. II.,	page 225,	line 18,	á quien por su misericordia se la diera *for* a Deus
,,	336	,, 4,	á quien que con ayuda de mi señor Jesu Christo piensa quitarte la soberbia *for* quem te não tem medo e te castigará essa soberba
,,	339	,, 28,	en las manos de aquellos conformes sus obras *for* ao diabo (of giving up soul)
,,	381	,, 6,	capilla *for* casa
Vol. III. ,,	41	,, 3,	al guiador de la . . . *for* a Deus
,,	126	,, 15,	*adds* si dios quisiere *after* Esse dia
,,	132	,, 5,	verdadera prueba *for* da derradeira unção. This is significant.
,,	233	,, 12,	muy grande *for* cousa divina
,,	313	,, 6,	en dios que lo hará *for* que ella determine (*sc.* justice and reason).
,,	385	,, 27,	*adds* nuestro señor *after* Deos.

Although the Spanish author seems to have had an objection to the words *diabo*[1] and *diabrura*, yet he retained the former in Vol. II., p. 375 and III., 263, and, indeed, in the same passage in Vol. II. translates *novo e nunca visto* by *diabólico nunca acontecido*. I do not doubt that almost all these changes were made deliberately. Assuming the Spanish to have been the original, I cannot see why Moraes should have deviated from his text, except in the case of the passage on p. 336 of Vol. II., which is quite out of keeping with the whole tone of the book.[2]

24. The attentive reader of *Palmerin* will not have failed to notice the fondness of the author for describing the devices borne on the armour and shields of the knights. In Chapter 165 six whole pages are devoted

[1] Not shared by the authors of the earlier romances *Amadís*, *Palmerin de Oliva*, *Primaleon* and *Don Polindo*.

[2] On this para., and especially this passage, see App. XII. *Don Florando*.

to this subject, and all through the work particular attention is paid to it. Why is this? I think a reason can be given, on the supposition that Moraes was the author, bnt I know of none if Ferrer or Hurtado composed the book. For it must be remembered that other tales of chivalry pay scant attention to this matter, at least the Spanish ones mostly used by the author of our story—*Amadís*, *Las Sergas*, *Primaleon*, and *Palmerin de Oliva*. The first of these mentions armorial devices only twenty-six times. In *Las Sergas* only the golden crowns of Esplandian and the crosses of the crusaders are noticed. In *Primaleon* these devices are mentioned only six times, and in *Palmerin de Oliva* nine times. In *Don Polindo*, however, they are recorded on twenty-eight occasions, of which twelve are in general tourneys. More interest is taken in this matter in romances by Portuguese writers, as arms are described in *Clarimundo* thirty-five, in the *Memorial das Proezas* sixteen, and in *Don Florando* fifty-nine times. The reason why Moraes should dilate on such a theme was this. In the time of D. Manuel (1495-1521) a bad habit existed in Portugal of persons who had no right to armorial bearings assuming them, or appropriating those which did not belong to them. To remedy this the king, in 1512, issued an *Ordinance*, dated July 18, in which pains and penalties were decreed for the improper use of arms.[1]

[1] *Archivo Heraldico Genealogico*, by the Viscount Sanches de Baêna, pp. XIV., XV. and XXVIII. This *Ordinance* would seem to have been repeated, as in the *Ordenações de D. Manuel*, printed in Seville, in 1539, by Juan Cronberger, under Titulo XXXVII. of Book II., we find the following: "Da pena que aueram os que trouxerem as armas; que lhe nam pertemçem E dos que tomam dom: ou apelidos de linhagẽs: non lhes pertençendo. E dos que se nomeam por fidalguos nom o sendo." This *Ordinance* was directed to be published in the *Chancellaria*, March 31, 1520.

It was the same monarch who had the hall in the palace of Cintra decorated with the seventy-four coats of arms of the principal officials of his court.[1] D. João III., who succeeded his father, D. Manuel, "continued to attend scrupulously to everything which would make the Ordinance of July 18th, 1512, effective." Now, Moraes was a courtier. It was, then, only natural that in a book dedicated to the sister of his prince, and intended, no doubt, partly for his delectation, the author should devote particular attention to a subject in which his master took especial interest.

25. But if our author was fond of setting forth the armorial bearings of the knights, he was equally so, while still more diffuse, in describing the dresses of the ladies. It is clear that it is Moraes who favours us with these detailed descriptions, as the Spanish version cuts them short and horribly mutilates them. Indeed, why should Ferrer or Hurtado, both of whom had probably but rare occasion to become acquainted with the finery found in courts,

> De que se vestem as humanas rosas,
> Fazendo-se por arte mais formosas,

devote time and valuable space to such folly? But this subject would have much attraction for Moraes, the *namorado*, who had spent so much of his time in the courts of France[2] and Portugal. And if he

[1] Damião de Goes, *Chronica do . Rei D. Emanuel*, Part IV., Chapter 86, p. 654, and *Archivo Her. Gen.*, p. xiv., xv.

[2] See page 39. As regards the attention paid by Francis I. to the attire of the ladies of his court, Bouchot, *Les Femmes de Brantôme* (p 71), may be consulted. It would seem to have been part of the duty of ambassadors to report on the dresses worn by the principal persons in any ceremony. Both the agent and the ambassador of Este sent long accounts of the dresses at the marriage of "Gratiamar" (*supra* p. 175) and Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy in 1559. The former dilates

wrote about heraldry to please the king, he could not do less than describe the ladies' costumes to please D. Maria. When, however, he tells us that the dresses were after the fashion of Hespanha, Greece, or Turkey, or in the French or English style, we may be excused for declining to accept his statements without corroboration. I shall give a few examples of such descriptions, both in Portuguese and Spanish, as I think an examination of these passages will leave no doubt that the former is the original. The first is taken from Vol. II. (p. 78), and refers to Targiana, daughter of the Grand Turk :—

Targiana se vestiu uma roupa inteira com mangas a guisa de Turquia de setim negro, forrada de tela d'ouro com golpes nos lugares onde pareciam mais necessarios e podiam dar mais lustro, broslada por todolos cabos e roda d'umas trepas d'ouro de martelo feitas á maneira de folhagem, semeados por ellas alguns robins e diamantes, postos a compasso. Sobre os hombros um collar, que os occupava, tambem de pedraria de tanta valia, que a muita sua o fazia não ter preço. A cabeça trazia sem

Targiana sacó una ropa entera á la manera de Turquía de azetuni negro aforrada en tela de oro con golpes en los lugares que mejor parecían, bordada por toda ella unas trepas de oro de martillo hechas á manera de follages sembradas por ella muchas piedras de gran valor. Sobre los hombros un collar de pedrería de tanto valor que parecía no tener precio. La cabeza traía sin nada porque los cabellos merecían no ser ocupados ni cubiertos con otra cosa ninguna, solamente venían to-

on the vanity of the French ladies: "le damme che giuro a Dio portano robba adosso de 'stadi, et beata poi quella che ha nome di essere comparsa più concertata, et con più Zoie et con più belli uestimenti, che non darebbe come si suol dire la pace al Pappa, tanto sono vanagloriose, et tanto premono di auanzarsi l'una et l'altra non guardando a dinari doue li uenga uoglia di alcuna cosa con la quale guidichino che l'altre le debbano essere inferiore." Malaguzzi-Valeri (I), *Le Nozze del Duca Emmanuele Filiberto di Savoia con Margherita di Francia.* Documenti, p. 10. The toilets of the queen and D. Maria are described in great detail in the *Memorial das Proezas da Segunda Tavola Redonda*, Chapter XLVII, p. 334.

nada, porque os cabellos mereciam não ser occupados d'outra cousa, somente vinham tomados atraz com uma fita de preto e ouro, somettidos por dentro de maneira, que lhe dava muito ar ao rosto.

mados con un prendedero de inestimable valor.—I. cvi. 2.

This is how Mansi's attire is described. The antithetical style of Moraes will be noticed :—

Mansi, cujo era o dia, o salteou, que como fosse cheia de mais soberba e presumpção, que as outras, sahiu com mais aparato, que, além de galante, veiu rica e custosa. Bem podera pera tempo, que a calma pedia pouca roupa, vir conforme a elle. Mas qual dellas quiz nunca mostrar menos do que póde por mais razões, que tivesse pera o encobrir? Trazia sobre a camisa uma vasquinha de tafetá azul, recamado de ouro de mil laços e galanterias, muito pera vêr de dia e não pera aborrecer de noite, em cima um roupão de tela de ouro forrado de setim azul, cousa de má conversação pera tão perto da carne, de que os bocais, roda e dianteira vinham guarnecidos a duas ordens de perolas de muito preço, os cabellos enrolados na cabeça, feitos em trança com voltas de muita graça, em cima um chapéo de seda de guedelha azul; com uma pluma de ouro e negro que o fazia mais galante.—III. 158.

Mansi, cuyo era el día, o salteó, que como fuese llena de más soberbia y presunción que sus compañeras salió con más aparato, que allende de galana salió costosa. Bien pudiera para el tiempo, que la calor pedía poca ropa, salir conforme á él ¿ mas cuál dellas quiso dejar de mostrar lo que puede por más razón que tenga para encubrir lo? Traía sobre la camisa una basquiña de tafetán azul broslada con oro de mil lazos, mucho para ver de día y no para dejar de noche, encima una ropa de tela de oro aforrado en el mismo tafetán azul, los bordes y delantera guarnecidos en dos órdenes de perlas y piedras de mucho precio, los cabellos arrollados en la cabeza que le daban mucha gracia, encima un chapeo de terciopelo azul con una pluma de oro y negro que la hacía más galana.—II., xciii. 1.

Observe the difference in the final pronouns, *o* and *la*.

Of course, the fond lover describes in detail Torsi's dress :—

Não tardou muito a senhora Torsi, que veiu ao mesmo logar, conforme na tenção de suas amigas e muito differente no trajo dellas. Que como sua condição tivesse pequenos alvoroços e lhe lembrasse pouco querer ganhar lh'a vontade com galanterias, sahiu da maneira que costumava tratar-se em casa. Uma vasquinha de tafetá preto, trocelada em roda largura de quatro dedos de um torçal de seda preta, com invenções e laços tão subtis, que se podera prender com elles quem de todo estivera libre. Cubria um roupão de veludo pardo vestidas as mangas, tambem guarnecido em roda bocaes e dianteira da mesma invenção de torçal, se não quanto tinha de vantagem abotoar-se por diante com alamares de seda parda e os botões delle de ouro e preto. Na cabeça um panno rodilhado, á maneira de Hespanhol, os cabellos mettidos dentro, alguns se ficavam fóra soltos ao vento, que, meneados do ar juntamente com a belleza delles, faziam com aquella mostra tão grão impressão em quem os via, que não contentes de

No tardó mucho Torsi que vino al mismo lugar conforme con la intención de sus amigas y muy diferente en el traje dellas, que como de su condición no fuese presuntuosa y sele diese poco querer ganar las voluntades con galanías ni trajes salió de la manera que acostumbraba traerse por casa. Una basquiña de tafetán negro á la redonda atorcelado de cuatro dedos de un torçal de seda negra con unos lazos tan sotiles que se pudiera prender con ellos quien del todo estuviera libre ; cubierta una ropa de terciopelo pardo tan hermosa que no contenta con destruir la vida atormentaba el alma.—II., XCVI. I.

destruir a vida, atormentavam a alma: cubria-se por cima um panno de tafetá pardo guarnecido das galanterias de outro traje.—III., 172.

In this description of Torsi's tresses it is easy to recognize the passionate wooer. The callous Ferrer, to whom the tangles of Neaera's hair were as nothing in comparison with finishing his book on folio 132, leaves out nine lines in this place, and with them this fine passage. He was evidently one of those base lovers mentioned before on page 173, as he makes Torsi's dress, instead of her hair, "destroy life and torment the soul." Lionarda, too, wears her hair partially loose (III., 281); but of more importance to our purpose is her head-dress :—

O toucado era tambem turquesco, composto d'uma trunfa alta de seda negra, lavrada do mesmo jaez da roupa, se não quanto era de muito maior preço. Os cabellos soltos por baixo . . .

El tocado también era turquesco, compuesto de una manera alta de la misma labor de la cortapisa salvo que era guarnecido de muy más fina pedrería. II.cxiiii. 2.

Now, *trunfa* we know. It means "turban." But what possible meaning can *manera* have here?[1]

26. It is only human nature to follow the line of least resistance, and to give one's self as little trouble as one's conscience will permit. In this respect translators exhibit a good deal of human nature. I leave it to anyone who translates, if he has not to carry on a continuous struggle with laziness and slovenliness

[1] Other passages in which dress is described will be found in Vol. I., pp. 48, 79; Vol. II., pp. 89, 253, 264; and Vol. III., pp. 145, 163, 255 and 271.

taking the form of omitting or slurring what is not understood, or using the first word that suggests itself, especially if it resembles in appearance or sound the original, even if it is not the most appropriate If, then, of two versions, we find one detailed, accurate, and precise, while the other presents omissions, is inaccurate and vague, the presumption is that the latter is the translation. I think we meet one form of the slovenliness alluded to, in the Spanish use of generic for specific names. In Vol. II. we find, at pages 16 and 17, *árboles* for *alemos ;* at p. 268, for *freixos ;* at p. 315, *yerbas* for *boninas*, and *árboles* for *alemos ;* at p. 405, *arbol* for *azinhciro ;* at p. 442, *d'um carvalho* is omitted. In Vol. III., at p. 28, the Spanish has *arbol* for *freixo*, and so, too, at p. 145. *Cosa* (thingummy) is constantly used for something specifically mentioned in the Portuguese version. Thus in Vol. I., at p. 373, for *lembrança ;* in Vol. II., at p. 177, for *medos ;* at p. 279, for *gasalhado* ; at p. 355, for *flores ;* at p. 360, for *desgostos* ; and at p. 388, for *brincos* and *lembranças*. In Vol. III. it represents, at p. 35, *vaidades ;* at p. 72, *galanterias ;* at p. 127, *mimos e abastanças* and *peças ;*[1] at p. 215, *obras e manhas ;* at p. 305, *louçainha ;* and at p. 377, *peças*, *cobiça*, and *pedras*. On the other hand, we find *secretos* for the Portuguese *cousas* on p. 53 (line 10) of Vol. III. ; and it must be

[1] The *peças* of the Portuguese version is generally rendered by *joyas* in the Spanish. As, however, it is almost invariably accompanied by the words *e joias*, this translation does not seem correct. I have no doubt that the proper rendering is articles of dress. Damião de Goes tells us that D. Emanuel had so many suits that twice yearly he distributed many of silk and cloth. *Chronica do . . Rei Dom Emanuel*, Part IV., Chapter lxxxiv., p. 643. See *Las Sergas*, p. 512: "los mas ricos paños de su persona y otras muchas joyas."

[2] I mention the cases of *cosa* and *cousa* that I noticed. I paid no especial attention to the words, which occur hundreds of times in the romance.

said that Moraes is very fond of using the words *galantarias* and *invenções* in an extremely vague way. They occur in the following description of the garden of Urganda, an important passage for comparison :—

Estava feito em repartimentos, que se dividiam uns dos outros com ruas largas, tanto por compasso, que em nenhuma parte parecia que sahissem fora delle; prantados pola borda uns ulmeiros crescidos e de muita rama, todos de um tamanho e medida, e postos por ordem igual, que lhe dava muita graça. De um ao outro por todo o comprimento das ruas havia caniçadas de tantas galantarias e invenções, quantas *não pareciam possivel caber no juizo humano*; *tão novas, como se foram acabadas aquelle dia.* O chão das ruas lageado com pedras brancas e verdes á maneira de lijonjas com que ficavam mais nobres e galantes. Tantos quantos eram os repartimentos, que no jardim se faziam, tantas eram as differenças d'arvores, ervas e outras flores conformes ao lugar; que em uns havia arvoredos de troncos mui grandes, as ramas tão altas, que parecia tocar as nuvens e tão bastas, que apenas se podia andar antr'ellas, de qualidade e natureza que na maior força da calma se meneavam com vento, e o sol por antre as suas folhas

Estaba hecho en repartimientos que se apartaban unos de otros con calles largas tanto por medida y compás que en ninguna parte salía della, plantado por las orillas della unos arrayanes de mucha rama y verdes. todos de un tamaño y medida, puestos por un igual que les daba mucha gracia. De unos á otros por todo lo ancho de las calles había cañizadas tan galanas y bien puestas que *parecía no ser puestas por manos de hombres.* El suelo de las calles losadas de piedras blancas y verdes á manera de lijonjas con que quedaban mucho más galanas. Tantos cuantos eran los repartimientos del jardín, tanta diferencia había de árboles y yerbas y otras cosas conformes al lugar, que en unos había árboles de troncos muy grandes, las ramas tan altas que parecía tocar á las nuves, y tan espesas que apenas se podía andar entre ellas, de calidad y naturaleza que en la mayor fuerza de la calor se meneaban con viento y el sol entre sus hojas no tenía fuerza para impedir la sombra : con otros árboles criados para el sustentamiento

não tinha força pera impedir a sombra: em outros, outras arvores criadas pera uso da vida, de tão singulares fructas, *quanto a natureza se podia esmerar:* em outra parte flores continuas de todo o anno de tantas diversidades de côres, quantas a primavera traz comsigo, quando se mais refina. Em algum destes, campos verdes sem nenhuma outra mistura *d'uma erva baixa quasi tosada, pera alli lograr o sol, quando a humanidade o desejasse.* Em outro repartimento havia *rochas da penedia aspera e fragosa cubertas de era e outras ervas,* conforme a sua propriedade: do mais alto d'ellas desciam canos d'agua, que ao descer vinham dando de pedra em pedra, e eram compostas por tal arte, que o rugido d'agua nas pedras formava toda *quanta harmonia rouxinoes e outros passarinhos alegres podem fazer no tempo, que mais são pera escutar.* No pé da rocha todas aquellas aguas se recolhiam em tanques cercados de uma pedra cristalina lavrada de maçonaria *d'obra romana, cheia de tanta subtileza e galanteria pera dar contentamento aos olhos quanto ao juizo humano seria trabalhoso comprehender.* O que nestas cousas era mais de notar é *que nenhuma*

de la vida, de tan singulares frutas *cuanto se podía pensar.* En otra parte flores continas de todo el año de tantas diversidades de colores cuantas la primavera trae consigo cuando ella es más fresca. En algunos dellos campos verdes sin ningún otro árbol *cuajados de unas yerbas bajas:* en otra parte había unas *peñas cubiertas de yerbas* conforme á su propriedad. De lo más alto dellas descendían caños de agua que al bajar venían dando de piedra en piedra, y eran puestas por tal arte que el ruido del agua en las piedras hacía *una harmonía tan suave y dulce como cuantos cantos de pájaros puede ser en el mundo.* Al pie de las rocas todas aquellas aguas se recogían en estanques cercados de una piedra cristalina labrada de *obras romanas llena de tantas obras tan sotiles cuanto un juicio humano puede comprehender.* Y lo que más era de notar era que *estaban tan frescas que parecían entonces acabarse de obrar:* los árboles con su hoja, las flores con su flor, los campos con su gracia y verdura, las rocas con su aspereza. Y sobre todo en lugares convenientes fuentes de agua que salida dellas se sumía por caños secretos y en otros cabos tornaba á *salir á manera de plumas con tanta fuerza como le hacía*

dellas padecia corrupção, mas antes estavam no proprio ser e virtude[1] *com que as alli prantaram:* as arvores com sua folha, as flores com sua flor, os campos com sua graça e verdura, as rochas com sua aspereza e galanteria. E sobre tudo em lugares convenientes fontes d'agua clara, que sahida dellas se sumia por canos secretos, e logo tornava a *sahir por esguichos apertados com tumunha furia, como lhe fazia trazer a força, com que sahia,* cahindo em pias da mesma pedra grandes e lavradas do lavor dos tanques. Dalli se repartia aquella agua por lugares diversos, uma pera uma parte, outra por outra, toda por canos de metal postos por ordem, com que se regava geralmente todo o jardim e cada cousa sobre si. Isto não por mão de ninguem; mas a mesma ordenança dos canos hia visitando e correndo tudo. Não sem misterio se regava de contino, que esta agua era de tanta *excelencia ou a propriedade da terra o causava, que na virtude della se sustinha cada cousa sem corromper.*—II., 354.

hacer la fuerza con que venía, cayendo en pilas grandes de la manera de las otras, y labradas de las mismas labores de los estanques. De allí se partía por lugares diversas, una por una parte, y otra por otra, y todas por caños de metal puesto por orden con que se regaba generalmente todo el jardín y cada cosa por sí. Esto no por mano de ninguno, mas la misma orden de los caños lo iba regando todo. No sin misterio se regaba de contino que esta agua era de tanta *excelencia y virtud, ó la virtud de la tierra lo causaba que hacía estar todas aquellas cosas sin temor de ninguna corrupción.*—II., XXXVI., V. I.

The italics are mine. This passage is not by Ferrer. The description of the basins, beginning "No pé da rocha," may be compared with a similar one on p. 61 of the same volume,

[1] These eight words are left out in edition of 1852.

No meio della estava uma fonte á maneira de chafariz com a cercadura d'alabastro, lavrada d'obra romana, com tanta subtileza e galantarias, que seria duvida poder-se esculpir melhor em cêra.	En medio della estaba una fuente á manera de caño con la cerca de alabastro, labrada de obra romana muy sotilmente hecho.—I., ciii. 1.

27. In para. 4 the remark of Benjumea has been noticed, that the translator was so careless that in the Spanish *Palmerin* the name of the Tagus is sometimes found printed *Tejo*, as the river is called in Portugal. I find that, in those passages which occur in both versions, the Portuguese writer mentions the Tagus by name fourteen times. Four times out of these the Spanish version has simply *rio*, without any name (I. 381, II. 263, 421, III. 214). Twice it has the Spanish form *Tajo* (I. 373, 451), and in the remaining eight instances the Portuguese form *Tejo* (I. 330, 371, 446, II. 135, 191, 240, 246, 247). All these cannot be cases of misprints. The presumption is that the careless translator, in his hurry, copied the Portuguese name into his work. If an English and a German version of a book existed, and a question arose which was the original, and if in the latter we found the name of the principal river of Germany given eight times out of ten as *Rhine*, instead of *Rhein*, would not everyone hold that this fact was strong evidence of the German being a translation and not the original? Proper names are so incorrectly printed in the Spanish version that it is seldom anything can be proved from them. We are always met by the fact that the mistake may not be due to the author, but to the printer. One more name may be quoted, as it seems to me to point to the Spanish being a translation. In Vol. III., the king of Parthia, one of the allies of Albayzar, is mentioned. The Spanish call him the king *Despartia*

in the passages on pp. 298, 322, and 325, and *de Esparta* in that on p. 317. In other cases where the name occurs (pp. 362, 363), it is correctly rendered. It seems to me clear that the writer confounded Parthia with Sparta, and only later on woke up to the fact that they were not the same. Sparta (*Esperte*) is mentioned in Vol. II., pp. 44 and 52, and in Vol. III., p. 205. It is properly omitted in the Spanish in the second instance (II. 52). How did it get into the Portuguese version, if this is a translation?

28. It will be remembered that, when noticing Braga's observations concerning alleged Portuguese forms found in *Amadis of Gaul*, I said his remarks about *saudade* and *soledad* were valuable (para. 5). His argument is briefly this: the Spanish *soledad* does not express the Portuguese *saudade*; in certain passages the meaning is given by the latter, while the Spanish has the former; therefore the Spanish is a translation. The word *saudade* is a great favourite in Portugal. It is peculiar to that country and Galicia, and has no equivalent in Castilian. It is by no means easy to give its exact meaning; that has to be felt. Broadly speaking, it is "a feeling of sadness and longing," such as home-sickness or a yearning for absent friends. From *saudade* comes "the untranslateable adjective *saudoso*."[1] *Saudade* is usually rendered in Spanish by *soledad*, which, however, corresponds to the Portuguese *soledade*, and not to *saudade*. The Spanish Academy Dictionary of 1803 defines *soledad* as: "La privacion ó falta de compañía (*solitudo*). El lugar desierto ó tierra no habitada (*solitudo*). Orfandad, ó falta de alguna persona de cariño, ó que puede tener influxo en

[1] Bouterwek, *History of Spanish and Portuguese Literature*, II., 29 (note). Ed. 1846..

el alivio ó consuelo; y en este sentido se llama así por excelencia la que tuvo nuestra Señora en la muerte de su hijo santísimo (*solitudo, orbitas*)." This definition, down to *consuelo*, is that given by D. Roque Barcia in his *Diccionario General Etimológico de la Lengua Española*, 1880-3, and by D. Vicente Salvá in his edition of the Academy Dictionary (*Nuevo Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana*, 1846). In Pineda's *Spanish-English and English-Spanish Dictionary* (1740) *soledad* is rendered by "solitude," "solitariness," "loneliness." It is clear that this is a very different thing from *saudade*. In fact, *soledad* would seem to be one of the causes of *saudade*. From *soledad* (being alone) springs *saudade* (the feeling of loneliness and longing). Lang (*Cancioneiro Gallego-Castelhano*, p. 200) says: "There are cases in which the Castilian *soledad* appears to have a sense kindred to that of the Portuguese *soedade, saudade* . . . but there is no sufficient reason to consider *soledad* in Castilian the equivalent of the Portuguese term. . . . The sense of *soledad* is entirely that of the modern Portuguese *solidão, soidão, soledade*."[1] The value of *saudade* as a shibboleth is easily seen. Being a favourite word in Portugal, it is sure to occur many times in a long Portuguese work. The Spaniards, having no exact equivalent, have to express it by a paraphrase or some word of approximate meaning, and in the long run are very likely to go wrong. This is exactly what has happened in the case of *Palmerin of England*. I have noticed the word fifty-seven times in the Portuguese version. Three times out of these it is omitted in the Spanish (II. 397, III. 356, 381). It

[1] Definitions of *saudade* will be found in the *Leal Conselheiro* of Dom Duarte, King of Portugal (edited by J. I. Roquete Paris, 1842) pp. 150-152.

is represented once each by *alegría* (I. 14), *cuidado* (I. 30), *gozo* (II. 300), *soledad y deseo* (III. 242); twice by *suavidad* (I. 58, 91); four times by *deleite* (I. 351, 396, II. 247, III. 25); seven times by *deseo* (I. 18, II. 135, 139, 162, III. 219, 308, 352), and in the remaining cases by *soledad*.[1] All these words: *alegría, gozo, suavidad, deleite, deseo*, and *soledad*, have their Portuguese equivalents—*alegria, gozo, suavidade, deleite, desejo* and *soledade*, and if the Portuguese version were a translation from the Spanish, it would have been easier and more natural to use these exact equivalents than to mistranslate by adopting *saudade*. *Alegría*, with which this word on page 14, Vol. I., is rendered, seems to me utterly wrong. D. Duardos had passed almost all the night awake thinking of Flérida's distress at his disappearance. Next day he came to a beautiful landscape, with birds singing in the trees, and was thereby reminded of the circumstances connected with his wooing of Flérida in the garden of the emperor Palmerin. Then the two versions proceed thus:

E com cuidar nisto lhe fazia nova saudade. Caminhou polo rio abaixo, tão trasportado e esquecido de	Y como pensar en esto le trujese nueva alegría, caminó por el rio abajo tan trasportado y desacordado

[1] I. 22, 24, 38, 46, 50, 51, 64, 104, 109, 129, 174, 178, 179, 271, 274, 277, 313, 314, 336, 437, 462. II. 137, 191, 240, 323, 348, 458. III. 12, 44, 85, 160, 188, 217, 278, 354, 372, 377.

I have found *soledad* thirty times in *Amadís*, three in *Las Sergas*, fifteen times in *Palmerin de Oliva*, nine times in *Primaleon*, four times in *Don Polindo*, and twenty-seven in *Don Florando*, which is by a Portuguese. In *Clarimundo* I noticed *saudade* eighteen and *saudoso* ten times, and in the *Memorial das Proezas* twenty-eight and twelve times respectively. The frequent occurrence of *soledad* in *Palmeirim* compared with its rareness in the Spanish romances (even if we include in them *Amadís*, which is in dispute, and is much longer than *Palmerin*), points to a Portuguese origin of our story. *Cuita* is sometimes found in Spanish romances where the Portuguese would use *saudade*.

si, que não tinha acordo, nem olhos, pera lograr o contentamento daquelle valle.	de sí que no tenía memoria para gozar el deleite de tal valle.—I. I. v. I.

Now, *alegría* fits in neither with what goes before, his anxiety for Flérida, which must have been reawakened when the trees and the birds recalled the scenes in the garden, nor with what follows after, his being so rapt and forgetful that he could not enjoy the charm of the valley. At page 91 we have a very similar passage (already quoted), but Vernao is the hero, not D. Duardos. He, too, passed a restless night, thinking of Basilia. Next day the birds awoke him with their songs :—

Vernao que estava transportado e envolto na saudade, que aquella musica lhe fazia, teve-a tamanha da lembrança de sua senhora, que começou dizer palavras tão namoradas em si como então trazia a vontade com que as dizia.	Vernao que estaba trasportado y envuelto en la suavidad que aquella música le hacía tuvo tamaña templança de su señora que comenzó á decir palabras tan enamoradas en sí como entonces traía los pensamientos las cuales decía.—I. xvii. v. i.

The Portuguese is clear, but what the Spanish means by the song of the birds causing *suavidad* is difficult to see. In my opinion, the translator put down *suavidad* on account of its resemblance in form to *saudade*, just as he wrote *templança* (templanza) for *lembrança*. On page 396, Vol. I., Palmerin alights to rest at a certain place, because it was so made as to cause *saudade* to him who had not his heart free or had reason to feel it (*saudade*). Here the Spanish translates *deleite*. Such was the delight Palmerin felt that he nearly died of

trouble and grief.[1] Again, thinking he is going to die, and speaking of the troubles his love had caused him, he says :—

Levarei saudade de meus males, que me traziam contente, e com a lembrança de os perder sentirei muito mais mal.—II. 300.	Llevaré gozo de mis males que me traigan contento, y con acordarme que los perdí sentiré más mal. II., XXV. 2.

The Portuguese aptly expresses what is meant ; the Spanish does not. *Gozo* seems inappropriate here when speaking of something that has been lost. Longing regret is the correct idea.

The adjective *saudoso* occurs six times : I. 12, 373, 396, 413, 451, and II. 176. At I. 413, the Spanish has *deseoso*, in the other cases the proper form of the word *deleitoso*. This does not seem to give the correct meaning of the passage on p. 373 of Vol. I. Palmerin finds himself at the side of the Tagus,

Parecendo-lhe a mansidão de suas aguas cousa tão saudosa como na verdade o ellas eram pera quem a vontade em alguma lembrança tivesse occupada.	Pareciéndole la mansedumbre de sus aguas cosa tan deleitosa como ellas lo son para quien la memoria en alguna cosa tuviese ocupada. I., lxx. v. 2.

From the clause from "como" to the end, it is clear that something more than merely "delightful" is implied. In all cases it is easily seen from the context that the Portuguese has got exactly the right words in *saudade* and *saudoso*, while the Spanish substitutes do not express the whole of what is needed ; though it is rarely possible to say that they are absolutely wrong,

[1] The words in this passage, "só as forças de um delicado parecer," may be compared with "Delicadas são as forças de uma mulher, mas tamanha força tiveram as mostras da senhora Torsi," in the *Desculpa*, p. 45.

because what they mean, with much more, is included in the Portuguese words.

29. It only remains now to consider a few isolated passages which point to the Portuguese version being the original.

(*a*)—The first is in Vol. I., p 40, where the House of Sadness is described. The rooms were covered with pictures showing the tragic ends of lovers.[1] Among others "o desastrado fim de Tisbe e Piramo se via: e None mil magoas ao pé d'um crescido alemo comsigo só passava: Fliomena tambem nos louvores que fazia mostrava sua pena." Who was None? The "very tragical mirth" makes us think of "Ninny's tomb," but Ninus does not appear to have lamented at the foot of a large poplar. Southey seems not to have liked the passage, for he skipped it. Here, as frequently, Garay de Monglave followed Southey. Ferrer, in his Prologues, shows an extensive acquaintance with classical names, so he ought to be able to help us; but though, less wise than others, he is not silent, all he gives us is the following truly wonderful sentence: (alli se hallara la hystoria de Ero y Leandro) allauase el desastrado fin de tisbe e piramo hendo mil lastimas al pie de vn crecido alamo: consigo pasaua filomena tãbiẽ en lauores q̃ hazia mostraua su pena" (I. VII. 2). This, besides being downright nonsense, does not contain the slightest mention of None. How could Moraes, who

[1] Moraes probably took the idea of these pictures from *Clarimundo*: "Na outra (*sc.* parede) defronte desta estavão todolos namorados, que neste mundo leixárão de si memoria, padecendo os males que em vida soffrêrão." Book II., Chapter XXXVI., p. 330. The lovers mentioned by João de Barros are Pyramus and Thisbe, Narcissus and Leander. Chaucer, in *The Parlement of Foules* (line 284 *et seq.*), has a somewhat similar description.

contents himself in his Dedication with a modest reference to Strabo, have constructed his harmonious periods from this rubbish, and have discovered None in it? The real fact is that the Portuguese is the original, and the Spanish translator could make nothing out of None, though he, with the help of the editor Ferrer, who professes to quote Ovid, might have known from him that the name stood for Oenone. The *Heroidum Epistolae* (V. *Oenone Paridi*) explain the passage. In lines 25 to 28 the poplar is mentioned:—

> Populus est (memini) fluviali consita ripa:
> Est in qua nostri littera scripta memor.[1]
> Popule vive precor; quae consita margine ripae,
> Hoc in rugoso cortice carmen habes.

This Epistle was translated into Portuguese verse by Joam Rroiz de Luçena, and in this dress will be found in the *Cancioneiro de Resende*,[2] first published in 1516. The following verse:—

> D'um alemo sou acordada,
> qu'esta apar d'uuma rribeyra,
> en o qual esta notada
> huuma letra, bem lembrada
> de mym ja na derradeyra.
> E assy como vão creçendo
> seus troncos grandes erguidos,
> bem assy ho vão fazendo
> meus nomes, juos erguendo
> em meus titolos creçidos.

[1] In the sixteenth century these lines were apparently accepted as genuine. I quote from a Paris edition of 1541, which issued when Moraes was in France.

[2] E. H. v. Kausler, *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. XVII. (II. of *Cancioneiro*), p. 557. Ovid's *Epistles* were among the books D. João III. studied when a boy.—Andrade, *Chronica* I., p. 8.

may be compared with a passage in *Palmeirim* (I. 452), where mention is made of Floramão and his *vilancetes*: "cortando as lettras nos mesmos troncos, . . . as quaes depois duraram muito tempo, crescendo a compasso com os alamos, em que estavam escriptas," and a similar one in Vol. II., p. 247.[1]

(*b*)—Let us now proceed to another classical allusion. On p. 228 of Vol. I., the device on the shield of Tenebror is described. The Spanish version (I. xlv. 2.) says it was the horse of Troy, the Portuguese has the Ilium (*Yllion*) of Troy. Which is more likely to be the original? Suppose the Spanish were, would not Moraes, who was able to evolve Oenone from the Spanish sentence just considered, have sufficient classical knowledge to have heard of the horse of Troy? And if so, why should he go out of his way to substitute Ilium for horse? But, if the Portuguese were the original, the translator, or, more probably, the editor Ferrer (who, though he glibly talks of a multitude of authors, most likely knew nothing more of them than their names, and those got by the plan Cervantes recommended later on in the Prologue to *Don Quixote*), coming on the term "Ilium of Troy," would not know what it meant. If he had ever heard of Ilium, it would have been as a synonym for Troy. He would, then, think there was some mistake, and, to be on the safe side, put down "horse," not knowing that the "Ilium of Troy" meant the citadel of Troy. There is another difference between the two versions in respect of the arms of Tenebror. The Portuguese speaks of golden "poppies" (*papóulas*) the Spanish of golden "pigeons," or "doves" (*palo-*

[1] In Portugal, in the middle of the sixteenth century, it was a custom to cut verses in trees. See Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos, *A Infanta D. Maria de Portugal*, p. 55.

mas). Either may be right.[1] At this point in the story the arms of many knights are described. The Spanish version is considerably less complete than the Portuguese. There is another classical allusion, also connected with the device on a shield, in Vol. III., p. 81. The Portuguese says a knight bore on his shield "on a silver field the God Mars surrounded by victories over (*de*) other Gods." The Spanish (II. lxxvi. v. 2) has: "on the azure shield the God most full of victory over other Gods" (*en el escudo azul el Dios mas lleno de vitoria de otros Dioses*). This may be a misprint, but it is more probable that the Spaniard did not understand the Portuguese and put down what seemed to himself better sense. Both versions speak of the Stygian ferry-man as Acheron, instead of Charon (I. 362).

(*c*)—These are all the classical references that need consideration, but we have not yet done with the heraldry. Polinardo is said (I. 131) to have appeared "armado de armas de roxo e pardo com pombas de prata," that is, with "silver doves." Instead of this the

[1] In this passage relating to Tenebror we have several echoes of *Clarimundo*. First, there is a Tenebror in that romance, so called because he was born in a dungeon (I. XXIX., p. 122). Secondly, "poppies on gold" are mentioned as a device (III. XXII., p. 477). Thirdly, Ilium (Ilič) is spoken of as the citadel (*castello*) of a famous city called Troya, founded near the Tagus by Trojans (III. IV., p. 401). Tenebror is not the only name in *Clarimundo* reproduced exactly, or with a very slight change, in *Palmeirim*. Others are:—

Bracalar (giant)	I. XXXII., p. 132;	Bracollão (giant)	II, 220.
Arlião (count)	II. XXIII., p. 258;	Arlao (count)	I. 310.
Pindaro	II. XXVI., p. 284;	Pandaro;	I. 57.
Calfurno	II. XXXIV., p. 322;	Calfurnio	I. 153.
Lago sem Fundo	II. XXXIV., p. 324;	Lago sem Fundo	I. 103.
Carlonte (duke)	II. XXXVI., p. 331;	Carlonte (son of duke)	I. 287.

Considering the huge number of names in romances of chivalry, it is remarkable how seldom the same name is found in different stories, when not referring to the same person. Pindaro and Pandaro are, probably, taken from the Aeneid (IX 735-36):—

Tum Pandarus ingens
Emicat.

Spanish (I. XXV. 2) has "golden apples" (*mançanas de oro*). Which is the original? Evidently the Portuguese. Suppose the Spanish were the original, why should Moraes substitute *pombas* for *mançanas*, instead of translating *maçãs*, or *maçans?* But if the Portuguese was the original, the Spanish translator, with his lamentable carelessness, might very well in his hurry mistake *pombas* for *pomas* (apples) and translate accordingly.[1]

(*d*)—The same word (*mançana* or *manzana*) occurs in another passage deserving of mention. This is in the description of Floriano's fight with the giant Calfurnio (I. 158). Floriano has lost the use of his shield, and the giant strikes at him with his mace:—

O do Salvage, não tendo outro remedio se emparou com a espada, e não podendo suster a força do golpe, foi feita em dous pedaços, e a maça cortada por meio da aste, em que andava mettida: e o dianteiro alcançou ainda por cima da cabeça com tamanha pancada, que lhe aballou o elmo por algumas partes e esteve pera caír.	Él del Salvage no teniendo tiempo para apartarse se amparó con el espada, que no pudiendo sostener la fuerza del golpe fué hecha la manzana en dos pedazos cortada por medio de la asta donde andaba metida, y lo delantero le alcanzó por cima de la cabeza con tamaño golpe que le aballó el yelmo y estuvo por caer. I. XXX. 2.

The Portuguese is quite clear. The knight received the blow on his sword, which was broken in two, but cut through the handle of the mace (which seems to have had an iron head studded with spikes, p. 156), and the front part of the mace hit Floriano on the head. The Spanish, however, has that the pommel (*manzana*) of the sword was broken in two, and through

[1] See App. XII., *Don Florando*.

the middle of the handle in which it was fastened, and says nothing about the mace. It would, then, appear that it was part of Floriano's sword that struck him on the head. It is unintelligible how the pommel of the sword could be broken in two in the way described. And if it had been so broken, how could Floriano have used his sword afterwards with the pommel in two, and with his hand in such a state as it must have been in after the blow of the giant's iron-spiked mace? If it is urged that *manzana* is a misprint for *maça* (*maza*), and refers to the giant's weapon, we ask for some explanation of the subsequent passage (p. 159) where it is said Floriano wounded him so often with the piece of his sword which he had left (*com o pedaço, que da sua lhe ficára, lhe deu tantas feridas*[1]), as no mention of his sword having been broken has been made if *manzana* does not refer to it. What has happened is evident. The Spanish translator has carelessly confounded the Portuguese *maça*, a mace, with *maçã*, the pommel of a sword, and in consequence has produced the nonsense we are now considering.

(*e*)—In another battle we have another absurdity. The Portuguese version (II. 126) tells how Palmeirim had one of his reins (*redeas*) broken, in consequence of which his horse ran away with him. Ferrer (for his hand is clearly visible in this passage) says the horse had one of its legs (*piernas*) broken, in consequence of which it ran away! (I. cxv. v. 1). It is, no doubt, possible that *piernas* is a misprint for *riendas*, though this is unlikely, as the Spanish is careful to put *el caballo del caballero* for the Portuguese *o cavalleiro*.

[1] "Con el pedazo que de la suya quedara le dió tantos golpes."—I. xxx., 2.

(*f*)—Palmeirim is going up a hill. The road is covered with over-arching trees (*latadas*) :—

Coberto por cima de latadas tão graciosas pera occupar a vista nellas que faziam a subida de menos trabalho.—I., 350.	Cubierto por encima de yerbas tan graciosas para ocupar la vista en ellas que hacían la subida de menos trabajo.—I., lxv. v. 2.

Why the translator used *yerbas* does not appear. Perhaps, he did not know what *latadas* meant; perhaps, he thought *yerbas* more suitable. Whatever his reason, he was clearly wrong. On page 350 of Vol. II. Palmeirim again makes this ascent :—

Caminhando á sombra daquellas fermosas latadas, que o (*i.e.*, caminho) cobria.	Caminando á sombra de aquellos hermosos árboles que le cubrían. II., XXXV. V. I.

The words *daquellas* and *de aquellos* should be noted. They refer to what had been mentioned on the former occasion. The Portuguese properly repeats *latadas*. If the Spaniard were the original author, when he thus pointedly referred to the previous passage, he would have used the same word on both occasions. But he does not. He replaces *yerbas* by *árboles*. The fact is that by the time he had come to the second passage he had forgotten what he had put in the first, and was too careless to look back; or, perhaps, the manuscript had gone to the printer and was no longer in his possession.

(*g*)—In Chapters 97 and 98 Moraes expresses himself in terms little flattering to courtiers. In one passage he says :—

E assim é bem que seja, porque neste trabalho de espirito, que com elles anda e sempre os acompanha,	Y así es bien que sea porque en este trabajo de espíritu que con ellos anda y siempre los acompãna

tenham o verdadeiro desconto das outras bonanças que comsigo tem; que de outra maneira poder-lhe-hiamos chamar não homens, mas deuses; pois a natureza os dotou tão inteiramente de bens temporaes e do serviço dos homens, que nenhuma outra cousa lhe fica em que possam conhecer a deos, se não na superioridade do principe, que os opprime a não saír tão fóra de mão como a condição os obriga.—II., 159.

tengan en verdadero descuento de los otros plazeres que reciben, y así se pueden llamar bien aventurados pues la natura los dotó tan enteramente de bienes temporales y del servicio de otros hombres que ninguna otra cosa les queda en que puedan conocerse sino en la superioridad del príncipe que los apremia á no salir fuera de quicio como la condición algunos obliga.

I., CXXII. 2.

The Portuguese is clear and reasonable. Courtiers are so well off that, if it were not for the anxiety in which they live, we might call them gods, not men; and the only thing which makes them recognize God, that is, the existence of a God, or that they and God are different, is the superiority of the prince, who bears heavily on them, so that they may not get out of hand. The Spanish "and so they may be called fortunate," for "otherwise we might call them not men, but gods," has no meaning. "Know themselves" is a poor substitute for "know (or recognise) God." Are these changes due to the same cause as those mentioned in para. 23? I do not think Ferrer had much to do with this chapter (97).

(*h*)—In the description of Arlança,[1] in the same volume, for *No concerto*, on line 3 of page 288, the Spanish (II. XXII. V. 2) gives *en la manera*, which seems wrong, on account of the repetition of *manera* in the following line. Further down it has *diziendo palabras amorosas*

[1] Farpinda, in *Clarimundo*, may have supplied the idea for Arlança.

for *affeiçoando palavras*. The translator has taken the Portuguese verb to mean "to love," instead of "to fashion." It is now written with one "f" (*afeiçoar*). *Amorosas* is here quite out of place, and there is no trace of such words in the speech as recorded. On pages 310 to 312 Arlança is again mentioned. The Spanish (II. xxvii. 2 to xxvii. v. 2) prefixes, once on each page, *la donzella* to her name. Nowhere else does this occur. It is a silly addition by Ferrer. So is that on line 17, p. 312, after *agradecer*. In this he says that Floriano, seeing Arlança *de tan buen parecer* (so good-looking), resolved, &c., while on p. 288 she is said to be ugly (*feia*); and that she was so may be gathered from pp. 289, 308, and 413. However, she is said to be *airosa* (p. 288), and to have a *singular graça e ar* (p. 289), and it is to this, perhaps, the *buen parecer* refers. But more probably Ferrer inserted the passage without reflecting on what went before or followed after.[1]

(*i*)—On p. 316 (line 7) the Portuguese has "o que de vós fôr vencido podereis levar a sua:" that is, you may take the damsel of him who is conquered by you. The Spanish translator has misunderstood the passage, taking *de* to mean "of," instead of "by," and has consequently had to adopt (II. xxviii. v. 1) the following awkward reading: "y él que de voso-

[1] The Spanish is interesting as showing the author's style, and on account of its resemblance to a passage in *Amadis of Gaul*:—

Este fué porque viendo la de tan buen parecer en aquel punto pensó galardonarle sus buenas obras con acordarse le donde estaría bien empleada, que era en su buen amigo Dramusiando.

Cuando él lo (*a horse*) vió tan hermoso é tan guarnido sospiró, cuidando que si él estuviese en tal parte que lo podiese enviar al su leal amigo Angriote de Estravaus, que lo ficiera, que en aquel seria bien empleado.

A. de G., p. 220.

tros fuere vencido puede o vencedor llevar la suya" (he of you who is conquered, the victor can take his damsel). This does not agree so well with what follows as the Portuguese does. On the next page we have another mistranslation. Floriano has agreed to tilt with the four knights of the four ladies. One of these knights begins to make excuses. His lady says to him :—

Olhai quanto mais aquellas senhoras ficarão devendo ao seu cavalleiro, querendo só acceitar a justa com quatro, que nós outras aos quatro, que rehusam um só. —II. 317.	Mira vos cuanto aquellas señoras quedarán deviendo á su caballero que siendo solo acepta justar con cuatro: y nosotras siendo cuatro rehusan á uno solo. —II. xxviii. v. 2.

The last clause of the Spanish has no meaning, however it may be twisted.

(*j*)—On p. 341 of Vol. II. Palmeirim stops in the first chamber because the others were occupied by the damsels and matrons of Colambar,[1] weeping and wailing ("que as outras estavam povoadas de prantos e choros das donzellas e donas de Colambar.") The Spanish (II. xxxiii. v. 2) has: "que las otras estaban pobladas dellos y llenas de las dueñas y donzellas de Colambrar" (because the others were occupied by them, and full of the damsels and matrons of Colambrar). It is absolutely impossible to find out to whom the words *dellos* (by them) can refer.

(*k*)—The ambassador of the Grand Turk demands that Floriano, the Knight of the Savage, may be surrendered. Lionarda was in love with Floriano. She was present when this demand was made. The

[1] This giantess is called Colambrar in the Spanish edition and in that of 1786. In the edition of 1852 she appears as Colambar; and as Colambara in Ferrario's genealogical table (II., facing p. 362.).

Portuguese version says (II. 386): "Quem crerá que a princeza Lionarda não sentiu pedir o cavalleiro do Salvage pera ser sacrificado antre seus imigos?" (Who will believe that the princess Lionarda was not afflicted when the Knight of the Savage was demanded in order to be sacrificed among his enemies?) The Spanish verb *sentir* means "to hear," as well as "to be afflicted;" and the translator has carelessly rendered *sentiu* by *oyó* (heard), instead of by *sintió* with the meaning of "was afflicted," (II. xliii. 1.) *Oyó* has no sense whatsoever here.

(*l*)—Floriano had rejected the advances of Arlança. She sends one of her maids to him to try to overcome his resistance, or, if this was not possible, to make excuses for her, so that she might not be thought so bad as her conduct would have suggested: "e se o não poderdes vencer ao menos desculpa-me, porque não fique por tão má" (II. 405). Here, too, the Spaniard has been careless and has given us a translation which has no sense. For *não fique por tão má* (that I may not be thought—literally, may not remain for—so bad), he gives (II. xlvii. 1.) *no me queden tantos males* (I may not have—literally, there may not remain to me—so many misfortunes).

(*m*)—The king of Hespanha presents Floriano to the queen and says (II. 457): "for he is Floriano of the Desert, the Knight of the Savage, the son of D. Duardos and of the lady Flerida, your friend." The Spanish (II. lviii. 1.) has "Floriano of the Desert, who otherwise is called (*que por otro nombre se llama*) the Knight of the Savage," for the first part of this sentence. As Floriano's mother was the friend of the queen, the information conveyed in "who otherwise is called" was quite gratuitous. The reason of the

change is probably this: the translator carelessly took the Portuguese definite article *o* for the Spanish conjunction *ó* (or), and then amplified "or" into "who otherwise is called." He also omits "the lady." The Portuguese appears to me, under the circumstances, more courteous.

(*n*)—Floriano encounters a French knight, who very soon finds himself in great danger. The ladies, to save him, order him to leave the field. He makes a show of doing this against his will, and for all that (*com tudo*) does what they told him (III. 103). For *com tudo* the Spanish (II. lxxxi. 2) has: "mas como en aquel caso habían de ser obedecidas" (but as in that case they had to be obeyed), a perfectly pointless remark, very different from the sarcasm of the Portuguese. The intelligent critic will not need much time to decide which is the original.

(*o*)—Floriano finds himself after a hard day's work among the ladies. There was a vivid colour in his face, caused by his exertions and the rapture, or agitation, of finding himself amongst them—"como do trabalho do dia e alvoroço de se vêr antre ellas ficasse com uma côr viva no rosto." (III. 107). For *e alvoroço* (rapture, agitation), the Spanish (II. lxxxii. 2) reads: *y de la calor y de la verguenza* (from the heat and bashfulness). The idea of Floriano, a regular Don Juan, who had lately been wandering about with nine ladies, of whom he had still five with him, besides the four French ladies referred to in the passage, blushing out of bashfulness is highly ludicrous; for, like Don Galaor in *Amadis of Gaul* (p. 352), he was one "que no se espantaba ni turbaba en ver mujeres."

(*p*)—Torsi, addressing Floriano (III. 123), says that Latranja wishes him to do certain things, and "with

this you will, perhaps (*póde ser*), obtain some favour." He replies: "you attach a 'perhaps' (*poder ser*) to the favour"—literally, "you place my favour in 'perhaps.'" The Spanish translator has failed to notice this meaning of *poder ser* and gives us: "you place my favour in that which cannot be" (*el favor ponéis me lo en que no puede ser*), alluding evidently to the conditions of Latranja, which he goes on to explain cannot be fulfilled (II. lxxxv. v. 1). The context shows that the Portuguese is right, the certainty of the trouble and danger being contrasted with the "perhaps" of the favour.

(*q*)—At page 164 of Vol. III., we find another failure of the translator to understand the original. Floriano is making one of his love-speeches, and says he does not think it is the intention of love to do him any favour (*fazer-me favor*), "he does it to himself, as he wishes with some benefits which cost him little to soften the evils . . . (falo a si mesmo, que quer com alguns bens, que lhe custam pouco, temperar os males. . . .)." The Spanish (II., xciv, 2) has "no pienso que su intencion sea hazerme fauor hallo assi mismo que quiere con algun bien que le cuesta poco templar los males. . . ." (I find it is just that he wishes. . .). The reason of this change is easily seen. The translator, in his hurry and carelessness, has confounded the Portuguese *falo—fallo* in the edition of 1567—(*q. d. faz-lo*, he does it) with the Spanish *fallo* (*hallo*, I find).

(*r*)—Two lines on p. 189 of the same volume, "e donde d'antes se faziam alguns prestes pera justar e ganhar as donzellas, esta confiança perdida," are omitted in the Spanish (II. xcvii. 2.) Instead it gives: "dexado este proposito" (this intention being

abandoned); but it no where says what the intention was. This was stated in the part omitted. The only other supposition is that the knights ceased to try to appear well to the ladies, which is absurd.

(*s*)—The chiefs of the Turkish army, in anticipation of victory, choose the Christian ladies each likes best. The king of Caspia, we are told (III., 303), though still a youth (*mancebo*), fell so in love with Flérida that, leaving the young women (or girls, *moças*), he desired she might fall to his share. For *outras moças* the Spanish (II., cxviii. v. 1) has *todas las otras damas* (all the other ladies) missing the point completely, which is the opposition between the *old* lady, Flérida, and the *young* women, and the fact of the king, a mere youth, falling in love with the former.

(*t*)—Two giants charge each other and, as their lances fail to get a grip of the shields, they come into collision with their bodies and horses, like two towers. All four go to the ground ("se encontraram *dos corpos e cavallos, que pareciam* duas torres. Todos quatro foram ao chão," (III., 325-6). For the portion in italics the Spanish (II., cxx. v. 1) has simply *como* (like). Here two essential words, "and horses," have been left out, for without them there is no explanation of "all four." The two giants and their horses make up the four. The Spanish mentions only the giants, yet speaks of "four."

(*u*)—These are the principal isolated passages which show that the Portuguese is the original, but there are many minor ones. On page 20 of Vol. I. it is explained how Palmerin de Oliva and Trineo happened to be armed when Farnarque carried off Agriola. It was on account of a dream. The Spanish (I., ii. v. 2) gives as the reason that they were always accustomed, for

the most part, to go armed, in order to be more ready for the perils which usually occur at such festivals (*sc.*, hunting-excursions) ("que siempre acostumbraban á la mayor parte de ir armados para estar más apercebidos para los peligros que en tales fiestas suelen suceder.") This is downright folly, and is contrary to the account given in *Palmerin de Oliva* (Chapters lvi. and lvii.), which agrees in all essentials, including the dream, with the Portuguese. The substitution of *emperador* for *imperatriz* (line 11, p. 132, Vol. I.[1]) is wrong, as may be seen from what follows. So is that of *los otros mancebos* for *as outras dos mais mancebos* (line 11, p. 306, Vol. I.[2]), as the point is that Belcar was no longer young. On p. 41, Vol. II.,[3] a knight is told to tilt. For the Portuguese "he got ready" (*se fez prestes*) the Spanish has "he did so" (*lo hizo*). The context shows he did nothing of the sort. For *tantos cavalleiros*, on the next page,[4] the Spanish gives *tantas* (*sc*, so many tiltings), and is wrong, as appears from what follows. On p. 139 of the same volume, at line 13,[5] *los otros* for *Palmeirim* is wrong. *Al contrario* for *outra* (l. 8, p. 236, Vol. II.[6]) is ludicrous, if the character of Floriano is considered. *Codos* for *degraos* (Vol. II., p. 359[7]) is wrong, as may be seen from the following page, where the Spanish has *poyos* for *degraos*. The addition of the word *muy* before *differentes* (l. 12, p. 77, vol. III.) gives quite a wrong meaning to the sentence.[9]

[1] In the Spanish version: I. xxv., v. I.
[2] *Ib.*, I. lvi., v. 2.
[3] *Ib.*, I. xcix., 1.
[4] *Ib.*, I. xcix., 2.
[5] *Ib.*, I. cxviii., 1.
[6] *Ib.*, II, xii., 2.
[7] *Ib.*, II. xxxvii., v. 1.
[8] *Ib.*, II. lxxv, v. 2.
[9] From among the absurdities in the Spanish *Palmerin*, the following may also be mentioned: *hombre alguno* for *homem de bem* (II. xxi. v. 2.; II., 284); *enxugar la silla* for *se enxugar* (II. xxiiii. v. 2.; II,, 297); *sierpe* for *touro* (II. cxxx. 1.; III. 369). The simile of the bull is frequent in the Spanish and Portuguese writers of the age.

30. The object of this chapter has been to show, by a comparison of the two versions, that the Portuguese is the original. Mendes and Gayangos made no such comparison (para. 1). Benjumea did, but not in sufficient detail. His principal points are that the Spanish publisher (*editor*) wanted to issue the book in two nearly equal volumes, and, to effect this, made an arbitrary and unnatural division of its parts, necessitating a needless recapitulation and a change in their headings, while the Portuguese division follows naturally from the tenor of the story; that the style of the latter version is good, of the Spanish bad; and, moreover, that the Spanish work is full of Portuguese peculiarities (*lusismos*), and exhibits the syntactical structure of the Portuguese language. He also quotes two passages for purpose of comparison. The value of these remarks is considered, and regret is expressed that he has not given samples of the *lusismos*, as a few such, clearly established, would decide the question. I fully agree with him that the style of much of the Spanish version is very bad, while that of the Portuguese is excellent, and quote the remark of Braunfels in the case of *Amadis of Gaul* as an argument in favour of Moraes being the original composer, noting how much more difficult a good style is in a translation than in an original work (paras. 2 to 7).

Some account of the Toledan edition is given, and the extraordinary inaccuracy of the numbering of the chapters and folios is noted (para. 8).

Two incidents are described at length, and very differently, in the two versions. There are minor differences, besides omissions and additions. Specimens of these are given. Minor differences vary greatly in number on different pages (para. 9).

Major omissions in the Spanish version increase as we get on in the book, till, towards the end, whole pages are left out. This is probably due to an error of the editor in calculating the space required, and the desire to have two volumes of nearly equal length. It is more likely that, approaching the end, a translator would omit, than that he would add, long passages. This raises a presumption that the Spanish is the translation (para. 10).

The additions in this version are considered. Some are absurd or wrong, but others are proper (para. 11).

A few of the major omissions are examined, and it is shown that some of the missing passages are essential; from which it may be inferred that they have been left out in the Spanish, and not added in the Portuguese version. The occasional folly and literary worthlessness of the former text are noticed, and it is asked if this is the pure and chaste style that Gayangos and Vedia attribute to Hurtado. There are about forty pages towards the end of the Portuguese work which are not found in the Spanish. They are quite equal in merit to the rest. From this the conclusion is drawn that Moraes was quite capable of composing *Palmeirim*, and that he was more likely to write an original work than to make an elegant translation of a bad original, and falsely claim as his own what belonged to another. There is nothing to show the Spanish writer, or writers, could have composed the work,[1] while we know that they could not clothe the matter in decent Castilian (paras. 12 to 16).

Some minor omissions in the Spanish version, presenting points of interest, are noted (para. 17).

[1] We may go further, and say that the Spanish version of the first incident mentioned in para. 9 shows that the author of it could not have composed our romance.

This version is the production of at least two writers, one who could think and express himself clearly, and another who could not do so. Specimens of the work of the former are given (para. 18); and of the latter, who, I think, was Ferrer (para. 19).

He is fond of superlatives and exaggerations, mark of a half-educated man (para. 20).

Certain changes are noticed in the Spanish which seem to be meant for corrections of mistakes, real or imaginary, in the Portuguese (para. 21).

The Spanish author uses expletives not found in the Portuguese version (para. 22).

Certain changes in the Spanish seem due to Ferrer's piety, or to the indirect influence of the Inquisition (para. 23).

The author was fond of describing armorial bearings. There was a reason why Moraes should have paid attention to this matter (para. 24).

Similarly, he goes into great detail about dress, especially that of ladies. This can be explained if Moraes was the author (para. 25).

The Spanish version uses generic for the specific terms found in the Portuguese, a sign that it is a translation (para. 26).

The river Tagus is mentioned by name ten times in the Spanish edition. In eight instances the Portuguese form, *Tejo*, is used, and only twice the Spanish, *Tajo*. This indicates that Ferrer's book is a translation para. 27).

The rendering in the latter of the Portuguese words *saudade* and *saudoso* is considered. The result is also in favor of the Spanish being a translation (para. 28).

Many isolated passages are quoted, an examination of which leads to the same conclusion. In all these

there can be no reasonable doubt that the Portuguese is right and the Spanish wrong. We have cases where the Spanish is nonsense or incorrect; cases where the Portuguese word has been mistaken for some other resembling it, or, having two meanings, has been given the wrong one; cases where the Spanish has missed the point of the passage; cases where it has omitted words, the necessity for which appears from the context, or has added a word of which there is no explanation. The most important of these passages are those marked (*a*), (*c*), (*d*), (*f*), (*k*), (*p*), (*q*), and (*t*), and one given on p. 304 (paras. 29 and 20).

CHAPTER IX.

MISCELLANEOUS ARGUMENTS.

1. Alleged silence of claimants on appearance of rival version, p. 346—2. Argument from the ages of Hurtado and Moraes, p. 347—3. Early mention of a Spanish translation, p. 349—4. Reason for change in tone of the romance as regards women, p. 350—5. Translation into Spanish more likely than into Portuguese, p. 351—6. Summing up of Chapter, p. 351.

1. Mendes has used an argument which does not seem to me of much weight, though also adopted in the *Versuch* (p. 46). He asks (*Opusculo*, p. 13) by what inconceivable carelessness did Hurtado, who lived and published books after 1567, not dispute the priority of Moraes. When D. João III. gave the latter and his descendants the appellative of *Moraes Palmeirim*[1] was a good occasion to do so. But nothing of the sort occurred. To this Gayangos replies (*Rev. Esp.*, p. 92-3) that Hurtado need not have known of the Evora edition of 1567; that as he had concealed his name in several works he had no right to complain; and that books of chivalry were not so esteemed by the learned that a man of mature age, and a clergyman, should feel bound to claim them as his. It appears to me that the argument of Mendes could be used against Moraes as well as against Hurtado. Why did not Moraes object when Ferrer-Hurtado stole his work? In both cases the reply is the same. There is no evidence that the aggrieved author did not complain. The assertion by Mendes is no proof. All Hurtado or Moraes could have done, as regards the general public,

[1] As already stated, there is no evidence of any such gift (*supra*, p. 40.)

would have been to refer to the matter in some subsequent prologue relating to the work, as, in similar cases, Cervantes did in the second part of *Don Quixote*, and Diego Gracian de Aldrete in his *Morales de Plutarco*. But the Spanish *Palmerin* never reached a second edition, as far as we know; and the preliminary leaves of the 1567 edition of *Palmeirim* are missing, so we are not aware of what Moraes may have said in them.

2. A strong argument against the authorship of Hurtado, and in favour of that of Moraes, is afforded by their ages. This has already been briefly noticed (Chapter I., para. 30). It was shown that Hurtado stated in 1582 that he then counted ten lustres, and that, allowing for reasonable inaccuracy, he was born in 1530. As the first volume of *Palmerin* was not completely printed till July 1547, he cannot have been more than seventeen years and a half old when it appeared, even assuming that his birth took place in January 1530. As another year elapsed before the second volume was published, it is a favourable assumption for Hurtado that he must have had, at least, the first volume written by the middle of 1546, or when he was not more than sixteen and a half years of age. Moraes at that time was probably nearer fifty than forty. It was about the year 1541 that he fell in love with Torsi. In the *Desculpa* (p. 39) he said this occurred at an age already removed from idle thoughts (*em idade já desviada de pensamentos ociosos*); that is, he must have reached middle age, or about forty at least. In any case, he was then a grown-up man with his youth behind him, and it is at this time that he is said to have composed *Palmeirim*. Now, this work is one of great merit. Among romances of chivalry it disputes the supremacy with *Amadis of*

Gaul. Let the reader of it say whether it is more likely such a work would be written by a boy, or by a man of mature years. Barrera saw the difficulty presented by the youth of Hurtado and says (*Catálogo*, p. 190):—"Such cases of literary precocity are frequent, and when it is a question of works of the antique literature (*género*) of chivalry, in which the imagination soars (*vuela*) and raves at will, they must appear less strange. We have repeated instances of the happy invention of Luis Hurtado of Toledo, in his unchallenged works." This is quite a mistake. Such cases of precocity are exceedingly rare, and when met, are found generally in poetical compositions, and not in prose.[1] Moreover, Barrera had a very wrong idea of *Palmerin* if he thought it was a work in which a soaring delirious imagination is supreme. The contrary is the case. It is because the imagination is kept within due limits, while free scope is given to the reflective faculty, that *Palmerin* is a work of such merit and is distinguished from the ordinary run of chivalrous romances. The book is full of remarks showing an intimate acquaintance with human nature, an acquaintaince much more likely to be acquired from experience of life than from books, and which was natural in a man of mature age like Moraes, who could say:—

> Much have I seen and known; cities of men
> And manners, climates, councils, governments,

[1] As instances of precocity the authoress of the *Versuch* (p. 60), note 2.) cites Alonso de Villegas, author of the *Comedia Selvagia*, and the composer of the *Picara Justina*. To these may be added Jerónimo de Huerta, who is said to have written *Florando de Castilla* when fifteen years old (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.* XXXVI., p. XVIII.), and Nicolas de Montreux, who, according to Graesse (*Trésor* I. 94), was only fifteen or sixteen years of age when he published the sixteenth book of *Amadis*. Before accepting the ages given, it would be necessary to carefully examine the evidence on which they are based. Graesse seems to be quoting a work of Lenglet de Fresnoy, but I could not find any mention in it of the age of Montreux.

and exceedingly unnatural in a boy, only half way through his teens, and who had probably spent all his days in Toledo, and whom another quotation would fit better: "Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits." Speaking of the author of our romance, Southey says (*Palmerin of England*, I. xxxix.): "On the other hand, all his characters speak with a courtliness and propriety, of which there is perhaps no other example in romance. If he has not succeeded in his perfect knight, he has in his perfect emperor." And Cervantes says: "the language is polished and clear, studying and observing the style befitting the speaker with propriety and judgment" (*Don Quixote*, I. VI., Ormsby's translation). And we are asked to believe that all this courtly and appropriate language is the work of a boy, the son of a poor shopkeeper in Toledo, and to reject the claim of the man who had spent much of his life in courts, in the society of nobles and royalty. I do not say that it is absolutely impossible that a lad under seventeen should write *Palmerin*, but I do say that it is almost impossible, and fully agree with Benjumea, who, considering the point, says: "the writer who at that age had written such a poem, would, as time went by, and he gained experience with years, have been a marvel" (*Discurso*, p. 65). And Luis Hurtado was no marvel. Verses which are admittedly his sufficiently prove this. As to the "happy invention" of Luis Hurtado, of which Barrera speaks, some specimens of it would be acceptable. A singular lack of originality seems rather his characteristic. It is as continuer, translator and imitator of other men's works that he is known.

3. Innocencio (Vol. IX. p. 350) supplies direct evidence that it was believed by some in the sixteenth

century that *Palmeirim* had been translated into Spanish. He quotes from a letter by Simão Lopes, translator of the *Flos Sanctorum* of Alonso de Villegas, which is to be found in the Portuguese edition of 1598 of that work, and in which it is said, referring to the *Palmeirim* of Francisco de Moraes: "This was afterwards (forthwith) translated into Castilian and from Castilian into Italian" (*Este se traduzio logo ẽ Castelhano, & de Castelhano em Italiano*). Innocencio notes that Villegas was a chaplain in Toledo. So was Hurtado, of whom, it will be remembered (Chapter I, p. 47), we hear last in this very year 1598. All my efforts to test this statement in Innocencio have been futile, as I have not been able to find a copy of the edition mentioned. But there is no reason to distrust him. João de Brito de Lemos, in his *Abecedario Militar* (I. X. 137. V.), quoted by the editor of 1786 in his *Advertencia*, at the end of Vol. III. of *Palmeirim*, also says that this romance was translated into Spanish. He seems to be referring to this very letter of Simão Lopes, as he uses words found in it: "Palmeirim de Inglaterra, feito por Francisco de Moraes, que na nossa linguagem . . . tanto se avantajou." Innocencio gives only one edition of the *Abecedario Militar*, that of 1631.

4. As an argument in favour of the authorship of Moraes, Benjumea (*Discurso*, Chapter XXII.) adduces the sudden change in the manner in which women are spoken of in *Palmerin*. Up to Chapter 66 (really Chapter 49, Vol. I. 305) they are portrayed in favourable colours; after that they are reviled. This change he attributes to the rejection of the author's love-suit by Torsi.[1] This argument seems to me perfectly sound.

[1] It will be noticed that this change occurs on the very page on which Miraguarda, who, I think, represents Torsi (*supra* p. 126), is first

Let us see how the champions of Ferrer-Hurtado will explain the change.

5. Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos (*Versuch*, p. 65) asks whether it is more likely that the Spaniards would translate a Portuguese work, or the Portuguese a Spanish one, and very naturally decides for the former alternative. Many Spanish works were printed in Lisbon and Evora. It would be singular if Moraes, a great patriot who, though he knew Spanish well, did not like using it, had translated *Palmerin*. Other romances as *Amadis*, *Esplandian*, *Palmerin de Oliva* and *Primaleon* were not translated into Portuguese, why, then, *Palmerin de Inglaterra?* Spanish was so well known in Portugal that there was no need of a translation.[1] On the other hand, Portuguese was little understood or read in Spain, and so a translation into Spanish would not be improbable. With all this I agree generally. But it may be asked in reply, why *Palmeirim* should be translated into Spanish, while other Portuguese romances were not translated. The explanation is, in my opinion, that the cycle of the *Palmerins* was very popular in Spain, and *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* was the only Portuguese romance belonging to it which appeared before tales of chivalry went out of fashion.

6. In short :—

mentioned. It is interesting to compare the way women are vilified in *Palmerin* (said to be by Luis Hurtado) with his dedication of *Las Trecientas*, in which he speaks of the "provecho y virtudes que en el femíneo sexo resplandecen," and of how he had to take the field against "un blasfemo varon que *contra las Damas* escribió *Trecientas coplas* . . ."—Gallardo, III., col. 250.

[1] How generally known Spanish was is shown by what Cervantes says in *Persiles y Sigismunda* (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.* I., p. 649): "en Francia ni varon ni mujer deja de aprender la lengua castellana." *Primaleon* in Spanish was exceedingly popular in Portugal (*supra*. Chap. II., paras. 19, 20).

(1)—Nothing can be presumed from the alleged silence of Ferrer, or Hurtado, or Moraes, on the appearance of the rival version, or later, as there is no proof of such silence (para. 1).

(2)—Hurtado was a boy, and Moraes a middle-aged man, when *Palmerin* appeared. It is the work of a mature mind with much experience of the world. We therefore conclude that it was not by Hurtado, but by Moraes (para. 2).

(3)—There exists a comparatively early statement by a contemporary of Hurtado that *Palmerin* was translated from Portuguese into Spanish (para. 3).

(4)—The change in tone, as regards women, in *Palmerin* is explained by an incident in the personal history of Moraes (para. 4).

(5)—It is *primâ facie* more likely that a romance would be translated from Portuguese into Spanish, than from Spanish into Portuguese (para. 5).

CHAPTER X.

SUMMING UP.

1. Epitome of Spanish case, as given by Gayangos, p. 353—2. Remarks thereon, p. 354—3. The Spanish case stated, p. 354—4. The Portuguese reply, p. 355—5. Remarks on the Acrostic, p. 357—6. Points in favour of the Portuguese claim p. 358—7. Conclusion, p. 362.

1. It now only remains to sum up what has hitherto been said. I propose first to give the epitome of the remarks of Gayangos in the *Revista Española*, as drawn up by himself. On pp. 198-9, after asking what consequence is it whether Hurtado or Moraes wrote *Palmerin*, and praising Portugal, he winds up thus :— "On this account, without denying the possibility that new investigations and discoveries may deprive Luis Hurtado of his right (without thereby strengthening that of Moraes), we venture to affirm (*asegurar*) that at this moment the question appears decided in favour of the former. The proofs of our assertion can be formulated in the following manner :—

(1)—Twenty years before *Palmerin* was known in Portugal, it appeared in Toledo, and was shortly afterwards translated into French and Italian, with this peculiarity that both versions say they have been translated from (*hechas sobre*) the *original Castilian*.

(2)—A Toledan writer, well known in his country (*patria*) by his various works in prose and verse, claims to be the author of the said work, without anyone objecting to his claim (*sin que nadie se le oponga*).

(3)—Up to 1567 the work was not printed in Portugal, and in this first edition of Evora, the author is not even named.

(4) Twenty-five years later, and when Moraes was already dead, a bookseller (*librero*) of Lisbon reprinted *Palmeirim* with a dedication by Moraes (*aquel*) to the Infanta Doña Maria, a dedication in which just as little is it said in a conclusive and definite way that he, and no other, was the author of the book in question.

2. It is clear that in this passage Gayangos has confounded *proofs* with *things to be proved*, and that his epitome is merely a restatement of the Spanish case. If the four points were proved, there would be no question. Who would support the Portuguese claim, if it were proved that *Palmerin* appeared in Toledo twenty years before it was known in Portugal? We deny all four propositions, wholly or in part. The reader will note the curious assertion that, though further discoveries might deprive Hurtado of his right, they could not strengthen that of Moraes! The statement that the French and Italian translations say they were made from the *original Castilian* is incorrect. Neither says anything about *original*, and the Italian professes to be translated from the *Spanish*, not from the *Castilian*. But I object only to the word *original*.

3. Let us now come to facts. The Spanish claim is that the work was originally written in Spanish by Luis Hurtado. The Portuguese claim is that Francisco de Moraes composed it in Portuguese. In support of the Spanish case we find:—

I.—There is a Spanish edition, printed at Toledo in 1547-8.

II.—The earliest Portuguese edition we have is that of Evora, of 1567, or about twenty years later.

III.—The next Portuguese edition we have is that of 1592. In this the publisher (*livreiro*) speaks of "this second impression," and says that the author dedicated the work to D. Maria the first time (*a primeira vez*).

IV.—In 1547-8, Luis Hurtado was an author living in Toledo.

V.—At the end of the Prologue of Vol. I. of the Spanish version are found four verses of eight lines each, with the heading "The Author to the Reader." Taking the first letter of each of the first thirty-one lines, and putting together the letters so got, we have the following sentence:—*Luys Hurtado autor al lector da salud.*

From II. and III. the Spanish partizans conclude that there was no Portuguese edition prior to that of 1567; from this conclusion and I., that the Spanish edition was twenty years older than any Portuguese version; and from IV. and V., that Luis Hurtado was the author of *Palmerin of England.*

4. The Portuguese case, as I take it, admits these five propositions, but denies the conclusions drawn from them; for, as regards II. and III. we know that:—

(1)—In 1786, an old edition in Portuguese, now lost, existed. This was used by the editor of the edition of that year in preparing his work; and in consequence of its existence he called the edition of 1786 "the fourth." This editor has proved that he is trustworthy. (Chapter II).

(2)—We have a dedication of *Palmeirim de Ingla-*

terra by Moraes to D. Maria, daughter of D. Manuel and sister of D. João III. There is no doubt about the authenticity of this dedication. (*ib.*)

(3)—The existence of the dedication implies that the thing dedicated already existed. (*ib.*)

(4)—From internal evidence it is clear that the dedication was written during the life-time of D. João III. He died in 1557, ten years before the Evora edition was printed. Therefore *Palmeirim* existed in Portuguese, in print or manuscript, ten years before the Evora edition of 1567. (*ib.*)

(5)—From internal and other evidence the date of the dedication can be fixed as the first half of 1544. We conclude, then, that a Portuguese *Palmeirim* was in existence at least three years before the Spanish version was printed. (*ib.*)

(6)—We gather from the dedication that *Palmeirim* was written in France (perhaps in Paris),[1] where Moraes was in the early forties. It seems reasonable to infer that he had his book then printed abroad, and that the now missing copy, utilized in 1786, was part of an edition so printed; as, from the editor's remarks it appears that it was very worn and defective, implying great age, and that it showed signs of

[1] My opinion is that Moraes began *Palmeirim* in Portugal, and finished it in France. The reason for this view is that nearly one-quarter of the book was written before he began to speak ill of women. This change of tone was due to Torsi's rejection of his addresses. But when this happened he knew, practically, no French (*Desculpa*, p. 44). Therefore, as he was a man of considerable intellectual ability, he must have been crossed in love shortly after his arrival in France, and before he could have had time to write so much of his romance in that country.

having been printed abroad; while it is most improbable that any Portuguese edition would be so printed, except under special circumstances, such as the residence abroad of the author. (*ib.*)

(7)—When the publisher of the edition of 1592 said his was the "second impression," he may have been ignorant of the foreign edition, or may have meant his was the second edition printed in Portugal. (*ib.*). A reason for such ignorance is given in Chapter II., para. 10.

5. As regards the acrostic sentence *Luys Hurtado autor al lector da salud*, the answer is:—

(1)—This sentence does not necessarily imply that Luis Hurtado was the author (composer) of the book called *Palmerin de Inglaterra*, as it admits of three other perfectly rational interpretations. (Chapter VII.).

(2)—The heading "The Author to the Reader" was the work of the printer and editor, not of the author. The publisher was Diego Ferrer; the editor was Miguel Ferrer; the book was printed at the press where Miguel and his brother Juan were employed. Miguel distinctly claimed to be the author of the Spanish *Palmerin*, and especially in the second volume does he make this claim. But all this is entirely inconsistent with the supposition that the heading was meant to apply to Luis Hurtado. The Ferrers would not have admitted it, if they had thought it applied to him. (*ib.*).

(3)—The first four lines of the acrostic verses

show that these are not by the original composer of the work, but by an outsider. (*ib.*).

6. Having thus answered the arguments in favour of a Spanish origin of *Palmerin*, let us consider those which point to the Portuguese version as the original :—

(1)—The author speaks favorably of Portugal and the Portuguese and, in places, disparagingly of the Spaniards. (Chapter III.).

(2)—He shows minute knowledge of Portuguese topography and none of Spanish, though he has ample opportunity of exhibiting it, if he possessed it. He exhibits an acquaintance with the sea and nautical matters. (Chapter IV.).

(3)—Nearly one-twelfth of the book is taken up by the episode of the four French ladies, which has nothing to say to what goes before or follows after. There must have been some reason for the insertion of this extraneous matter. The reason is clear when we consider the account Moraes gives in the *Desculpa de uns amores* of his falling in love with Torsi, a lady of the French court. In the episode the principal of the four ladies is Torsi. That she is the same as the Torsi of the *Desculpa* is clear from a comparison of it and *Palmeirim*. In a letter written by Moraes, from Melun, dated December 10, 1541, and still in existence, two other ladies of the four are mentioned more than once. (Chapter V.).

(4)—This episode shows an intimate acquaintance with the French court, and the manners and

customs of French society. This Moraes had. Where could a boy like Hurtado obtain it? (*ib.*).

(5)—It also shows an acquaintance with little-known French family names. Moraes would know these from his long residence at the French court. It is unlikely Hurtado would know them. Some names given perfectly correctly in the Portuguese are unrecognizable in the Spanish version. (*ib.*).

(6)—For nearly three centuries no one mentioned Hurtado as author of *Palmerin*. The general opinion was that the work was of Portuguese origin. Such tradition is not to be lightly rejected. No explanation is given of how it arose or was allowed to continue, if false. (Chapter I.).

(7)—Cervantes, writing about fifty years after the book first appeared, and when, perhaps, Hurtado was still alive, gives it a Portuguese origin, and says nothing about any Spanish original, though he had special facilities for knowing whether Hurtado was the author or not. No one will deny that he was a good authority. His statement, that it was said to be by a sagacious king of Portugal (and so not by Moraes), I explain. (Chapter VI.).

(8)—A writer of about the same time as Cervantes speaks of a Castilian translation. It is true he was a Portuguese, and his evidence may be rejected on that account. But there is no good reason to do so. (Chapter IX.).

(9)—While *Palmerin* enjoyed great popularity in Portugal and some other countries, it sank

into complete oblivion in Spain, the alleged country of its birth. (Chapter VI.).

(10)—The Spanish version is not the work of one man, but of two, one of whom was half-educated and could not write respectable Spanish. This was probably Ferrer. Why did Hurtado allow him to spoil his (Hurtado's) work, for much of the version is bad, and some of it nonsense? (Chapter VII.).

(11)—The style of the Portuguese version is uniform throughout and of great excellence. The work has been always considered a classic. How could such an admirable translation be made from such a bad original? A bad translation from a good original is much more likely than a good translation from a bad original. (Chapter VIII.).

(12)—The contents of the book speak of an author of mature mind and much experience. These Moraes possessed. It is almost incredible that this could be true of Hurtado, as he must have written the work, if he was the author, when he was a boy, between sixteen and seventeen years old. (Chapter IX.).

(13)—A remarkable change occurs in *Palmerin* in the language used concerning women. The author suddenly commences to revile them. This change is explicable by Torsi's rejection of the suit of Moraes. (*ib.*).

(14)—*Primâ facie* a Spanish translation of a Portuguese original is more likely than a Portuguese translation of a Spanish original. (*ib.*).

(15)—Numerous long passages are found in the Portuguese version which are missing in the

Spanish. These omissions increase in frequency and extent as the work goes on, till towards the end several pages at a time are wanting It is more likely such passages are omitted in the latter than added in the former version. The reason of the omissions seems to be that the Spanish publisher miscalculated the size of the book, and had to excise ruthlessly in order not to exceed his space. (Chapter VIII.).

(16)—Some of the passages omitted by Ferrer are quite equal in merit to the best in the tale. Their existence in the Portuguese version and the excellence of its style show Moraes was quite capable of writing a good original work. Why, then, should he appropriate another man's labours ? (*ib.*).

(17)—A comparison of the two versions shows :—

(*a*)—Omissions of words and phrases in the Spanish, which the context proves are needed, and which are found in the Portuguese. (*ib.*)

(*b*)—Mistakes in the Spanish, which can be explained by a wrong translation for which we can see the reason. (*ib.*) Here may be mentioned the description of part of Ireland, perfectly accurate in the Portuguese, partly right, partly wrong in the Spanish version. (Chapter IV.).

(*c*)—Passages which are nonsense in the Spanish, while the Portuguese is correct. The translator did not understand them. (Chapter VIII.)

(*d*)—Wrong translation of the word *saudade*

thus perverting the sense of the passage. (*ib.*).

(*e*)—The use eight times out of ten in the Spanish version of the Portuguese name of the river Tagus, *Tejo*, instead of the Spanish *Tajo*. (*ib.*).

(*f*)—And other points set out in Chapter VIII., from which it is evident that the Portuguese is the original, and the Spanish only a translation, and, what is more, a bad translation.

7. The Portuguese case is plain and consistent throughout, and needs no explaining away of difficulties, except as regards the statement of the publisher of the edition of 1592 that his impression was the second. The Spanish is full of difficulties which require to be got over; and to support it, it is necessary to assume, if not to say, that the Portuguese witnesses are mistaken or not speaking the truth, while the documents produced in favour of Moraes are forgeries. And why should all this be done? To give by hook or by crook one particular meaning out of four rational ones to an acrostic, and thereby confer the authorship of a work on a boy, Luis Hurtado, who, as far as is known, never claimed to be the author, and in proof of whose connection with the work, either as original composer or translator, not one particle of evidence exists. A careful examination of the whole question leaves no doubt in my mind that *PALMERIN OF ENGLAND* WAS ORIGINALLY WRITTEN IN PORTUGUESE, AND THAT THE AUTHOR WAS FRANCISCO DE MORAES.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I.

TES ON THE "VERSUCH ÜBER DEN RITTERROMAN PAL-MEIRIM DE INGLATERRA VON CAROLINA MICHAËLIS DE VASCONCELLOS."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

This work appeared first in 1882, in Vol. VI. of the *itschrift für romanische Philologie*, and afterwards in a parate reprint (Halle, 1883) which I have used. It is rked by all the learning and critical acumen of its gifted thoress. Unfortunately, it is for the most part based on njumea's *Discurso*, a foundation in some places insecure. e admits that she knew the Spanish *Palmerin* only from e communications of others. From what she says and ves unsaid about Mendes and Gayangos, it seems prob-le that she had not seen the *Opusculo* nor the articles in e *Revista Española*. Some other sources of information pear also not to have been within her reach. I am debted to her work principally for bringing to my notice e letter from Moraes, given by Braga in his *Questões e* App. II.); for directing my attention to the romance *m Florando* (*see* App. XII.); and for some information out Alonso de Proaza, in consequence of which I reverted what I had originally written, and had ignorantly altered 239). I was not aware of the existence of the *rsuch* till I was copying out the last few pages of my apter VIII., and so have rarely been able to incorporate e remarks I had to make on it with the body of my work, d have had to put them mostly in this Appendix. As e articles of Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos are a critical amination of Benjumea's *Discurso*, it seldom appeared cessary to refer to them when they do not differ from at I have said. In not a few cases we use the same guments, and occasionally in almost the same terms. is is only natural when two writers examine carefully e same question and the same book. Every student of e present controversy will, of course, get the *Versuch*;

he will not regret the time spent on its perusal. The following are some remarks suggested by that work :—

1—p. 6.

Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos seems to think *Flortir* was composed in Spanish, as she says (*Versuch*, p. 2, note 2) that the original has been lost. Graesse also speaks of a Spanish original. (*Lehrbuch einer allgemeinen Literärgeschichte*, II., iii., 425). I have considered the question at some length in App. XII.

2—p. 21.

As regards the style of Moraes, see pp. 34, 35 of the *Versuch*. In her *A Infanta D. Maria de Portugal e as suas Damas* (Porto, 1902), at page 117, note 15, Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos says that, in her opinion, " não houve bom estylo em prosa portuguesa antes de Brito e frei Luis de Sousa."

3—p. 25.

The *Versuch*, pp. 62 to 64, seems to think it still doubtful whether the French and Italian translations were made from the Spanish or the Portuguese, though it holds that it was probably from the former. It approves of Southey's theory that Castilian might mean Spanish, and Spanish stand for the language of any of the writers of the peninsula. My examination shows that both translations were undoubtedly made from the Spanish Toledan edition.

4—p. 33.

This article is signed V.S., and is not by Pedro Salvá, as stated in the *Versuch*, p. 1, note 4.

5—p. 37.

The *Discurso*, as we have it, is dated 1876, and so was probably printed in that year, and not in 1877, as said in

Versuch, p. 7. A report on the MS. was, I am told, sented by Sr. L. A. Rebello da Silva to the Royal ıdemy of Sciences, under date June 28, 1869.

6—p. 37.

:n the *Frohnleichnamsspiel* (pp. 11, 12) Wolf distinctly ributes *Palmerin* to Hurtado. Braunfels is not a good :hority for the Palmerins. He calls *Palmerin de Oliva* a ıtinuation of *Primaleon!* See App. XII.

7—p. 38.

The *Versuch* (p. 17, note 2) mentions Ticknor's phrase erring to Moraes and *Palmerin of England*, "whose ɜgation that he had translated it from the French," and :s where Moraes said so. The answer is: nowhere.

8—p. 44.

The *Versuch* (p. 38) thinks that Santa Catalina was the .l printer and publisher of the Spanish *Palmerin*, but ıt on his death Diego Ferrer published the second lume at his own expense. This may be so, but there is evidence that Santa Catalina had anything to say to : work. The three Ferrers are also held to be brothers, d Salvá (y Mallen) is quoted as authority. But he says al vez."

9—p. 47.

1570, as stated on p. 54 of the *Versuch*, is not correct. e quotation from the *Teatro Pastoril*, given on p. 46 *pra*), coupled with Hurtado's literary activity, will plain why it has been said that he was a bookseller.

10—p. 60.

Benjumea's dislike to quotations, notes, and exact dates lata) is criticised in the *Versuch*, p. 39, note 2.

11—p. 71.

Of such Prologues or Dedications the *Versuch* says: ie pflegen in keinem Werke zu fehlen"—in no work are ɜy wanting. p. 40.

12—pp. 72 and 74.

It expresses astonishment that so many could have said that the edition of Evora appeared anonymously, a circumstance incapable of proof; and notices Benjumea's error about this edition being dedicated to the Archduke Albert. p. 10.

13—p. 96.

It is not clear what the authoress understood *nessas partes* to mean. I think Gayangos right. *Versuch*, p. 12 *et seq.*

14—pp. 101 and 133.

On page 14 of the *Versuch* we read: "Damit vergleiche man die Art und Weise, wie Moraes sich auf das 'zweite Buch dieser Geschichte, betitelt *Dom Duardos de Bertanha*' bezieht.[1] Mit 'dieser Geschichte' kann nur der ganze Sagenkreis der Palmerine, mit dem zweiten Buch also der Primaleon gemeint sein."

Then it is pointed out that the phrase *no segundo livro desta historia* cannot refer to *Palmerin of England* itself. This is true, (1) because there are no "Books" in *Palmerin*, but only "Parts," and (2) because the passage occurs in the second and last Part. But I cannot admit that the word *historia* refers to the whole series of Palmerins, and that the *second book* means *Primaleon*. For *Palmerin of England* is a continuation of that work. But the context, as I understand the passage, shows that *Dom Duardos de Bertanha* follows *Palmerin of England*, because Almourol marries Cardiga and is killed in *Palmerin*, but *Dom Duardos* speaks of "depois casado com Cardiga," "depois delle morto," and relates the history of their son. Neither Almourol nor Cardiga is mentioned in Delicado's edition of *Primaleon*; at least, I find no mention of them in my notes, and I do not think I could have overlooked either, as I read the book through carefully. In romances of chivalry it is obligatory to refer to some real or imaginary continuation of the work. I have no doubt that *Dom Duardos de*

[1] Bd. III S. 243 und 244: "*Desta Cardiga se conta no secundo livro desta historia, chamado dom Duardos de Bertanha*, etc."

ertanha was such a continuation *in posse*, and so, when Diogo Fernandez brought out the *Terceira Parte de Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, he made *Dom Duardos* (*deBretanha*) his hero. (See *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* III. 395 and App. XI., and the title of the Fifth and Sixth Parts of *Palmerin* in the *Bib. de Aut. Esp.* XL., p. lxxii). In the Portuguese edition of 1852 (III. 213) the father of Cardiga is called Bataru. (See also *Versuch*, p. 27, and Benjumea's *Discurso*, p. 44.) In this it follows that of 1786. But the Spanish has Gataru. This seemed to me wrong, so I had inquiries made in Madrid, and found that the Evora edition of 1567 had also Gataru. As it is not the custom in romances of chivalry to introduce two persons of the same name, Gataru, father of Cardiga, must be held to be the Gataru mentioned in I., p. 18.[1] Now, this Gataru is an important character in *Primaleon*, though, as said, I did not notice that he had any daughter called Cardiga. The reason I thought Gataru was wrong was this: Mayortes the Gram Can was his brother, and consequently uncle of Cardiga. He was in Constantinople when she was married. It seemed to me inconsistent with the character of the emperor Palmeirim to marry her off in this summary way without consulting Mayortes. Moraes must have been nodding.

15—p. 109.

The authoress of the *Versuch* makes no remark on this mistake of Mendes. Her own statement is not quite clear p. 21. In *A Infanta D. Maria, &c.* (p. 64) we seem to have the same inaccuracy.

16—p. 144.

As she had not seen the Toledan edition, she naturally follows (p. 27) Benjumea, who also quotes this passage. *Discurso*, p. 44.

17—p. 209.

In the *Versuch* (p. 5, note 1), the *Fama* is thought to have arisen from the fable that D. Fernando, second duke of Braganza, was the composer of *Amadis*. Other facts, too, were known connecting Portuguese princes with books of chivalry.

[1] There is an exception even in *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, as two counts called Arlao are mentioned. I. 310, and II. 208.

18—pp. 213.

Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos adds the bad reputation Ferrer acquired from the unrefuted accusation (of plagiarism) by Aldrete (Diego Gracian), and, perhaps, other circumstances now unknown to us. *Versuch*, p. 48. This is very likely, but it is only supposition.

19—p. 227.

The plagiarism occurred in the first of Ferrer's prologues, not in the second as the *Versuch* (p. 44) thinks. It assumes (p. 53) that Hurtado must have known of Diego Gracian's complaint. Some reason for this assumption is needed. The passage was taken from the *Apophthegmas*, not from the *Morales* as implied by Benjumea. *Discurso*, p. 58.

20—p. 229.

"To such beards as the prologue *towels* like the story of Palmerin do not correspond," *i.e.*, *Palmerin* could not be by the person who wrote the Prologue. Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos (p. 44) seems to think the difference between the Prologue and the story is not sufficient ground for opposing positive assertions (that is, Ferrer's claim). It must be remembered that she had seen neither the Prologue nor the Spanish version of the story. What more conclusive ground could there be?

21—p. 232.

She did not know where Adolfo de Castro had expressed himself in favour of Ferrer's claims (*Versuch*, p. 2, note). She says (p. 41) only Pedro Salvá and Adolfo de Castro have broken a lance in defence of Ferrer's assertions. This should be Vicente Salvá. D. Pedro always opposed them. Salvá y Mallen, *Catálogo* II., p. 86.

22—p. 238.

The authoress thinks Ferrer was the translator (p. 49). She says that Benjumea's view that Ferrer was the translator and wanted to pass as author, while Hurtado was neither composer nor translator, and did not wish to pass as either, is somewhat artificial as regards the second clause (p. 52). I agree, as regards Hurtado, with the view attributed to Benjumea. She thinks Hurtado was corrector of the press (p. 54). See p. 371, *infra*.

23—p. 243.

She is of opinion that the heading to the acrostic proceeded from Hurtado; that he wanted dishonestly, half in joke and half in earnest, to pass as author of *Palmerin*, and that he played Ferrer a shabby trick in contradicting his Prologues in order to usurp his place (p. 51). She does not agree with Benjumea's views. I do. See Chapter VII., para. 13, and what is said in this Appendix, *infra*, about Hurtado's dishonesty.

24—App. IV., p. 397.

In *A Infanta D. Maria de Portugal* (1521-1577) *e as suas Damas* Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos gives some notices, real and fanciful, of Moraes. She says that in his youth he was "moço fidalgo" in the household of D. Duarte, and quotes Sousa's *Hist. Gen.*, *Provas* II., 615, and Chapter 13 of the *Vida do Infante D. Duarte* by Resende, as authority (pp. 64, 101). The document in the *Provas* is the will of D. Duarte, made, apparently, shortly before his death, in October 1540. In it a Francisco de Moraes is mentioned as "moço da camara," a position inferior to that of "moço fidalgo." It may fairly be assumed that the Francisco de Moraes of Sousa and Resende is our author, though the name is not uncommon, and there is nothing to show who was meant. There is no evidence that Moraes occupied the position *in his youth*. In the same work, p. 101, note 283, the authoress says Moraes returned to France in 1546 and 1549. As far as I am aware, there is no proof of this, as is admitted in the *Versuch*, p. 23. The date 1553, in note 284, is a misprint for 1552.

THE ALLEGED DISHONESTY OF HURTADO.

The authoress, after noticing (p. 54) the passage in *Las Trecientas* which mentions the age of Hurtado, and the assertion that he was a dealer in books,[1] and justly pointing out that the latter wants confirmation, goes on to say that, in her opinion, Hurtado was employed in the press of Santa Catherina, alias the Ferrers, as compositor, or, rather, corrector of the press, because he furnished several works published by them with epilogues in verse, as was the custom of proof-readers. Two sets of verses seem to me

[1] *Rev. Esp.* p. 191. Gayangos and Vedia II. 536.

a fragile foundation for this ingenious suggestion; for, as far as we know, Hurtado, about the time referred to, wrote verses only for *Palmerin de Inglaterra* and the *Tragedia Policiana*. She then says he composed several ballads and *Glosses*,[1] and, after noticing some other works by him, proceeds to consider the *Tragedia Policiana*. As regards the title, she says that the edition of 1547 had *desgraciados amores* for the *desdichados amores* of that of 1548. Here she was, probably, following Gayangos and Vedia (1. 526). But Pérez Pastor (No. 221) gives *desdichados amores* in the earlier issue, and notices the work in much detail, winding up with "Bib. N.," which I presume means that the book is in the National Library at Madrid, where he would have an opportunity of consulting it. I think he is the better authority.[2] She also says that the edition of 1548 contained a metrical epilogue of three octaves, with the heading *Luis Hurtado al lector*. The existence of verses with this heading seemed sufficient proof to the critics that Hurtado was the author of the drama. He is so called, and, at the most, a note of interrogation is placed opposite the corresponding explanation. Barrera places it in order to show that the Comedia (*sic*) cannot be attributed with certainty to Hurtado, and yet he savs that it is apparent from four lines he quotes that Hurtado was the composer.[3] The edition of 1547 did not contain an epilogue by him, but it did contain an anonymous prologue in prose by the "Composer," who, in an acrostic, calls himself the "Baccalaureus Sebastian Fernandez."[4] She then quotes the last

[1] See *supra*, pp. 47-48.

[2] Since writing the above, I have seen a notice of the Dresden copy of the *Tragedia Policiana* of 1547, in the *Serapeum* (Leipzig), No. 14 of 1853. In this the substitution of *desgraciados* for *desdichados* by the Spanish translators of Ticknor is pointed out. The writer distinctly says that they had never read the work:—"So beweisen sie auch dadurch (a wrong account of an episode), dass sie das Stück, obwohl sie über dasselbe berichten, gar nicht gelesen haben können." He declares the *Tragedia Policiana* to be less immodest than *La Celestina*.

[3] This is misleading. It was not the existence of the verses, but what they said that made the critics form their opinion. Barrera puts a note of interrogation to the edition of 1547, probably, because it appeared anonymously. He did not put one to that of 1548, because it contained Hurtado's name. The four lines are the last quoted here below.

[4] This name is certainly got from the acrostic, but it is not said to be that of the author, nor do the verses imply that it is. So Wolf thought.

our lines of Hurtado's verses, and says it appears from hem that Hurtado spoke as corrector of the press of mis-rints without claiming to be the author, but, perhaps, with he thought that some reader might attribute to him the ork, which appeared without mention of any other name. inally, it is asked if his honesty is here quite spotless *Versuch*, pp. 54-56). To this I can only reply that there eems no reason to impute any dishonest intention to Iurtado. Till we are given the Prologue of the edition of 547 in full it is impossible to say what the exact claim is f the Bacheller. Pérez Pastor furnishes these details, but hey even are not sufficient: "221. Tragedia Policiana . . . ort. orl.: . . . v.°, que dice *Fo ij*: "El Alctor (*sic*) a vn migo suyo."—Cuatro octavas "A los enamorados," las uales contienen el siguiente acróstico: *El Bacheller ebastian Fernandez*.—El Actor al Lector.—Texto en 29 ctos. . . ." Here are the verses (as given by Wolf) of Iurtado:—

LUIS HURTADO AL LECTOR

Lector, desseoso de claras sentencias,
aqui debuxa la madre Claudina
debaxo de gracias sabrosa doctrina,
para guardar de mal las conciencias:
verás los auisos de mil excelencias
que á los virtuosos son claro dechado:
y si su autor se haze callado,
es por el vulgo, tan falto de ciencias.
Y pues que sant Pablo, claro doctor,
nos da por auiso, que toda escritura
es saludable, teniendo gran cura,
que della s'escojga lo santa (*sic*) y mejor:
bien me paresce, que en casos de amor
vaya mezclado auiso con ellos,
por qué se halle remedio de aquellos
que hazen al hombre mortal pecador.
Solo diré la leigas notando
lo prouechoso que en ella es hallado,
por qué lo malo, siendo mirado,
auise huyllo y ser de otro vando.
Y si algun error hallares mirando,
supla mi falta tu gran discrecion:
pues yerra la mano, y no el coraçon,
que aqueste lo bueno va siempre buscando.

The lines to be noted especially are the last two of the first verse, and the last four of the third. The former seem to me to imply that Hurtado was not the author, in spite of Wolf's explanation that they refer to the fact that the author was not named in the earlier edition, nor in the title-page of even the later one. The last four verses, Wolf says, imply that Hurtado was the author. The writer of the *Versuch* think they mean that he was corrector of the press. This is very plausible, as *mano* suggests rather work relating to a compositor than that of a composer. But there is something to be said against this view. Hurtado was always imitating some one. In *Palmerin* it was Alonzo Proaza in *Las Sergas*. Here it was the author of *La Celestina*. In certain verses prefixed to that dramatic novel we find the line :—

Suplico, pues, suplan discretos mi falta :

which is very like Hurtado's antepenultimate line. Again, at the end of *La Celestina* we have :—" Concluye el autor," followed by some verses, among them these :—

Por ende, si vieres turbada mi mano,
Turbias con claras mezclando razones,

which appear to me to destroy any presumption arising from the use by Hurtado of the word *mano*.[1] For my part, I am quite unable to decide from the information supplied who was the author of the *Tragedia Policiana*.

The next work which is supposed to prove Hurtado's dishonesty is the book containing the *Cortes de Casto Amor*. We are told that it is singular and must strike one, that in the Prologue he never once says that he composed this piece. He uses prudently, if not with double meaning, *dedicar*, *dirigir*, *ofrecer*. There seems to me nothing in this. Hurtado was dedicating his work to Philip II., and naturally used the words he did. He distinctly says that he continued and finished the *Cortes de la Muerte*. Why should he not have said the same about the *Cortes de Casto Amor*, if it was not his composition? As regards the *Cortes de la Muerte*, Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos admits there can be no question of any fraudulent intent. In the

[1] See also the line on p. 426 (*infra*)—" Por mano de dueña prudente labrado."

same volume, however, there are two pieces, *El Hospital de Galanes enamorados*, and *El Hospital de Damas de Amor heridas*, which are said to have been stolen by Hurtado. One Pedro de Cáceres y Epinosa wrote a biographical notice of the poet Gregorio Sylvestre. In this he states that the Licenciado Ximenez "hizo el hospital de amor, que imprimió por suyo Luys Hurtado de Toledo." Salvá y Mallen (I. 508) says this undoubtedly refers to the two *Hospitales* above mentioned, and the authoress of the *Versuch* follows him, and asks:—"How about Hurtado's honesty here?" To this the answer is quite simple. We have only the statement of Pedro de Caceres y Espinosa against that of Hurtado. The presumption is entirely in favour of the latter. It is most unlikely that a man would in this barefaced manner print and dedicate to his king another man's work. And note, that in the dedication these two pieces (*Hospitales de damas y galanes*) are specially mentioned. (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.* xxxv.). Not the slightest hint does the accuser give of the grounds for making his charge. Supposing it was made in the first edition of the works of Sylvestre, that of 1582, twenty-five years had elapsed since Hurtado's book had been publisned, and one can forget and confound much in that time.[1] Pedro de Cáceres y Espinosa should have quoted correctly the names Hurtado gave to the stolen pieces.

Next it is suggested that the *Egloga Silviana* is not by Hurtado. It is not found with the Toledan (1553) edition of *Preteo y Tibaldo*, but it is with that of Valladolid (1553 ?). The general title-page has: ". . . comedia de Preteo y Tibaldo . . . compuesta por el comendador Peralvarez de Ayllon agora de nueuo acabada por Luys Hurtado de Toledo: va añadida una égloga silviana entre cinco pastores compuesta por el mismo autor" (Gayangos and Vedia II. 527); and it is suggested that this might mean that the Comendador composed it. As, however, the separate title-page of the *Egloga* has "por Luis Hurtado compuesta y acabada" (*ib.*, p. 533), it is said that this phrase "compuesta y acabada" is strange, and, perhaps, words have been left out, and that the full title might be "*compuesta* (*por el comendador Peralvarez de Ayllon*) *y por Luis Hurtado de*

[1] Salvá y Mallen (I. 333) says that he saw the edition of 1582, and describes it. It is not mentioned by Antonio or Innocencio. I quote from that of 1599.

nuevo acabada." We are then told that the statement in Ticknor (II. 782, German translation) that the matter of the Silviana is very like that of the Comedia would not contradict this, and that in the *Discurso Preliminar* Gayangos took this view, saying, on page XLI., that Luis Hurtado printed the Comedia and the Egloga, "*continuing them, both one and the other.*" There is too much subtilizing here. It is perfectly clear that Luis Hurtado was held to be the author, and not only the continuer, of the *Egloga;* and for that very reason the "strange" phrase, which is not strange at all, "compuesta y acabada," was put in, namely, to show that he not only finished, but also composed the work. As to the statement of Gayangos, it must be remembered that he wrote when very little was known of Luis Hurtado and his works. It is only another of the mistakes met with in the *Discurso Preliminar*. In his translation of Ticknor he distinctly states that Hurtado is the author of the *Egloga*, and praises its style (II. 534). In the *Revista Española*, p. 192, he says nothing about Hurtado continuing the *Egloga*. What he does say is: "En 1552[1] dió á luz la *Comedia de Preteo y Tibaldo*, en verso, que dejó sin acabar su intimo amigo el Comendador Peralvarez de Ayllon, y concluyó el mismo Hurtado, añadiendo al fin una *Egloga Sylviana del Galardon de Amor* que se reimprimió más tarde en Valladolid." It is much more likely that Hurtado, who, as before said, was always copying some other author, would write the *Egloga* in imitation of the *Comedia*, than that the Comendador would write two pieces resembling each other so much.

The next argument to prove Hurtado's rascality is equally futile. In 1597 José de Valdivielso resolved to write a poem on the life of St. Joseph, and did so. In 1598 Hurtado published a life of this saint in eight-lined stanzas. In his own Prologue Valdivielso tells a story of how he was in a bookseller's shop, when a man came in and asked for his poem, and said a friend of his had spoken ill of it, and had bought a copy in Toledo or Valladolid,

[1] I cannot trace this edition. Pérez Pastor does not give it, so it was probably not printed in Toledo. Perhaps Gayangos was mistaken. Colon y Colon (*Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 1840, p. 172), speaks of a Toledan edition of 1552. He calls the work *Comedia de Perseo y Tibalda*, which shows he did not know much about it. He was followed by Wolf, who was followed by the authoress of the *Versuch* (p. 57).

where many copies had been sold. On this the bookseller told him that the book could not have been sold, as it had not been completely printed. This is supposed to prove that Hurtado was a rogue; and the opinon is supported by the statement that Barrera, "who in all other cases believes in the truthfulness of Hurtado, is here doubtful, and finds the matter (*Sachverhalt*) singular" (*Versuch*, p. 59). What Barrera says is that the date of Hurtado's poem coincides in a singular way (*singularmente*) with the time in which Valdievielso was writing his poem on the same subject, and can explain the circumstance referred to by the latter in his Prologue (*Catálogo*, p. 190). There was nothing strange in Hurtado and Valdivielso writing each a poem on St. Joseph about the same time. The circumstance which caused Valdivielso to write, the translation of certain reliques in the Sanctuary of our Lady of Guadalupe, in 1597, must have been well known to the clergy in Toledo, and there is no reason why it should not move Hurtado also (though his Christian name was Luis, and not José) to compose a poem in honour of St. Joseph. Valdivielso's work was not published before 1604 (Pérez Pastor, No. 452), or at least six, perhaps seven, years after the appearance of Hurtado's poem.[1] If Valdivielso had anything against him, why did he not say so clearly? There is not an iota of evidence that he was referring to Hurtado. Even if he was (as is not impossible), all we could deduce from the story and the accompanying comments would be, that some person had mistaken Hurtado's poem for Valdivielso's; or that some one had attributed the latter to Hurtado, or had accused the Maestro of plagiarising from Hurtado; or that some one had criticized Valdivielso's work unfavourably before seeing it—"porque no se rian de ti como de ciertos envidiosos ignorantes, que, no pudiendo decir mal de algunas cosas mias, por haber parecido bien, publicaron que eran ajenas, haciendo su dueño á quien desto sabe poco, cosa para quien le conoce y me conoce muy de risa; y de otros (si ya no son los mismos) que antes de haber visto este libro tienen dicho que es malo" (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, xxix., p. 138). This may be meant for a sneer at Hurtado, not as dishonest, but as a

[1] The *tasa* is of December, 1604 (Barrera, p. 190). The *aprobación* and another document in the preliminary sheets are dated more than two years earlier. (Pérez Pastor, *loc. cit.*).

writer of little merit. It is utterly impossible even to guess from the remarks of Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos what form she consider Hurtado's dishonesty to have taken in this case.

In Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie* (II. ii., p. 334) Hurtado's character is again impeached, and he is called an unscrupulous priest (*Der gewissenlose Pfarrer*). These are hard words, for which, in my opinion, there is little justification. It would have been more honest not to have written the panegyric verses for Ferrer, but Hurtado was a mere lad at the time, and his circumstances furnish some excuse for him.

EARLY REFERENCES TO PALMEIRIM DE INGLATERRA.

On page 28 the authoress begins to consider certain references to *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, found in early works. The first two are in Camões: (1) a *vilancete* with the heading:—*A Tenção de Miraguarda*, and (2) the Gloss (Cantiga) *Triste vida se m'ordena*. There can be no doubt that these poems refer to *Palmerin of England* (I., 331; II., 247), and to the Portuguese version. In the third line of the Gloss Camões has:—"Que os males, que *dais* por pena," agreeing with it and differing from the Spanish. (See *supra*, p. 263). If it could be shown that Camões wrote these poems before July 1547, and July 1548, respectively, the Portuguese case would be established. Unfortunately, this cannot be done. The authoress says that in the misery of his last years (1570-1580), Camões certainly did not occupy himself with such trifles; in India (1552 to 1570), he is not likely to have seen *Palmeirim*, unless he brought it printed with him; and his poems of 1546-1552, the period spent in Africa and the short time after his return, are of quite another kind, full of other thoughts and feelings. Therefore, these two *redondilhas* were written during his residence at court, between 1542 and 1546. I quite agree with the conclusion, but doubt very much whether the Spanish partizans will consider the reasoning sound. It is certainly better than that of Braga, who writes that, as it is known that the novel (*Palmeirim de Inglaterra*) in the edition of Evora, of 1567, is dedicated to the Infanta D. Maria, to whom Camões himself dedicated verses, it is concluded (*conclue-se*) that the poet knew this book when he frequented the court, that is, before 1546 (*Questões*, p. 250).

The next mention of *Palmeirim* is in the *Auto dos dois irmãos*[1] of Antonio Prestes. The authoress admits that the date of the *Auto* can be got only from the references to *Palmeirim*. I do not think it necessary to consider these at length; partly because the date is not known, partly because there is nothing to show to which *Palmeirim* they refer—*Palmeirim de Inglaterra* or *Palmerin de Oliva*;[2] and also because it is perfectly clear that no one has the slightest notion of what the passages mean. This is evident from the different readings and punctuations, and from the remarks of Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos. In the *Questões* (p. 250), Braga says:—"In the *Auto do Procurador*, of Prestes, an allusion seems made to the theft in Toledo by Ferrer, and to the edition of *Palmeirim* having appeared anonymously in France; we will transcribe these valuable lines which throw such light on this literary problem:—

Não é *Palmeirim* de França
que nada se lhe joiera;[3]
he trigo francez, peneira
será *Palmeirim* pilhança.

The word *pilhança* is not here accidental; in other lines Prestes lays stress (*insiste*) on the theft:

Não venham livros d'estorias
limar vos pera mamados,
com *Palmeirim* furtorias.[4]

If these lines do refer to any literary theft connected with

[1] It is pointed out in the *Versuch* that Braga, in the *Questões* (p. 250) gives the name of the Auto wrongly, though he had stated it correctly in the *Hist. do Teatro Portuguez no Seculo* XVI. (pp. 266-267)). In the latter the punctuation of lines 1 and 2 agrees with that in the *Versuch*; and the penultimate line quoted below from the *Questões* is given thus:

livrar-vos pera mamados.

[2] From the *Versuch* (p. 33) it appears that the servant is supposed to be reading out of a book in Spanish. See also *supra*, p. 98.

[3] Note the semi-colon. Yet the first two lines are spoken by one person (the servant), and the following two by another. (*Versuch*, p. 33).

[4] In the *Versuch* there is a comma between *Não* and *é* in the first line quoted; another after *peneira*; a full-stop after *joeira* (*jueira*); for *limar* we have *livrar*; for *mamados*, *mamada*, and for the last *Palmeirim*, *Palmeirins*. Other lines are also given.

Palmerin of England, why must we assume that Hurtado, and not Moraes, was meant for the thief ?[1]

The references to Gandavo and Simão Lopes have been noticed elsewhere (pp. 21, 350).

On page 35 of the *Versuch* we are told of D. Simão da Silveira, who died in 1575 or 1574, that on his wedding-night (date unknown) he read the Portuguese *Palmeirim.*[2] This story is found in the *Collecção de Apophthegmas* by Pedro José Suppico de Moraes. I have not been able to get the edition of 1733, but in that of 1761 it is on p. 33, Book I., Part I. Nothing is said about the book being in Portuguese or Spanish, nor can this be ascertained with certainty from the title, which is given as *Palmerim de Inglaterra.* It is, however, only right to point out that Barbosa more than once speaks of the Portuguese romance as *Palmerim*, as well as *Palmeirim.* Nothing depends, as far as the point of the story goes, on the name of the book. The anecdote is foolish and most improbable, and is told by an author who died about two hundred years after the event recorded is said to have occurred.

[1] As regards the remark in the *Versuch* (p. 32) that the *Auto do Ave-Maria* could have been composed only after 1563, as it refers to the translation by Villalpando of a work (on Architecture) by the Italian Sebastiano (Serlio), which appeared in that year, it may be noted that the third and fourth books of this translation were published in Toledo in 1552 (Pérez Pastor, No. 262). The edition of 1563 seems a reprint of the earlier one.

[2] Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos got this tale from Braga (*Hist. de Camões* II., p. 305). He refers to the edition of 1733, but says nothing about the *Palmeirim* being Portuguese.

APPENDIX II.

NOTE ON BRAGA'S ARTICLE "REIVINDICAÇÃO DO PALMEIRIM DE INGLATERRA" IN HIS "QUESTÕES DE LITTERATURA E ARTE PORTUGUEZA." (1881).

Every well-wisher of Braga must regret that he republished this article without careful revision. I shall confine myself to noticing a few important points in it. On p. 251, he says:—"According to Nicolás Antonio this edition[1] appears without the author's name, and Quadrio in the book *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni poesia* (Vol. IV., p. 515) quotes this dateless edition under the following title:—'*Libro del famosissimo y valerosissymo Cavallero Palmeirim d'Inglaterra filho del Rei D. Duarte.* Trovasi impresso infolio e senza altra data.' Although this title shows some traces of Spanish (*traços hespanhoes*), still it contains enough Portuguese to show that these traces are due to the negligence of Quadrio." It was, no doubt, from Braga that Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos got the supposed quotation from Quadrio given on p. 8 of the *Versuch*, where I saw it with much astonishment that such a strong piece of evidence in favour of the Portuguese claim should have escaped my notice, although I had consulted Quadrio several times. On referring to my notes, I found they gave a very different reading, as the title in them was in Spanish without the Portuguese words *Palmeirim*, *filho*, and *Rei*. I have since twice re-examined Quadrio. Here is what he says:—"*Libro del famosissimo, e valorosissimo Cavaliero Palmerin d'Inghilterra figliuolo del Re Don Eduardo* (*Libro del famosissimo, y valorosissimo Cavallero Palmerin d'Inghalaterra hijo del Rey Don Duarte*). Trovasi impresso in foglio senza altra Data. Questo Romanzo, che passa per il più perfetto dell'antica Cavalleria, fu composto in Lingua Spagnuola da un Re di Portogallo." This volume of Quadrio is dated 1749. It would be interesting to know where Braga got his erroneous quotation, with the page and

[1] Antonio does not specify the edition. See *supra*, p. 82. "This edition" is that described by the editor of 1786 as *em caracter, entre Gotico e redondo*, not, as Braga says, *em caracter gothico e redondo*.

volume of Quadrio correctly quoted.[1] *Duarte*, the only peculiarly Portuguese word in the title, shows Quadrio had neither the Spanish nor the Portuguese version before him, as it is not used in either. He was probably following Antonio (*supra*, page 82). The only valuable part of Braga's article, (and it is of surpassing value) is a copy of a letter from Francisco de Moraes, dated December 10th, 1541, from Melun, and addressed to the Conde de Linhares. This Conde was not D. Ignacio de Noronha, as Braga supposes[2] (p. 253), but D. Antonio de Noronha. D. Ignacio never enjoyed the title. (*Supra*, Chapter II., para. 3.) This letter is said to have been copied in 1837 by Dr. Antonio Nunes de Carvalho. It is much to be regretted that he did not tell Mendes of it, in 1860 (when that critic applied to him for information about *Palmerin*), instead of furnishing him with the curious note mentioned in my Chapter VII., para. 5. This letter might have decided the controversy. Anyway, Gayangos would have hesitated in presenting us with this theory about Torsi, if he had known that in this letter two more of the "four French ladies" found in *Palmeirim*—Mansi and Latranja—are mentioned, besides others whose names also occur in the romance. Moraes is describing a game of ball near Fontainebleau :—"No mesmo dia depois del-rey partido, se sairam ao campo a Delfyna, madama Marguaryta filha del-rey, madama de Etampes, a duqueza de Monpensé que he nova e das famosas d'esta terra . . . . sairam mais Mamsy, que é a mimosa del-rey,[3] e madama de Latranja e outras da mesma banda . . ." (p. 255). "Aa noute coatro ou cinquo d'estas senhoras em que entrou Tampes, Latranja, Mansy, madama de Monpensé, e despidas em calças e camisa com frauta e tamboril vyeram em mascara a casa da raynha onde contrafizeram volteadores e sempre muito mal; soo o pino acertou de ter graça n'ele madama de Mansy" (p. 256).

I had enquiries made in Lisbon, and find that the letter is

[1] Most likely he copied it out wrong when writing his *Amadis de Gaula* (p. 94), and did not check it for the article under consideration.

[2] Here, too, he seems to have misled the authoress of the *Versuch* (p. 19).

[3] In *Palmeirim* (III., p. 62) Mansi is said to be "amada e servida d'el-rei." See also III., p. 127. As regards the duchess de Montpensier, compare the *das famosas* of the letter with the *de muito estado* of *Palmeirim* (*supra*, p. 198).

still in the Torre do Tombo, and that all Braga says about it is correct. I did not get the whole copy (as given by him) checked, as the original is exceedingly difficult to read, but I am told that the names Mansy and Latranja are in the letter, in both passages quoted.

Braga's remarks about the references to *Palmeirim* in Camões and Prestes are noticed in App. I., pp. 378-380.

On p. 258 he says:—"The Portuguese edition of 1567 does not contain the *dedication* to the Infanta D. Maria; if Affonso Fernandes published it (*publicando-a A. F.*) in the edition of *Palmeirim* of 1592, it was (*é*) because he found it in an edition earlier than that of 1567, which we consider was made in Portugal (*que julgamos feita em Portugal.*"). This is mere assertion, and no reason is given for the opinion expressed at the end. My views to the contrary will be found in Chapter II., paras. 10 and 11.

APPENDIX III.

EDITIONS AND CONTINUATIONS OF *PALMERIN OF ENGLAND.*[1]

It is not easy to compile a complete, or even correct, list of the various editions of our romance. All the information I have been able to acquire is given below. For the full titles reference must be made to the original works, or, if exactness is not needed, to the standard bibliographies.

PORTUGUESE.

I.—This edition is, for reasons given in Chapter II., supposed to have been printed not later than the first half of 1544. It is impossible to point out any existing copy. The editor of the Portuguese edition of 1786 used one for his work. He says it was greatly damaged and imperfect; it showed some signs of having been printed abroad; the type was "between gothic and round," apparently a sort of modified black letter. His exact words will be found in App. VII. He does not give the date.

II.—1567—This is the edition on which that of 1786 is based. The colophon ran thus:[2]—Foi impressa esta chronica de Palmeirim de Inglaterra na mui nobre e sempre leal cidade de Evora em casa de André de Burgos, impressor e cavalleiro da casa do Cardeal Infante. Acabou-se a XXV dias do mez de Junho. Anno do nascimento de Nosso Senhor Jesus Christo de MDLXVII.

This edition is in black letter, but the headings of the pages are in ordinary Roman type. Folio. 254 folios. Two columns on each page; 45 lines to the column. On the whole fairly well printed.

[1] Those marked with an asterisk are in the British Museum.

[2] The spelling has been modernized. I quote from the edition of 1852.

I have seen two copies of this edition, one in the National Library, Madrid (R. 2516), and the other in the Ajuda Palace, near Lisbon (50—XIII.—28).[1] The latter seems the one used by the editor of 1786, as it came from the Necessidades. He noted that the title-page and dedication were missing. They are missing in both copies. The first existing folio is ii., and Chapter I. begins on it. In the Ajuda copy the first six existing folios are damaged. Some words have been replaced in manuscript. The last folio, from *responderem* (l. 1, p. 394, Vol. III., ed. 1852) to the end, has been lost, and is supplied in manuscript, of which the ink is somewhat faded. The difference between the later editions of 1786 and 1852 and the Madrid copy of that of 1567, in this final portion, is probably due to errors in the manuscript completion.

The Madrid copy is in better preservation. Folios ii. and iii. are in bad condition. A portion of the bottom of the last folio is torn off, so that only part of the colophon remains. Of the date nothing but "Junho" can be read. In App. XI. will be found a modernized transcript of this folio.

It is not unlikely that the Madrid copy is that mentioned by the editor of 1786 as existing in the monastery of S. Bernardo, in Coimbra, and which has now disappeared (*supra*, p. 114). Clemencin, in his notes to *Don Quixote*, mentions the edition of 1567, but quotes that of 1592. If the earlier one had been available, he would, no doubt, have used it. This tends to show that the Madrid copy was acquired after he wrote his note on *Palmerin*. But this was some time before the suppression of the monasteries in Portugal, which took place after the defeat of Dom Miguel in 1834. That Clemencin used the edition of 1592 is shown by his speaking of *Tornelo Alteroso, escritor Mace-*

[1] Innocencio says (III., 15) that the National Library at Lisbon also possesses a copy. I was told at the Library that this was not the case. The story about an edition of 1564, called *the third*, is very properly designated a fable (*Mährchen*) by the authoress of the *Versuch* (p. 18, note 3).

donico, a phrase which occurs only in it, as the edition of 1567 has *Tornello alteroso* (and nothing more), while that of 1786 has *Tornelo, escriptor macedonico*. The edition of 1567 is so rare that, if a copy disappears, and afterwards one is found where it had not previously existed, it is not unreasonable to suspect that we have to do in both cases with the same book.

III.—1592. Lisbon. Folio, Roman type. 2 + 243 fol., 2 cols. to page, 47 to 49 lines to column. Published by Afonso Fernandez, *livreiro*, and dedicated to the cardinal archduke Albert of Austria, then viceroy of Portugal. The printer was Antonio Alvarez. This is an altered and expurgated edition. There are copies in the National Library, Lisbon, and in the University Library, Coimbra, and, no doubt, elsewhere.

IV.*—1786.—Lisbon, 4°, 3 vols. Edited by Agostinho José da Costa de Macedo.

V.*—Lisbon, 18°, 3 vols. Part of the *Bibliotheca Portugueza*. This is the edition I have used. It was necessary to check it constantly with that of 1786. There are a good many discrepancies, due to the printer.

SPANISH.

I.*—1547-48. As far as is known, only one Spanish edition has been published. There are rumours of another shortly. The one we have is in 2 vols., folio, black letter, 2+131 and 132 folios (*Supra*, p. 265), 2 cols. to page, 44 lines to column. The first volume is dated 1547, the second 1548. The title-pages and colophons are as follows:—

Vol. I. *Title-page:* Wood cut of knight on horseback in landscape. *Then*: Libro del muy esforçado Cauallero Palmerin de inglaterra hijo del rey dõ Duardos: y de sus grandes proezas: y de Floriano del desierto su hermano: con algunas del principe Florendos hijo de Primaleon. Impresso Año. M.D.xlvij. *Colophon*: Fue impressa la presente hystoria d'l muy esforçado cauallero Palmerin de ingalaterra y de Floriano d'l desierto su hr̃o en la Imperial cibdad de Toledo: en casa de Fernando

de santa catherina defũto q̃ dios aya. Acabose a xxiiij. dias d'l mes d'julio. Año del nascimieto de nuestro saluador Jesu christo de. M.d.xlvij. años.

Vol. II.—*Title-page*: Palmerin de Inglaterra.
Same wood cut as in Vol. I.

Libro segundo del muy esforçado Cauallero Palmerin de Inglaterra: hijo del rey don Duardos: en el qual se prosiguen y han fin los muy dulçes amores que tuuo con la Ynfanta Polinarda dando çima a muchas auenturas y ganando immortal fama con sus grãdes fechos. Y de Floriano del desierto su hermano con algunas del principe Florendos hijo de Primaleon. Impresso Año. M.D.xlviij. *Colophon.* Fue impresso el presente libro en la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo en casa de Fernando de santa Cathalina defuncto que aya gloria. A costa de Diego Ferrer mercader de libros. Acabose a. xvj. del mes de Julio. de. M.D.yxlviij Años

Brunet's remark (*Nouvelles Recherches* (1834) III., 7):—" Impresso año M.D. *xlviij*; (à la fin): M.*d.xlvij.*," referring to Vol. I., followed by Gayangos (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., p. lxxii), is incorrect, and is not repeated in the *Supplément* (1880) though found in the *Manuel* (1862) IV., 332.

This book is very rare. I have seen, or found mention of, the following copies:—

(1)—That in the Grenville Library of the British Museum. Except that the margins of a few pages have been replaced or repaired, it is perfect. Gallardo (*Ensayo*, I., 978) and Brunet (*Supplément*, 1880, II., 140) say some leaves have been supplied in *fac-simile*. I have been unable to detect any such, and have spent weeks over the book. This seems the copy found at No. 4568, Part VII. of the London Heber Catalogue. The description corresponds, and the remarks in the Catalogue bear a strong resemblance to a loose manuscript note in the book, which has been reproduced in the printed catalogue of the Grenville Library. It was not a marginal note as supposed by Mendes. This was probably the copy Benjumea used during his residence in Lon-

don. See his *Discurso*, p. 12; Mendes, *Opusculo* p. 8; the *Versuch*, p, 7, note 1.

(2)—That in Salvá's library, noticed at p. 31, and described in D. Pedro Salvá y Mallen's *Catálogo*, II., pp. 84, 85.

(3)—That in the library of the Cathedral of Toledo, which Varnhagen says (*Livros de Cavallarias*, p. 94) he saw in 1846, and which made him believe that Hurtado was the author.

(4)—That in the Imperial Library of Vienna, mentioned by Wolf (*Uber eine Sammlung spanischer Romanzen*, p. 125, note 1).[1]

Besides these copies, of which there can be no doubt, one (at least) is said by Benjumea (*Discurso*, p. 4) to have been in the library of the marquis of Salamanca. I distrust this statement, as neither Gayangos nor Gallardo says anything about any such copy, and they would almost certainly have known of it, had it existed.[2]

FRENCH.

I.*—1552-53. The first French translation was by "maître Jaques Vincent du Crest Arnauld en Dauphiné," and was published at Lyons by Thibauld Payen in 2 vols., folio—the first in 1552 and the second in 1553. The work is dedicated to Diana of Poitiers, who is compared to Lucretia. It professed to be, and undoubtedly was, translated from the Castilian. The translation is a free one.

II.*—1574. This edition claims to be revised and corrected. The changes are generally unimportant, as far as I could judge from a summary comparison. More consideration has been shown to

[1] From a note in the German translation of Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* (I., 195) signed F. W., it appears that only the first volume is in the Imperial Library.

[2] Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos thinks that Salvá's copy passed on the death of D. Pedro Salvá (?) to the marquis of Salamanca, and that Benjumea used the one owned by the marquis. *Versuch*, p. 1, note 2, and p. 7, note 1. This is not correct. Benjumea's treatise was written before the death of D. Pedro, whose copy was acquired by D. Ricardo Heredia, count de Benehavis. See *Catalogue of the Heredia Sale*, II. 2479. It was presumably again sold in May 1892. I do not know to whom.

French feelings or vanity. The book is in two vols. 8°. The publisher was Jean Ruelle of Paris, the printer Jean d'Ongoys. According to Graesse (*Trésor*, V., 115) the second volume "est à l'adresse de Robert Magnier . . . ou . . . Jean de Ruelle." The dedication is that of the earlier edition.

III.—1829. 4 vols., 12°, Paris. Renduel. This is an abridged translation, said to be from the Portuguese, by Eugène Garay de Monglave. It contains only 110 chapters, in place of 172 in the original. The Introduction is taken chiefly from Southey's Preface and praises the English author highly. The following passage from p. 36 is interesting:—"Les amateurs de mélodrame n'ont pas oublié un Palmerin d'Angleterre qui dans ce temps fit courir tout Paris. Il était, je crois, de M. Victor Ducange."[1]

ITALIAN.

The Italian editions or reprints are numerous. They are:—

I.*—1553-54. 2 vols., 8°. Venice. Francesco Portinaris da Trino. This translation was made from the Spanish and, according to Quadrio (IV., 516), by Mambrino Roseo (da Fabriano). It was dedicated to the Conte Vinceguerra da Collalto, Abbate di Naruesa. It seems fairly accurate. The first volume is dated 1553, the second 1554.

II.*—1555. The accounts about this edition are not clear. Ferrario (IV., 261)[2] gives only 1555, mentioning 3 vols. in 8°. Melzi (p. 323) also speaks of 3 vols. in 8°, and says the first is dated 1555, and the second 1554, and we have only these two volumes (*Noi possediamo soltanto questi due volumi*). The British Museum has Vol. I. of this edition. It is for the most part a *fac-simile* reprint, as far as the story goes, of that of

[1] This is probably the prose drama in three acts by M. Victor Ducange, played for the first time on February 11, 1813, *Palmérin, ou Le Solitaire des Gaules*, and which will be found at No. 560 of the *Théâtre Contemporain Illustré*. It has nothing to say to *Palmerin of England*.

[2] This volume of Ferrario is by Melzi.

1553 (*Supra*, p. 83, note 1). This raises a suspicion that Melzi has confounded the second volume of the earlier edition with that of 1555. Moreover, it seems impossible that there can have been a third volume. For if the first volume was a *fac-simile* reprint, the second was, no doubt, the same, and there would have been nothing left to form a third. The third volume of later editions was not part of the Spanish work, but was an original continuation, most likely by Mambrino Roseo; and of this Melzi writes (*loc. cit.*) that it was probably not printed till 1558, as the dedication to the Duke of Savoy is dated that year. My opinion is that the edition of 1555 was in two volumes, and was practically a reprint of that of 1553-54.

III.—1559
IV.—1560
V.—1567. 3 vols.
} Reprints in Venice (Melzi, p. 324).

VI.—1584. Venice, 3 vols., 8°. Bendolo. The third volume is the continuation already mentioned (Melzi, p. 323). Antonio (*Bib. Nov.* II., 396) attributes an edition of Venice, 1584, to Lucio Spineda (*editore, ac forsan interprete*).

VII—1600. Venice (Melzi, p. 324).

VIII.*—1609. Venice, 3 vols., 8°. Lucio Spineda. The third volume is the said continuation (Ferrario II., 335).

ENGLISH.

Antony Munday translated, or had translated, the first two parts of *Palmerin* from the French, and the third part from the Italian continuation. There is no reliable account of the editions of this translation. All I could ascertain is this. In Arber's *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, 1554-1640 A.D., certain entries relating to *Palmerin of England* are found: —

On February 13, 1581 (1580 O. S., as given by Warton in his *History of English Poetry*, III., 393-4), a book entitled the history of *Palmerin of Englande* was licensed to John Charlewood on condition that if there be anything found in the book when it is extant worthy of reprehension that

then all the books shall be put to waste and burnt (II., 388).

On the last day of May, 1594, James Robertes entered for his copies by order of Court certain copies which were John Charlewood's. . . The history of *Palmeryn* (II., 651-2). This is probably *Palmerin of England.*

On March 10, 1595, William Leake entered for his copy *The Thirde booke of Palmeryn of England,* to be printed in English (II., 672).

On August 9, 1596, Thomas Creede entered for his copy . . . these five copies, which were assigned from William Wright to Thomas Scarlet and from Thomas Scarlet to the said Thomas Creede, viz. :

Two parts of *Palmerin of England.*

Two parts of *Palmerin D ['] Oliua* . . . . (III., 68).

1587—Watts (*Don Quixote*, I., p. 84., ed. 1895) says *Palmerin of England* had been translated in full by Anthony Munday in 1587. I do not know his authority.

1596—The *Dictionary of National Biography* (s.v., Munday) mentions a copy of an edition assigned to 1596, existing at Britwell. One of this year, in two volumes, 4°., is entered at No. 1835, Part VIII., of the London Heber Catalogue. I am not aware what became of it, and should very much like to examine it and that at Britwell, for I am not altogether satisfied that there was any edition of the first two parts of *Palmerin of England* before 1609. It is strange, if there was such an edition, that only one copy should be known, or, at most, two. Again, in the *Palladis Tamia* of Francis Meres (ed. 1598, f. 268. v.) certain books are cited as to be censured. Among them are *Primaleon of Greece, Palmerin de Oliua*, and the stories of *Palladyne* and *Palmendos*; but *Palmerin of England* is not mentioned. The argument that the first and second parts must have been printed before the third is quite baseless. The third part is a new story, and was not composed even in the same language as its predecessors. One might as well argue that a translation of *The Three Musketeers* must have been printed before one of

Twenty Years After. It may have been, but there was no necessity. However, in spite of doubts, we are, perhaps, bound to accept the positive statement of the Heber Catalogue, till stronger reasons are found for impugning it, and admit an edition of 1596.

1602*—The Third and last part of Palmerin of England. Enterlaced with the loves and fortunes of many gallant Knights and Ladies. A historie full of most choice and sweet varietie. Written in Spanish, Italian, and French, and translated into English by A. M., one of the Messengers of her Maiestie's Chamber.

1609*—The First Part of the no lesse rare then excellent and stately Historie . . . of Palmerin of England.

As to the editions of 1602 and 1609, both Brunet and Graesse give 1602-9, 3 parts (vols.), London, 4°.

1616*—The Second Part of the no lesse rare &c., of Palmerin. . . .

1639*—The First (-Second) Part of the . . . History of . . . . Prince Palmerin of England.

1664*—The famous History of . . . Prince Palmerin of England.

The last five are all London, 4°, black letter. The folios are not numbered, except in first.

1691—London. 4°. An edition mentioned by Lowndes, Brunet, and Graesse (*Trésor*).

1807*—In this year Robert Southey published his incomplete translation from the Portuguese, referred to on p. 26. London, 4 vols., 12°

There does not appears to be any German edition. This is singular, as Quadrio (IV, 535) says there is a German version, in thirty volumes 8°, of the series in which he includes *Palmerin de Oliva*, *Primaleon*, *Platir*, the *Amadises*, and others. This author, indeed, places *Palmerin of England* with the Arthur cycle and not with that of *Palmerin de Oliva* (IV., 515). Graesse does not give any German version of our romance in his *Lehrbuch* or *Trésor*.

CONTINUATIONS.

Several continuations of *Palmerin of England* have been written :—

I.*—In Italian, that mentioned on p. 27, of which a translation into English by Munday was published in 1602, as already said (pp. 390, 392). This book treats of Primaleon II., and other "giovani cauallieri." It is not the same as the following continuation.

II.*—In Portuguese. The Third and Fourth Parts of Palmeirim de Inglaterra by Diogo Fernandez. Lisbon, 1587, fol. The hero is Dom Duardos II., son of Palmeirim and Polinarda. A second edition appeared in 1604.*

III.*—In Portuguese. The Fifth and Sixth Parts of Palmeirim de Inglaterra by Balthasar Gonçaluez Lobato. Lisbon, 1602, fol. The principal hero in Dom Clarisol de Bretanha, son of the above Dom Duardos II. In part of his Prologue the author has imitated the Dedication of Moraes. Gayangos gives these two continuations (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., p. lxxii.) His title of Dom Duardos II. is sufficiently accurate, except that he has Bertanha for Bretanha. So is that contained in the second entry referring to Lobato's work, except that he has Clarisel for Clarisol. But the title of the copy in the library of D. Serafin Estévanez Calderon is nonsense, a jumble of Spanish and Portuguese. Both entries refer to the same edition, as is clear from the number of folios (not given in the second entry), printer's name, year, place and size. Gayangos is wrong in saying (p. xlii) that Don Clarisel (*sic*) was great grandson of Palmerin. His reference to Heber (p. lxxii.), if to the London Catalogue, is also wrong.

IV.—Theophilo Braga mentions (*Amadis de Gaula*, p. 196) a manuscript romance which seems a continuation in Portuguese of *Palmerin of England*. It is entitled :—" *Cronica do invictissimo D. Duardos, principe de Inglaterra, filho de Palmeiry, e da Princeza Polinarda . . . Composto por Henrique*

Fauste, cronista Ingrés e transladada em portuguez por Gomes Eannes de Azurara que fez a Chronica d'el-rei D. Affonso Henriques." It is a manifest forgery, as far as Azurara's participation is concerned; yet we are told "é de crêr que essa novella tambem seja authentica." In a note on pp. 349-50 of Braga's *Gil Vicente* this work is again referred to, but in a very different strain. In *Amadis* Braga says it was in the library of J. M. Nepomuceno; in *Gil Vicente* he places it in the National Library, but adds:—"Cita-se outro ms. no Cat. Nepomuceno, n°. 2194." This continuation was not shown to me in the National Library, at Lisbon.

V.—There is an unpublished MS. continuation in two parts in that Library. It is in Portuguese. I could not ascertain the name of the author or the date of his work. The titles are:—*Chronica do Emperador Primalião e outros Principes*, and *Chronica do Principe Dom Duardos*.

Ticknor (I., 250, ed. 1888) speaks of a fifth and sixth part "said to have been written by Alvares do Oriente, a contemporary poet of no mean reputation." Apparently he is here following Barbosa or Antonio. Innocencio makes no mention of any such continuation under Fernão Alvares do Oriente.

APPENDIX IV.

THE LIFE OF MORAES, FROM THE PREFACE OF THE EDITION OF 1786 OF "PALMEIRIM DE INGLATERRA," AND NOTES ON SOME MINOR WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO HIM.

Prefação do Editor desta IV. Edição.

I. Não se sabe com certeza qual fosse a Patria de Francisco de Moraes: seu bisneto [1] o P. Balthasar Telles o denomina *Brigantino* [2] com o qual termo tomado na commum accepção, quiz elle sem duvida designar o lugar da sua naturalidade. O que por ser testemunho d'hum Author tão parente, deve prevalecer ao do Abbade Barbosa, que depois de ter dado a Francisco de Moraes por Patria Bragança, o poz noutra parte filho de Lisboa.[3] Belchior Leitão de Andrade se contenta com dizer que elle viveo em Lisboa.[4] Foi seu Pai Sebastião de Moraes Valcaçar, dos Moraes de Bragança, que teve o habito de Christo,[5] viveo em Lisboa, e tinha um morgado em Xabregas, aonde a Rainha D. Catharina edificou huns Paços, dando-lhe pelo sitio duzentos mil reis de juro.[6] Sua Mãi foi Juliana de Moraes.[7] Chamou-se Francisco de Moraes Cabral o Palmeirim; appellido que lhe grangeou a presente Obra, e muitos de

[1] Teve (Francisco de Moraes) . . . 7a a Antonia de Moraes, que casou com Francisco Correa de Setubal, que morreo na batalha de Alcacere, e forão Pais de Francisca de Moraes de Sá, a qual casou em Lisboa com João Tilly, appellido, que depois se converteo em Telles, Cavalleiro Inglez . . . e teve desta sua mulher ao Padre Balthasar Telles da Companhia. Belchior Leitão de Andrade: Genealog: tom. 13. pag. 364. titulo de Moraes Palmeirim: Original que se conserva na Livraria da Real Casa das Necessidades.

[2] Histor. da Ethiop. liv. 1. cap. 1. pag. 2, col. 2.

[3] Biblioth. Lusit. Supplem. tom. 4. pag. 138: e no tom. 2. pag. 209. o tinha dado como natural de Bragança.

[4] Lug. cit.

[5] Barbos. Biblioth. tom. 2. pag. 209.

[6] Fr. Gaspar Barreto. Genealog. tom. 4. letr. M. pag. 970. Original, que se conserva na Livraria do Mosteiro de S. Bento da Saude. Leit. de Andrad. lug. cit. Barbos. tom 2.

[7] Barbos. tom. 2.

seus descendentes conservárão.[8] Foi Thesoureiro del Rei D. João III.[9] e teve o habito da Ordem de Christo,[10] o qual professou aos 17 de Abril de 1566, e nella foi Commendador.[11] Esteve em França na companhia do Embaixador de Portugal, o segundo Conde de Linhares, D. Francisco de Noronha, que tinha partido para aquella Corte no anno de 1540.[12] Em Paris se affeiçoou a huma Dama da Rainha, D. Leonor, chamada Torsi, e por esta occasião fez entrar, na segunda parte de seu Palmeirim Capp. 139. e segg. as justas e torneios em obsequio das quatro Damas Francezas, Mansi, Telensi, Latranja, e Torsi. Sobre estes amores nos diz o mesmo Moraes : —" Não sey que isto foy, que em idade ja desuiada de pensamentos ociozos cobrey hum cuidado nouo, que alem de me atormentar mais do que eu me atreuo a sofrer, cercoume de desconfianças, e temor, e pouca esperança, . . . Não cuidaua que em tal idade amor tiuesse poder."[13] Á desproporção da idade, e differença de idioma attribue toda a desventura de seus amores. Casou, *como dizem os seus descendentes*,[14] com Barbara Madeira, filha de Gil Madeira, de quem teve numerosa descendencia. Foi particularmente addicto á Casa de Linhares, de cujos interesses se mostrava muito solicito.[15] Morreo violentamente á porta do Rocio d' Evora em 1572 ;[16] digno na verdade de mais descançado fim. Do seu relevante merecimento são prova assás distincta os seus Escritos, e os testemunhos dos sabios, que abaixo produziremos.

Of the authorities here quoted, the Genealogy of Andrade is in the library of the Royal Palace of the Ajuda. Its title is *Familias de Portugal*, and its author Belchior Leitão de Andrade.[1] If is beautifully written. The reference to

[8] Fr. Gaspar Barreto, e Leit. de Andrad. nos lug. cit.
[9] Barret. Leit. de Andrad. Barbos.
[10] Leit. de Andrad. Barbos.
[11] Barbos. tom. 2. pag. 209.
[12] Sous. Hist. Geneal. da Casa Real tom. 5. pag. 255.
[13] *Desculpa de huns amores :* entre os seus Dialogos.
[14] São as formaes palavras de Leit. de Andrad. lug. cit.
[15] *Carta a El Rey D. João* III., *em nome de D. Ignacio de Noronha*, entre os seus Dialogos.
[16] Barbos. t. 2. pag. 209.

[1] Mendes calls him, by mistake, Belchior Gaspar de Andrade (*Opusculo*, p. 72), and Gayangos, Miguel Leitão de Andrade (*Rev. Esp.*, p. 93), taking him, perhaps, for the author of the *Miscellanea*.

page 364 may be a misprint. It should be page 964. According to Barbosa (I., 485-6), the author died in 1717.

The *Genealogy* of Fr. Gaspar Barreto ought to be in the National Library at Lisbon, but it is not there. This writer is mentioned by Barbosa (II., 336-7), who says he lived from 1661 to 1727.

The few additional particulars I have been able to give about Moraes are partly taken from the *Familias de Portugal* by Jacinto Leitão Manso de Lima. This codex is in the National Library, Lisbon (Mark: D—4—12). It is, not trustworthy. It is mentioned by Sousa (*Hist. Gen. da Casa Real Portugueza*, Vol. VIII (1741), p. 10 of the *Advertencias e Addições*), as the *Familias do Reyno*. The author, according to him, was born in 1690.

I have also added some details from Barbosa and Innocencio, and from a pamphlet by Fr. Diogo de Santa Anna, of which an extract is given in Appendix IX. Some further notices of descendants of Moraes will be found in the *Memorias Historico-Genealogicas dos Duques Portugueses do Seculo* XIX.,[1] and the *Archivo Heraldico-Genealogico* of the Visconde Sanches de Baêna, but they are not important enough to be given here.[2]

The three *Relações* which Barbosa (II., 210) attributes to Moraes are :—

(1) Relação das Festas, que ElRey de França Francisco I. fez nas vodas do Duque de Cleves, e a Princeza de Navarra no anno de 1541.

(2) Relação das Exequias, e enterramento delRey D. Francisco I. no anno de 1546.

(3) Relação dos Torneyos do Principe em Xabregas a 5 de Agosto de 1550.

The editor of *Palmeirim* (ed. 1786) said he could get no further information about certain works attributed to Moraes in the *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, and so did not mention them. He does not give these Reports; we may, then, conclude that he could not find them. At the Torre do Tombo I was told they were not there; if they existed at all, it would be in Rio de Janeiro. Enquiry elicited the informa-

[1] This work is by João Carlos Feo Cardoso de Castello Branco e Torres, and the Visconde Sanches de Baêna. Lisbon, 1883.

[2] See App. I. (24).

tion that they were not in the National Library of that city. They may have perished in the great earthquake. That accounts of the events mentioned by Barbosa were written is almost certain, but it is not equally certain who wrote them.

The marriage of the duke of Cleves, brother of Anne of Cleves, wife of our Henry VIII., took place at Châtellerault on June 14, 1541, not as many (and among them Sismondi in the *Histoire des Français*, XVII., 78) say, on July 15, 1540. It is distinctly stated that the ambassador of Portugal was present at the religious ceremony, but not at the subsequent banquet. It is reasonable, then, to assume that Moraes was the author of the first Report.[1]

Mendes says (*Opusculo*, p. 75) that the second *Relação*, could not have been written by Moraes, as he was not then in France, and Francis I. died in 1547, not in 1546. Whether Moraes was then France or not, is not known. Francis I. died on March 31, 1547, according to our present style of reckoning the commencement of the year from January 1. But up to 1556 it was usual in France to begin the year on Easter Sunday, which in 1547 fell on April 10. The death of the king is, then, correctly given by some writers as having occurred in 1546.[2] But the exequies of Francis I. did not take place till May 21 to May 23, 1547, and so Barbosa's date is wrong. The ambassadors of several states are mentioned as attending, but the ambassador of Portugal is not among them.[3]

[1] An account of the festivities on this occasion will be found in *Le Mariage de Jeanne d'Albret* by Baron Alphonse de Ruble (Paris, 1877, p. 116 *et seq*), and the *Chronique du Roy Françoys premier*, published, by G. Guiffrey (Paris, 1860, p. 364 *et seq*). Paradin, *Histoire de nostre Temps* (Lyon, 1550, p. 119) may also be consulted. Several compositions of Marot are connected with the tourneys that took place during these festivities, and which were conducted on the lines laid down in romances of chivalry. The circumstances of this marriage are very curious, and cast a lurid light on court life in those days. It is interesting to compare the charming family scenes depicted by Moraes in *Palmeirim* with the reality as disclosed in this marriage and in the treatment of D. Maria by D. João III.

[2] It is a curious coincidence that Louisa of Savoy, mother of Francis I., in her *Journal* for *March 31st*, 1519 (18), notices the difference between the French and her manner of reckoning the year.

[3] An account of these obsequies will be found in the Baron de Ruble's book already quoted, at p. 225 *et seq.*, and in Le P. Anselme's *Le Palais de l'Honneur*, p. 253 *et seq.* (Paris, 1664).

The year of the tourney at Xabregas is also given wrongly. It should be 1552. A long account of this jousting is found at the end of the *Memorial das Proezas da Segunda Tavola Redonda*, by Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos, who distinctly says it took place when the Prince (D. João, son of D. João III.) was fifteen years old. But he was born in June, 1537 (Andrade, *Chronica de D. João III.*, Pt. III., p. 200). Moraes probably did write an account of this tourney, as D. Antonio de Noronha, son of D. Francisco de Noronha, was one of the challengers.

The title of the little book containing the *Dialogues* is: "Dialogos de Francisco de Moraes, Autor de Palmeirim de Inglaterra. Com hum Desengano de Amor, sobre certos Amores, que o Autor teue em França, com huma Dama Franceza da Raynha Dona Leonor, offerecidos a Gaspar de Faria Severim, Executor Mór do Reino, etc." In the dedication it is said that the *Dialogues* were written after he (Moraes) "composed the excellent volume of his *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* (so celebrated in all the provinces of Europe, that each one wished to make it its own, translating it into its own (language")). This book was published in 1624. The *Desengano de Amor* is what is elsewhere referred to as the *Desculpa*. The title is thus given in the edition of 1786:—"Desculpa de huns amores Que tinha em Pariz com hũa dama Francesa da Rainha Dona Leanor, per nome Torsi, sendo Portugues, pella qual fez a historia das Damas Francesas no seu Palmeirim."

In the National Library at Lisbon part of what seems the manuscript from which the edition of 1786 of *Palmeirim* was printed is still preserved (Mark: L—5—39). At the end is a sonnet with the heading:—"Relaçam do solenne recebimento das Santas reliquias que forão leuadas da See de Coimbra ao Real Mosteyro de Santa Cruz. Impressa em Coimbra em casa de Antonio de Mariz anno de 1596 a folhas—116. v. o seguinte soneto de Francisco de Moraes em louvor das Santas reliquias." This is not by the author of *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, as he died long before the transfer of the relics took place. They were removed from Flanders to Rome in 1594, thence to the cathedral of Coimbra in 1595. In October of that year they were solemnly transferred to the monastery of Santa Cruz.—*Archivo Pittoresco* VIII., 390.

APPENDIX V.

THE DEDICATIONS TO DONA MARIA AND THE ARCHDUKE ALBERT.

Prologo de Francisco de Moraes, Autor do Livro, dirigido a Illustrissima e muito esclarecida princeza D. Maria, Infanta de Portugal, filha d'el-rei D. Manoel, que santa gloria aja, e irmãa del Rey nosso Senhor.

Copiado da Edição de Lisboa de 1592.

Muita parte da honra dos principes (como diz Estrabo) está no louvor do povo, e parece rasão que seja assim, porque como a generalidade no bem dos maiores falle sem afeição, é de crer que todos seus louvores tem o nascimento da virtude dos louvados, nos quaes se manifesta que taes sejam os costumes, vida e obras daquelles, que louvam. Pois se por esta via o merecimento d'alguns Principes ao longe resplandece e antre os humanos se celebra com encarecidas palavras, V. A., mui esclarecida Princeza, assim entre os grandes, como na gente do geral estado não será posta em esquecimento; que de tal qualidade são vossas virtudes, que com igual afeição se pregoam. Ista não somente acontece aos naturaes deste reino, de que vós sois filha, a que por ventura o amor da natureza, e d'elrei nosso senhor e vosso irmão porá esta obrigação, mas ainda nos reinos estranhos e mais remotos de nossa conversação, e uso, tendes o mesmo nome e a mesma fama. Porem como louvar vossos costumes seja cousa tamanha, que enfraquece o engenho a quem nisso mete mão, desculpa teria se quizesse proseguir materia tão alta e perder-me no começo, mas a obrigação em que estou a V. A. por filha da rainha christianissima de França, vossa mãi, de que já recebi mercês, me faz algum tanto passar os limites do que a minha autoridade em tal caso pode ter, e desejar fazer algum serviço a V. A. tal, que quando não corresponder á vossa grandeza, seja igual ao que eu posso. Eu me achei em França os dias passados, em serviço de D. Francisco de Noronha, embaixador delrei Nosso Senhor e vosso irmão, onde vi algumas chronicas Francezas, e Inglezas, antre ellas vi que as princezas e damas louvavam por extremo a de D.

Duardos, que nessas partes anda trasladada em Castelhano, e estimada de muitos. Isto me moveu ver se acharia outra antigualha, que podesse trasladar, pera que conversei Albert de Renes em Paris, famoso chronista deste tempo, em cujo poder achei algumas memorias de nações estranhas, e antre ellas a chronica de Palmeirim de Inglaterra, filho de D. Duardos, tão gastada da antiguidade de seu nascimento, que com assaz trabalho a pude ler; trasladei-a, por me parecer que pola affeição de seu pai se estimaria em toda a parte, e com desejo de a dirigir a V. A., cousa que alguns houveram por erro, affirmando que historias vãas, não hão de ter seu assento tão alto, fazendo da menor culpa maior inconveniente, não tendo respeito que ás vezes escripturas de leve fundamento, tem palavras, costumes e feitos de que nasce algum fruto. Vai trasladada na verdade quanto ás aventuras, e acontecimentos: se tiver alguma falta será na composição das palavras, de que meu engenho carece: traduzi-a em portuguez, assim por me parecer que satisfaria vossa inclinação, como por não ser dos que fazem o contrario, querendo encubrir seus defeitos, tornando a culpa á rudeza de nossa lingua, que, a meu juizo, polo que tenho visto, em cupiosidade de palavras nenhuma da Christandade lhe faz vantagem; se disto, ou da obra, alguns detractores murmurarem, não me queixarei,[1] queixem-se os sabios, quando suas obras forem julgadas por pecos, que as minhas ninguem as pode tachar que as não entenda melhor do que eu.[2]

Extract from the dedication of the edition of Palmeirim de Inglaterra of 1592 to the Archduke Albert, taken from the edition of 1786.

Dedicatoria da Edição de Lisboa de 1592.

Ao Serenissimo Principe Alberto Cardeal Archiduque de Austria, etc.

. . . determinei nesta segunda impressão dedicar a V. A. este liuro de Palmeirim de Inglaterra que posto que seja fabuloso, e por isso alheo da profissão de V. A., que gasta o tempo que lhe resta de gouerno destes

[1] The edition of 1592 has "quexara." It and that of 1786 have "murmurarem" in the line above.

[2] This version of the Dedication has been taken from the edition of 1786, but the spelling has been modernized in accordance with the edition of 1852.

reynos de Portugal, na lição das diuinas letras e sagrada theologia, contem em si boas sentenças, e elegante estilo, pellas quais razões a Serenissima Iffanta dona Maria, que hoje esta no Ceo tão chea de gloria como na terra o foy de virtudes, o recebeo e estimou muito, sendo lhe dedicado a primeira vez pollo autor delle. O que tambem me deu atreuimento ao dirigir a V. A., parecendome que se fazia agrauo a tam excelente Princesa se se dedicasse a outrem em quem não ouvesse as mesmas calidades, que nella ouve. E assi por isso, como por hir emendado pelo Padre reuedor dos liuros, offereçó com mayor confiança a V. A., pois nelle não vay palaura algũa, que possa offender os bons costumes e honestidade christãa.[1] . . .

Afonso Fernandez Liureiro.

[1] The rest of the Dedication has nothing to sa to the book.

APPENDIX VI.

NOTES FROM THE VISCONDE DE SANTAREM'S "QUADRO ELEMENTAR DAS RELACÕES POLITICAS E DIPLOMATICAS COM AS DIVERSAS POTENCIAS DO MUNDO," RELATING TO PORTUGUESE AMBASSADORS IN FRANCE.

Portuguese Ambassadors in France (Vol. I., p. LXII.)

Braz de Alvide.
O Bispo de Tangere.
Manoel de Mendonça.
D. Francisco de Noronha.
D. João de Mendonça.

The following are the only other important notices bearing on the present enquiry. They are all in Vol. III.

Nov. 27, 1540.—Ruy Fernandes d'Almada, ambassador in France, writes to the King (p. 283).

Nov. 1543.—At this time D. Francisco de Noronha was ambassador (p. 303).

April 1544.—The King wrote to the bishop of Tangier, ambassador of Portugal at the court of France (p. 304).

March 31, 1548.—D. Constantino de Bragança, accompanied by D. Luis de Noronha and others, leaves as Ambassador Extraordinary[1] (p. 314).

Dec. 13, 1548.—Letters of the King were sent for Braz d'Alvide, his ambassador in France, about Commissions which the Kings of Portugal and France had agreed to appoint in Paris and Lisbon to settle claims for robberies and losses caused by the subjects of both nations (p. 317).

[1] To act for the king as godfather of a son of Henry II. Andrade, *Chronica de D. João III.*, Pt. IV., chap. 33, pp. 134-5.

Dec. 13, 1548.—The King despatched a Letter of Credence to the King of France, sending him, as ambassadors, D. Francisco de Noronha and the bishop of Tangier, to help Portuguese subjects before the said Commission in Paris (p. 317).

,, The same date the King sent another Letter of Credence for Braz d'Alvide, who was to assist the other two ambassadors in the matter of the said Commission (pp. 317-18).

,, The same date the King wrote separately to the Bishop of Tangier and D. Francisco de Noronha, ordering them to return to Portugal after doing certain things (p. 318).

Feb. 1550.—The King despatched a Letter of Credence for Braz d'Alvide to speak to the King of France on certain matters (p. 322).

APPENDIX VII.

EXTRACT FROM PREFACE OF EDITION OF 1786 OF "PALMEIRIM DE INGLATERRA," CONCERNING PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

Imprimio-se esta Obra pela primeira vez em Evora em casa de André de Burgos 1567, em caracteres Goticos; da qual edição os rarissimos exemplares, que pudemos ver, da Livraria da Real Casa das Necessidades, e do Collegio de S. Bernardo de Coimbra, carecem de rosto, e Dedicatoria. Na copiosa Livraria do Convento de S. Francisco da Cidade se conserva, posto que muito estragada, e falta. huma edição desta Obra em caracter entre Gotico, e redondo, que dá algumas mostras de ser impressa fóra do Reino. He conforme com a primeira, só com alguma pequena variedade de Orthographia, e leve transposição de algumas palavras. Imprimio-se terceira vez (o Editor diz ser a segunda) em Lisboa no anno de 1592 pelos cuidados de Affonso Fernandes, Livreiro, que a dedicon ao Cardeal Alberto, que então governava este Reino. Esta edição acha-se dissimilhante das duas antecedentes, não só na variação da Orthographia, na perpetua, e escusada mudança de palavras, e periodos inteiros, mas tambem na mutilação de muitos lugares; do que facilmente nos podemos convencer, conferindo-as entre si. Não obstante haver tres edições desta Obra, he tão rara, que apenas se achará hum, ou outro exemplar de qualquer das edições inteiro. D. Nicoláo Antonio desconheceo a Obra, e o Author; apenas nos diz: —"Anonimus scripsit *Libro del famosissimo e muy Valeroso Cavallero Palmeirin de Inglaterra hijo delRey D. Duardos.* Conversus hic in Italicum ex Hispano sermone Venetiis extat 1584. 8°. Interprete Lucio Spineda. Recoctus ibidem anno 1609. 8°. tribus partibus."[17] Mr. Bure, diligente investigador dos Livros raros diz:—" L'Histoire de Chevalier Palmeirin d'Anglaterre, fils du Roy Eduard, ou sont deduites les amities qu' il eut avec l'Infante Polinarde, ses proüesses, celles de Florian du desert, et du Prince

[17] Biblioth. Nou. tom. 2. pag. 684, col. 1.

Florendos, traduit du Castillan en François por Jacques Vicent : a Paris 1574. 2. vol. 8°. Bonne edition plus estimee que celle deformat in folio, qui l'aprecedee deplusieurs annees." [18] E no supplemento : [19] —" Roman du le preux, vaillant, et tres vertueux Chevalier Palmeirin d'Anglaterre, fils du Roy D. Eduardos . . . traduit por Jacques Vicent. à Lyon 1553. 2. tom. 1. vol. Fl. . ." Esta noticia de Mr. Bure nos leva a crer que muito antes que Moraes escrevesse este livro, o havia já em Francez, como traducção do Hespanhol ; não sendo inteira ficção o que Moraes diz na Dedicatoria.

[18] Bibliographie Instructive. Belles Lettres tom. 2. pag. 175. n. 3877 (*sic* ; really, 3878).

[19] Supplem. tom. 1. p. 564. n. 2329.

APPENDIX VIII.

THE CASTLE OF ALMOUROL.

The Castle of Almourol is situated on a rocky island in the Tagus, a little below the railway station of Tancos, not far from Thomar. It was refounded, in 1170, by D. Gualdim Paes (b. 1118), the sixth Master of the Templars (1157-1195), on the ruins of an earlier structure erected by the Romans or Lusitanians. In 1169 the king, D. Affonso Henriques, his son, D. Sancho, and his daughters, D. Uraca and D. Theresa, gave the Order the castles of Cardíga,[1] Thomar, and Zezere. In the deed of gift mention is made of the *pelago de Almeirol* (as the name is spelt also in the *Geografia Historica* of Luiz Caetano de Lima, II. 193, Lisbon, 1734-36). In Era 1208 (A.D. 1170) a stone slab, with a Latin inscription, was placed in the castle of Almourol, recording the deeds of D. Gualdim Paes. In this it is said: "hoc construxit castrum Palumbar, Thomar, Uzezar, et hoc, quod dicitur Almouriol. . . ." This slab was subsequently removed to Thomar.[2]

Owing to the train service being unsuitable, a visit to the castle is not easy, and requires much time. I was not able to accomplish it, and have had to depend on others for the following description, which is principally taken from an account of a visit paid, apparently, in 1844, and recorded shortly afterwards in the *Jornal das Bellas Artes*, I., pp. 67 and 83. A brief description of the castle is given in Rebello da Silva's *Contos e Lendas* (Lisbon, 1873). It, too, seems based on the articles in the *Jornal*.

The outer line of wall contains four round towers, at equal distances, on the west, more or less broken down, and

[1] *Supra*, p. 151

[2] See Fr. Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo's *Elucidario das Palavras, &c., que antigamente se usaram*. Lisbon, 1798-99. s. v Tempreiros. He says the castle of Thomar (begun Era 1167) was built "sobre o lado direito do *rio Thomar*, que dando-lhe por então o nome, com que os Mouros o tinhão baptisado, por ser rio de agua doce e clara; se contentou depois com o de Nabão, alludindo á Cidade que antigamente banhára." *Supra*, p. 151.

little higher than the curtains connecting them, and five on the east. Between the second and third west towers was the old entrance gateway, narrow, Gothic in style, and ending in a pointed arch. Above is a large slab on which time-worn characters may be seen. Here we must suppose was the image of Miraguarda, with the legend "Behold and beware!" (*Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, I. 331). In the middle of the castle is the keep, or Torre de Menagem,[1] with some of the battlements well preserved. On its west side, about two-thirds up from the ground, is a window, and on the east side two, one of which still shows Gothic ornamentation. By the side of the keep is another square tower. This is the one of which Murray (*Handbook for Travellers in Portugal*) writes: "On the S. the Gate Tower, a square building, is seen." My authority is rather obscure as regards its position. We are distinctly told that the outer circuit is defended by nine round towers; so, I suppose, there must have been an inner circuit, with two square towers, or two isolated square towers, of which one is the keep.

To the south are the ruins of a quay, which have led to the supposition that on the other side the present island was once joined to the mainland. It is not possible to land on the east, as the rocks are too steep and rough. There is but little vegetation in this direction. To the north willows and poplars are found. A gentle slope leads up to a terrace, rather short, as, for want of retaining walls, the rains have cut part of it away. Probably there was formerly here a drawbridge, spanning the natural ditch formed by the rocks. The entrance nowadays is by an opening in the wall between the third and fourth towers. Inside is a courtyard overgrown with trees and heaped with loose stones. From here an ogival door leads to the upper apartments. These rooms were high and vaulted, with elegant mouldings, which have suffered much. A similar state of things would appear to exist in the lower apartments.

The principal legend connected with the castle relates how its cruel lord, D. Ramiro, in the Moorish wars,

[1] Baedeker informs us that this means the *Vorratsturm!* It is really the *Torre de Homenagem*, the tower where the keeper of the castle did homage to his lord, and swore to defend his charge faithfully and bravely.

slaughtered the parents and sister of a baby boy whom he brought home with him. In course of time the infant became a youth and carried off Beatrice, the daughter of D. Ramiro. The knight left his home, a pilgrim and mendicant, and never returned. Then the castle fell into decay, and became a den of robbers and haunt of ill-omened birds. Finally, the Virgin appeared to a servant of God (*serva de Deus*) and complained that she was kept so long in this vile place. Thereupon the priest and others proceeded to the castle and found that a statue of the Virgin had fallen down. They removed it to Constantia, where it is still venerated under the name of "Santa Maria d'Almourol." Murray tells the tale somewhat differently. Beatrice leaps into the river and is followed by the Moorish youth. On the Eve of St. John four figures are seen upon one of the towers of the castle—the two lovers embracing, and D. Ramiro and his wife kneeling for pardon at their feet.

The following verses are part of a ballad relating to the legend:—

Porque choras bom romeiro?
  Porque vens tam magoado?
  —Choro a ausencia de uma filha,
Que me deixou abandonado.
Porque se foi vossa filha,
  Bom romeiro, me dizei?
  —Levou-m'a um moiro descrido,
E al dezir-vos não sei.
Donde fugiu vossa filha,
  Bom romeiro, me dizei?
  —Do castello de Almourol
Que me havia dado elrei.

I have not been able to find any photograph of the castle. The frontispiece is from one I took myself under difficulties. Travellers wishing to use their kodaks should do so when going towards Lisbon, as the train passes slowly quite close to the castle. In the reverse direction, the speed is so great that a "snapshot" is likely to prove a failure.

APPENDIX IX.

EXTRACT RELATING TO MORAES, FROM A PAMPHLET BY FR. DIOGO DE SANTA ANNA, HIS GRANDSON.

Memorial fidelissimo Da Nobelissima ascendencia e antiga genealogia de Bento de Moraes pimentel cofre de antiguissimo e nobelissimo Apelido dos moraes pimenteis cuio solar hê o Castelo de Bragança, nos Reinos de Portugal, e Provincia de Tralosmontes.

(Folio 15). Descendencia de Manoel demoraes pimentel, quarto filho de Aleixo demoraes pimentel.

Manoel demoraes pimentel, filho de Aleixo demoraes pimentel, & neto de Pedraluxes demoraes pimentel, & descendente sempre per linha mascolina de Martim Afonso pimentel casou cõ Dona Ysabel demoraes, da estirpe dos mismos antigos moraes de Castelo de bragança, deque auemos atras tratado, e filha de fran^co^ demoraes palmeirim, o qual indo a corte, foi nella muy estimado, e ficando nella, foi comendador da ordem de nosse^or^ jesus *Christo*, ao tempo q^e^ os Reis de Portugal trazião aseu pescoço a Cruz desta comenda, assi como os Reis de castella o tuzão,[1] enão menos se estimaua dos grandes do Reino q^e^ a comenda de sanctiago, dos grandes de espanha e casando na ci^de^ de *Lisboa* cõ hua senhora, erdeira unica, douinculo de béns, da casa de sus Paes, foi em uida tezoureiro do tezouro de ElRey Dom joão oterceiro, doquoal tezouro particular os antigos Reis de Portugal uzauão, por major magnifiçençia, decoro & authoridade de suas Altezas, Epor tanto andauão a seu lado, os taes tezoureiros, e tinhão suas joias, & suas particulares Riquezas, e tudo o tocante ao ornamento de suas Reaes pessoas, e da grandeza dellas, debaixo de seu poder, e teve odito francisco demoraes palmeirim, o aditamento de Palmeirim a seu Apelido dos moraes, porq^e^ sendo varão de auanteiado & abalizado entendimento, & de grande valor & capacidade, por aprazer ao mesmo Rey Dom joão o terceiro, fez o liuro intitulado Palmeirim de Inglaterra, pollo quoal fundou (declaremolo assi) e poz a

[1] La Toison d'Or, the Golden Fleece.

cortesania & a policia do Reino & a lingoajem e idioma delle (que atê aquelles tempos andou inculta e tosca) no estado politico e cortesão que teve, & assi foi varão estimadissimo do Rey e dos princepes & titulares & magnates do mesmo Reino, & as onão prevenir a morte[1] tiuera grandes acreçentamentos, & o dissersse (que não faltou quem ignorantemente disseçe) no tempo de agora que ElRey Dom João terceiro fez este liuro, & mandou Imprimir en nóme de seu estimado e valido tezoureiro de seu lado, he lijonia e hê enueja, e hê furto assâs escuzado, & mal fundado, por tamanho Rey, não ter neçessidade desta adulação, sendo já falleçido, & por ser notorio q^e^ o varão fran^co^ demoraes palmeirim. foi tão Reputado por apurador daquella corte, q^e^ alem deste liuro, tinha quasi acabado outro (quando falleçeo) no quoal trataua de todos os uzos das cortes dos outros Reinos, assi politicos, & dos fieis ecatholicos, como dos infieis e barbaros, & seus netos q^e^ eu conheçy andauão aprendendo a ler, falando assi a modo de o declarar, pollos fragmentos destas suas coriosidades, & as andauão contando a seus coetanios, como criados com ellos, e nunca tal dito se disser se (Folio 16) não agora q^e^ tempo uay enuoluendo em escuridade ojâ passado & claro hê q^e^ se o tal liuro fora feito, por tao grande Rey, q^e^ estiuera & fora esta composição celebrada atê diante dos mais Reis de Europa. . .

The colophon runs thus :—

Pôsse fim a este memorial em derradeiro de julho dia do glorioso Patriarcha S^to^ Ignaçio fundador da sagrada companhia de JE'SVS, do anno de mil eseisçentos e trinta e oito.

E certifico sèr verdade, oq^e^ neste memorial
se contem, e por mim feito
fr. Dioguo de Sta Anna.[2]

[1] Perhaps refers to the death of D. João III.

[2] This Memorial is written in a small and generally legible hand; but at times I could not tell whether certain characters were meant for "z" or "s," and "o" and "i" or "e."

The words given here in italics represent abbreviations in the original, which cannot be exactly reproduced. The *til* (~) is marked in the original by a sign resembling sometimes a comma, sometimes the acute accent. The certificate at the end is in a different handwriting from that of the body of the Memorial.

As I had no means of making a final revision, there may be some orthographical mistakes in this copy; but I hope not.

APPENDIX X.

FERRER'S TWO PROLOGUES AND THE ACROSTIC VERSES.[1]

PROLOGUE TO VOL. I.

Prologo.

Dirigido al muy magnifico señor don Alonso carrillo &c. mi señor hecho por Miguel ferrel seruidor y criado suyo.

Demetrio phalereo magnifico señor amonesta al rey Ptolomeo que leyesse muchas vezes los libros que hablan del reyno y del imperio y caualleria: porque lo que los amigos no osan amonestar se halla escripto en ellos, sentencia porcierto excelente: porque no ay cosa mas prouechosa al cauallero, que poder atraher asu vtilidad y prouecho los ingenios: y consejos: y dichos prudentes: y sabios: de aquellos que de todos los passados han sido muy estimados: y tener de dõde pueda tomar industria para gouernar sus amigos y auiso para regir su persona (que es lo mas dificil de todo) y su prudencia y ingenio augmentarlo de tal manera, que no solamente en estado y riquezas: pero tambien en virtudes: con verdadera opinion y loor de todas las gentes parezca exceder alos otros. Pues como yosiempre endereçasse mi d'sseo a que mis seruicios pudiessen traer algun fructo al seruício de vuestra merced:[2] avnque me han faltado las fuerças: no me ha faltado la voluntad. La qual segun dize el poeta: como no poresso sea menos de loar, tiniẽdola yo como siempre la tuue tã aparejada para seruir a vuestra merced: esforceme aq̃ en alguna manera pudiesse satisfazer este mi desseo. Y como supiesse vuestra merced ser aficionado aleer hechos grandes de personas señaladas en armas, y fuesse dado tanto ala millicia dellas: *quisse este pequeño fruto dedicalle a vuestra merced, para que tomasse el fauor necessario, no osando sin el soltalle en tan brauas ondas de tan tempestuoso mar delas mordazes lenguas delos ociosos lectores.* Y bien se segun el apostol

[1] The italics are mine. See *supra*, p. 231.

[2] Down to this has been taken from Diego Gracian de Aldrete's *Apophthegmas de Plutarco*, with slight changes.

dize que todas las cosas que escriptas son se escriuieron para nuestra doctrina y enseñanza. Y avnque estas hystorias de cauallerias algunos las muerden y detrahen: diziendo ser mal exemplo para los que las leen: no deuen de saber como dize el sabio que enel mũdo ay dos maneras de millicia, y que en cada vna se tratasse y ouiesse exercicio de aquellas cosas que de mayor primor y perficiõ la adornassen: como en esta nuestra millicia de lo humano estas cosas tan necessarias sean para traer los animos alas armas y exercicio dellas: comouiendo los animos varoniles asemejantes cosas hazer que los antiguos hizieron. Y este auiso bien se que en vuestra merced no cabe pues todos sus antecessores pueden callar sus famas con la que d'vnestra merced se suena, magnifico como Aristomeno menessio, cõstante assi como Romulo, immutable segun Marco seruilio, biẽ afortunado como Marco sergio, paciente en las aduersidades y infortunios (pues como mortal les es vuestra merced obligado) como Scipion africano, y enfin escudo y amparo delos que poco pueden. Y avnque se reboluiessen todas las antiguas y modernas hystorias no se hallaria en tan prospera fortũa nadie mas humano, ni de toda soberuia mas eñmigo. Ni aquesto hara presumptuoso a vuestra merced como a muchos: pero magnifico como a pocos. Mas passando poresto como por cosa que mas espacio requiere: y mas biuo juyzio q̃ el mio con mas delicado dezir. *Suplico a vuestra merced que este mi atreuimiento sea tomado con la intencion que fue fabricado*, q̃ es començar a seruir algo delas muchas mercedes que de vuestra mercede recebidas tengo. Y suplico a vuestra merced *ponga cobertor ami atreuimiento:* y esfuerçe mi temor (que no assido pequeño) *de poner este mi pequeño fruto enel examen de su mucha prudẽcia. Que como otros escriptores temẽala antigua costumbre del mal dezir del vulgo: assi yo estado temblando* sabiendo lo mucho que vuestra merced alança, que es tanto que ha querer fauorecer ala patria y naturaleza seria entre los españoles otro que fue Mario cario entre los romanos. Y pues segun dize el philosopho. El aficiõ es la q̃ rige la volũtad: y esta tãta siẽpre aya tenido a vuestra merced como a señor, *gouierne y lime su mucha prudencia mi grande ossadia. Quiriendo antes* como dize el philosopho Polemõ dicipulo y sucessor de Xenocrates, *d'los que ni mucho alançan ni saben ser juzgado por indocto y atreuido que de*

vuestra merced como prudente y sabio dexar deser cõ clemẽcia reprehẽdido y enmẽdado.

¶ Fin del prologo.

¶ El auctor al lector.

¶ [1] Leyendo esta obra, discreto lector
vi ser espejo : de echos famosos
y viendo aprouecha, alos amorosos
se puso la mano, en esta lauor
halle que es muy digno, de todo loor
vn libro tan alto, en todo facundo
rebiuen aqui, los nueue que almundo
tomaron renombres, de fama mayor.

¶ Aqui los passados, su nõbre perdierõ
dexando la gloria, aquestos presentes
oluido se tenga : de aquellos valientes
auiendo mirado, lo questos hizieron
vereyslos letores, en quanto subieron
tratando las armas, enlas auenturas
obrando virtudes, dexaron ascuras
roldan y amadis, que ya perescieron.

¶ Aqui palmerin, os es descubierto
los hechos mostrando, de su fortaleza
leelde pues es, hystoria de alteza
en todo apazible : con dulce concierto
coged consentido : enello despierto
todas las flores : de dichos notables
oyendo sentencias : que son saludables
robando la fruta : de agenos guertos.

¶ Direte letor : aqui solamente
aqueste tratado : no dexes de auer
sabiendo quan poco : puedes perder
auiendo mirado : el bien de presente
la habla amorosa : y estilo eloquente
veras las razones : y gracias donosas
diras no auer visto : batallas famosas
si aqueste mirares : en todo excelente.

¶ Deo gracias.

[1] The Acrostic begins here. The commas represent a small curved line between the words.

PROLOGUE TO VOL. II.

Prologo.

Prologo para el muy magnifico Señor Galasso Rotulo, &c. Hecho por Miguel Ferrer.

El philosopho Magnifico Señor dize, no impedir el escreuir para ser vno buē guerrero, ni exercitar otro qualquier acto d'qualquier cosa: y para esto mirense las passadas historias, adonde claramente se vee q̃ Plinio con quãto escriuio no dexo de ser famoso capitã. Julio cesar fue muy leydo, cōpuso libros famosissimos: y por esso no le quitaron el nōbre de gran capitã: y de valeroso animo: esso mismo los Gracos en roma: y los Scipiones y otros muchos: los quales no menos resplãdescieron enlas armas que enel estudio. *Pues si vuestra merced como estudioso se da a leer las escrituras, llenas estan de excelentes artifices, ser aficionados a escreuir, y en tiēpos hurtados de sus trabajos auer sacado marauillosas hystorias*, recreando sus animos en cosas delicadas, dando alos que despues dellos venimos doctrina y dechado, auisando nos que ningun tiēpo perdamos de aquel que naturaleza nos concede, empleandole cada vno en aquello que fuere inclinado: y mas si la inclinacion es virtuosa. *Todo esto he dicho a vuestra merced para escusarme, que siendo hombre que deprendi arte para sustentar la vida, ocupe mi tiempo en escreuir hystorias:* y si todos estos exemplos no satisfazen a vuestra merced, Cayo orosio, y Galio graco, y el gran philosopho dizen que deue el hombre antes morir, y incurrir en qualquier pena que faltar la palabra,la qual di al vulgo como vuestra merced sabe, de dalles esta segunda parte deste poderoso cauallero. Assi que todas estas escusas tengo por escudo para con vuestra merced, que es con quien pretēdo cumplir: porque comun sentencia es delos auctores, assi griegos como latinos, que la hystoria es maestra de nuestra vida: y assi esta dara a conoscer mis defectos como dechado donde puesto tēgo gran parte de aquello a que mas soy inclinado, avnque tēgo buena escusa: que somos todos los hombres obligados por todas las vias adquirir qualquier sciēcia, pues todas las cosas puede la fortuna perder: mas la sciēcia y saber siempre queda: la qual segun los juristas, haze alos hombres nobilissimos: segun lo dizē en vna ley que comiença: properandum deposthumis. Pues bien sabe vuestra merced que

leyẽdo y escriuiendo, segun gran numero de philosophos: y con trabajo no ay sciencia q̃ no se adquira: y tambien como aficionado alo que dize aq̃l bienauenturado sant Gregorio diziendo que lo que hablamos peresce, y lo que escreuimos permanesce: *determine del todo poner a vuestra merced en trabajo para que viesse, corrigese y limasse estos borrones tan desseosos de ser buenos, quãto contrabajo en blanco puestos:* y no por pequeño premio tengo tener esta osadia, segun lo que todos de sciencia, y primor en vuestra merced conoscen en este noble exercicio: pues q̃rer dezir la virtud y la bondad de vuestra merced seria me muy escusado, pues ellas a todos de suyo se muestran: como dize el gran Petrarcha: porque no ay cosa enel cielo y enel mundo q̃ mas pregonado y vituperado sea que el vicio: ni mas alumbrada y notoria que la virtud: y esto certissimo se nota y clarifica en vuestra merced: porque enel haze posada todo genero de perfecta nobleza, que es aprouada sin tener ninguna duda: segun Casiodoro en virtuosas costumbres, que sin duda ennoblescen: segun testifica Galtero de Castillon al animo: y essa nobleza es mente segun Ouidio, y ymagen de deydad: la qual certissimo como cosa tan preciosa vuestra merced bien emplea, en augmento del virtuoso exercicio militar: conosciẽdo (segun Salustio) que con trabajo y justicia la re publica cresce: y aquella es paz (segun Cipriano delos pueblos) y defendimiẽto de la patria y inmunidad del pueblo y mouimiento de gẽtes: y gozo delos hõbres. Assi que todas las cosas como a ley diuinal buẽ testigo Seneca, las exercita que es vniculo de humana sociedad, soportando y ayudando a lleuar los arduos y grãdes negocios desse pueblo con aspecto admirable, presencia comẽdable, agradable expedicion a todos. A tanto señor que soys de vuestros seruidores amparo y escudo, como lo fue el victorioso Alexandre delos Macedoñios: y Epiro delos Epirotas, y Moysen y Josue, y Gedeon delos Hebreos: y Anibal delos Cartaginẽses: y Scipion delos Romanos: y Viaraco delos Celtiberios. Por tanto viendo vuestra grã nobleza magnifico señor, quien sera aquel que todas sus cosas debaxo vuestro amro no procure de meter: y pues (segun el philosopho) somos los hombres de razon obligados a meter nuestras cosas debaxo del amparo delos tales, yo como vno dellos *quise poner en manos de vuestra merced este mi trabajo, para que como generoso le libre de mar tan peligroso, donde las brauas on-*

das andan tan leuãtadas de las mordazes lẽguas : y pues el no ha de tener mas valor que el ser a vuestra merced dedicado, acepte mi peticiõ : pues segun Apiano y el buen Philosopho Anastasianes, con cumplir mi desseo satisfago con mi trabajo : no mas de suplicar al summo hazedor delas cosas, prospere la muy magnifica persona de vuestra merced, en aquel estado en que mas aparejo tenga para saluarse.

¶ Laus deo.

APPENDIX XI.

COPY OF THE LAST FOLIO (CCLIIII.) OF THE PORTUGUESE EDITION OF 1567 OF "PALMEIRIM DE INGLATERRA," ACCORDING TO THE COPY IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY, MADRID (R. 2,516).

(Houve opiniões antre estes principes antes de) responderem[1] a Daliarte, ao menos os que se aconselhavam com suas mulheres, forçados das lagrimas dellas podiam mal acabar comsigo tirar lhe o gosto da conversação de seus filhos. Finalmente, vencidos todos da autoridade de Daliarte e proveito que se seguia a seus reinos ter reis criados nos costumes de tal homem, tiveram por bem deixar seus filhos com elle té idade de poder tomar armas. Os mesmos chronistas que acima apontei afirmam que Miraguarda quando veio de Constantinopla trazia já um filho de Florendos que chamaram Primalião e veio prenhe de uma filha que se chamou Gridonia. A imperatriz Vasilia teve dous filhos, um chamaram Trineo, outro Vernao como seu pai, por nascer depois da morte delle. De Clarisia, mulher de Graciano, nasceo Arnedos que era o nome de seu avô. De Onistalda e Beroldo nasceram Recindos e Valerisa que foi estremo de fermosura; de Dramaciana e dom Rosuel nasceo o segundo Belcar; de Françiâo nasceo Polendos que foi rei de Tesalia como seu avô; de Platir e Sidela nasceo Palmeirim que teve por sobrenome de Lacedemonia; de Armisa e Pompides nasceo Doriel que por morte do pai reinou em Escocia; de Leonida e Frisol nasceo o segundo Drapos de Normandia; de Arnalta e Dragonalte nasceo Floralda; de Florenda e Germã de Orliẽs nasceo Ardinam de França, teve os olhos vesgos, a fala travada e mal entendida; foi estremado cavalleiro; de Palmeirim de Inglaterra nasceo o segundo dom Duardos que depois reinou em Inglaterra, e tão esforçado como o pai e avô, tão namorado como elles e menos venturoso em amores como se mostra na sua chronica.

[1] The page begins with this word. The spelling has been modernized so as to make it agree with that of the edition of 1852.

Joannes de Esbrec[1] affirma, que depois de Palmeirim e Polinarda serem sahidos da ilha e tornados a Inglaterra com seu pai e mãe houveram uma filha, que chamaram Flerida. Jaimes de Biut e Anrico[2] . . . ardos que ficou na ilha ; da filha não dizem nada. Parece que nisto Joannes de Esbrec seja o mais certo, porque em tudo se lhe dá maior autoridade, e eu creo que na chronica do segundo dom Duardos que sahe deste livro e ainda não é trasladada, faz muita menção desta Flerida. Do cavalleiro do Salvaje e rainha de Tracia nasceo na ilha Vasperaldo, que foi outro segundo seu pai em esforço. Tornello alteroso (*sic*) diz que passados alguns annos tiveram uma filha chamada Carmelia como sua avó da mãe, cuja fermosura foi de tanta admiração que poz muita inveja a Valerisa de Espanha e a Flerida sua prima ; de que nasceo muitas aventuras ou desaventuras que dão muito lustro á chronica do segundo dom Duardos que foi seu servidor e pouco favorecido della. De Almourol e Cardiga nasceo o segundo Almourol, a que sua mãe poz este nome por ser mui affeiçoada a seu pai, e o filho nascer depois de morto. De Dramusiando e Arlança nasceo o forte Pavorante que ficou na ilha ; depois tiveram uma filha que se chamou Lastrisa e casou com o segundo Almourol. Estes principes nascidos na ilha ficaram todos nella onde se criaram sob a disciplina e ensino de Daliarte, té idade de ser cavalleiros e elle os fez por sua mão. A imperatriz Polinarda, a imperatriz Vasilia, a rainha de Espanha, Tesalia e França, todas com as outras princezas e señoras cujos maridos alli ficaram sepultados quizeram mais accompanhar los toda sua vida que ir vêr seus reinos onde já não teriam o gosto com que antes os possuiam. Só Arnalta se tornou a Navarra, levando sua filha comsigo, que depois por sua fermosura mereceo ser servida de muitos. Cardiga, mulher de Almourol por rogos e offerecimentos de Beroldo se tornou a Espanha, onde possuio os caste[3] . . . que tomaram o . . . foi dada a ilha que fôra do pai de Arlança que a houve por honesto senhorio e os vassalos se contentaram de o ter por senhor. A Arjentao fizeram tal composição de que elle ficou contente. Selvião, Armelo e Roborante ficaram na ilha pera debaixo da ordenança de Daliarte serem aios daquelles principes, a cada um em especial foi encommendado o segundo Almourol,

[1] Joãnes d' sbrec in the original text.
[2] Page torn here ; a few words missing.
[3] Page torn here, and some words missing.

que parecia que antre os outros era o mais desemparado. Ao tempo que Primalião, dom Duardos e os outros principes se partiram da ilha não foi tão sem lagrimas que se não renovassem todas as dôres passadas. Alguns tiveram trabalho em pacificar seus reinos. Primalião o teve maior em refazer Constantinopla. Foi recebido de seus vassalos como se fôra vindo do ceo; não consentiu em sua entrada festa nenhuma: mas andando o tempo tornou a engrandecer a côrte e encher se de cavalleiros estranhos e naturaes que quasi remedava a do empetador seu pai. Mas depois que Valerisa em Espanha e Carmelia em Tracia, Flerida em Inglaterra começaram a espantar o mundo com suas fermosuras, assim se baralharam as cousas, que em cada reino destes houve grande côrte. A rogo de Primalião se juntaram um tempo todas em Constantinopla, que foi causa de engrandecer a sua em tal estremo qual nunca fôra no tempo de seu pai nem dos outros passados. Sucederam daqui tantos desastres e desaventuras, que Palmeirim de Inglaterra, Florendos, o cavalleiro do Salvaje e todos os de seu tempo tornaram seguir as aventuras com tanto risco de sua vida como nos primeiros dias de sua mocidade. Seus filhos sahidos da ilha chamada Sepulchro de Principes, feitos cavalleiros da mão de Daliarte, espantavam o mundo com suas obras, antre elles o segundo dom Duardos florecia por cima de todos. Quem fôr curioso de vêr as proezas de cada um, lêa a chronica deste dom Duardos, nella verá maravilhas, novidades e galantarias, por ventura muito acima do que se póde vêr em outras chronicas, assim de Palmeirim de Inglaterra, como do cavalleiro do Salvaje, Pompides, Floramão rei de Cerdenha, Platir, Graciano, Dramusiando e outros, como dos noveis, filhos destes, e do segundo Albayzar, filho de Albayzar, soldão de Babilonia, e Beliaazem soldão de Persia, que em todo o mundo faziam espanto com suas obras, antre os quaes tambem acharam cousas maravilhosas do grão sabio Daliarte, que andando envolto em soccorrer seus amigos com sua arte, sendo velho, foi morto de feridas em Irlanda na passagem de uma ponte, pola qual causa das princezas que estavam na ilha se não diz nada. Porque como cada vez que ia fóra a deixasse encantada e a morte o tomasse de maneira que não teve tempo de desfazer seu encantamento, cre-se que ainda hoje em dia estará no estado que a deixou, que seria

bem pera vêr se em nossos tempos houvesse quem com sua arte podesse desencanta-la e vêr se hia nella o emperador Palmeirim com aquelles principes e valerosos cavalleiros ; a que alguns deste tempo devem ter inveja e outros amor, se é verdade que as obras famosas e os que as usam merecem que lh'o tenham.

Laus deo.

Foi impressa esta cronica de Palmeirim de Inglaterra na muy nobre et sempre leal cidade de Euora, em casa de Andree de Burgos impressor, e cavalleiro da casa do Cardeal Iffante. A[1] . . . . Junho. Anno do nacimento. . . . . .

[1] Page torn here, and some words missing. The original spelling is retained in the colophon.

APPENDIX XII.

NOTES ON SOME ROMANCES[1] OF CHIVALRY CONNECTED WITH, OR OF INTEREST IN RELATION TO "PALMERIN OF ENGLAND."

PALMERIN DE OLIVA AND PRIMALEON.

The author of *Palmerin of England* was well read in the literature of chivalry. He was acquainted with the Arthur cycle, and awarded the palm of beauty to the beloved of Tristram, Iseo la Brunda, preferring her to Oriana, Briolanja, Flérida, and his own heroines, Polinarda and Miraguarda (II. 363). *Amadis* and *Las Sergas* he also knew, and, of course, *Palmerin de Oliva* and *Primaleon*, of which his book is a continuation. Though much has been written about these two romances, or, perhaps, on that account, their origin is still involved in considerable obscurity. I cannot hope to dissipate this, but I may be able to put some facts in a clearer light. The first question that arises is whether the composer was a Spaniard or Portuguese. The Spanish case is tolerably precise and well supported; the Portuguese is vague, and seems based on the following passages from Barbosa, Quadrio, Antonio, Pellicer, and Clemencin :—

Barbosa (*Bib. Lus.* II. 209) attributes Primaleon to Francisco de Moraes. This opinion has been refuted by the editor of the 1786 edition of *Palmerin of England*. This does not prevent Brunet (*Manuel* IV., Part II. 875) from asserting that the said editor adopted the erroneous view of Barbosa. Braunfels (*Amadis von Gallien*, p. 144) says Barbosa declares *Palmerin de Oliva* is the work of a Portuguese (*aus Portugal*) poet or poetess. He does not tell us where this is said. I have not met any such declaration, but it may exist, though Braunfels cannot be considered an authority on the *Palmerins*, as may be seen from his assertion (*ib.*, p. 76) that *Palmerin de Oliva* is a continuation

[1] Of these I have read only *Palmerin de Oliva*, *Primaleon*, *Don Polindo*, *Clarimundo*, *Memorial das Proezas*, and *Don Florando*.

of *Primaleon*; however, this may be a slip of the pen, as he founds an inconsequential argument on it.

Quadrio (IV. 530) writes: "Quest' Opera è Anonima: ma si sà a ogni modo, che fu composta da una Dama di molto spirito, Portoghese di nazione, e fu per avventura la celebre Ferreira." This is a rather unfortunate guess of Quadrio, as the celebrated Ferreira was born in 1595, or eighty-four years after *Palmerin de Oliva* had appeared in print.

Antonio (*Bib. Nov.* II., 393), writing of *Palmerin de Oliva*, has:—"Anonyma quædam femina, auctor est prosaici illius nec parum celebrati poematis. . . . Lusitanam fuisse Lusitani credunt scriptores."

Pellicer (*Don Quijote*, I., 58, 59) says that the author was a woman. "Los portugueses pretenden que sea portuguesa." He refers to Antonio as authority, but then quotes the lines about Augustobrica (see *infra*) to show that she was a native of Burgos. He does not distinguish between *Palmerin de Oliva* and *Primaleon*.

Clemencin (*Don Quijote*, I., 124) writes:—"Una muger fué el coronista de Palmerin de Oliva. . . . Que fué portuguesa, resulta del testimonio de los escritores de aquella nación; y no hai fundamento que convenza lo contrario."

Among more modern writers, Braga (*Historia da Litteratura Portugueza. Introducção*, p. 394) still seems to maintain the Portuguese origin of *Palmerin de Oliva* and cites Ticknor in support of this view. Ticknor would be an excellent witness, if there were any reason to believe that he had made a personal enquiry into the matter. The extraordinary opinion of Benjumea has been given on p. 95. Even his eulogist, Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos, uses a note of admiration when treating of it (*Versuch*, p. 13). Up to this, as far as I am aware, the Portuguese have never clearly stated what grounds they have for believing in the truth of their claim. There is not the slightest trace of any Portuguese version of *Palmerin de Oliva* or *Primaleon*. If the views expressed in Chapter II., para. 20 are correct, the latter was read in Portugal in Spanish. This does not prove that the author was not a Portuguese, as he might have written in Spanish, though a Portuguese, as happened in the case of *Don Florando*. But it is a point to be considered. Till the Portuguese give their reasons, judgment must go for the Spaniards: when they do, a final decision will be possible.

The next question is who the author of the Spanish version was.

The first known edition of *Palmerin de Oliva* was printed in Salamanca, and is dated December 22, 1511 (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., p. lxx.). It would appear, from what Wolf (*Studien zur Geschichte der spanischen und portugiesischen Nationalliteratur*, p. 185) tells us, that the title of this edition had *Oliuia*, and not *Oliva*. A few months later the first known edition of *Primaleon* appeared, printed also in Salamanca, bearing the date July 3, 1512. The colophon says:—"Fue trasladado este segundo libro de Palmerin llamado Primaleõ y ansimesmo el primero llamado Palmerin de griego en nuestro lenguaje castellano y corregido y emendado en la muy noble ciudad de Ciudad rodrigo por Francisco Vazquez. Emprimiose en la muy noble y leal ciudad de Salamanca a tres dias del mes de Julio MVXII. (1512) años" (Salvá y Mallen, *Catálogo*, II., 90). The title was:—"Libro segundo del Emperador Palmerin en que se recuentan los grandes & hazañosos fechos de Primaleon & Polendus sus hijos & otros buenos cavalleros estrangeros que a su corte venieron" (*ib.*). From this it appears that *Palmerin de Oliva* and *Primaleon* are only two parts of the same work, and, therefore, presumably by the same author. This is confirmed by the dedication of *Primaleon* to Luis de Cordova, afterwards Duque de Sessa. This dedication (called Epistola) is given in the Venetian edition of 1534, of Francisco Delicado, who says (in the heading to the Table of Chapters):—"En el primero libro despues de la epistola que hizo el que traduzio la obra del libro presente de Griego en Romançe Castellano. Laqual fue dirigida segun paresce Al noble. . . . Duque de Sessa." This dedication appears, then, to be by the original composer. In it he (or she) says:—"& por esto no es de marauillar si a Palmerin que los dias passados publique y saque a luz en ũro nõmbre : sucedio Primaleõ heredero y suçessor : no solamente dela casa : y estado de su padre : mas aun delas hazañas estremadas enla profesion dela caualleria."[1]

[1] In Brydges and Haslewood's *British Bibliographer* (I. 226) W. (Weber?) criticizing *Palmendos*, which is part of the first Book of *Primaleon*, says: "The original (which comprises the adventures of Primaleon also) . . . bears little trace of the authoress of *Palmerin de Oliva*." He refers to a passage on folio 70 (*Palmendos*, p. 135. 1653)

In the *editio princeps* of *Palmerin* appeared certain Latin verses by Juan Augur de Trasmiera addressed "to the reader." The name is spelt differently in different editions. In that of Seville, of 1540, it is *Jo. augur transmiereñ*; in that of Venice, 1534, *Jo. auger transmereñ*. In the verses, too, there are variants. In this Latin effusion the work is distinctly said to be by a woman.[1]

Inclitus ecce pater palmarum collige flores
  Quos seuit : quos (*or* quot) dat femina corde tibi

. . . . . .

Hunc lege quo tractat femina multa sua.

. . . . . .

Quanto sol lunam superat Nebrissaque doctos :
  Tanto ista hispanos femina docta viros

. . . . . .

Femina composuit, generosos atque labores
  Filius altisonans scripsit et arma libro.

as affording a strong proof that the two romances are by different pens : "al beit shee had two sisters named Flerida and Bazilia (which by the author of Palmerin are named Belisa and Melicia"). To decide from the style and tenor of two books whether they are by the same author or not, it would be necessary to compare the original editions, especially in this case, where it is notorious that some of the later ones have been revised. It is not sufficient to examine translations more or less free. The two editions I have read—that of 1540 of *Palmerin de Oliva*, and that of 1534 of *Primaleon*—do not suggest to me the same author ; but I do not know how far the original texts have been altered ; I expect Delicado made considerable changes.

As to the difference in names, the remark of W. shows he had not seen the Spanish versions. There is no such difference in them. It is the French translator who is responsible. He admits that he has not been exact in his work : "Je n'ai pris de l'originale que la matière principale." In the Spanish *Palmerin de Oliva* only one daughter of that monarch is mentioned—Policia (Chapter 174, ed. 1540). There is a Melisa, but she is the daughter of Frisol, and is married in *Primaleon* to Recindos of Spain. Policia is turned into Philocriste by the French translator of *Palmerin de Oliva* (f. 274, ed. 1553), who gives her *proprio motu* a sister, whom he calls Bellizie. In the Spanish *Primaleon*, which records events of a later date, Policia is still called Policia, and has now two sisters, Flerida and Vasilia (ff. 36, 59, 255, ed. 1534). Here, too, the French translator calls her Philocriste. The Policia of *Palmerin de Oliva* and *Primaleon* is the Melicia, queen of France, of *Palmerin of England ;* while Vasilia is the Vasilia, Basilia and Valerisa (I. 31) of Moraes. Valerisa was really the sister, not wife, of Vernao.

[1] But nowhere does Juan Augur say that it was by a *Spanish* lady, as asserted by Braunfels (*Amadis von Gallien*, p. 144), who probably got his information from Gayangos (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.* XL., lxx).

Very strong evidence would be needed to refute the statement here made, and which appeared in the first edition.

Delicado, in his introduction to Book II. of *Primaleon*, says:—"Como la que le compuso era muger y filando el torno se pensaua cosas mas fermosas"; and again, in the Introduction to Book III:—"Mas no se quien lo hizo porque callo su nombre al principio y al fin. . . . Y es opinion de personas que fue muger la que lo compuso[1] fija de un carpintero. Mas sea se quien fuere que muy bien supo ordinar y texer la ystoria." He then notices the Toledan edition (that of 1528, apparently), and censures its badness, and adds:—"Mas esto cadauno lo conosce que el Autor hordeno bien y sabidamente texo la ystoria y en ella no ay que corregir. Mas el defeto esta en los impresores y en los mercaderes que han desdorado la obra de la señora Agustobrica . . ." This would seem to imply that not only was the book by a woman, but that her name was Agustobrica, a curious name for a person. And then again, Delicado had said he did not know who composed the work. All this is very strange. I can only suppose that in one of the early editions of *Palmerin de Oliva* or *Primaleon* some mention is made of Agustobrica. I have not been able to consult any such edition. At the end of that of *Primaleon*, of 1563, are six stanzas, one of which runs thus:—

En este esmaltado hai (y) mui rico dechado;
Van esculpidas mui bellas labores
De paz y de guerra y de castos amores,
For mano de dueña prudente labrado.
Es por ejemplo de todos notado
Que lo verisimil veamos en flor:
Es de Augustobrica aquesta labor
Que en Medina se ha agora estampado.[2]

[1] In the same Introduction he writes: "Como . . . ha mostrado el Autor y componedor desta . . . ystoria." In another passage, quoted before (p. 95), we read: "Porque estas cosas que cuentan los componedores en la lengua Española. . . ." These extracts appear to me to show that Braunfels was wrong in saying (*Amadis von Gallien*, p. 73) that *componedor* never had the meaning of "author" (*Schriftsteller*). Diego Gracian, in his Prologue to the *Morales de Plutarco*, distinctly calls the authors of books of chivalry *componedores*: "Como estos tales componedores por la mayor parte sean personas idiotas y sin letras."

[2] This verse will be found in Pellicer (*Don Quijote* I., p. 59);

Here Augustobrica seems the name of a place, and as such it has for a long time been taken. It would appear, then, that *Palmerin de Oliva* and *Primaleon* are the work of one person, a woman, and that the place of its origin was Augustobrica.

Gayangos, in his *Discurso Preliminar* (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., pp. xxxix to xlv.), has considered the *Palmerins*. What he has said about our two romances does not seem to me sound. The two last distichs quoted of Juan Augui are also given by Nicolás Antonio (*Bib. Nova* II., 393), who observed: "obscuri sensus mihi est." Gayangos thought that if he had known that *Primaleon* was a continuation of *Palmerin*, he would have given them their natural interpretation, which was that *Palmerin* was the work of a woman, and that her son, in another book, later on, recorded in high-sounding language deeds of arms and prowesses, probably of Palmerin de Oliva (p. xxxix, note 2). On the next page he discussed what place Augustobriga could be, and said that some considered it a town in Portugal, which, perhaps, gave rise to an opinion in favour of the authoress being a Portuguese. But Augustobriga could not be any town in Portugal, for the only two places so called in antiquity, were Aldea-el-Muro and Villar de Pedroso. Nor could it have been Burgos, as supposed by Pellicer and Salvá, as that is a modern town. There was an Augustobriga, mentioned by Ptolemy,[1] afterwards called Mirobriga, generally supposed by Spanish antiquarians to be Ciudad Rodrigo, "and so we have to decide (*habrémos de dejar sentado*) that the two books of *Palmerin* and *Primaleon* were written by a lady, a native of Ciudad Rodrigo, who, perhaps, concealed her name under the pseudonym of *Francisco Vazquez*, unless we wish to suppose that this was her son, and that he continued the work of his mother, as is gathered from the verses already quoted of Juan Augur." Now Antonio, if he did not know that

Clemencin (*Don Quijote* I., p. 125); Salvá y Mallen (*Catálogo*, II., p. 90); in the Preface to the edition of 1786 of *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*; and in the *Discurso Preliminar* of Gayangos (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.* XL., p. xl.) with Augustobriga and Lisboa in place of Augustobrica and Medina.

[1] It might from this be supposed that Ptolemy mentioned a third Augustobriga. He did not. What he did was to put the Augustobriga of the Vettones (Villar de Pedroso, according to Gayangos, Talavera la Vieja, according to Hübner) in the wrong place.

Primaleon was a continuation of *Palmerin*, at least believed it, for, speaking of the "tertium librum de rebus gestis Primaleonis hujusmet Palmerini filii," he says (*Bib. Nov.* II., 393) :—"Quam fuisse credo continuationem paternæ historiæ fabulosæ. Primaleonis & Palmerini eamdem esse historiam id etiam nobis persuadet, quod. . . ." So the reason adduced by Gayangos why Antonio did not give the "natural interpretation" to the lines of Juan Augur fails. From what has been already said, that *Palmerin* and *Primaleon* are parts of one work, and by one author, and that a woman, it cannot be held that the natural interpretation of the verses is that they are two works, by two persons, one a man and the other a woman. Much more likely is Wolf's explanation, that the son of the authoress composed the military part of the book (*Studien*, p. 186). This would help also to get over a difficulty Gayangos had in believing that *Palmerin* was written by a woman, viz., that the chivalrous exploits of the hero are more prominent than his love affairs. Whether they are or not is another question. Delicado, speaking of *Primaleon*, says (Introduction to Book II.) : y fue mas enclinada al amor que a las batallas alas quales da corto fin." It would be singular if in the part written, according to Gayangos, by the mother, chivalrous exploits predominated, while in the part he attributes to the son, love, more than battles, had first place.

Although Braunfels (*Amadis von Gallien*, p. 144) asserts that Gayangos has proved (*nachgewiesen*) that the Spanish lady, the authoress of *Palmerin de Oliva*, came from Ciudad Rodrigo, it is clear that he has done no such thing. First, he gives no reason for rejecting the claims of Aldea-el-Muro and Villar de Pedroso in favour of that of Ciudad Rodrigo. And, secondly, his whole argument is bad, because the question is, not what town Augustobriga really was, but what town the author of the line supposed it to be. That in the sixteenth century Burgos was commonly thought to be Augustobriga is evident from the *Hispania*[1] of Ludovicus Nonius, who in Chapter LV. refutes this opinion. That it survived this refutation appears from what Gayangos says about Pellicer and Salvá. It has been accepted for this case by Wolf (*Studien*, p. 186). It

[1] Antwerp, 1607. This work forms also part of Vol. IV. of the *Hispaniae Illustratae* of A. Schottus. Frankfort, 1608.

is very likely Burgos was meant, for Juan Augur, who praised the lady so much, came from near Burgos, as Antonio says (*Bib. Nov.* I. 639): "Ioannes Augur, quem Trasmierensem vocatum propter natalem locum Trasmiera in montanis Burgensibus existimo."[1]

Gayangos probably gave the preference to Ciudad Rodrigo on account of the mention of it and of its citizen, Francisco Vazquez, in the colophon of the edition of 1524[2] of *Primaleon*. The colophon of the *editio princeps* of 1512 has been quoted in this note. It is ambiguous. Was the translation as well as the revision by Francisco Vazquez, or did he only revise one or both books, which some one else had translated (composed)?[3] Both interpretations are possible, as may be seen from the notices of *Rogel de Grecia*, *Cristalian de España* and the Venetian editions of 1534 of *Palmerin* and *Primaleon*, to be found on pages lxix., lxxiii., and lxxi. of vol. XL. of the *Bib. de Aut. Esp.* If we had only this colophon, I should have decided for the former interpretation. But we have also the Latin verses of Juan Augur; and how are we to reconcile the distinct statement in the first part (*Palmerin*), that it was by a woman, with the adoption of a male pseudonym in the second part (*Primaleon*) published a few months later, and which pseudonym applied to both parts? This consideration seems to me to force us to accept the second interpretation, and to hold that Francisco Vazquez merely revised the work of the authoress. If she was a carpenter's daughter, it is not unlikely, in spite of Juan Augur's panegyric, that her compositions would require editing. This was done by Francisco Vazquez. I do not know who he was; but Mendez (*Tipografía Española*, edited by D. Dionisio Hidalgo, Madrid, 1861, pp. 146, 149, 307) mentions one Juan Vazquez as a printer in Toledo in 1486.

[1] Aribau says the mountains of Santander, *Revista Crítica*, July-August, 1899, p. 327.

[2] It will be noticed that the colophon given on p. xxxix of the *Discurso Preliminar* does not agree with that on p. lxxi.

[3] As bearing on this point the lines of Luis Hurtado, recommending his (?) book of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, which was printed by Francisco de Guzman in Toledo, should be noted. They are quoted by Barrera, p. 192.

El cual ha corregido y enmendado
Con letras de su imprenta delicadas
Francisco de Guzman el de Toledo.

Another Juan Vazquez (of Avila) printed the Second Part of *Clarian de Landanis*, in Seville, in 1550 (Salvá y Mallen, II. 49). Through these Juans a clue might be got to Francisco. The whole question is obscure, and can be cleared up only, if at all, by an examination of the earliest editions of *Palmerin* and *Primaleon*. I have not been able to consult any prior to those of Venice of 1534, and neither gives us the original work. Special enquiry is needed as to whether the name Augustobrica, which Delicado applies to the authoress, occurs elsewhere in connection with her.

The popularity of these two romances was extraordinary. Between 1511 and 1580 nine, perhaps ten, editions of *Palmerin de Oliva* appeared, and between 1512 and 1598 eight, perhaps eleven, of *Primaleon*, of which two in Lisbon. Both were translated into Italian, French, and English, directly or at second-hand, and there is a Dutch version of *Palmerin*. Dolce wrote two long poems, *Il Palmerino* and *Il Primaleone*, founded on them. *Primaleon* has been continued in Italian. There is also a French continuation by Gabriel Chappuys, but it is most probably a translation from the Italian (*supra*, p. 18). Opinions differ as to their absolute and relative merit. Juan de Valdés, the author of the *Diálogo de la Lengua*, written in 1535-36, said that they and the four books of Amadis had commended themselves to him in some respect (*por zierto respetto, han ganado crédito conmigo*), and he considered them superior to *Esplandian* and some other books of chivalry.[1] (pp. 180-1, Madrid, 1860). Torquato Tasso speaks in laudatory terms of *Primaleon*.[2] Cervantes condemned *Palmerin de Oliva* to the flames, and did not even mention *Primaleon*; but he may have looked upon both as one work (*Don Quixote*, I., chapter 6). M. de Paulmy, who was a good authority, preferred *Palmerin de Oliva* to all the romances

[1] This is the place in the *Diálogo de la Lengua* from which Braunfels (*Amadis von Gallien*, p. 107) draws an argument in favour of the Spanish origin of *Amadis*. The criticism of Valdés is much more discriminating than a reader who knew only Braunfels would think. What he says is: "Entre los que han escrito cosas de sus cabezas, comunmente se tiene por mejor estilo, el del que escribió los cuatro libros de Amadis de Gaula: i pienso, que tienen razon. Bienque en muchas partes va demasiadamente afectado; i en otras mui descuidado: unas vezes, alza el estilo al zielo: i otras, le abaja al suelo."

[2] *Discorsi del poema heroico*, p. 46, Naples (1597 ?).

of the family history of the Palmerins, and thought it as superior to them as *Amadis de Gaule* to its continuations; perhaps it might be preferred even to *Amadis*. But his opinion may have been biassed by the fact that the translation into French of the romance he praised was made by the Vicomte de Paulmy (Dunlop, *History of Fiction* II., p. 58; *Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque* XVI., p. 2). W., in the place already mentioned, considered *Primaleon* very superior to *Palmerin de Oliva* in vigour of thought and fertility of invention. On p. 139 he quotes Vaughan (*The Golden Fleece*, p. 11., ed. 1626), who expresses himself in most uncomplimentary language: "*Palmerin de Oliva* and the like rabblement, deuised no doubt by the deuyll to confirme soules in the knowledge of evyll;" and Meres, in the *Palladis Tamia* (f. 268, ed. 1598) mentions both works as to be censured. Clemencin (*Don Quijote* I., p. 128), with fine impartiality, says contemptuously: "En mi pobre juicio allá se van los dos Palmerines;" that is, *Palmerin de Oliva* and *Palmerin de Inglaterra*. But he probably knew the latter only in the expurgated edition of 1592 (see App. III.). For my part, I much prefer *Palmerin de Oliva* to *Primaleon*, and am not sure that it is not the most amusing of all the romances of chivalry I have read. It has one undeniable merit as compared with *Primaleon*; it is much shorter, being about three-fifths as long as that work, which is at least one-tenth longer than *Palmerin of England*. When, having disposed of the adventures of Polendos, Don Duardos, and Primaleon, at portentous length, the author proceeds to start those of Platir, the heart of the weary reader of *Primaleon* sinks within him. Moraes is indebted for several incidents to *Palmerin de Oliva*, and in it, in Alchidiana, he found the prototype of Targiana.

When writing note (1), p. 20, I did not like to contradict Gayangos about Sidela and Gridonia without further enquiry. On looking through *Primaleon* I find, as I expected, that the character of these ladies was perfectly blameless. As Sidela is introduced for the first time in the last few chapters, the reader can easily satisfy himself as regards her. As to Gridonia, a very broad and unambiguous statement on f. 246 is sufficient proof of what I say. It seems possible that Gayangos got his knowledge of

Primaleon from the Table of Chapters. In the heading of Chapter 11, Book III., Primaleon and Gridonia are mentioned as *estando folgando*. Gayangos may have taken this in a bad sense. It really refers to a hunting excursion.

As regards *Palmerin de Oliva*, he is wrong in saying that Polinarda was the daughter of Trineo (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., p. xxxix.). She was his sister.

PALMENDOS.

In the first Book of *Primaleon* are recorded the adventures of Polendos, son of Palmerin de Oliva and the queen of Tarsis (whose name I have no where seen), till his marriage with Francelina. The first twenty chapters were paraphrased by Antony Munday, who took them from the French, and published his work under the title of *Palmendos*.

One edition of this appeared in 1589 and another in 1653. Both Brunet and Graesse[1] give 1663, but the copy I have examined in the British Museum is dated 1653. Palmendos is simply a form of Polendos. In Chapter 95 of *Palmerin de Oliva* we are told that the son of Palmerin and the queen of Tarsis was called Polendos after his father Palmerin and his grandfather Florendos. Palmendos would, then, seem more suitable than Polendos; and it would be interesting to see which name is used in the earliest edition of *Palmerin de Oliva* (1511). In those of 1534, 1540 and 1580, Polendos, or Polendus, is met. In the French version of *Palmerin de Oliva*, of 1553 (f. 162. v.) Palmendos is used, when the reason of the name is given.

POLENDO.

Polendo was written in Italian by Pietro Lauro, and printed at Venice in 1566, and again in 1609. It professes to be translated from the Spanish, but till some trace of the alleged original is found, it will be safer to look upon the romance as the composition of the Italian writer. It is a continuation of the first Book of *Primaleon*, and begins with the birth of Franciano, son of Polendos and France-

[1] Graesse followed Brunet, who, apparently, got his information from the *British Bibliographer* (I. 235), which refers to the Steevens Catalogue. In that, at No. 1162, the date is 1663.

una. It contains also the adventures of Pompides, son of the D. Duardos who was one of the heroes of *Primaleon* and father of Palmerin of England. It is, then, evident that this story belongs to the *Palmerin* series. It has been by many confounded with the romance *Don Polindo* The Spanish form of Polendo is Polendos, and not Polindo.

PLATIR.

This romance was written in Spanish, and published at Valladolid in 1533. The author's name is not known. There is a copy in British Museum Library, which I have consulted.

The book was translated into Italian by Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano, whose version was published by Tramezzino, in Venice, in 1548. Ferrario (IV., 260) says:—"Il traduttore è Mambrino Roseo, come rilevasi dal privilegio del Senato Veneto." Several editions followed. I have seen that of Bonfadino, Venice, 1597 (8). The title-page has nothing about its being a translation, but does say:—"Per M. Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano." In the Dedication, signed by Michele Tramezzino, we read:—"Ho voluto dedicare anche il presente autore fatto di Spagnuolo buon Italiano."

In 1560, Tramezzino published a Second Part of *Platir*. This also was reprinted several times, among others by Bonfadino, in 1598, with the following title:—"La seconda parte et aggiunta nvovamente ritrovata al libro di Platir. . . . Tradotta nella lingua Italiana da gli annali antichi di Grecia." Both Brunet and Graesse add, writing of the edition of 1560, "(da Mambrino Roseo.)" In the Dedication to the Signora Silvia Boiarda, Countess of Scandiano, Michele Tramezzino says he had a short time before (*i passati giorni*) dedicated to her the Fourth Part of *Primaleon*. He was now dedicating the Second Part of *Platir*, as he had dedicated the First Part to her husband.

No Spanish Second Part is known.

It is quite safe to look upon the Italian continuation as an original composition of Mambrino Roseo or of one of his assistants.

FLORTIR.

The origin of this romance is not clear. No Spanish

version is mentioned, but the Italian, which was published by Tramezzino, in Venice, in 1554, has prefixed to it a *Privilege* of the Venetian Senate, dated October 24, 1553, in which the book is said to be "tradotta dal Spagnuolo nella lingua Italiana." In the Dedication, too, we find :—"Poi che l'hebbi fatto tradure di Spagnuolo in Italiano."

In 1560, Tramezzino brought out a Second Book of *Flortir*. The title is :—"Libro Secondo del valoroso Cauallier Flortir, Imperador di Constantinopoli, Di nvovo ritrovato negli annali delle cauallerie di Greci, & tradotto nella lingua Italiana." The *Privilege* of the Venetian Senate, dated September 20, 1560, has :—"l'opera titolata il secondo libro del cauallier Flortir Imperatore di Constantinopoli opera tradotta in lingua Italiana dalla Spagnuola per messer Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano." And in the Dedication by Michele Tramezzino we read :—"della seconda parte del ualoroso cauallier Flortir dal Spagnuolo nella lingua nostra traportata."

Now, the question is whether these reiterated statements that *Flortir* was translated from the Spanish are fact, or fiction.

Ferrario (II., 363) says:—"È sentimento comune che tutta quest 'opera non si trovi fuorchè in Italiano, e che l'autore ne fosse lo stesso Roseo, come chè per traduttore spacciarsi ei volesse." This refers to Part VI. of *Sferamundi*, which professes to be "di nuovo tradotta dalla lingua Spagnuola nell' Italiana per M. Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano."

Melzi, who is an excellent authority, speaking also of *Sferamundi*, (on pp. 338-9), remarks :—"Osservò il *Quadrio* che *Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano*, il quale si spaccia traduttore di questo romanzo, ne fu egli medesimo l'autore, non ritrovandosi in altra lingua fuorchè nell' italiana. Lo stesso si può dire di tutte le *Aggiunte* di sopra menzionate, le quali sono state del medesimo composte, benchè egli se ne spacciasse traduttore."

Gayangos, in Vol. XL. of the *Bib. de Aut. Esp.* (p. xli), speaks of the Italian *Flortir*, and says it is not known in Castilian, though it professes to be translated from our language. On p. lxxii. he observes that it appears, however, to have been translated into our language, for in some literary notes left by D. Jerónimo Gascon de Torquemada we find the following passage :—"Leyendo dias pasados en uno de esos libros con que el vulgo se entretiene y deleita,

en que se contienen las fabulosas aventuras de un descendiente de Palmerin de Oliva, llamado Flotir," etc.

Salvá y Mallen (*Catálogo*, II. 91) says: "Presumo sin embargo que no ha existido en este idioma, por lo ménos puede casi asegurarse que no se ha impreso en español."—in fact, that there was no published Spanish version.

Varnhagen (*Da Litteratura dos Livros de Cavallarias*, p. 91) is of opinion that *Flortir* was originally written in Spanish, "looking at its own statement, which we find at the end of the first book of the Italian version, and which runs thus: 'Ma perche non si fecero poi altre imprese memorevole, l'autore, *che si havea tolto a scrivere le valerosi imprese della progenie di Palmerino*, vedendo che non poteva più durar, s'é contentato di lasciare lo Imperatore Flortir in una tranquilla pace, e far fin a questa sua vaga, e dilettevol historia, laudando la divina bontá, che gli ha dato forza di scriverla sino al fine.' Looking at this statement, we are led to believe that the author of *Flortir* was (*seria*) the same as of *Platir*, the original of which was undoubtedly Spanish." The reasoning of Varnhagen is bad, and his Italian not above reproach. First, there is nothing to show that the Italian writer is referring to any book but *Flortir*, or to any descendants of Palmerin except those mentioned in it. Secondly, Varnhagen's argument would apply to *Primaleon* and *Palmerin de Inglaterra* as well as *Platir*, and then we should have to conclude that all four romances were written by the same person, which is absurd.

Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos (*Versuch*, p. 2) says that the original of *Flortir* has been lost, which means, I presume, the Spanish original.

Neither Antonio nor Cervantes notices *Flortir*, though both mention *Platir*.

The ending of Book I. of *Flortir*, quoted by Varnhagen, is very curious, and quite unusual, as it was the custom of writers of romances of chivalry to promise continuations, and so afford opportunity to themselves or others for further outpourings. And then, when the history of the Palmerins has concluded in Book I., we find it begun again in Book II., with no explanation beyond the statement: "Di nvovo ritrovato negli annali delle cauallerie di Greci, & tradotto nella lingua Italiana." I feel sure that the ending of Book I. is not by a Spaniard. But a translator might tamper with his text.

In favour, then, of the Spanish origin of *Flortir* we find distinct declarations in both Books—in the Dedications and in the *Privileges* of the Venetian Senate—that the work was translated from the Spanish. It is not, however, likely that the Senate made any special enquiry into the matter. The official probably accepted Tramezzino's statement. We have also Torquemada's note about the existence of a work, called *Flotir*, belonging to the Palmerin cycle.

Against the assertions of the Dedication and *Privileges* we find the fact that almost all romances of chivalry professed to be translations. It is certain that some romances in Italian were translated from the Spanish ; but this does not imply that all professing to be so translated were speaking truth. The *Palmerins*, taken from the Spanish, were very popular in Italy. This is shown by the fact that Dolce wrote two long poems founded on them. Tramezzino seems to have had a sort of factory, presided over by Mambrino Roseo, which turned out romances, original or translated, in numbers. What more natural than that, following the custom of saying these works were translations, he should assert that they were taken from the Spanish, a language which had supplied Italy with several popular romances ?

Then we have the opinions of the Italian bibliographers, that Mambrino Roseo used to pass off his own work as translations. Again, it is a curious fact that not one of these alleged Spanish works was ever translated direct from that language into any other except Italian, though it was not unusual to make such translations, as, for instance, of *Amadis*, *Palmerin de Oliva*, *Primaleon*, *Palmerin of England*, *Clareo y Florisea*, *Flores y Blancaflor*, into French. It is certainly remarkable, too, that the originals of such a number of alleged Spanish works should have disappeared, in Spain, and Itály, and elsewhere—the third part of *Palmerin of England*, *Polendo*, both Books of *Flortir*, and the six parts of *Sferamundi*.[1] The Second Part of *Platir*, which came out in the same year as the Second Book of *Flortir*, professes to be "nvovamente ritrovata," and

[1] *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., p. lxx. I do not cite *Polisman*, as I think there may possibly have been a Spanish original, and have not been able to examine the question. Gayangos (*Op. cit.*, p. lxxvii) wrongly corrects Antonio about the translator's name. Miranda is quite right, according to the edition of 1573, which I have seen.

"tradotta da gli annali antichi di Grecia." The Second Book of *Flortir* is "Di nvovo ritrovato negli annali delle cauallerie di Greci." The former does not profess to be translated from the Spanish, the latter does. This may be held to favour the truth of the statement in *Flortir*. But it may also mean simple desire to vary the fable. Such phrases as *nuovamente ritrovato*, *di nuovo ritrovato*, *nuovamente venuta in luce*, at once suggest fiction.

As to Torquemada's note, we must suspend judgment till we are given more information as to who he was, when he wrote, and about what he was writing. One would like to examine his MS. for one's self, as accuracy was not the strong point of Gayangos. At present all that can be said is that, if *Flotir* is right, the work is not the one under consideration, for that is called *Flortir*. This name was formed from the names of its bearer's parents—Florinda and Platir (*Platir*, f. 113. v. 2). If *Flotir* is wrong, then the question arises whether it is a mistake for *Platir*, or for *Flortir*. The former is very probable.

Meanwhile, my view agrees with that of D. Pedro Salvá y Mallen—that no printed Spanish *Flortir* ever existed. I think the work is of Italian origin.

DON POLINDO.

Gayangos writes concerning this work in the *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XL., p. xl. :—"*Palmerin de Oliva* and *Primaleon* were followed by another knight-errant of the same family, called *Don Polindo*, whose history, according to our view, ought to be the third of the series, as he was the son of Paciano, king of Numidia, and of the queen of Tarsi, formerly married to Polendos, brother of Primaleon. This book was printed in Toledo in 1526, without the author's name, and was translated into Italian by Mambrino Roseo, who had already translated the previous ones." It would be difficult to get more mistakes into so small a space. *Don Polindo* is not the third of the Palmerin series. It is a perfectly independent romance and has nothing to say to the *Palmerins*. Don Polindo, the hero, was not the son of Paciano and the queen of Tarsi (or Tarsis), but of Paciano and Polimira, daughter of the king of Little Britain. Polendos was not the husband, but the son of the queen. There is no reason to believe that *Don Polindo* was ever translated into Italian, either by Mambrino Roseo or

anyone else. For the last two mistakes Gayangos is alone responsible. In the others he has probably followed Quadrio, who says[1]: – "Questo Polindo figliuolo del Re Paciano, non è che Polindo, que della Regina di Tarsi generò Palmerino d'Oliva. Ma essendosi poi detta Regina di Tarsi accasata con Paciano, Re di Numidia, fece ella passare quel parto suo per opera di questo Paciano." In this error Ferrario (II., p. 367) has followed Quadrio, and speaks of "Polindo o Polendo." Graesse (*Lehrbuch einer allgemeinen Literärgeschichte* Bd. II., Abt. 3, p. 424) points out that the Italian *Polendo* does not agree with the Spanish *Don Polindo*, but says it was "zwar zuerst spanisch . . .", a statement which has to be proved. See also Salvá y Mallen, *Catálogo*, II., p. 91.

Don Polindo is one of the worst ofits class. It has nothing to commend it, except that it contains a few strange words which might possibly interest the philologist.[2] The style is very unequal. In places the author heaps up augmentatives, as Ferrer does in the Spanish *Palmerin of England*; in others, the language is so inflated that, as life is short, I passed on without knowing what was meant; in others again, the style is homely, as when it is said that, "the king was listening with his mouth open," (f. 95. v.) which recalls Ferrer's statement that Floriano was tired of shouting. The birth of the hero is recorded in this delightful sentence:—"Polimira parió con ayuda del ymenso dios & de todas sus donzellas un hijo" (f. 13. v. 2). Some of the incidents are outrageously absurd, as when an army is routed by more than ten thousand lions that rush out of a castle (f. 35. v.); the hero and a companion drive fifteen hundred knights out of the lists (f. 106); he raises a mace four men could hardly lift (f. 77); a giant is introduced thirty feet high[3] and twelve broad (f. 139, v.); and so on.

[1] *Della Storia e della Ragione d'ogni Poesia* IV., p. 531.

[2] The phrase "hombre humano," which Fernandez-Guerra y Orbe (Gallardo I. col. 1275) says is a Cervantismo, is found on ff. 25. v., 97, and 111. It occurs also in the Spanish *Palmerin de Inglaterra* (II. f. 14. v.), while the Portuguese version has "homem humano," (II. p. 379). It is also met in *Amadis de Gaula* (p. 226).

[3] Thirty feet would seem to have been a not unusual height for giants. Thus in the *Orlando Innamorato* (I. i. 75) we have:—

Turlone il quarto, e trenta piedi è grande.

We have only the Frst Part. At the end the author says that in the Second Part the hero and heroine get married, that it records the exploits of their son, and that it had already been written (*ya esta hecho*). Both Quadrio and Ferrario (*loc. cit.*) say that this work was translated into French by Gabriel Chapuys, and was printed at Lyons in 1580 and 1618. Perhaps this translation, if really of *Don Polindo*, and not of *Polendo*, might give a clue to the author, and show whether the Second Part ever appeared. I think it is most probable, however, that Ferrario was merely following Quadrio, and that the latter mistook the translation of the Fourth Book of *Primaleon of Greece* for one of *Don Polindo*. In the copy of *Don Polindo* in the British Museum the title-page and dedication are missing with folio i. The story begins on folio ii., as it does in the copies of *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* of 1567 in the National Library, Madrid, and the Ajuda Palace, Lisbon. The same remark applies to the copy mentioned in the Heredia *Catalogue* (II. 2491).

CLARIMUNDO.

This romance is treated of by Gayangos on page xlvii of the *Discurso Preliminar* (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, Vol. XL.). He calls the heroine Clorinda, while her real name was

And still more extraordinary (I. iv. 38 :—

il gran gigante Alfrera,
Cosa non fu già mai tanto feroce,
Quant'è colui che trenta piedi è altano
Su la giraffa, ed ha un baston in mano.

This was also tbe height of Sir Bevis of Hamptoun's giant, Ascapard:—

This geaunt was mighty and strong,
And full thirty foot was long.

—Ellis, *Early English Metrical Romances* (1848), p. 263.

But, though it must be admitted that these giants were well grown, they would have had to get on a long ladder to be on a level with Ferragus:—

He had twenty men's strength;
And forty feet of length
Thilke paynim had.

—*Ib.*, p. 351.

We are not told the height of the giants in *Palmerin of England*, but, compared with the above four, they would seem to have deserved rather the name of pigmies. From casual remarks I gather that, on an average, they were between eight and nine feet high. Dramusiando may be given about a foot less.

Clarinda. He says the work was printed before 1520.[1] In this he stands alone. Brunet, apparently following Barbosa, gives 1520 as the year of the first edition. Innocencio casts doubts on this edition, on the ground that the undoubted works of the alleged printer, João de Barreira, did not begin till 1549, and went on till, at least, 1572 (*Dicc. Biog.* III., pp. 318, 319). That no such edition existed seems to me clear. First, it will be noted that Barbosa does not mention the edition of 1522, of which there is no doubt, as D. Pedro Salvá y Mallen saw it, and described it in his *Catálogo* (II. 584). It may be, then, that 1520 is a misprint for 1522. Even so, other mistakes about the place and printer would remain. Or he may have been misled by the statement in the Prologue to the *Decada Primeira da Asia*, from which it would appear that João de Barros presented a sketch of *Clarimundo* to the king, D. Manuel, at Evora, in 1520. (" . . . el Rey vosso padre de gloriosa memoria : estando sua Alteza em Euora o anno de quinhentos & vinte lhe apresentei hum debuxo feito em nome de vossa Alteza . . ."). But this was not complete, nor printed; for, in his address to D. João III. after the book had been printed (*Prologo feito depois desta Obra Impressa. Ao muy alto, e poderoso Rey D. João III.*), he says that he made the translation "openly (*publicamente*) on the coffers of your wardrobe," and finished it in eight months. He ordered it to be printed, and in the meantime D. João became king ("mandey-o imprimir. No qual tempo . . . recebestes o Real Cetro"). But this occurred in December 1521. The book, then, was being printed in 1521, and there could have been no edition of 1520.[2] Besides this, D. João III. is mentioned as king in Book III., Chapter IV., p. 394 (ed. 1742). Moreover, this edition calls itself the fourth (*Quarta Impressão.*)

[1] The bibliographers differ very much about the dates of the variou editions of *Clarimundo*. The correct dates are: 1522, 1555, 1601, 1742, 1791, 1843. For the edition of 1555, see Gallardo I. 664, and Brunet (1878), Suppl. I. 94, 95. I have myself seen those of 1601, 1742, and 1791. Innocencio (III. 320) gives that of 1843. Three of the six dates given by Gayangos (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.* XL., p. lxxiii.) are wrong.

[2] This argument to show there was no edition of 1520, based on the "*Prologo feito depois*," has been already used by Varnhagen (*Da Litt. dos Livros de Cavallarias*, pp. 131-133). He is wrong in giving an edition of 1553. I do not know what he means when he says (p. 135) of the Roca de Cintra, "de que, por imitação, tratou tambem depois F. de Moraes." The latter no where speaks of Cintra or its Roca.

The romance, of course, professes to be a translation, this time from the Hungarian. One Carlim Delamor, who came to Portugal with the Queen, related to João de Barros the wondrous tales of the emperor Clarimundo, whom God chose as progenitor of the kings of Portugal, and which are remembered only by the Hungarians and Greeks. Barros declares himself worthy of blame for translating a matter that ought to be recounted with divine eloquence. His work is comparatively short, about half the length of *Palmerin de Inglaterra.* As might be expected from him, the style is excellent, clear and flowing. Neither the story nor the characters are interesting. The work falls off towards the close, and the ending itself is downright silly.

The best opinion is, that João de Barros was born in 1496 and died in 1570. His life, then, was nearly conterminous with that of Francisco de Moraes. We may reasonably assume that they must have known each other well. Moraes was acquainted with *Clarimundo* and borrowed various passages from it; among them, the adventure recorded in Chapter 110, when Arnalta and Dragonalte came down the Tagus, in a boat, to the Castle of Almourol (*Clarimundo* Book III., Chapter XXII., p. 476-477). It is likely, too, that he adopted from the earlier romance the bad habit[1] of concluding each chapter with a moral reflexion. Those of João de Barros may be more commonplace, but they are also shorter than those of Moraes. It is possible that we owe them in *Clarimundo* to D. João III., and that Moraes, like a good courtier, imitated his predecessor. It is probable D. João did meddle in the composition of *Clarimundo*, as the author says that when he dedicated the work to him in the following (*i.e.* earlier) Prologue, on account of being less busy, he (D. João) occupied himself to some extent in correcting his mistakes (*i.e.*, those of Barros)—"Porque quando lho dirigi no seguinte Prologo, as menos occupaçoens que então tinha, lhe fazião tomar alguma pera emendar meus erros." Looking at this statement, and considering when the book was written, and that D. João was born in 1502, the assertion of Braga (*Amadis de Gaula*, p. 243), though practically

[1] Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos approves of it (. . *jedes Kapitel zierlich abschliessen*). *Versuch*, p. 60.

repeated by the authoress of the *Versuch* (p. 5), that D. João in his youth amused himself by copying out *Clarimundo*, seems to me as apocryphal as that *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* was dedicated to that prince.

In conclusion I give part of the passage in Book III., Chapter XXII., referred to, as some may like to compare the styles of the two authors:—"que o Sol hia ja tão baixo, e fraco de sua quentura, que dava naquellas donzellas com huma claridade rosada, que as fazia muito mais fermosas. E depois que todos entrarão na Batel assentarão-se os dois namorados, e á roda todalas donzellas, que começarão a tocar muitos instrumentos, cantando a elles suavamente, e os remos remavão com hum compasso tão certo, que parecia irem concertados com a musica das vozes."

Various notices of this romance, bearing on our enquiry, will be found in the body of the work and need not be repeated here.

MEMORIAL DAS PROEZAS DA SEGUNDA TAVOLA REDONDA.

This romance records the death of King Arthur and following events, with the exploits of certain knights of the Second Round Table, instituted by his successor, Sagramor.[1] The original author is supposed to be Foroneus, an English chronicler, who imitated and followed Sigisberto Galico and Guillielmo de Nangis, Latin writers. There is no plot, but a series of more or less disconnected adventures. It might be said that there is no principal hero, but, perhaps, the Knight of the Crystalline Arms [2] is meant for such. The influence of the Italian epics is seen in this work. There is a female warrior, Pynaflor, who distinguishes herself greatly. She is more of the Gildippe than of the Marfisa, Bradamante, or Clorinda type. The sad tale of Brisam de Lorges is simply that of Grifon, in Cantos XVII. and XVIII. of the *Orlando Furioso*. So carelessly has the book been written or edited, that the conclusion of this episode comes, in Chapter 36, before the beginning in Chapter 39. The style is good, but, perhaps, a little affected. References to clas-

[1] Sagramor was a famous knight in the Arthur Cyclus. He was the son of a King of Hungary (Ellis, *Early English Metrical Romances* (ed. 1848), p. 114). This, no doubt, explains his selection by J. F. de Vasconcellos for founder of the Second Round Table. Cf. *supra*, Chapter III., para. II.

[2] D. Lucidardos, son of Tristam de Leonis and Iseo.

sical mythology are extremely frequent. Perhaps the most interesting is in Chapter 35 (p. 235), where the origin of the Basque tongue is declared. After the war with the Lapithæ certain Centaurs settled in Lepuseva, in the north of Spain, and Basque is simply the language they spoke. Philologists have, I believe, been hitherto ignorant of this clear and simple explanation of a difficult question. The book is singularly free from objectionable incidents. I noticed only one. The story has no proper ending. The three Parcæ (*Fadas*) appear and chant a *romance* before Sagramor and his court, on which a transformation scene takes place, in which Lisbon appears, and the tourney at Xabregas, on Aug. 5, 1552, is represented. The whole winds up with a lament for the death of Prince João, son of D, João III., who died January 2, 1554.

There is some doubt about the different editions of this book. One certainly appeared in 1567,[1] addressed to D. Sebastian. Another was published in 1867 It claims to be the second, and says the book was printed the first time in 1567. Barbosa mentions a work by the same author, Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos, entitled "*Triumfos de Sagramor, em que se tratão os feitos dos Cavalleiros da segunda Tavola Redonda.* Deregido ao Principe D. João. Coimbra por Ioão Alvres Impressor del Rey 1554, fol." This is also mentioned by Gayangos (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.* XL., p. lxiii), who adds "letra de Tórtis, á dos columnas." It has been suggested that this is the second part of the *Memorial*, but Innocencio (IV. 171) very justly doubts whether the second part would be published in 1554, and the first part in 1567. He thinks that the *Triumfos de Sagramor* was an earlier edition of the *Memorial.* This is also the opinion of Salvá y Mallen (*Catálogo*, II. 81), and appears to me correct.

The *Advertencia ao Leitor* (not signed), in the same author's *Comedia Ulysippo* (Lisbon, Pedro Craesbeck, 1618), says: "A outra comedia (não tratando da Eufrosina) com a primeira parte da Tabla redonda que pera a terceira impressão emendou o Autor em sua vida de sorte que de meyo em diante em tudo ficou differente. E assi mais a segunda parte da mesma historia podeis começar a esperar muito em breve." This would show that two editions had

[1] A copy of this edition, from Salvá's library, is in the British Museum. I used that of 1867.

come out in the lifetime of Ferreira de Vasconcellos, of which one was that of 1567. See Innocencio (*loc. cit.*). Nicolás Antonio (*Bib. Nov.* I 538) has: "*Primera y segunda parte de la Tabla*[1] *redonda* Et (ut Cardosus addidit in schedis ad *Bibliothecam Lusitanam*) *e Triunfos de Sagramar*, quæ extare autographa refert: de quo nihil ultra audivi."

In the *Memorial* a second part is mentioned on pp. 95 and 176, and again at the end: "segundo se verá no segundo libro que se segue." But this means nothing. The mention of another part is as obligatory in romances of chivalry as the statement that they are translations. In any case, the words *se verá* and *se segue*, at the very end of the first part, which issued in 1567, cannot mean that the second part was published *before* it. Looking at what is said by Antonio and in the *Advertencia* of the *Comedia Ulysippo*, it seems probable that there was a second part; but whether it was by Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos, or whether it was ever published, is more doubtful. In his Dedication (*Prologo*) to D. Sebastian the author says nothing about a second part, but he does speak of "esta trasladação do triumpho del Rey Sagramor," which appears to me to show that the *Memorial* was the same as the *Triunfo*(*s*). It seems likely, however, that the endings differed, for in the same Dedication it is said, speaking of the prince D. João: "E que sendo a summa providencia servida de levalo pera si em flor. . . . Pareceo-me de obrigação e necessidade trazer á luz o torneo e mostra que nos delle ficou. . . . e juntamente cumpro o que per elle em vida me foy mandado . . ." The use of the present tense (*cumpro*) would imply that the tourney was now, in the edition of 1567, introduced for the first time. But it is not certain. For the *Triunfos* appeared in 1554, and almost certainly after the death of D. João (January 2), and it is difficult to see why the author should not at once have complied with the wishes of the prince, instead of waiting thirteen years to do so. Again, if the book was published when D. João was dead, how was it dedicated to him? Barbosa may be wrong, though I do not think so. More likely he left out words, like *que santa gloria aja*, after the name of the prince. What suggests itself is, that the *Triunfos* was

[1] Was it here Gayangos (*loc. cit.*) got the "Tabla" which he wrongly attributes to Barbosa?

practically all in print when D. João (to whom it had been presented in manuscript) died, and that there was a supplementary Prologue, as in the somewhat analogous case of *Clarimundo*, forming a sort of posthumous Dedication.[1] On the whole, the balance of probability seems to me to point to different terminations in the *Triunfos* and the *Memorial*. The account of the tourney was undoubtedly written from notes taken at the time. This is shown by the long and minute description of the ladies' dresses and of the arms and devices of the knights.

Examining the *Memorial* with reference to points considered in this book, especially in Chapter VIII., we find much of interest. D. Maria is compared to the beautiful Minerva, and her attire and that of the queen are recorded in detail worthy of Moraes (p. 334; *supra*, Chapter VIII., para. 25). But similar descriptions are rare. The ladies will be pleased to hear that the author did not share his views concerning them. On the contrary, he thought them the best thing the world possesses (p. 176). He does not describe betrothals and marriages separately (pp. 164, 296; *supra*, p. 271). He speaks of "ricos leytos" twice (pp. 123, 174; *supra*, p. 271). As regards this, it must be remembered that he was well-read in *Amadis*; indeed, in Chapter 43, he recapitulates a long portion of it relating to Corisanda, D. Galaor and D. Florestan. Only once (p.204) after disarming does a knight take a robe (of scarlet). This is a common custom in the Spanish romances, but is not found in *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*. The arms of knights are described sixteen times (*Supra*, Chapter VIII., para. 24). *Saudade* occurs twenty-eight, and *saudoso* twelve times (*ib*. para. 28). A ballad relating to Oenone is given on p. 32, and mention is made of cutting names in trees on pages 90 and 91 (*supra*, p. 329). The author twice uses the

[1] The passage quoted goes on thus: "o que me pode ser desculpa, e ante vossa Alteza ser acepta, e respeytando ho enxerir e encastoar ho diamante desta escritura em hum engaste de pao, se o parecer ho da historia que com ella apresento, ao esclarecido Principe já apresentada." Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos says J. F. de Vasconcellos dedicated his work the first time, in 1554, to the Crown Prince under the title *Memorial das Proezas da Segunda Tavola Redonda* or, perhaps (*auch*), *Triumpho de Sagramor*, presumably only in MS., but, perhaps, also in an undated printed edition, concerning which trustworthy (*sichere*) data are wanting. Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie* (1897) II., ii. 335.

favourite phrase of Moraes "a sella antre as pernas" (pp. 308, 316). The *Doze de Inglaterra* and the unfavourable opinion held by the Portuguese of the Italians have been already noticed (*supra*, pp. 136, 174).

DON FLORANDO DE INGLATERRA.

My attention was directed to this romance by a reference in the *Versuch* to a remark in Varnhagen's *Da Litteratura dos Livros de Cavallarias* (p. 104), in which he suggests that traces of *Palmeirim* might be found in *Don Florando*, which was printed in Lisbon, in 1545, shortly after Moraes is supposed to have dedicated his work to D. Maria. It consists of three Parts. The first is not dated; it probably appeared at the same time as the second, the printing of which was finished Feb. 20, 1545; the third bears date April 20, of the same year. The printer was German Gallarde—Germain Gaillard[1]—a Frenchman, and, exclusive of two Jews, the second of his craft in Lisbon, according to Pierre Deschamps, in Brunet's *Dictionnaire de Géographie Ancienne et Moderne* (Paris, 1870).

The book is written in Spanish, but the author was a Portuguese. It is dedicated to the knights, matrons and maids of the illustrious city of Olixea (*q. d.* Ulyssea, Lisbon), his, no less than their, royal native town (*real patria*). National partiality is strongly marked. The grandmother of the hero was a Portuguese princess. His uncle Gloridelfos is one of the most successful knights; he is one of four champions (f. 164. v. 1); when the exigencies of the story would have necessitated his defeat, he is called away (f. 161. v. 2). His daughter Florinalda was of such surpassing beauty that the court of Lusitania was raised to a height attained by none other. She was beloved of D. Lucidundo, son of D. Florando, whose exploits were to be recorded in the Fourth and Fifth Parts of the tale (f. 247. 2). Another Portuguese prince or king, D. Jaspes, is also an

[1] With reference to my remark on p. 80, that, when Moraes composed his work, the facilities for printing were greater abroad than in Portugal, it may be noted that there were only three presses in that country in 1539—that of Galharde (Gaillard) in Lisbon, one of the Canons of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, and that of Pedro de la Rocha in Braga. Tito de Noronha, *Ordenações do Reino*, p. 57 (1871).

important personage, and victor in a tourney (Part III., Chapter 35). Several Portuguese nobles are mentioned in an episode, the scene of which is laid in Portugal: the Conde de Penamacor, the Marqués de Villareal, the Conde de Marialva, the Duque de Bergança and the Conde de Santos (Part I., Chapters 34 and 35). Little is said of Spain. The prince Ruberanio is praised. But the king of Spain is represented as being in Rome with other vassal kings of the emperor (f. 129. 1), who, without consulting him, made certain persons lords of Biscay with the title of dukes (f. 228. 1).

The Prologue is most affected. Otherwise the style is clear and simple, without any pretence to elegance. There is no attempt at grandiloquence, except a few times when sunrise or sunset is described: then we have:—"Ya que el resplandeciente Febo sus dorados rayos sobre las hazes de la tierra estendido habia (f. 81. v. 1), and "los triunfales carros del radiante Febo" (f. 95. 2), or something similar. Expletives abound, but exaggerations (such as *muy riquissima, muy demasiadamente*, and the immoderate use of *muy*) are very rare. The morality of the book is about on a par with that of *Amadis of Gaul*. The author says that he translated the work in London from the English, a barbarous tongue. The real authors were Polismarco, secretary, and Palurcio, scribe, of the emperor of Rome, "hombres de muy claros juizios y saber," who also wrote a book called *don Florinardo de Grecia*, which had not been published up to 1545. The original history of Paladiano, father of D. Florando, was composed by the magician Orbicunta, the Urganda la Desconocida of the tale, whose work the two men of clear judgments incorporated with their own (f. 157).[1]

The First Part is devoted to the adventures of Paladiano, son of Milanor, king of England, and Selerina, daughter of the king of Portugal. At that time the Turk was in possession of Constantinople, and Thrace, Sparta, and other states were subject to him; so the events recorded are later than those in *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*. After many exploits Paladiano marries Aquilea, daughter of the king of Aquilea. The Part ends with the birth of D. Florando, their son

[1] On f. 143. 1. the reader is recommend to look out for a book called *Flor de las Caballerias Romanas*.

This section was translated into French by Claude Collet,[1] Champenois, and published with separate title-pages by Ian Dallier, Estienne Groulleau, and Ian Longis, Paris, 1555, in folio. The French version, called *L'Histoire Palladienne,* does not say clearly that it is a translation. It professes to be "nouellement mise en nostre vulgaire Françoys par Cl. Colet." In the epistle by Estienne Jodelle, Parisien, to the reader, Colet is spoken of as "autheur de cette histoire," and is said to have died two years before. In a preliminary sonnet these lines occur:

De Palmerin au grand reformateur
Et de Tristan au second createur.

Another edition appeared in Antwerp, in 1562, in 8vo.

Anthony Munday translated this Part from the French, under the title "The famous, pleasant, and variable Historie of Palladino of England," in 1588, 4° (*Dictionary of National Biography, s.v.* Munday). Two editions are in the British Museum, one of 1664, B.L., 4°: "The famous, pleasant, and delightful history of Palladine of England," and another, called the second—of which the Catalogue gives the date "1700 (?)"—12°. Brunet (*Supplément*, 1880) has "Palladium of England," translated by Munday, 1664, and says almost the whole edition perished in the Great Fire of London. I presume this is our romance. Graesse (*s. v.* Paladin of England) mentions the edition of 1588, and speaks of the third and last part translated by Munday, 1602. Reproduced London, 1639. Two vols. 4°. 1664. Heber. Two vols. 4°. Hibbert. The only edition I can find in Heber (London Catalogue, Part VI., p. 236, No. 3216) is that of 1588, Edward Allde. As regards the editions of 1602 and 1639, I think Graesse may have been confounding *Paladin of England* and *Palmerin of England.*

This Part seems to have been translated into Italian. Quadrio IV. 514.

The Second and Third Parts are occupied principally with D. Florando. Aquilea was to have been married to the Grand Turk, but Orbicunta caused her fleet to deviate to London, and so Paladiano was able to win her. In revenge the pagan invaded England. He had been told that he would be defeated if D. Florando opposed him. Accord-

[1] Reviser of the ninth French (tenth Spanish) book of *Amadis of Gaul.*

ingly he had him enchanted. After a great battle the Turks landed. A second struggle took place, and the destruction of England seemed imminent. But the three half-brothers of D. Florando, sons of the three daughters of Orbicunta, with her help, break the spell, and enable him to join in the final encounter, which ends in the death of the Grand Turk and the complete defeat of his army. Our hero then goes to Rome and releases Roselinda, the daughter of the emperor, who had also been enchanted. All goes well till she becomes jealous and sends him a cruel letter (*tan cruel como dañosa carta*), telling him never to appear before her; on which he leaves the court, and as the "Knight of the Tearful Heart," and afterwards "of the Green Sphere," achieves most surpassing fame. The Third Part describes his exploits in exile, and how Roselinda found her jealousy misplaced, and sent him another letter by her maid Duranda, on receipt of which he returned, and they met at a nunnery, and betrothed themselves *por palabras de presente*, and went on imitating Amadis and Oriana. Ultimately they are married; but their bliss is not of long duration; for, when Roselinda had presented him with a son and a daughter, she and all her companions, when on a pleasure excursion on the Tiber, are suddenly enchanted and disappear. Then D. Florando and others, knights and kings, go off in search of her, so that Christendom is left almost bereft of chivalry. At the end the author promises that their adventures, and the recovery of the lost princess and her companions, shall be related at great length in the Fourth Part of this "grande historia."

This romance is about as long as *Palmeirim of England*, and I read it in order to see if traces of any influence of that story on it could be found. I could see none, though, no doubt, there are incidents in *D. Florando* which suggest some in *Palmeirim*. Thus, Simpriner, if he does not steal a shield like Albayzar (*Palmeirim* I., 444), obtains one by a trick (Pt. I., Chapter 15). There is a passage in both romances very similar, and used on a similar occasion. Describing the fortunes of some of the children of the heroes and heroines, *Palmeirim* has (III., 395) :—"De que nasceram muitas aventuras ou desaventuras." In D. Florando (f. 247. 2) we read :—"Que della nacieron muchas aventuras o desaventuras á muchos caballeros." I attach no importance to what seem mere coincidences. *D. Florando* resembles much more the Spanish type of

romance than it does *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*. The knights, when disarmed, put on *ricos mantos*; they are placed in *ricos lechos*; the difference between betrothal and marriage is at times noted (ff. 228, 236 (*bis*), 240), though not at others (ff. 210, 216); dresses are not described at length: on the other hand, the arms of the knights are given on fifty-nine occasions, of which thirteen are in one tourney. *Soledad* occurs twenty-seven times; at f. 108. 1. it clearly has the meaning of *saudade*. The phrases *no hubo menester maestro* and *Sancta Maria, valme*, so common in *Amadis* and so rare in the Portuguese romances, *Clarimundo*, *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, and the *Memorial das Proezas*, are frequently used. *Amadis* is more than once laid under contribution besides in the lovers' quarrel of Roselinda and D. Florando; for instance, in the carrying off of Aquilea and her daughters in a cart by two giants (Pt. III., Chapter 5; *Amadis*, Book II., Chapter 12); in the account of the chamber that sank (Pt. III., Chapter 23; *Amadis* Book III., Chapter 7); also in other incidents found in most romances.

In reading D. Florando, the question presented itself to me, whether the author was not the translator into Spanish of *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*. The reason was that I found in the former romance a number of phrases which occur also in the Spanish *Palmerin*, and which had appeared to me of sufficient importance to be mentioned in Chapter VIII. Before noticing these phrases, it will be well to consider who the translator could be. Assuming that Ferrer's book came out three or four years after that of Moraes, every one who thinks over the matter must be astonished and perplexed by the extraordinary audacity of the Toledan printer in appropriating another man's work so soon and in such a barefaced manner. How could he have done so? Benjumea says (*Discurso*, p. 23) that the only thing that justifies the intrusion of Ferrer is his not having found the name of the author in the poem which fell into his hands. Practically the same is said on p. 39. This does not seem to me a sufficient reason. In my opinion, Ferrer never saw the Portuguese version, and did not know of its existence. He knew only of the Spanish translation. This was made by a Portuguese, who lived some distance from Toledo, probably in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, the headquarters of the court, and where D. Maria also resided. It was given to Ferrer to do with as he pleased, no doubt, for a con-

sideration, by the translator, or some one else, who passed the work off as his original composition. This is my theory. The grounds for it are these. When Ferrer had *Palmerin* published, the Portuguese original existed printed, or in manuscript. If printed, Ferrer would be as little likely to know of the edition as was Afonso Fernandez in 1592 (see Chapter II., paras. 10 and 30); if in manuscript, there was no reason why Ferrer should have heard of it. It has been pointed out that the Spanish version is in two volumes of nearly equal length, and that, in order to get the story into the allotted space, Ferrer had to cut out ruthlessly passages found towards the end in Moraes (Chapter VIII., para. 10). This was attributed to a miscalculation as to the space required. But how could Ferrer, an experienced printer, make such a mistake? We can only suppose that he never saw the original, and was supplied with the translation at intervals. This would indicate that the translator lived some distance off; and this view is strengthened by the curious mistake about *latadas*, concerning which I suggested that the manuscript was no longer in the translator's hands (*supra*, p. 333). The long delay, a year, in completing the second volume of *Palmerin* also points to want of "copy." The Third Part of *D. Florando*, which is about half as long as that volume, was printed in two months. Again, in Chapter VIII., para. 4, it was mentioned that according to Benjumea the translation was full of forms peculiar to the Portuguese language. On this I expressed no opinion; but it is a fact that the translator, eight times out of ten, uses the Portuguese *Tejo*, instead of the Spanish *Tajo*, for the name of the Tagus (*ib.*, para. 27); and it is difficult to believe that anyone but a Portuguese would do so. Next, in order to explain how it was that Afonso Fernandez called his edition the second, and knew nothing of that "printed abroad," I suggested (Chapter II., para. 30) that Moraes had only a limited number of copies of his work so printed. If this hypothesis is correct, their circulation was probably confined to persons connected with the court, or the household of D. Maria, and the translator would be some one so connected; and this would be even more probable if the work was still in manuscript. That the author of *D. Florando* fulfilled this condition is, I think, almost certain. One is at once struck by a peculiarity of the book—the way in which

the characters pay each other compliments and interchange pretty speeches.[1] This suggests the courtier. Anyway he was a Portuguese, a native of Lisbon, himself the author of a romance of chivalry, by no means bad, written in Spanish. His literary pursuits might easily have brought him into relation with the Toledan printing and publishing firm, and Miguel Ferrer might have been less cautious and more willing to enter into a bargain with him than with some unknown and untried person.

The passage which made me suspect that the author of *D. Florando* might be the translator of *Palmeirim* is found on f. 14. v. 1. Paladiano, having killed Dardalon, is about to fight that giant's uncle, Grandidol, and says to him: "ansi entiendo hazer a ti con ayuda de mi señor Jesu Christo." In *Palmeirim* (II. p. 336) the hero is about to engage in battle with the giant Pavoroso, and addresses him: "quem te não tem medo e te castigará essa soberba." The Spanish substitutes for this: "á quien que con ayuda de mi señor Jesu Christo piensa quitarte la soberbia." On page 310, I stated that this Spanish passage is quite out of keeping with the whole tone of the book. The author of *D. Florando* was fond of the phrase *mi señor Jesu Christo.* It is found again on f. 188. v. 2, in the disenchantment of D. Jaspes. D. Florando says: "Pienso . . . de dar cabo a esta aventura con la ayuda de mi señor Jesu Christo." Again he exclaims (f. 23. v. 2), also on the occasion of a battle with a giant: "Bestial y perverso jayán, no creas tu que mi señor Jesu Christo . ." On f. 71. v. 1 we have: "No somos diablos mas caballeros de mi señor Jesu Christo," also addressed to a giant.[2] This is the more remarkable as the phrase is very rare in romances of chivalry. I have noticed it only twice in *Amadis* and twice in *Las Sergas* (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.* XL., pp. 328, 329, 450, 474), though *Jesu Christo*, or *nuestro señor Jesu Christo*, occurs four times in the former and frequently in the latter. In the Portuguese *Palmeirim* we find *Jesus* once, in a homily

[1] Such speeches will be found on the following folios: 57. v. 1, 58. 1., 69. v. 2, 95. v. 2, 119. v. 2, 155. 1., 165. 1, 2., 184. 1., 222. v. 1, 2, 228. 2. I have noted twenty-seven more instances, and I was not careful about putting down all. I began to note them at f. 57, but there were many before.

[2] On f. 153. 2. we meet "nuestro señor Jesu Christo," and on f. 36 1. "con Jesu Christo."

addressed by a hermit to Floriano (II. 226). This is the only place where the name is met. The composer of *D. Florando* seems to have been a more pious man than Moraes. His heroes hear Mass more regularly and take the sacrament. "Tomaron el cuerpo de nuestro señor con mucha devocion" (f. 70. 2.); "tomo el santo sacramento" (f. 97. v. 1.); "tomando el santo sacramento" (f. 186. v. 1). Similarly, on f. 102. v. 2, "mando hazer muchas alegrias y procissiones en loor de Dios"; and on f. 152. v. 1, "yo espero en el Dios que por nos salvar sufrio ser puesto en el arbol de la vera cruz." Still he has not the slightest objection to the word *diablo*, and uses it whenever he gets a chance, occasionally throwing in an *infierno* or *Lucifer*.[1]

On page 309, I noticed the substitution of "á la misma muerte" in the Spanish for the Portugese "ao diabo." *Temer como a la muerte* is a stock-phrase in *D. Florando*; *e.g.*, on ff. 101. 1., 118. 2., 122. 1., 185. v. 1, 2. (with *de* for *a*), 235. 2. On f. 196. v. 1. we have "Se guardaban del como de la muerte." On the same page the addition of "con mucha devoción" is noted. This may be compared with one of the sentences about the sacrament given above.

On page 284 the frequent use of *dar en el suelo* in the Spanish *Palmerin* was censured. In describing battles the author of *D. Florando* hardly ever uses any expression for falling or being unhorsed except *al suelo* with a verb. For instance, in col. 2, f. 129 we find "venir al suelo" five times. Any battle may be consulted. I noticed only once (f. 106. v. 2) the expression so frequent with Moraes, "con la silla entre las piernas."

On f. 139. v. 1, we have:—"Se fueron a la capilla mayor adonde oyeron missa con mucha solenidad." This may be compared with a similar passage mentioned on page 280.

On page 295 the sentence "acordarse de Leonarda le traía á una parte y á otra de la cama" was attributed to Ferrer, and declared to be bathos; but much the same is found in *D. Florando* in respect of Roselinda:—"Revolviendose por el lecho con muy grave cuita" (f. 140. v. 1), and again, and

[1] There is a difference between *D. Florando* and *Palmeirim* which shows the superior chivalrous tone of the latter. In the former antagonists commonly use abusive language to each other before their combats. This is quite contrary to what occurs in *Palmeirim*, where abuse is reserved for bad giants.

still more similar :—"Se comenzo por el (lecho) a revolver de una parte a otra," (f. 165. v. 1).

On page 330 it was stated that the Spanish had altered the device on a knight's armour from "pombas de prata" to "mançanas de oro." On f. 144. v. 1, D. Ruberanio is described as having arms "sembrado por ellas muchas mançanas de oro." I thought the change was due to carelessness; but, looking at the two passages in *Palmerin* and *D. Florando,* I am not sure that it was not intentional, if the composer of the latter romance was the translator of of the former. The passages run thus :—

armado de armas de colorado y pardo con mançanas de oro . . en el escudo una donzella con el rostro vuelto de la manera que no la podían ver. *Palmerin de Inglaterra.*	armado de unas muy ricas y fuertes armas cardenas sembrado por ellas muchas mançanas de oro; en el escudo traía por divisa las tres diosas Juno y Venus y Palas, encima dellas otra donzella muy hermosa á maravilla; tenía en su mano derecha una mançana de oro. *D. Florando.*

On page 338 the substitution of "mas como en aquel caso habían de ser obedecidas" for "com tudo" is noticed. There is a somewhat similar passage in *D. Florando*, on f. 160 v. 1 :—"Se apartaron a fuera a mucho desgrado del cortesano, porque antes quisiera el morir que cumplir lo que el emperador le enviaba a decir: mas por no ir contra su mandado lo hizo."

It seems to me from all this that there is sufficient evidence to raise a strong suspicion that the author of *D. Florando* may have been the translator of *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* into Spanish; but I am not prepared to say that the evidence amounts to proof. The suggestion that he was is merely a hypothetical excursus; and even if it should be shown to be utterly wrong, my main contention, that *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* was composed by Moraes, would in no degree be invalidated.

APPENDIX XIII.

TABLE OF CHAPTERS AND PAGES IN "PALMEIRIM DE INGLATERRA." Ed. 1852.

As the chapters are the same in the editions of 1786 and 1852, it will be easy for those possessing the former to find out, by means of this table, in what chapter and, approximately, on what page of the earlier edition any passage of the later issue is met.

Chapter.	Page.	Chapter.	Pag	Chapter.	Page.	Chapter.	Page.
VOL. I.		44	275	86	54	130	459
1	11	45	279	87	61	VOL. III.	
2	19	46	285	88	73	131	5
3	22	47	291	89	78	132	12
4	27	48	297	90	88	133	23
5	31	49	301	91	96	134	34
6	36	50	310	92	103	135	42
7	41	51	314	93	116	136	52
8	45	52	321	94	125	137	61
9	50	53	328	95	135	138	72
10	57	54	336	96	146	139	86
11	67	55	343	97	157	140	102
12	71	56	346	98	161	141	108
13	79	57	353	99	167	142	120
14	85	58	360	100	175	143	126
15	89	59	367	101	183	144	134
16	98	60	373	102	190	145	145
17	104	61	378	103	199	146	158
18	108	62	384	104	205	147	167
19	113	63	389	105	213	148	179
20	116	64	395	106	219	149	188
21	120	65	400	107	229	150	195
22	125	66	407	108	236	151	201
23	130	67	414	109	245	152	210
24	136	68	421	110	252	153	218
25	143	69	425	111	261	154	224
26	148	70	432	112	271	155	238
27	152	71	437	113	283	156	247
28	160	72	444	114	292	157	253
29	164	73	450	115	299	158	259
30	169	74	456	116	313	159	266
31	174	75	463	117	321	160	275
32	179			118	332	161	280
33	184	VOL. II		119	343	162	291
34	191	76	5	120	354	163	296
35	199	77	12	121	368	164	305
36	207	78	16	122	376	165	314
37	217	79	21	123	388	166	324
38	226	80	24	124	397	167	339
39	233	81	30	125	407	168	346
40	244	82	36	126	417	169	353
41	250	83	40	127	426	170	377
42	261	84	45	128	437	171	383
43	268	85	50	129	447	172	391

LIST OF WORKS FREQUENTLY QUOTED UNDER ABBREVIATED TITLES.

Antonio—Nicolás Antonio: Biblioteca Hispana Nova. Madrid, 1788, 2 vols. The date, 1783, in Vol. I. is a mistake.

Anselme—Le P. Anselme (Pierre de Gibours): Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la Maison Royale de France . . . par les P. P. Anselme, Ange, et Simplicitas. Paris, 1726-33, 9 vols.

Id. Vols. IV. and IX. (par M. Potier de Courcy). Paris, 1869-90.

Barbosa—Diogo Barbosa Machado: Bibliotheca Lusitana. Lisbon, 1741-59, 4 vols.

Barrera—Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera y Leirado:
Barrera y Leirado— Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español . . . Madrid, 1860.

Benjumea—Nicolás Diaz de Benjumea: Discurso sobre el Palmerin de Inglaterra y su verdadero autor. Lisbon, 1876.

Bib. de Aut. Esp.—Biblioteca de autores españoles. Madrid (Rivadeneyra), 1846 (?)—1880, 71 vols.

Bib. Lus. (Lusit.)—See Barbosa.

Bib. Nov.—See Antonio.

Desculpa—Desculpa de uns amores . . by Francisco de Moraes. For full title see p. 399. Printed with the editions of 1786 and 1852 of Palmeirim de Inglaterra.

Discurso—See Benjumea.

Discurso Preliminar—See Gayangos (1).

Dunlop—John Dunlop: The History of Fiction. Edinburgh, 1816, 3 vols. The latest edition is London, 1896, 2 vols.

Ferrario—Giulio Ferrario: Storia ed analisi degli antichi romanzi di cavalleria e dei poemi romanzeschi d'Italia. Milan, 1828-29, 4 vols.

Gallardo—Bartolomé José Gallardo: Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos. Madrid, 1863-89, 4 vols.

Gayangos—Pascual de Gayangos: (1) Discurso preliminar, in Vol. XL. (Libros de Caballerias) of the Bib. de Aut. Esp. (2) Del Palmerin de Inglaterra e de su verdadero autor, articles in the Revista Española (Nos. 2 and 3—April 15 and May 1, 1862).

Gayangos and Vedia—Pascual de Gayangos and Enrique de Vedia: Historia de la literatura española. Madrid, 1851-56, 4 vols. Translation of Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature.

Innocencio—Innocencio Francisco da Silva: Diccionario bibliografico portuguez. Cont. by Brito Aranha. Lisbon, 1858-94, 17 vols.

Laborde—Léon Emmanuel Simon Joseph de Laborde (*Marquis*): Les Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi 1528-71. Paris, 1877-80, 2 vols.

La Maison Royale—See Anselme.

Mélanges—Mélanges tirés d'une grande bibliothèque, edited by M. A. R. de Voyer d'Argenson, Marquis de Paulmy, and A. G. Constant d'Orville. Paris, 1785-88, 68 vols.

Melzi—Gaetano Melzi (*Count*): Bibliografia dei romanzi e poemi romanzeschi d'Italia. Milan, 1838. I could not get the later (1865) edition by Tosti.

Memorial das Proezas—Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos: Memorial das Proezas da Segunda Tavola Redonda. Lisbon, 1867.

Mendes—Manuel Odorico Mendes: Opusculo acerca do Palmeirim de Inglaterra e do seu autor. . . Lisbon, 1860.

Opusculo—See Mendes.

Pérez Pastor—Christóbal Pérez Pastor: La imprenta en Toledo. Madrid, 1887.

Proezas da Segunda Tavola Redonda—See Memorial das Proezas.

Quadrio—Francesco Saverio Quadrio: Della storia e della ragione d'ogni poesia. Bologna and Milan, 1739-52, 5 vols.

Rev. Esp.—See Gayangos (2).

Salvá y Mallen—Pedro Salvá y Mallen: Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá. Valencia, 1872, 2 vols.

Versuch—Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos: Versuch über den Ritterroman Palmeirim de Inglaterra. Halle, 1883.

The following works are quoted as found in the Biblioteca de autores españoles:—Amadís de Gaula, Las Sergas de Esplandian, Persiles y Sigismunda.

ADDENDA.

Oriana—p. 20.

I have not been altogether just to Oriana. It ought to have been stated distinctly, and not merely by reference to another work, that her clandestine marriage (*Amadís de Gaula*, p. 224), though irregular and improper, was valid.

Pero de Magalhães Gandavo—p. 21.

I have not quoted Mendes correctly. Magalhães Gandavo himself has (after "Moraes"): ". . . & de outros illustres varões, que na prosa tanto se asinalarão descobriudo com seus ingenhos peregrinos o segredo da grauidade e fermosura deste nosso Portugues."

Portuguese partizans—p. 37.

To these must be added Professor Baist, in Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie* (II., ii., 459).

Antonia de Moraes—p. 41, note 1.

Benjumea's authority will be found on page 395, note 1.

Luis Hurtado and the *Comedia de Preteo y Tibaldo*—p. 50.

Sr. D. Adolfo Bonilla has just brought out a new edition of this *Comedia*, in which he gives some notices of Hurtado. It is, unfortunately. too late for me to get it.

Smerwick—St. Marywick—p. 156.

The same derivation is given in Camden's *Britannia* (III., 490, ed. 1789).

St. Cyprian, the magician—p. 159.

At the beginning of his *Exhortação da Guerra*, Gil Vicente (*Obras*, II., 350, ed. 1852) introduces a necromancer who exclaims:

Nome de San Cebrian
Esconjuro-te Satan.

On reconsideration, I am doubtful whether the change mentioned in para II, p. 158, *supra*, was due to the

Portuguese translator or to Ferrer. If to the former, almost the whole of the para. would have to be struck out as unsound.

The Episode of the four French Ladies—176 *et seq.*

As to the "n" in Mansi, the old Portuguese form Mancias, for Macias, may be noted (Gil Vicente, II., 209, III., 75, 222).

There seems but slight prospect of finding a likeness of Torcy, as no mention is made of her in Bouchot's *Les Portraits aux Crayons des xvie et xviie siècles conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (1525-1646). Paris. 1884. In this work (which includes pictures existing abroad as well as in France) the author supplies corrected lists of Lord Ronald Gower's *Three Hundred French Portraits*. A few of his remarks are worth noticing here.

One portrait (No. 99) bears the legend, "Madlle de Maci a presaint madame de Pomt de la Haute de Magdelainne" (the last word looks more like Magdelaimu). See *supra*, p.176. For this he gives (p. 376): "Marie de Montchenu, d'abord baronne de Macy, puis dame de Pons." At p. 381 he has: "Marie de Montchenu, comtesse de Marennes," and in the Index: "Marennes (Marie de Montchenu, baronne de Macy, puis dame de Pons, comtesse de).

La Maison Royale (v. 148) affords some information about this lady. Louis de Harcourt, baron de Macy, married in 1538 Marie de Montchenu, widow of Claude, seigneur de Chateauvieux. In 1557 she married Antoine, sire de Pons, comte de Marennes. Her death took place in 1560. By her second marriage she had one daughter, Marie de Harcourt, baronne de Macy, who died young.

A lady called Mon(t)chenu was in the household of the queen, and was one of the twenty-two recipients of satin and velvet. *Supra*, p. 184.

It is difficult to believe that the two pictures in Lord Ronald Gower's book—No. 99 (Maci) and No 203 (Monchenu)—can represent the same person. The former is that of a very handsome face, the latter of one commonplace and with no pretensions to beauty.

On p. 109 Bouchot mentions Marie de Langeac, dame de L'Estrange.

For Lixammond (*supra*, p. 198) he gives François de Dompierre, sieur de Liramont.

On p. 377 he states that married ladies, whose husbands were not knights, were called "demoiselle." *Supra*, p. 178. Cf. the legend of Lord Ronald Gower's No. 99.

Anyone inclined to continue the task of identifying the personages in the episode of the four French ladies might consider the names Biez and du Breuil (for Bias and Debru). *Supra*, pp. 198-199.

Cervantes and the expeditions to the Azores.—page 215.

Cervantes might have been in Lisbon, even if he did not take part in the expeditions to the Azores; but if he did, he almost certainly was. There is a difference of opinion as to whether he did, or did not. Navarrete takes the affirmative view; Mainez[1] (as regards the first and third) and Pérez Pastor[2] the negative.

The decision of this question depends principally on the meaning of the petition (*Información*) of May 1590, presented by Cervantes, in which he enumerates his services. In this he says, speaking of himself and his brother Rodrigo: "y despues de libertados fueron á servir á V. M, en el reino de Portugal y á las Terceras con el marques de Santa Cruz, y agora al presente estan sirviendo y sirven á V. M., el uno dellos en Flandes de alferez, y el Miguel de Cervantes fue el que trajo las cartas y avisos del alcaide de Mostagan, y fue á Oran por órden de V. M., y despues ha asistido sirviendo en Sevilla en negocios de la armada por órden de Antonio de Guevara, . . ."

Three expeditions to the Azores took place:—That of Valdes-Figueroa, in 1581, and the two of Santa Cruz, in 1582 and 1583.

Mainez argues that Cervantes could not have been engaged in the first, as he speaks only of Santa Cruz. This seems sound; though a prudent petitioner might avoid mention of what was a sorry failure.

The grounds put forward by Pérez Pastor for thinking that Cervantes did not take part in the *jornada de las Terceras* are briefly these:—(1) In the *Información* the doings of himself and his brother are mixed up, and it is

[1] *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, pp. 57, 58, Cadiz, 1876.

[2] *Documentos Cervantinos hasta ahora inéditos* I., xi., xii., Madrid, 1897.

easy to attribute those of the one to the other; (2) Cervantes was at Thomar in May 1581, at Cartagena at the end of June of the same year on the king's service, and in Madrid in the autumn of 1583, while Santa Cruz arrived at Cadiz, on his return, on September 15, 1583. It is, therefore, almost impossible that Cervantes could have taken part in the *jornada*; (3) on account of his maimed condition, it is unlikely he could be employed on active military service. This last argument is used also by Mainez, who points out that one of the chief reasons why Cervantes asked for his discharge, in Italy, was that he was maimed.

These arguments do not seem of much weight. As regards the first, if a court had to decide whether Cervantes was entitled to prize-money gained in the expeditions of Santa Cruz, and was bound to decide on the evidence produced, and the only evidence was the *Información*, and this was admitted to be true (and its truth is not denied), would the court refuse Cervantes a share, and say: "You apparently did not take part in these expeditions, because your doings and those of your brother are mixed up in your statement?" Certainly not. The natural interpretation of the document is that both brothers served in one or both of these campaigns. If it were clearly proved that Miguel did not, the argument of Pérez Pastor might, perhaps, be used by an apologist, anxious for the veracity of Cervantes, as an explanation of what appeared to be a misstatement. This seems the most that can be said for it.

The second argument is not clear. Why should the fact that Cervantes was at Cartagena at the end of June, 1581, prevent his leaving Lisbon on July 10, 1582, with Santa Cruz? Or why should the fact that Cervantes is heard of in Madrid in the autumn of 1583 prove that he could not have taken part in the expedition of 1582, or even that which arrived at Cadiz, on its return, on September 15, 1583? Where was he during these two years and three months that we do not hear of him? What more likely than that he was abroad on active service? We may be sure that the *Feldpost* was not much developed in the Spanish army in those days. The third argument is the only one that has anything in it, and that is not much. Mainez himself says that the maimed condition of Cervantes was one of the chief reasons why he asked for his discharge. So there were others; and the

question arises whether this condition was a reason, or a pretext. Cervantes had his left hand—not his sword hand—shattered in 1571, at Lepanto, where he fought as a swordsman.[1] For the sword one hand suffices. He continued on active service for four years. Even then he was not dismissed, but resigned. When the *Sol* was attacked by the Algerines, he distinguished himself by his valour in the defence. All this shows that the injury to his hand did not prevent his doing good service as a combatant. In 1582 he was in the prime of life, a veteran soldier, known for his dauntless courage and endurance, intelligence and resource, a charming companion, and with claims on the State. It is incredible that his old chief, Figueroa, or any other leader, should not welcome such a recruit, even though he could use only a sword.

It seems to me that the opinion of Navarrete—at least as regards the expedition of 1582 (and here Mainez agrees with him)—based on the words of Cervantes himself, should be accepted till stronger reasons for dissent are adduced.

As far as the views put forward by me in Chapter VI. are concerned, their validity does not depend on the participation of Cervantes in the expeditions to the Azores or his residence in Lisbon. It is admitted by everyone that he was in Portugal, in 1581, at Thomar, close to the castle of Almourol, about the time Philip II. held Cortes in that town. He might there have heard the gossip about *Palmerin of England*. Indeed, he might have heard it anywhere from some of his Portuguese acquaintances.

Strike out the sentence beginning on page 216, line 6 from the bottom.

Hurtado's *Egloga Sylviana*—p. 376.

At the end of l. 29 add: and leave both unfinished.

Letter of Moraes—p. 382.

At the last moment a photograph of part of this letter

[1] A esta dulce sazón yo, triste, estaba
Con la una mano de la espada asida
Y sangre de la otra derramaba.
Letter to Mateo Vazquez.

It must be remembered, however, that at Lepanto Cervantes was in command of other soldiers, Navarrete, p. 318.

has reached me. A reproduction will be found facing this page. The place and date can be read without difficulty on the line above the signature.

Palmerin de Oliva and *Primaleon*.—p. 428, l. 9.

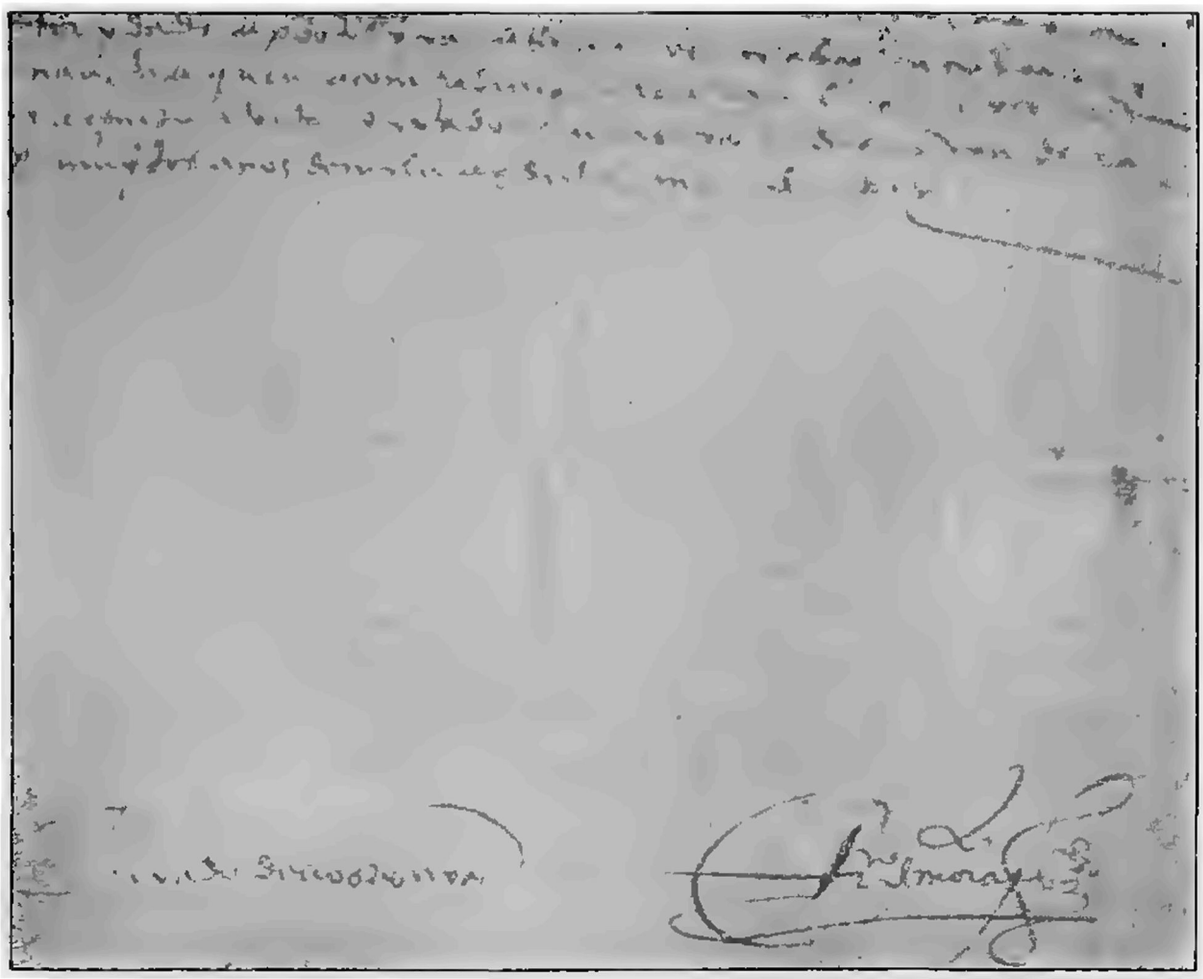
The remarks of Gayangos (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.* XL., p. xxxix, note 2) do not necessarily imply that *Palmerin de Oliva* and *Primaleon* are two works, by two persons, one a man and the other a woman; but this seems what is meant, judging from the words on the next page: "á no ser que se quiera suponer que este fué hijo suyo y continuó la obra de su madre, segun se colige de los versos de Juan Augur, ya citados."

Courtiers and compliments—p. 452, l.2.

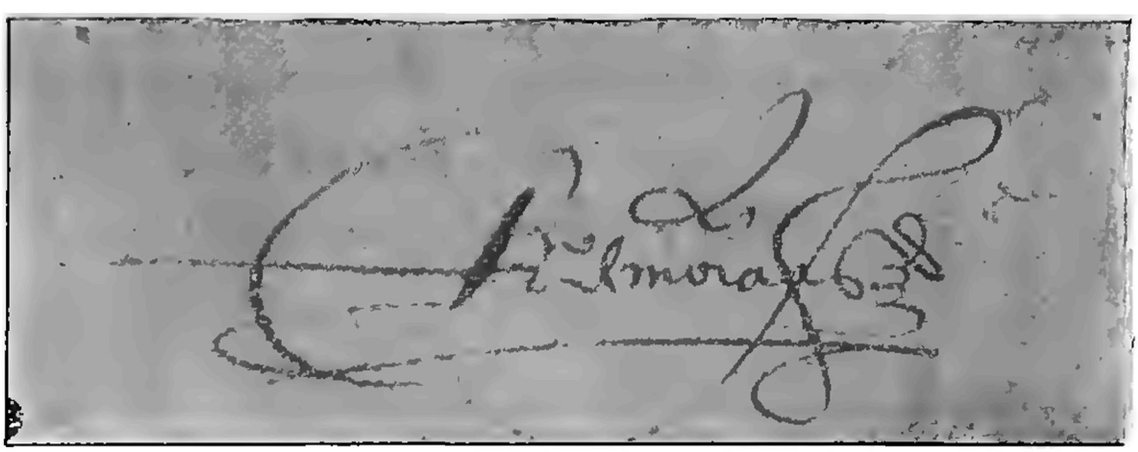
See the *Romagem de Aggravados* of Gil Vicente, where Frei Paço says (II. 491):—

E sam tão paço em mi,
. . . . . .
Fallo, mui doçe cortez,
Gran somma de comprimentos.

The author of the Spanish *Palmerin* is sometimes in this book spoken of as "the Spanish translator," or, even, "the Spaniard." His nationality is not certain. My final opinion is that he was a Portuguese.



Part of the letter from Moraes mentioned on p. 382.

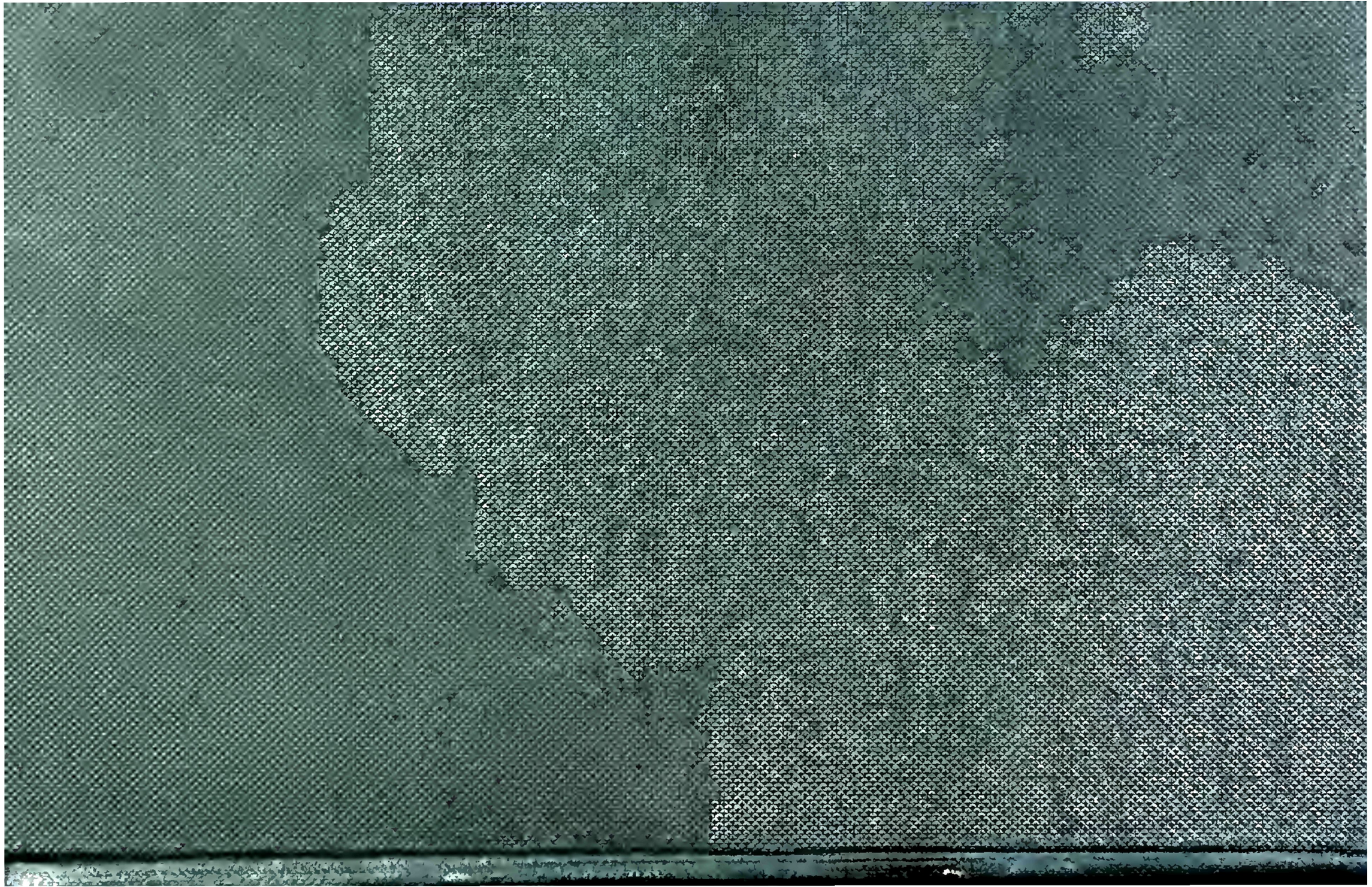


Enlargement of above signature.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL ERRATA.

Ordinary misprints (for most of which the editor is not responsible) are noticed only when there is some special reason for doing so.

Page	Line	For	Read
2	Heading	PALMERIN OF ENGLAND.	2 PALMERIN OF ENGLAND.
5	15	France."	France." [2]
7	4 f.b.	Constantinople to	Constantinople of
18	2 f.b.	Chapuis	Chappuis
28	20	de Bure,	de Bure,[3]
30	12	script	script [1]
34	6	facil	fácil
35	2	translations	translation
38	4, 3 f.b.	translator " . . . 209)	translator . . . 209)"
39	12 f.b.	order	Order
39	8 f.b.	kingdom.	kingdom.[2]
40	11	order	Order
41	2 f.b.	Rieardo	Ricardo
42	16	*Relacões*	*Relações*
42	6 f.b.	Migne	Miguel
43	16 f.b.	1563	1561
44	13	*o*	*ó*
51	18	Michael	Micael
55	8	Aribau ?	Aribau (?)
63	7	12)	12),
64	3 f.b.	*Relacões*	*Relações*
69	2 f.b.	III.	II.
70	10[1]	Afonso Fernandes	Afonso Fernandez
71	2 f.b.	folios besides	folios, including
86	13	1543,	1543.[3]
94	21	historia," [1]	historia," [2]
110	12, 11 f.b.	*castel-hana*	*caste-lhana*
169	8	misfortune	misfortune [2]
169	25	Elide	Elis
176	2 f.b. and *passim*	La Borde	Laborde
180	21	preposterous	ridiculous
182	19	51	51. Paris, 1879.
193	4	Book I.	Book II.
210	last	1582	1585
252	12 f.b.	admit	admits
273	12 f.b.	come	came
281	6	*mãos*	*mãos*
306	9 f.b.	*de*	*del*
317	12 f.b.	III.	III.[2]
330	16 f.b.	(Iliõ)	(Iliõ)
348	2 f.b.	de	du
376	21	*Comedia*	*Comedia*
376	last	Wolf *to* (p. 57)	Wolf. See Antonio, II. 169
379	18	joiera	joeira

[1] And elsewhere, when another writer is not quoted.

Page	Line	For	Read
388	11	Uber	Über
405	18	dedicon	dedicou
420	11	tador	rador
424	25	*Primaleon*	*Primaleon*, addressed to
424	9 f.b.	nõmbre	nõbre
444	6	nihil	nil
448	1	Collet	Colet