Portuguese in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

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ABSTRACT

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be considered the great period of translations into English. During these centuries the Classics and works of different subjects were translated from Italian, French and Spanish. But Portuguese was a different matter. There are translations from Portuguese but some Portuguese writers used Spanish instead of their own language. No grammars or dictionaries had been written in English for the teaching of Portuguese. It was not until 1662 that James Howell's first rules for the pronunciation of Portuguese were published, and the French Monsieur De la Molliere's *A Portuguez Grammar* emerged. They were the only examples of books written on the teaching of Portuguese in English we have in the seventeenth century. Only the former will be considered in this article.

KEYWORDS: Portuguese, translations, grammars, dictionaries, sixteenth century, seventeenth century

1. Introduction

The Spanish tongue became essential in cultural interchanges between England and Spain, especially after the marriage of Catherine of Aragon and Henry VIII. Different circumstances and elements contributed to the development of these interchanges and to the interest of the English people in our language. As we will see later, different vocabularies, dictionaries and grammars for the learning of Spanish were published in England.

This was not the case with Portuguese. No grammars or dictionaries (with two exceptions) had been published in England for the learning of that language. It was not until 1662 that James Howell's first rules for the pronunciation of Portuguese, followed by a glossary, were published, and the French Monsieur De la Molliere's *A Portuguez Grammar* emerged.

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The Anglo-Spanish marriages had a long tradition in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries before the aforementioned alliance of Catherine and Henry VIII. But the Anglo-Portuguese relations are limited to the marriage of Philippa of Lancaster (sister to Henry IV) and John I of Portugal. I wonder if that marriage had any influence on the cultural interchanges between both nations, although it was very important from the political point of view¹ a century later.

A good source of information about the extent to which English people were familiar with Portuguese is Gonçalves Rodrigues. I will follow him in the structure of my article when he says that in his study he considers "três classes de documentos, as traduções, as opiniõs dispersas de um ou de outro autor e os primeiros manuais, gramáticas e dictionários para o ensino do português" (Gonçalves 1951: 2).²

2. Translations

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries England produced a veritable flood of translations of the Classics, and of Italian, French and Spanish literatures. But Portuguese was a minor language as a lot of Portuguese writers preferred to express themselves in other languages, especially Spanish. So translations from Portuguese are comparatively scarce. Allison's (1974) *Catalogue* will be of great help. Gonçalves (1951: 3) points out that "A literatura portuguesa como fonte de deleite estético só virá a ser descoberta com a versão dos *Lusiadas* levada a cabo com grande aparato crítico por William Julius Mickle em 1776". I wonder if we can admit that Camões'

¹ The Jesuit plotters William Allen and especially Robert Persons referred to this marriage when they proposed in different memoranda that Philip II of Spain, after his marriage to his cousin Maria Manuela of Portugal, was the lawful heir to the throne of England. She was daughter of Joan III of Portugal and Catalina, sister of Charles I. And Philip was the son of the latter and Isabel of Portugal, sister of the former. They plotted the murder of Queen Elizabeth I and the invasion of England. They changed their mind about the murder after the disaster of the Spanish Armada in 1588. For more information see how the rights of Philip II to the English crown are treated in *Heghintons Booke*, in Ruiz (1977: 117-216). See also HowelI (1662a).

² I would like to thank Prof. Manuel Gomes da Torre, University of Porto, for providing me with copies of this article and of Monsieur. De la Molliere's *A Portuguez Grammar*.

³ But on p.7 he points out that Luis de Camões' masterpiece was translated by Richard Fanshaw in 1655. In Allison's entry we find the title *The Lusiad, or, Portugals historical poem ... Now newly put into English by Richard Fanshaw Esq.* London, H. Mosley, 1655. And he goes on to say that he "was a well known hispanophile, who lived in Spain for several years, spoke Spanish and Portuguese fluently, and at a later period was

masterpiece was, as Gonçalves says, the only fiction literature translated into English from Portuguese. The other popular works all over Europe were written in Spanish, such as *Amadis de Gaula*, attributed by national tradition to Vasco de Lobeira; Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana*; Francisco de Morais' *Palmerin de Inglaterra* and the anonymous romance of chivalry *Florando de Inglaterra*.⁴

Other Portuguese writers who used Spanish or other languages in their works were:

- · The historian and poet Manuel de Faria y Sousa. He wrote in Spanish his *Asia Portuguesa* (translated into English in 1695 by the hispanist Capt. John Stevens) and *Historia del Reyno de Portugal* (also translated into English by the same translator in 1698).
- · The lawyer and writer Bartolomé Felippe. His *Tractado del Consejo y de los Consejeros de los Príncipes* was translated into English by John Thorius in 1589.
- · The navigator and writer Pedro Fernández de Quirós. His *Relación de un memorial que ha presentado ... sobre la Población y Descubrimiento de la Quarta Parte del Mundo* was translated into English in 1617.
- · The Portuguese Rabbi and scholar Manase, ben Joseph, ben Ismael had his *Esperança de Israel* translated into English in 1650.
- · The historian, poet and general writer Franscisco Manuel de Mello. He wrote both in Spanish and Portuguese. His *Carta de guía de Casados* was translated into English as *The government of a wife, or, wholsom and pleasant advice for married men ... Written in Portuguese, by don Francisco Manuel. There is also added, a letter upon the same subject, written in Spanish by don Antonio de Guevara ... Translated into English by Capt. John Stevens. London, J. Tonson and R. Knaplock, 1697.*
- · The Jesuit João Rodríguez Girão wrote his letters from Japan in Latin, and the Dominican José Teixeira wrote in Latin and French.
- · Everybody in those times was interested in the Portuguese discoveries and travels and the English were no exception. But we have very few examples and again some of the translations were done from other languages. Most of these works were gathered in the encyclopedic works of voyages by Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas. I will abridge the titles and the translations. I refer the reader to Allison's *Catalogue* for details.

English Ambassador in Madrid." "Now newly put into English" points to a previous translation, perhaps lost.

⁴ According to Allison "it was written in Spanish probably by a Portuguese author and first published at Lisbon, was translated into French and from French into English by A.M. (Anthony Munday?) in 1588."

- · Francisco Alcoforado. He wrote *Relação do descobrimento da ilha da Madeira*. According to Allison, this was translated into French from a manuscript and then into English as *An historical relation of the discovery of the isle of Madeira*. *Written originally in Portuguez* ... thence translated into French, and now made English. London, W. Cademan, 1675.
- · The Jesuit missionary Jerónimo Lobo. He went to Goa, Mozambique, Angola and Brazil. His *Itinerario das suas Viagens*, extracts of which were translated into a number of European languages, becomes in English *A short relation of the river Nile, of its source and current; of its overflowing the Compagnia of AEgypt ... written by an eye-witnesse.* London, J. Martyn, 1669.⁵
- · The explorer Duarte Lopes. He dictated his *Relação do Reino do Congo* to Filippo Pigafetta, who translated it into Italian and published it in 1591. It was soon translated into other European languages. The English title is *A report of the kingdom of Congo ... and of the countries that border rounde about the same ... Drawen out of the writinges and discourses of Odoardo Lopez a Portingal, by Philipo Pigafetta. Translated out of Italian by Abraham Hartwell. London, J. Wolfe, 1597. ⁶*
- · The Jesuit missionary Fernão Cardim. There is an MS. of his account of Brasil that was not printed. It was translated into English as *A treatise of Brasil, written by a Portugall which had long lived there.* 1625.
- · Feliciano Cieça de Carvalho. Portuguese local governor in northern Brazil, 1597. A speciall letter written from Feliciano Cieça de Carualso the governor of Paraiua in the most northerne part of Brazil, 1597, to Philip the second king of Spaine ... touching the conquest of Rio Grande. 1660.
- · Elvas: see Hernando de Soto below.
- · The sailor Nuno da Silva. He was a pilot with Francis Drake. The account of his voyage was translated into English from an unprinted Portuguese manuscript under the title *The relation of a voyage made by ... Nuno da Silva for the vice-roy of New Spaine ... wherein is set downe the course and actions passed in the voyage of Sir Francis Drake.* 1600.
- The Jesuit Francisco Soares. A letter ... to his brother Diego Suares dwelling in Lisbon, written from the riuer of lenero in Brasil in lune 1596 concerning the exceedingly rich trade ... between that place and Peru, by the way of the river of Plate. 1600.⁸
- The Spanish conquistador Hernando de Soto (Fidalgo de Elvas, according to Gonçalves). Discoverer of the Mississippi and a great

⁸ *Idem.* Not published separately. In Hakluyt, R. *The Principal Navigations*. Vol. 3, pp. 706-8.

⁵ There is another edition in 1673. As we can see, the author's name is not revealed in the book. And Allison points out that the "Portuguese original exists in manuscript but was apparently never printed. The translator was Sir Peter Wyche (1628-99?)."

⁶ There is another abbreviated version dating from 1625.

⁷ Allison does not give the Portuguese title.

explorer. One of his followers, an unknown Portuguese, wrote an account of the Florida expedition which was translated into various languages: Relaçam verdadeira dos trabalhos que ... dom Fernando de Souto e certos fidaldos portuguezes passaron no descobrimiento ... da Florida. In English it has the title Virginia richly valued, by the description of the maine land of Florida ... out of the foure yeares travel ... of don Ferdinando de Soto ... Written by a Portugall gentleman of Elvas ... and translated out of Portuguese by Richard Hakluyt. London, F. Kyngston, for M. Lownes, 1609.9

- · The sailor López Vaz. His *A discourse of the West Indies and South Sea ... vnto the yere 1587.* 1600 (2nd ed. 1625) was translated from a Portuguese manuscript now, apparently, lost.
- · The Dominican missionary and historian, Gaspar de Cruz. He visited Goa, Malacca and China. His *Tractado em que se cótam muito por Esteso as Cousas da China* was translated into English as *A treatise of China and the adioyning regions*, 1625. The translator has not been identified.
- · The traveller and writer Fernam Mendes Pinto. Allison finds two translations of his *Peregrinacam* (sic) *de Fernam Mendez Pinto*:
- 1. Observations of China, Tartaria, and other easterne parts of the world.
 1625. Partly translated and partly summarised from the first part of Mendes Pinto's work. The translator has not been identified.
- · 2. The voyages and adventures, of Fernand Mendez Pinto ... Written originally by himself in the Portugal tongue ... Done into English by H.C. Gent. London, J. Macock, for H. Cripps and L. Lloyd. 1653. (2nd ed. 1663; 3rd ed. 1692). The dedicatory epistle is signed: "Henry Cogan."
- · India is very well represented by the following authors.
- · The Portuguese viceroy of India João de Castro. He wrote several "Roteiros" of his travels which remained unpublished. The English version of one of them appeared as *A rutter of don John of Castro of the voyage which the Portugals made from India to Zoez.* 1625.
- · The secular priest, poet and prose writer Jacinto Freire de Andrade. His Vida de Dom João de Castro (1651) appeared in English as The life of dom John de Castro, the fourth vice-roy of India. By Jacinto Freire de Andrada, written in Portuguese and by Sr Peter Wyche Kt. translated into English. London, for H. Herringman, 1664.
- · The sea captain Antonio Galvāo. His *Tratado ... dos Diversos & Desvayrados Caminhos, por onde nos Tempos Passados a Pimenta & Especearia Veyo da India as Nossas Partes* was rendered into English as *The discoveries of the world, from the first originall vnto the yeere of our Lorde 1555 ...* Corrected, quoted, and now published in English by Richard Hakluyt sometime student of Christchurch in Oxford. Londini, G. Bishop, 1601.
- · The historian Fernan Lopes de Castanheda. The first book of his *Historia do Descobrimento & Conquista da India pelos Portugueses* was translated into

⁹ There is another issue in 1611, an abridged version in 1625 and another translation of the whole in 1686

English as *The first booke of the historie of the discouerie and conquest of the East Indias* (sic), *enterprised by the Portingales* ... Translated into English by N.L. Gentleman (Nicholas Lichefield). London, T. East, 1582.

- · The viceroy of India Duarte de Meneses. A collection of official documents was published from the MS. in English in *Purchas his Pilgrims* as *Don Duart de Meneses the vice-roy, his tractate of the Portugall Indies, containing the laws, customes, reuenues, expenses, and other matters remarkable therein: here abbreviated.* 1625.
- · The Augustinian Archbishop of Goa Aleixo de Menezes. His *Synodo Diocesano da Igreja e Bispado de Angamale dos Antigos Christãos de S. Thome das Serras de Malabar* was published in 1606 with Antonio de Gouvea's *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa,* and was translated into English as *A diocesan synod of the church and bishoprick of Angemale, belonging to the ancient Christians of St. Thomas in the serra or mountains of Malabar.* 1694. ¹⁰

Ethiopia is also present in three works:

- · The Portuguese priest and traveller Francisco Álvares. He wrote Verdadera Informaçam das Terras do Preste Ioam which was translated into English as The voyage of Sir Francis Aluarez, a Portugall priest, made vnto the court of Prete Ioanni, the great Christian emperour of Ethiopia. 1625. 11
- · The priest João Bermudes. His *Breue Relação da Embaixada q o Patriarcha do Ioão Bermudez trouxe do Emperador da Ethiopia.* Lisbon. 1565, was rendered into English in an abridged edition by an unknown translator as *A brief relation of the embassage which the patriarch don John Bermudez brought from the emperour of Ethiopia.* 1625.
- · The Dominican João dos Santos. His *Ethiopia Oriental* was translated into English by an unknown translator as *Collections out of the voyage and historie of friar Joao dos Santos*. 1625.
- · Allison also includes Emanuel, Prince of Portugal who became a Carmelite but later apostatised. His work was certainly written in French and translated into English as *A Declaration of the Reasons moveing don Emanuel ... to forsake the Romish Religion*, 1634.

Hispano-Portuguese relations are represented by two authors:

· The pretender to the throne of Portugal Antonio, Prior of Crato. The statement of his claim to the Portuguese throne deserved editions in Latin, French and English, but no copy of a Portuguese original is known. The English version is entitled *The explanation of the true and lawfull right and tytle, of the moste excellent prince, Anthonie the first of that name, king of Portugall, concerning his warres, against Phillip king of Castile*

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¹⁰ Translated by Geddes.

¹¹ According to Allison it was translated from the Italian version of Giovanni Ramusio.

- ... for the recouerie of his kingdome ... Translated into English and conferred with the French and Latine copie. Leyden, C. Plantyn, 1585.
- · The general Manuel de Vilhena Sancho, *Count of Vilaflor*. His letter *Relaçam... da Victoria que o Conde de Villaflor ... alançou* (sic) *das Armas Castelhanas* appeared in English as *A relation of the great success the king of Portugal's army had upon the Spaniards, the 29th of May* (Engl. stile) 1663. London, A. Warren, for W. Garret, 1663.
- · And last in this account of translations and translators is the Franciscan writer Marcos da Silva, Bishop of Oporto. His best known work *Chronicas da Ordem dos Frades Menores* was translated into different languages. In English we have three editions:
- 1. The chronicle and institution of the order of the seraphical father S. Francis ... Set foorth first in the Portugall, next in the Spanish, then in the Italian, lastlie in the French, and now in the English tongue. S. Omers, Iohn Heigham, 1618.¹²
- 2. *The rule of our holy mother S. Clare.* (no place) 1621. Extracted from book 8 of the Chronicle of Marcos da Silva in William Cape's translation. Printed at the press of the English Jesuits at S. Omer.
- 3. The life of the glorious virgin S. Clare. Togeather with the conversion, and life of S. Agnes her sister. And of another S. Agnes, daughter to the king of Bohemia. Also the rule of S. Clare. And the life of S. Catharine of Bologna. Translated into English. (no place) 1622.

3. Dictionaries and grammars: the case of James Howell

We have to wait until the seventeenth century to see Portuguese included in polyglot dictionaries and the appearance of the rules for its pronunciation and a glossary by James Howell and Monsieur De la Molliere's *A Portugez Grammar* (1662). Despite the lateness of this general interest in Portuguese, the new Portuguese terminology acquired in the new discoveries was introduced into other European languages.

In 1530 appeared the first edition of the *Vocabulare* by Noel de Berlaimont or Barlement, now lost. There are some copies of the second edition of 1536. Both were bilingual. It is from the edition of 1551 that the *Vocabulare* began to appear in four languages: French, Flemish, Latin and Spanish. In 1576 the printer Henry Heyndrick added English and German. There is another edition in 1584 where German is substituted by Latin. It is in two editions of 1639 that Portuguese appeared in this *Vocabulare*. One of them is the first

¹² See entry in Allison: The translation was made from the French version of D. Santeul and Jean Blancone. According to the Approbation, the translator was a layman, William Cape.

edition published in England by the anonymous E.G. for Michael Sparke: 13

New / Dialogves or Colloquies, / and, / A little Dictionary of Eight Languages / Latin, French, Low-Dvtch, High-Dvtch, Spanishe, Italien, English, Portugvall. / ... / Now perfected and made fit for Travellers, young / Merchants and Sea-Men, especially those that desire to attaine the use of these Tongues. / London / Printed by E.G. for Michael Sparke junior, and are to be sold niere / the Exchange and in Popeshead Palace. 1639.

In 1617 John Minsheu had had his monumental *Guide into the Tongues in eleven languages* published, Portuguese being one of them. It was re-edited several times in the seventeenth century with changes: in those of 1625, 1626 and 1627 British (or Welsh), Portuguese and *The Spanish-English Dictionary* were excluded.

"O mestre de lenguas", as Gonçalves (1951: 9-10) considers John Minsheu,

na sua gramática castelhana de 1599, tende já a dar autonomias ao português declarando que ele difere tanto em certas palavras e na pronúncia que bem pode considerar-se lingua autónoma; e emite a opinião de que, entre o português e o castelhano, há a mesma relação que entre o inglês e o escocês.

In fact what this "mestre de lenguas" did was to include in his *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (1599) a new edition, corrected and augmented, of Richard Percivall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica containing a Grammar with a Dictionary in Spanish, English and Latin, ...*, London ... 1591, which had been a great success. This is what they usually did to "augment" and "use" other authors' works.

The marriage of Catherine of Braganza to Charles II was a stimulus to men of letters to begin the study of Portuguese. In the seventeenth century only James Howell and Monsieur De la Molliere appear. In this article only the former will be considered.

Gonçalves (1951: 11) considers James Howell "um escritor menor de certa categoria", although he admits that he was

¹³ For more information about the different editions of the *Vocabulare* see Verdeyen (1925, 1926 and 1935) and Boulard (1933).

um dos primeiros que em Inglaterra ganharam a vida com a pena. Talvez nenhum outro prosador do seculo XVII inglês tenha deixado produção tão variada, ou reflectido tão plenamente os interesses e actividades complexas da sua época como ensaísta e epistológrafo, historiador e antiquário, polemista e tradutor, lexicógrafo e gramático.

And I would add that he was also a teacher of languages, tutor, traveller, royalist spy, and at the end of his life historiographer royal to Charles II (Sánchez Escribano: 1979). This "escritor menor," this versatile writer left 70 published works and another eight can be attributed to him (Howell: 1890, Appendix). He was so fortunate with his works that he continued to earn his living while he was in prison between 1642 and 1650.

He travelled a lot on different missions to the Low Countries, France, Italy, Denmark and twice to Spain: first between 1617 and 1618 and then between 1622 and 1624 when he was a witness of the Prince of Wales' visit to Madrid. Although Gonçalves (1951: 11) says that he visited Portugal, I have not found any evidence of it.

The first reference to Portuguese as a dialect of Spanish appears in his *Instructions for Forrein Travel* (Howell 1642: 127-8) where we read

The Spanish or Castilian tongue, which is usually called Romance, and of late years Lengua Christiana, (but it is called so only amongst themselves) for a Spaniard will commonly aske a stranger whether he can speake Christian, that is Castilian. The Spanish (I say) hath but one considerable dialect, which is the Portugues, which the Jews of Europe speake more than any other language, and they hold that the Messias shall come out of that tribe, that speake the Portingal language; other small differences there are in the pronunciation of the gutturall letters in the Castillian, but they are of small moment.

But it is in his *English Grammar* (Sánchez Escribano 1992: 277-91) that he dedicates an appendix to Portuguese as a "Sub-dialect" of Spanish. The book has the complex title:

A NEW / ENGLISH / Grammar, / Prescribing as certain Rules as / the Language will bear, for for- / reners to learn *English*: / Ther is also another Grammar of the / *Spanish* or *Castilian Toung*, / With som

¹⁴ James Howell's *Epistolae Ho-Elianae or The Familiar Letters*, were first published in four volumes in 1645, 1647, 1650 and 1655, the first three while he was in prison.

special remarks upon the / Portugues Dialect, & c. / Whereunto is annexed / A Discours or Dialog containing a / Perambulation of Spain and Portugall / which may serve for a direction how to / travel through both Countreys, & c. / For the service of Her MAJESTY, / whom God preserve. / LONDON, / Printed for T. Williams, H. Browne, and H. Marsh. / 1662.¹⁵

dedicated to the "Ecelsa, y Serenissima Magestad, de Doña Catarina de Braganza."

Howell hoped to be nominated tutor of languages to the Queen but it did not come about. As we can see in the Appendix at the end of this paper, Portuguese is subordinated to Spanish and considered a sub-dialect. There are some rules of pronunciation and a glossary in Portuguese, Spanish and English. The source must be Minsheu's *Guide into the Tongues*. I wonder why Howell chose these words and not others.

The *Perambulation of Spain and Portugal* is a dialogue between Carlos and Felipe about a journey to both countries made by the latter. This is a new genre that appeared in the sixteenth century as a complement to Grammars and Dictionaries for the learning of languages.

The great plagiarist John Minsheu published in his *Dictionary* (1599) seven Dialogues followed by different reprints. Foulché-Delbosch (1919: 34-235) includes them in "Diálogos de antaño," together with those by W. Stepney (1591), César Oudin's Dialogue VIII, those of Juan de Luna (1619) and others. Howell's *Perambulation* is a "reproduction" of Oudin's Dialogue VIII with some "additions" (Sánchez Escribano 1979: 493-542). These additions refer to Portugal. Oudin points to "cuatro lugarcicos" between Elbas, Lisbon and Belen, while Howell makes his traveller Felipe tell more things about Portugal. He entered Yelbas (sic) and continued by way of Villaviciosa, Evora, Estremoso, Montemajor and Lisbon, which he describes. The capital deserves a proverb: *Quien no hà visto Lisboa no hà visto cosa boa*, Who hath not seen *Lisbon*, hath not seen a good thing. ¹⁶ And he continues,

¹⁵ This volume has two pagination systems, one for the *Grammars* and another one for *La Perambulación*. The volume is bilingual except for the Spanish Grammar which is only in English.

¹⁶ J. Howell. *The Perambulation of Spain and Portugal*, p. 35. See Note 15.

The second Town in Portugal is Santaren, situated also upon the River of Tagus, The third is Sintra, upon the Atlantic Sea; The fourth Coninbra (sic), upon the River Mondego; The fifth Braga great Archbishoprick; The sixth Porto at the mouth of the Riveer Duero; The seventh Miranda; The eighth Braganza, whose Dukes were such great Princes, that the third part of the peeple (sic) of the Kingdom liv'd upon their Lands; the ninth Eubora, an Archbishopric; the tenth Portolegre, the Eleventh Olivenza upon Guadiana; the twelfth Beja; All these towns are situated upon considerable Rivers ... They say it hath in all above 150 great and small Rivers, whereof the chief are Tagus, Duero, Guadiana, Minio & c.¹⁷

There follows a description of the Kingdom of the Algarve that also belongs to Portugal, and he names the towns of Faro, Niebla, Villa Maona, Tavila, Lagos and Sylvia, and then gives a short description of the dominions of Portugal in Asia, Africa and America. What Philip says before leaving Lisbon for Sevilla is of considerable interest: "Before I budge from Portugal, I will confute a Proverb which the Castilians have, viz. Los Portugueses son locos y pocos, The Portugueses are Fools and few; but of late years the Castilian hath found them Many, and no Fools." 18

That they were "many" and "not fools" was also mentioned by Howell in his Epistolae Ho-Elianae or Familiar Letters. In one of them, addressed to Simon Digby, Howell tells him about the revolt of Catalonia following that of John of Braganza, now King of Portugal, "by the name of El Rey Don Juan, some twenty years ago." And he continues:

When the K. of Spain told Olivares of it first, he lighted it, saying, that he was but Rey de Havas, a Bean-cake King. But it seems strange that it transforms me to wonder, that the Spaniard being accounted so politic a Nation, and so full of precaution, could not foresee this; especially there being divers intelligences given, and evident symptoms of the general discontentment of that Kingdom (because they could not be protected against the *Hollander* in *Brasil*), and of some designs a year before, when this D. of Braganza was at Madrid. I wonder, I say, they did not secure his Person, by engaging him to some employment out of the way: Truly I thought the Spaniard was better sighted, and could see further off than so. You know what a huge Limb of the Crown of

¹⁷ *Idem.* pp. 37 and 39. See Note 15.

 $^{^{\}rm 18}$ Idem. p. 41. See Note 15. For the complete itinerary followed by Philip see the map in Sánchez Escribano (1979, between pages 521 and 522).

Portugal was to the *Spanish* Monarchy, by the Islands in the *Atlantic* Sea, the Towns in *Afric*, and all the *East-Indies*, insomuch that the *Spaniard* hath nothing now left beyond the Line (Howell 1890: 349-350).¹⁹

Of great interest in the study of Hispano-Portuguese relations is a very short volume of only 6 pages hidden in Howell's *The Preheminence and Pedigree of Parlement*, etc. (1644). It is a vindication by a certain "Baltazar Oliveras" of the true winner of the battle of Montijo and others when the Portuguese army of King John IV invaded Galicia and Extremadura. Its title is

The Reall / VICTORIE / OF / PORTVGALL; / Against / The Powers of Spaine. / AND / Her veritie, confronting the *Castilian* Lyes. / Coppied out of the relations that came from / Lisboa by Baltazar Oliveras. / Printed at London in the yeare / 1644.

It contains a description of the decline of the Spanish army and power.

James Howell was also a paremiologist. The third part of his *Lexicon Tetraglotton*, etc. (1659-1660) is a volume of *The Choicest Proverbs in all the said Toungs*, ... *English, Italian, French, Spanish and British or Cambrian*. The Spanish part has the title

REFRANES, / O / PROVERBIOS / EN ROMANCE, / ò la Lengua Castellana; A los cuales se han añadido algunos Portuguezes, Catalanes, / y Gallegos, & c. / De los quales muchos andan GLOSSADOS.

It is introduced by a letter to Sir Lewis Dives, composed of Spanish Proverbs, in English and Spanish. At the end there is a "Carta embiada de un Galan a su dama, en que los mas usitados refranes le da cuenta de cosas que en su ausencia le avian Sucedido by Blasco de Garay."

The main source of these letters and proverbs is the edition of 1619 of Hernán Núñez de Guzmán's *Refranes o Proverbios en Romance,* ... Y la Filosofia Vvlgar de IVAN de Mal Lara, en mil refranes glossados,

¹⁹ There are more references to this revolt and Portugal in pp. 409-10, 418, 420, 436, 455 (Portuguese wine), 473 (Portuguese as a dialect of Spanish), 489 and 512-3.

... Van ivntamente las qvatro cartas de Blasco de Garay. Madrid, 1619. (Sánchez Escribano 1996).²⁰

The Portuguese collection is as follows:

Refranes Portugueses Portingal Proverbs

A As (sic) vezes ruyn gadela roy boa correa.²¹

Sometimes an ill-favoured bitch gnawes a good chord.

A aden, moller, & a cabra, he ma cousa semdo magra.

A duck, a woman, and a goat are ill things being lean.

Bolsa vazia faz o home sesudo, mas tarde.

An empty purse makes one wise, but too late.

A fin louva a vida, & a tarde louva el Dia. The end commends life, and the evening the day.

Aiamos salud e paz, e logo teremos assaz. Let's have health and peace, and we shall quickly have enough.

Alem ou aquem, veias siempre con quem. Be it he or she look well with whom you converse.

A limgo longa he sinal de mao costa.

A long tongue is a sign of a short hand.

A moller & a ovella concedo a corrella.

The woman and the sheep let them go home betimes.

A muyta costesia (sic) he especial dengano.

Too much courtesie a kind of cheat.

Amor, foguo, & tosse a seu dono descubre. Love, Fire and Cough discover their matter.

Amores de Freyra, flores do medoeira cedo ven & pouco duraom. The love of a Nun, and the flowers of the Almond-tree soon come and soon depart.

Moller fermoso, viña e figueral, muy malas son de guadar.

A handsome wife, a vineyard and fig-tree are hard to be kept.

Mouro que naon podes aver forrao por tu alma.

The Mulberry which thou canst not reach lay up for thy soul.

²⁰ There is another edition published at Lérida with the same contents. In the previous editions of Salamanca, 1555 and 1578, and Valladolid, 1602, Juan de Mal Lara's *Filosofía Vulgar* is missing.

²¹ I have kept the order and spelling given by Howell. As can be seen both rhyme and rhythm are broken and sometimes the original and the translation have no meaning at all.



A o bom daràs, & do mao te afastaràs.

Give to the good, and depart from the bad.

Mays val divida vella que pecado novo.

An old debt is better then a new sin.

A on ny à, no ni cal cercar.

'Tis to no purpose to seek where nothing's to be found.

A pedra & a palabra naom se recolle depois de deitada.

The stone and the word returns not when once out.

Meu sono solto, meu enemigo mosto.

My sleep is sound my enemy being dead.

Assi he dura cousa o a doudo calar, como a o sesudo mal falar.

'Tis as hard for a fool to be silent as for a wise man to speak foolishly.

Millar he un possaro que tenno na mao, que dous que van volando.

I had rather have one sparrow in my hand then two in the wood.

As Romerias e a as bodas vam as sandias todas.

Fools go to weddings and pilgrimages.

Naom quero bacoro con chucallo.

I do not desire a pig with a bell.

Barriga quente pe durment

A hot belly, a sleeping foot.

Mellor he o meu que o nuestro.

Mine is better then ours.

Castigo de vella nunca fez mella.

An old womans stroke breaks no bone.

Ho homen cree, & alma duvida.

The man believes, and the soul doubts.

Cacara sem dentes dos mortos faz viventes.

The hen without teeth makes living men of the dead, viz. With her Eggs.

Naom fiar de caon que manqueia.

Trust not a lame dog.

Can de can vello, y potro de potrelo.

A dog of an old dog, and a colt of a young horse.

Judio per la Mercaduria, y frade per la hypocresia.

A Jew for Merchandise, and a friar for hypocrisie.

Conciencia de Portalegre qui vende gato por liebre.

The conscience of Portulegre, which sells a cat for a hare.

Comadre andareja naom vo a parte que vos naom veis.

A gadding wife is met every where.

Falaon le en allos respondè en bugallos.

They spoke to him in garlick, & he answers them in codshead.

La va la ligoa omde doe o dente.

There the tongue goes where the tooth akes.

Ida de Jan Gomez que foy na sela veo nos alfories.

John Gomez journey, who went with a saddle, and came back on a wallet.

The Spanish paremiology is at times cruel to Portuguese people:²²

Apprendiz de Portugal no sabe coser, y quiere cortar.

A Portugal prentice that will cut, and yet he cannot sowe.

Ciudad por Ciudad Lisboa en Portugal.

City for City Lisbon in Portugal.

El Portuguès se criò del pedo de un Judio.²³

The Portugues was born of a Jews fart.

Tres Portugueses, dos medio Christianos, el otro Judio.

Three Portugueses, two of them half Christians, and the third a Jew.

To conclude we can say with some scholars that Howell had acceptable Spanish (Sánchez Escribano 1979) although Amado Alonso (1951: 326) thought that "Howell tenía más atrevimiento que conocimiento del español, y lo que no haya tomado de otros libros (Minsheu en primer lugar que ya era poco de fiar) no es material de confianza". I wonder if he knew any Portuguese at all. There is no evidence of his presence in Portugal. And, as we can see, he did not take the trouble to verify the spelling of a lot of words: perhaps his work was not given to somebody to review.

His collections of proverbs are more highly considered. I agree with Sbarbi (1891: 328) when he says that the Spanish one "es digna de ser consultada toda esta sección por los amantes de la Paremiología en general, a causa de incluirse en ella multitud de refranes algo raros."

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²³ It is also in Howell (1890): 314: A Portuguese was engender'd of a Jew's. As the Mahometans have a passage in their Alcorán, that a Cat was made of a Lion's breath.

²² See proverbs 106, 196, 370, 576 and 1167 in Sánchez Escribano (1996).

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APPENDIX²⁴

OF THE Portugues Language, OR SUB-DIALECT, &c.

As *Scotland* is to *England*, so *Portugall* may be sayed to be in relation to *Spain*, in point of Speech; The *Scott* speaks somwhat broader, and more gaping; so doth the *Portugues* compared to the *Castilian*, and shorter farr: for wheras the *Castilian* out of an innated humor of gravity is addicted to long-traind words, the *Portuguès* doth use to curtayl divers of them, some in the middle, some in the end; But to know the main difference betwixt them, take these Instances.

The Portugues is not much affected to / or n; touching the first, hee turns her to r, the snarling letter, as the Philosopher calls her: For example, wheras the Castilian sayes Inglatierra England, hee sayes Ingraterra; Noble Inglès, a Noble Englishman, Nobre Ingrès; Flamenco a Flemin, Framengo in Portuguès; Blando soft brando, Blanco white branco, Hermoso fair fermoso; Complido finishd, comprido; Emplear to employ, Empregar, Flaco weak, fraco, Diablo the Devil, Diabro o Diabo, & c.

Besides, when // begins a word in Spanish the Portuguès turns them to ch; As, Llamar to call chamar, Llama a flame, chama; Llaga a wound, chaga; Lleno full, Cheo wherby the n. allso is lost; Luna the Moon, lua; Llegar allegar to com or approach, chegar achegar, Llave a key, chiave; Lloro weeping, choro, Luvia Rain, chuva.

Yet the Portuguès is not so well affected to *ch*, when hee finds it in a *Spanish* word, for then he turns it to *yt* commonly, as *noche* night, *noyte*, *Ocho* eight, *oyto*, *Pecho* the brest, *peyto*, *Provecho* profit, *proveyto*, &c.

In divers words hee leaves / quite out, when hee finds it about the middle, as *Delante* before, *diante*, *Cielo* Heaven, *ceo*, *Candela* a Candle, *candea*, *Mala* iII, *maa*; As *Maa noyte y faz Filinha*, An iII night and make a girl.

The Portugues likes not allso the aspiration h in the beginning of a word but turns it to f, whereby his language comes neerer (in many words) to the *Latin*, which is the *Mother* of both; as, wheras the Spaniard sayeth *Hazer* to do, the Portuguès sayeth *Fazer*, *Hado* Fate, *Fado*, *Horca* the Gallows, *Forca*; *Hazaña* an exploit, *Fazanha*; *Hacha* a Torch, *facha*; *Hablar* to speak, *falar*; *Horno* an Oven, *forno*; *Hormiga* an Ant, *formiga*; *Holgar* gaudeo *folgar*, *Hidalgo* a Gentleman, *fidalgo*, &c.

Note allso that where the *Portugues* finds the throaty *j*, or *ishota* in a word, he turns it to *lh*, As, *Abeja* a Bee, *abelha*; *Oveja* a sheep, *ovelha*; *Ojo* the Ey, *olho*; *Aparejàr* to prepare, *aparelhar*; *Trabajo* toyl, *travalho*; & c. But it is observed, that those words in *Portugues* must be pronouncd as if an *i* followd; As, *Abelha* a Bee, *abelhia*; *Travalho* toyl, *travalhio*, & c.

Nor is the Portuguès, much affected to the letter *n*, for where hee finds her in the middle of a Spanish word, hee quite cutts her off; As, for *Cadena* a chain, he sayeth *cadea*; *Amonestar* to warn, *amoestar*, *Cenar* to supp, *cear*, *Corona* a Crown, *coroa*; *Freno* a bridle, *freo*; *Buena* good, *boa*; *Mano* a hand, *mao*, & c.

²⁴ It has been a hard task to "read" the words because much of the text available to me was barely legible, especially the Glossary. I have modernised some spellings.



Moreover the *Portugues* turns *Spanish* Dissyllables into Monosyllables; As, *Tener* to hold, *ter*; *Venir* to com, *vir*; *Poner* to putt, *por*; *Color* colour, *cor*; *Dolor* greif, *dor*; *Mayor* a Maior, *mor*, & c.

The *Portugues* also turns oftentimes *Spanish Trissyllables* into *Dissillables*, As, *Menester* need, *mister*, *Ganado* a flock, *gado*, *Generar* to engender, *gerar*, *General* General, *geral*. *Obispo* a Bishop, *Bispo*, & c.

Furthermore where the *Spanish* words end in *bre*, the *Portugues* turns it to *me*, or *mem*; As, *Costumbre* custom, *costume*; *Hombre* a man, *homem*; *Nombre* a name, *nomem*; *Cumbre* the top, *cume*, & c.

The *Portugues* allso turns the *Spanish ble* into *vel*; As, *Possible* possible, *possivel*; *Insufrible* unsufferable, *insufrivel*; *Mudable* changeable, *mudavel*; *Durable* durable, *duravel*, & c.

The *Portugues* makes allso *Trissyllables* of *Spanish Quatrosyllables* often; As, *Solamente* only, *somente*, *Malamente* ill, *mamente*, *Enemigo* an Enemy, *imigo*, & c. Yet sometimes the *Portugues* adds a syllable more; As, *Duvida* to the *Spanish duda*, a doubt; *Duvidosamente* for *dudosamente*, doubtfully; *Duos* for *dos*, two, & c.

The *Portugues* allso adds *e* to *Spanish* words ending in *d*; As, *Mocidade* for *mocedàd*, youth; *Amistàd* friendship, *amizade*, *Libertad* liberty, *libertade*; *Libertalidàd* liberality, *liberalidade*; *Piedad* piety, *piedade*, & c.

Now, Though the *Castilian*, and the *Lusitanian* language bee both derivd from the *Latin*, the first *immediately*, the other mediatly by means of the *Castilian*, wheof shee is a Dialect, and therby a *subdialect* to the *Latin*, yet shee hath divers words for which shee is beholden to neither, nor to the *Morisco* also, wherof I thought it worth the while to give a particular Catalog.

A Short
DICTIONARY
OR,
CATALOG
Of such
Portuges Words
That have no Affinity with the
SPANISH.

Portugues, Spanish, English Abafar Garrotar To strangle Abalroar Pelear To fight Abalo do animo Desasossiego Trouble of mind A swayne Rustico Abegaon Abelhaon Colmena A hive of bees Abelhudamente Appressurosamente Hastily Abençoer Bendezir To blesse Acamar Enfermarse To be sick To provoke Agastar Provocar Aginha Presto Speedily Agoacento Humedo Watry Deribar Alagar To overthrow Alapardarse Esconderse To hide himself Alardo Nombramiento de soldados A list of Soldiers



Alar Socorrer To succour Alcunha Sobrenombre A sirname Moreover Alem Mas de esto Alfayate Sastre A taylor Alfaqueque Mensajero A messenger Alvacento Blanquecino Whitish Milan Alvela A kite Aniae Alfiler A pinn Obstinado Obstinat Amuado Andorinha Golondrina A swallow Apodar Paragonar To compan Apupar Aullar To houl Arreceo Miedo Fear Atlhar²⁵ To hinder Impedir Atafanero Panadero A baker Bacoro Puerca A sow Bafo Aliento The breath Bafio Hediondez A stink Balisa A gaol Carcel A fall Cayda Baque Barça Cofre A coffer Bicho Gusano A worm Lewd Bragante Ruyn Bren Pez Pitch Bugio Mono An Ape Buraco Aguijero (sic) A hole Burrifar Aguar To sprinkle A little boy Mocito Cachopo A bitch Cadela Perra A yoke Canga Yugo Cardume Muchedumbre A multitude Cabron A goat Crestaon Carpinha Lamentaciòn Lamentation Caranca Mala cara An ill face Caramelo Yelo Ice Guardarse To beware Cavidarse Colheyta Cosecha The harvest Coceyra Começon The itch Cocegas Tickling Coxquillas Cossar Arañar To soratch26 Coyma Dolor Pain Cafra²⁷ Yunque An Anvil Cedo Presto Quickly Harvest Cosecha Ceyfa A dullard Chambaon Tonto

²⁵ Atalhar.

²⁶ To scratch.

²⁷ Çafra.



Cheyrar Oler To smel Decepar Romper To break Corromper Derrancar To corrupt Desazo Ociosidad Sloth Desdobrar Exprimir To expresse Desmiçar Aboler To abolish Quebrantar To break Desmanchar Devesa Selva A Wood A black day Dia azinhago Dia Escuro Dia de Hotem Yesterday Ayer Dianteyra Frente The forehead Discante The harp La lyra Doudo Bobo A fool Elche Apostata An Apostat Embevedarse Emborracharse To be drunk Embleçar Engañar To cosen **Embicar** Ofender To offend Embelar Cunar To rock Emborcar Invertir To invert Empecilho Obstaculo A stopp Emperrar Porfiar To be obstinat Emposta Ayuda Help Obtruder To obtrude Encampar Enculca Noticia Knowledg Endoudecer To grow foolish Enloquecer To trouble Enfastiar Enfadar Engeytar Menospreciar To cast away Ensejo Ocasión Occasion Entraz Carbunculo A Carbuncle Entulhar To fill up Entoñalar Escavedar Huyr To fly away Esfalfar Cansar To tyre Esmechar Herir To wound Esqueho Tuerto Crooked Espaçar To lengthen Alargar To give alms Esmolar Dar limosna Esmera Perfecto Perfect Esmoga Synagoga A synagog Olvido Forgetfulnesse Esquecimiento Esterqueyra Muladàr A denghil An hostry Estulagem Venta Estabalhoado Arrebadato²⁸ Rash Estrondo Alboroto A noise Faim A lance Lança Fala Voz A voice Faisca Centella A flash Fanar Costar To cut

²⁸ Arrebatado.



Fanchono Mugeril Effeminat Faqua Cuchillo A knife A linnendraper Fanquey Lencero Fanga Hanega A bushel Farelo Bran Salvado Febre Delgado Slender Felugem Hollin Soot A little Girle Felinha Hijuela Figo Lampo Precoz Too soon ripe Figuar Quedar To stav Focinho The mouth Boca Folga Gozo Mirth Fraga Peña A rock Polastra A pulet Franga Fracayro Putaniero A wencher Furna Caverna A den Fuzilar Relampaguear To lighten Gabo Praise Loor Gabar To prayse Loar Gafern²⁹ The leprosie Lepra Gaguo Tartamudo A stutterer Galbo Ramo A branch Ademan de cuerpo Gesture Geyto Gear Yelo Yce Gielho Rodilla The knee Hontem Ayer Yesterday To howle Huyvar Aullar Ianella Ventana A window Jentar Comida A diner The side Ilharga Lado Inçar Propagar To propagat The Pox Las buas Ingoas Cueva A Cave Lapa Ladroncillo A little thief Leycenço Lembrar Acordar To remember Machado Segur An ax Magao Congoja Grief Madraço Picaro A Rogue Lechoncillo A sucking pigg Mamote Maminher Esterilidad Barrennesse Vellaco Marral heyro A cunning knave Madioso Liberal Liberal

²⁹ Gafeira.

Morgado

Matiz

Morno

Matreyro

Mealherro

A picture

Exchequer Lukewarm

The first born

Crafty

Retrato

Casa de tesoro

Primogenito

Zorro

Tibio



Mouco Sordo deaf Orate Mentecato A madman Rashly Ontiva Arrebatadamente Payxaon Enfado Trouble Pancado **Bofeton** A Blow Pao Madera Wood Porolento Mohoso Musty Patife Desembuelto A loose fellow A lowse Pezinho Piojo Pelouro Bala A bullet Harnero A sive Peneyra Cerca Neere Perto Pinga Gota A drop Pissa³⁰ A mans yard Carajo Pomba Pañoma A pigeon Povo Pueblo The peeple Presunto Pernil A gammon Caucion A pledg Resenn Rilhar Roer To gnaw Tener centinela To keep watch Roldar Rolda Centinela The watch Saloya Rustica A Country woman Frenetico Madd Sandeu Saluço Suspiro A sigh Sisa Pecho A tax Soada A rumor Fama Wodden shoos **Tamancas Alpargatas Tamalaves** Un ratico A little while Tarefa Obra A task Tayvar Rabiar To rage Tolo Necio A fool Traquinada Ruydo An uproar Trevas Tinieblas The dark Valhacouto Refugio A refuge Colhor A spoone Cuchara **Ambicar** Tropesar To stumble Calleyro Granja A barn

The *Portugès* in nombring five dayes of the week differs from the *Castilian*, and all other, but it agrees with the *Roman*, *Missal*, As Munday, Twesday, Wenesday,

Fenell Early

A willow A gaol

To geere

Hinojo

Saulze

Carcel Motejar

De mañana

Suncho³¹

Sargueyro

Sedo

Radea

Zombar

31 Funcho.

³⁰ Picha.

Thursday, Friday are calld Segunda, Terca, Quarta, Quinta, Sexta, Feyra; But Saterday and Sunday are calld Sabado y Domingo.

Thus have I given a short Essay of the *Lusitanian* Toung, which, by observing the *differential* precepts pointed at before, may be attained with much case by any who hath but an indifferent knowledg of the *Spanish* from whom she is derivd but become somewhat more rugged; so that it may be sayed, as a *Castilian* was making of a Toledo blade, a *Portugès* came, and taking up the silings he made a *Toung* of them; Indeed, it must be granted that the *Castilian* is in more esteem, yea, in *Portugal* it self, where the best sort of the Gentry and Merchants speak it, with Church and cloysterd men; most of their Sermons, their musical sonets, and madrigals, with their stage plays being in *Spanish*. Insomuch that as it is a saying in *Italy, Lingua Toscana*, in *Lingua Romana*; So there is one among them *Lingoa Castelhana em boca Portugueza*; The *Spaniard* hath so little esteem of it, That he sayes there is but one good word in all the *Portuguès* Tongue, and that is *Saudades* which is a large word, and a kind of *Amphibolon*, for it signifies many things, as *Tenho mil saudades de vm*. I have a thousands desires of you; *Muero de saudades*, I die for sorrows, & c.

Concerning the preceding *Spanish* Grammer, ther went more oyle, and labor to rayse up (as I may say) that little *Castle of Castile*, wherein and Ingenious Student may find not only a *survey* of the Language, but he may take *livry* and *saisin* thereof in a short time; To which purpose we have consulted the best Artists upon this Subject³² as *Miranda*, and *Salazar*, together with *Franciosini* the Florentin, and *Oudin* the Frenchman, with others who have laudably taken pains herin, and are more extensive in the conjugating of som Verbs; For as soon as the idea of this work entered into the imagination, the first thing we designd was *brevity*, yet without making it subject to Lamenesse or *Obscurity*.

Nec dum Brevis esse Laboro Obscurus, vel mancus ero -

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³² For the sources of Howell's *Spanish Grammar* see Sánchez Escribano (1992: 280-281).