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.
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 view 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 opiniões dispersas de um ou de outro autor e os primeiros manuais, gramáticas e dicionários 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”. 3 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 Heghipton's Booke, in Ruiz (1977: 117-216). See also Howell (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.

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 Francisco 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, wholesome 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 Rodrigues 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 A Egypt ... 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 writings and discourses of O doardo Lopez a Portingal, by Philippo 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 special letter written from Feliciano Cieça de Carvalho the governor of Paraúba in the most northern part of Brazil, 1597, to Philip the second king of Spaine ... touching the conquest of Rio Grande. 1660.7
· 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 Suáres dwelling in Lisbon, written from the river of Ienero in Brasil in June 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

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: Relação verdadeira dos trabalhos que... dom Fernando de Souto e certos fidalgos portugueses passaram no descobrimento... 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 Portugali 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 adjoyning 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 M endez 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 Andrade, written in Portuguese and by Sr Peter Wyche Kt. translated into English. London, for H. Herringman, 1664.
  - The sea captain Antonio Galvão. His Tratado ... dos Diversos & Desvayrados Caminhos, por onde nos Tempos Passados a Pimenta & Especaria Veyo da India as Nossas Partes was rendered into English as The discoveries of the world, from the first original unto 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
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 Duarte de Menezes the viceroy, his tractate of the Portugall Indies, containing the laws, customes, revenues, expenses, and other matters remarkable therin: here abbreuiated. 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 Gouveia's Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa, and was translated into English as A diocesan synod of the church and bishoprick of Angamale, 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 da s Terras do Preste Ioam which was translated into English as The voyage of Sir Francis Aluarez, a Portugall priest, made unto the court of Prete Ioanni, the great Christian emperor of Ethiopia. 1625.11

- The priest João Bermudes. His Breue Relaçao 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

10 Translated by Geddes.
11 According to Allison it was translated from the Italian version of Giovanni Ramusio.
… for the recovery of his kingdom … Translated into English and conferred with the French and Latin copy. Leyden, C. Plantyn, 1585.

- The general Manuel de Vilhena Sancho, Count of Villaflor. His letter "Relaçam… da Victoria que o Conde de Villaflor … alçou (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 forth first in the Portugall, next in the Spanish, then in the Italian, lastlie in the French, and now in the English tongue. S. Omers, John Heigham, 1618.


3. The life of the glorious virgin S. Clare. Together 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

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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.
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
um dos primeiros que em Inglaterra ganharam a vida com a pena. Talvez nenhum outro prosador do século XVII inglês tenha deixado produção tão variada, ou refletido tão plenamente os interesses e atividades 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 ask 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 Castillian Toung, / With som
special remarks upon the Portugues Dialect, & c. Whereunto is annexed A Discours or Dialog containing a Perambulation of Spain and Portugal 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.

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-Delbosc (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 ha visto Lisboa no ha visto cosa boa, Who hath not seen Lisbon, hath not seen a good thing. And he continues,

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\[15\] 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.

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The second Town in Portugal is Santarém, situated also upon the River of Tagus; The third is Sintra, upon the Atlantic Sea; The fourth Conimbriga (sic), upon the River Mondego; The fifth Braga great Archbishoprick; The sixth Porto at the mouth of the River Duero; The seventh Miranda; The eighth Braganza, whose Dukes were such great Princes, that the third part of the people (sic) of the Kingdom liv’d upon their Lands; the ninth Eubora, an Archbishopric; the tenth Portalegre; 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, Minho & 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-Eliane 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

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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. / Coppyed 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, / à 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 Vulgar de IVAN de Mal Lara, en mil refranes glossados,

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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.

The Portuguese collection is as follows:

Refranes Portugueses
Portingal Proverbs
A As (sic) vezes ruyn gadeela roy boa correia.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.
A n 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.
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.
Give to the good, and depart from the bad.

An old debt is better than a new sin.

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

The stone and the word returns not when once out.

My sleep is sound my enemy being dead.

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

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

Fools go to weddings and pilgrimages.

I do not desire a pig with a bell.

A hot belly, a sleeping foot.

Mine is better then ours.

An old woman's stroke breaks no bone.

The man believes, and the soul doubts.

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

Trust not a lame dog.

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

A Jew for Merchandise, and a friar for hypocrisie.

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

A gadding wife is met every where.

Falaon le en allos respondè en bugallos.
They spoke to him in garlick, & he answers them in codshed.
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 (1961: 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 raraos.”

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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.

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As Scotland is to England, so Portugal may be said to be in relation to Spain, in point of Speech; The Scott speaks somewhat broader, and more gaping; so doth the Portuguese compared to the Castilian, and shorter far: for whereas the Castilian out of an innate humor of gravity is addicted to long-train'd words, the Portuguese doth use to curtail divers of them, some in the middle, some in the end; But to know the main difference betwixt them, take these Instances.

The Portuguese is not much affected to l or n; touching the first, hee turns her to r, the snarling letter, as the Philosopher calls her: For example, whereas the Castilian sayes Inglatierra England, hee sayes Ingraterra; Noble Inglès, a Noble Englishman, Nobre Ingrês; Flamenco a Flem'in, Framengo in Portuguese; Blando soft, brando; Blanco white, branço; Hermoso fair, fermoso; Complido finish'd, comprido; Emplear to employ, Empregar; Flaco weak, fraco; Diablo the Devil, Diabro o Diabo, & c.

Besides, when l begins a word in Spanish the Portuguese turns them to ch; As, Llamar to call chamar; Llama a flame, chama; Llaga a wound, chaga; Lleno full, Cheo whereby the n. allso is lost; Luna the Moon, lua; Llegar to com or approach, chegár; Llave a key, chiave; Lloro weeping, chor'o; Lluevía Rain, chuva.

Yet the Portuguese 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, oyt'o; Pecho the brest, peyt'o; Provecho profit, proveyto, &c. In divers words hee leaves l quite out, when hee finds it about the middle, as Delante before, diante; Cielo Heaven, ceo; Candela a Candle, candea; Mala ill, ma'a; As M a noyte y faz Filinha, An ill night and make a girl.

The Portuguese likes not allso the aspiration h in the beginning of a word but turns it to l, whereby his language comes neerer (in many words) to the Latin, which is the Mother of both; as, whereas the Spaniard 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 gaudo folgar; Hidalgo a Gentleman, fidalgo, &c.

Note also that where the Portuguese finds the throaty j, or ishota in a word, he turns it to lh, As, Abéja a Bee, abelha; Oveja a sheep, ovêla; Ojo the Ey, oho; Aparajar to prepare, aparelhar; Trabajo toyl, trabalho; & c. But it is observed, that those words in Portuguese must be pronouncd as if an i followd; As, A beja a Bee, abelha; Travalho toyl, trabalho, & c.

Nor is the Portuguese, 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 cadas; A monestar to warm, amoestar; Cenar to supp, car; Corona a Crown, coroa; Freno a bridle, free; Buena good, boa; M ano a hand, mao, & c.

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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, te; Venir to com, vir; Poner to putt, por; Color colour, cor; Dolor greif, dor; Mayor a Major, mor, & c.

The Portugues also turns oftentimes Spanish Trissyllables into Dissyllables; 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 men; As, Costumbre custom, costume; Nombre a man, homem; Nombre a name, nomem; Cumbre the top, cume, & c.

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

The Portugues makes also 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 doubtfully; Dos dos, two, & c.

The Portugues also adds e to Spanish words ending in d; As, Mocidade for mocidade, youth; Amistad friendship, amizade; Libertad liberty, libertade; Liberalidad 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 mediately by means of the Castilian, which is a Dialect, and thereby a subdialect to the Latin; yet she hath divers words for which she is beholden to neither, nor to the Morisco also, whereof 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portugues</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abafar</td>
<td>Garrotar</td>
<td>To strangle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abalroar</td>
<td>Pellear</td>
<td>To fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abalo do animo</td>
<td>Desasossiego</td>
<td>Trouble of mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abegaon</td>
<td>Rustico</td>
<td>A swayne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abelhaon</td>
<td>Colmena</td>
<td>A hive of bees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abelhudamente</td>
<td>Appressurosamente</td>
<td>Hastily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abençor</td>
<td>Bendezir</td>
<td>To blesse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acamar</td>
<td>Enfermarse</td>
<td>To be sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agasar</td>
<td>Provocar</td>
<td>To provoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aginha</td>
<td>Presto</td>
<td>Speedily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agoxcento</td>
<td>Humedo</td>
<td>Watry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagar</td>
<td>Deribar</td>
<td>To overthrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alapardarse</td>
<td>Esconderse</td>
<td>To hide himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alardo</td>
<td>Nombramiento de soldados</td>
<td>A list of Soldiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>-----------</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alar</td>
<td>Socorrer</td>
<td>To succour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcunha</td>
<td>Sobrenombre</td>
<td>A sirname</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alem</td>
<td>Mas de esto</td>
<td>Moreover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfayate</td>
<td>Sietre</td>
<td>A taylor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfaqueque</td>
<td>Mensajero</td>
<td>A messenger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alvacento</td>
<td>Blanquecino</td>
<td>Whitish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alvela</td>
<td>Milan</td>
<td>A kite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aniae</td>
<td>Affiler</td>
<td>A pinn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amuado</td>
<td>Obstindado</td>
<td>Obstinat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andorinha</td>
<td>Golondrina</td>
<td>A swallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apodar</td>
<td>Paragonar</td>
<td>To compan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aupurar</td>
<td>Aullar</td>
<td>To houl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrecheo</td>
<td>Miedo</td>
<td>Fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atiñar25</td>
<td>Impedir</td>
<td>To hinder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atafanero</td>
<td>Panadero</td>
<td>A baker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacoro</td>
<td>Puerca</td>
<td>A sow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baño</td>
<td>Aliento</td>
<td>The breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bário</td>
<td>Hediondez</td>
<td>A stink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balisa</td>
<td>Carcel</td>
<td>A gaol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baque</td>
<td>Cayda</td>
<td>A fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barça</td>
<td>Cofre</td>
<td>A coffer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicho</td>
<td>Gusano</td>
<td>A worm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bragante</td>
<td>Ruyn</td>
<td>Lewd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bren</td>
<td>Pez</td>
<td>Pitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bugio</td>
<td>Mono</td>
<td>An Ape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buraco</td>
<td>Aguíjero (sic)</td>
<td>A hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burrifar</td>
<td>Aguar</td>
<td>To sprinkle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cachopo</td>
<td>Mocito</td>
<td>A little boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadeixa</td>
<td>Perra</td>
<td>A bitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canga</td>
<td>Yugo</td>
<td>A yoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardume</td>
<td>Muchedumbre</td>
<td>A multitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crestaon</td>
<td>Cabron</td>
<td>A goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpinha</td>
<td>Lamentación</td>
<td>Lamentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caranca</td>
<td>Mala cara</td>
<td>An ill face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caramelo</td>
<td>Yelo</td>
<td>Ice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavidarse</td>
<td>Guardarse</td>
<td>To beware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colheita</td>
<td>Cosecha</td>
<td>The harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coceya</td>
<td>Comecon</td>
<td>The itch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocegas</td>
<td>Coxquillas</td>
<td>Tickling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cossar</td>
<td>Arahár</td>
<td>To scratch26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coyma</td>
<td>Dolor</td>
<td>Pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cafra27</td>
<td>Yunque</td>
<td>An Anvil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedro</td>
<td>Presto</td>
<td>Quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceyra</td>
<td>Cosecha</td>
<td>Harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chambaoen</td>
<td>Tonto</td>
<td>A dullard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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25 Atalhar.
26 To scratch.
27 Caféra.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cheyrar</td>
<td>Oler</td>
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<td>Romper</td>
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<td>Corromper</td>
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<td>Desazó</td>
<td>Ociosidad</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desdobar</td>
<td>Exprimir</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desmigiar</td>
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<td>Desmanchar</td>
<td>Quebrantar</td>
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<td>Dianteyra</td>
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<td>Embevedarse</td>
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<td>Embicar</td>
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<td>Endoudececer</td>
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<td>Ocasion</td>
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<td>Carbunculo</td>
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<td>Entulhar</td>
<td>Entoñalar</td>
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<td>Escavedar</td>
<td>Huyr</td>
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<td>Esfalfar</td>
<td>Cansar</td>
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<td>Herir</td>
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<td>Esqueho</td>
<td>Tuerto</td>
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<tr>
<td>Espaçar</td>
<td>Alargar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Esmolcar</td>
<td>Dar limosna</td>
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<td>Esmera</td>
<td>Perfecto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esmoga</td>
<td>Synagoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esquedimiento</td>
<td>Olvido</td>
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<td>Esterequyra</td>
<td>Muladár</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Venta</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| Estalbainhoado | Arrebadato
| Estrondo | Alboroto |
| Faim | Lancia |
| Fala | Voz |
| Faisca | Centella |
| Fanar | Costar |

26 Arrebadato.
Fanchono   Mugeril   Effeminat
Faquia     Cuchillo    A knife
Fanjuey    Lencero    A linnen draper
Fanga      Hanega     A bushel
Fardo      Salvado    Bran
Febre      Delgado    Slender
Felugem    Hollin     Soot
Felinha    Hijuela    A little Girl
Fiquar     Precoz     Too soon ripe
Fiquar     Quedar     To stay
Focinho    Boca       The mouth
Folga      Gozo       Mirth
Fraça      Peña       A rock
Franga     Polastra   A pullet
Fracayro   Putaniero  A wench
Furna      Caverna    A den
Fuzilar    Relampaguear To lighten
Gabo       Loor       Praise
Gabar      Liar       To prayse
Gafem²⁵    Lepra      The leprosie
Gaguio     Tartamudo  A stutterer
Galo       Ramo       A branch
Geyto      A deman de cuerpo Gesture
Gear       Yelo       Yce
Gielho     Rodilla    The knee
Hontem     Ayer       Yesterday
Huyvar     Aullar     To howle
Ianella    Ventana   A window
Jentar     Comida     A diner
Ilharga    Lado       The side
Inçar      Propagar  To propagat
Ingoas     Las buas   The Pox
Lapa       Cueva      A Cave
Leycenço   Ladroncillo A little thief
Lembrar    Acordar   To remember
Machado    Segur      An ax
Magao      Congoja    Grief
Madraço    Picaro     A Rogue
Mamote     Lechoncillo A sucking pigg
Maminher   Esterilidad Barrennese
Marral heyro Vellaco    A cunning knave
Madioso    Liberal    Liberal
Matiz      Retrato    A picture
Matheyro   Zorro      Crafty
Mealheiro  Casa de tesoro Exchequer
Morno      Tibio      Lukewarm
Morgado    Primogenito The first born

²⁵ Gafeira.
Mouco       Sordo       deaf
Orate       Mentecato   A madman
Ontiva      Arrebatadamente Rashly
Payxaon     Enfado      Trouble
Pancado     Bofeton     A Blow
Pao         Madera      Wood
Porolento   Mohoso      Musty
Patife      Desemxbuelto A loose fellow
Pezinho     Piojo       A loose
Pelouro     Bala        A bullet
Peneyra     Harnero     A sive
Perto       Cerca       Neere
Pinga       Gota        A drop
Pissa30     Carajo      A mans yard
Pomba       Paimoma     A pigeon
Povo        Pueblo      The people
Presunto    Pernil      A gammon
Resenn      Caucion     A pled
Rilhar      Roer        To gnaw
Rolda       Tener centinela To keep watch
Rolda       Centinela   The watch
Saloya      Rustica     A Country woman
Sandea      Frenético   Madd
Saluço      Suspiro     A sigh
Sisa        Pedcho      A tax
Soada       Fama        A rumor
Tamancas    Alpargatas  Wooden shoes
Tamalaves   Un ratico    A little while
Tarefa      Obra        A task
Tayvar      Rabiar      To rage
Tolo        Neco        A fool
Traquinada  Ruydo       An uproar
Trevas      Tinieblas    The dark
Valhacouto  Refugio     A refuge
Colhor      Cuchara     A spone
Ambicar     Tropesar    To stumble
Calleryo    Granja      A barn
Suncho31    Hinojo      Fenell
Sedo        De mañanana Early
Sargueyro   Saulze      A willow
Radea       Carcel      A gaol
Zombiar     Motejar     To gehen

The Portugés 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,

30 Picha.
31 Funcho.
Thursday, Friday are called Segunda, Terca, Quarta, Quinta, Sexta, Feyra; But Saturday and Sunday are called Sabado y Domingo.

Thus have I given a short Essay of the Lusitanian Tongue, which, by observing the differential precepts pointed at before, may be attained with much ease by any who hath but an indifferent knowledge of the Spanish from whom she is deriv’d but become somewhat more rugged; so that it may be said, as a Castilian was making of a Toledo blade, a Portuges 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 itself, 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 Lingua Castelhana em boca Portuguesa; The Spaniard hath so little esteem of it, That he says there is but one good word in all the Portuges 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 Grammar, 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 Subject 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 Lameness or Obscurity.

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