SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE ROMANCES OF CHIVALRY

THE REVIVAL OF THE ROMANCE OF CHIVALRY IN THE SPANISH PENINSULA, AND ITS EXTENSION AND INFLUENCE ABROAD

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PREFACE

THE following chapters represent, in an extended form, a course of six lectures on Spanish and Portuguese romances of chivalry delivered as the Norman MacColl lectures in the University of Cambridge during the Spring of 1917. Their chief object is to provide a comprehensive review of a remarkable popular literary movement which began in the Spanish Peninsula about the turn of the fifteenth century, spread over western Europe, including our own country, and having flourished and exercised a considerable influence for a time, died out so completely as to be well-nigh forgotten nowadays except by students. Various aspects of the movement, and a number of the problems connected with it, have been treated by different writers in modern times; their results have been taken into account, occasionally with corrections, in the following pages, and some new material has been contributed, especially in the later chapters.

The early editions of these romances of chivalry, which are in most cases the only existing editions, are extremely rare; but the writer has had facilities for studying or examining the romances, either in Spanish libraries, or in the still richer collections, public or private, in England. The following sketch—the first to relate in connected form the fortunes of these romances in the various countries they invaded—is offered as some return for the advantages enjoyed. Having at hand the

resources of the British Museum, the writer could not refrain from supplementing the narrative with foot-notes giving in most cases the original authority for statements made, or in some cases additional matter which it did not seem convenient to include in the text. While the ordinary reader need not be burdened by these foot-notes, it is hoped that with their help the student may be saved some trouble.

How far the writer has relied on his predecessors in the same field will be evident from the references in the text. To all, and especially to those whose names appear in the bibliography, he gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness.

H. T.

April, 1920.

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NOTE

In these chapters the present system of accentuation for Spanish words is followed only in citing the names and works of modern authors, and modern editions of ancient works.

CHAPTER I

THE ROMANCE OF CHIVALRY IN THE SPANISH PENINSULA BEFORE THE YEAR 1500

LAST year[1] being the tercentenary of the death of Cervantes, many who had hitherto known *Don Quixote* only from pictorial illustrations were no doubt tempted to make acquaintance with the text of that immortal masterpiece. They cannot have read very far without realising the existence of a body of literature almost certainly unknown to them before. If they were methodical enough to read the preface, they would gather that *Don Quixote* was, "from beginning to end, an attack upon the books of chivalry," and if they were persevering enough to read to the last chapter they would see Cid Hamet Benengeli hang up his pen, satisfied and proud at having accomplished his desire of "delivering over to the detestation of mankind the false and foolish tales of the books of chivalry." In the course of their reading, they would acquire some vague idea as to what is meant by these books of chivalry, more especially from "the diverting and important scrutiny which the curate and the barber made in the library of the Ingenious Gentleman[2]," and they would form a very precise

[1] 1916. See preface.

[2] *Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. VI. Throughout these pages Ormsby's translation is used for all quotations from *Don Quixote*; his rendering of *cura*—really a *parish priest*—is therefore retained outside these quotations for the sake of uniformity.

estimate of their defects and demerits from the judgment delivered by the Canon of Toledo in his conversation with the curate when, to his great amazement, he came across Don Quixote "enchanted" and imprisoned in the cage[1]:

To tell the truth, señor curate, I for my part consider what they call books of chivalry to be mischievous to the State; and though, led by idle and false taste, I have read the beginnings of almost all that have been printed, I never could manage to read any one of them from beginning to end; for it seems to me they are all more or less the same thing; and one has nothing more in it than another; this no more than that....And though it may be the chief object of such books to amuse, I do not know how they can succeed, when they are so full of such monstrous nonsense. For the enjoyment the mind feels must come from the beauty and harmony which it perceives or contemplates in the things that the eye or the imagination brings before it; and nothing that has any ugliness or disproportion about it can give any pleasure. What beauty, then, or what proportion of the parts to the whole, or of the whole to the parts, can there be in a book or fable where a lad of sixteen cuts down a giant as tall as a tower and makes two halves of him as if he was an almond cake? And when they want to give us a picture of a battle, after having told us that there are a million of combatants on the side of the enemy, let the hero of the book be opposed to them, and we have perforce to believe, whether we like it or not, that the said knight wins the victory by the single might of his strong arm. And then, what shall we say of the facility with which a born queen or empress will give herself over into the arms of some unknown wandering knight? What mind, that is not wholly barbarous and uncultured, can find pleasure in reading of how a great tower full of knights sails away across the sea like a ship with a fair wind, and will be to-night in Lombardy and to-morrow morning in the land of

[1] Pt I. ch. XLVII.

Prester John of the Indies, or some other that Ptolemy never described nor Marco Polo saw? And if, in answer to this, I am told that the authors of books of the kind write them as fiction, and therefore are not bound to regard niceties of truth, I would reply that fiction is all the better the more it looks like truth, and gives the more pleasure the more probability and possibility there is about it. Plots in fiction should be wedded to the understanding of the reader, and be constructed in such a way that, reconciling impossibilities, smoothing over difficulties, keeping the mind on the alert, they may surprise, interest, divert, and entertain, so that wonder and delight joined may keep pace one with the other; all which he will fail to effect who shuns verisimilitude and truth to nature, wherein lies the perfection of writing. I have never yet seen any book of chivalry that puts together a connected plot complete in all its numbers, so that the middle agrees with the beginning, and the end with the beginning and middle; on the contrary, they construct them with such a multitude of members that it seems as though they meant to produce a chimera or monster rather than a well-proportioned figure. And besides all this they are harsh in their style, incredible in their achievements, licentious in their amours, uncouth in their courtly speeches, prolix in their battles, silly in their arguments, absurd in their travels, and, in short, wanting in everything like intelligent art; for which reason they deserve to be banished from the Christian commonwealth as a worthless breed.

The Canon's criticism is not an attractive advertisement of our subject, which is the very romances of chivalry here so roundly condemned. These books represent a revival in the Spanish Peninsula, almost entirely within the limits of the sixteenth century, of a class of literature which had originated, flourished, and declined, at a much earlier period elsewhere. Yet in spite of the justness of the Canon's censure, they occupied,

so long as their vogue lasted, a most prominent position in the realm of polite literature, especially in their native land, but generally too in the rest of cultured Europe—Italy, France, Germany, Holland and England—over which they spread. Two of them, *Amadis of Gaul* and *Palmerin of England*, were excepted even by Cervantes from the general condemnation which he levelled against their class, and have since been recognised as respectively a Spanish and a Portuguese classic. We are therefore not without excuse if we devote a few hours to considering the origin and nature of these romances, their development within the Peninsula, and their extension abroad.

The revival of which we have spoken began with the publication of the romance *Amadis de Gaula*. It is still uncertain whether this was first printed at the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century; but although it was not, as the curate in *Don Quixote*[1] had heard say, "the first book of chivalry printed in Spain," it certainly was the father of the "innumerable progeny[2]" which sprang up in Spanish and Portuguese literature during the succeeding hundred years. To understand properly the new literary movement constituted by this revival, we must first of all consider briefly the original development of the romance of chivalry, and then bridge over as far as possible the interval between the two. Fortunately one portion of our task is lightened by the fact that the original movement concerns our own literature very nearly: its general outlines are therefore well known to all in any way

[1] Pt I. ch. VI. [2] Pt II. ch. I.

interested in letters. A few facts may however be recalled, and certain features emphasised, for the purpose of comparison at a later stage.

The literature of chivalry which flourished in western Europe during the Middle Ages is nothing more or less than a natural evolution, an inevitable degeneration, of that wealth of epic poetry localised in northern Gaul during the period following the Frankish invasion. At the end of the eleventh century, as the battle of Hastings reminds us, the French *chanson de geste*, representing the epic material crystallised around national or local heroes, still inspired the soldier on the battlefield. During the twelfth century the scene of its appeal began to extend from its normal theatre, the castle with its assembled barons, to the market place, where it served to amuse the populace at fair or festival. From the middle of the thirteenth century it descended one step further: from a public entertainment it became a private recreation; it was no longer sung or declaimed in the baronial halls or open squares, but read in the seclusion of the chamber. Various changes accompanied the increase in the numbers, and deterioration in the quality, of the audience. The *trouvère*, in earlier times often a soldier, like those to whom he sang, became a mere man of letters, retailing material to his inferior substitute, the *jongleur*, who passed from town to town and from village to village, supplying the popular wants and therefore influenced by the popular tastes. When the *jongleur* ceased to attract audiences, and his wares were no longer recited but read, this material, originally in assonanced, then in various forms of rhyming verse,

according to the period, degenerated into prose, and produced the romance of chivalry properly so called.

Obviously this stage was not reached without considerable developments in the spirit and substance of the original epics. The chief developments in the substance were its simplification through the formation of cycles, and its subsequent amplification through the addition of purely invented matter—for both of which the later *jongleurs* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were mainly responsible. Travelling as they did from place to place, and depending on popular favour, they were under the necessity of making the smaller and the local legends of general appeal, and this they did by absorbing, assimilating, fusing them with the larger and national legends. Hence a vast and diverse mass of material became reduced roughly to the three cycles of Jean Bodel's well-known couplet:

> Ne sont que trois matières à nul homme attendant,
> De France et de Bretaigne et de Rome le grant.

In the formation of these cycles much of the apparent historical value of the epic was sacrificed, and so, when the public grew accustomed to the *jongleurs'* usual stock-in-trade, and began to clamour for new sensations, these gentlemen had little scruple in extending their repertory out of their own imagination, thus bringing us nearer to the romantic fiction of less remote times.

The division into three cycles indicated in Bodel's couplet corresponds to a threefold origin of the epic material, and it is therefore natural to find that each cycle had a characteristic spirit of its own. The *matière de Rome* is the least important of the three groups, and

along with all that relates to the eastern Mediterranean may be neglected for our present purpose; from that source came little more than the setting of some of the romances we are to consider. The keynote of the *matière de France*, which centred round the person of Charlemagne—a Teutonic seed germinating in the soil of feudal and Christian France—is a lofty idea of honour and sacrifice in the service of God and the Emperor, and a high sense of the value of an oath of fealty, for the breaking of which, no matter what the provocation or justification, there could never be any proper atonement. The *matière de Bretagne*, of Celtic origin, is the most important for us at the present moment; fortunately too it is the most important for our own literature, and its consequent familiarity, in its various forms, to all English people who have any literary interests whatever, renders unnecessary a description of the Breton lays or the early romances of chivalry which developed from them and the corresponding French *chansons de geste*.

The French *trouvères* had made themselves complete masters of the *matière de Bretagne* by the middle of the thirteenth century, and in appropriating the myths of the passionate, imaginative and idealistic Celts, they were confronted with new and strange elements: the fantastic, the mysterious, the marvellous.

Woman had played but a minor part in their native cycle, but in the *Tristan* legends there was presented to them the love of woman, illicit but ineluctable, as a feverish, delirious, all-consuming passion; adventures, perilous and marvellous, undertaken for capricious

or for futile reasons—in a word, knight-errantry—were exhibited to them in the legends of the Round Table; a new and strange symbolism and mysticism were introduced with the legend of the Holy Grail.

Much of what was new in the spirit of the Celtic tales was alien to the *trouvère's* own character; consequently it suffered considerable modification in the process of adaptation. The more practical genius of the French *trouvères*—chief among them the matter-of-fact Chrétien de Troyes—in making the *matière de Bretagne* conform to the Christian and feudal standards, stripped it of much of its subtlety and mystery, and the fantastic, the marvellous and the miraculous tended to become merely extravagant, and even at times absurd. At the same time the refining influence of the southern *troubadours* removed much of the savagery or wildness of the French and Celtic cycles; the society became more elegant and luxurious, the material more civilised, more formal, more conventional. But as a result of all this, woman emerged with her status raised, while honour and love were the mainspring of the action, whether in the gorgeous pageants or the strange adventures of the later romances. These are the tales which spread over most of Europe, and with which few people who read at all can avoid becoming to some extent familiar. Here we need only concern ourselves with the study of their fortunes south of the Pyrenees in the Middle Ages, as a necessary step towards understanding the revival which took place there during the sixteenth century.

The growing Christian kingdoms in the north of the Spanish Peninsula had their own epic poetry, *et pour*

cause. But the *cantares de gesta* developed on different lines from the *chansons de geste*. Simple and severe, and free from the influence of the fantastic and marvellous, they retained a reputation for veracity, and were either incorporated in the learned historic or quasi-historic compilations of later times, or else reappeared as the short popular ballads. The way was therefore free for the passage not only of the varied subject-matter of the northern French epic, but also for the varying forms it assumed. That advantage was taken of this is clear from the ballads themselves. In their existing form, it is true, few of them date back even to the fifteenth century; but many of them celebrate the heroes of the Charlemagne cycle, and their present state implies a long ancestry on the other side of the Pyrenees. There were indeed very good reasons why the legends that had collected round Charlemagne should be naturalised there at an early period. Some of them told of wars carried on against the very infidels with whom the Christian kingdoms were contending for their lost inheritance, and the theatre of action of the *Chanson de Roland*, the finest poem in the whole *matière de France*, was in Spain itself. Those who had at heart the interests of the shrine of St James at Compostela in Galicia made the most of these circumstances. Various opinions are held as to the composition of the pseudo-Turpin Chronicle, but it is generally agreed that it was begun, if not altogether written, at Santiago de Compostela. When the pious compilers of that work—in its way a learned book of chivalry—utilised the Charlemagne legends to "boom" the historic associations of the pilgrim-way to the

Apostle's shrine, religion and literature rendered each other mutual services, and literature at any rate has amply repaid any debt it may have incurred. So successful was the pseudo-Turpin Chronicle in Spain that it started a patriotic protest, a national rival, in the fabulous figure of Bernardo del Carpio, victor at Roncesvalles, whose very creation is a testimony to the popularity of the opposite faction. It was from the pseudo-Turpin Chronicle that the author of the *Poema de Fernan Gonçalez*—written in the third quarter of the thirteenth century—drew his list of Carlovingian heroes[1]. To the Charlemagne series belongs a theme incorporated in the thirteenth century *Cronica General*[2] compiled under the direction of Alfonso the Learned: the legend of *Maynete y Galiana*, claimed by some Spanish scholars as a native addition to the cycle. This is the story, which exists in various forms, of Charlemagne's stay in Toledo and his marriage with Galiana, the Moorish King's daughter. Another version of the same story is embedded in the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*[3], an enormous compilation relating to the Crusades, adapted from the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* of William of Tyre, perhaps through the medium of the French *Histoire*

[1] Stanza 352, edition of C. Carroll Marden, 1904:

Carlos [e] Valdouinos, Rroldan e don Ojero,
Terryn e Gualdabuey, (e) Arnald e Oliuero,
Torpyn e don Rrynaldos e el gascon Angelero,
Estol e Salomon e el otrro (su) conpan[n]ero.

[2] Sections 597–599, edition of R. Menéndez Pidal, 1906 (*Neuva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. v.), pp. 340–343.

[3] Bk II. ch. XLIII., edition of Gayangos, 1858 (*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. XLIV.), pp. 173–185.

d'Eracle. Besides the *Maynete y Galiana*, the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* includes among its varied elements the story of *Berta*[1], mother of Charlemagne, and the *Cavallero del Cisne*[2]; and if we accept the common opinion that the compilation belongs to the end of the thirteenth century, then those sections represent the earliest specimens of the romance of chivalry in the Spanish language. But it is now thought that the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* was begun, certainly that it was ended, at a much later date. This is convenient, for it lends increased importance to the *Historia del Cavallero de Dios que avia por nombre Cifar*, the first real Spanish romance, immature and transitional indeed, but still a romance of chivalry.

The only early edition of *El Cavallero Cifar* is that of 1512, a unique copy of which exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale[3]. Its rarity is an excuse for the opinion, held until quite recent times, that it was a sixteenth century production—merely one more of *Amadis of Gaul's* "innumerable progeny." The discovery of a manuscript of the romance, also in the Bibliothèque Nationale[4], and the reprinting of the text[5] in 1872, raised *El Cavallero Cifar* from the rank of a late imitation to that of an early

[1] Bk II. ch. XLIII. pp. 175–178.

[2] Bk I. ch. XLVII.–CXXXV. pp. 26–87.

[3] A copy was once in the library of Ferdinand Columbus. The entry in the MS. catalogue which he himself compiled may be quoted because it gives the contemporary price of the romance. "2056. Cronica de cifar . . . Imp. ẽ seuilla por Jacobo Crõberger a. 9. de Junio de. 1512 . . . costo. 60. mrs ẽ ma. del campo por Junio de. 1514."

[4] A second MS.—the only other known—is now in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.

[5] By H. Michelant, in the *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, Bd CXII.

work of capital importance. The manuscript contains a prologue[1] not to be found in the 1512 edition. From this we can gather roughly the date by which the romance was completed, for the unknown author, probably a Toledan cleric, here mentions the pardons granted by Pope Boniface VIII, in the year 1300, to all who should visit the churches of St Peter and St Paul in Rome; and he describes how the body of Gonzalo Garcia Gudiel († 1299), the first Toledan Cardinal, and the first Cardinal to be buried in Spain, was translated from Rome to Toledo by Ferrand Martinez, Archdeacon of Madrid. The account is a minute one; it even records the touching detail that the worthy Archdeacon bore all the expense of the journey to Rome and back himself—e costol muy grand algo— "and it cost him a very great deal, one thing because the way was very long, from Toledo to Rome, another thing because he had to take a larger company at his own charge to do honour to the Cardinal's body, another thing because all the way provisions were very dear by reason of the countless people who went on this pilgrimage to Rome from all parts of the earth." The events described, which took place in the first two or three years of the fourteenth century, are clearly of very recent occurrence, and we may accept as a rough date for the composition of the romance the turn of the thirteenth century. We are justified in considering at some length a Spanish romance of so early a date.

[1] Reprinted by Charles Philip Wagner at the end of his thesis *The Sources of El Cavallero Cifar* (*Revue Hispanique*, tom. x. 1903), on which the account here given is mainly based.

The story of *El Cavallero Cifar* is said in the prologue to be "translated from Chaldean into Latin, and from Latin into Romance." There are not wanting those who have soberly suggested that by Chaldean is meant Greek; but the whole statement is not to be taken seriously. This pretence of translation was a common device for lending authority to fiction, before pure fiction was in repute. It is frequently met with in the Spanish romances of chivalry, and we may remark that it goes back at least to the days of those veracious historians, so popular in the Middle Ages, Dares the Phrygian and Dictys of Crete[1].

The printer of the edition of 1512 divided the story into three books, corresponding to three very distinct sections into which the narrative quite naturally falls.

[1] According to the preliminaries, Dares the Phrygian's *History of the Fall of Troy* was found in Athens by Cornelius Nepos, who translated it into Latin, dedicating his version to Sallust. More to the present point, however, is the story of the discovery of Dictys of Crete's *Trojan War*. Dictys wrote his memoirs of the war in Phoenician characters on palm-leaf rolls which by his direction were placed in a metal casket and buried with him. The truth about Troy remained hidden till in the thirteenth year of Nero's reign an earthquake occurred at Gnossos. The tomb of Dictys, amongst others, was opened up, and some passing shepherds noticed the box. Disappointed with its contents, they took the puzzling rolls to Eupraxides, the local squire, who recognised their value and showed them to Rutilius Rufus, the governor of the island. The governor sent Eupraxides with the rolls to Nero, by whose orders this story was deciphered and translated into Greek, from which it was turned into Latin by Lucius Septimius. Eupraxides was suitably rewarded, but we are not told that the shepherds received anything.

This is the type of story which regularly served to introduce the sixteenth century Spanish romances of chivalry.

The first book is a secularised adaptation of the legend of St Eustace or Placidus. Placidus, the commander of the Emperor Trajan's forces, converted to Christianity while out hunting through Christ himself appearing to him in the form of a stag with the cross between its horns, is baptised with his wife and his two boys, he receiving the name Eustachius, she that of Theospita. Being subsequently tried and afflicted like Job, Placidus departs for Egypt with his family. On the way a series of misadventures overtakes him, and he loses successively his wife and his children; but all of them, though separated, are safe. In the course of time the Barbarians invade Roman territory, and search is made for Placidus, who is eventually found, brought back to Rome, and placed in command of the army. The army, which includes the two lost sons among its recruits, sets out and comes to the town where Theospita is living. There follows a general recognition, and when the Barbarians are defeated, the reunited family returns to Rome with the triumphant army. But here a new Emperor has arisen who is intolerant towards Christians. During the sacrifice of thanksgiving Placidus reveals himself as a Christian, and suffers martyrdom along with his family.

The following brief summary of the first book of *El Cavallero Cifar* will show how the unknown author has adapted this legend.

The noble knight Cifar lived in India with his wife Grima and their two boys, Garfin and Roboan. Cifar was a brave and prudent soldier, but poor and out of favour with the King, for his horses and cattle had an evil and expensive habit of coming to an untimely end

within ten days after passing into his possession—a reminiscence of the early trials of Placidus. Discouraged by this, he decides to try his fortunes elsewhere, mindful of the prophecy that he shall some day be a king like his ancestors. He sets out with his wife and children, loses his horse on the customary tenth day, but next day arrives on foot at Galapia, to find the Lady of the City besieged by a neighbouring Count. Siding with the citizens, Cifar succeeds by his skill and prudence in raising the siege, reconciling the enemies, and marrying the Count's son to the Lady of the City. Pursuing his journey after a month's time, Cifar has a new horse—for ten days; and worse misfortunes await him. A lioness carries off one of his children, the other is lost, and when he tries to cross the sea, the sailors make off with his beautiful wife, leaving him on the shore. And here the author reveals the source of his story by making Cifar pray that he may be reunited to his wife and children, even as "Eustachio" and his wife "Teospita" and their children "Agapito" and "Teospito" were reunited. Encouraged by a voice from heaven, Cifar travels on and soon falls in with a new and original figure, a Ribaldo. After testing each other's mettle, the two join forces as knight and page, in order to carry out the Ribaldo's scheme for winning the King of Menton's daughter for his new master. The King of Menton is besieged, and his daughter's hand and the succession to the throne is offered to the knight who shall free the city. By feigning madness, Cifar passes through the besieging host, and succeeds in relieving the city. He is rewarded with the Princess's hand, and when the old

King dies, succeeds him on the throne. The difficulty of the bigamous marriage is to some extent overcome by his informing his new wife that he is under a vow of chastity as penance for a sin he has committed.

We must now return to the original wife, who on being kidnapped by the sailors prays to the Virgin Mary for protection. Her extreme beauty leads to a quarrel among her captors, which results in the same way as that between the cats of Kilkenny. Grima is now alone in the ship; but the Christ-child, taking his seat above the sail, guides the vessel and its rich cargo safely to port. Grima is thus able to indulge a taste for founding convents and asylums, and coming eventually to the capital of Menton, she undertakes to build there a refuge for *fijos dalgo viandantes*. Cifar has by this time succeeded to the throne, and in an interview which Grima has with him in order to obtain the royal consent, the long-parted husband and wife recognise each other, but keep silent.

Their two children, Garfin and Roboan, had not perished, and being by this time of age for knighthood, they repair to the chivalrous court of the King of Menton, and stay in the refuge founded by their own mother, who comes to recognise them through their discussion of the elder son's escape from the lioness being overheard and reported to her. Grima and the two youths have so much to say to each other on the night of their discovery that they fall asleep together and are so found by a messenger from the Queen next morning. For this supposed crime the King condemns Grima to be burned, but before the sentence can be carried out he gathers

from the youths' story that they are his own sons, and the mother is therefore pardoned. The two sons are knighted, and along with the Cavallero Amigo (the former Ribaldo) they subdue the rebellious Count Nason. The Count is burned, his ashes are cast into an enchanted lake, and his country is given to the elder son Garfin. The young Queen now very considerately dies, and the original family is happily reunited after the King's formal recognition of his first wife and his two sons.

That is the skeleton of the first book of *El Cavallero Cifar*. The second book is a parenthesis, due to the author's succumbing entirely to the didactic tendency of his times. It is introduced with some naturalness as the instructions given by the King of Menton to his two sons, the elder of whom is to succeed him, while the younger chooses to seek his fortune as a knight-errant. The King's sermon does not concern our present purpose; all we need say of it here is that it consists of a practically literal copy of a recently published (1878) thirteenth century didactic work, the *Flores de Filosofia*, eked out by passages from the second of the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso the Learned and the *Castigos e Documentos*, together with a few Biblical allusions and some miscellaneous illustrative anecdotes.

The real story is resumed in the third book, which contains the knightly adventures of the younger son Roboan. Setting out with the Cavallero Amigo and three hundred knights, his first great adventure is to secure the independence of the sorely-tried kingdom of Pandulfa, and win the heart of the Lady Seringa its ruler. An immediate marriage however would not have

suited the author's convenience, so Roboan resumes his travels, taking with him the lady's ring as a souvenir. After further adventures he reaches the Empire of Trigrida, and soon becomes the Emperor's chief counsellor. But the jealousy of the other counsellors leads to his unwittingly incurring the Emperor's severe displeasure, and he is banished by being placed in an unmanned boat which wafts him to an enchanted island. His strange life here ends with his being transported back to Trigrida in the same magic boat, and restored to the Emperor's favour. The Emperor dies childless soon after this, and Roboan succeeds him. After he has crushed a rebellion of the wicked counsellors, he is urged to take a wife. Thereupon he bethinks him of the Lady Seringa, and writes to her enclosing her ring as a reminder. She responds with alacrity; the result is an immediate marriage, and in due course the *Fijo de Bendicion*, whose heroic deeds are also said to be recorded in Chaldean.

It is impossible to bring out in a brief summary one point which makes this earliest Spanish novel interesting from more than the historical point of view. The Cavallero Amigo, a pure *pícaro* in his earlier career as the Ribaldo, is astute and practical, with a fund of proverbial lore. Not only may he be the forerunner of the picaresque type made so popular in Spain by Lazarillo de Tormes, but he may also have suggested Sancho Panza to Cervantes, who could quite well have made the Ribaldo's acquaintance in the 1512 edition of *El Cavallero Cifar*.

Even the attempt to tell the story of this romance in

a connected fashion cannot altogether conceal the author's lack of a unity of purpose; but it cannot show how tentatively he proceeded in the direction of a new literary *genre*, how gradually he approached the standard fixed in the sixteenth century. His chief development lies in his growing dependence on, his increased indebtedness to, the *matière de Bretagne*. Setting aside minor incidents, the influence of this cycle becomes pronounced at the end of the first book, where the fantastic and marvellous element is introduced in the inserted episode of the Cavallero Atrevido[1]. The Dauntless Knight determines to explore the enchanted lake into which the ashes of the rebellious Count Nason had been cast. He is borne down through its waters by the Lady of the Lake to a marvellous realm below, and becomes lord of both realm and lady. In seven days his mistress presents him with a wonder child, who in seven days more attains to full stature. The knight is soon tempted to unfaithfulness by the beauty of a maiden he sees; whereupon his lady changes into a horrible demon, while he and his son, in the midst of a tremendous earthquake, are hurled up through the waters of the lake to the world above, and to his men who are still waiting for him.

After the didactic interlude of the second book, the Celtic influence becomes more marked in the last book. It is indeed noticeable in the changed spirit of the story, in Roboan's voluntary choice of knight-errantry as a profession, as compared with his father's almost enforced wanderings; and Roboan, the brave, elegant and

[1] Bk I. ch. CX.–CXVII.

courteous, has all the properties of a sixteenth century chivalresque hero. But the main influence is to be found in an episode not essential to the narrative[1]: Roboan's adventure in the enchanted island—a parallel to the story of the Dauntless Knight in the first book. When Roboan reaches the island in the magic boat, he is presented to the Empress, who at once takes him for her husband. After a time a beautiful woman—this time the Devil in disguise—thrice tempts him to be unfaithful to the Empress, by promising him successively a mastiff, a falcon, and a horse, each the most wonderful of its kind in the world. The horse is his undoing, for it runs away with him to the magic boat, and he is wafted back to the unromantic world, leaving behind the Empress, the babe she is to bear him, and his happiness. His only memento is a magic banner, which brings success in all its owner undertakes.

Even if the author had not mentioned by name Arthur[2] and Gawain[3], the indebtedness of *El Cavallero Cifar* to the Breton cycle is obvious. It is now time for us to consider briefly, as we did with the *matière de France*, to what extent this *matière de Bretagne* was known beyond the Pyrenees previous to the fourteenth century. We shall not expect to find either very early or very abundant traces of its passage, for if the spirit of the cycle was alien to the French genius, it was still more so to the Catalan, the Aragonese, the Castilian; and we must generally allow too for the absence of direct

[1] Bk III. ch. XXX.–XXXIX.

[2] Bk I. ch. CV.

[3] Bk III. ch. XXXI. The form used is Yuan.

contact. Yet references in early literature show that the cycle found its way across the Pyrenees through more than one channel.

Through the medium of the Provençal *troubadours* the Celtic legends reached Catalonia at an early date, as is shown by the mention of the main themes—Erec, Tristan, Gawain, Lancelot—in a poem by Guiraldo de Cabrera written about the year 1170[1]; and at a later date actual copies of some romances existed in the libraries of King Martin of Aragon († 1410)[2] and Prince Charles of Viana († 1461)[3]. But these legends also followed the same route as the Charlemagne legends, and found an equally natural outlet in Galicia and

[1] Given in full by Manuel Milá y Fontanals: *De los Trovadores en España*, 1861, in the section devoted to Guiraldo de Cabrera, pp. 265–277. In the form of a reproach directed against the "Juglar Cabra," the poem gives the various themes which should form part of every respectable *jongleur's* stock-in-trade. The references to the Breton cycle occur in the following lines:

Ni sabs d'Erec — Ni de Gualvaing
Con conquistec — Qui ses conpaing
L'esparvier for de sa rejon . . . — Fazia tanta venaison . . .
Ni de Tristan — Ni d'Arselot la contençon.
C'amava Yceut a lairon,

[2] See the *Translat del Inventari fet dels libres los quals erem del . . . Rey en Martí*, in the *Inventari dels bens mobles del rey Martí d'Aragó*, printed by J. Massó Torrents in the *Revue Hispanique*, 1905, tom. XII. pp. 413–590; along with other romances we find in the list (No. 71): "Item vn altre libre appellat profacies de Merli en frances."

[3] See *La Bibliothèque de Don Carlos, Prince de Viane*, printed by Paul Raymond in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1858, sér. iv. tom. IV. pp. 483–487: (No. 35) "Item. Del Sant Greal en ffrances." (No. 38) "Un altre [libre] de cavalleria." (No. 40) "Item. Tristany de Leonis en ffrances."

Portugal, where there existed not only a flourishing school of lyric poetry, but also, we may assume, a kindred spirit—a heritage from early Celtic inhabitants, increased by communication with more thoroughly Celtic lands.

Both Alfonso the Learned (†1284)[1] and his grandson, King Dinis of Portugal (†1325)[2], mention Tristan in their poems, and other references might be added. But from our point of view these references sink into insignificance beside the actual existence of five *Lays de Bretanha* at the beginning of the manuscript *Canzoniere portoghese Colocci-Brancuti*[3] in the Vatican. These lyrics are free translations from the French, and show how familiar the *matière de Bretagne* must have been to the Galician and Portuguese *trovadores* even in the thirteenth century. Evidence of a knowledge of the cycle derived from a more learned source—Geoffrey of

[1] See *Il Canzoniere portoghese Colocci-Brancuti pubblicato . . . da Enrico Molteni*, 1880, p. 155. No. 468 (360) contains the following:

. . . ca ia paris
Damor non foy tam coitado
Nen tristam nunca soffrerõ
Tal affam. . . .

It may further be noted that Alfonso in his *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (edition of the Real Academia Española, 1889, vol. II.) mentions "rei Brutus," "rey Artur" (No. 35, pp. 52, 54), Merlin (No. 108, pp. 165, etc.), and "o breton Artur" (*Cantigas de las fiestas de Santa Maria*, No. 9, p. 581).

[2] See *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis von Portugal*, edited by H. R. Lang, 1894, No. 36, p. 37:

. . . e o mui namorado
Tristam sei bem que nom amou Iseu
quant' eu vos amo, esto certo sei eu.

[3] Molteni's edition, Nos. 1–5, pp. 7–9.

Monmouth's Latin Chronicle—is found in the *Livro das Linhagens*[1] of King Dinis's illegitimate son, Pedro, Conde de Barcellos (†1354). This work, compiled in the middle of the fourteenth century, gives a genealogical account of the English kings from Brutus to Arthur, which is noteworthy moreover because it contains the story of King Lear. During the latter part of the fourteenth and throughout the fifteenth century, interest in the cycle increased, partly no doubt owing to the influence of King John I's English consort—Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, and mother of Prince Henry the Navigator. Noble Portuguese families are found selecting Christian names for their children from the legends—Iseu, Genebra, Viviana, etc., for the girls, Tristão, Lançarote, Percival, etc., for the boys[2], just as later we shall find Christian names selected from the *Amadis* romances in other countries. Actual copies of the Breton romances were in the royal libraries; a document discovered at Evora gives a list of books[3] in the possession of King Edward (†1438), son of John I and Philippa, which includes *Tristan*, *Merlin*, and a *Livro de Galaaz*. Furthermore there exists in the Imperial Library at Vienna a fourteenth century Portuguese translation or adaptation of the *Quête du Saint*

[1] *Livro das Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, in *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica . . . Scriptores*, 1856, etc., vol. 1. fasc. 2, tit. 2, pp. 236–245.

[2] See the section *As novellas da Tavola Redonda em Portugal* in Theophilo Braga's *Curso de historia da litteratura portugueza*, 1885, pp. 144–148.

[3] *Memoria dos livros do uso d'elrei Dom Duarte*, in J. I. Roquete's edition of that monarch's *Leal Conselheiro*, 1842, pp. xx–xxii: (No. 29) Livro do Tristam, (No. 32) Merli, (No. 35) O Livro de Galaaz.

Graal, which has recently been partly printed[1], and another Portuguese manuscript on the same theme has been recorded[2], but is now lost.

Turning to the more important Castilian literature, we find that references to the Celtic legends previous to the fourteenth century are few, and that, such as they are, they derive from Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin Chronicle. The earliest known reference occurs in the first part of the *Anales Toledanos*—compiled in the second quarter of the thirteenth century—where it is recorded how Arthur fought with Modred at Camlan[3]. Alfonso the Learned's *Grande et General Estoria*, begun in the next quarter of the same century—a different work from the *Estoria d'Espanna* or *Cronica General* mentioned in connexion with the Charlemagne cycle—contains the story of Brutus[4]; and the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, which drew upon the Charlemagne cycle, also mentions the Round Table[5], and is otherwise indebted to the Celtic cycle. This brings us to the point at which we left the Charlemagne cycle; we can now conveniently combine the different cycles and the various miscellaneous

[1] *A Historia dos Cavalleiros da Mesa Redonda e da Demanda do Santo Graall*, edited by K. von Reinhardstoettner, Bd 1. 1887.

[2] By F. A. de Varnhagen, who discovered the preceding; see his *Cancioneirinho de trovas antigas colligidas de um grande cancioneiro da Bibliotheca do Vaticano . . . Edição mais correcta*, 1872, pp. 165, etc.

[3] See the edition in tom. XXIII. of Fr. Henrique Florez: *España Sagrada*, 1767, p. 381 (edn. 2, 1799, p. 382): "Lidió el Rey Zitus (*sic*) con Modret su sobrino en Camblenc, Era DLXXX."

[4] See José Amador de los Rios: *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, 1861, etc., tom. v. pp. 28, 29.

[5] *Ed. cit.*, ch. XLIII. p. 180: ". . . llámanle el juego de la tabla redonda; que no por la otra que fué en tiempo del rey Artús."

romances, and consider the references to them in literature, and such translations as are known to have been made, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

An evidence of the rising popularity of these themes occurs in the first quarter of the fourteenth century in the *Libro de la Caza*, by Alfonso the Learned's nephew, Don Juan Manuel. From this work it appears that the Castilians named their falcons after the Celtic heroes[1], just as the Portuguese did their babies at a later period. The *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, by the mediocre Rodrigo Yañez, who may have been a Galician, mentions various Carlovingian heroes, and also Tristan and Merlin[2], ascribing to the latter a lengthy prophecy of the Moorish overthrow at the battle of the Salado. Towards the middle of the century Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, at the end of his *Libro de Buen Amor*, mentions as very patterns of true lovers both Tristan and Flores and Blancaflor, the fabulous ancestors of Charlemagne[3]. Towards the end of the fourteenth century the Chancellor Pero Lopez de Ayala, a complacent turncoat

[1] See the edition by G. Baist, 1880, pp. 42, 44. Two falcons are mentioned, one called Lanzarote (evidently suggested by the technical term lanzar), the other Galvan.

[2] Edition of F. Janer, in his *Poetas castellanos anteriores al siglo xv* (*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. LVII.), 1864, pp. 477–551. St. 1739 mentions El arçobispo don Torpin, el cortés Obruero, and el Roldan palaçin; st. 1773, Pepinos, rey de Françia; st. 2174, Anrrique, fijo de Oliua; st. 409, la farpa de don Tristan; st. 242, Melrrin, and st. 1807–1842 give his prophecy.

[3] Edition of J. Ducamin, 1901, st. 1703:

> Ca nunca fue tan leal blanca flor a frores
> nin es agora tristan con todos sus amores.

For another mention of Tristan about this time, see p. 56, n. 1.

whose career was as adventurous as that of Cervantes, in a stanza of his *Rimado de Palacio* to which we shall have to refer again, confesses, as Cervantes also might have done, to having wasted much time in his earlier days over profane books, amongst which he includes *Lancelot of the Lake*[1]. The famous *Cancionero de Baena*, compiled about the middle of the fifteenth century—another work to which we shall have to refer later—is full of references to the heroes of numerous romances: Guinevere, Yseult, Tristan, Galahad, Lancelot, Charlemagne, Roland, Paris and Viana, Flores and Blancaflor, Enrique fi de Oliva, and others[2]. All this points to a great increase in the popularity of these heroes in Castile, and we are therefore not surprised to find some of them figuring in early Spanish ballads. For instance Lancelot is the central figure in that beginning

Tres hijuelos habia el Rey, tres hijuelos que no mas. . .

already described as old by the celebrated Humanist Antonio de Nebrija in his *Gramatica sobre la lengua castellana*, printed in 1492[3]. And we have previously

[1] The passage in question is referred to and quoted in the next chapter (see p. 54).

[2] The passages are too numerous to specify; one of them is quoted in full in the next chapter (see pp. 54, 55), and several others are mentioned in the notes.

[3] The following lines from this romance are quoted on sig. c. 7b, introduced thus:

> Como en aquel romance antiguo.
> Digas tu el ermitaño que hazes la vida santa:
> Aquel ciervo del pie blanco donde haze su morada.
> Por aqui passo esta noche un ora antes del alva.

Cf. also sig. d 2a.

mentioned the certainty of some of the existing Charlemagne ballads dating back to earlier times.

There was an excellent reason for the growing popularity of the various French romances in Spain at this time, for during the fourteenth century they began to be translated into Castilian. There are two fragments of a Spanish *Tristan*[1] in existence which are even ascribed to the first third of that century, but the period to which most of the translations belong is the latter part of the fourteenth, and the fifteenth century. One or two of these may be mentioned here. Of the Charlemagne series one of the earliest to be translated is the *Noble Cuento del Emperador Carles Maynes de Roma y de la buena Emperatriz Sevilla*, the manuscript of which forms part of a collection in the Escorial. To the same series belongs the *Historia de Enrique fi de Oliva*, mentioned as we have seen in the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* and in the *Cancionero de Baena*, and referred to by Cervantes as the "book in which the deeds of Count Tomillas are related[2]." Another romance of different style and origin, but in due course attached to the Charlemagne series, is the *Flores y Blancaflor* known to the Archpriest of Hita, and mentioned in the *Cancionero de Baena*. This story became hispanicised quite early, and must have been translated by the fifteenth century. Other Spanish translations of French romances were forthcoming when the printing press came to propagate them.

[1] The larger fragment is in the Vatican; one page of it has been reproduced by Ernesto Monaci in his *Facsimili di antichi manoscritti*, 1881–92, No. 6. The other fragment was discovered by Sr. D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín in the binding of a MS. in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.

[2] *Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. XVI.

The increase in popularity of the romance of chivalry in Spain synchronised with an increase in the practice of chivalry. The spirit of the romances, especially in their more courtly form, was hardly such as would have developed unaided among the knights and the knightly adventures of which the Peninsula had its full share. But the theoretical acquaintance with chivalry acquired from the romances was supplemented by the example of those paladins who came from other lands to help the Christians in Spain to fight the Infidel, or of such "Mirrors of Knighthood" as the Black Prince or Du Guesclin, who helped them to fight each other. The more highly developed chivalrous code of France and England influenced Spanish knightly practice, mainly on the superficial and theatrical side, and incidentally facilitated the spread of the literary expression of that code—the romances. The complete adoption by the Spaniards of the manners and conventions of chivalry in their most extravagant form is seen in the "Paso Honroso" of 1434, one of the famous feats which made Don Quixote[1] believe all romances were true. On this occasion, to free himself from wearing every Thursday an iron chain round his neck—the self-imposed badge of his servitude to a noble lady—Suero de Quiñones, a Leonese knight, undertook with nine comrades to tilt against all comers for thirty days at the bridge of Órbigo, near Astorga. A tournament was arranged under royal patronage, and only after some seven hundred courses had been run, and when one of the opposing knights had been killed, and many on both sides

[1] Pt I. ch. XLIX.

wounded, including all but one of the defenders, was the champion deemed to have acquitted himself honourably. This preposterous affair is soberly recorded, as though there was nothing particularly extraordinary about it, in the *Cronica de Juan el Segundo*[1], from which we gather too that Castilian knights—some known to Don Quixote[2]—not only displayed their prowess in their native land, but also maintained their country's credit abroad. By the time of the Catholic Kings, Hernando del Pulgar could claim that more Spanish knights went northwards than foreign knights came southwards in search of adventures[3]. There were

[1] Ch. CCXL. (1433, ch. v.). A more circumstantial—and somewhat different—account is given in the *Libro del Passo Honroso . . . Copilado de vn libro antiguo de mano por F. Iuan de Pineda*, 1588. This work, of some three hundred pages, is abbreviated from the account of an eye-witness, "Pero Rodriguez Delena escriuano de nuestro señor el Rey don Iuan, y su Notario publico."

For other enterprises undertaken by Spanish knights at home, between 1430 and 1440 only, see the *Cronica*, ch. CCXXXVII. (1433, ch. II.), CCXLIV. (1434, ch. IV.), CCCXII. (1440, ch. XVI.), and abroad, ch. CCXXXIX. (1433, ch. IV.), CCLV. (1435, ch. III.), CCLXVII. (1436, ch. IV.).

[2] Pt I. ch. XLIX.

[3] *Claros varones de Castilla*, 1789, tít. 17, pp. 106, 107: "Yo por cierto no ví en mis tiempos, ni leí que en los pasados viniesen tantos Caballeros de otros Reynos é tierras estrañas á estos vuestros Reynos de Castilla é de Leon por facer armas á todo trance, como ví que fueron Caballeros de Castilla á las buscar por otras partes de la Christiandad. Conoscí al Conde Don Gonzalo de Guzman, é á Juan de Merlo: conoscí á Juan de Torres, é á Juan de Polanco, Alfaran de Vivero, é á Mosen Pero Vazquez de Sayavedra, á Gutierre Quixada, é á Mosen Diego de Valera; é oí decir de otros Castellanos que con ánimo de Caballeros fueron por los Reynos estraños á facer armas con qualquier Caballero que quisiese facerlas con ellos, é por ellas ganaron honra para sí, é fama de valientes y esforzados Caballeros para los Fijosdalgo de Castilla."

special reasons why this should be the case; but it is clear that reality and the romances were approximating in Spain during the fifteenth century, thus making possible the revival we have to consider.

The way was further prepared by a series of events which happened during the latter half of the fifteenth century, greatly influencing the life and extending the outlook of Europe—not least of the Spanish Peninsula. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks affected Spain more than most countries of western Europe. The revival of classical learning, enormously stimulated by this event, began to influence Spain more and more; but here in the south-west of Europe, as in the south-east, the Cross and Crescent were in conflict, and a gain in power and prestige at one point was felt at the other. In Spain men's eyes were turned anxiously eastward—we shall see that fact reflected in the Spanish romances—and a renewed local effort was made against the Infidel. The conquest of his last remaining stronghold, the kingdom of Granada, by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492 was considered adequate compensation for the loss of Constantinople, and the unification and pacification of Spain under the Catholic Kings led to a more magnificent courtly life which favoured the development of a native series of romances of chivalry.

The year 1492 witnessed the beginnings of another and more important conquest—that of the New World. The voyages of discovery of Columbus, Vasco da Gama and Magellan enlarged the mental horizon of medieval Europe. The vague, inaccurate and exaggerated reports of adventures as marvellous as those of the existing

romances of chivalry stimulated and quickened the imagination—of the Spaniards and Portuguese especially—rather than appealed to the intellect. The early maps, scientific repositories of the newly acquired knowledge, fringed as they often are with undiscovered countries inhabited by strange shapes of men and beasts, help to explain the vague geography and the fabulous monsters of the sixteenth century romances.

Along with a mental expansion similar to that which occurred at a somewhat later date in England, there was in Spain during the last quarter of the fifteenth century an intellectual speeding-up due to the introduction of the newly discovered art of printing with movable characters. Authorship as a profession became commercially practicable, and literature tended towards fixed types owing to the possibility of rapid reproduction and imitaton.

The first type to establish itself successfully was the romance of chivalry, in the sixteenth century. The foundations for this success were already being laid in the last decade of the previous century, when translations of six French romances were printed in the Peninsula[1]. Two of these belong to the Celtic cycle: *El Baladro del sabio Merlin*, of 1498, which exists in a unique copy, and *Merlin y demanda del Sancto Grial*, of 1500, which has disappeared. Two more belong to the Charlemagne series: *Paris e Viana*, of c. 1494, and 1495, and *Enrique*

[1] For details see Haebler's *Bibliografia ibérica del siglo XV*, 1903, 17. Other translations appeared in the sixteenth century; an idea of the number published in the first third of that century can be gathered from the late Konrad Burger's *Die Drucker und Verleger in Spanien und Portugal von 1501–1536*; 1913.

fi de Oliva, of 1498, all existing in unique copies. A fifth, *La Estoria del noble Vespasiano*, of c. 1490, and 1499, appeared also in Portuguese, in 1496. The last is *Oliveros de Castilla y Artus de Algarbe*, of 1499, in which the moral and religious element is as prominent as the chivalrous.

That those translations were selected for printing at this period is an indication of the popularity in Spain of romances of chivalry, regardless of their style and origin. A more important symptom was the beginning of the creation of native romances about the same time. *Amadis de Gaula* itself was certainly in existence, and may have been printed in the fifteenth century; but all that concerns this romance must be left for a separate chapter. Before we can proceed to that chapter we must consider two other native fifteenth century romances.

Both these are Catalan romances, and neither of them conforms to the type which became so popular during the sixteenth century. In one, *Curial y Guelfa*, the sentimental element prevails. This work is little known, and was without influence, for it was not printed till the beginning of the present century[1]. All that need be said of it here is that it mentions Tristan and Lancelot as having been already translated into Catalan. The other romance, *Tirant lo Blanch*, is of considerable importance, and of especial interest to us in England.

Tirant lo Blanch was first published at Valencia in 1490[2]. It is therefore the earliest existing romance of

[1] Edited by Antoni Rubió y Lluch, 1901; see his note 4 to bk I. for the French influence on the romance.

[2] Only three copies have survived; one is in the British Museum.

chivalry printed in the Peninsula. More is known about its composition than is usual with these early romances.

It was begun by Johanot Martorell in 1460, as we learn from the dedication. The colophon tells us that Martorell died after finishing three parts, and that the fourth and last part was added by Marti Johan de Galba at the instance of the noble lady Isabel de Loris. Martorell professes to have translated his section from English into Portuguese, and then, for the benefit of his countrymen, from Portuguese into Catalan. This may of course be the usual pretence, such as that of *El Cavallero Cifar* to be translated from Chaldean into Latin and from Latin into Romance. On the other hand the fact that *Tirant lo Blanch* is dedicated to a Portuguese prince—"Don Ferrando de Portogal"—lends some colour to the claim that a Portuguese version of the story once existed. That there was an English original of the whole work is certainly untrue; but Martorell—like the author of *El Cavallero Cifar* before him, and Cervantes after him—may well have begun his romance without any very clear idea as to how it would develop. He may have started with an English original by his side, for the first portion of the story closely resembles a well-known English romance. He may even have been in England, as indeed he claims to have been[1]. The action of the story opens in this country, and the author's descriptions of English practices and customs argue a first-hand acquaintance with these islands. He certainly knew something of the geography of England and the sea-route thither; but this last fact reminds us that he

[1] In his dedication.

may have gathered his information from sailors and merchants in his native land. However he acquired his information, his use of it increases our interest in a romance of considerable merit and historical importance.

The first twenty-seven chapters of *Tirant lo Blanch* are based on the second part of the story of *Guy of Warwick*, in which the hero, wedded to Felice, is happy for the usual fortnight, but then, struck with remorse for his undevout life, abandons his wife and unborn child, and goes on a pilgrimage in the East. After fighting the Saracen giant Amarant, and once more assisting Sir Terry in Germany, he returns to England, an old man, to champion his country against the African giant Colbrand, the representative of the Danes under Anlaf. Having killed the giant, he visits his wife in disguise, becomes a hermit, and finally dies in his wife's arms.

Martorell reveals the source of his opening chapters by copying the name—William, Earl of Warwick[1]—while somewhat altering the story. In a fit of disgust the Earl is said to have gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. After spreading a report of his death, he returns to England in disguise and settles down in retirement hard by where his Countess is still living. In due course the King of Canaria attacks and invades Britain, and the English King is driven from London to Warwick, where he is besieged. The Earl thereupon comes out of his retirement, kills the Canary King, and routs his host; but he again retires to a life of solitude, after revealing himself to his wife.

[1] In the form "lo comte Guillem de Veroych" or "Varoych."

At this stage we are introduced to the hero, Tirant lo Blanch, a young French squire who has come over with thirty companions to receive the honour of knighthood and to take part in the tournaments held to celebrate the English King's marriage with the French King's daughter. Falling asleep upon his horse, Tirant strays from his comrades, and wakes to find himself in the presence of the retired Earl of Warwick, who is seated beneath an English oak near a cool spring, reading the *Arbre de Batalles*, a manual of chivalry. After a discussion on the subject which is near to the heart of both, the young hero is dismissed with a present of the book, and a request to call again on his return from the tournaments.

Arrived at the court, Tirant is knighted and by his uniform success becomes the champion of the tournaments. His chief victims are those four brothers-in-arms, the Dukes of Burgundy and Bavaria, and the Kings of Poland and Friesland. A retainer of the last-named, Don Kirielayson de Muntalba, comes to England to avenge his liege lord, but dies of grief on beholding the latter's tomb surmounted by the memorials of Tirant's triumph. His brother, Thomas de Muntalba, succeeds in reaching the lists, only to add one more to the number of Tirant's conquests.

The tournaments over, Tirant returns to his native land, visiting the noble hermit on his way. Scarcely has he had time to recover from his English adventures before he learns that the Island of Rhodes is besieged by the Sultan of Cairo. Along with the French King's youngest son and a number of knights he hastens to the

islanders' assistance, and soon raises the siege. The company have just time to return to Sicily and marry the French King's son to the local Princess, when a messenger from the Emperor of Constantinople arrives requesting help against the Grand Turk and a Moorish Sultan. The French knights set out to aid the Greeks, and immediately on their arrival Tirant is appointed Captain-general of all the Greek forces by land and sea. The sudden promotion is justified, for the Turks and their allies are so badly mauled in several encounters that they are obliged to request a truce. On the Greek side the interval is occupied by feasts and tourneys, as well as intrigues between the Greek ladies and the foreign knights, which for the realism of their telling have made the romance notorious. The young squire Ypolit falls a victim to the elderly Empress, and Tirant himself, with the connivance of the damsel Plaerdemavida, becomes entangled with the Princess Carmesina; he also has the misfortune to captivate the widow Reposada, who causes trouble between the lovers by means of a stratagem like that employed by Claudio in *Much Ado About Nothing*.

On the expiration of the truce, Tirant and a chosen army embarked to deal a decisive blow against the Turks; but a storm drove the vessels on to the African coast. This provides a new theatre for Tirant's prowess. Numerous kings are overthrown, and some half million heretics converted to the true faith, when thoughts of Carmesina and the unfinished enterprise against the Turks cause the hero to return to Constantinople. As he goes at the head of a formidable army, the Grand

Turk and the Sultan are utterly vanquished, and he himself is rewarded with the Greek Empire and the hand of the Princess Carmesina. Before the marriage can be celebrated, however, he dies of pleurisy; the shock kills the Princess, and when the old Emperor hears of the double fatality he dies of grief. The Empress, having settled the details of the funeral, proceeds to solace herself with the squire Ypolit, whom she raises to the throne. After three years she dies and bequeaths him the Empire, which he soon shares with an English Princess.

Tirant lo Blanch represents a considerable advance on *El Cavallero Cifar*, though not in the direction which the romance of chivalry was soon to take; even the imperfect summaries given above reveal a greater unity in the construction of the later story. Martorell knew the French and Breton cycles, but once past his preliminary chapters he used them sparingly, and he is quite remote from their spirit: he drew more of his inspiration from the times in which he lived, and where he chose to depend on literary sources he had of course a wider choice than his unknown predecessor[1]. Besides imitating the story of *Guy of Warwick*, he borrowed whole passages from Ramon Lull's *Libre del orde de Cavayleria*, which is the *Arbre de Batalles* of the noble hermit. The adventurous portion of the romance is modelled on the amazing career of Roger de Flor, as

[1] For the literary sources of *Tirant lo Blanch* see Lluís Nicolau i d'Olwer: *Sobre les fonts catalanes del Tirant lo Blanch* (in the *Revista de Bibliografia Catalana*), 1905, and Juan Givanel Más: *Estudio crítico de Tirant lo Blanch* (in the *Archivo de Investigaciones Históricas*), 1911; also separately, 1912.

narrated in Ramon Muntaner's *Chronica*; but just as the author of *El Cavallero Cifar* avoided the martyrdom of Placidus and his family, so Martorell, or Galba, steered clear of the Catalan hero's treacherous death. Martorell was susceptible to the prevailing didactic tendencies, and he is indebted for the sententious element in his story to Guillem de Cervera, the Jew Jahuda Bonsenyor, and the Majorcan Pax or Pachs. The amorous incidents show the influence of the French *Histoire d'Eracle* and—through the medium of Bernat Metge—of Boccaccio, though here especially the author drew from the life, and left no flattering picture of the morality of his age and country.

Martorell has little use for the marvellous and fantastic; among the few intrusions of magic is the ancient story, which he perhaps knew from Sir John Mandeville[1], of the damsel converted into a dragon and restored to human shape by a young hero's kiss[2]. He also lacks the vivid imagination and the exuberant pen of the later romance-writers we are to discuss. In spite of the length of his story, his style is terse and his manner realistic. The creator of the damsel Plaerdemavida and the widow Reposada is in an obvious literary concatenation with the Archpriest of Hita, who gave us Trotaconventos and others. The originators of Celestina, of Lazarillo de Tormes, and of Rinconete and Cortadillo, are his natural successors.

[1] Compare *Tirant lo Blanch*, ch. ccccx. (original edn.; ch. cccxcv., edn. of 1873, etc.) and Sir John Mandeville's *Travels*, ch. IV.

[2] The story made familiar to English readers by Leigh Hunt in his essay *The Daughter of Hippocrates*.

Small wonder therefore that in the "diverting and important scrutiny" Cervantes allows the curate to be so eulogistic when the overladen housekeeper drops a volume which turns out to be what Don Quixote elsewhere calls[1] the "never sufficiently praised *Tirante el Blanco*."

"God bless me!" said the curate with a shout, "*Tirante el Blanco* here! Hand it over, gossip, for in it I reckon I have found a treasury of enjoyment and a mine of recreation. Here is Don Kyrieleison of Montalvan, a valiant knight, and his brother Thomas of Montalvan, and the knight Fonseca, with the battle the bold Tirante fought with the mastiff, and the witticisms of the damsel Placerdemivida, and the loves and wiles of the widow Reposada, and the empress in love with the squire Hipolito—in truth, gossip, by right of its style it is the best book in the world. Here knights eat and sleep, and die in their beds, and make their wills before dying, and a great deal more of which there is nothing in all the other books. For all that, I say he who wrote it, inasmuch as he produced such fooleries deliberately, deserved to be sent to the galleys for life."

Tirant lo Blanch did not impress the general public so favourably as it did Cervantes. At least its success was moderate. It was reprinted in 1497, that edition being even rarer than the first, and it has twice been reprinted in modern times[2]. It appeared in Spanish in 1511, in Italian in 1538, and in French about a century later, both the Italian and the French versions being more

[1] Pt I. ch. XIII.

[2] In Barcelona, 1873–1905, and in New York, 1904, the latter being a magnificent facsimile of the first edition, made by Mr Archer M. Huntington, from the copy then in his possession, and afterwards presented by him to the Hispanic Society of America.

than once reprinted. It is clear that Martorell aimed at creating a mirror of knighthood and an ideal pair of loyal lovers; it is equally clear that he failed in a task for which his realistic tendencies disqualified him. The man who was to succeed where Martorell miscarried was working about the same time on his redaction of *Amadis de Gaula*, an old story whose origin should have engaged our attention before now, if the chronological method of treatment had been strictly followed. All that concerns *Amadis de Gaula*, however, deserves a chapter to itself. For the consideration of that romance, and the revival which followed its publication, this brief sketch of the fortunes of the romance of chivalry in the Spanish Peninsula previous to the sixteenth century has prepared the way.

CHAPTER II

AMADIS DE GAULA AND ITS CONTINUATIONS

WHEN the curate and the barber made their diverting and important scrutiny in Don Quixote's library, the first volume that Master Nicholas handed to his companion was *The Four Books of Amadis of Gaul.*

"This looks mysterious," said the curate, "for this, as I have heard say, was the first book of chivalry printed in Spain, and from this all the others derive their birth and origin; so it seems to me that we ought inexorably to condemn it to the flames as the founder of so vile a sect."

"Nay, sir," said the barber, "I, too, have heard say that this is the best of all the books of this kind that have been written; and so, as something singular in its line, it ought to be pardoned."

"True," said the curate, "and for that reason let its life be spared for the present."

The barber's information was more correct than the curate's; for while it is true that *Amadis de Gaula* was the father of the "innumerable progeny[1]" that sprang up in Spanish literature during the sixteenth century, it is most improbable that the book was the first of its kind printed in Spain. There are indeed rumours[2] of an edition of 1496; but even this is some distance from 1490, when *Tirant lo Blanch* was first published at

[1] *Don Quixote*, pt II. ch. I.

[2] For the references see G. S. Williams: *The Amadis Question* (in the *Revue Hispanique*, tom. XXI.), 1909, Appendix, p. 155.

Valencia. The first known edition of *Amadis de Gaula* was not printed till 1508, and this printed edition is the earliest version of the romance that has come down to us.

The curate was nearer the truth in associating *Amadis of Gaul* with the mysterious, for the fates seem to have conspired from the first to involve in obscurity every detail connected with this romance. We do not know the exact name of the author. In the edition of 1508 it is given as Garcirodriguez de Montalvo, in later editions as Garci Ordoñez de Montalvo, and elsewhere[1] as Garcia Gutierrez de Montalvo; all sources are agreed, however, that he was *Regidor* of the most noble city of Medina del Campo. We do not know when he wrote the book. All we do know is that his preface was written between 1492 and 1504, as in it he mentions the fall of Granada and speaks of both Ferdinand and Isabella as still living:—the interval will of course be narrowed down to between 1492 and 1496, if the rumour of an edition of the latter year turns out to be correct. Again, we do not know to what extent he is responsible for the text as it stands. In the heading to the introduction he says that he "corrected it from the old originals, which were corrupt and badly composed in ancient fashion through the fault of different and bad writers, deleting many superfluous words, and adding others of a more polished and elegant style, relating to chivalry and the deeds thereof[2]."

[1] In the *Sergas de Esplandian*, the fifth book of *Amadis de Gaula*, for which see below.

[2] Original of 1508: "... y corregiole delos antiguos originales que estauan corruptos: y mal compuestos en antiguo estilo: por falta delos

What were these old originals? Who, or even what country produced them? When did they come into being? On these questions there has raged a most prolific literary controversy, without it being yet possible to arrive at a definite conclusion. Before we attempt to outline this controversy, however, we may do well to ensure some interest in the subject by giving first of all a brief account of the book round which it centres; for even the most reckless enthusiast would hardly pretend that *Amadis of Gaul* now claims more than a limited circle of readers.

The chronology of the story is vague. According to the opening words the action takes place "not many years after the passion of our redeemer and saviour Jesus Christ"; but we meet with a civilisation sufficiently complex to include, if not the modern gun and Bible, at least the medieval mass and lombard[1]. The geography is equally vague. Gaul is intended for Wales (though it might sometimes be taken rather for France). The scene is laid mainly in England. Certain of the towns are quite clear; Bristoya is Bristol, Vindilisora is Windsor, and so on; while the King of Great Britain holds his "Cortes" in London, which even "not many

differentes y malos escriptores. Quitando muchas palabras superfluas: y poniendo otras de mas polido y elegante estilo: tocantes ala caualleria: y actos della."

[1] It is only fair to state that the introduction of cannon into the original is clearly an oversight. They are only once mentioned—in the particular form cited—in the second chapter of the fourth book, which is no doubt Montalvo's own addition. In Nicolas de Herberay des Essarts' French translation the anachronism is extended, much to Southey's disgust.

years after the passion of our Redeemer" was "like an eagle above all the rest of Christendom[1]."

The following is a brief sketch of the plot—for when stripped of the "enchantments, quarrels, battles, challenges, wounds, wooings, loves, agonies, and all sorts of impossible nonsense" which so possessed Don Quixote's brain[2], the book has a respectable plot.

Amadis is born of the secret union of Perion, King of Gaul, and the Princess Elisena. With the help of her confidante Darioleta, the Princess conceals the birth of her child, and to avoid the censure of the world places him in an ark which is launched on a stream and carried out to sea. A Scottish knight who is crossing from "Little Britain" rescues the infant, takes him to Scotland, and rears him under the name "Child of the Sea." Transferred while still a boy to the court of the King of Scotland, the foundling there meets Oriana, the young daughter of Lisuarte, King of Great Britain. And here the romantic side of the story is ushered in with a passage that is beautiful for its simplicity:

The Child of the Sea was now twelve years old, but in stature and size he seemed fifteen, and he served the queen; but now that Oriana was there, the queen gave her the Child of the Sea that he should serve her, and Oriana said that *it pleased her*, and that word which she said the Child kept in his heart, so that he never lost it from his memory, and in all his life he was never weary of serving her, and his heart was surrendered to her, and this love lasted as long as they lasted, for as well as he loved her did she also love him. But the Child of the Sea, who knew nothing of her love, thought himself presumptuous to have

[1] Original of 1508, bk I. ch. XXXI.; Southey's abridged translation, bk I. ch. XXXII.

[2] *Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. I.

placed his thoughts on her, and dared not to speak to her; and she who loved him in her heart was careful not to speak more with him than with another; but their eyes delighted to reveal to the heart what was the thing on earth that they loved best[1].

This provides the motive for the rest of the story. The obscure Child of the Sea, to win his mistress's esteem, and to justify himself for placing his heart on one who "excelled all others in goodness, and beauty and parentage[2]," gets himself knighted by—unknowing and unknown—his own father, Perion, who had meantime married Amadis's mother Elisena and had another son Galaor, now grown up. The remainder of the book centres round the achievements of these brother-knights Amadis and Galaor, who typify respectively the constant and the fickle lover.

Amadis in various encounters proves himself the best knight in the world, and fighting for King Perion slays the giant King Abies of Ireland. After the battle, by means of a ring, Amadis is recognised by King Perion as his son, and now seems in a position to claim his mistress and close the book with an appropriate ceremony. But that would entail a sacrifice of nine-tenths of the story. After a series of adventures by different knights, King Lisuarte is deprived of his kingdom through the machinations of Arcalaus the wicked enchanter, and both he and his daughter are taken prisoners. Lisuarte is restored by Galaor; Amadis rescues Oriana, and from this rescue springs a secret son

[1] Original of 1508, bk I. ch. IV.; Southey's abridged translation (here quoted), bk I. ch. V.

[2] Original of 1508, bk I. ch. VIII.; Southey's abridged translation, bk I. ch. IX.

Esplandian, the hero of a later story—for it was essential that these heroes should be ignorant of their lofty parentage till they had proved their worth. Here again an opportunity of ending the story is avoided, and the first book closes with a few miscellaneous adventures, including the restoration of the Princess Briolanja to her dead father's kingdom, and her passion for Amadis—a minor incident which has been tampered with, and so has acquired importance for the history of the text.

In the second book Amadis obtains possession of an enchanted island, called the "Firm Island," having overcome its spells by virtue of being the most loyal lover in the world. As a set-off to this he temporarily loses Oriana, who dismisses him in a fit of jealousy; whereupon he changes his name to Beltenebros and retires to a life of penance on the Peña Pobre—a course which Don Quixote consciously imitated in the Sierra Morena[1]. Soon Amadis is forgiven, and again all is well with the world. But not for long. Two wicked counsellors poison King Lisuarte's mind against Amadis and his companions, who are driven from the court.

The third book tells of discord in Lisuarte's court, of the early years of Esplandian, and of the adventures of Amadis as the "Knight of the Green Sword," and afterwards the "Greek Knight," in Bohemia, Turkey, Greece, and the Devil's Island, where he slays a fiery monster. The main theme advances again towards the end of this book, when Lisuarte hands over Oriana, much against her will, to the ambassadors of the Emperor of Rome, whom she is to marry. While the

[1] *Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. XXV.

ambassadors are conveying Oriana to Rome by sea, Amadis, back from his eastern travels, opportunely appears at the head of a powerful fleet and carries off his mistress to his stronghold in the "Firm Island."

At the opening of the fourth book the breach between Lisuarte and Amadis is complete. Each of them summons his allies for the ensuing struggle, in which Lisuarte is worsted. The death of the Roman Emperor in battle removed the chief cause of the quarrel, so that when the already weakened Lisuarte is unexpectedly attacked by forces stirred up against him by the wicked enchanter Arcalaus, Amadis turns his army against his former opponent's new enemy, whom he completely overthrows. Lisuarte, moved by this generosity and the newly acquired knowledge that Amadis and Oriana are already the parents of a very promising son, consents to the young couple being publicly united. All the interested parties repair to the "Firm Island," and there Oriana, having successfully proved the enchanted "Arch of True Lovers" and the "Forbidden Chamber"—an adventure reserved for the fairest and most faithful woman in the world—is married to Amadis amidst general rejoicing. After an anti-climax of several chapters, the story ends with the enchantment and imprisonment of King Lisuarte, which provides an excuse for a sequel.

Without further explanation the above summary is insufficient either to show the relation of *Amadis of Gaul* to its predecessors, or to account for its influence on the thought and habits, on the literature and life of its time in several countries. To whatever period or country

the romance ultimately belongs, it is indebted both for its general conception and for its incidents to the French romances of the Breton and Charlemagne cycles. The Celtic influence pervades the whole book: from that source derive many of its names of persons and places, the ideal and the marvellous elements it contains, the unpractical adventures and the aimless combats inspired by the love of a lady, and the knight's despair when deprived of his lady's favour, as illustrated by Amadis's penance on the Peña Pobre, which is imitated from *Tristan*[1]. Without Tristan and Lancelot indeed, Amadis would not have existed; we have thus an anterior limit for the period of origin of the romance.

But *Amadis of Gaul* is not a mere copy of existing models. Sr Menéndez y Pelayo has well said that its author wrote "the first idealistic modern novel, the epic of loyalty in love, the code of honour and courtesy, which schooled many generations....By combining well-known elements, all of Celtic or French origin, he created a new type of novel, rather universal than Spanish[2]." *Amadis of Gaul* creates a higher chivalry, retaining the theatrical side of the older chivalry, its rules and its formalities, but transforming and ennobling its spirit. The elimination of coarseness in word and

[1] Compare *Amadis*, ch. xlv. (bk II. ch. II.) etc., with *Tristan*, pt I., where Tristan, having surprised a message from Yseult to Kahedin, and thinking that the Queen has deceived him, disappears in order to give way to his frenzy.

For the relation of the names and episodes in *Amadis* to those of the French romances, see G. S. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–145.

[2] *Orígenes de la Novela* (*Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*), tom. I. 1905, Introduction, p. cxxvi.

deed which is the chief contribution of courtly influences to the chivalrous ideal, is complete in *Amadis*. Even the later imitations of *Amadis*, while developing the openings for licentiousness provided by their original, display that delicacy which, in the words of Burke, "robs vice of all its evil by depriving it of all its grossness." But the capital feature of *Amadis* is the new conception of love, embodying the protest of a more moral and religious age against the frenzied or adulterous passion of the Celtic stories. The secret union of Perion with Elisena, and of Amadis with Oriana, is no offence against purity, for such unions are represented as valid in the sight of God, and as binding, if not altogether regular, in the sight of man; the secrecy is merely a device for relieving the tediousness of virtuous love by providing a romantic interest. Love is depicted as a lasting adoration; the adored one—and, through her, woman in general—is idealised and made the centre of a new social order, devoted to the service of womanhood. Amadis and Oriana are jointly the type of perfect lovers, as they are respectively of the perfect knight and lady. The new scheme of things is best illustrated by the prophecy concerning Amadis uttered early in the book by his fairy-godmother Urganda the Unknown[1]—well known to more favoured generations because she opens the series of commendatory verses prefixed to *Don Quixote*. Urganda foretells that Amadis

shall be the flower of knighthood in his time; he shall cause the strongest to stoop, he shall enterprize and finish with honour

[1] The traditional translation of "Urganda la Desconocida"; more properly, "the Unrecognised."

that wherein others have failed, and such deeds shall he do as none would think could be begun nor ended by body of man. He shall humble the proud, and cruel of heart shall he be against those who deserve it, and he shall be the knight in the world who most loyally maintains his love, and he shall love one answerable to his high prowess[1].

It is as much to the credit of Montalvo as of Cervantes that Don Quixote is able to visualise Amadis as

a man of lofty stature, fair complexion, with a handsome though black beard, of a countenance between gentle and stern in expression, sparing of words, slow to anger, and quick to put it away from him[2].

For Montalvo's characters are well sustained, if slightly sketched. When knights fell in love with their mistresses as readily as they fell out with each other, and in each case sought prompt satisfaction, there was little occasion for the study of the passions, tender or otherwise. Human nature necessarily occupies a minor place in this romance of ideal chivalry; the occasional weakness of Amadis, the somewhat petty jealousy of Oriana, and the unreasonable prejudices of Lisuarte are among the few human traits.

It is impossible to determine Montalvo's precise share in the story he has preserved for us; but the style at any rate is largely due to him. The language is in the main simple if prolix, varied with rhetorical and flowery passages. The original characters and incidents were no doubt multiplied by Montalvo, who skilfully maintained a unity of purpose throughout an intricate maze

[1] Original of 1508, bk I. ch. II.; Southey's abridged translation, bk I. ch. III.

[2] *Don Quixote*, pt II. ch. I.

of adventures. To the modern reader the succession of combats, the ultimate result of which can always be foreseen, is wearisome. The giants, the monsters, and the intrusions of magic too are distasteful; but the giants and monsters are not excessive, and the magical element is not obtrusive, nor is it any the worse for being usually on the side of the villain. By the simple admission that sixteenth-century tastes differed from our own, it is easy to account for the vogue and influence of *Amadis of Gaul*.

Having thus described the story of which Montalvo tells us that he "corrected it from the old originals, which were corrupt and badly composed in ancient fashion through the fault of different and bad writers," we are now in a position to return to the question of what these old originals were, and when and where they came into being. It may be assumed that most English people who know *Amadis of Gaul* know it through the excellent abridged translation made by the Laureate Southey, and that their knowledge of the *Amadis* question is derived from Southey's preface. It seems advisable therefore to make a brief summary of the position taken up in this preface, and let that be the basis of further explanation.

According to Southey's title-page and preface the question admits of no possible doubt whatever. "*Amadis of Gaul* was written by Vasco Lobeira, a Portugueze, who was born at Porto, fought at Aljubarrota, where he was knighted upon the field of battle by King Joam of Good Memory, and died at Elvas, 1403." Southey then goes on to deny most indignantly the claims of the Comte de Tressan—who himself made an abridged

French translation—that the Spaniards originally took the *Amadis* romance from the French[1]. His own position is substantiated by "unquestionable testimony," and his opponent is accused with all the force of italics and abuse, of "French reasoning" founded on a "concatenation of contingencies." Southey doubtless knew as much on this subject as anyone in his day; but his remarks were published two years before the battle of Trafalgar. Spanish studies, to say nothing of international amenities, have progressed since that day, and the general tendency has been to upset Southey's verdict and justify the Frenchman.

France, Spain and Portugal have each claimed to be the cradle of the *Amadis* romance, France at one time on the strength of "certain manuscripts of *Amadis* in the Picard language"—which the first French translator "remembered," but which are not treated seriously now—and more recently because of the resemblance between *Amadis* and the early French romances; Spain and Portugal base their respective claims on tradition and on references to the romance in their literatures, both before and after Montalvo's version. It would be impossible in the space at our disposal to

[1] Southey, in the preface to his abridged translation, writes: "D'Herberay *remembered* certain manuscripts of Amadis in the Picard language, and these he *thought* might be the originals which Montalvo modernized." This refers to the following passage from the preface to Herberay's translation of the first book of *Amadis* (1540): "... Et aussi pource qu'il est tout certain qu'il fut premier mis en nostre langue Francoyse, estant Amadis Gaulois, & non Espagnol: Et qu'ainsi soit i'en ay trouué encores quelque reste d'ung vieil liure escript à la main en langaige Picard, sur lequel i'estime que les Espagnolz ont fait leur traduction."

reproduce, however briefly, all the arguments that have been brought up in support of each of these sides. Let us therefore marshal such references as occur in pre-Montalvo days, and let them as champions wage their countries' literary war. The method is not inappropriate to our subject.

At first matters go all in favour of the Portuguese. The *Cancioneiro Geral* compiled by Garcia de Resende and published in 1516 contains references to Oriana in stanzas composed by Nuno Pereyra[1] and Jorge da Silveyra[2] in 1483—that is, 25 years before the earliest known edition of the Spanish version. About the same distance further back they receive an overwhelming reinforcement which makes the Spanish cause look hopeless. In the *Chronica do Conde Dom Pedro de Menezes*, written by Gomes Eannes de Zurara (or Azurara) between 1458 and 1463, *Amadis* is not only mentioned, but also said to be composed by Vasco de Lobeira[3], who, as Southey has told us, died on the field of battle in 1403. This, the earliest mention of an author, has a decisive ring about it. But it is still open to the French to claim that Vasco de Lobeira learned the story from the soldiers

[1] Original edition, fol. I. verso, col. 3:

Se o disesse horyana
ℭ iseu allegar posso. . . .

[2] *Ibid.* fol. II. verso, col. 3:

Alegaysme vos iseu
ℭ oriana com ella. . . .

[3] Bk I. ch. LXIII.; see the edition in tom. II. of the *Collecçaõ de livros ineditos de historia portugueza . . . publicados . . . por José Corrêa da Serra*, 1792, p. 422: "... e assy o Livro d'Amadis, como quer que soomente este fosse feito a prazer de hum homem, que se chamava Vasco Lobeira em tempo d'ElRey Dom Fernando, sendo toda-las cousas do dito Livro fingidas do Autor." This is the earliest known Portuguese reference to *Amadis*.

of Du Guesclin or the Black Prince during their incursions into the Peninsula; while the Spaniards, taking courage from the subsequent attributions which range from an unknown Spanish-speaking Moor to no less a person than Saint Teresa, refuse as yet to surrender. And this obstinacy is justified. True, in view of Vasco de Lobeira's early date, little satisfaction is to be derived from a mention of Amadis and Oriana by Juan de Dueñas[1], who flourished during the reign of John II of Castile[2] (1406–1454). But when Pero Lopez de Ayala, the Chancellor of Castile, confesses in his *Rimado de Palacio* (composed between 1367 and 1403) to wasting his time over *Amadis*[3], we gather that the romance was at any rate known in Spain during Vasco de Lobeira's lifetime. It was very well known apparently. In the *Cancionero de Baena* (compiled c. 1445) no less than nine references are made to Amadis or his comrades[4]. One of these occurs in a poem by Francisco Imperial,

[1] In a poem in the *Colección de poesías de un cancionero inédito del siglo xv*, edited by A. Pérez Gómez Nieva, 1884, Juan de Dueñas speaks of "el tiempo d'Amadís" (p. 70) and mentions "la gentil Oriana" (p. 71).

[2] Traces of the influence of *Amadis* are already visible in Spain during this reign. In the brief chivalresque story of *Ardanlier y Liesa*, told in Juan Rodriguez de la Camara's *El Siervo libre de amor* (c. 1440), there is apparently a reminiscence of the "Firm Island" of *Amadis*.

[3] Stanza 162, edition of F. Janer in *Poetas castellanos anteriores al siglo xv* (*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, tom. LVII.), 1864, p. 430:

> Plógome otrosi oyr muchas vegadas,
> Libros de deuaneos e mentiras probadas,
> Amadis, Lanzalote e burlas asacadas,
> En que perdi mi tiempo a muy malas jornadas.

[4] Besides the two extracts given below, the *Cancionero de Baena* (1851) contains references to Amadis (Nos. 38, 249), Oriana (No. 572), Lisuarte (Nos. 188, 301, 395), and the minor character Macandon (No. 72).

where Amadis and Oriana are already enrolled among the world's famous lovers:

All the fond love that for Achilles' sake,
For Paris and for Troilus of yore,
For Tristan and for Lancelot of the Lake,
Their sweetest ladies and their dearest bore,
Fall to the happy pair; such love, and more
Than all the love of Paris and Viana,
Of Amadis and of fair Oriana,
Of Flores and of gentle Blancaflor[1].

From another, in a poem by Pero Ferrus, or Ferrandes, who belongs to the last half of the fourteenth century, it is clear that there already existed a version of *Amadis* in three books. A list of heroes includes:

Amadis fairest and best—
No power of blinding snow or rain
E'er heeded he, nor were in vain
His loyalty and fame confessed.
His deeds of valour in three books
Are writ, and he who therein looks
Shall say, God grant him holy rest[2].

[1] Edition of 1851, No. 226:

Todos los amores que ovieron Archiles,
Paris é Troyolos de las sus señores,
Tristan, Lançarote, de las muy gentiles
Sus enamoradas é muy de valores;
El é su muger ayan mayores
Que los de Paris é los de Vyana,
E de Amadis é los de Oryana,
E que los de Blancaflor é flores.

[2] No. 305:

Amadys el muy fermoso,
Las lluvias é las ventyscas
Nunca las falló aryscas
Por leal ser é famoso:
Sus proesas fallaredes
En tres lybros é dyredes
Que le Dyos dé santo poso.

This early reference to an *Amadis* in three books shakes our faith in Vasco de Lobeira's authorship; and recently M. Foulché-Delbosc has discovered an even earlier reference, the earliest known instance of a mention of Amadis, in the Spanish translation of Egidio Colonna's *De regimine principum*, made about 1350 by Johan Garcia de Castrogeriz[1]. Now we have been told by Southey that Vasco de Lobeira was knighted on the battlefield of Aljubarrota, and Gayangos assumes[2] with some plausibility, from his being knighted immediately before the battle, that he had just turned twenty at the time. But the battle of Aljubarrota took place in 1385, and it is clear therefore that if Vasco de Lobeira wrote *Amadis* he must have been a very precocious youth—if Gayangos is correct he must have written it at the early age of at least minus fifteen. We must give up the story of Vasco de Lobeira, and with it the tempting legend of the soldiers of Du Guesclin and the Black Prince.

Just when the Portuguese cause seems lost, however, a new champion arises in the form of the recently published *Canzoniere portoghese Colocci-Brancuti*[3], which

[1] See the *Revue Hispanique*, 1906, tom. xv. p. 815. Amadis is mentioned with Tristan and Cifar in matter supplied by the translator.

[2] *Libros de Caballerías* (*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, tom. XL.), 1857, p. xxiii.

[3] Edited by E. Molteni, 1880. No. 244 (230) contains the following:

Le[o]noreta fin rosetta
bella sobre toda fror
fin Roseta nõme metta
en tal coi[ta] uossa amor.

A critical text is given by Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 1880, Bd IV. pp. 347–351.

contains a poem identical in part with a song sung by Oriana in the second book of *Amadis*[1]. The poem in the *Canzoniere* is attributed to a Joham de Lobeira who flourished in the last half of the thirteenth century. What has happened seems clear enough. The sword of Marius may have rusted, while the fame of him who wrote the *Aeneid* may be immortal. But we treat of lesser days. The Portuguese tradition of an early version by a Lobeira appears to be justified—only the obscure man of letters Joham has been confused with and yielded before the more famous warrior Vasco of a century later.

That *Amadis* was known in Portugal soon after Joham de Lobeira's time can be shown from the text itself. Reference has already been made to a tampering with the Briolanja episode at the end of the first book. In what must have been the original version, Briolanja, restored to her dead father's kingdom by Amadis, falls madly in love with her befriender, and offers him her person; but Amadis resists the temptation with that

[1] Original of 1508, ch. LIV (bk II. ch. XI.). The song has the following refrain:

Leonoreta fin roseta
blanca sobre toda flor
fin roseta no me meta
en tal cuyta vuestro amor.

Gayangos, followed by many eminent scholars who should have noticed the mistake, prints "sin roseta" in his edition of *Amadis* in the *Libros de Caballerias*. It may be noted that Southey in his abridged translation (bk II. ch. XII.) quotes the Spanish text correctly, and translates the refrain thus:

Leonor, sweet Rose, all other flowers excelling,
For thee I feel strange thoughts in me rebelling.

loyalty to Oriana which is as essential to the nature of the story as it is to his own character. In Montalvo's text we are told that this episode was altered by order of the "infante don Alfonso de Portugal," out of compassion for the beautiful Briolanja[1]. This Alfonso can be no other than King Dinis's son, who succeeded to the throne in 1325; the story which he altered may well have been a Portuguese version, in which case the application of the Lobeira tradition to the earlier Joham de Lobeira receives further support.

Joham de Lobeira is the last of our champions, and we are just about to award the prize when France steps in and reminds us of the close resemblance, roughly indicated above, between *Amadis* and the French romances

[1] Original of 1508, ch. XL.: " . . . fue por ꝑte d'lla req̃rido: q̃ d'l y d' su ꝑsona sin ningun entreuallo señor podia ser: mas esto sabido por amadis dio enteramẽte a conoscer q̃ las ãgustias: y dolores cõ las muchas lagrimas d'rramadas por su señora oriana: no sin grand lealtad las passaua: ahũ q̃ el señor infante dõ alfonso de portugal auiendo piedad desta fermosa dõzella, de otra guisa lo mãdase poner. eñsto hizo lo q̃ su merced fue mas no aq̃llo q̃ en efecto d'sus amores se escriuio. . . . "

Montalvo proceeds to give two amended versions of the incident. These he may owe to the "different and bad writers" he corrected, though the second may possibly be his own solution. In the first Briolanja accomplishes her desire, trading on the fact that in granting an unconditional boon a medieval knight drew a blank cheque upon his honour. When called upon to fulfil a promise made without thought of the consequences, Amadis saves his honour at the expense of his fidelity to Oriana by the latter's express command. According to the other version Briolanja is satisfied with Galaor instead of Amadis. This, Montalvo tells us, is the more likely story, for Galaor marries Briolanja in the fourth book. We are probably largely indebted to Montalvo both for the fourth book and for this piece of match-making.

of chivalry, claiming on the grounds of an improved knowledge of comparative literature that the germ of Montalvo's story must have formed part of the *matière de Bretagne*. Modern opinion indeed may be summed up in a manner that distributes the international honours very evenly. Great Britain provides in the main the scene and the actors of the story, which reached the Iberian Peninsula through the medium of the French *jongleurs*. Spain has the earliest known version and the earliest mention of *Amadis*; but Portugal has a tradition of an author which appears to justify itself to an even remoter period. Did Spain or Portugal receive the story first? Its most natural progress would seem to be from French literature into the Portuguese *via* Galicia; but it must be remembered that its route thither lay through two ancient capitals of Castile, Burgos and León, both of which offered opportunities for a leakage into the Castilian. Until further evidence is available, he would be a bold man who should attempt to decide the question.

The days in which we are now living favour boldness, and certainly that quality is not lacking in the latest contribution to the *Amadis* question, made by one who in his time has played many parts. In 1914, Dr Theophilo Braga, formerly first President of the Portuguese Republic, and now occupying the honourable position of *doyen* of Portuguese scholars, communicated to the Portuguese Academy of Sciences the results of his researches on the undated Hebrew edition of the *First Book of Amadis of Gaul*, of which he had become acquainted with two complete copies, one in the British

Museum, the other in the Jewish Seminary at Breslau, as well as a small fragment in private hands in London. The communication, now available in print[1], opens with the arresting statement that "before Ordoñez de Montalvo's translation and amplification of *Amadis de Gaula*, the exclusive source of the French, Italian and English versions, a translation was made into Hebrew, described by Wolf as existing in the Oppenheim library[2]." Dr Braga shows that such a translation could not have been printed in Spain, because there was no Hebrew printing there in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, owing to the stupid fanaticism of which Ferdinand and Isabella were the blind instruments. Only in Portugal was there sufficient tolerance to favour the production of a Hebrew version of *Amadis*. The Portuguese Jews, attracted by the resemblance of the early chapters of *Amadis* to the story of Moses, must have made and printed the Hebrew version of the First Book somewhere between 1485 and 1497, in which year Hebrew books were prohibited also in Portugal. As Montalvo's Spanish version did not appear till 1508, it follows that the Hebrew translation, which is very concise, was made from the Portuguese; that it represents, so far as the first and finest portion of *Amadis* is concerned, the original Portuguese text before it was marred by Montalvo's paraphrases and amplifications.

[1] *Versão hebraica do Amadis de Gaula*, in the *Trabalhos da Academia de Sciencias de Portugal*, 1915, 1916, tom. II., III.

[2] The subsequent history of the Oppenheim collection is given by Dr Braga: he should therefore have traced the Oppenheim copy of the Hebrew *Amadis* to the Bodleian Library—making a third copy known; the press-mark betrays the provenance (Opp. Printed, 4°, 1418).

These statements are supported by facsimiles, by learned notes on Hebrew printing in Portugal, and by a "retroversion" of the introductory chapter from the Hebrew into Portuguese, alongside Montalvo's introductory chapter, part of which is repeated in Portuguese with "Montalvo's rhetorical amplifications" italicised. Dr Braga praises his friend Professor Benoliol, who is responsible for further "retroversions," for discovering that there are many Portuguese idioms in the Hebrew text. He remarks with no little pride that only a Portuguese scholar would have noticed this.

As to the last remark, Dr Braga is quite right, and if all his statements were as sound, we should be rejoicing with him over this discovery of a direct reflexion of a primitive Portuguese original. His arguments are reasonably conclusive, providing his original assertion is true. But it is easier to dictate in the Republic of Portugal than in the Republic of Letters, where the statements of the highest authorities are subject to scrutiny and revision. Let us take the copy of the Hebrew version in the British Museum and examine it. One of the leaves not facsimiled by Dr Braga is the title-page, which, after describing the book, goes on: "and I the least of printers, Eleazar ben Gershom Soncino, have laboured to publish it from a foreign language in the holy tongue, and he who translated it was the wise physician Jacob ben Moses of Algaba." Now the words "least of printers" are not to be taken quite literally, otherwise we might arrange with Dr Braga that Eleazar ben Gershom Soncino should print whenever and wherever we please. The career of the

various members of the celebrated Soncino family of printers is well known[1], and it is on record that Eleazar, son of Gershom Soncino, succeeded to his father's business in Constantinople, where he printed a number of Hebrew books between 1534 and 1547, some of them agreeing typographically in every respect with the *Amadis of Gaul*. It will need something much nearer positive proof than anything Dr Braga adduces to make us believe that the Hebrew version of *Amadis* was not printed in Constantinople somewhere about the year 1540, and that the translation was not made from Montalvo's text, perhaps from one of the editions printed in Italy—say the popular Venice edition of 1533. In spite of Dr Braga, it is more natural to take the Hebrew version as an abridgment of the Spanish text than to regard the latter as an amplification of a Portuguese original reflected by the former. That it is more difficult to abridge than to amplify, as Dr Braga asserts, may well be doubted; at any rate more people have abridged *Amadis* than have amplified it.

Take merely the opening words of the story: "Not many years after the passion of our redeemer and saviour Jesus Christ, there lived in Little Britain a Christian King named Garinter." In the Portuguese translation of the Spanish text printed by Dr Braga partly in italics in order to reveal the form of the primitive Portuguese original, the initial phrase "Not many years after the

[1] See, for example, G. Manzoni: *Annali tipografici dei Soncino*, 1883–86; M. Soave: *Dei Soncino celebri tipografi italiani*, 1878; G. Zaccaria Antonucci: *Catalogo di opere . . . stampate dai celebri tipografi Soncini*, 1868.

passion of our redeemer and saviour Jesus Christ," is italicised as being one of Montalvo's rhetorical amplifications. "Only a Portuguese scholar" would recognise the presence of that phrase as denoting a Christian amplification, rather than its absence as indicating a Jewish excision. Dr Braga's picture of Montalvo blowing Spanish bubbles with these Portuguese soap-suds, made from the "retroversion" of the Hebrew *Amadis*, is not convincing.

Enough, perhaps more than enough, space has been devoted to the subject of *Amadis of Gaul* previous to the publication of Montalvo's version. Let us now return to the year 1508 and look forwards instead of backwards.

Montalvo's *Four Books of Amadis of Gaul* achieved a striking popularity. It at once became a recognised manual of chivalry and courtesy, and founded a literary fashion which for one half century largely, and for another in a lesser degree, absorbed the Spanish imagination. In spite of the fact that all the Spanish issues were in folio form, and were evidently not intended for the most destructive section of the populace (the infatuated Manchegan, it will be remembered, "sold many an acre of tillage-land to buy books of chivalry to read[1]"), editions have been thumbed almost or entirely out of existence. There is but one copy known of the 1508 edition—and that is in the British Museum—a splendid example of printing from one of Spain's most artistic presses, that of "George Coçi Aleman," of the most noble and most loyal city of Saragossa. But there are about 30 editions and rumours of editions between 1508

[1] *Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. I.

and 1587—the year before the Armada[1]. Of these editions only one more need be mentioned. This is an edition, with wood-cuts, of 1519, the next that has survived, although of this only five copies are recorded —one of them again in the British Museum. It was printed by Antonio de Salamanca, and though no place of printing is given, we know that this was Rome from the inclusion of a papal privilege to print six books of *Amadis* for ten years granted in 1519 to "Antonius martini de Salamācha in Vrbe cōmorans."

Mention has already been made of Montalvo's statement, in the heading to the introduction to *Amadis*, as to the part he played in the composition of the book. Towards the end of his preface he says that he corrected three books of *Amadis*, and translated and emended a fourth, these being the four books that have occupied our attention up to the present. In the same place he tells us this translation and emendation extended to the *Sergas*[2] *de Esplandian*, his son, which till now no man remembers to have seen, but which by good fortune was discovered in a

[1] It is usually only possible to state vaguely the number of editions of these romances, for between them and us some three centuries of bibliographers have intervened and obscured our vision. The following editions of Books I.–IV. of *Amadis* are recorded by G. S. Williams, *op. cit.* Appendix, pp. 155–167; where the date is bracketed, the compiler records no copy in a past or present collection, but in some cases the edition certainly existed: [1496], *1508*, [1510, Salamanca; Seville], 1511, *1519*, 1521, [1524], 1526, *1531*, *1533*, 1535, 1539, 1545, 1547, Seville, [1547, Salamanca], *1551*, 1552, 1563, [1565, 1574], 1575, Salamanca, [1575, Seville; 1575, Salamanca; 1576], 1580, *1586*, [1587, 1589]. Throughout these pages italicised dates denote that a copy of the edition concerned is in the British Museum.

[2] "Las Sergas" has generally been interpreted as "las ἔργα"—the feats—a formation something like the English *newt* and the French

stone tomb underneath the floor of a hermitage near Constantinople, and brought by a Hungarian merchant to these parts of Spain, in writing and on parchment so antique that only with difficulty could it be read by those who knew the language[1].

This is of course mere bluff, such as we have already seen employed in *El Cavallero Cifar* and *Tirant lo Blanch*, and such as we shall find frequently imitated, down to *Don Quixote* itself, which, it will be remembered, we are supposed to owe to an Arab historian, Cid Hamet Benengeli[2]. All it means in the present case is that Montalvo was alive to the sweet uses of advertisement, and that having himself prepared a Fifth Book, he was preparing his public for the same. The Fifth Book is again referred to in a separate preface attached to the fourth book, while Montalvo's commerciality breaks out in the text itself in the third book[3], where we are referred to a "branch which springs from these books, called the *Sergas de Esplandian*." It was indeed with a

lierre. But the real derivation has been given by M. Foulché-Delbosc in the *Revue Hispanique*, 1910, tom. XXIII. pp. 591–593.

[1] Original of 1508: " . . . corrigiẽdo estos tres libros de Amadis; que por falta delos malos escriptores: o componedores: muy corruptos y viciosos se leyã. y trasladando y enmẽdãdo el libro quarto con las sergas de Esplãdian su hijo: q̄ hasta aqui no es en memoria de ninguno ser visto: que por gran dicha parescio en vna tumba de piedra: que debaxo dela tierra en vna hermita: cerca de Cõstantinopla fue hallada: y traydo por vn vngaro mercadero: a estas partes de España: en letra y pargamino tan antiguo: que con mucho trabajo se pudo leer: por aq̄llos que la lengua sabian."

[2] *Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. IX. etc.

[3] Original of 1508, ch. LXXIV. (bk III. ch. X.); Southey's abridged translation, bk III. ch. XI.

title very similar to this that the book appeared, doubtless not for the first time, in 1510: "*The Sergas de Esplandian*, son of Amadis of Gaul, called the branch of the *Four Books of Amadis*." We pay little attention to the statement that it was "written in Greek by the hand of the great master Elisabad"—for this is no other than a Greek physician whom Amadis picked up during his eastern adventures in the third book. More to the point is the statement that it was corrected and translated by one who is here described as "Garcia Gutierrez de Montalvo, Regidor of Medina del Campo, who also corrected and emended the four books of *Amadis*." The book is of course Montalvo's own composition. Of the story nothing more need be said than that Esplandian finally becomes Emperor of Constantinople, Montalvo having shifted his scene of operations to a geographical area in which he is more at home than he is in Great Britain. In this Montalvo was copied by his numerous successors; hence the classification of *Amadis of Gaul* and its continuations and imitations as the Greco-Asiatic cycle of romances.

The literary value of *Esplandian* is of the slightest; it is sufficiently indicated by the verdict of the curate in *Don Quixote* after he had spared the life of the *Four Books of Amadis*:

"Let us see that other which is next to it."

"It is," said the barber, "the *Sergas de Esplandian*, the lawful son of Amadis of Gaul."

"Then verily," said the curate, "the merit of the father must not be put down to the account of the son. Take it, mistress

housekeeper; open the window and fling it into the yard and lay the foundation of the pile for the bonfire we are to make."

And truly this and the succeeding continuations of *Amadis* are for the most part but poor exaggerations of their original. The giants become more gigantic, the monsters more monstrous as time goes on. This is inevitable when each new hero is the son of the preceding hero, and proves himself invincible by overcoming his already invincible father. Yet *Esplandian* met with success. It went through some ten editions[1] between 1510 and 1588—the fateful year itself. The edition of 1510—doubtless not the first[2]—no longer exists, but we know of it from an entry[3] in Ferdinand Columbus's catalogue. The first existing edition is that of 1521, a copy of which is in Paris. The only other edition that need be mentioned is the next in date, a copy of which is in the British Museum. It was printed in 1525 by Jacobo de Junta and Antonio de Salamanca. No place of printing is given; the name Antonio de

[1] The following editions are recorded with certainty: 1510, 1521, *1525*, 1526 (Burgos), 1526 (Seville), *1542*, *1587* (Burgos), *1587* (Saragossa), *1588*.

[2] The Fifth Book, *Esplandian*, is dated 31 July, 1510, while the colophon of the Sixth Book, *Florisando*, bears the date 15 April, 1510. Unless the latter date is a misprint, there must therefore have been an edition of *Esplandian* printed before 15 April, 1510. We cannot explain 1510 in this date as 1511, on the understanding that the new year began at Easter—which fell on 20 April in 1511—for it was not the Spanish practice to begin the new year with this feast.

[3] No. 3331: "Las sergas de esplandian hijo de amadis de gaula llamadas Ramo delos. 4. lib. de amadis.... Imp. ẽ seuj^{a}. por maestre Jacobo Crõberger. 31. de Julio año. 1510. costarõ juntamẽte cõ el sexto lib. de amadis. 13. Reales en vall^{d}. por set^{e}. de. 1514. trasladolas y emẽdolas garci grr̃ez de mõtaluo," etc.

Salamanca has been responsible for the suggestion of Salamanca as the place of publication, while Burgos has also been suggested in view of the fact that an edition was printed there in 1526 by Juan de Junta; but the book can be shown to have been printed in Rome, like the 1519 edition of the *Four Books of Amadis*[1].

Satisfied with his previous performance, Montalvo announced his intention of serving up more of the same dish. At the end of the Fifth Book, after leaving all his principal characters enchanted, he advertises in the last chapter "a book right pleasant and most excellent in all the order of chivalry, written by a sage full learned in all the worldly arts." This book is to give us the adventures of Amadis's nephews, sons of his brother Galaor, they being sufficiently minor characters to have escaped the general enchantment. But if Montalvo wrote his book, he did not publish it. He may have died. More likely he was forestalled, for in 1510, the year of the first known appearance of *Esplandian*, there was published at Salamanca a Sixth Book[2]. This professed to be taken from the Tuscan by Paez de Ribera, of whom we know as little as we do of Montalvo. He chose as his hero Florisando, another nephew of Amadis, son of a

[1] See Appendix I to my essay *The Romance of Amadis of Gaul* in the *Revista de Historia*, No. 17, Porto, 1916.

[2] A copy is entered in Ferdinand Columbus's catalogue, No. 3332: "Libro sexto de amadis de gaula en q̄ cuenta delos hechos de florisando. es sacado de Lengua toscana ē Castellano por paez de Ribera. . . . Imp. ē Salamanca en Casa de Juā de porras a. 15. de abril año. 1510." This copy, along with a copy of the Fifth Book, cost 13 reales in 1514, according to the previous entry, quoted just above.

A copy of this edition, as well as one of the 1526 edition, has recently been acquired by the British Museum.

half-brother Florestan; and somewhat nonplussed at being deprived by Montalvo of many desirable characters he would fain have utilised, he "reproves the old and lying fable that King Amadis and his brothers and his son the Emperor Esplandian and their wives were enchanted by the spells and art of Urganda[1]." We need not trouble, however, about his story. It is but a servile imitation of the book which it reproves. Perhaps the choice of a hero not in the direct line of descent did not meet with approval. At any rate, the book was only reprinted once—this time at Seville by Juan Valera of Salamanca—in 1526.

Paez de Ribera was therefore not tempted to take the field again. But in 1514, as once more we learn from an entry[2] in Ferdinand Columbus's catalogue, a Seventh Book was brought out at Seville by an anonymous writer. It professes to have been found near London, and to have been written by the sage magician Alquife, who had already achieved distinction by marrying Urganda, the principal fairy of the previous books. The real author, although not mentioned, is no doubt Feliciano de Silva, as will be shown in connexion with a later book. This Seventh Book revived the popularity of the series. It went through some thirteen editions[3] between 1514 and the ominous date 1587. Although the Sixth Book

[1] See the heading to the introduction.

[2] No. 4000: "El setimo libro de amadis q̃ trata de lisuarte de grecia y periõ de gaula y de otras cosas. . . . Impress. en seuilla a. 22. de setiẽbre año de. 1514. Costo en valladolit. 130. mr̃s por nouiẽbre de. 1514."

[3] The following editions are recorded: 1514, 1525, 1534, 1539, 1543, 1548, 1550, 1564, *1587* (Lisbon), 1587 (Saragossa), 1587 (Tarragona?), and an edition *sine nota*.

is recognised as far as the numeration goes, its narrative is ignored. The Seventh Book reverts for its hero to the direct line of descent, and chooses Lisuarte of Greece, son of Esplandian. It is Lisuarte who disenchants those left spellbound at the end of the Fifth Book, though at the end of his own book he and his comrades suffer a somewhat similar change. In the last chapter, Onoloria, whom Lisuarte had recently married, gives birth to a son—the affair being as usual a secret which the lady's parents do not share with the reader. The son is Amadis of Greece, the hero of a later book—but not the next, for the Eighth Book, which purports to be "taken from the Greek and Tuscan, by Juan Diaz, bachiller en cánones," and which was published at Seville in 1526[1], also deals with Lisuarte. Juan Diaz explains to us that he had thought to call his book the Seventh, since it is a continuation of the Sixth Book; but as someone else produced a Seventh Book he was obliged to call his the Eighth. This once more is mere bluff. What happened is clear. He was induced to try his hand by the success of the Seventh Book. But to attempt to continue the Sixth Book—itself a failure as we have seen—was to court disaster; and in addition Juan Diaz perpetrates some most unlovely blunders of his own. After marrying off all the available young couples, he makes Agrajes and Galaor turn monk, filled with remorse at having wasted their youth in the vanities of this world. Their wives enter the monastery of Miraflores, near London, which is presided over by Oriana, for—most unpardonable offence of all—Amadis had died. Last of all the

[1] There is a copy in an English private library.

book died also. Its hero, having exhausted his valour in overcoming giants and monsters, had not sufficient courage left to face the printer's devil again. It was not reprinted. It was not translated. Its very author grew sick of it.

Thus ends this great history, though there remain to be written many strange adventures and many wonderful things...which happened in the time of King Lisuarte; but the author, weary of his long and troublesome labour in the present work, makes over the translation of the rest to whosoever is willing to undertake this voluntary task, and has both skill and leisure for the business.

This challenge finds its answer in the two parts of the *Cronica de Amadis de Grecia*, the son of Lisuarte, or the "Ninth Book of *Amadis of Gaul*...as it was written by the great magician Alquife. Newly found and emended of certain words which...were corrupted. Corrected by Feliciano de Silva." That is to say, it was written by Feliciano de Silva; and as the authorship was once questioned by so eminent a critic as Sr Menéndez y Pelayo, a few words must be devoted to this subject. The late Director of the Biblioteca Nacional, not having seen a perfect copy of the book, wrote in his essay on the Spanish novel[1], to which these chapters are much indebted, that he had not been able to find any other than the sage Alquife given as the author; but, he goes on,

[1] *Orígenes de la Novela* (*Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*), tom. I. 1905, Introduction, p. cclxii. It is only fair to add that Menéndez y Pelayo, having later seen a perfect copy, recognised Feliciano de Silva as the author of the Ninth Book; see his *Adiciones y Rectificaciones*, pp. dxxviii–dxxix.

if a certain "Sueño de Amor" composed by Feliciano de Silva in prose and put into verse by one of his admirers (a rare tract in Gothic letter which Gayangos saw in England) corresponds to another "Sueño" on the same subject found at the end of the first part of *Amadis of Greece*,

then the question of Feliciano de Silva's authorship may be worth considering. Feliciano de Silva's name is given at any rate in the first four editions: Cuenca, 1530[1]; Burgos, 1535; Seville, 1542 and 1549. As to the tract seen by Gayangos in England, its evidence is not really necessary; but it is still in England, and anyone who wishes to compare it with the "Sueño" in *Amadis of Greece* can do so at the British Museum, when he will find that the two correspond. Feliciano de Silva is the author of the Ninth Book; and this Ninth Book contains evidence that he is also the author of the Seventh Book.

In the first place he takes a fatherly interest in the Seventh Book. Except in the numeration he ignores the Eighth Book. He will not hear of the death of Amadis. At the same time he reproves the author of the Eighth Book for ignoring the Seventh—his Seventh Book, we may already venture to call it. Under the guise of the *Proof-corrector to the Reader* he thrashes that thoroughly dead horse Book Eight.

Do not be deceived, courteous reader, because this book is called Amadis of Greece and the Ninth Book of Amadis of Gaul: for the Eighth Book is called Amadis of Greece[2], and in that the authors[3] are in the wrong: for he who wrote the

[1] There is a copy in the Landesbibliothek at Stuttgart.

[2] As a matter of fact it was called *Lisuarte of Greece*.

[3] Presumably the real author and the feigned author.

Eighth Book of Amadis and called it Amadis did not see the Seventh; And if he did see it he did not understand it and did not know how to continue it; for the Seventh, which is Lisuarte of Greece and Perion of Gaul, *written by the same author as the present book*, mentions in the last chapter the birth of the Child of the Burning Sword, son of Lisuarte of Greece and of the Princess Onoloria, who took the name Knight of the Burning Sword and afterwards Amadis of Greece, of whom the present book treats. So that this Ninth Book is a continuation of the Seventh and it ought to be called the Eighth; but in order that there might not be two Eighth Books it is called the Ninth; seeing that it does not depend on the Eighth Book but on the Seventh, as aforesaid. And it would have been better if that Eighth Book had perished in its author's hands and been abortive, and had not seen the light in order to be condemned and to injure the contents of the present great genealogy. For it has injured itself producing confusion in the descent and sequence of the histories. Farewell[1].

[1] Edition of 1542: "El corretor dela emprenta al lector. No te engañe discreto lector el nombre deste libro diziendo ser Amadis de Grecia ℭ noueno libro de Amadis de Gaula: porque el octauo libro se llama Amadis de Grecia enlo qual ay error enlos auctores: porque el que hizo el octauo libro de Amadis y le puso nōbre de Amadis no vio el septimo: ℭ si lo vio no lo entendio ni supo continuar: porque el septimo que es Lisuarte de grecia y Perion de Gaula hecho por el mismo auctor deste libro en el capitulo vltimo dize auer nacido el donzel dela ardiente espada hijo de Lisuarte de grecia y dela princesa Onoloria: el qual se llamo el cauallero dela ardiente espada, y despues Amadis de Grecia de quien es este presente libro. Assi que se continua del septimo este noueno y se auia de llamar octauo: ℭ porque no ouiesse dos octauos se llama el noueno: puesto que no dependa del octauo sino del septimo como dicho es. Y fuera mejor que aquel octauo fenesciera enlas manos de su auctor y fuera abortiuo que no que saliera a luz a ser juzgado ℭ a dañar lo enesta gran genealogia escripto: pues daño a si poniendo confusion enla decendida ℭ continuacion delas hystorias. Vale."

It has been objected that the very definite statement "written by the same author as the present book" does not refer to Feliciano de Silva but to the sage magician Alquife, who is given as the pretended author in each case[1]. But surely no other than the most literal interpretation is suitable for a note that is strongly flavoured with the personality of one who is trying to pay off an old score. It has been further objected that the difference of date between the Seventh Book and Feliciano de Silva's authentic work precludes the possibility of the same author having written both. At one time this may have seemed a valid objection; but it is now known that the Ninth Book came out in 1530, so that the difference is no more than sixteen years. And some difference is required by a corroborating remark in the preface to the Ninth Book, the *Chronicle of Amadis of Greece*, which, we are told, "being in a strange tongue by reason of its antiquity would have been entirely lost if I had not corrected and transcribed it with the same devotion that I bore towards his fathers, whose chronicle I revised and corrected with no less care in my youth[2]." The

[1] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *op cit.*, tom. I. Introduction, p. cclx: "Some have attributed it to Feliciano de Silva; but in 1514 he could not have been old enough to write such romances, for the oldest of those that are known to be his belongs to the year 1532. The words of the Corrector of the Ninth Book of *Amadis*, stating that it is due to the same pen as the Seventh, must be understood to refer not to Feliciano de Silva, who gave himself out to be simply the translator, but to the fabulous Greek author who in both books was supposed to be the mighty magician Alquife."

[2] "... la q̃l en estraña lẽgua cõ la antiguedad del todo se ꝑdiera si cõ la aficiõ q̃ a sus padres tuue q̃ cõ no menos trabajo su coronica en mi niñez passe ꝛ corregi la suya no corrigiera ꝛ sacara."

identification of the author of the Seventh Book with the author of the Ninth Book is furthermore confirmed by the "Sueño de Amor" already mentioned as occurring at the conclusion of the first part of the Ninth Book. Towards the end of this dream the author causes himself to be addressed as one who had related "the loves of those glorious knights Lisuarte and Perion and Amadis of Greece," that is, who had written the Seventh and Ninth Books of *Amadis of Gaul*[1].

Feliciano de Silva is no doubt the author of the Seventh as of the Ninth Book. We need not enter into the story of this Chronicle of the Knight of the Burning Sword, a sword which, Don Quixote tells us, "cut like a razor, and there was no armour, however strong and enchanted it might be, that could resist it[2]." One point, however, is worth mentioning. Towards the end of the book the knight Florisel turns shepherd in order to court the shepherdess, afterwards Princess, Silvia—an early instance of the influence of the pastoral romance that was destined to be a potent factor in the overthrow of the romance of chivalry, antedating by nearly twenty years the Spanish translation of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, and by nearly thirty years Jorge de Montemôr's *Diana*[3].

Like the Seventh Book, the Ninth restored the popu-

[1] The case for Feliciano de Silva is fully stated in the introduction to my *Dos romances anónimos del siglo xvi*, Madrid, 1917.

[2] *Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. XVIII.

[3] The pastoral romance was made fashionable in Spain by Jorge de Montemôr's *Los siete libros de la Diana*, first published in or about 1559. The model for this was Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, published in 1502, although the first Spanish translation did not appear till 1547.

larity of the series. There were some eight editions between 1530 and 1582 in Spain itself, and one of 1596 in Lisbon[1].

Silva anticipated this success by producing the Tenth and the Eleventh Books. The Tenth Book contains the first and second parts of the *Cronica de Florisel de Niquea*, the son of Amadis of Greece, and the Eleventh Book contains the third and fourth parts of the same Chronicle, dealing however mainly with Florisel's son, Rogel of Greece. The Tenth Book was first published at Valladolid in 1532, and went through some six editions by 1584[2]. The first portion of the Eleventh Book appeared in 1535, and went through as many editions[3]. The second portion was not printed till 1551[4], and was only reprinted once—in 1568.

Most people know little, and care less, about these books of Silva's, and yet they are notorious because of the criticism passed on them by the curate in the "diverting and important scrutiny":

[1] The following editions are recorded: 1530, 1535, *1542*, 1549, 1564, 1582, *1596*, and an edition *sine nota.*

[2] The following editions are recorded: *1532*, 1546, *1566*, 1568, 1584 (Saragossa), and 1584 (Tarragona?).

[3] The following editions are recorded: 1535, 1546, 1551 (Salamanca), 1551 (Seville), 1566, and an edition of Evora *sine anno.* The edition of 1535 is mentioned by Gallardo (*Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española*, 1863, etc., tom. I. col. 378) as cited in the catalogue of the Biblioteca Colombina. It does not appear to occur in the catalogue reproduced by Mr Huntington. There is even less certainty than usual with regard to editions of Books 10 and 11, owing to the confusion that has arisen through their being quoted sometimes as parts of the Chronicle of Florisel of Niquea, sometimes as parts of that of Rogel of Greece.

[4] Part 1 only of this second portion is in the British Museum.

"This that comes next," said the barber, "is *Amadis of Greece*, and, indeed, I believe all those on this side are of the same Amadis lineage."

"Then to the yard with the whole of them," said the curate, "for to have the burning of Queen Pintiquiniestra, and the shepherd Darinel and his eclogues, and the bedevilled and involved discourses of his author, I would burn with them the father who begot me if he were going about in the guise of a knight-errant."

Naturally enough, these romances captivated Don Quixote by those very qualities which the curate condemns:

But of all there were none he liked so well as those of the famous Feliciano de Silva's composition, for their lucidity of style and complicated conceits were as pearls in his sight, particularly when in his reading he came upon courtships and cartels, where he often found passages like "the reason of the unreason with which my reason is afflicted so weakens my reason that with reason I murmur at your beauty[1]."

A Twelfth Book appeared at Seville in 1546, and was twice reprinted[2]. No author's name is given, and this book too has frequently passed as the work of Feliciano de Silva; but Pedro de Lujan claims it as his own in the (somewhat suspicious) dedication prefixed to *Leandro el Bel*, a second part to the romance *Lepolemo*. The Twelfth Book has for its hero Silves de la Selva, a son of Amadis of Greece, and, as far as Spain is concerned, he was the last of his clan[3].

[1] Compare *Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. I. and *Florisel of Niquea*, bk III. ch. II.

[2] 1549 and 1551.

[3] Antonio (*Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, 1783, etc., tom. II. p. 404) mentions, without giving any date, a romance *Penalva*, by an anonymous

However, we have not quite reached the limits of *Amadis of Gaul's* productiveness within the Peninsula. Amadis himself is the subject of three sixteenth century ballads[1], and we have already seen that Feliciano de Silva's dream in *Amadis of Greece* gave rise to a fourth. A lost poem by Fernando de Herrera was based on *Amadis of Gaul*[2]. Moreover, four books in the series inspired a number of dramatic pieces. There is an *auto* by the "Portuguese Plautus," Gil Vicente, on the loves of Amadis and Oriana, while a play by Andres Rey de Artieda entitled *Amadis de Gaula* is lost[3]; so too is *Las Proezas de Esplandian*, by an unknown dramatist Cuadra. For the remaining plays Feliciano de Silva's popular books are responsible. Francisco de Leyva Ramirez de Arellano wrote a play called *Amadis y Niquea*. The *Para nosotros amantes, para con todos hermanos* of Lope de Vega's disciple Juan Perez de Montalvan has an alternative title *Don Florisel de Niquea*, but its characters are drawn from the romance *El Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros*, as well as from the tenth book of *Amadis*. Based on this tenth book also is the best known of all these plays, the *Gloria de Niquea* of Juan de Tarsis,

Portuguese writer. This story is said to contain—once more—the death of Amadis. Antonio does not say whether the romance is in manuscript or in print, and no one else appears to know anything about it. Accordingly it has not been included amongst the books of the series in the present account.

[1] Duran: *Romancero General*, Nos. 335-337.

[2] See the prefatory remarks by Francisco de Rioja in *Versos de Fernando de Herrera*, 1619: " . . . Perdiose la batalla de los Gigantes en Flegra, el Robo de Prosérpina, el Amadis."

[3] The two lost plays are recorded in Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera's *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español*, 1860.

the famous and brilliant Conde de Villamediana. The representation of *La Gloria de Niquea* by the Queen and members of the Court formed part of the festivities arranged at Aranjuez to celebrate King Philip IV's birthday in 1622. During the theatrical performances the scenery caught fire—by design, according to rumour—and the Queen was rescued by Villamediana, who had already publicly hinted at his love for her. This time he over-reached himself; the incident was at least partly responsible for his assassination by an unknown hand some three months later, as Gongora's subtle verses[1] on the subject remind us:

"Tattle-Alley of Madrid,
Tell us, pray, who slew the Count?"—
"No one knows, nor is it hid!"—
"Leave off riddles, and recount!"—
"Some affirm the Cid did do it,
Taking him for Count Lozano,
Silly babble, as all may know;
But if Truth be no betrayer,
'Tis Vellido was the slayer,
Sovereign impulse drove him to it!"

The existence of the ballads and plays just mentioned is a tribute to the great popularity of *Amadis*. Its hold on the public is still clearer from stories told concerning especially the first four books. Dom Francisco de Portugal in his *Arte de Galanteria*[2] relates that the states-

[1] Here quoted in the translation of James Young Gibson.

[2] Lisbon, 1670, p. 49: "Quando (Diego de Mendoça) fue a Roma por Embaxador, lleuaua solamente, yendo por la posta, en vn portamanteo Amadis de Gaula, y Celestina, de quien dixò alguno, que le hallaua mas sustancia que a las Epistolas de S. Pablo."

man Diego de Mendoza, when he went as ambassador to Rome, took only *Amadis of Gaul* and *Celestina* to read on the journey, and it is slyly insinuated that he found more substance in them than in St Paul's Epistles.

The same writer informs us[1] that Simon de Silveira swore upon the Gospels that everything in *Amadis of Gaul* was true; and he is also our authority for the touching story of a man of position who came home and found his wife, daughters and servants weeping; whereupon the husband anxiously inquired if they had lost a son or relative. Amid tears and sobs they answered, "No." "Then why do you weep?" he asked, still more at a loss. "Sir," they said, "Amadis is dead." And lest we should be tempted to attribute this emotional scene to feminine weakness of heart or intellect, remember what happened to one of the stronger sex, according to Alonso Lopez Pinciano. At a marriage feast in Italy one of the gentlemen retired early to bed and solaced himself with a book. Some time later the merriment of the others was interrupted by one of the

[1] *Ibid.* p. 96: "... misterioso es aquel de Amadis de Gaula, libro, que dexò introduzida la imitaciõ de lo q̃ no era como historia que fue; vinò vn Cauallero muy principal para su caza, y hallò a su muger, hijas, y criadas llorando, sobresaltòse, y preguntòle mui congoxado si algũ hijo, o deudo se les hauia muerto? respondieron ahogadas en lagrimas, que no, replicò màs confuso; pues porque llorais? dixeronle Senhor ha se muerto Amadis. Don Simon de Sylueira juraua sobre vn Missal, que por aquelles santos Euangelios, que todo lo que ally se dizia era verdad, respeitado por primeiro, y por bueno inuentor de aquella secta de quimeras, leccion que entretiene tiempo perdido, y trabajo, en que muchos ingenios no luzieran, enfin damas, y galanes en que tambien por lo que arremedan de finezas, nuestros Portuguezes se adelantaron a todas las naciones en esto como en todo."

women of the house, who raised the alarm that the unsociable guest was dead. The writer says[1] that he went and found his comrade as though just recovered from a deep swoon, and when he asked the reason, and what he had felt like, the other replied, "Nothing, sir, I was reading in *Amadis* the news that Arcalaus brought of his death, and it gave me such a shock that I burst into tears, and I don't know what happened to me, for I don't remember any more." And then the lady interrupted: "He was as dead as my grandfather, for I called him and pressed my thumbnail under his, and he felt it no more than a corpse." Another manly exhibition is recorded in Lope de Vega's novel *Guzman el Bravo*[2],

[1] *Philosophia antigua poetica*, 1596, pp. 89-90: "...En suma yo llegue antes y halle a mi compañero como que auia buelto de vn hondo desmayo, la causa le pregunte, y que auia sentido, el me respõdio, nada señor, estaua leyendo en Amadis la nueua que de su muerte truxo Archelausa, y diome tãta pena que se me salieron las lagrimas, no se lo que mas passo, que yo no le he sentido. La dueña dixo entonces, tan muerto estaua como mi abuelo, q̃ yo le llame y le puse la vña del pulgar entre vña y carne del suyo, y no sintio mas que vn muerto; porque el caso no fuesse entendido, dixe en alta boz: no es nada señores, vn desmayuelo es que le suele tomar otras vezes al señor Valerio, y diziẽdo yo q̃ cõuenia dexalle reposar solo en su aposento, al tiẽpo de mi salida dixo la dueña embaxadora: señor por amor de Dios que saque consigo aquel cauallero que hizo el daño con su muerte que si acierta a resuscitar no sera mucho que trayga otro desmayo de goço, como antes le truxo de pesar. Yo dissimule, y paresciendome dezia biẽ la muger, lleno de vna secreta risa saque el libro de Amadis conmigo. Este es el caso del qual se puede colegir facilmente quanto daño traygan cõsigo essas ficiones, pues no solo alborotò la de Amadis al letor Valerio, mas a toda la gẽte que a la boda fue llamada y combidada."

[2] In *Nouelas amorosas de los meiores ingenios de España*, 1648, p. 198: "...Aqui entra bien aquella transformacion de vn gran señor de

again of a gentleman of Italy, who was reading one night in *Amadis of Gaul.* When he came to the passage where Amadis, having incurred his lady's displeasure, retires under the name Beltenebros to the Peña Pobre, he began to weep, regardless of the number of servants who could see him, and dealing the book a heavy blow, exclaimed, "Cursed be the woman who has served thee thus."

The infection of *Amadis* spread not only on the continent in which the story arose; it was carried early to the New World. The deeds of the heroes of chivalry may have inspired the handful of veterans under Cortes. At any rate the story was in their minds, for the soldier-author Bernal Diaz del Castillo tells us[1] that when they beheld the cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces of Mexico rising from the water, they "were amazed and said it was like the enchantments they tell of in the book of *Amadis.*" And when the Spanish pioneers of the Pacific came to the coast of the land which is called California, they gave it that name after an island described in the *Sergas de Esplandian* as "on the right hand of the Indies, and very near to the Earthly Paradise[2]."

Italia, q̄ leyendo vna noche en Amadis de Gaula, sin reparar en la multitud de criados que le mirauan, quando llegò a verle en la peña pobre, con nõbre de Valtenebros, començò a llorar, y dando vn golpe sobre el libro, dixo: *Maledeta sia la dona q̄ tal te a fatto passare.*"

[1] *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*, edited from the autograph MS. by Genaro García, 1904, ch. LXXXVII. tom. I. p. 266: ". . . nos quedamos admirados y deziamos que paresçia a las cosas de encantamiento que Cuentan En el libro de amadis, por las grandes torres, y Cues, y edifiçios, que tenian dentro En el agua."

[2] Ch. CLVII.

These stories go a little way—a very little way—towards justifying the sixteenth century Franciscan, Miguel de Medina, in placing *Amadis* on a level with Xenophon, Euripides, Sophocles, Plautus and Terence[1]. But in these stories we are encroaching on a later section of our subject—the popularity of the romances of chivalry in general, and in Medina's criticism we are anticipating the judgment of a far greater writer, who would have treated with equal respect the works of Homer and the principal book of our next group, the *Palmerin* series of romances.

[1] *Christianæ Paræsis*, 1564, bk I. ch. III. p. 41; quoted by Archbishop Fontanini: *Della eloquenza italiana*, edition of 1737, p. 91.

CHAPTER III

THE *PALMERIN* ROMANCES

OPENING another book he saw it was *Palmerin de Oliva*, and beside it was another called *Palmerin of England*, seeing which the licentiate said, "Let the Olive be made firewood of at once and burned until no ashes even are left; and let that Palm of England be kept and preserved as a thing that stands alone, and let such another case be made for it as that which Alexander found among the spoils of Darius and set aside for the safe keeping of the works of the poet Homer. This book, gossip, is of authority for two reasons, first because it is very good in itself and secondly because it is said to have been written by a wise and witty king of Portugal. All the adventures at the Castle of Miraguarda are excellent and of admirable contrivance, and the language is polished and clear, studying and observing the style befitting the speaker with propriety and judgment. So then, provided it seems good to you, Master Nicholas, I say let this and *Amadis of Gaul* be remitted the penalty of fire, and as for all the rest, let them perish without further question or query."

In this passage from the "diverting and important scrutiny" in Don Quixote's library, Cervantes records, through the mouth of the curate, his contempt for the founder of the *Palmerin* family of romances, and his veneration for the most famous of its members. And whatever may be thought nowadays of the relative merits of *Palmerin of England* and Homer's works, the genealogy of a book that could once be honourably mentioned by Cervantes in the same breath with the

great epic poet of Greece should not be without interest even at the present time. Moreover, while the vogue of the romance of chivalry lasted, the *Palmerin* series was the one rival of the *Amadis* series, just as two of the eponymous heroes were rivals in the addled brain of Don Quixote, who "had many an argument with the curate of his village (a learned man, and a graduate of Siguenza) as to which had been the better knight, Palmerin of England or Amadis of Gaul[1]."

The *Palmerin* series begins with the *Palmerin de Oliva* upon which Cervantes allows so severe a judgment to be passed. The first known edition, which exists in a single copy, was printed at Salamanca, and is dated in the colophon 22 December, 1511[2].

Unlike the founder of the *Amadis* series, *Palmerin de Oliva* does not go back for its origin to a dim and distant past. As will be seen shortly, it must have been composed not long before it was printed. There is, however, as with the first four books of *Amadis of Gaul*, some obscurity surrounding its composition; but before this matter is discussed, a brief summary of the narrative must be given, in order to make the problem less wearisome to those who have not read the romance.

The beginning of the book reminds us at once of *Amadis of Gaul*. A secret son is born to Florendos, Prince of Macedonia, and Griana, daughter of Rey-

[1] *Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. I.

[2] On the title-page of this edition the hero's name is misprinted Palmerin de Olivia; in the body of the book the correct form Palmerin de Oliva is used.

micio, Emperor of Constantinople, described as "the eighth who reigned in the city after the death of the Emperor Constantine who built it[1]," so that the time of the action is roughly fixed. Griana had already been promised by her father to Tarisio, son of the King of Hungary, but she preferred Florendos, and an interview between them one night in a garden resulted as above. Griana conceals the birth of her child, and entrusts him to her squire Cardin, who exposes him through fear of the Emperor's wrath. The child is discovered by Giraldo, a beekeeper, who brings him up as his son under the name of Palmerin de Oliva, because he found him on a mountain which was covered with palms and olives. When he grows up Palmerin learns something of his mysterious origin from the beekeeper's daughter Diofena, and forsakes his humble cottage in search of fame. A merchant whom he rescues from a lioness provides him with horse and arms, and with these he proceeds to Macedonia, where he is knighted by—unknowing and unknown—his father Florendos.

King Primaleon, father of Florendos, is ill, and can only be cured by water from a magic fountain on Mount Artifaria. Palmerin's first exploit as a newly-fledged knight is to kill the monstrous dragon guarding this fountain and obtain a phial of the water. Three fairy visitors to the fountain find him lying wounded; one of them heals his wounds, another undertakes that enchantments shall not harm him, while the third casts such a spell about him that

the first time he shall see his lady Polinarda she shall love him

[1] Introductory chapter.

so entirely as no dolour or torment shall make her forget, while she lives, the happiness she shall receive by his occasions[1].

As a result of this first exploit he is in great demand as a champion, and amongst other feats he rescues the Emperor of Germany from the persecutions of an enchanted knight at Ghent. Here he falls in love with the Emperor's daughter, Polinarda, a Princess of peerless beauty whom he had previously seen in his dreams.

After a variety of adventures the scene changes to England. Trineo, the Emperor of Germany's son, is in love with Agriola, daughter of the English King, and for this reason he and Palmerin secretly help the English in a war against Norway and Scotland, although these are Germany's allies. In the end Trineo elopes with Agriola and sails for home, accompanied by Palmerin. Instead of reaching Germany, however, they are driven by a storm to the realm of the Sultan of Babylon. In the succeeding calm Palmerin lands alone for the purposes of sport, and during his absence his ship and his friends are captured by Turkish galleys. Trineo and Agriola are parted. Trineo reaches a kind of Circe's island, where he is converted into a beautiful lapdog, while Agriola is presented to the Grand Turk.

Meantime Palmerin falls into the power of Archidiana, daughter of the Sultan of Babylon. Enamoured of his beauty she seeks his love; but he, a second Joseph, mindful of his lady Polinarda, resists the unfortunate

[1] Anthony Munday's version, ch. XVI.; the original, edition of 1525, ch. XVII., reads: "de tal manera q̄ la p̄mera vez que vea a su señora Polinarda la encienda ẽ tan demasiado amor que jamas lo pueda oluidar por cuytas q̄ por el passe."

Princess. One more unfortunate is Ardemia, the promised wife of Prince Amaran of Nigrea; she also seeks his love, and being unrequited, dies of despair. Amaran thereupon charges Archidiana with his lady's death, and appeals to arms. Palmerin constitutes himself her champion, kills Amaran, and so becomes a great favourite with the Sultan. As such he is called upon to take part in a mighty expedition which the Sultan is fitting out against Constantinople, but with the aid of a storm he separates from the fleet and lands in Germany, where he spends a fortnight with Polinarda. Setting out in search of his lost friend Trineo, he arrives in Hungary, to learn that Tarisio, who had married Griana and succeeded to the Hungarian throne, had lately been killed by Florendos, and that at the instigation of Tarisio's relatives both Florendos and Griana have been sent as captives to Constantinople, where they are to be burned to atone for the murder. Palmerin arrives in Constantinople just in time to champion the pair, and with the help of a comrade saves their lives by defeating in single combat the two nephews of Tarisio. While Palmerin is recovering from the wounds received in this struggle, Griana recognises from a mole on his face that he is her child. Florendos and Griana thereupon acknowledge Palmerin as their son, and the aged Emperor of Constantinople acknowledges him as his successor.

At this point Palmerin should have acknowledged Polinarda as his wife, and everyone should have lived happily ever afterwards; but that was impossible, for Agriola was still in the hands of the Grand Turk, and Trineo still a lapdog, so that we have, as in *Amadis*, an

anticlimax of many chapters. Palmerin sets off in search of Trineo; but while in the Mediterranean he is himself captured by Turkish galleys and presented to the Grand Turk. This, however, turns out to be very convenient, for he finds a friend at court in Agriola, now the Sultan's favourite, and by pretending to be her brother he is able to include her in the inevitable escape. But he soon loses her again in the magic island of Malfado, where she is metamorphosed into a hind. Palmerin himself escapes the fate that formerly overtook Trineo there, owing to the spell against enchantments cast on him at the beginning of his career by the fairy of the fountain on Mount Artifaria. The transformed Trineo is now the pet of the Princess Zerfira, at whose court Palmerin next arrives. By successfully accomplishing the adventure of the Castle of the Ten Rocks he brings about the disenchantment of Trineo, and coming back by way of the island of Malfado he meets with a similar success and recovers Agriola. More adventures, more enchantments, more susceptible Princesses ensue, but at length the heroes return to Europe, and Trineo marries Agriola, while Palmerin openly marries Polinarda and on the death of the Emperor of Constantinople succeeds to the throne.

Even this brief summary is sufficient to show that *Palmerin de Oliva* was a conscious rival of *Amadis of Gaul* and *Esplandian*. The name of Palmerin's mother, Griana[1], is strongly reminiscent of Oriana, the heroine in

[1] The name Griana combines that of Grima, the heroine of *El Cavallero Cifar*, with that of Oriana. This may be mere coincidence; on the other hand, it may have been intentional, in which case the author of *Palmerin de Oliva*—and *Primaleon*—knew *El Cavallero Cifar* in manuscript (supposing the edition of 1512 to be the first), perhaps

Amadis of Gaul. Like Amadis and Esplandian, Palmerin is a secret son, and just as Esplandian was rescued and reared by a hermit, so too was Palmerin by a beekeeper. The loves of Palmerin and Polinarda follow closely those of Amadis and Oriana; Palmerin's treatment of the amorous Archidiana and Ardemia recalls the authentic version of the Briolanja incident in *Amadis of Gaul.* Palmerin's victory over the dragon guarding the magic fountain on mount Artifaria forms a parallel to Amadis's overthrow of a similar monster on Devil's Island. There is the same eastward trend in the adventures in *Palmerin de Oliva* as in *Esplandian*, and both heroes end by becoming Emperor of Constantinople.

Lacking in originality, and inferior both in style and morality to *Amadis of Gaul*, *Palmerin de Oliva* deserves the licentiate's sentence: "Let the Olive be made firewood of at once and burned until no ashes even are left." Yet there are not wanting those who, in ancient and modern times, have found some virtue in this romance. Alonso de Fuentes, in his *Summa de philosophia natural* (1547), mentions a forerunner of Don Quixote[1] who

even was responsible for the printing of the old romance. All three books were going through the press about the same time, though not all at the same place.

[1] Fol. cxv: "El doliente," as this strange subject is called, is mentioned as curious to know the nature of Strabo's *De situ orbis*, which is explained to him. "Y el doliente cō vn semblante desdeñoso nos dixo. Pense q̄ trataua de otra cosa porque me admiraua no auer visto este libro: porq̄ yo soy vno delos hōbres mas leydos que se puedan hallar enesta ciudad, ℭ assi comenҫo á discurrir, loandonos algunos auctores q̄ auia leydo: assi como reynaldos de montaluā, diez ó doze d'Amadis: y don Clarian: y otros semejantes, y parādo aqui, dixo q̄ ningū libro entre todos q̄ntos auia visto le auia parescido mejor que Palmerin de

had read numerous romances of chivalry, but who thought that the best of them all was *Palmerin de Oliva*, which he knew by heart, and yet always carried a copy about with him. A present-day authority, Mr W. E. Purser, remarks in his *Palmerin of England*[1]: "For my part, I much prefer *Palmerin de Oliva* to *Primaleon* (its sequel), and am not sure that it is not the most amusing of all the romances of chivalry I have read."

The sixteenth century emphatically supported the favourable verdict, both in Spain and abroad. Between 1511 and 1580 the book went through at least ten editions in the original language[2]. As was the case with *Amadis*, editions—especially the early ones—have been thumbed almost or entirely out of existence. The first edition exists in a single copy, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The second edition, dated 1516, and published like the first at Salamanca, no longer exists; it is only known from an entry in Ferdinand Columbus's catalogue[3]. The earliest edition to be found in this

Oliua . . . q̄ no paro enesto su dolencia que la hizo parescer alli, y comenco con mucho contento de todos, á vezes leyēdo vezes de palabra: á contar la vida y fama y origen d' Palmerin de oliua, y no q̄do enel que hasta la quarta generacion nos lo dio á conoscer, diziendo q̄ no se hallaua sin el aunque lo tenia de cabeça.

[1] *Palmerin of England. Some remarks on this romance and the controversy concerning its authorship*, Dublin, 1904, Appendix XII. p. 431. It is a pleasure to acknowledge here how much the present chapter is indebted to Mr Purser's work.

[2] The following editions are recorded with certainty: 1511, 1516, *1525*, 1526, *1534*, *1540*, 1547, 1555, 1562, *1580*.

[3] No. 4124: "La historia de palmerin de oliua traduçida de griego en español por françisco vasquez. . . . Imp. en salamāca a. 22. de enero de. 1516. Costo en salamāca. 4. reales a. 27. de março de. 1525."

country is the third, published at Seville in 1525, of which a copy has recently been acquired by the British Museum from a private library. A Venice edition of 1526 is in another private library, while the British Museum possesses also the second Venice issue of 1534.

But the popularity of *Palmerin de Oliva* is attested in another way. On the 3rd July, 1512, just over six months after the publication of the first edition of that romance, there was published, again at Salamanca, a *Second Book of the Emperor Palmerin in which are recounted the noble and valorous deeds of Primaleon and Polendos*[1] *his sons and other excellent foreign knights who came to his court.*

Although the book goes by the name of *Primaleon*, with Polendos second on the title-page, the adventures of the latter constitute the first portion of the romance. Brought up at the court of the Queen of Tarsis, he inaugurates an illustrious career by laughing merrily when one of his boon companions kicks an inoffensive old woman across the floor of the palace. Hereupon the old woman remarked, among other things, that "he in no wise resembled his father the famous Emperor of Constantinople, who was always kind and considerate to everyone, both great and small[2]." Polendos, of

[1] In chapter XCV. (or XCVI., according to the edition) of *Palmerin de Oliva* it is explained that the name Polendos was bestowed on this son "in order that he might take the names of Palmerin and of his grandfather Florendos."

[2] Ch. IV. (edition of 1534): "Ay don Polendos como en ninguna cosa paresces a tu padre aquel famoso emperador de costantinopla que enel siempre uuo toda mesura & bondad para los grãdes & los pequeños: y esta mesura no hay en ti que as reydo del mal que esté tu donzel me hizo."

obscure origin like all chivalresque heroes, pricks up his ears at this, and following up the clue discovers that Palmerin de Oliva, under the influence of an excellent supper, had once failed in his fidelity to Polinarda, and that he himself is really the son of Palmerin and the Queen of Tarsis. He now turns over a new leaf, and sets out for Constantinople to introduce himself to his father. By the time he arrives there on his first visit, which modesty compels him to make in disguise, he is already an accomplished hero, able after a short interval to attempt the rescue of his lady, the Princess Francelina, who is a captive in an enchanted castle. Sending her on to Constantinople, he proceeds to rescue the King of Thessaly, who is no other than Francelina's father. This stands him in such good stead, when he openly returns to Constantinople, that as early as chapter twenty he is able to turn Christian and be betrothed to his lady.

At this point we meet with Primaleon, whose adventures, with those of Duardos of England, fill the rest of the book, which is in three parts. Primaleon is now of age to be knighted, and he arranges a tournament in honour of the marriage of his sister Policia with Arnedos, son of the King of France. One of the knights who comes to this tournament is Prince Perequin, the lover of Gridonia, a Duchess's daughter, "whose beauty was such that men spoke of nothing else throughout the land." Perequin's mission is to slay Primaleon in revenge for the death of Gridonia's father, the Duke of Ormedes, who had been killed by Primaleon's father. So far from fulfilling this mission, however, he is him-

self slain by Primaleon; whereupon the beautiful Gridonia, "who loved him with all her heart," vows that she will only marry the man who shall bring her Primaleon's head. These harsh terms cause consternation among her numerous wooers; threats of mutiny follow, and Gridonia is hidden away for safety in a strong castle. Primaleon of course overcomes the various aspirants to Gridonia's hand and his own head, and eventually reaches the castle where she is staying. Her beauty is fatal to him. He naturally conceals his identity, and with a touch of humour—a rare thing in a chivalrous romance—he undertakes "to place Primaleon's head in her hands." When in the end he keeps his promise, he is readily forgiven, and valour and beauty soon lay the foundations for succeeding volumes.

Like its predecessor *Palmerin de Oliva*, *Primaleon* is not without advocates, both ancient and modern. Juan de Valdes, a severe critic of the romances, in his *Dialogo de la Lengua*, composed about the year 1535, allows that *Amadis of Gaul*, *Palmerin* and *Primaleon* may be read for the sake of the language[1]. As we shall see when dealing with the spread of these romances in Italy, Torquato Tasso speaks of *Primaleon* in laudatory terms. In recent times Menéndez y Pelayo thought that the most interesting portion of the romance was the love-story of Prince Duardos of England, who disguised himself as a gardener in order to woo Flerida, the Emperor of Constantinople's daughter. On that romantic

[1] Edition of 1895, p. 414; speaking of another work, he says: "a mi ver, se puede leer para lo que pertenece a la lengua despues de Amadis de Gaula, Palmerin i Primaleon."

episode the Portuguese poet Gil Vicente based his tragi-comedy *Don Duardos*. This the great Spanish critic describes as a delicious idyll throughout, ending up with an incomparable ballad, one of the most exquisite examples of Gil Vicente's lyrical verse, which alone justifies the existence of *Primaleon*[1]. Nevertheless, the general consensus of opinion classes this romance among the army of continuations which fail to sustain such merit as their originals may possess. Cervantes ignores it in the "diverting and important scrutiny"—that is, unless he tacitly includes both books under the title *Palmerin de Oliva*. Yet *Primaleon* was as popular in Spain during the sixteenth century as was *Palmerin de Oliva*. There were some ten editions in the original language between 1512 and 1588[2]. As with *Palmerin*, a single copy of the first edition is recorded[3], whose location is now unknown. The earliest edition in the British Museum is that of Venice, 1534.

And now, having given something of the story and the record of these two romances, we are in a position to consider the question of their authorship.

[1] *Origenes de la Novela*, Introduction, tom. I. pp. cclxvii, cclxviii, where that ballad is quoted.

[2] The following are recorded with certainty: 1512, 1516, 1524, 1528, *1534*, 1563, *1566*, 1585, 1588. A copy of the edition of 1524 is entered in Ferdinand Columbus's catalogue, No. 4125: "Libro segundo de palmerin q̃ trata de los hechos de primaleon traduçido de griego en español. por françisco vasquez. . . . Imp. en seuilla p°. de otubre de. 1524. Costo en salamãca çinco reales y m°. a. 27. de março de. 1525."

[3] *Catalogue des livres rares et précieux, manuscrits et imprimés, composant la bibliothèque de M. Chedeau*, Paris, 1865, No. 990. The date of this first edition is given in the Chedeau catalogue as "a tres dias del mes de Julio, MVXII (*sic*) años."

It has already been shown that whoever wrote *Palmerin de Oliva* was acquainted with Montalvo's *Amadis of Gaul* and its continuation *Esplandian*. The earliest known editions of these two romances are dated 1508 and 1510 respectively, so that the interval during which *Palmerin de Oliva* and *Primaleon* must have been composed is a short one[1], for, as has been said, the first edition of the former is dated 22 December, 1511, and of the latter, 3 July, 1512. We have therefore no fascinating problem of remote original sources as with *Amadis*. We are dealing with a simple imitation belonging to the early years of the sixteenth century.

The evidence goes to prove that both books were written by a single person—indeed, it could hardly be otherwise in the case of two works produced with so short an interval between them. The fact that *Primaleon* is called the second book of *Palmerin de Oliva* signifies next to nothing. Little more is proved by the fact that, in the chapter of the first book in which the origin of Polendos, one of the heroes of the second book, is recounted, we are promised the story of his adventures. But the author of the dedicatory epistle addressed to Luis de Cordoba, afterwards Duke of Sessa, which is prefixed to *Primaleon*, speaks of "*Palmerin*, which I recently published under the protection of your name." And that the writer of this dedicatory epistle is the author of the book we have—though we hardly need it—the evidence of Francisco Delicado, the inappropriately named cleric who is responsible for the scandalous

[1] This remains true even if the rumour of a 1496 edition of *Amadis of Gaul* should prove correct.

Lozana andaluza, and who edited the Venice edition of 1534 of both our romances.

Who this author was we do not know. In the different editions of the two books there are numerous references to the author; but they leave us little wiser than before. All that can be done is to bring together these references, and leave them to speak for themselves.

To begin at the beginning then, in the first edition of *Palmerin de Oliva* there occur at the end some Latin verses addressed to the reader by Juan Aguero de Trasmiera. As was often the case in the sixteenth century, these verses are meant for ornament rather than for use, and their effect is confusion on essential points. But it is clearly stated in them that the author was a woman, as in the following couplet:

Inclitus ecce pater palmarum collige flores
Quos seuit: quos dat femina corde tibi.

This is a flowery version of what is implied in a simpler line a little further on:

Hunc lege que[1] tractat femina multa sua.

Here we have a plain assertion that a woman wrote the book. And we may perhaps assume she was a Spanish woman from a couplet which says:

Quanto sol lunam superat nebrissaq; doctos:
Tanto ista hispanos femina docta viros:

As the sun outshines the moon, and Nebrissa[2] the scholars, so this learned woman outshines the men of Spain.

Later there comes a couplet which has caused much trouble:

Femina composuit: generosos atq; labores
Filius altisonans scripsit & arma libro,

[1] *Sic*, for quo. [2] *I.e.* Antonio de Nebrija, the great Humanist.

which seems to be a laboured way of stating that a woman wrote the book, but that her son contributed the fighting.

So far the first edition[1] of *Palmerin de Oliva*; but the first edition of *Primaleon* spoils everything by telling us in the colophon that "this second book of *Palmerin* called *Primaleon* was translated—as also the first called *Palmerin*—from Greek into our Castilian tongue and corrected and emended in the most noble city of Ciudad Rodrigo by Francisco Vazquez[2]." What does this mean? "Translated from the Greek into Castilian" is usually in such contexts merely a way of saying "composed," and if this were an ordinary case we should naturally assume that Francisco Vazquez wrote both *Primaleon* and *Palmerin de Oliva*. As will be seen below, however, sixteenth century opinion did not accept him as the author, but clung to the story of the lady given in *Palmerin de Oliva*.

Are we perhaps to understand that Francisco Vazquez is a pseudonym of the lady who, it would then be implied, wrote the two books, or are we to understand that one Francisco Vazquez (perhaps her son) corrected what the lady had written? Where several interpretations are possible, we must be content to leave the matter undecided.

The story grows as editions increase. Francisco

[1] The verses are quoted above from the Venice edition of 1534; they occur in the first edition, 1511, but not in that of 1525.

[2] "Fue trasladado este segundo libro de Palmerin llamado Primaleõ y ansimesmo el primero llamado Palmerin de griego en nuestro lenguaje castellano y corregido y emendado en la muy noble ciudad de Ciudadrodrigo por Francisco Vasquez." (Quoted in the Chedeau Catalogue.)

Delicado, referred to above, in his introduction to the second part of *Primaleon* (Venice edition, 1534), adds the touching detail that "the composer was a woman and while spinning at her wheel she thought of very beautiful things[1]." In the introduction to the third part he says: "but I do not know who wrote the book, for no name is given either at the beginning or the end ... and people are of opinion that the composer was a woman and daughter of a carpenter." And then, after censuring the Toledan edition of 1528, he goes on: "but the fault lies in the printers and publishers who have 'desdorado'—who have 'taken all the shine out of'—the lady Agustobrica's work for the sake of filthy lucre[2]." So the lady had a name apparently—Agustobrica—a name which sets us wondering what her mother called her. But we may spare ourselves the trouble, for according to some Spanish verses[3] at the end of the 1563 edition of *Primaleon*, this name appears to be not that of the lady, but that of the place in which she lived—in short she would seem to be a lady of Burgos, for that is what the place-name implied to a sixteenth century writer or reader. And that is as far as we can get in this problem.

[1] "... la que lo compuso era muger y filãdo el tornò se pẽsaua cosas mas fermosas que dezia ala postre."

[2] "... mas no se quien lo hizo porque callo su nombre al principio y al fin.... Y es opinion de personas que fue muger la que lo compuso fija de un carpintero.... Mas el defeto esta en los impresores, y en los mercaderes que han desdorado la obra dela señora Agustobrica conel ansia del ganar."

[3] The essential lines are as follows:

Es de Augustobrica aquesta labor
Que en Medina se ha agora estampado.

In simple terms then, the upshot of these perhaps purposely mystifying references is that both *Palmerin* and *Primaleon* were written by a woman of Burgos, said to be a carpenter's daughter, with the assistance of her son, perhaps identifiable with the Francisco Vazquez who is said to have revised the work, and who is otherwise unknown. That these romances should be by a native of Spain is a matter of satisfaction to all Spaniards; that they should be by a Spanish woman is displeasing to some, owing to the immoralities they profess to detect in what are after all two very harmless books. But it is time to pass on to the other volumes of the series.

Primaleon and the beautiful Gridonia had four sons. Some of the later chapters in the third part of *Primaleon* had treated of the early adventures of one of these sons, named Platir. In *1533* the *Palmerin* series was carried forward a stage further by the publication at Valladolid of a romance called after this Platir[1]. The unknown author was anxious to monopolise the whole career of his hero, and so in his first chapter he reproved the writer of *Primaleon* for having started Platir off on a career of several chapters, whereas in truth he was only born on the day that Palmerin died[2], and that event happened on the last page of the last part of *Primaleon*.

[1] Existing accounts of the series usually insert a romance called *Polindo* between *Primaleon* and *Platir*. But *Polindo* has nothing to do with the *Palmerin* series; it will be dealt with in its proper place in the next chapter.

[2] "Pues estādo assi casado como vos auemos dicho primaleon con la linda gridonia, ouo enella quatro fijos varones: y el postrero que fue este platir: nascio el mesmo dia que murio su aguelo palmerī, avnque en primaleon se tiene el contrario esta fue la verdad."

The sixth book of *Amadis* has taught us what to expect of continuations which thus fall foul of their predecessors, and we are not surprised to find that *Platir* was only printed once. Cervantes regarded it as the very *nadir* of romantic chivalry. When the original fragment of the veracious chronicle of *Don Quixote* ended abruptly in the midst of that terrific battle between the gallant Biscayan and the valiant Manchegan, Cervantes could not bring himself to believe that such a brave story had been left maimed and mutilated, for he deemed it "a thing impossible and contrary to all precedent that so good a knight should have been without some sage to undertake the task of writing his marvellous achievements; a thing that was never wanting to any of those knights-errant who, they say, went after adventures; for every one of them had one or two sages as if made on purpose, who not only recorded their deeds but described their most trifling thoughts and follies, however secret they might be; and such a good knight could not have been so unfortunate as not to have what Platir and others like him had in abundance[1]." Small wonder that the curate, in the "diverting and important scrutiny," saw no reason for clemency in *The Knight Platir*, and sent it to the bonfire after the others without appeal. All that need be said of this romance here is that the author ends by threatening a second part which a merciful providence prevented from being written, or at any rate from surviving.

With *Platir* we are generally supposed to come to an end of the Spanish *Palmerin* series, for although there is

[1] *Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. IX.

an Italian romance called *Flortir*, dealing with the adventures of a son of Platir so named[1], which professes to be translated from the Spanish, no copy of a Spanish version is known to exist, and the words "translated from the Spanish" are often used in these romances merely as an advertisement. Reasons however have been given for supposing that in this case they really mean what they say, and that there was a Spanish original.

The case for and against has been summarised by Mr Purser[2], who, writing in 1904, expressed the opinion that "no printed Spanish *Flortir* ever existed." Since then, a writer in a Spanish review[3] has claimed *Flortir* as originally a Spanish work, owing to the many instances of the verb *accappare* to be found in the existing Italian version. In the context in which it is employed this verb is as rare in Italian as *acabar* is frequent in Spanish, and the presumption is that any work in which it is frequently used should be of Spanish origin. The objection that, after translating several of these Spanish romances, an Italian writer might easily have caught the trick of using that verb, and so have employed it in an original work, may be met by pointing out that it is not found in a continuation of *Flortir* which was admittedly composed in Italian.

But there is another reason for thinking that *Flortir* originated in Spain. The first edition of the French

[1] Like Polendos, Flortir is a portmanteau-word. It commemorates the hero's descent from Florinda and Platir.

[2] *Op. cit.*, Appendix XII. pp. 433–437.

[3] José de Perott, in *Cultura Española*, Madrid, August, 1909, No. XV. p. 734.

version of *Primaleon* contains a privilege which is dated almost exactly four years earlier than that granted by the Venetian Senate for the printing of the Italian *Flortir*. From the extract quoted below[1] it would appear that the French translator of *Primaleon*, François de Vernassal, knew of a book of *Flortir* in 1549. This could not have been the Italian *Flortir*; it must have been a Spanish *Flortir*, which indeed is adumbrated in the Italian version. We need not be concerned because Cervantes does not mention *Flortir*. After all, he makes no mention of *Primaleon*.

With *Flortir* then certainly, if not with *Platir*, the Spanish contributions to the *Palmerin* series come to an end, for the next and most famous book, the *Palmerin de Inglaterra*[2] which Cervantes would have treated as reverently as Homer's works, is now definitely proved to be of Portuguese origin. But following the procedure adopted in dealing with the first two books of this series, a brief synopsis of the romance is here given, before the question of the authorship is discussed.

There are two heroes in this story. Palmerin of Eng-

[1] The privilege is dated 15 October, 1549, and contains the following: "... Receu auons l'humble suplication de nostre cher & bien amé François de Vernassal: contenant comme auec grand peine & trauail d'esprit il a mis en François, tant selon l'exemplaire Italien qu'Espagnol les histoires de Primaleon, Platir, & autres faisans la suite de celle de Palmerin d'Oliue.... Pourquoy nous ces choses considerées... auõs ... audit supliant otroyé priuilege licence & permission d'imprimer ou faire imprimer & mettre en lumiere & uẽte... lesdites trois histoires de Primaleon Platir & Flortir faisans quatre liures à la suite de celle de Palmerin d'Oliue," etc. The privilege in the Italian *Flortir* is dated 24 October, 1553.

[2] See the note on the next page.

land and Floriano of the Desert, twin sons of Don Duardos, son of Fadrique, King of England, and Flerida, daughter of Palmerin de Oliva[1]; so that here we deal with the same generation as in *Platir*. Immediately after they had been baptised the twins were carried off by a savage as food for his hunting lions, but his wife took pity on their innocent lives and brought them up with her own son. When the twins had attained to boyhood, Floriano, going astray while hunting, was found by a knight and taken to London, where he became an attendant on his mother Flerida, while about the same time Palmerin was found on the sea-shore by his uncle Polendos and taken to Constantinople, where he became an attendant on his cousin Polinarda, daughter of Primaleon. Naturally none of these parties knew of the relationship existing between them, and equally naturally Palmerin fell in love with Polinarda, who becomes the heroine of the book. In due course the two young men are armed knights and set forth on the great adventure of the day, which was no other than the rescue of their own father, who all the time from shortly before their birth had been a prisoner in the castle of the giant Dramusiando. All attempts to rescue him had failed. The castle was enchanted. It could only be found at the enchanter's pleasure, and when it was found the would-be rescuer had to engage in a series of tilting bouts, all of them carefully graduated up to the final, in which the giant Dramusiando himself, reputed the best fighting

[1] The Spanish form of the proper names is retained, as although this book was originally written in Portuguese, several of the characters began their career in the earlier Spanish books of the series.

man of his time, had to be encountered. Floriano first essays the adventure, and reaches the final, in which he is about to be overcome when he is carried off to safety by Daliarte of the Dark Valley, a magician half-brother of his. Palmerin however succeeds by the help of an enchanted shield.

Rescuers and rescued now adjourn to London, and Daliarte reveals the relationship of the parties. We then enter upon the adventures at the castle of Miraguarda[1] which Cervantes found so excellent and of such admirable contrivance[2]. A strange knight appears on the scene, the champion of Miraguarda, a damsel of such fatal loveliness that she threw all Spain into disorder and had to be retired to a castle in the midst of the Tagus. The strange knight bears her likeness on his shield, to the protection of which against all comers his life is wholly devoted, while it is equally the sole object in life of every knight with the least pretension to respectability to win the shield from him. Hence both Floriano and Palmerin contend with the strange knight, but their battles are drawn; which was only to be expected, for the strange knight turns out to be Florendos, brother of Polinarda. Miraguarda however did not expect it, and disgusted with her ineffectual champion, she packs him off on a year's furlough, during which he is not to bear arms. Dramusiando turns up opportunely to protect the shield, which of course Florendos has to leave behind.

[1] Miraguarda's castle, the castle of Almourol, still exists near Thomar, with the name and in the position assigned to it in *Palmerin of England*. A photograph of the castle forms the frontispiece to Mr Purser's essay.

[2] See the paragraph quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

Meantime Floriano has been captured by a Turkish galley and presented—as usual—to the Grand Turk, who had—as usual—an inflammable daughter named Targiana. She had already sent her lover, Albaizar, after the Miraguarda shield, and she now loses rather more than her heart to Floriano. Albaizar, possibly with the object of saving time, filches the Miraguarda shield during the night and brings it to Constantinople, pretending he has won it in fair fight. The relations between Targiana and Floriano have meantime become quite platonic, and by a ruse the two leave the court of the Grand Turk *en route* for Constantinople, whither Targiana is attracted by the prowess of her lover Albaizar, who is successfully defying the world in the matter of the Miraguarda shield. The journey is enlivened by a drawn battle between Floriano and a strange knight who turns out to be Palmerin, by the carrying off of Targiana by a stranger during this battle, and her rescue by a Black Knight, who turns out to be Florendos. In a side issue Palmerin rescues the enchanted Princess Leonarda—an adventure open only to the knight who is foremost in valour and most faithful in love. Being himself engaged to Polinarda he bestows this Princess on his twin-brother Floriano.

Meantime a messenger, accompanied by three ferocious giants, arrives from the Grand Turk, the Sultan of Persia, and allies, threatening war on the Emperor of Constantinople unless he gives Polinarda in marriage to the Sultan, marries Florendos to the Sultan's sister, and hands over Floriano, who had run away with Targiana, to the Grand Turk. Owing to previous

engagements the Emperor declined, and there followed a contest between the three ferocious giants and Palmerin, Floriano and Dramusiando, who of course succeed in killing their opponents. Treachery on the part of the Grand Turk leads to more trouble and prepares us for the approaching climax. But Floriano staves off the end a little by enchantments and adventures which befel him especially in Spain and France, and an episode connected with four French ladies which happened during his stay at the court of France is of the greatest importance in the question of the authorship of the romance. On his return to Constantinople, the desire of the aged Emperor Palmerin de Oliva to see his grandchildren married leads to a matrimonial bee, when Palmerin of England weds Polinarda, Floriano weds Leonarda, Florendos weds Miraguarda, and so on. These marriages took place only just in time, for very shortly afterwards Constantinople is attacked by an allied fleet of Turks, infidels and heretics. The first attempt at landing failed, but the Christian losses were great, and they retired to their fortifications. Thereupon the Turks landed, at the same time burning their ships. The opposing forces met in a desperate battle which lasted till night separated them. Most of the principal Christian knights perished, and during the pause that followed this battle the aged Emperor died also. After a few days' rest the armies prepare for the final struggle, but just as they are about to engage, the whole battlefield is covered by a dense cloud sent by the magician half-brother Daliarte of the Dark Valley, who read in the mystic future that the Turks would win and capture the

city, slaying all the defenders. Under the cover of this cloud Daliarte carried off all the principal ladies to a place of safety in the Perilous Isle. Three days later the postponed final battle began, and it turned out that Daliarte had misread the signs, for when darkness came on only a few warriors survived, and they were all Christians, among them Primaleon and Florendos, both desperately wounded. The dead Princes were conveyed to the Perilous Isle and buried in the Sepulchre of Princes. The rescued Princesses returned to their homes, but a few widowed ladies remained on the island.

They are there still. For Daliarte, whenever he went abroad, used to enchant the island in such a manner that it became invisible, and in the end he was slain with many wounds upon a bridge in Ireland, without having undone the enchantment.

Wherefore it is believed that it is at this day in the state in which he left it. This would be a notable thing to see, if any one in our time should by his knowledge be able to disenchant it, and see if the emperor Palmerin de Oliva be still there, with the other kings, princes, and knights, who were there deposited after the manner which ye have heard, and the queens and princesses also who remained alive, accompanying the empress, who may well be envied; for friendship so rare, and actions so famous, are worthy of great praise, and to be greatly envied[1].

This somewhat lengthy sketch of the plot of *Palmerin of England* will not be of much help to those who wish to test the parallel drawn by Cervantes between this romance and the works of the poet Homer. It may however serve to explain how *Palmerin* could be re-

[1] The final paragraph in Southey's abridgment of Munday's version, 1807.

garded in several countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a rival of *Amadis of Gaul*. Like the other books of the series, *Palmerin of England* is modelled on the *Amadis* romances. Palmerin himself corresponds to Amadis, Floriano of the Desert to Galaor; Dramusiando is a useful substitute for Arcalaus, while Amadis's treatment of Briolanja is paralleled by Florendos's behaviour towards Arnalta. Yet though *Palmerin of England* lacks originality, it is, as Cervantes says of certain of its incidents, of admirable contrivance. The plot works up to a climax while interest and suspense are maintained as in no other early work of the kind. The style, although naturally tainted with the rhetorical affectation of its antecedents, is in general rightly estimated by Cervantes: "the language is polished and clear, studying and observing the style befitting the speaker with propriety and judgment." All critics agree that the principal characters are not dummies; they are real and different. And all critics agree in regarding *Palmerin of England* as a Portuguese classic, a landmark in the development of Portuguese prose into a cultivated medium of literary expression.

But by this mention of a nationality we are begging a question which has been fought almost as fiercely as that of the original nationality of *Amadis of Gaul*. In each case the quarrel lies ultimately between the Portuguese and the Spaniards, and in each case the Portuguese have the best of a most interesting argument. In discussing the rival claims it will be well—as with *Amadis of Gaul*—to take as a starting-point the opinions of Southey, for most English people who are acquainted

with *Palmerin of England* know it through Southey's abridged revision of Anthony Munday's translation, published in 1807.

Southey is as dogmatic about the authorship of *Palmerin of England* as he is about that of *Amadis of Gaul*, and with better success in the present case. His title-page announces simply: "*Palmerin of England*, by Francisco de Moraes." But in his preface he has to confess that the earliest forms of the work known to him are a French version published at Lyons in 1553, and an Italian version published at Venice in 1555, both of which profess to be translated from the Spanish; while the earliest known Portuguese version was not published till 1567, and professes to be translated from the French. Southey however not only sees no reason for denying, but finds internal evidence for accepting, the Portuguese tradition claiming the work as an original Portuguese production of Francisco de Moraes. He only feels bound to parallel the publication of a translation before its original by references to *Vathek* and Coleridge's translation of *Wallenstein*[1]. But twenty years before Southey was writing, a Portuguese editor of *Palmerin of England* had suggested a French origin for the romance[2], and for twenty years afterwards there was doubt as to whether it was originally Portuguese or French, with a leaning in favour of the former.

[1] Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, Introduction, tom. 1. p. cclxxii, mentions a closer parallel: the publication of the *Nise lastimosa* (1577) of Fr. Jeronimo Bermudez before the *Castro* (1598) of Antonio Ferreira.

[2] See p. 5 of the preface to the edition of 1786.

At last however Vicente Salvá, a Regent Street bookseller, seemed to settle the question definitely by finding a copy of a Spanish version printed at Toledo in *1547, 1548*. As this was earlier than any other version, and five years earlier than the French version, which professes to be a translation from the Spanish, Salvá's find was welcomed as a lost original. At first Salvá attributed this Spanish original to Miguel Ferrer, who wrote the dedications prefixed to the two parts, in which the book is spoken of as "this my little fruit," "this my labour," and so on. Later however he assigned it to Luis Hurtado, because his son had found this name in an acrostic, headed " El auctor al lector," which follows the dedication in the first part[1]. And this solution of the origin and authorship of the romance was accepted and supported by giants like Gayangos and Ticknor.

The story of the revolt against this settlement, during which several famous names in different countries parted with some of their credit, is too long to be told in detail here. The question has recently been definitely settled once more—this time quite definitely—in favour of the Portuguese and Francisco de Moraes, by Mr Purser, in his exhaustive treatise on *Palmerin of England* mentioned above[2]. Only the briefest summary of results can be given here.

Miguel Ferrer, a member of the Toledan family of printers and booksellers, is at most an editor of the

[1] The initial letters of the verses read downwards thus: Lvys hvrtado avtor al lector da salvd(s).

[2] With this should be read Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly's notice in the *Revue Hispanique*, 1903, tom. x. pp. 614–635.

Spanish version, and both the authorship of Luis Hurtado and the Spanish claim to the romance offer but a feeble resistance to a critical examination. The chronological test has laid many a literary pretender low, and it has dealt unkindly with Luis Hurtado. In his *Three Hundred Stanzas of the Triumph of Virtues in Defence of Illustrious Women*[1], which for the benefit of mankind has remained unpublished, he tells us that he wrote this work in 1582, being then a time-worn veteran of ten lustres. Ingenious people have calculated from this that Hurtado was born in 1532, and that he was therefore some fifteen years old when the Spanish romance was published. It does not require much deliberation to reject a boy of less than fifteen, the son of a poor shopkeeper at Toledo, who never rose to be more than a needy local cleric and publisher's hack, as the author of a work which contains evidences of great maturity, a considerable knowledge of the world, and an intimate acquaintance with a foreign court. We can hardly expect the discoverer of an acrostic to read the verses themselves; but anyone who cares to wade through them as far as the second line[2] will see that Hurtado would

[1] *Las trecientas del triunpho de virtudes en defensa de illustres mugeres.* After giving the date, the author goes on:

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

(Quoted by Antonio Neira de Mosquera in the *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, Madrid, 1853, p. 222.)

[2] The first two verses are as follows:

Leyendo esta obra, descreto lector
vi ser espejo: de echos famosos.

"Reading this work, courteous reader, I saw it to be a mirror of famous deeds."

have been the last person to claim the authorship of the book openly for himself.

It is easy also to show that the Spanish text, with its mistakes and omissions and confusions, to say nothing of its nearly always mentioning the river Tagus in its Portuguese form, is a composite translation, and a bad one at that. The Portuguese text on the other hand is an acknowledged masterpiece of style. Its author speaks favourably of Portugal and in places disparagingly of Spain. He is acquainted with Portuguese topography, and not with Spanish. He knows the sea and the things of the sea.

With the Portuguese text of *Palmerin of England* there is a dedication by Moraes to Maria, sister of King John III of Portugal. It is clear from internal evidence that this was written in the lifetime of John III, who died in 1557, ten years before the publication of the earliest existing Portuguese edition. This dedication further reveals that it was penned during the year 1544[1]; so that the text itself must have been finished about this time. A Portuguese *Palmerin of England* must have existed therefore some three years before the Spanish version was published, and we naturally assume Moraes, who signs the dedication, to be the author.

Moraes was just the right person to have written this romance. He was the son of the Grand Treasurer of Portugal, and may reasonably be supposed to have

[1] The following sentence occurs in the dedication (edition of 1786, copied from that of 1592): "Eu me achei em França *os dias passados*, em seruiço de dom Francisco de Noronha, embaixador delRey nosso Senhor e vosso irmão." Noronha had left France before April, 1544.

moved in courtly circles. In 1540 he accompanied the Portuguese minister, Francisco de Noronha, to Paris, where he remained till 1543 or 1544—so that his stay in the French capital tallies in point of time with what is to be inferred from the above-mentioned dedication.

While in Paris Moraes fell in love with a French lady whom he calls Torsi, a Maid of Honour to Queen Leonor, the Portuguese Consort of the French King. He was rejected, and in his *Dialogos*[1] there is a *Defence* of his suit, undoubtedly written by him, though not published till 1624. Now the four French ladies at the court of France who have already been mentioned as figuring in certain episodes in *Palmerin of England* are called Telensi, Mansi, Latranja, and Torsi. But these are real persons whom Moraes met in Paris: Mlle de Theligny, Mlle de Macy, Mlle de L'Estrange and Mlle de Torcy—the last real enough to figure as *la belle Torcy* in Brantôme[2]. Two of these ladies ("Latranja" and "Mansy") Moraes mentions in a letter of his which is still extant[3]. After this there can be no doubt that *Palmerin of England* is originally Portuguese and the work of Francisco de Moraes, who moreover in his own day enjoyed the sobriquet of "o Palmeirim."

[1] pp. 36–47: "Desculpa de huns amores que tinha em Paris com hũa dama Francesa da Raynha Dona Leanor, per nome Torsi, sendo Portuguez, pela qual fez a historia das Damas Francezas no seu Palmeirim."

[2] *Œuvres complètes*, ed. L. Lalanne, 1864–82, tom. I. p. 31, and elsewhere.

[3] The letter, which is dated 10 Dec. 1541, is printed by Theophilo Braga in his *Questões de litteratura e arte portugueza* (1881), pp. 254–257.

The bibliography of *Palmerin of England* bears this out. Until a few years ago the Spanish version had never been reprinted. Of the Portuguese version we have, besides a putative edition of circa 1544, the first extant edition of Evora, 1567, of which only two copies are known[1], an edition of Lisbon, 1592, which calls itself the second edition, and an edition of Lisbon, *1786*, which actually calls itself the fourth edition, because the editor had before him a copy of an unknown edition, no doubt the lost first edition, which has since again disappeared. There is also a more modern edition, published at Lisbon in Moraes' *Obras*, *1852*.

Moreover, with *Palmerin of England* the *Palmerin* series comes to an end as far as Spain is concerned, whereas several continuations were added in Portuguese. Francisco de Moraes' *Palmerin of England* was in two parts. In *1587* there appeared at Lisbon the third and fourth parts of *Palmerin of England*, by Diogo Fernandez, with Duardos the Second, son of Palmerin and Polinarda, as hero. This work was reprinted in *1604*. In *1602* there appeared, also at Lisbon, the fifth and sixth parts of *Palmerin of England*, by Balthasar Gonçalves Lobato. The hero is Clarisol de Bretanha, son of the above Duardos. At the end of this book a seventh part is promised, and indeed manuscript continuations have been recorded[2], but mercifully they have never got beyond the manuscript stage.

As with *Amadis of Gaul*, so too with the *Palmerins*,

[1] One in the Bibliotheca da Ajuda, Lisbon, the other in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

[2] W. E. Purser, *op. cit.*, Appendix III. pp. 393–394.

the actual books of the series do not quite exhaust the family's productiveness within the Peninsula. In both cases there are ballads and plays founded on the romances, but they are much fewer in the present case, for the *Palmerin* series was never so popular as the *Amadis* series, nor was any member of the Palmerin family so popular as Amadis of Gaul himself. This was natural enough, for not only had *Amadis* the advantage of priority, but all the books of the series appeared in the one country, whereas the *Palmerin* series was divided between Spain and Portugal.

There is only one ballad based on the *Palmerin* series, that of Don Duardos y Flerida, already mentioned in connexion with the book of *Primaleon*. Although it forms part of a play written by a Portuguese, this ballad was an early favourite with the Spaniards, for it was incorporated in the *Cancionero de Romances*[1] published at Antwerp in the middle of the sixteenth century; it has recently been made accessible to English readers in Mr A. F.-G. Bell's little volume of Gil Vicente's lyrics[2].

Three dramatic pieces owe their origin to our present series. Doctor Juan Perez de Montalvan, who, as we have already seen, was indebted to Feliciano de Silva's *Florisel de Niquea* for one of his plays, made use of the first book for another, his *Palmerin de Oliva, o la encantadora Lucelinda*. The second book, *Primaleon*, inspired not only Gil Vicente's *Don Duardos*, which contains the above-mentioned ballad, but also Hortensio Felix

[1] See the edition in facsimile published by R. Menéndez Pidal, 1914, ff. 253–254. Cf. also Duran, No. 288.

[2] *Lyrics of Gil Vicente*, 1914, pp. 90–93.

Paravicino y Arteaga's *Comedia intitulada la Gridonia, o cielo de amor vengado*[1].

Palmerin of England, the best book of the series, produced neither ballad nor play. Yet it had its compensations, for it appealed to other famous writers besides Cervantes. There are references, apparently very early references, to this book in two light pieces of verse by Camoens[2], probably written during the poet's residence at Court, 1542–1546; and if the probability could be turned into a certainty, any lingering doubt as to the Portuguese origin of *Palmerin of England* would be dissipated. Dom Francisco de Portugal, our authority for the *Amadis* stories connected with Diego de Mendoza and Simon de Silveira, had no doubt on the subject, for he mentions *Palmerin of England* in support of his patriotic prejudice as to Portuguese preeminence in all things, at the same time quoting Gongora to the effect that *Palmerin* deserved commemorating in bronze[3].

This same Simon de Silveira, who swore upon the Gospels that everything in *Amadis of Gaul* was true, is the hero of another story which shows that *Palmerin of England* had its devotees, even if it had not, like *Primaleon*, its *dolientes* who knew the story by heart.

[1] In *Obras posthumas, diuinas, y humanas, de Don Felix de Arteaga*, 1641, ff. 121–189.

[2] See C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos: *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* (in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 1882, Bd VI. pp. 216–219), and W. E. Purser, *op. cit.*, Appendix I. p. 378. On the following pages both authors quote interesting references to *Palmerin of England* from *autos* of Antonio Prestes, of somewhat later date.

[3] *Arte de Galanteria*, 1670, p. 96: "Palmeirin de Inglaterra, por quien dizia Don Luis de Gongora, que se le deuian bronzes."

The hardened old sinner († 1574 or 1575) was still unrepentant, if not on his deathbed, at least on his wedding-night. We are told[1] that he courted a Maid of Honour ardently and long. When at length the lady married him, he took a delicate revenge; for

on the first night of their wedding, after they had retired, he asked for a candle, and began to read in *Palmerin of England*, over which he spent so much time that the lady, taking it amiss, said to him: "Sir, is that what you married for?" Whereupon he replied: "And who told you, Madam, that marriage was anything else?"

But once more, with these quotations and stories illustrating the popularity of particular books, we are encroaching on a section of our subject in which the vogue of the romances in general will be considered. Before that section is reached, a brief account must be given of one or two smaller groups and a few miscellaneous romances which are also numbered among *Amadis of Gaul's* "innumerable progeny."

[1] By Pedro José Suppico de Moraes: *Collecçaõ . . . de Apothegmas*, 1761, pt I. bk I. p. 33: ". . . Casou em fim com a tal Senhora, por quem fizera tantos extremos, tantas finezas de amor; e na primeyra noyte do dia das suas vôdas, assim que se recolhèraõ, pedio D. Simaõ huma véla, e poz se a ler por Palmerim de Inglaterra, no que gastou tanto tempo, que parecendo desproposito à Dama, lhe disse: Senhor, para isso casastes? Respondeo elle: E quem vos disse a vós, Senhora, que o casar era outra cousa." The story is late, and probably apocryphal; but its existence is still evidence.

CHAPTER IV

SMALLER GROUPS AND ISOLATED ROMANCES

IN the two preceding chapters an account has been given of the two great families of Peninsular romances of chivalry. The initial success which made such large families possible led to the formation of a few smaller groups, and the gradual accumulation of a number of isolated romances. All these are frank imitations, and like the later books of the *Amadis* and the *Palmerin* series, they reproduce the most striking features of the original founders, with less success in copying their merits than in exaggerating their defects. We shall only be justified in considering at any length those romances which exercised some influence outside their own country.

The most important of the smaller groups from this point of view is the next largest—the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros*, a late-comer into the field. The first part of this romance, in three books, was written by Diego Ortuñez de Calahorra and published in 1562; a second part, in two books, was added by Pedro de la Sierra in 1581; while third and fourth parts, each in two books, brought the group to a close in 1589. These last two parts were written by Marcos Martinez, a native of Alcalá de Henares, who may possibly have consorted with Cervantes.

In this group there are no awkward problems of authorship; but it may be mentioned that the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros* is often confused with three other romances which have either a similar title or a hero with a similar name. The confusion will be more comprehensible if the reader is introduced to the chief characters in the present story. To summarise the whole plot of yet another of these romances of chivalry would be vain repetition; but it will not be wasting time to give a brief account of the story, for some knowledge of it will be useful when we come to the spread of the new romances to England, where the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros* played, or is reputed to have played, a considerable *rôle*.

For a few chapters, before it has time to earn its reputation as a vast compendium of chivalresque nonsense, the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros*, or, to use its English title, *The Mirror of Knighthood*, is not without interest. It begins with the fashionable pretence of recording the worthy deeds of the mighty Emperor Trebacio, and the valiant acts of the knights of his time, "according as Artemidoro the Grecian hath left them written in the great volumes of his Chronicle[1]." At twenty-five years of age Trebacio, a descendant of Achilles, was reigning in Epirus, where his ancestors had been kings before him. When, about this time, the Emperor of Greece died without issue, Trebacio was elected in his stead, for besides being of great fame, he was "of conditions very noble, pleasant, loving to all, liberal, courteous, sufferable, pitiful, and above all very

[1] In the quotations the quaint language of the Elizabethan translation is here generally followed.

desirous to entertain in his Court." He was called the great Trebacio, because he was eight feet high, and "very strong timbred," but withal

so affable and courteous, that never might be noted in him one little fault. Wherefore his historians say, that he was the crown of the Greeks, and the clear mirror of all the princes and knights of the world. Whence also this his Chronicle borroweth this title, especially having therein to remember the marvellous deeds of the Knight of the Sun, with Rosicler, both sons unto Trebacio. Since whose time, all the adventures of the ancient and famous knights were clean forgotten, and since whose time, neither Ulysses, of whom Homer speaketh, neither any other songs or sonnets, ballads or interludes, were heard in Greece; only with these two knights they were familiarly acquainted.

When Trebacio came to Constantinople, he found himself saddled with a dynastic feud of long standing between the Greeks and the neighbouring Hungarians. The King of the Hungarians, Tiberio, was a person of some importance, for, besides Hungary, he ruled over "Olandia, Selandia, Flandes, Sueuia, Bauaria, Austria, Alemaña, Albia, Daunia, Marcomandia, Perusia and many other provinces." Small wonder that he deemed himself one of the mightiest kings of the earth, and prepared to invade Greece. Tiberio had a daughter, Briana, "the most beautiful princess that was to be found in all those parts, so that for the fame of her beauty many mighty princes sought her hand." To increase his power, this lord of many provinces decides to marry his daughter to a powerful ally, and so the suit of Prince Theoduardo, son of Oliverio, King of Great Britain, is granted on condition that he brings an army of twenty thousand chosen men-at-arms to help in the war

against Greece. Meantime Tiberio invades Greece with his own forces, proposing to get as far as he can, and then await Prince Theoduardo's reinforcements. His scheme fails, however, and he is driven back to Belgrade, in Hungary, where he is "held" by Trebacio. Unfortunately for his peace of mind, Trebacio learns from a prisoner the story of the Princess Briana, who was then fourteen years old, and who was with her mother the Queen Augusta in the Monasterio de la Ribera, near Buda, waiting for Prince Theoduardo to join her. Trebacio, the invincible, "was now vanquished by the only hearsay of a gentlewoman's commendation," and his one thought was how to give remedy to his amorous passion. He could not ask for the hand of the Princess, for he was at war with her father, and besides, she was already promised. Driven to desperate action by the news that Prince Theoduardo had entered Belgrade with twenty chosen men, he summons twelve trusty knights, unfolds to them the secret of his heart, and wins their sympathy for his hard lot. Leaving his uncle the King of Bohemia in charge of the war, Trebacio with his bodyguard steals secretly from the camp and waylays Prince Theoduardo, midway between Belgrade and Buda, as he is on his way to join his Princess. The rivals meet, of course, in single combat. It is sad to have to relate of a son of the famous English King Oliverio, who lived sufficiently long ago for his blood to be coursing in an attenuated form in all our veins, that he was "by inclination given to somewhat less modesty in his talk than behoved such a Prince." Death is his due reward. Trebacio, the affable and courteous, in

whom "never might be noted one little fault," utters a touching and chivalrous lament over the body of the dead Prince, and appropriates his clothes. Omitting the lament, his attendants have meantime administered similar treatment to all the Prince's bodyguard, except two. Dressed in the trappings of the fallen, the victors now proceed to Buda guided by the two knights who have been spared. Trebacio is received as Prince Theoduardo by the Archbishop of Belgrade and presented to Briana, by whose beauty he is greatly abashed; and as he is able to produce, from Prince Theoduardo's pockets, letters giving the royal consent to his marriage, the happy pair are united by the Archbishop "with all the ceremonies and words which the Church ordaineth." The intention was that the marriage should not be consummated till after the war, lest some accident should happen in the meantime to the supposed Prince; but at the end of three days, Trebacio, in the approved manner of the romances, finds his way into his lady's garden, and there, what time the radiant beams of Phœbus began to pierce the close-entwined jasmines with their slender golden darts, were begotten those two noble children, the Cavallero del Febo—the Knight of the Sun—and Rosicler. With admirable delicacy, the author of the *Mirror of Knighthood* defends his heroine, and assures us that all this was "somewhat against her will," but that, seeing Trebacio was her husband, "she pardoned him his boldness in troubling her."

Trebacio now recalls the war and hastens towards Belgrade. And here the author's anxiety to reach the adventures of the Knight of the Sun and Rosicler leads

him into the first of his many *faux pas* into the magical. Halting for the night, Trebacio dreams that his mistress is being carried off by two giants, and wakes to find his dream apparently come true. Pursuing the unsubstantial chariot in which the phantom Briana is being abducted, he enters the usual magic boat, which in a very short time brings him to the inevitable enchanted island—in this case somewhere in the Black Sea. Here we are glad to leave him, unmindful of his mistress Briana, living wantonly with Lindaraxa, the lady of the enchanted castle on the island.

Meanwhile, after much sorrow and search for the Emperor and Prince in their respective camps, the King of Bohemia retires from before Belgrade, while the English army goes dejectedly home. Saddest of all is Briana. Even her twin sons fail to bring her the comfort they should, for she decides to conceal their birth—according to the convention of the romances—until her marriage can be openly solemnized. After the fashion set by Esplandian, one of the twins had on his left side a little face shining like a miniature sun, the other had the mark of a rose on his chest, so they were baptised El Cavallero del Febo and Rosicler respectively. In due course they develop into the principal heroes of the first part; but we need not follow in detail their adventures, which consist of more than usually marvellous battles, meetings, partings and reunions, ranging over the three known continents of the Old World. Rosicler's search after adventures takes him to England, where he becomes the lover of Princess Olivia, sister to the Prince Theoduardo his father had slain. The love-story of this

couple follows closely that of Amadis and Oriana. The Cavallero del Febo becomes amorously entangled with Lindabrides, a Princess of Tartary, and the Amazonian Princess Claridiana. The night before his wedding to the former, this hero of the *Mirror of Knighthood* is overcome by the thought of his faithlessness to the latter, and, like a more recent hero of fiction, he "bolts from the Imperial Court[1]." His subsequent adventures include a desperate all-day encounter with the disguised and enraged Claridiana, who is unaware of the sacrifice he has made for her; finally the two are reconciled and united, their son Claridiano providing a new hero for Pedro de la Sierra's second part.

Even from the above sketch, the imitations of earlier romances in the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros* are obvious enough. The name Briana belongs to the series begun by Oriana in *Amadis of Gaul*, and continued by Griana in *Palmerin de Oliva*. Rosicler is modelled on Amadis, and the wavering Cavallero del Febo carries on the tradition of the fickle Galaor. It will be remembered that Master Nicholas, the village barber in *Don Quixote*, used to say[2] that neither Palmerin of England nor Amadis

[1] The incident is more delicately recorded in the commendatory verses by the Knight of Phœbus himself prefixed to *Don Quixote*:

> I scorned all empire, and that monarchy
> The rosy east held out did I resign
> For one glance of Claridiana's eye,
> The bright Aurora for whose love I pine.
> A miracle of constancy my love. . . .

The last line shows that Theoduardo was not the only character in the *Mirror of Knighthood* who was "given to somewhat less modesty than behoved such a Prince."

[2] *Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. I.

of Gaul "came up to the Knight of Phœbus, and that if there was any that could compare with him it was Don Galaor, the brother of Amadis of Gaul."

The incidents have even less originality than the characters. It is hard to find anyone who has a good word to say for the first two parts; but the third part has been commended for the relative superiority of its language, although its author too frequently copied the affected style of Feliciano de Silva's continuations of *Amadis*. Yet the first and second parts were several times reissued, and all four parts are among the few romances to be printed after the appearance of *Don Quixote*[1]. Their history does not quite end here, for like the *Amadises* and the *Palmerins*, they gave rise to a number of ballads[2], and the Knight of the Sun appeared upon the stage, at least in name[3]; Calderon himself did not scorn to draw upon the group for his *Gran Comedia el Castillo de Lindabridis*.

[1] The following editions are recorded: pt I. 1562, 1580, *1583*, 1586, *1617*; pt II. 1581, *1585*, 1589, *1617*; pt III. IV. 1589, *1623*. Pellicer, in his notes to *Don Quixote*, mentions a fifth part as existing in MS. in his day in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

[2] Thirteen by Lucas Rodriguez are given by Duran in his *Romancero General* (Nos. 338–350), 1854, tom. I. pp. 186–197.

[3] Among the four hundred plays of Luis Velez de Guevara is one entitled *El Cavallero del Sol*, and there is an *auto*, *El Cavallero del Febo*, by Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla. How slight is the connexion between these plays and the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros* may be judged from the fact that in the plays the names of the characters are taken from various romances. In the *auto* of Rojas Zorrilla, moreover, the Cavallero del Febo is another name for Christ (cf. Amadis in Lope de Vega's *auto*, *La Puente del Mundo*), Amadis de Grecia represents the human race, and so on.

Only the first part of the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros* was published in Italian. The whole work appeared in French some years after *Don Quixote*; but in England it met with an early welcome and considerable success. The fortunes, and not the merits, of this small group are responsible for the notice which it has obtained here.

As we have said, the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros* has been confused with three other romances[1]. The first is the *Espejo de Cavallerias*, a romance of the Charlemagne series which reached Spain somewhat late *via* Italy, and which was rather leniently treated by Cervantes in the "diverting and important scrutiny" in Don Quixote's library:

> Taking down another book, the barber said, "This is *The Mirror of Chivalry*."
>
> "I know his worship," said the curate, "that is where Señor Reinaldos of Montalvan figures with his friends and comrades, greater thieves than Cacus, and the Twelve Peers of France with the veracious historian Turpin; however, I am not for condemning them to more than perpetual banishment, because, at any rate, they have some share of the invention of the famous Matteo Boiardo, out of which the Christian poet Ludovico Ariosto also wove his web...."

The next romance is *The First Part of the Pattern and Pinnacle of Mighty Deeds, in which are recounted the immortal exploits of the Cavallero del Febo el Troyano*. This obvious imitation of the first part of the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros* was written by Estevan Corbera, a Barcelonese, and published in *1576*. Its hero is de-

[1] The confusion is perpetuated in the notes to the most recent editions of Motteux's translation of *Don Quixote*.

scended from Hector and Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons, who fell in love with each other at the siege of Troy—Trebacio in the prototype was descended, it will be remembered, from Achilles. The scene of *El Cavallero del Febo el Troyano* hovers between Persepolis, Troy and Lisbon, and the story is concerned equally with Christians and Pagans, Trojans and Persians.

The third romance is the *Cavallero del Sol* of Pedro Hernandez de Villaumbrales[1], which appeared in *1552*. This is a religious allegory modelled on the romances of chivalry, as may be gathered from its full title: *Libro intitulado peregrinacion dela vida del hombre, puesta en batalla debaxo delos trabajos que sufrio el cavallero del Sol, en defensa dela Razon natural.* The opponents of this Knight of the Sun include the "saluage vicio bruto," the "gigante peccado monstruoso," and the various champions of the Seven Deadly Sins. Of this type of story more will be said shortly; we must now return to the romances of chivalry proper.

Next to the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros*, the most interesting romance to us is *Don Belianis de Grecia*, which was also more successful in our own country than elsewhere outside its native land. The four parts of this story came out in the years 1547, 1579[2]. They are supposed to be taken from the Greek, in which they were written by the sage Friston[3]; but the pretence is

[1] The name is given as Pedro Hernandez de Villalumbrales in the book.

[2] The following editions are recorded: pt I. II. 1547, *1564*, 1579, 1580, *1587*; pt III. IV. *1579*, 1587.

[3] The name which caused some trouble to Don Quixote's housekeeper (*Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. VII.).

quite dropped in the colophon to the third and fourth parts (1579), which tells us that these parts were "composed by the Licentiate Geronimo Fernandez, likewise the author of the first and second parts." It should interest those who complain of the redundant and flowery style of the Spanish romances of chivalry to find the author in his preface to the first part complaining of "our defective speech, so wanting in that wealth of words of other nations, especially of the rich tongue in which the story was written[1]." The complaint is a reminder that, with all its faults, the romance of chivalry was in more than one country, especially as we shall see in France, a training-ground for the writing of vernacular prose.

It is unnecessary to analyse the romance *Belianis de Grecia*. The hero has achieved immortality by describing his own character in a sonnet included among the commendatory verses prefixed to *Don Quixote*:

In slashing, hewing, cleaving, word and deed,
I was the foremost knight of chivalry,
Stout, bold, expert, as e'er the world did see;
Thousands from the oppressor's wrong I freed;
Great were my feats, eternal fame their meed;
In love I proved my truth and loyalty;
The highest giant was a dwarf for me;
Ever to knighthood's laws gave I good heed.
My mastery the Fickle Goddess owned,
And even Chance, submitting to control,
Grasped by the forelock, yielded to my will....

[1] "... Dado caso que en nuestra lengua tan corta, y tan falta de la sobra de palabras de las otras naciones, principalmente de aquellas de la tan fecunda en que estaua escripta, que no se como en manera alguna puedan ser declaradas..." (edition printed at Estella, 1564).

The hero's modesty prevents him from mentioning one feature which distinguishes him from his fellow-immortals. Being neither enchanted nor invulnerable like the majority of these invincible knights, and being further, as he himself suggests, not backward in the fight, he suffered accordingly. "Who was more slashed or slashing than Don Belianis?" asks Don Quixote[1]; and Clemencin has counted just over a hundred wounds, all of them serious, in the first two parts of his history. Don Quixote, who had "almost seen and heard and talked with" this inimitable knight[2], was, it will be remembered,

> not at all easy about the wounds which Don Belianis gave and took, because it seemed to him that, great as were the surgeons who had cured him, he must have had his face and body covered all over with seams and scars. He commended, however, the author's way of ending his book with the promise of that interminable adventure; and many a time he was tempted to take up his pen and finish it properly as is there proposed[3].

Don Quixote's affection for this romance[4] prepares us for the lenient treatment it received in the "diverting and important scrutiny," where the hero's choleric disposition is reproved. The curate, after sparing *Amadis of Gaul* and *Palmerin of England*, wishes to let the others perish without further question or query.

[1] *Don Quixote*, pt II. ch. I.

[2] *Ibid.* pt I. ch. XIII.

[3] *Ibid.* pt I. ch. I.

[4] In spite of his "A fig for Don Belianis" (*ibid.* pt I. ch. XXV.), where he is speaking comparatively. It may be added that *Belianis de Grecia* is one of the few minor romances of chivalry mentioned in Alonso Fernandez de Avellaneda's spurious continuation of the first part of *Don Quixote*.

"Nay, gossip," said the barber, "for this that I have here is the famous *Don Belianis.*"

"Well," said the curate, "that and the second, third, and fourth parts all stand in need of a little rhubarb to purge their excess of bile, and they must be cleared of all that stuff about the Castle of Fame and other greater affectations, to which end let them be allowed the over-seas term, and, according as they mend, so shall mercy or justice be meted out to them; and in the mean time, gossip, do you keep them in your house and let no one read them."

With the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros* and *Don Belianis de Grecia* may be associated *Florando de Inglaterra*, for one of its three parts was the only other romance to be published in English. The subject-matter, and the fact that the story professes to be translated from the English, may have had something to do with this. Although written in Spanish, *Florando de Inglaterra* is a Portuguese addition to chivalresque literature. It was published in *1545* in Lisbon, and was dedicated to the knights, matrons, and maidens of that city, of which the unknown author[1] was a native. This romantic person professes that, being absent in England,

owing to the differences in language, dress, and customs, as well as the little intercourse between natives and foreigners, he became, in the words of Petrarch, "a bird of night that flees the sun," and retired to his lodging when business was over, in order not to waste time or to wander about the streets as a spectacle in a strange land; and with a view to employing himself in honest labour he translated into Castilian from the English, a strange and barbarous tongue, this present work.

[1] Mr Purser gives reasons for identifying him with the translator of the Portuguese *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* into Spanish. See his *Palmerin of England*, 1904, Appendix XII. pp. 450–454.

We should be more inclined to believe this unflattering account of the social qualities of our ancestors if we were not informed that the real authors of this chronicle were Polismarco and Palurcio, respectively secretary and scribe to the Emperor of Rome, "men of clear judgment and knowledge," but unrecorded in the annals of English literature. The story tells the great and marvellous adventures which the valiant and mighty Prince Florando de Inglaterra, son of the noble and mighty Prince Paladiano, accomplished for love of the beautiful Princess Rosalinda, daughter of the Emperor of Rome. This romance, in which we are not surprised to find that Portugal receives the most favoured nation treatment, was never reprinted in the Peninsula, and its influence there was consequently small enough for it to be dismissed with a brief mention here. It was not translated into Italian; but the first part, which is almost entirely occupied with the adventures of Florando's father Paladiano, was translated into French as the *Histoire Palladienne*, to which, as we shall see later, a certain interest attaches, and this *Histoire Palladienne* passed into English as *Palladine of England*, and had a fair success in this country.

The *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros* and *Belianis de Grecia* were the only Peninsular romances to be translated into all three languages, Italian, French, and English. *Florando de Inglaterra*, the only one of the romances to spread beyond the Pyrenees which was not translated into Italian, exhausts the number of those which appeared in French and English. Half a dozen other romances were translated into Italian only, and these

may be grouped together here and treated less fully than those which more nearly concern our own land.

The most popular is the *Book of the Invincible Knight Lepolemo, son of the Emperor of Germany, calling himself the Knight of the Cross*, which ran through some ten editions between 1521 and 1600[1]. It is injudicious to attribute this popularity to the book's merits, for they are only relative: the story has been commended as being less marvellous, and less confused in its geography, than most of its class. But the *Knight of the Cross* well deserves the fate it met with in the "diverting and important scrutiny":

> "For the sake of the holy name this book bears," said the curate, "its ignorance might be forgiven; but then, they say, 'behind the cross there's the devil'; to the fire with it."

The scene is to a large extent laid in Africa, and the pretended author is the Arabian chronicler Xarton, who may have suggested Cid Hamet Benengeli to Cervantes. The real author is Antonio de Salazar, according to Ferdinand Columbus's catalogue[2], which is our only authority for the first edition of 1521. The earliest existing edition, that of 1525, was revised by Juan de Molina, the translator of Appian into Spanish. During the year of publication of the last dated edition there

[1] The following editions are recorded: 1521, 1525, *1534*, 1545 (2), 1548 (2?), 1562, 1563, and a Seville edition *sine anno*, a copy of which is in the British Museum.

[2] No. 4069: "Cronica de lepolemo llamado el cauallero de la cruz hijo del emperador de alemaña cõpuesta en arauigo por xartõ y trasladada en castellano por alõso de salazar.... Imp. en valencia anno .1521. 10. april. costo en medina del cãpo .95. mr̃s. a .19. de nouiẽbre de .1524."

was added a second part, *Leandro el Bel* (*1563*), which purports to have been written in Greek by the wise King Artidoro. This romance is only remembered now because of its dedication, in which the writer speaks of his *Colloquios matrimoniales*, and of having published the Twelfth Book of *Amadis*[1]. The mention of the *Colloquios matrimoniales* reveals the culprit as Pedro de Lujan[2].

An earlier romance in this group, if it really existed in Spanish, is *The Valorous Knight Polisman*. No copy of the book is known, and the only reputed edition, that of 1517, is mentioned on very doubtful authority[3].

[1] The dedication addressed to "Juan Claros de Guzman, Conde de Niebla," etc., contains the following passage: "... auiendo gozado dela beneuolencia de vuestra excelencia. Quãdo los dias passados le ofreci mis Colloquios matrimoniales. Los quales fuerõ de vuestra excelencia recebidos: con aquella afabiliadad (*sic*) que vuestra excelencia acostumbra. Con lo qual yo e tomado atreuimiento de edicar (*sic*) a vuestra excelencia esta obra, aunque mal compuesta y peor ordenada. La qual compuse estando en ratos de vacuaciones (*sic*) de mis estudios. Como siempre acostumbre despues de auer sacado a luz el dozeno libro de Amadis por tomar alguna recreaciõ enel tiempo que a mis estudios, y otras ocupaciones puedo hurtar."

[2] Hence Pedro de Lujan has hitherto passed as the author of *Leandro el Bel*; but he really translated this romance—not of course from the Greek, but from the Italian of Pietro Lauro. See Appendix I.

[3] Leandro Fernandez de Moratin: *Orígenes del Teatro Español* (*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, tom. II. p. 174, in a list in the preliminary *Discurso histórico*); "Historia del valeroso caballero Polisman Florisio ... Por Fernando Bernal, Valencia, 1517." This very suspicious entry was copied by Pascual de Gayangos: *Libros de Caballerias*, 1857, p. lxxvii, and by Bartolomé José Gallardo: *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española*, 1863–89, No. 1054, both of whom wrongly give the date as 1527. Later writers always quote Gayangos or Gallardo.

An edition of Fernando Bernal's romance *Floriseo* is recorded as having been printed at Valencia in 1517. Moratin's *Polisman Florisio* must have arisen from a confused note of this edition.

There is, however, an Italian *Polisman*, first published in 1573[1], which professes to be "nouamente tradotta di lingua Spagnola in Italiana, Da m. Giouanni Miranda." The concatenation of the names Polisman and Ascot in this story suggest an English origin; but Ascot is the name of a person and not a place. The fact that the translator's name is given as Miranda, and that there figures in the story "un capitano onorato, che hauea nome Miranda amicissimo di Polisman[2]," seems to indicate that the romance was written by Miranda in Italian[3]. The statement that it was translated from the Spanish may well be a pretence such as we have met with elsewhere, and may have given rise to the confused rumour of a Spanish edition.

The remaining romances of this group may be dismissed briefly. The four books of *Felix Magno* were apparently written in Barcelona, where they were first published in 1531[4]. Gayangos[5] suggests that this romance "should perhaps be classified amongst those of the Round Table." The scene indeed opens in London "a few years after King Arthur was lost," which in itself is reminiscent of *Amadis*, and it is not long before we meet with the Emperors of Rome and Constantinople, the Sultan and the Grand Turk, and all the other regular figures of the new romances. *Felix Magno* was closely

[1] Reprinted 1612. Untrustworthy authorities cite editions of 1572 and 1593, but these dates probably arise from misprints.

[2] Ch. XXIII.

[3] Nothing is known of a second part, devoted to Polisman's son Polidoro, promised at the end of the book.

[4] Reprinted in 1543 and 1549.

[5] *Libros de Caballerias*, 1857, p. liv.

followed by *Florambel de Lucea*, which purports to be translated from the English by Enciso, a servant of the Marquis of Astorga. All five books of this romance were published in 1532, and reprinted in 1548[1]. *Valerian de Ungria*, the only edition of which is that of 1540, was written by Dionys Clemente, a Valencian notary, and is supposed to contain historical allusions. *Cristalian de España* is of interest as being written by a woman, like the first two books of the *Palmerin* series. In the first edition of *1545* we are simply told that the story was corrected and emended from the ancient originals by "una señora natural de la noble y mas leal villa de Valladolid." In the only other edition, that of *1586* (in the colophon, *1587*), the lady's name is given as Beatriz Bernal, who in the privilege[2] is stated to have "composed" the book.

Passing to the romances which circulated only in the Peninsula, we may deal first with two small groups, all the books in which are extremely rare. The larger of the two groups begins with *Clarian de Landanis*, first published in 1518[3]. A second part, devoted to Clarian and his brother Riramon de Ganayl, was added by "maestre Alvaro," physician to the Count de Orgaz. The only existing edition is dated *1535*; but the first edition, dated 1522, is known from Ferdinand Colum-

[1] Books 1–3 of this edition are in the British Museum.

[2] This privilege shows that Beatriz Bernal died before the second edition came out, for it concedes the right to print her mother's work to "Juana Bernal de Gatos, widow, of the city of Valladolid, daughter and sole heiress of Beatriz Bernal deceased, formerly wife of the Bachiller Torres de Gatos."

[3] Reprinted in 1527 and 1542.

bus's catalogue[1]. Another second part, by Jeronimo Lopez, was published in 1550. This has hitherto passed as a reprint of the preceding; but it relates the adventures of Clarian's son, Floramante de Colonia. A third part, dated 1524, was, until recently, only known from another entry in Columbus's catalogue[2]; but a copy is now in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid. It deals with the adventures of the "Cavallero de la Triste Figura," and has been identified by Sr Rodríguez Marín[3] as the romance which suggested the title "Knight of the Rueful Countenance" given to Don Quixote by Sancho Panza after their encounter with the funeral procession[4]. A fourth and last part, concerning Lidaman de Ganayl, came out in 1528.

The second group is not so large as bibliographers would have us believe. It begins in 1516 with *Floriseo, Knight of the Desert*, by Fernando Bernal, a relative of the Beatriz Bernal who wrote *Cristalian de España*. *Floriseo* too was in Ferdinand Columbus's collection[5],

[1] No. 4120: "Libro segundo de la historia de don clarian de landanis traduzido en castellano por aluaro fisico.... Imp. en toledo a .5. de nouiẽbre de .1522. Costo en madrid seys reales y m°. por hebrero de .1525."

[2] No. 4119: "Libro terçero de la historia de don clarian de landanis en español.... Imp. en toledo a diez de Iunio de .1524. Costo enquadernado en pergameno en madrid siete rreales por março de .1525."

[3] See his article, *El Caballero de la Triste Figura y el de los Espejos*, in the *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 1915, tom. II. pp. 129–136.

[4] *Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. XIX.

[5] No. 2708: "Historia de floriseo compuesta por her^do. berñl ... Imp. ẽ valencia por di°. de gumiel anno de .1516. a .10. de mayo. costo .128. mrs ẽ m^a. del campo por Iulio de .1518." Antonio, *op. cit.*, tom. I. p. 370, records a reissue of 1517.

as well as a ballad[1] by Andres Ortiz based on the hero's love-story. A "third part" of this romance, entitled *Reymundo de Grecia*, and apparently by the same author, was published in *1524*. Attempts have been made to force other romances—for instance, the *Polisman* mentioned above, and the *Florindo* to be mentioned shortly—into a gap which they do not fit, for the simple reason that no gap exists between *Floriseo* and *Reymundo de Grecia*. Both books are so rare that there is every excuse for the erring bibliographer; but a copy of *Floriseo* is in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, and a copy of *Reymundo de Grecia* is in the British Museum. The former romance is in two parts, while the latter romance expressly states that it continues the story at the point where the second of those two parts leaves off[2].

Three romances may be grouped together as being the youthful indiscretions of writers of great repute. *Claribalte*, printed at Valencia in *1519* by the printer of the notorious *Cancionero de obras de burlas provocantes a la risa*, was the work of the famous Captain and historian

[1] No. 4084: "Romançe hecho por andrez ortis de los amores de floriseo y la reyna de bohemia en español. I. quien viese tal ventura. vos me q̄rays p̄donar. es en 4°. Costo en medina del cāpo .3. blācas a .23. de nouiēbre de .1523." This ballad is Duran: *Romancero general*, No. 287, beginning "Quien hubiese tal ventura," and ending "Que me querais perdonar."

[2] The British Museum copy is imperfect at the beginning; it opens thus: "Dicho es ya enel segūdo libro dela hystoria d'l rey Floriseo en que lugar ꝛ por la manera secreta q̄ fue engendrado ꝛ nascido Reymundo. . . . Agora dize la hystoria que siēdo Reymūdo de edad de seys años fue quitado delas amas que le hauian criado. . . ."

of the West Indies, Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes, who was destined later to become a severe critic of the romances of chivalry. In some verses at the end, addressed to the reader by Mosen Jeroni Artes, this story is described as an "obra gentil y nueua," but of course it is much indebted to its predecessors, including *Tirant lo Blanch*. *Clarimundo*, printed at Coimbra in 1522[1], professes to be translated from the Hungarian, but it was really written by the celebrated Portuguese historian of the East Indies, João de Barros[2]. Moraes, the author of *Palmerin of England*, probably knew Barros; he certainly knew *Clarimundo*, for he borrowed from it. The third romance is *Clarisel de las Flores*—it will be observed that three great minds leapt to the same commencement. *Clarisel de las Flores* was written by Jeronimo de Urrea, the translator of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, Olivier de La Marche's *Chevalier Délibéré*, and Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. Urrea's own romance is of little historical interest, for only a small portion of it has been published, and that quite recently[3]; but it has been favourably noticed by various critics, both before and after publication. The seventeenth century

[1] According to the bibliographers, *Clarimundo* was first printed in 1520. Mr W. E. Purser, in his *Palmerin of England*, 1904, Appendix XII. p. 440, shows that the reputed edition of 1520 could not possibly have existed; he also disproves the existence of an edition of 1553, and gives the complete list of editions thus: 1522, 1555, *1601*, *1742*, *1791*, 1843.

[2] Dom Francisco de Portugal: *Arte de Galanteria*, 1670, p. 96, writes: "Clarimundo en parte flores de los primeiros años del mayor hystoriador humano."

[3] By the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces, 1879, with an introduction by José María Asensio y Toledo.

historian Juan Francisco Andres de Ustarroz states, in his *Aganipe de Cisnes Aragoneses*[1], that

> Clarisel de las flores
> Contiene suavísimos amores.

And, since printing was invented, *Clarisel de las Flores* is one of the few books that have had a monograph devoted to them while still in manuscript[2].

Three other romances are known at least by name because Cervantes mentions them in *Don Quixote*. *Cirongilio de Tracia*, written by Bernardo de Vargas and published in *1545*, was one of the romances which captivated the landlord of the inn, his wife, their daughter, and Maritornes. The printer of *Cirongilio de Tracia* was certainly not of the same mind as Geronimo Fernandez, the author of *Belianis de Grecia*, concerning the poverty of the Spanish language, for when adding the colophon, he described the romance he had just printed as "newly turned into Spanish in a style so elegant that in a manner of speaking it improves on Ciceronian Latin."

What Bernardo de Vargas understood by elegance of style may be gathered from his method of conveying the impression of sunrise:

> With difficulty the rubicund father of the untutored youth Phaeton, revealing himself in the northern tropic of the lower hemisphere, advanced on swift Phlegonian chariot to clear the

[1] Quoted by Asensio in his introduction to *Clarisel de las Flores*, p. xiv.

[2] J. Borao y Clemente: *Noticia de Don Jerónimo Jiménez de Urrea y de su novela caballeresca inédita Don Clarisel de las Flores*, 1866.

golden and profulgent path of the twelfth zodiac, sending from his fourth sphere to the circumference of the immovable earth most certain harbingers of his approach[1].

Love he introduces thus:

I think indeed that you will know him by these signs; but for your better instruction, I will tell you his name. His name is Love, Love they call him to whom he is not known, known he is to those who have seen him, seen him have they who should not guard against his treason, treason thrice-blessed is his, his the glory unequalled, unequalled the torment of his displeasure, displeasure in glory abounding, abounding in whole contentment and joy, joy which cometh not without sadness, sadness ever followed by death, death the way to a new and more blessed life, life not devoid of distress, distress that has stolen my senses, senses too weak to resist him, to resist him a madness, madness to yield to his sway[2].

[1] Bk II. ch. XI. The translation may have obscured the beauties of the original, which is as follows: Con dificultad aquel rubicūdo padre del indoto mancebo Faeton, descubriendose porel tropico septentrional del baxo Emisperio, vino para abrir la aurea y profulgente via del duodecimo zodiaco, encima del carro veloz flegoneo: embiando de su quarta esfera ala circunferēcia dela inmouible tierra mensajeros muy ciertos de su venida."

[2] Bk I. ch. XXX.: "Bien creo que le conocereys por estas señas: pero para mejor informaros, vos quiero dezir su nombre. Su nombre es amor: amor le llaman los que no le conocen: conocen le los que le vieron: vieron le los que no deuieran guardar se de su trayciō; traycion bienauēturada es la suya; suya es la gloria sin par: sin par es el tormēto que da por pena; pena que en gloria redunda: redunda en entero contentamiento y plazer: plazer es que no viene sin tristeza: tristeza a quien siempre sigue la muerte: muerte q̄ es causa de nueua y mas bienauēturada vida: vida q̄ no carece de alteracion: alteracion q̄ robo mis sentidos: sentidos no bastā a resistirle: resistirle es locura: locura es darle lugar." Not content with this improvement on Ciceronian Latin, the author attempts similar improvements on Horatian Latin. Three chapters earlier he describes how the hero, having overcome the knight who

As an example of the heights to which Cicero could not attain, Love is enough.

Contemporary readers seem to have been somewhat sceptical as to the merits of the new style, for *Cirongilio de Tracia* was never reprinted, nor did the promised continuation *Crisocalo* ever appear—which the landlord, his wife, their daughter, and Maritornes no doubt lamented more than we need to do. Another of their favourites was *Felixmarte de Hircania*, written by Melchior Ortega, and printed in 1556. This romance, which is in three parts, was successful enough to be reissued in *1557*[1], and it shall be proved later that an Englishman has read it. The curate in the "diverting and important scrutiny" in Don Quixote's library, however, showed little respect for other people's appreciation, and suffi-

held in thrall the Maid of the Fountain, finds this lady "dando muy grãdes saltos y desonestos: assi que las piernas descubria por cima d'la rodilla," and singing the following song:

Es tan grande mi alegria
mi alegria tan sin par
tan sin par que yo creeria
yo creeria y aun diria
diria ser singular.
Singular y muy crescida
muy crecida tal que veo
tal que veo mas subida
mas subida no es oyda
ni ygual que la que posseo.

It is only fair to add that Vargas did not invent the figure of speech here employed. Antonio de Nebrija in his *Gramatica sobre la lengua castellana* (1492) gives the following example (sig. g 4b) from Alonso de Velasco:

Pues este vuestro amador.
Amador vuestro se da.
Dase con penas damor.
Amor que pone dolor.
Dolor que nunca se va.

and, he adds, "llama se anadiplosis que quiere dezir redobladura."

[1] In spite of this, nothing is known of "la quarta parta que se queda imprimiendo," with a mention of which the book closes.

cient disrespect for the romance itself to quote the title incorrectly:

"Señor Florismarte here?" said the curate; "then by my faith he must take up his quarters in the yard, in spite of his marvellous birth and visionary adventures, for the stiffness and dryness of his style deserve nothing else; into the yard with him and the other, mistress housekeeper."

"With all *my* heart, señor," said she, and executed the order with great delight.

"The other," to which the curate here refers, is *Olivante de Laura*[1], by Antonio de Torquemada, published at Barcelona in *1564*, one of those romances whose "lucidity of style and complicated conceits were as pearls" in the sight of Don Quixote. Of two sample passages which are said to have particularly pleased him, "the high heavens, that of your divinity divinely fortify you with the stars, render you deserving of the desert your greatness deserves," is imitated from Torquemada's romance[2]. Yet in this case too the curate was unmerciful:

"The author of that book," said the curate, "was the same that wrote *The Garden of Flowers*, and truly there is no deciding which of the two books is the more truthful, or, to put it better, the less lying; all I can say is, this one shall go into the yard for a swaggering fool."

The remaining romances are a friendless race, and we may without risk treat them as scurvily as we please. Like the great majority of our fellow creatures, they are recorded because they exist; beyond that they have little

[1] This romance also is in three parts, and ends with the promise of a fourth part, which was never published.

[2] See *Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. I. and *Olivante de Laura*, pt II. ch. xxv.

interest for anyone. *Arderique*, an early and scarce book[1], was printed in Valencia in 1517 by the printer of the *Cancionero de obras de burlas* and the already mentioned *Claribalte*. *Polindo*, published in *1526*, achieved tardy notoriety through being wrongly connected with the *Palmerin* series, as we have seen. It is devoid of merit, and the second part it promises has rightly remained unpublished. *Florindo*, by Fernando Basurto, first published at Saragossa in *1530*[2], owes something to the realism of *Tirant lo Blanch:* the degenerate hero is addicted to the evil and pestiferous practice of gaming. He is described as the "son of the Good Duke Floriseo of the Strange Venture," and hence he has been chosen to connect *Floriseo* and *Reymundo de Grecia*; but Floriseo, Knight of the Desert, is no relation whatever to the Good Duke, and, as we have already pointed out, there is no gap between these two romances. *Lidamor de Escocia*, by Juan de Cordova, printed in 1534, provokes no comment. *Philesbian de Candaria*, printed in 1542, is mentioned by Alonso Fernandez de Avellaneda in his spurious continuation of *Don Quixote*[3]. *Febo el Troyano*, by Estevan Corbera, printed at Barcelona in *1576*, has already been referred to as one of the romances liable

[1] A copy is entered in Ferdinand Columbus's catalogue, No. 4076: La historia de arderique en español. . . . Imp. en valençia a .8. de mayo de .1517. Costo en medina del cãpo. 85. mrs a .21. de nouiẽbre de .1524."

[2] F. A. Ebert, *Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexikon*, 1821–30, cites an edition of 1526, which is accepted as a Saragossa book by J. M. Sánchez in his *Bibliografía Aragonesa*; but the edition of 1530, containing a royal privilege dated 19 July 1528, has all the appearance of being the first edition.

[3] See ch. 1. where the name is printed *Don Florisbran de Candaria*.

to be confused with the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros*. *Policisne de Boecia*, by Juan de Silva y de Toledo, noteworthy as being the last of his race in Spain, appeared in *1602*, the very year in which Balthasar Gonçalves Lobato's *Clarisol de Bretanha* (the fifth and sixth parts of *Palmerin of England*) brought these romances to an end in Portugal. After 1602 no new romance was printed[1], and comparatively few were reprinted, in either country.

But our list of names is not yet complete. Two romances, *Leoneo de Ungria*, printed in 1520, and *Lucidante de Tracia*, printed in 1534, are known only from Ferdinand Columbus's catalogue[2]. Two more, the *Cavallero de la Rosa* and *Leonis de Grecia*, were in the library of the Duke of Calabria[3], to whom Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes dedicated his *Claribalte*. These once existed, some of them perhaps still exist, in print. A number of others have remained in manuscript, but they

[1] Assuming *O Valente Lucidoro*, by Emmanuel Casado Bigino, Lisbon, 1648 (mentioned by Antonio, *op. cit.*, tom. I. p. 343) to be either not a romance of chivalry or not a first edition.

[2] No. 4118: "La historia de leoneo de vngria y de vitoriano de pannonia su hijo en español. . . . Imp. en toledo a .8. de otubre de .1520. Costo enquadernado en pergameno .170. mrs en medina del cāpo. a .25. de nouiēbre de .1524."

Lucidante de Tracia does not appear to be entered in the catalogue reproduced by Mr Huntington; Gallardo, *op. cit.*, col. 907, describes it thus: "Lucidante de Tracia. Libro primero de la crónica del valeroso caballero D. Lucidante de Tracia, en español. Salamanca. 1534. Fól.—Libro de caballerías enteramente desconocido, y del cual no he hallado más noticias que el anterior título, copiado del catálogo de la B.-Col., donde ocupaba el número 15,075."

[3] See the *Inventario de los libros del Duque de Calabria*, Nos. 662, 716 (*Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 1874, tom. IV. pp. 115, 116).

go to show that the writing of chivalresque romances was a more popular craze than even the printed editions indicate. Manuscript continuations of the *Amadis* and *Palmerin* series, as well as of the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros*, have already been mentioned in the proper place. Besides these, there are three romances by Portuguese writers whose names are known. One of them, *Belindo*, by Doña Leonor Coutinho[1], if a real romance of chivalry, brings the number written by a lady up to four. The other two are *Lesmundo da Grecia*, by Tristão Gomes de Castro[2], whose Christian name seems to indicate an inherited passion for romances of chivalry, and *Dominiscaldo*, by Alvaro da Silveyra[3]. A few anonymous Spanish romances complete the list: the third book of the *Cavallero de la Luna*, perhaps related to Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes's *Claribalte*, the hero of which assumed that title, *Claridoro de España*, *Leon Flos de Tracia*, *Lidamante de Armenia*, *Marsindo*, and *Valfloran*[4].

[1] See Antonio Caetano de Sousa, *Historia genealogica da Casa Real Portugueza*, 1735–49, vol. x. p. 565: "... compoz hum livro de Cavallarias com o titulo de *D. Belindo*, que se conserva manuscrito, em diversas copias." I. F. da Silva, *Diccionario bibliographico portuguez*, 1858, etc., vol. v. pp. 178, 179, mentions such a book, on the authority of a correspondent, as existing in manuscript in Setubal.

[2] See D. Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, 1741–59, vol. III. p. 764. Antonio, followed by Gayangos, gives the title as *Clarindo de Grecia*.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. I. p. 114.

[4] For these unpublished romances see the catalogue given by Gayangos in his *Libros de Caballerias*.

CHAPTER V

THE PREVALENCE AND THE DECLINE OF THE NEW ROMANCES IN THE SPANISH PENINSULA

THE method of treating these romances in groups has somewhat obscured the extent to which they over-ran the world of letters at a time when fiction was not reproduced with the present-day rapidity. A few words will suffice to make their position clear. During the hundred years following the publication of *Amadis of Gaul*, some fifty new chivalresque romances appeared in Spain and Portugal. They were published at an average rate of almost one a year between 1508 and 1550; nine were added between 1550 and the year of the Armada; only three more came out before the publication of *Don Quixote*[1]. To form an adequate idea of

[1] The following table, which ignores one or two doubtful romances, shows how these books accumulated:

1508.	*Amadis de Gaula.*	1522.	*Clarian de Landanis II.*
1510.	*Esplandian.*	1524.	*Clarian de Landanis III.*
	Florisando.		*Reymundo de Grecia.*
1511.	*Palmerin de Oliva.*	1526.	*Lisuarte de Grecia* (*Am.* 8).
1512.	*Primaleon de Grecia.*		*Polindo.*
1514.	*Lisuarte de Grecia* (*Am.* 7).	1528.	*Lidaman de Ganayl.*
1516.	*Floriseo.*	1530.	*Amadis de Grecia.*
1517.	*Arderique.*		*Florindo.*
1518.	*Clarian de Landanis.*	1531.	*Felix Magno.*
1519.	*Claribalte.*	1532.	*Florambel de Lucea.*
1520.	*Leoneo de Ungria.*		*Florisel de Niquea.*
1521.	*Lepolemo.*	1533.	*Platir.*
1522.	*Clarimundo.*	1534.	*Lidamor de Escocia.*

the number of these books in circulation, it must further be borne in mind that most of the romances were reprinted, some of them many times, especially previous to the Armada. Moreover, along with the native romances, there circulated new translations of French romances, besides reprints of some of those already mentioned as having been published in the fifteenth century. Thus, down to a quarter of a century after the publication of *Amadis of Gaul*, there appeared in Spain the following romances of the Celtic cycle: *Tristan de Leonis*, 1501; *Tablante y Jofre*, 1513, and *La Demanda del Sancto Grial, con los maravillosos fechos de Lanzarote y de Galaz*, 1515; and of the Charlemagne cycle: *Renaldos de Montalvan*, 1523, *Historia del Emperador Carlo Magno*, 1525, *Espejo de Cavallerias* and *Morgante y Roldan*, 1533. These too were several times reprinted[1].

Besides the chivalresque romances proper, there sprang up a large number of sentimental romances in which the chivalresque element is an important accessory[2];

1534. *Lucidante de Tracia.*
1535. *Rogel de Grecia I.*
1540. *Valerian de Ungria.*
1542. *Philesbian de Candaria.*
1544? *Palmeirim de Inglaterra.*
1545. *Cirongilio de Tracia.*
Cristalian de España.
Florando de Inglaterra.
1546. *Silves de la Selva.*
1547. *Belianis de Grecia I, II.*
1550. *Floramante de Colonia.*
1551. *Rogel de Grecia II.*
1556. *Felixmarte de Hircania.*
1562. *Espejo de Principes I.*
1563. *Leandro el Bel.*
1564. *Olivante de Laura.*
1576. *Febo el Troyano.*
1579. *Belianis de Grecia III, IV.*
1581. *Espejo de Principes II.*
1587. *Duardos Segundo.*
1589. *Espejo de Principes III, IV.*
1602. *Clarisol de Bretanha.*
Policisne de Beocia.

[1] For details see Konrad Burger: *Die Drucker und Verleger in Spanien und Portugal von 1501–1536*, 1913.

[2] For these see Gayangos, *Libros de Caballerias*, pp. lxxvii–lxxxiv.

but these are beyond our present scope. So too are romances of chivalry in verse[1], as well as ballads[2] based on incidents in the romances we are considering. Again, there are religious adaptations of the romances of chivalry, of which more will be said shortly. Lastly there are plays based on the romances, which have already been mentioned in the proper place.

With such evidences of the prominent part these romances played in the literature of the time, it is not surprising to find that they had readers in all classes of society. The statesman Diego de Mendoza has already been mentioned as an admirer of *Amadis*. It was the Emperor Charles V's affection for the original *Belianis de Grecia*, we are told[3], which induced the author to write the continuation of that story. At the other end of the social scale, two Saints succumbed to the fascina-

[1] E.g. *Celidon de Iberia* (1583), by Gonzalo Gomez de Luque, and *Florando de Castilla* (1588), by Jeronimo de Huerta. See also Gayangos, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxxvi–lxxxvii.

[2] These have been mentioned in the proper place, but they may be resumed here: based on *Amadis of Gaul*, Duran, 335–337, on *Primaleon*, 288, on the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros*, 338–350, on *Floriseo*, 287. To these add *El Sueño de Feliciano de Silva*, based on *Amadis of Greece*.

[3] By Andres Fernandez in the Prologue (addressed to the Licenciado Fuenmayor) to his brother's *Tercera y quarta parte del imbencible principe dō Belianis de Grecia*, 1579:

"No podra el sentido humano algun corto ingenio contentar, sin passar por mil trauesses, tales que trayan a punto de perderse, el principal intento y estilo desta historia, quanto mas el de .V. merced que por espejo entre los mortales es tenido, pero auer agradado tanto a la Magestad de Carlos quinto Inuictissimo Emperador y señor nr̄o la primera y segūda parte, que gusto de oyrla diuersas vezes dio causa a quel Auctor que fue el Licenciado Fernandez mi hermano escriuiesse tambien tercera y quarta."

tions of the chivalresque romance. According to Francisco de Ribera[1], the devil induced St Teresa in her youth to read books of chivalry—

one of his inventions, by which he has sent many a staid and honest soul to perdition. And so she devoted herself passionately to these books, and wasted much time over them; and as she had an excellent wit, she drank in their language and style with such effect, that within a few months she and her brother Rodrigo de Cepeda composed a book of chivalry, of which a good deal could be said.

We should like to be able to judge for ourselves whether this is meant for praise or for blame; but unfortunately the book does not exist. In his unregenerate days St Ignatius was likewise tempted of the devil. His leg was broken when the French besieged and captured the city of Pamplona in 1521, and Pedro de Ribadeneira informs us[2] that

in the tyme of his recouery lying in his bed, and being accustomed to read prophane books of Chiualry, he asked for some such vayne Treatise, to passe the tyme withall, which seemed long, and tedious. They brought him two bookes, one of the Life of

[1] *Vida de Santa Teresa de Jesus*, 1863 (first published in 1590), bk 1. ch. v. pp. 46, 47: "... haciéndola leer libros de caballerías, que es una de sus invenciones, con que ha echado á perder muchas almas recogidas y honestas, porque en casas á donde no se dá entrada á mujeres perdidas y destruidoras en la castidad, hartas veces no se niega á estos libros. ... Dióse, pues, á estos libros de caballería ... con gran gusto, y gastaba en ellos mucho tiempo; y como su ingenio era tan escelente, así bebió aquel lenguaje y estilo, que dentro de pocos meses ella y su hermano Rodrigo de Cepeda compusieron un libro de caballerías ... y salió tal, que habia harto que decir de él."

[2] The story as given above was available for English readers in *The Life of B. Father Ignatius of Loyola, Authour and Founder of the Society of Iesus. Translated out of Spanish into English, by W.M. of the same Society*, 1616, ch. 1. § 5, p. 7.

Christ, and the other of the Liues of Saints, there being none of those others which he would haue had in the house.

From that hour he began to mend, physically, mentally, and spiritually; and it is perhaps a melancholy reflexion that, but for the regrettable bareness of those shelves, he might have given us, instead of the Society of Jesus, another romance of chivalry.

Midway between the extremes of Saint and Emperor we may place the numerous admirers we read of at the dinner party in the inn so dreaded by Sancho Panza[1]. When the curate remarked that

it was the books of chivalry which Don Quixote had read that had turned his brain, the landlord said, "I cannot understand how that can be, for in truth to my mind there is no better reading in the world, and I have here two or three of them, with other writings that are the very life, not only of myself but of plenty more; for when it is harvest-time, the reapers flock here on holidays, and there is always one among them who can read and who takes up one of these books, and we gather round him, thirty or more of us, and stay listening to him with a delight that makes our grey hairs grow young again. At least I can say for myself that when I hear of what furious and terrible blows the knights deliver, I am seized with the longing to do the same, and I would like to be hearing about them night and day."

... "That is true," said Maritornes, "and, faith, I relish hearing these things greatly too, for they are very pretty; especially when they describe some lady or another in the arms of her knight under the orange trees, and the duenna who is keeping watch for them half dead with envy and fright; all this I say is as good as honey."

"And you, what do you think, young lady?" said the curate turning to the landlord's daughter.

"I don't know indeed, señor," said she; "I listen too, and to

[1] *Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. XXXII.

tell the truth, though I do not understand it, I like hearing it; but it is not the blows that my father likes that I like, but the laments the knights utter when they are separated from their ladies; and indeed they sometimes make me weep with the compassion I feel for them."

"Then you would console them if it was you they wept for, young lady?" said Dorothea.

"I don't know what I'd do," said the girl; "I only know that there are some of those ladies so cruel that they call their knights tigers and lions and a thousand other foul names: and, Jesus! I don't know what sort of folk they can be, so unfeeling and heartless, that rather than bestow a glance upon a worthy man they leave him to die or go mad. I don't know what is the good of such prudery; if it is for honour's sake, why not marry them? That's all they want."

"Hush, child," said the landlady; "it seems to me thou knowest a great deal about these things, and it is not fit for girls to know or talk so much!"

"As the gentleman asked me, I could not help answering him," said the girl.

The truth, if we can believe it is the truth, is cruder and stranger than that exquisite little character-sketch. Don Quixote was not the only person who believed that "the whole pack of knights-errant were truly persons of flesh and blood, who had lived in the world[1]." The theologian Melchor Cano tells us[2] that in his day there

[1] *Don Quixote*, pt II. ch. I.

[2] *De locis theologicis libri duodecim*, 1564, bk XI. p. 656: "Nam & ætas nostra sacerdotem vidit, cui persuasissimum esset, nihil omnino esse falsum, quod semel typis fuisset excusum. Non enim, vt aiebat, tantum facinus Reipub. administros commissuros, vt non solùm inuulgari mendacia sinerent, sed suo etiam communirent priuilegio: quò illa tutiùs mentes mortalium peruagarentur. Quo sanè argumento permotus animum induxit credere, ab Amadiso & Clariano res eas verè gestas, quæ in illorum libris commentitijs referuntur."

lived a priest who was firmly convinced that nothing was false which had once got into print[1]; "for," as he used to say, "our rulers would not commit so great a crime as not merely to allow lies to be spread abroad, but to bolster them up with their privilege as well[2]." And so he persuaded himself that Amadis and Clarian really performed all the things that are told of them in their lying chronicles. After this, there is little difficulty in accepting the extravagant stories that have been told of certain admirers of *Amadis* and *Palmerin*.

Whether true or not, these stories are an evidence that the romances enjoyed widespread popularity, which was not without some justification. Not all, if most, of the romances were entirely bad, nor were they all composed by writers of small repute; and at least two other contemporary Spanish men of letters of the highest rank must be added to the list of those who have expressed approval of the romances, including some which are now generally condemned. Juan de Valdes,

[1] Like Mopsa, in *The Winter's Tale*, Act IV. Sc. iv. ll. 263, 264: "I love a ballad in print o' life, for then we are sure they are true."

[2] Compare *Don Quixote*, pt I. ch. L.: "'A good joke, that!' returned Don Quixote. 'Books that have been printed with the king's licence, and with the approbation of those to whom they have been submitted, and read with universal delight, and extolled by great and small, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, gentle and simple, in a word by people of every sort, of whatever rank and condition they may be—that these should be lies!'"

In this connexion may be mentioned Mr A W. Reed's discovery that the words "ad imprimendum solum" in the sixteenth century printer's phrase "Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum" are an addition made by Henry VIII himself in a Proclamation of 1528, in order to correct the common misunderstanding that the phrase implied official approbation, whereas it merely recorded the grant of a printing monopoly.

a sensitive critic and a Humanist, gives us indeed in his *Dialogo de la Lengua* a lengthy and detailed criticism of *Amadis*, after the fashion of the Canon of Toledo, in the course of which he confesses that he spent the best ten years of his life devouring these lying tales. So far he reminds us of the Chancellor Lopez de Ayala; he ends however by thus correcting the bad impression he has created:

but remember that although I have said this of *Amadis*, I also say that it has many and very good points, and that it is well worth reading by those who would learn the language; but you must understand that you are not to hold as good and to imitate all that you find in it[1].

And then, after mentioning the diverse styles which are to be found in the *Cronica de Juan el Segundo*, he adds: "but in my opinion it may be read, from the point of view of the language, after *Amadis of Gaul*, *Palmerin* and *Primaleon*"—that is, the much-abused *Palmerin de Oliva* and *Primaleon* its sequel. Lope de Vega, in the dedication prefixed to his *El Desconfiado*[2], remarks that

[1] *Dialogo de la Lengua* (*c.* 1535; first published in 1737), 1895 (*Romanische Studien*, herausgegeben von E. Boehmer, Bd VI.), p. 414: "Y vosotros, señores, pensad que, aunque he dicho esto de Amadis, tambien digo tiene muchas y muy buenas cosas y que es muy dino de ser leido de los que quieren aprender la lengua, pero entended que no todo lo que en el hallaredes lo aveis de tener y usar por bueno. . . ." ". . . pero, a mi ver, se puede leer para lo que pertenece a la lengua despues de Amadis de Gaula, Palmerin y Primaleon." Cf. the pages immediately preceding, and also pp. 342–344.

[2] *Trezena parte de las Comedias*, Madrid, 1620, fol. 106: "Riense muchos de los libros de Cauallerias . . . y tienen razon, si los consideran por la esterior superficie . . . pero penetrando los coraçones de aquella corteza, se hallan todas las partes de la Filosofia, es a saber, natural,

many people laugh at the books of chivalry, and rightly if they regard them superficially . . . but if they penetrate into the heart of the matter, all the branches of philosophy—natural, rational and moral—are there. The most usual act of a knight-errant, such as Amadis, the Knight of the Sun, Esplandian and others, is to defend some woman out of knightly duty.

This appreciation of what is good in the romances of chivalry was perhaps responsible for Lope de Vega's famous statement, "no one is so foolish as to praise *Don Quixote*," written privately[1] before that work appeared.

But expressions of approval are hopelessly outnumbered by adverse criticisms. Alonso Lopez Pinciano, our authority for the story of the wedding-guest who fainted on reading the report of Amadis's death, seriously quotes the general commotion caused by that incident as illustrating the dangerous nature of the romances of chivalry. In another place[2] he says that although some of them, such as *Amadis of Gaul*, *Amadis*

racional, y moral. La mas comun accion de los Caualleros andantes, como Amadis, el Febo, Esplandian, y otros, es defender qualquiera dama, por obligacion de Caualleria."

Lope de Vega is less happy in another passage (the dedication prefixed to his novel *Las Fortunas de Diana*), where he speaks of the romances of chivalry: "Fueron en esto los Españoles ingeniosissimos, porque en la inuencion ninguna Nacion del mundo les ha hecho ventaja, como se vee en tantos Esplandianes, Febos, Palmerines, Lisuartes, Florambelos, Esferamundos, y el celebrado Amadis padre de toda esta maquina, que compuso vna dama Portuguesa." (*Nouelas amorosas de los meiores ingenios de España*, 1648, p. 2).

[1] In a letter dated 14 August, 1604, for which see Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera: *Nueva Biografía de Lope de Vega* (*Obras*, tom. 1.), 1890, pp. 121, 122.

[2] *Philosophia antigua poetica*, 1596, pp. 468, 469; after mentioning the *libros de caballerías*, he goes on: " los quales aunque son graues, en quanto a las personas, no lo son en las demas cosas requisitas; no hablo

of Greece, and a few others, have much good in them, the rest have "neither verisimilitude, nor learning, nor even a noble style"; hence a friend of his called them "souls without a body," and their readers and authors "bodies without a soul." Graver writers of every class condemn the romances without any exception or reservation, and the severity of their language shows how serious a pest these tales had become. As early as 1535 Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes, in *La Historia general de las Indias*[1], reminds his readers that he is "not telling them nonsense like the lying books of *Amadis* and those which depend on them"—and it must be remembered that one of these was his own *Claribalte*, published sixteen years earlier. In *Las Quinquagenas de la Nobleza de España*[2], the first volume of which has only

de vn Amadis de Gaula, ni aun del de Grecia, y otros pocos: los quales tienen mucho de bueno; sino de los demas, que ni tienen verisimilitud, ni doctrina, ni aun estilo graue: y por esto las dezia vn amigo mio, almas sin cuerpo (por que tiene la fabula, que es la anima de la Poetica, y carece del metro) y a los lectores y autores dellas cuerpo sin alma."

[1] Bk VI. ch. VIII., original edition, fol. lxiii, verso: in a discourse on metals and mines the author pauses to apologise for talking so much of gold: "Mas los hombres sabios ꝛ naturales atenderan a esta lecion, no con otra mayor cobdicia ꝛ desseo que por saber ꝛ oyr las obras de natura: ꝛ assi con mas desocupacion del entendimiento auran por bien de oyrme (pues no cuento los disparates delos libros mentirosos de amadis ni los que dellos dependen)."

[2] Published by the Real Academia de la Historia, 1880, p. 481, Estança, XLIIII.: "Razon muy grande es, sancto y prouechoso, de mucha vtilidad, y nesçessario seria dexar de leer esos libros de Amadis: y que essos e ni otros semejantes no se vendiesen, ni los ouiese, porque es vna de las cosas con quél diablo enbauca, e enbelesa y entretiene los neçios, y los aparta de las leçiones honestas y de buen exemplo. . . . Gran culpa, grande error, gran çeguedad e desatino es leer cosas sin prouecho, e mentiras de que ningun bien se puede seguir, y mucho mal puede proçeder."

recently been published, he writes that it would be as advantageous as it is necessary that people should cease to read these books of *Amadis*; and that neither they nor others like them should be sold, or even exist, for they are one of the means by which the devil deceives and ensnares and entertains fools, and draws them away from honest and profitable reading[1].

Similar sentiments are expressed by another historian, Pedro Mexia, who in his *Historia Imperial y*

[1] A similar recantation has been attributed (cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. cclxxvii) to the "Portuguese Livy," João de Barros, author of the romance *Clarimundo* (1522); but this is due to the fact that the historian has been wrongly identified with a contemporary Doctor João de Barros, author of the *Espelho de Casados* (1540). This latter work contains the following criticism of the romances of chivalry (fol. 4 of the Introduction):

"Quãdo os mãcebos comẽçã a ter ẽtẽdimẽto do mũdo gastã o tẽpo ẽ liuros muy desnecesareo (*sic*) ꝛ pouco proueitosos ꝑa si nẽ ꝑa outrẽ. asi como na fabullosa historia d'amadis. nas patranhas do sãto grial. nas sẽsaborias de palmerim. ꝛ ꝑmaleõ. ꝛ florisẽdo. ꝛ outros asi. q̃ hauiã mester. totalmẽte exterminados q̃ jaa de nhũa cousa seruẽ. õde ha tãtos outros de q̃ se pode tirar ꝑueito. asi como de sãto Agustinho ꝛ d' sã Jeronimo ꝛ d' Seneca. ꝛ ꝑ passar tẽpo em mores façanhas q̃ as d' Esplãdiã. leã a Liuio Valerio Curcio Suetonio. Eutropio. ꝛ out'os muitos historiadores õde se acharõ mayores façanhas ꝑueitosas ꝑa os q̃ desejã saber ꝛ aĩda auisos ꝛ muy necesarias doutrinas."

On the other hand, there exists a similar work, entitled *Carta de Guia de Casados*, actually written by another famous Portuguese historian, Dom Francisco Manuel de Mello, and containing an unflattering reference to the romances (edition of Edgar Prestage, 1916, pp. 98, 99): "Juro a V.M. que toda a vida me enfadárão as damas dos livros de cavalerias, porque sempre as achava acompanhadas de cachorros, de leões, e de anãos. Tão inimigo sou destas taes sevandilhas que nem em livros mentirosos as soffro; veja V.M. que será nas cousas verdadeiras?"

Cesarea[1] claims, as a reward for his labour in the compilation,

that attention which some give to the lying tales of *Amadis*, the *Lisuartes*, the *Clarians*, and other monsters, which with good cause should be banished from Spain, as contagious and harmful to the State, since they cause both authors and readers to waste their time. And what is worse, they afford very bad examples, and very dangerous for morals. Leastwise they are a pattern of immorality, cruelty, and lying, and the more attentively a man reads them, the greater an adept in these vices will he become. And at least the author of such a work should never be believed, for I think it difficult for a man to tell the truth who has written

[1] Edition of Seville, 1547 (Constantine the Great, ch. 1.), fol. cxlii verso: "... Y en pago de quãto yo trabaje enlo recoger y abreuiar, pido agora esta atencion y auiso, pues lo suelen prestar algunos, a las trufas y mentiras d' Amadis, y d' Lisuartes, y Clarianes, y otros portentes: q̄ con tanta razon deuriã ser desterrados d' España: como cosa cõtagiosa y dañosa ala republica, pues tan mal hazẽ gastar el tiẽpo alos auctores y lectores de ellos. Y lo q̄ es peor, que dan muy malos exemplos, ꝛ muy peligrosos para las costumbres. Alomenos sõ vn dechado d' deshonestidades, crueldades, y mẽtiras, y segũ se leen cõ tanta atencion, de creer es q̄ saldran grandes maestros de ellas. Alomenos al auctor de semejãte obra no se le deue dar credito alguno, y tengo por dificultoso, q̄ sepa dezir verdad, quien vn libro tã grande aya hecho de mentiras, despues dela offensa q̄ ha hecho a Dios, en gastar su tiẽpo y cansar su ingenio enlas inuentar, y hazer las leer a todos: y aun creer a muchos. Porque tales hõbres ay que piensan que passaron assi, como las leen ꝛ oyen, siendo como son las mas d' ellas cosas males prophanas y desonestas. Abuso es muy grande y dañoso, que entre otros incõuiniẽtes, se sigue de grande ignominia y afrẽta alas chronicas ꝛ hystorias verdaderas, permitir que anden cosas tan nefandas, a lapar con ellas. he q̄rido fazer aqui esta breue digressiõ, en̄ste proposito, porque desseo muy mucho el remedio d' ello, y si pẽsasse que lo auia d' ver, hablara muy mas largo, que cãpo y materia auia bastante para ello."

This digression is omitted from the English translation made by W. Traheron, published at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

a book so full of lies, after the offence he has committed against God, in wasting his time and wearying his brains by inventing them, and making everybody read them, and many believe them.

For he assures us that there are people—like the priest mentioned by Melchor Cano—who believe that all they read happened as stated; and he complains that it is a grave abuse to allow such shameful stories to circulate alongside the chronicles and true histories, to the latters' great detriment and discredit. In language so similar that it appears to be a reminiscence of Mexia's protest, Alonso de Ulloa, the historian of the wars in Italy and Flanders, abuses the lying stories of Amadis, Palmerin, Esplandian, Primaleon, Don Clarian, and other books of the kind[1]. Diego Gracian, the translator of Plutarch and Xenophon, thought like Mexia concerning the harm these romances did to serious works. In the prologue to his *Morales de Plutarco*[2], after mentioning Mexia's

[1] *Comentarios de la guerra contra Guillermo Principe de Oranges*, 1569, fol. 65 verso: "... Portanto rogamos al lector nos oya cō atencion, y que no le sea enojoso este tractado, pues muchas uezes y sin sacar ningun fructo se contenta de oyr attentamente las fabulas, y trufas de Amadis, de Palmerin, de Esplādian, de Primaleon, de don Clarian y de otros libros semejantes, que no enseñan sino uicios, y malas costumbres, y que por esto como cosa contajosa deurian ser desterrados de la Republica por el beneficio comun."

[2] Edition of 1548, sig. bb 3 recto: "... Y como oymos dezir a menudo en esta corte a muchas personas illustres, prudentes y religiosos de autoridad y grauedad: Torpe cosa es auiendo en nuestra españa historias verdaderas y hazañas famosas y hechos señalados de varones esforçados y valerosos, assi antiguas como modernas, mas que en ninguna otra nacion del mundo, dexar de celebrar y diuulgar estos de que tenemos tanta materia de escreuir tan a la mano ... por componer patrañas y mentiras en numero infinito que no siruen de otra cosa sino de passar el tiempo, o por mejor dezir perderle, sin ningun fruto de la religion, ni prouecho de las costumbres, porque como dizen las malas

useful historical labours, he remarks that he has often heard many grave and reverend seniors complaining how disgraceful it is that while Spain has true histories and famous deeds of valorous heroes, both ancient and modern, "more than any other nation in the world," people should neglect them to write lying fables "in infinite numbers," of which he quotes by name Tristan, Reynaldos, Florisando, Primaleon, Palmerin, and Duardos, "and a hundred thousand others like them, teeming with lies." In the prologue to his translation of Xenophon[1], comparing himself with the lame Spartan

hablas corrompen las costumbres. Assi que en lugar de Tristanes, Reynaldos, Florisandos, Primaleones, Palmerines y Duardos, y otros cien mil tales que hinchen los papeles de mentiras, donde muchas personas muy a menudo gastan sus buenas horas, por medio desta traslacion, tomaran vn passatiempo no menos prouechoso que deleytable y honesto, los que quisieren gozarlo, en conoscer quiē fueron Emperadores, Reyes, Principes, y esforçados capitanes, y otros varones y mugeres illustres dignos de memoria."

[1] Edition of 1552, sig. ✠ 6 verso–7 recto: ". . . Pero bien assi como aquel Lacedemonio que yua coxo a la guerra, siendo preguntado, que pensaua hazer? respondio. Ya que no haga otra cosa embotare la espada del enemigo que me matare: assi yo por el consiguiente podre responder, que ya que no haga otro prouecho alomenos embotare con la licion desta obra a los lectores Españoles el gusto del entendimiento para leer los libros de mentiras y patrañas, que llaman de cauallerias, de que ay mas abundancia en nuestra España que en ningunos otros reynos, auiendo de auer menos: pues no siruen de otra cosa, sino de perder el tiempo y desautorizar los otros buenos libros verdaderos de buena doctrina y prouecho. Porque las patrañas disformes y desconcertadas que en estos libros de mentiras se leen, derogan el credito a las verdaderas hazañas que se leen en las historias de verdad. Aun que ya se van apocando estos tales libros por el edito de los señores del consejo, que so graues penas prohiben que no no (*sic*) se impriman otros libros sino catholicos y buenos, y prouechosos a las buenas costumbres: y

who went to the wars hoping at least to blunt the sword of the foeman who slew him, Gracian—in this respect a forerunner of Cervantes—hoped, by providing his contemporaries with the Greek historian in the vernacular, to blunt their keenness for the books of chivalry,

of which there is greater abundance in this Spain of ours than in any other kingdom, whereas there should be less, for they serve no other purpose than to waste time and to discredit other books which are true and of good doctrine and utility.

The scholar and educationalist Juan Luis Vives, sometime resident in England as tutor both at Oxford and in the royal household, more than once attacked

estos primeramẽte examinados por tales. Pero mas presto se acabarian, si como sabemos que se hizo en tiempo del Papa Nicolao Quinto en Italia, se hiziesse assi agora en España. Los varones doctos de aquel tiempo se repartieron entre si los libros Griegos, que auia buenos para los traduzir en latin, o en vulgar Italiano, tomando cada qual el suyo: y aun agora tambien lo hazen. Y assi deurian hazer agora los doctos en España: donde por la bondad de Dios florece el culto diuino y la religion Christiana sin macula de secta mala, y las armas mas que en otro ningũ reyno: y las letras mucho mas que en los tiempos passados. Pues ay tanto numero de personas doctas, cada qual en su profession: y pues ay tãtos buenos autores en Griego y en Latin, que podrian traduzirse en vulgar Castellano, de los quales assi como de mar, o rio caudal podrian sacar razones de mucha, y varia doctrina. Y no andarian los nuestros tan embeuidos en estos libros desuariados de patrañas fingidas: de los quales bien assi como de charcos y lagunas de ranacuajos y ranas, no se puede sacar otra doctrina de prouecho, sino mentiras de mentiras, que todas significã lo mismo: y al fin todas suenan vnas mismas bozes y mentiras, ni mas ni menos que aquellas ranas de las lagunas de Platon, que induze el Poeta Aristophanes en su comedia, no hazian sino cantar y repitir siempre vna misma cancion, coax, coax, coax, bebebex, bebebex, bebebex. El qual exercicio, assi el de leerlos, como el de escreuirlos es indigno y muy ageno de hombres graues y cuerdos.

this literature which was so contrary to his aims and ideals. In his *De officio mariti* (1529), which appeared in English about the year 1550, he describes the romances as

written and made by suche as were ydle & knew nothinge. These bokes do hurt both man & woman, for they make them wylye & craftye, they kyndle and styr vp couetousnes, inflame angre, & all beastly and filthy desyre[1].

And he deals with them in similar terms, but at greater length, in his *De disciplinis* (1531)[2]. But his chief assault is delivered in his *De institutione fœminæ Christianæ* (1524), which also appeared in English about the year 1540. The following passage is quoted from the English translation[3], in which some slight and interesting addition has been made to the original:

[1] Thomas Paynell's translation, *The office and duetie of an husband*, *c.* 1550, ch. IV. sig. O 7 verso.

[2] *De disciplinis* (*De corruptis artibus*, bk II. conclusion), 1612, p. 92: "Si vernaculis scribunt linguis, vnus est totius orationis color fuscus, & dilutus, vnus habitus, sine sale, sine vlla gratia & cultu, tenere vt lectorem dimidium horæ vix possit. Idcirco nec eos, nisi homo curiosus, legit, & cognoscendi temporum cupidus. Qui vero relegant, non inueniunt, vt satius ducant libros legere apertè mendaces, & meris nugis refertos, propter aliquod stili lenocinium, vt Amadisum, & Florisandum Hispanos, Lancilotum, & mensam rotundam Gallicam, Rolandum Italicum: qui libri ab hominibus sunt otiosis confícti, pleni eo mendaciorum genere, quod nec ad sciendum quicquam conferat, nec ad bene vel sentiendum de rebus, vel viuendum, tantum ad inanem quandam, & præsentem titillationem voluptatis: quos legunt tamen homines corruptis ingeniis ab otio, atque indulgentia quadam sui: non aliter quàm delicati quidam stomachi, & quibus plurimum est indultum saccareis modo, & melleis quibusdam condituris sustentantur, cibum omnem solidum respuentes."

[3] Richard Hyrde's translation, *The Instruction of a Christian Woman*, *c.* 1540, sig. E 4 recto–F 1 recto.

What a custome is this, that a songe shall nat be regarded, but hit be ful of fylthynes? And this the lawes ought to take hede of: and of those vngracious bokes, suche as be ī my coūtre ī Spayn Amadise, Florisande, Tirante, Tristane, and Celestina ye baude mother of noughtynes. In Frāce Lancilot du Lake, Paris and Vienna, Ponthus and Sidonia, ꝛ Melucyne. In Flāders, Flori and Whit flowre, Leonel and Canamour, Curias and Floret, Pyramus and Thysbe. In Englande, Parthenope, Genarides, Hippomadon, William and Melyour, Libius and Arthur, Guye, Beuis, and many other. And some translated out of latine in to vulgare speches, as ye vnsauery cōceytes of Pogius, and of Aeneas Siluius, Eurialus and Lucretia: whiche bokes but idell menne wrote vnlerned, and sette all vpon fylthe and vitiousnes: in whom I woūder what shulde delite mē but yt vice pleaseth them so moche: As for lernyng none is to be loked for in those men, whiche sawe neuer so moche as a shadowe of lernȳg them selfe. And whā they tell ought, what delyte can be ī those thȳges, yt be so playne ꝛ folysshe lyes? One kylleth .xx. hym selfe alone, an other .xxx. an other wounded with .C. woundes, and lefte deed, riseth vp agayne, and on ye next day made hole ꝛ strōge, ouer cometh .ij. gyantes: and than goth away loden with golde, and syluer, and precious stones, mo than a galy wold cary away. What a madnes is hit of folkes, to haue pleasure in these bokes? Also there is no wytte in them, but a fewe wordes of wanton luste: whiche be spoken to moue her mynde with, whom they loue, if it chaunce she be stedfast. And if they be redde but for this, the best were to make bokes of baudes craftes: for ī other thynges, what crafte can be hadde of suche a maker, that is ignorant of all good crafte? Nor I neuer harde man say, that he lyked these bokes: but those that neuer touched good bokes. And I my selfe some tyme haue redde in them, but I neuer foūd in them one steppe either of goodnes or wyt. And as for those yt preyse them, as I knowe some that do, I wyll beleue them, if they preyse them after that they haue redde Cicero and Senec, or saynt Hieronyme, or holy scripture: and haue mēded theyr lyuynge better. For often tymes ye onely

cause why they preyse them is, by cause they se in them theyr owne cōditions, as in a glasse. Finally, though they were neuer so wytty and pleasāt, yet wold I haue no pleasure infected with poysō: nor haue no woman quickened vnto vice. And verely they be but folisshe husbādes and mad, that suffre their wiues to waxe more vngratiously subtyle by redyng of such bokes.

In his *Introductio ad sapientiam*, first published in 1524, Vives has a section discountenancing the reading of bad literature, in which however he does not refer specifically to the chivalresque romances: but the omission is rectified by Francisco Cervantes de Salazar[1], who

[1] *Obras q̄ Francisco Ceruantes de Salazar, a hecho, glosado, y traduzido.... La tercera es la introducion y camino para la sabiduria... compuesto* (sic) *en latin por...Luys viues, buelta en Castellano, con muchas adiciones...por Francisco Ceruantes de Salazar*, 1546, pt III. fol. xiii verso–xiv recto ("Adicion" to the section of the original entitled "No se han de leer libros malos, ni viciosos"):

"Enesto se auia mas de cargar la mano, y es enlo que mas nos descuydamos: porque tras el sabroso hablar delos libros de cauallerias beuemos mill vicios como sabrosa ponçoña, porque de alli viene el aborrecer los libros sanctos, y contēplatiuos, y el dessear verse en actos feos: quales son los que aquellos libros tratan ansi que con el falso gusto delos mentirosos, perdemos el que tendriamos (sino los ouiesse) enlos verdaderos y sanctos: enlos quales: si estuuiessemos destetados dela mala pōçoña delos otros hallariamos grā gusto, para el entendimiento y grā fruto para el anima: guarda el padre a su hija, como dizen tras siete paredes, para que quitada la ocasiō de hablar con los hombres: sea mas buena, y dexanla vn amadis enlas manos, donde deprende mill maldades, y dessea peores cosas, que quiça en toda la vidá: aunque tratara con los hombres pudiera saber, ni dessear, ꝛ vase tanto tras el gusto de aquello, q̄ no querria hazer otra cosa, ocupando teliempo (*sic*) q̄ auia de gastar en ser laboriosa y sierua de dios, no se acuerda de rezar ni d' otra virtud: desseando ser, otra Oriana como alli, ꝛ verse seruida de otro Amadis, tras este desseo viene luego procurarlo, delo qual estuuiera bien descuydada: sino tuuiera donde lo deprendiera, enlo mesmo corren tambien lanças parejas los moços, los quales con los auisos de tan

translated the work into Spanish, supplying additional matter of his own. In the "adiciones" to this section, after criticisms in the style and very much in the words of Vives himself, he complains that a father keeps his daughter, as the saying goes,

behind seven walls, in order that, deprived of the opportunity of conversing with men, she may be a better woman; yet he leaves in her hands an *Amadis*, from which she learns a thousand depravities, and forms worse desires, which otherwise would probably never have entered her head even if she had enjoyed the society of men. And she is so taken with all she reads that she can think of nothing else, wasting the time she should have spent over her duties and devotions, longing to be just such another Oriana, courted by another Amadis; and having conceived this longing she soon attempts to gratify it. Young men are just the same, for with their natural desires inflamed by evil reading, their one thought is how to dishonour maidens and to shame matrons. All of which is the result of reading these books; and would to God that, for the good of our souls, those who have it in their power would prohibit them.

A little further on[1] he says there were then more good

malos libros, encendidos con el desseo natural, no tratan sino como desonrraran la donzella, y afrentaran la casada, de todo esto son causa estos libros, los quales plega a dios por el bien de nuestras almas: vieden los que para ello tienē poder."

[1] *Ibid.* fol. xiv verso–xv recto:

"Porque antes me condoli del mal que se dissimula en dexar leer al pueblo libros de cauallerias: dire aqui sola vna cosa pues viene aproposito: y es que tenemos oy dia mayor copia de libros castellanos q̄ nunca han sido compuestos de nueuo, como traduzidos de latin y griego: tā sabrosos por su buē dezir al gusto del que los leyesse; y tā prouechosos al que se quisiesse aprouechar dellos, q̄ visto lo que passa delos de cauallerias es mas que ceguedad la nuestra: y que ciertō el demonio grangea con ellos muchas animas, pues empleandose en estos los hōbres no leen donde con sabor deprenderian costumbres buenas, y

books than ever in Spain, both original and translated from the Latin or Greek, and he laments the blind passion for the books of chivalry; for certainly the devil wins many souls by their means, since while men devote themselves to such books, they do not read those in which they will find moral and practical teaching, a fit preparation for the sacred books which particularly treat of our salvation.

Another echo of Vives is to be found in Alexo Vanegas de Busto's *Tractado de orthographia y accentos en las tres lenguas principales* (1531), in one chapter of which[1] the author discusses the choice of books. Referring to the strictures on the romances of chivalry quoted above from the *De institutione fœminæ Christianæ*, he remarks that Vives "would not have written from Louvain such abuse of our native books, if he had thought that moral corruption could in any way be tolerated." In some prefatory remarks included in the works of Francisco Cervantes de Salazar[2], Vanegas de Busto has a variant

sabrian auisos para passar la vida, y lo que mas es: que de aqui vendrian luego como mas sabiamente enseñados a leer los sagrados que particularmente tratan de nuestra saluacion."

[1] Pt II. ch. III., "dela election del libro," sig. e 1 verso–e 2 recto: "... no nos embiaria a dezir dēde Lobayna Ludouico Viues tāto mal de nr̄os libros vulgares: si viera el q̄ en algūa manera se podia soportar corruptiō de costūbres. y por esso allēde d'los Amadises: y los Tirātes con toda su classe, cō mucha razō difunde su satyrica saña enla lena d' scelestina. q̄ en mi verdad no ay marcial q̄ tāto mal haga en latin: q̄nto esta Flora patēte desflora la juuētud en romāce."

[2] *Prologo* to the *Appologo de la ociosidad y el trabajo, intitulado Labricio Portundo ... compuesto por el Protonotario Luys Mexia, glosado y moralizado por Francisco Ceruantes de Salazar* (in *Obras q̄ Francisco Ceruantes de Salazar, a hecho, glosado, y traduzido*), 1546, sig. a 7 recto:

of that writer's criticism of the romances which has been quoted just above. Writing presumably in 1546—the year in which the *Amadis* series reached its twelfth book in Spain—he notes already a certain decline in the popularity[1] of the romances, which he describes as books of poisonous vanities, that with greater truth might be called "sermonarios de Sathanas," than "blasones de cauallerias"; for we see that the father forbids his daughter to receive the old go-between with her messages, while on the other hand he is foolish enough

"Es tanto y tan continuado el desseo que tengo de aprouechar a mis naturales, pio y benigno lector, que en quanto en mi es, y alcãço, no dexo passar occasion, de quien piense sacar algũ fructo. Y porq̃ la presente oportunidad es rayz de mucho aprouechamiento, acorde dar vna breue relacion delas obras presentes, viendo que con semejantes trabajos salen ya poco a poco de entre las manos delos pios lectores los libros q̃ enel principio de su obra mayor llama Apuleyo libros Milesios, que son los libros de vanidades eneruoladas, que con mayor verdad se diriã sermonarios de Sathanas, que blasones de cauallerias; porque vemos que veda el padre ala hija, que no le vẽga y le vaya la vieja con sus mensajes, y por otra parte es tã mal recatado, que no le veda, que leyendo Amadises, y Esplandianes con todos los de su vando, le este predicando el diablo a sus solas, q̃ alli aprende las celadas delas ponçoñas secretas, de mas del habito que haze en pensamiẽtos de sensualidad, que assi la hazen saltar de su quietud, como el fuego ala poluora."

[1] Luis de Guzman, in dedicating his *Historia de las Missiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus* (1601) to Ana Felix de Guzman, Marquesa de Caramasa, throws an interesting side-light on the decline of the romances at a later date in the court circle of Philip II's French Queen († 1568). He begins: "La aficion que V. S. tiene à leer libros Sanctos y deuotos, Historias Ecclesiasticas, y verdaderas, fue conocida, desde el tiempo, que en sus tiernos Años, comẽço a seruir a la Reyna doña Ysabel nuestra señora, que esta en el Cielo: mouiendo V. S. con su exemplo, a otras Damas compañeras suyas, a que dexados los libros de Cauallerias, prófanos, y fabulosos, tomassen los de Deuociõ, Sanctidad y Verdad, como de hecho lo hizierõ. . . ."

to allow the devil to corrupt her privately by means of these *Amadises*, *Esplandians*, and all the rest of their tribe, from which she learns, among other things, those habits of sensual thought that are as fatal to her repose as setting a match to gunpowder. The epithet "sermonarios de Sathanas" pleased Vanegas de Busto, for he uses a similar phrase in another place[1], where he speaks of these "vicious books of chivalry," of no use except as "sermonarios del diablo," with which to ensnare tender maidens.

Half a century later we see Juan Sanchez Valdes de la Plata, his finger on Vanegas de Busto's page, diligently copying that writer's attractive phrases into the preface of his *Coronica y Historia general del Hombre* (1598). Of all the reasons which induced him to compose that moral treatise, he tells us the fourth[2] was that

[1] "Exposicion de la Obra" prefixed to Agustin de Almazan's translation (*El Momo*, 1553) of Leon Battista Alberti's *Momus* (towards the end of his "Conclusion segunda"), sig. a 7 verso: "... En esta differencia de fabulas escriuio Apuleyo su Asno dorado, y en nr̃os tiempos con detrimento de las donzellas recogidas se escriuen los libros desaforados de cauallerias, que no siruen si no de ser vnos sermonarios del diablo, con que en los rincones caça los animos tiernos de las donzellas."

[2] In the *Prologo*, sig. ¶ 2 recto: "La quarta razon es, por que viendo yo, benignissimo, y discreto lector, que los mancebos, y donzellas, y aun los varones ya en edad, y estado, gastan su tiempo en leer libros de vanidades enerboladas, que con mayor verdad se dirian sermonarios de Satanas, y blasones de cauallerias de Amadises, y Esplandianes, con todos los de su vando, de los quales no sacan otro prouecho, ni otra dotrina, sino hazer habito en sus pensamientos de mentiras, y vanidades, que es lo que mucho el diablo siempre codicia, para que con estas ponçoñas secretas, y sabrosas, las aparte del camino verdadero de Iesu Christo nuestro Redentor."

he saw how young men and maidens, and even men of years and position, wasted their time in reading books of poisonous vanities, which might with greater truth be called "sermonarios de Satanas," and "blasones de cauallerias"—*Amadises*, *Esplandians*, and all the rest of their tribe—from which they derive no other profit or instruction than to accustom their minds to lying and vanities, which is ever the devil's exceeding great desire, that he may with these secret, savoury poisons draw them away from the true path of Christ our redeemer.

Religious writers were naturally not less outspoken than these moralists in their censure of the chivalresque romances, and their individual efforts atone for the way in which the ecclesiastical authorities passed over in silence the growing pest. The Inquisition concerned itself with matters affecting faith and dogma, and it is curious that whereas not one of the chivalresque romances proper was prohibited, a religious romance of chivalry[1], written with the express object of driving out of the world the profane variety, was placed on the *Index Expurgatorius*. Yet there were not wanting those who urged the authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, to more effective action. Among them was Antonio de Guevara, successively Bishop of Guadix and of Mondoñedo, and a favourite with contemporary Englishmen, who loved to describe him by his official title of "Preacher, Chronicler, and Counsellor to the Emperor Charles V." In the "argument" prefixed to his *Aviso de privados y*

[1] The *Cavalleria celestial* described more fully below.

doctrina de cortesanos[1], Guevara mentions the Roman practice of banishing the writers of evil books, and he urges that Christians should follow their example, more especially as they have an abundance of good books, which the Romans had not.

"But," he exclaims, "how far does the State today fall short of that here written and advised; for we see that men are only concerned in reading books which it is an offence to name, such as *Amadis de Gaula*, *Tristan de Leonis*, *Primaleon*, *Carcel de Amor*, and *Celestina*. All of which, and many others besides, should be forbidden by law from being either printed or sold; for the lessons which they teach incite sensual natures to sin, and weaken the desire to live rightly."

Alonso de Fuentes, after telling the story quoted above of the *doliente* who knew *Palmerin de Oliva* by heart, pleads that the city authorities should prohibit such books for the bad example they set[2]. Melchor Cano,

[1] First published in Guevara's *Obras*, 1539, sig. ¶ 7 recto: "O quã desuiada esta oy la republica delo q̃ aqui escreuimos y acõsejamos: pues vemos, q̃ ya no se occupã los hõbres sino en leer libros que es affrenta nõbrarlos: como son, amadis de gaula, tristã de leonis, primaleon, carcel de amor, ya celestina: alos q̃les todos y a otros muchos cõellos se deuria mendar por justicia, q̃ no se imprimiessen, nimenos se vendiessen: porq̃ su doctrina incita la sensualidad a peccar: y relaxa el espiritu a bien biuir."

Guevara had previously expressed himself in similar terms in his *Libro del emperador Marco aurelio cõ relox de principes*, Valladolid, 1529, Prologo general, fol. VII. verso: "Compassion es de ver los dias y las noches que consumen muchos en leer libros vanos: es a saber, a amadis, a primaleon, a durarte (*sic*), a lucenda, a calixto, conla doctrina delos quales ossare dezir: que no passan tiempo: sino que pierden el tiempo: porque alli no deprendẽ como se han de apartar delos vicios: sino que primores ternan para ser mas viciosos."

[2] *Op. cit.*, fol. cxvi recto: ". . . En v'dad q̃ assi como los põtifices passados tuuierõ cuydado d'examinar y dar por apocrifos muchos libros . . . y p̃hibirlos . . . los gouernadores y prebostes d'las ciudades, auian de hazer lo mismo á libros semejãtes, por el mal exẽplo q̃ d'llos resulta."

in his *De locis theologicis* (1564)[1], appeals directly to the ecclesiastical authorities in his comments on the story of the priest who believed the romances of chivalry to be true because they were licensed by the State. What the State does, he says, is not his business to discuss; but he sorrowfully points out how detrimental it is to the Church that books should be censored for matters of faith, and not of morality. Nor is he most concerned about the *Amadises* and the *Clarians*, though they are neither learned nor helpful, not merely for living, but even for understanding life. What pains him most of all is that certain writers, with greater zeal than prudence, should counter these fabulous tales, not with true and serious histories, which would be most useful to the people, but—and here perhaps he has in mind the religious romances of chivalry—with books full of

[1] P. 657: "At verò quantum illa aduersum Reipub. administros ratio valeat, non est huius loci temporisqúe disserere. Certè hoc ego pro me ipso & animi mei sensu ac dolore pronuncio, magna ecclesię calamitate atque pernicie id solùm in libris vulgandis præcaueri, ne erroribus fidei aduersis aspersi sint, ne sint moribus exitiales non item. Nec de fabulis istis potissimum excrucior, quas modò dixi, quamuis ineruditis & nihil omnino conferentibus, non dico ad benè beateqúe viuēdum, sed ne ad rectè quidem de rebus humanis sentiendum. Quid enim conferant meræ ac vanæ nugæ ab hominibus ociosis fictæ, à corruptis ingenijs versatæ? Sed acerbissimus est dolor & vix omnino consolabilis, quod dum quidam vtinam tam prudēter quàm feruenter incommodum hoc reijcere ac deuitare cupiunt, non pro fabulis veras & graues historias edunt, id quod esset plebi vtilissimum, sed libros mysteriorū ecclesię plenos, à quibus arcendi profani erant; id quod est, mea quidem sententia, pestilentissimum: eò verò magis, quò vulgus eos libellos securius legit, quia probatos videt, non modò à ciuili magistratu, verum etiam ab ijs, qui doctrinæ censores sunt in Christi Repub. diffiniti."

religious mysteries, which are not for laymen. All this he regards as

> most pestilential; the more so as the common people read those books with greater confidence because they see that they are approved, not only by the civil powers, but also by those who have been set apart in the Christian Commonwealth to censor matters of doctrine.

Another eminent theologian, and withal a brilliant scholar, Benito Arias Montano, speaking in his *Rhetorica*[1] of fidelity to nature in literature, finds an opportunity to abuse the numerous books of knight-errantry —*Orlando*, *Esplandian*, *Amadis of Greece*, *Palmerin*, etc.—which he describes as the abortions of stupid minds, the dregs and scum of literature. Without sense of time or place, and neither credible nor pleasing, unless sensuality and brutality are an attraction, they serve no other purpose than to corrupt morals.

The Dominican Friar Luis de Granada, in his *Introduction del Symbolo de la Fe* (1582–85), more subtly and

[1] *Rhetoricorum libri IIII*, 1569, bk III. ll. 399–411, p. 64:

> "... Nam quæ per nostra frequenter
> Regna libri æduntur, veteres referentia scripta,
> Errantesqúe equites, Orlandum Splandina Græcũ,
> Palmerinũqúe duces, & cætera, monstra vocamus,
> Et stupidi ingenij partus, fæcemqúe librorum,
> Collectas sordes in labem temporis: & quæ
> Nil melius tractent, hominum quàm perdere mores.
> Temporis hic ordo nullus, non vlla locorum
> Seruatur ratio: nec si quid fortè legendo
> Vel credi possit, vel delectare, nisi ipsa
> Te turpis vitij species, & fæda voluptas
> Delectat, moresqúe truces, & vulnera nullis
> Hostibus inflicta, at stolidè conficta, leguntur."

reasonably acknowledges that there are other attractions than sensuality and brutality in the romances of chivalry. "Now," he says[1], "I should like to ask those who read these lying inventions, what induces them to do so?" They will reply, that in the drama of life, strength and courage excite most wonder. For since death is (as Aristotle says) the last and greatest of terrors to all living things, the sight of a man scorning and conquering this most natural dread causes great admiration to the beholders. So people flock to tournaments, bull-fights, and the like. And this applies not only to real life, but also to what is feigned and false; hence the passion for

[1] *Op. cit.*, pt II. ch. XVII., edition of Saragossa, 1583, p. 92: "Agora querria preguntar a los que leen libros de cauallerias fingidas y mentirosas que los mueue a esto? Responderme han, que entre todas las obras humanas que se pueden ver con ojos corporales, las mas admirables son el esfuerço y fortaleza. Porque como la muerte sea (segũ Aristoteles dize) la vltima de las cosas terribles, y la cosa mas aborrecida de todos los animales, ver vn hombre despreciador y vencedor deste temor tan natural, causa grande admiracion en los que esto veen. De aqui nace el concurso de gentes, para ver justas, y toros, y desafios, y cosas semejantes por la admiraciõ que estas cosas traen consigo.... Pues esta admiracion es tan comun a todos y tan grande, que viene a tener lugar no solo en las cosas verdaderas, sino tambien en las fabulosas y mentirosas. Y de aqui nace el gusto que muchos tienen de leer estos libros de cauallerias fingidas. Pues siendo esto assi, y siendo la valentia y fortaleza de los sanctos martyres sin ninguna comparacion mayor y mas admirable, que todas quantas ha auido en el mundo... como no holgaran mas de leer estas tã altas verdades, q̃ aquellas tã conocidas mẽtiras? Alomenos es cierto que los sanos y buenos ingenios, mucho mas hã de holgar de leer estas historias, que las de aq̃llas vanidades acompañadas con muchas deshonestidades con que muchas mugeres locas se enuanecen, pareciendoles q̃ no menos mereciã ellas ser seruidas q̃ aquellas por quiẽ se hizieron tan grandes proezas, y notables hechos en armas."

the books of chivalry. All which Luis de Granada concedes, in order that he may urge people to read the true lives of the holy martyrs, whose fortitude and courage are admirable beyond compare, rather than those idle and lewd stories that turn the heads of many foolish women, who fancy themselves no less deserving of attention than the heroines on whose behalf such glorious feats of arms were accomplished.

The mystic Pedro Malon de Chaide had this passage in mind when writing his *Libro de la Conversion de la Magdalena* (1588). But he protests too much, launching out into an attack, in appropriately nautical language, on almost every form of fiction, prose and verse. We are naturally prone to evil, he writes[1], and require

[1] In the *Prologo al Lector* (edition of 1596), fol. 11–13: "... y como si nuestra gastada naturaleza, que de suyo corre desapoderada al mal, tuuiera necessidad de espuela, y de incentiuos para despertar el gusto del pecado, assi la ceuan con libros laciuos y profanos, a donde, y en cuyas rocas se rompē los fragiles nauios de los mal auisados moços, y las buenas costumbres (si algunas aprendieron de sus maestros) padecen naufragios, y vā a fondo, y se pierden y mal logran: porque, q̄ otra cosa son los libros de amores, y las Dianas, y Boscanes, y Garcilasos y los monstruosos libros, y siluas de fabulosos cuentos y mētiras de los Amadises, Floriseles, y don Belianis, y vna flota de semejātes portentos, como ay escriptos, puestos en manos de pocos años, si no cuchillo en poder del hōbre furioso? ...

"Que ha de hazer la donzellita, q̄ apenas sabe andar, y ya trae vna Diana en la faldriquera? ...

"Otros leē aq̄llos prodigios, y fabulosos sueños y quimeras, sin pies ni cabeça de q̄ estā llenos los libros de cauallerias, que assi los llaman, a los que si la honestidad del termino lo supiera, con trastrocar pocas letras, se llamaran mejor de vellaquerias que de cauallerias. Y si a los que estudian y aprendē a ser Christianos en estos Catecismos les preguntays, que porque los leen, y qual es el fruto que sacan de su licion: Responderos han, q̄ alli aprenden osadia y valor para las armas:

no incitements to sin, such as these lascivious and profane books, which he likens to rocks whereon the frail barques of foolish youths split, and their good manners (if they have acquired any from their teachers) suffer shipwreck, founder and miserably perish: for these love stories, and the *Dianas*, the *Boscans*, the *Garcilasos*, the monstrous books and collections of fabulous tales and lies, as the *Amadises*, *Florisels*, *Don Belianis*, and a fleet of similar prodigies—what else are they but a knife in a madman's hand? And what is to become of the young girl who can hardly walk, before she has a *Diana* in her pocket? Others read those marvels, and fabulous conceits and fancies, without head or tail, which abound in the books of chivalry, as they are called, though if we were to deal honestly with them we should change a few letters and call them books of ribaldry rather than chivalry. And if you ask those who get their Christianity from such Catechisms as these, why they read them, and what good they get out of them, they will reply, that they learn from them courage and daring in arms, breeding and courtesy towards ladies, faithfulness and truth in their dealings, nobility and magnanimity towards their enemies; so that they will persuade you that *Don Florisel* is the *Book of the Maccabees*, *Don Belianis* the *Morals of St Gregory*, *Amadis* the *Offices of St Ambrose*, and *Lisuarte* Seneca's *Books on Clemency*,

criança, y cortesia para con las damas: fidelidad y verdad en sus tratos: y magnanimidad y nobleza de animo en perdonar a sus enemigos: de suerte, que os persuadiran, que don Florisel, es el libro de los Macabeos: y don Belianis, los Morales de Sant Gregorio: y Amadis, los officios de san Ambrosio, y Lisuarte los libros de Clemẽcia de Seneca (por no traer la hystoria de Dauid, que a tantos enemigos perdono)."

not to mention the story of David, who forgave so many enemies.

All these protests against the romances of chivalry had little or no effect, and certain writers tried to take advantage of their vogue by adapting them to religious uses, thus producing the religious romance of chivalry. The earliest of this artificial series, the *Cavallero del Sol* (*1552*) of Pedro Hernandez de Villaumbrales, has already been mentioned as one of the romances sometimes confused with the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros*. Although never reprinted in the Peninsula, the *Cavallero del Sol* was translated into Italian[1], and even into German[2], no doubt more for its novelty than for its merits. The most remarkable of the romances of this class is the next in date, the *Cavalleria celestial del Pie de la Rosa Fragante* (1554)[3], by Hieronimo San Pedro, who tells us in his preface[4] that we shall find the adven-

[1] By Pietro Lauro: *Il Cavallier del Sole, 1557*, reprinted *1584*, 1590, 1620 (Melzi, *Bibliografia dei romanzi e poemi cavallereschi italiani*, 1838, p. 342); also *1607*.

[2] By Matthäus Hofstetter: *Der edele Sonnenritter*, 1611 (A. Schneider, *Spaniens Anteil an der deutschen Litteratur des* 16. *und* 17. *Jahrhunderts*, 1898, pp. 203, 204).

[3] Pt I. Antwerp, *1554*; pt II. Valencia, 1554.

[4] Epistola proemial, fol. 3 verso–4 recto: "Aqui hallarã traçada no vna tabla redõda, mas muchas: no vna sola auentura, mas venturas diuersas: y esto no por industria de Merlin, ni de Vrganda la desconocida, mas por la diuina sabiduria del Verbo hijo de Dios, alos hõbres escõdida, inuestigable, y secreta. Tãbien verã, no al maestro Elisabad diestro enla corporal cirugia: pero muchos cirujanos acuchillados por la experiẽcia de su milicia, los quales cõ los vnguentos de su santo exemplo, sanarã alos heridos sus espirituales heridas. Hallaran tãbien no vn solo Amadis de Gaula, mąs muchos amadores dela verdad increada: no vn solo Tirante el Blãco, mas muchos tirantes al blanco de

tures contrived not by Merlin or Urganda the Unknown, but by the Divine Wisdom of the Son of God, and carried out not by a single Amadis de Gaula, but by many "Amadores de la verdad increada"; not by a single Tirante el Blanco, but by many "Tirantes al blanco de la gloria." *Tirante el Blanco* is probably dragged in here merely for the sake of the pun, but for which the coarsely realistic Valencian romance would hardly have figured as one of the models of this strange religious allegory, where Christ is the Knight of the Lion, the Twelve Apostles the Knights of the Round Table, John the Baptist the Knight of the Desert, and Lucifer the Knight of the Serpent. The fact that the *Cavalleria celestial* was prohibited by the Inquisition no doubt checked this form of literature, of which there are not many more examples. In 1570 was published the *Cavalleria christiana* of the Friar Jaime de Alcala, in 1601 the *Historia y Milicia christiana del Cavallero Peregrino, conquistador del cielo*, by another Friar, Alonso de Soria; and there are besides two or three verse romances on similar themes.

The Inquisition took cognisance of the religious romances of chivalry, but ignored the profane variety. The civil authorities not unnaturally did exactly the reverse, and their activities therefore date back some-

la gloria: no vna Oriana, ni vna Carmesina, pero muchas santas y celebradas matronas, delas quales se podra colegir exemplar y virtuosa erudiciō. Veran assi mesmo la biueza del anciano Alegorin el sabio, y la sagacidad de Moraliza la discreta donzella, los quales darā de si dulce y prouechosa platica, mostrādo en muchos passos desta Celestial Caualleria encūbrados misterios, y altas marauillas, y no de vn fingido cauallero dela Cruz, mas de vn precioso Christo, q̄ verdaderamēte lo fue."

what earlier. In 1531 a royal decree forbade the importation into the American colonies of idle and profane books such as *Amadis*, and the prohibition was several times repeated. Here again the reasons were partly theological[1]: it was feared that not only would works of this kind teach the Indians immoral habits, but that they would also discredit the veracity of the Sacred Books and the writings of the Fathers. In 1553 the romances were prohibited from being printed, sold or read in the New World, and two years later the Cortes petitioned that the prohibition should be extended to Spain itself, and that all extant copies of chivalresque romances should be collected and burned.

Prohibitions and protests, however, were of little avail against these romances in the golden season of their popularity. More effective was the competition of new types of imaginative literature which in due course sprang up in rivalry: the pastoral romance, the picaresque story, and above all the stage-play, which flourished even more vigorously in Spain than in England. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the romance of chivalry had clearly outworn its welcome. When in 1605 Cervantes published the first part of his *Don Quixote*,

[1] For the various prohibitions of these romances, and for this aspect of them, see Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *El "Quijote" y Don Quijote en América*, 1911, pp. 15–19. The prohibitions with regard to the New World may have been effective at the time, but the writer shows that at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, just when the romances were falling into disrepute in Spain, they found a considerable market in the colonies. He mentions consignments of them shipped in 1586 and 1599 (p. 32), and, along with *Don Quixote*, in 1605 (p. 36).

if he had not the rather doubtful distinction of killing outright an already dying race, he had at least the satisfaction of saving us from any possibility of a revival.

After 1605 no new chivalresque romance was printed, and comparatively few of those already existing were reissued in their original form, though chap-book reprints of *Amadis* and others have continued right down to the present day. For a time the principal heroes inspired a number of stage-plays; their memory was also kept alive by their appearance in popular pageants—for the later instances Don Quixote himself was partly responsible. As early as 1549 a veritable chivalresque romance in miniature had been enacted before the Emperor Charles V in Flanders[1]. As late as 1633 the principal heroes of various romances figured in a magnificent masquerade at Barcelona[2], in the train of Don Quixote who had supplanted them. Doubtless they long continued to grace lesser occasions, but with these we need not concern ourselves. The chivalresque romances had ceased to be live literature in Spain by the beginning of the seventeenth century.

[1] A contemporary account, entitled *Relacion muy verdadera de las grandes fiestas que la Serenissima Reyna doña Maria ha hecho al Principe nuestro señor en Flandes en vn lugar que se dize Vince*, was printed at Medina del Campo in 1549, and is reprinted in full by C. Pérez Pastor, *La Imprenta en Medina del Campo*, 1895, pp. 57–67. But a more detailed description occupies ff. 182–205 of Juan Christoval Calvete de Estrella's *El Felicissimo Viaie d'el muy Alto y muy Poderoso Principe Don Phelippe . . . desde España à sus tierras dela baxa Alemaña*, etc., Antwerp, 1552.

[2] In honour of Philip IV's brother and Viceroy in Catalonia. A contemporary account, together with much information concerning spectacles of this nature, is to be found in J. Givanel Más, *Una Mascarada Quixotesca celebrada a Barcelona l'any* 1633, Barcelona, 1915.

CHAPTER VI

THE EXTENSION OF THE NEW ROMANCES ON THE CONTINENT

I. Italy

THE Spanish conquests in Naples and Sicily, the presence of Spaniards in the Vatican and even on the Papal throne, the foundation of Spanish colleges and the formation of Spanish colonies in Italy, are sufficient reasons for the very close relations, diplomatic, military, commercial, ecclesiastical, educational, and literary, which existed between Spain and Italy about the turn of the fifteenth century. The mutual influence in literature was considerable, but the literary exchange about this time is rightly regarded as greatly in Italy's favour. The usual statement of the case, however, somewhat obscures the Spanish effort to reduce the debt. One of the chief contributions towards the maintenance of Spanish literary credit in Italy was the new romance of chivalry. It is not surprising to find that the Spanish romances reached Italy earlier than other countries, or that they were more fruitful there than elsewhere. The old French romances had prepared the ground in Italy as in Spain, and the new Spanish romances were welcomed in Italy soon after, and consequently very much in the order of, their publication.

As early as 1500—ten years after its publication—Isabella d' Este, Marchioness of Mantua, was reading

Tirant lo Blanch. Unabashed by its realism, we find her ten years later asking in a letter that a copy of "un libro spagnolo nominato el Tirante" should be procured for her; and a *Tirante* actually figures in the inventory of her books. From a letter addressed to Isabella it appears that Niccolò da Correggio was attempting a translation of *Tirant lo Blanch* in 1501[1]. To adapt a remark made by the curate in *Don Quixote*[2] concerning *The Mirror of Knighthood*, *Tirant lo Blanch* had "some share of the invention of the famous Matteo Boiardo and the Christian poet Ludovico Ariosto." Quite early in the sixteenth century the former had taken from the Valencian romance the story of the enchanted dragon restored to human shape by the virtue of a kiss[3], and the latter had borrowed an incident[4] which was afterwards utilised by Shakespeare in *Much Ado About Nothing*, as we shall see later.

The early appearance of the *Amadis* series in Italy has already been mentioned: we have seen that editions

[1] For the early appearance of *Tirant lo Blanch* in Italy see Luzio-Renier: *Niccolò da Correggio*, in the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 1893, vol. XXII. pp. 70, etc. The letter referring to the translation begins thus: "Ill.ma patrona mia. Mio patrone e servitore de la S.V. [*i.e.* Correggio] avea dato principio a tradure Tirante, como vederà la S.V., ma non ge basta l' animo, perchè dice que questo che vederà la S.V. è una colona e mezo e che 'l veneria alto due volte como l' è. . . ."

[2] Pt I. ch. VI.

[3] Compare *Tirant lo Blanch*, ch. ccccx. (cccxcv.) and *Orlando Innamorato*, bk II. cantos XXV., XXVI.

[4] The disguising of the maid in order to throw doubt upon the fidelity of the mistress. Compare *Tirant lo Blanch*, ch. CCLXXXIII. (CCLXVIII.) and *Orlando Furioso*, canto V.; and see Pio Rajna, *Le fonti dell' Orlando Furioso*, edn. 2, 1900, pp. 149, etc.

of the original *Four Books of Amadis of Gaul* in Spanish were published at Rome in 1519, and at Venice in 1533, and that an edition of *Esplandian* in Spanish came out at Rome in 1525. Naturally *Amadis* must have been available in Italy before 1519. If we could believe Fontanini[1], it was known there long before the invention of printing; but his suggestion that Dante's transformations of human beings into trees in Canto XIII. of the *Inferno* were inspired by *Amadis* is based on nothing stronger than a suspicion "that Dante, who saw everything that could be seen in his day, might have seen" the Spanish romance. There is, however, concrete evidence that *Amadis* had reached Italy shortly after the date of the first known edition of the Spanish text: according to a letter by Pietro Bembo[2], it was being read in Rome in 1512. There is a simple reference, without explanation, to the "Firm Island" and its "Arch of True Lovers" in Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*[3], which, though not published till 1528, was begun in 1514, finished in 1518, and in definitive form in 1524. In Mario Equicola's *Libro de natura de amore*[4], which appeared in 1525, there is another reference to an incident in *Amadis*, which assumes some general ac-

[1] *Della eloquenza italiana*, edition of 1737, pp. 78, 79.

[2] Lettera di P. Bembo a Giambattista Ramusio, del 4 febbraio 1512, printed by Vittorio Cian in *Un decennio della vita di M. Pietro Bembo*, 1885, p. 206: ". . . Ben si pare che il Valiero sia sepolto in qual suo Amadigi."

[3] See Vittorio Cian's second edition, 1910, p. 380.

[4] End of bk v., edition of 1525, fol. 208 verso: "Cosi son piene de morti le carte spagnole, & esso Amadis di Gaula sotto 'l nome de bel tenebroso canta, gia che me si nega uictoria, che de Iusto me era deuuta, li doue more la gloria, e gloria morir la uita."

quaintance with the romance. Of much greater interest than these mere references is the fact that Ariosto read *Amadis* with as much profit as he read *Tirant lo Blanch*. Several instances of the influence of *Amadis* on the *Orlando Furioso* have been collected[1], and they are all the more remarkable because they occur in the edition printed at Ferrara in 1516, only eight years after the first known edition of the Spanish romance. Another Italian poet was still more influenced by *Amadis* before it had been translated into Italian. Probably Bernardo Tasso became acquainted with *Amadis* in Italy, yet it was during his journeys in Spain in 1537 and 1539, while in the service of the Prince of Salerno, that he was persuaded to versify the Spanish romance, as we know from a statement by his son Torquato Tasso in the *Apologia* for his *Gerusalemme Liberata*[2]. But Bernardo Tasso's *Amadigi di Francia*, a poetical version of selections from the Spanish original, was not published till 1560, and meantime complete prose translations of several of the romances had appeared in Italy.

[1] See Pio Rajna, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 132, 155, 401, 407, 465, 579. The chief comparisons made by Rajna are "L' aspra legge di Scozia" (canto IV. 59) with the adulterous woman's punishment by death (*Amadis*, bk I. ch. I.), and the "paso honroso" of Rodomonte (canto XXIX.) with that of Gandalod (*Amadis*, bk II. ch. VII.).

[2] Ferrara, 1585, sig. A 4 recto: "Sappiate dunq; che essẽdo mio Padre nella Corte di Spagna per seruitio del Principe di Salerno suo patrone fù persuaso da i principali di quella corte à ridurre in Poema l' Historia fauolosa dell' Amadigi, la quale, p̄ giuditio di molti, & mio particolarmente, è la più bella che si legga frà quelle di questo genere, & forse la più gioueuole; perche nell' affetto, & nel costume si lascia adietro tutte l' altre, & nella uarietà de gli accidenti non cede ad alcuna che dapoi ò prima sia stata scritta."

After the early references to *Tirant lo Blanch* mentioned above, it is not surprising to find that the Valencian romance was the first to be published in Italian, or that the translation was made at the instigation of the Gonzagas of Mantua, by Lelio Manfredi[1]. But in Italy, as in Spain, *Tirant lo Blanch* was an isolated romance, and as if to emphasise this fact, the first edition of 1538 appeared in quarto, whereas all the Italian translations of *Amadis of Gaul* and his "innumerable progeny" came out in handy octavo form. The real invasion of the Italian world of letters by a horde of chivalresque romances of Spanish origin or inspiration began with the issue of the Italian translations of *Palmerin de Oliva* and *Lepolemo* (*el Cavallero de la Cruz*) in 1544. Italian translations of books belonging to the *Amadis* or *Palmerin* series, and of a few other romances, together with original Italian continuations, tumbled over each other in the rush for publication during the latter half of the sixteenth century. The chief conspirators were the Venetian publisher Michele Tramezzino and his hack Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano, who evidently ran an up-to-date factory for the manufacture of chivalresque romances on the most approved commercial lines.

[1] See Luzio-Renier, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 73. Manfredi had already translated Diego de San Pedro's *Carcel de Amor* for Isabella, his version being printed in 1514 with assistance from the Marchioness. Fired by this success he had set about translating *Tirant lo Blanch* in the same year. His version was finished by 1519 and dedicated to Frederick Gonzaga, though it was not printed till nearly twenty years later. Lelio Manfredi seems to be the Lelio Aletiphilo who translated Juan de Flores's *Grisel y Mirabella* as the *Historia di Aurelio e Isabella*.

The very much abridged *Cavallier de la Croce* was as popular in Italy as its original was in Spain[1]. Moreover a Second Book, which takes its name from Lepolemo's son, Leandro il Bello, was added by a certain Pietro Lauro in 1560[2], and was several times reprinted. In accordance with custom, this continuation professes to be translated from the Spanish, and the statement has hitherto been accepted as true; but the Italian version preceded the only known edition of the Spanish version by three years, and it can be shown that the latter, issued from the suspicious house of the Ferrers in Toledo, is a translation of the former[3].

Palmerin de Oliva, the other romance issued in Italian in 1544, was followed by translations of *Primaleon*[4] —divided into three books like the original—and of *Platir* in 1548[5]. In 1553 appeared Part I, and in 1554

[1] Melzi (*Bibliografia dei romanzi e poemi cavallereschi italiani*, 1838, pp. 349, 350) quotes nine editions between 1544 and 1606. To these must be added editions of 1628 (Crofts sale catalogue, 1783, No. 4713) and 1629 (Roxburghe sale catalogue, 1812, No. 6264).

[2] It might be suspected from Melzi that there was an edition of 1550; but the edition of 1560 appears to be the first, for it contains a privilege of the Venetian Senate dated 29 November, 1559. From 1560 onwards the two books of the *Cavallier de la Croce* were usually printed together.

[3] See Appendix I.

[4] H. Vaganay (*Les romans de chevalerie italiens d'inspiration espagnole*, in *La Bibliofilia*, 1908–9, vol. IX. pp. 121–131, and vol. X. pp. 121–134, 161–167) gives thirteen editions of *Palmerin de Oliva* in Italian between 1544 and 1620, and nine of *Primaleon* between 1548 and 1608. Editions of both works issued after 1560 were usually accompanied by the continuations of Mambrino Rosco mentioned just below.

[5] Seven editions, 1548–1611, all but the first being accompanied by Mambrino Roseo's continuation (Melzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 346, 347).

Part II of *Palmerin of England*[1]; the dedication of Part I is dated 21 March, 1553, that of Part II, 7 June, 1554. The book of *Flortir* may be assumed to have appeared in the interval between these two parts, for it came out in 1554[2], with a privilege of the Venetian Senate dated 24 October, 1553. With the Second Part of *Palmerin of England* the translation into Italian ceased, for the Portuguese continuations of this romance were not translated into any language. Instead, an original Italian continuation of *Palmerin of England* by Mambrino Roseo appeared at Venice, apparently in 1558[3]. In 1560 there was a renewed outburst on the part of the Venetian factory, for in that year original continuations which went under the name of Mambrino Roseo were added to four of the existing books. To judge by the privileges of the Venetian Senate[4] they came out in the following order: first of all a Fourth Book of *Primaleon*,

[1] Melzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 323, 324, quoting the "catalogo Floncel," gives the impression that there exists an edition of both parts dated 1553. The *Catalogo della libreria Floncel* is a sale catalogue published in Paris in 1774. In view of the dates of the dedications given above, we must imagine that the compiler of the catalogue had before him an edition of 1553–54, but overlooked the date in the second volume.

Mr Purser (*Palmerin of England*, Appendix III. pp. 389, 390) gives eight editions between 1553 and 1609; those after 1558 are accompanied by Mambrino Roseo's continuation.

[2] Seven editions, 1554–1608, all but the first being accompanied by Mambrino Roseo's continuation (Melzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 347, 348).

[3] No edition of this date is known to exist, but one is assumed from the fact that the dedication printed in later editions is dated 1 April, 1558 (Melzi, *op. cit.*, p. 323).

[4] The dates of these privileges are: *Primaleon*, pt IV. 15 Jan., 1559; *Palmerin de Oliva*, pt II. 29 Nov., 1559; *Platir*, pt II. and *Flortir*, pt II. 20 Sept., 1560 (Melzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 345, 343, 346, 347).

devoted to the exploits of the Knight Darineo, next a Second Book of *Palmerin de Oliva*, then a Second Book of *Platir* and a Second Book of *Flortir*. There is only one other continuation to be mentioned. In 1566 Pietro Lauro brought out a supplement to the first twenty chapters of *Primaleon*, continuing the adventures of Polendo (Polendos), son of Primaleon. This supplement was until recently taken to be a translation[1] of the Spanish romance *Polindo*, published at Toledo in 1526; but the two have nothing to do with one another, and the Spanish romance has nothing to do with the *Palmerin* series, the similarity in names being an accident.

The interpolation of these Italian continuations between the somewhat close joints of the original series needed some ingenuity; but the way was prepared by the plentiful supply of enchantments. There were usually some convenient characters left stranded in a state of trance at the end of most of the original books, and having made a selection of these you explained that the other fellow must have been an ass or he would never, for instance, have overlooked certain papers which you have found in a private case in the magnificent library of Caloiam, Emperor of Trebizond. You are then free, on the basis of these papers, to set your characters romancing chivalrously till you estimate your manuscript will fill some five hundred octavo pages, when you hustle them back to Constantinople in an enchanted ship ready for their adventures in the already published next book. The enchanted ship disappears opportunely in a cloud of fire and smoke as soon as the passengers have landed.

[1] Pietro Lauro professes to have translated this book, like *Leandro il Bello*, from the Spanish. He is no doubt the author of both.

To make matters perfectly clear (*per piu chiarezza dei lettori*) you will also, for instance, explain that the second book of *Platir* forms the second book of *Darineo* and is a newly-found adjunct to the first book of *Platir*, and that the second book of *Darineo* forms the second part to the first book of *Darineo*, which formed the fourth book of *Primaleon*, itself a newly-found adjunct to the first three books; and that while the action of the first book of *Darineo* takes place before an enchantment lasting several years, the action of the second takes place after the enchantment, and that thus Darineo and Platir performed in different places but at the same epoch. And if you are Mambrino Roseo you will convey all this information in three pages of inimitably inextricable prose[1], and you may be perfectly sure that you run little risk of being found out.

The *Amadis* series had a similar history in Italy to that of the *Palmerin* series, and it was even more productive, though it was a couple of years later in entering the field. To judge by the privilege of the Venetian Senate, dated 1546, the First Four Books came out in that year, followed by the Fifth Book in 1547, and the Sixth Book in 1550. So far all the books are numbered. Feliciano de Silva's Seventh, Ninth and Tenth Books were published in 1550–1551, all three without any numeration. The Eighth Book, in spite of Brunet's note[2], was not translated; but the original Spanish

[1] See *Platir*, pt II. ch. I.

[2] *Manuel du libraire* . . . Par J. C. Brunet, 1860, etc., tom. I. col. 219: "Il est à remarquer que dans la suite des Amadis en italien, il ne se trouve pas de 8e livre; cela vient de ce qu'on a fait du 8e livre espagnol une 2e partie du 7e italien."

numeration must be retained for the Seventh, Ninth and Tenth Books, leaving a gap for the Eighth Book, for in 1551 also there appeared the first half only of Silva's Eleventh Book, described as the Eleventh Book, and the Twelfth Book[1]. Seven years later there was published the first part of the Thirteenth Book. This professed to be taken from the Spanish, like its predecessors. As a matter of fact no Spanish original exists, and Book Thirteen is the first of a series of additions to the *Amadis* romances made by Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano. The hero is Sferamundi of Greece, the son of Rogel of Greece, the hero of the Eleventh Book. A second part of the Thirteenth Book appeared in 1559, a third and a fourth part in 1563, and a fifth and a sixth part in 1565[2]. These parts are sometimes numbered

[1] The following editions of Books I.–XII., and of the Supplements mentioned just below in the text, are given by Vaganay, *op. cit.* (in *La Bibliofilia*, 1911–13, vol. XII. pp. 112–125, 205–211, 280–300, 390–399; vol. XIII. pp. 124–133, 200–215, 278–292, 394–411; vol. XIV. pp. 87–94, 157–168): Bks I.–IV.: [1546], 52, 58, 59, 60, 72, 76, 81, 84, 89, 94, 1601, 09, 24; Supplement; 1563, 94, 1609, 24; Bk V.: [1547], 50, 57, 60, 64, 73, 92, 99, 1609, 12; Supplement: 1564, 82, 92, 99, 1600, 09, 13; Bk VI.: 1550, 51, 1600, 10; Bk VII.: 1550, 57, 59, 67, 70, 73, 78, 81, 99, 1610; Supplement: 1564, 99, 1610, 30; Bk IX.: 1550, 57, 65, 74, 80, 85, 86, 92, 1606, 15, 19, 29; Supplement: 1564, 1615, 29; Bk X.: 1551, 65, 75, 93, 94, 1606, 08, 19; Supplement: 1564, 94, 1606, 08, 19; Bk XI.: 1551, 66, [84, a mistake], 94, 1606, 08, 19; Supplement: 1564, 84, 94, 99, 1606, 08, 19; Bk XII.: 1551, 61, 64, 65, 81, 92, 1607, 29; Supplement: 1568, 81, 92, 1607, 29.

These figures show the popularity of the *Amadis* series in Italy. They are representative, but not complete. The British Museum has the following editions, besides many of those given above: Bks I.–IV: 1557; Bk V.: 1559; Bk X.: 1561; Bk XI.: 1575.

[2] Vaganay (*ibid.*, vol. XIV. pp. 426–429; vol. XV. pp. 413–422; vol. XVI.

consecutively as separate books, and so the number of books in the *Amadis* series is brought up to eighteen. But these six new books are only one half of Mambrino Roseo's additions. During the year in which he issued the third and fourth parts of the Thirteenth Book, he commenced appending supplements to various earlier books. Thus in 1563 he published a supplement to the Fourth Book. In the next year, before resuming the continuation of the Thirteenth Book, he produced supplements to the Fifth, Seventh, Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Books. The second of these Brunet wrongly takes to be a translation of the Spanish Eighth Book. The last is a substitute for the second half of the Spanish Eleventh Book, which was not translated into any language, owing perchance to its having been published after the Twelfth Book had already carried the series to its extreme limit in Spain. Finally, there appeared a supplement to the Twelfth Book in 1568[1]. These supplements are introduced in much the same way as the supplements to the *Palmerin* series. For instance, certain untranslated annals of the Emperor of Trebizond are the source of the supplement to the Seventh Book.

pp. 59–63, 114–122, 382–390, 446–451; vol. XVII. pp. 106–111) records the following editions of Book XIII.: Pt I.: 1558, 69, 74, 82, 84, 1600, 10, 19; Pt II.: 1559, 60, 69, 74, 82, 1600, 10, 19; Pt III.: 1563, 69, 74, 82, 1600, 10, 19; Pt IV.: 1563, 69, 74, 82, 1600, 10, 19; Pt V.: 1565, 69, 74, 83, 1600, 10, 29; Pt VI.: 1565, 69, 74, 83, 1600, 10, 29.

[1] It is only right to add that Mambrino Roseo's name does not occur on many of the title-pages, whether of the translations or of the original books; but though he may not have translated or composed all these books, as tradition would have it, he was no doubt the moving spirit in the business.

At the close of the Seventh Book, Lisuarte of Greece, Perion, Olorio and the Emperor of Trebizond were left enchanted by Zirfea, Queen of Argines. They were released from that enchantment during the course of the next book—in this case the Ninth. The problem of inserting a whole new book between these two events is overcome through the obliging intervention of the sage magician Alquife, who secretly disenchants Lisuarte and Perion, starts them on an adventurous career of some five hundred pages, and then, perceiving of his foreknowledge that the hour was fast approaching when the original quartet should be released from the enchantment of Zirfea, hurries back his two *protégés* and reduces them to the enchanted state just in time for the general awakening in the Ninth Book.

Some half dozen more of our romances were translated into Italian. Their history is brief. Almost all of them appeared once during the sixteenth century, and again in the early years of the next century during a minor revival which seems to have been little more than a speculation on the part of the Venetian printer Lucio Spineda. Beatriz Bernal's *Cristalian de España* came out in an anonymous translation in 1557[1], Dionys Clemente's *Valerian de Ungria*, in a translation attributed to Pietro Lauro, was published in the following year[2], and the five parts of *Florambel de Lucea*, translated by Mambrino Roseo, in 1560[3]. Thirteen years later there appeared the *Historia del valoroso Cavallier Polisman*

[1] Reprinted 1609 (Melzi, *op. cit.*, p. 348).
[2] Reprinted 1611 (*ibid.*, pp. 348, 349).
[3] Reprinted 1609 (*ibid.*, pp. 350, 351).

(1573)[1], which professes to be translated from the Spanish by Giovanni Miranda, but which is no doubt an original romance by him, as we have already seen. An interval of another thirteen years brings us to *Don Belianis*. The first fifty chapters of Part I of the Spanish original, translated by Oratio Rinaldi, came out in 1586; the remaining chapters of Part I and the first seventeen chapters of Part II were added by Rinaldi as a second part in 1587. To the year 1587 also belongs the translation of the first two books of *Felix Magno*, by Camillo Camilli. Finally these translations came to an end in 1601—a year before the last original Spanish romance was published—with the *Specchio de Prencipi et Cavalieri*[2], a translation of the three books of Diego Ortuñez de Calahorra's first part of the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros*, made by "Melchior Escappa da Villaroel, Gentilhuomo Spagnuolo Lionese." The notes on this and the preceding pages will have made it clear that all these romances, whether forming part of a series or not, enjoyed much the same relative popularity in Italy as in Spain. As in Spain, too, their vogue lasted close on a century, for not till 1630 did they cease to be published in Italy.

That the Peninsular romances were well known in Italy even before they were translated has already been seen. Evidences of their popularity naturally become more numerous when once they were available in the

[1] Recorded by untrustworthy authorities as printed in 1572 and reprinted in 1593; certainly reprinted in 1612 (*ibid.*, p. 349).

[2] Reprinted 1610 (Vaganay, *op. cit.*, in *La Bibliofilia*, 1910, vol. XI. pp. 171–182).

vernacular. Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, in his *Dialogo dell' imprese militari et amorose* (1555)[1], supports the use of devices and mottoes by reference to their occurrence in the Spanish romances *Amadis of Gaul*, *Primaleon*, *Palmerin* and *Tirant lo Blanch*. The "Arch of True Lovers," which at an early date had attracted the attention of Castiglione, continued to appeal to the Italians. In 1561, among the "invenzioni" represented in Mantua at the festival in honour of Duke William's marriage with Eleanor of Austria, was "that of the Arch of True Lovers, described in *Amadis of Gaul*[2]." That same Arch, with its motto "clarum spero sonitum," is mentioned by Girolamo Bargagli in his *Dialogo de' giuochi che nelle vegghie Sanesi si usano di fare*, printed in 1572[3], but written some years before. Bargagli, who displays a fairly detailed acquaintance with *Amadis*, also describes a reading circle in the Countess Agnolina d' Elci's house, where a select company of ladies used to meet and amuse themselves with "the books of *Amadis of Gaul* and *of Greece*, the *Palmerins* and *Florisels*," as well as the *Orlando Furioso*[4]. One of the most peculiar illustrations of the

[1] Original edition, p. 6: "L' usorno similmente i celebrati ne i libri della lingua Spagnola, Amadis de Gaula, Primaleon, Palmerino, & Tirante il Bianco." These romances would be brought to the notice of English readers in the translation of Giovio's *Imprese* by the poet and historian Samuel Daniel published in 1585.

[2] See Alessandro d' Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, edn. 2, 1891, vol. II. p. 416 n. This writer refers to a contemporary account by Andrea Arrivabene, and to Celio Malespini's *Ducento Novelle*, pt II. nov. XI.

[3] Original edition of 1572 (but "già più anni fù composto"), p. 154.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 66: "... in casa della Contessa Agnolina d' Elci, doue

hold which these romances had obtained in Italy is to be found in the *Letters* of Andrea Calmo († 1571). In a letter addressed "a la signora Orsolina," who we may safely say was not a countess, he mentions a number of articles which he is presenting to that lady. A somewhat more extensive choice seems to have been allowed at this time than is customary nowadays, for the list commences with "do camise fatte lavorar in Candia per man de una hebrea," on which—back and front and sleeves as well—were embroidered scenes from several more or less seemly classical fables; it ends with a coloured kerchief on which were woven

all the war the pagan King Agramante had with Charlemagne King of France, the death and avenging of Julius Caesar, the history of Palmerin de Oliva, Emperor of Constantinople, and the brave deeds of Amadis of Gaul, with all the adventures of the knights of King Arthur's Round Table, and in the middle the wise Atlas, holding the world on his shoulders, and surrounded by the great doctors in astrology[1].

vna bella, & ristretta compagnia di donne si ritrouaua; lequali oltre al Furioso, questi libri d' Amadigi di Gaula, & di Grecia, & questi Palmerini, & don Floriselli di leggere si dilettauano."

[1] *Lettere*, ed. by V. Rossi (in *Biblioteca di testi inediti o rari*, vol. III.), 1888, bk IV. No. 36. The various presents to the lady include "do camise fatte lavorar in Candia per man de una hebrea: in una vu trovarè a puiesi de sea cremesina, intel peto le nozze de Cupido e Psiche celebrae fra certe niole in cielo, da basso a la panza l' inamoramento de Priapo con la Fada Lotos int' un boscheto de ancipressi, drio le spale la copola de Marte e Venere piai soto la rede de Vulcan, in la manega zanca el trionfo de Nettuno e Tetis con Glauco, Triton e Galatea in mezo la marina, in la manega destra Orfeo sentao in cima una colina, sonando con la lira e cantando cortizao da diversi anemali ... e per compir el presente, aceterè un fazzuol da testa tessuo di pi colori, tutta la guera che have re Agramante Pagan con Carlo Magno

Popular as the Peninsular romances of chivalry undoubtedly were in Italy, they were just as rarely praised by prominent Italians as they were by prominent Spaniards. The same flattering tribute of imitation which, as we have seen, Bernardo Tasso paid to *Amadis of Gaul*, was paid by Ludovico Dolce to the *Palmerins*. Dolce had written a laudatory preface to Tasso's *Amadigi di Francia*, which came out in 1560. His interest in promoting the popularity of that lengthy poem is explained by the fact that he himself was preparing two similar, but even lengthier, works. In 1561 appeared his versification of *Palmerin de Oliva*, and next year that of *Primaleon*. Heredity may account for Torquato's lavish praise of *Amadis* in the apology for his *Gerusalemme Liberata*[1], where he speaks of it as "in the judgment of many, and especially in my own, the finest story of its kind, and perhaps the most entertaining, excelling all others in the description of passions and customs, and second to none in variety of incident." His father's association with Dolce may be responsible for the inclusion of the much-abused *Primaleon* in another panegyric which occurs in his *Discorsi del poema heroico*[2]. "The author of the love-story of Amadis and

re de Franza, la morte e la vendeta de Giulio Cesare, l' historia de Palmerin d' Oliva da Costantinopli e le valentisie de Amadis de Gaula, con tutte le imprese de i cavalieri de la Tavola redonda del re Artù e in mezo el savio Atalante, che tien el mondo sora de le so spale circondao da i gran dotori de la Astrologia."

[1] See the extract quoted above, p. 183, n. 2.

[2] Edition printed *c.* 1597, p. 46: ". . . ma qualunque fosse colui, che ci descrisse Amadigi amante d' Oriana merita maggior lode, ch' alcuno degli scrittori Francesi, e non traggo dj questo numero Arnaldo

Oriana," he says, "deserves greater praise than any of the French writers, not excepting Arnaut Daniel," in spite of Dante's eulogy of the latter. And he adds that "Dante would perhaps have changed his opinion, if he had read *Amadis of Gaul* or *of Greece*, or *Primaleon*, for love is treated as a nobler and more constant passion by the Spanish writers than by the French."

As in Spain, so in Italy, such unqualified praise is rare, and only occasionally does a critic commend certain qualities in the romances while falling foul of the class. Ortensio Landi reminds us of Juan de Valdes, for in "A short exhortation to the study of letters" appended to his *La Sferza de scrittori antichi et moderni*[1], after asking what pleasure can be found in *Amadis*, the *Florisels*, *Palmerins*, *Esplandians* and *Primaleons*, which contain nothing but the dreams of diseased minds, and tales that have neither truth nor verisimilitude, he admits they have much sweetness of language. "Yet how

Daniello, ilquale scrisse di Lancillotto, quantunque dicesse Dante.

Rime d' Amore, e prose di Romanzi
Souerchio tutti, e lascia dir gli stolti,
Che quel di limo sì credon, ch' auanzi.

Ma s' egli hauesse letto Amadigi di Gaula, ò quel di Grecia, ò Primaleone perauẽtura haurebbe mutata opinione: perche più nobilmente, e con maggior costanza sono descritti gli amori da poeti Spagnuoli, che da Francesi."

[1] *La Sferza de scrittori antichi et moderni di M. Anonimo di Utopia*, 1550, fol. 30 recto: ". . . come è possibile, che piacer ui possino questi, Amadis, Floriselli, Palmerini, Splandiani & Pigmalioni (*sic*), ne quali, altro nõ si contengono che sogni d' infermi, & narrationi, che non hanno ne del uero, ne del uerisimile, non niego però che non habbino molta dolcezza nella lingua: Oh come fareste uoi il meglio; se in uece de libri Spagnuoli, compraste tanti libri greci, donde ne diriua l' eruditione de Latini scrittori."

much better it would be to buy Greek books instead of Spanish."

Girolamo Muzio held a similar opinion concerning the chivalresque romances, but he has no concession to make. In his *Cavaliero*[1] he says he fails to understand how gentlemen can take delight in these romances, whether Italian, French or Spanish, where the question is who can tell the biggest lies, rather than in the truths of history. And he warns these foolish people he has in mind that when their opinions on warlike matters are wanted, it is no use their quoting Ruggiero, Rinaldo, Amadis, Primaleon, or the Knights of the Round Table: they will only be laughed at. Like Ortensio Landi, he holds up to them classical models.

> Some talk of Alexander
> And some of Hercules,
> Of Hector and Lysander
> And such brave names as these.

Here are the men who will be listened to with attention and approval.

[1] *Il Cavaliero del Mutio*, 1569, fol. 6 verso–7 recto: "Et percioche in mano di Caualieri sono assai spesso i libri de' Romanzi, siano Italiani, Frācesi, o Spagnuoli, non so perche piu delle fole di quelli dilettar si debbiano, che della verita delle historie: che in quelle fintioni altro non vi ha, se non studio di scrittori, che a gara hanno fatto di chi sa dir le maggior menzogne. Ma se pur sono si vaghi di vanita, che di quelli piu che di quelle dilettar si vogliano, si hanno da ricordare, che quando si haueranno da trattar ne' consigli delle cose alla guerra appartenenti, non vi haurà luogo di allegare ne Ruggieri, ne Rinaldo, ne Amadigi, ne Primaleone, ne i Caualieri della tauola rotonda, iquali nominandosi sarebbe a gli ascoltanti cagion di riso, Ma se nomineranno i Lisandri, se i Pelopidi, & se i Cononi, se gli Asdrubali, & se gli Amilcari, se i Fabritij, se i Camilli, con attentione, & con commendatione saranno le tali orationi ascoltate, & approuate."

As in Spain, so in Italy, religious writers felt called upon to atone for the neglect of these romances by the ecclesiastical censorship; they are consequently more severe in their strictures than the laymen. A bishop, Luigi Lollini (†1625), whom we may set off against another bishop, Paolo Giovio, mentioned above, wrote a whole pamphlet against the "Amadisian" stories[1]. At a much later date Angelo Paciuchelli, in his *Lectiones morales in Prophetam Jonam*[2], tells us that the scoundrel Luther, when he decided to corrupt Germany with his execrable heresy, had copies of the French *Amadis* left about in princely palaces; these were eagerly devoured by curious courtiers, who fell victims to the strange battles, shameful loves, and unheard-of marvels, and so gradually acquired a loathing for the sacred writings and spiritual books. Paciuchelli's morality, we may hope, was better than his latinity: this story is due to his misinterpretation of a criticism of the romances written in Latin by a Frenchman whom we shall quote later. It was however as harmless as it is absurd, for Luther had long been dead, and so too were the chival-

[1] *Amuletum adversus Amadisianae lectionis maleficia.* This work is included in the 1630 edition of Lollini's *Characteres.*

[2] Edition of 1672–81, tom. I. p. 4, col. 1: "... Sceleratus ille Lutherus, ubi Germaniam execrabili hæresi contaminare decrevit, fecit, ut linguâ Gallicâ liber quidam donaretur, Amadis dictus, & quidem omni elegantiâ exornatus, per Principum aulas spargeretur. Curiosi Aulici avidè perlegerunt, cúmque insolitas pugnas, nefandos amores, & inauditas præstigias notâssent, gliscere paulatim incipiebat sacrarum paginarum spiritualiúmque librorum nausea. Inde illa, quæ legerant, ipsi experiri voluêre, & hâc viâ, brevi temporis spatio, Principum Aulæ adulterijs, sacrilegijs, divinationibus, maleficijs, & Judiciariâ Astrologiâ turpiter fuerunt defædatæ."

resque romances in Italy. Fruitful enough within the limits of their class and period, they had ceased to have any significance there shortly after the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

II. France

We have seen that the Peninsular romances of chivalry were introduced into Italy under princely auspices. They made their appearance in France under royal patronage. King Francis I no doubt made the acquaintance of *Amadis* while a prisoner of war in Madrid, 1525–26. About the same time, and perhaps at the same place, one of his artillery officers, Nicolas de Herberay, Seigneur des Essarts, also made its acquaintance, and undertook to translate it into French—at the King's own instigation, according to some of the translator's rather contradictory prefaces. Continued wars interfered with the translation, and it was not till after the Treaty of Nice in 1538 between Francis I and the Emperor Charles V that Herberay had leisure to set about his task in earnest. Two years later the First Book was published by Denis Janot, and each year another book was added till 1546, when the Seventh Book appeared. An Eighth Book was published in 1548, and with that Herberay's connexion with *Amadis* ceased. A Ninth Book came out in 1551, translated by the Fleming Giles Boileau and revised by Claude Colet. This seems to have aroused Herberay, who next year tried to re-enter the *Amadis* line of business with an original romance—he pretends it is a translation from the

Spanish—whose hero is Flores de Grèce, a son of Esplandian[1]. In *Flores de Grèce* he explains his inactivity since 1548 as due partly to the death of the King, his instigator to the task of translation, and partly to a long and serious illness[2]. This double calamity being too much for him, he forsook *Amadis* and sought consolation by translating Josephus's *Wars of the Jews*[3], which, by the way, appeared in 1553, and again in 1557, with exactly the same illustrations as had been used throughout the early French editions of *Amadis*. *Flores de Grèce* never became recognised as part of the *Amadis* series[4]. The doors were definitely shut against it by the publication, also in 1552, of a Tenth Book, translated by Jacques Gohorry, who added an Eleventh Book in 1554. A Twelfth Book, translated by Guillaume Aubert, was published in 1556. Jacques Gohorry re-entered the

[1] *Flores de Grèce* was reprinted in 1555, 1561, 1572, 1573.

[2] The opening words of the dedication to Henri II are worth giving for the statements they contain: "Sire i'auoys par le commandement du feu Roy vostre pere (que Dieu absolue) entreprins de mettre en lumiere toute la cronique du roy Amadis, & estoys sur la fin du huitiesme liure quant la mort donna but à ses iours: & mon maleur vn commancement en moy d'vne si longue & rude maladie, que pour le mieulx que i'en esperois estoit vn auancemēt de mort."

[3] *Loc. cit.*: "Or auoye pour ces occasiōs desdaigné entieremēt le reste du labeur d'Amadis & pris en main Iosephus pour mettre en Françoys le discours qui traite de la guerre & ruine des Iuifz."

[4] In an English translation in the British Museum it is described as a *Supplement to Amadis de Gaule*. The translator is given as W.P., to whom proper names were a stumbling-block: the author's name is printed "Mounsieur De Essule, Nicholas de Hereby." The copy in question is dated 1664, and is of the third edition; but the preface states: "It is above a hundred years since this took the *English* dresse on it."

lists in 1571 with a Thirteenth Book, while a Fourteenth Book, translated by Antoine Tyron, appeared in 1574, and again soon afterwards, revised by Jacques Gohorry. These fourteen books[1] exhaust the original Spanish twelve books, to which, by a re-arrangement in the numbering, they correspond. Books 6 and 8 were not translated. The Spanish Book 7 becomes therefore the French Book 6. The French Books 7 and 8 correspond to the two parts of the Spanish Book 9, but the "Sueño" already mentioned as occurring at the end of the first part is omitted (as it was also in the Italian translation), and five chapters at the end of the second part are transferred to the next book. The French Books 9 and 10 correspond to the two parts of the Spanish Book 10; but to balance the five chapters added at the beginning of Book 9, the last four chapters of the first part are transferred to Book 10. The French Books 11 and 12 correspond to the first part of the Spanish Book 11, with the opening chapter omitted. The second part of the Spanish Book 11 was not translated. Lastly, the French Books 13 and 14 correspond to the Spanish Book 12.

But almost ten years before the Spanish supply became exhausted, Mambrino Roseo had brought up

[1] The popularity of these books can be seen at a glance from the lists in Maximilian Pfeiffer's *Amadisstudien* (1905). Not counting the different issues of the same edition for various publishers, Pfeiffer records the following number of editions: Bk 1, fourteen (1540–77); Bk 2, twelve (1541–77); Bk 3, eleven (1542–77); Bk 4, twelve (1543–88); Bk 5, eleven (1544–77); Bk 6, twelve (1545–77); Bk 7, ten (1546–77); Bk 8, nine (1548–77); Bk 9, nine (1551–77); Bk 10, ten (1553–77); Bk 11, nine (1554–77); Bk 12, seven (1556–77), Bk 13, seven (1571–77); Bk 14, four (1574–77). Pfeiffer's lists are not complete, but they are very representative.

the total to eighteen books in Italy, and the French translators now turned to him for further material. His Supplement to the Twelfth Book became the French Book 15 in 1577, and the six parts of his Thirteenth Book became the French Books 16–21 during the period 1578–82[1], in translations made by Gabriel Chappuys. Mambrino Roseo had announced at the end of the sixth part of the Italian Book 13 that here was the last of the *Sferamundi* series[2]. In the French translation Gabriel Chappuys converts this into the statement that his Book 21 is the last of the whole *Amadis* series[3]. Yet in 1615, after a lapse of thirty-four years, there appeared three more books, bringing up the total to twenty-four books. Like their predecessors, these three profess to be translated from the Spanish; but they are identical with the German Books 22–24, which had long ago been published, as we shall see later.

In the translations from the Italian, Gabriel Chappuys had rivals. In 1577 the first thirty-three chapters of the Italian Thirteenth Book, translated by Antoine Tyron, appeared as a French Fifteenth Book, and there are further duplicate translations: of the Nineteenth Book by Jacques Charlot (1581), and of the

[1] Pfeiffer records the following number of editions of Bks 15–21: Bk 15, four (1577–78); Bk 16, five (1575–78); Bk 17, two (1575–78); Bk 18, two (1575–79); Bk 19, four (1575–82); Bk 20, four (1575–82); Bk 21, three (1575–81). Some of these editions are obvious ghosts.

[2] "... l' auttor ... impose qui fine al suo libro, & all' vltima parte dell' historia di Sferamundi di Grecia."

[3] "... l'auteur ... met icy fin au dernier liure de son histoire, tant belle & emerueillable. Fin de l'histoire d'Amadis de Gaule, comprinse en vingt & vn liures."

Twentieth Book by Jean Boiron (1582). Further, Nicolas de Moutreux added a Sixteenth Book of his own in 1577.

This competition is but one of the many evidences of the popularity of the *Amadis* romances in France. As in Spain, they appeared originally in folio form, and not only the different editions, but also the different issues of the same edition, show how constant was the demand for even these more costly productions. Soon, however, Paris, Lyons, Antwerp, and occasionally a minor town, were providing editions of a more convenient prayer-book size—a fact of which the church-going public doubtless showed itself duly appreciative at the proper time and place. These editions vary in number from fourteen or fifteen[1] with the earlier books to a single edition of each of the last three books. They cover a period somewhat less than was the case with Spain and Italy: from 1540 to 1615, the year after the first part of *Don Quixote* appeared in French, and three years before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.

Six years after the publication of the First Book of *Amadis* in French there appeared the French translation of *Palmerin de Oliva*[2], printed in large handsome folio

[1] These numbers are almost doubled if the various issues of the same edition for different publishers are to be counted.

[2] Le premier liure de Palmerin d'Oliue. . . . Histoire plaisante & de singuliere recreacion, traduite iadis par vn auteur incertain de Castillan en Françoys, lourd & inusité, sans art, ou disposicion quelconque. Maintenant reueuë, & mise en son entier selon nostre vulgaire, par Iean Maugin natif d'Angiers, 1546. The "auteur incertain" is said to be Jean de Voyer, vicomte de Paulmy (Brunet, *op. cit.*, tom. IV. col. 331).

form at Paris in 1546 by Jeanne de Marnef, widow of the Denis Janot who in 1540 had started the *Amadis* series on its prolific career in France. *Palmerin de Oliva* had not the advantage of being translated by one of the King's artillery officers at the instigation of the King himself, though the preface tells us[1] that Nicolas de Herberay, "translator of our flourishing *Amadis*," began to translate *Palmerin de Oliva*, but gave up owing to "the clumsiness of the old translation or the duties of his royal commission." The "old translation" is explained by the title-page description of this pleasant story as

formerly translated by an uncertain author from Castilian into strange and clumsy French, without art or arrangement whatsoever, and now revised and restored according to the common usage by Jean Maugin, a native of Angers,

called le petit Angevin. Le petit Angevin informs us that he has "taken only the principal matter of the original," and that he has antiquated the battles by eliminating the cannons and arquebuses, while to make up for this he has modernised the loves to suit the French taste[2].

[1] Jean Maugin, after mentioning that he hesitated long over the translation, adds: "l'auertissement que i'eu que le noble de Herberay (traducteur de nostre fleurissant Amadis) en auoit mis au net aucūs des premiers cayers, m'en cuyda descourager du tout. Et ne puis penser la cause qui l'auroit empesché d'y faire poursuyte, sinon la lourderie de la vieille traduction, ou la commission ordinaire qu'il a du Roy."

[2] "Et à fin (Seigneurs) que soyez auertiz de ma maniere d'escrire, ie n'ay prins de l'original que la matiere principale, sans massuietir aux propoz du traducteur antique, mal entenduz, & pirement poursuyuiz. Les discours des affaires ay abregez le plus succintement qu'il m'a esté possible. Les guerres, selon leur forme ancienne, sans canons ou

Primaleon followed in 1550, the first part of it being translated in that year "from the Italian and Spanish" by François de Vernassal, who had contributed preliminary verses to Jean Maugin's version of *Palmerin de Oliva*. In his dedication to the Duke de Guise, Vernassal tells us that he was attracted by *Primaleon*, which he found newly translated into Italian when he was at Rome with the Duke's brother, who had gone there to receive his cardinal's hat[1]. Vernassal publishes in his volume laudatory verses by Nicolas de Herberay and Jean Maugin; but whoever they convinced, they did not convince him, for it is only on condition that his readers are very good, and very numerous, that at the end of the book he promises the second part of *Primaleon*, together with translations of various works of Virgil, Poliziano, Ovid, and others[2]. The offer was not

harquebuzes: & les amours à la moderne, sauf les foles: pource que ie les cuyde faintes, & qu'il n'en soit point de semblables. Et si en passant i'ay vsé de mataphores, similitudes, & comparaisons, allegué fables, poësies, histoires, & inuenté vers, excusez le desir que i'ay eu de monstrer qu'en cest endroit le François y est plus propre que l'Espaignol."

[1] "... & en ceste peine me trouuois-ie à Rome lors que Monseigneur le reuerendissime & illustrissime Cardinal de Guise vostre frere y vint receuoir son chapeau, quād il me tomba entre les mains vne histoire freichement traduite d'Espagnol en Italien, nommée de Primaleon de Grece."

[2] "Et si ie voy qu'il soit receu auec quelque peu de faueur & bon acueil ... cela me donnera courage de vous faire voir en meilleur ordre le second liure ... & tout le reste de nostre histoire, ensemble quelque amas de vers François, tant de mon inuētion que traduction du Latin: mesmes les Eglogues de Virgile, le Rustiq de Politian, l'Oraison de Pythagoras du quinziesme de la metamorphose d'Ouide, & autres choses, dont la lecture vous pourra estre sinon vtile, aumoins recreatiue & agreable."

accepted: the second part of *Primaleon* did not appear till much later, and then the translator's name was not Vernassal.

Meantime the two parts of *Palmerin of England* were published in French in 1552 and 1553 at Lyons, which replaces Paris as the centre for these romances. Both parts were translated by Jacques Vincent, who dedicates his work to Diane de Poitiers, compares her with Lucretia, and offers her a third part. She may have accepted the offer, but she certainly never accepted the book, for the *Palmerin* series did not get beyond these two parts in France. A leisurely attempt, however, was made to fill up the gap left in the series.

Not till 1577 was the second part of *Primaleon* published; but it made up for the delay by appearing in that year in two rival versions, a larger one of fifty-five chapters published at Paris and at Antwerp, translated by Guillaume Landré, and a smaller one of thirty-eight chapters published at Lyons, translated by Gabriel Chappuys, who translated many of the later books of the *Amadis* series. The third part followed in 1579, also translated by Chappuys and published at Lyons. The Italian fourth part—the adventures of Darineo, who in French becomes Darinel—was published at Lyons in 1583 in an anonymous translation which is also attributed to Chappuys. This was the only one of the Italian additions to the series to be translated into French; and moreover neither *Platir* nor *Flortir*, nor the Portuguese continuations of *Palmerin of England*, appeared in French.

It is clear that the *Palmerins* were no very serious

rivals to *Amadis* in France, either in extent of growth or in number of editions[1]. *Palmerin de Oliva* and the first part of *Primaleon* each ran through some ten editions, distributed, as in the *Amadis* series, among Paris, Antwerp and Lyons. The early editions were large handsome folios, and the cuts which adorned the folio editions of *Amadis* were called upon to do duty for the *Palmerins*. This however was no very great strain on them, for they had previously seen active service in Josephus's *Wars of the Jews*. The second part of *Primaleon* counts five editions, the third part three, and the fourth part two. *Palmerin of England* also exists only in two editions.

The *Palmerin* series evidently possessed much less vitality in France than the *Amadis* series. But editions struggled on into the seventeenth century, and two were even published after the appearance of the French translation of the first part of *Don Quixote* in 1614, and just at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

Only one more French translation of a Peninsular romance of chivalry appeared during the period in which the *Amadis* and the *Palmerin* series enjoyed such vogue in France. In 1555 the first part of *Florando de Inglaterra*, dealing with the adventures of the hero's father,

[1] Brunet, *op. cit.*, tom. IV. enumerates the following editions: *Palmerin de Oliva*: 1546, 53, 72, 73, 76, 93, 1619 (coll. 330, 331); *Primaleon*, pt I.: 1550, 72 (Paris), 72 (Orleans), 80, 1600, 18; pt II. (Landré): 1577 (Paris), 77 (Antwerp); pt II. (Chappuys): 1577 (Lyons), 88, 1612; pt III. 1579, 87, 1609; pt IV.; 1583, 97 (coll. 875, 876); *Palmerin of England*: 1552–53, 74 (coll. 332, 333). This list is not complete. The British Museum, which has all but six of the above editions, also possesses *Palmerin de Oliva*, 1605, and *Primaleon*, pt I. 1572 (Lyons).

Paladiano, was published as the *Histoire Palladienne*[1]; the translator was Claude Colet, who had shortly before revised Giles Boileau's Ninth Book of *Amadis*. The romance itself is unimportant, but the French translation is noteworthy as being the medium through which the story reached England, and as containing a preface by a member of *La Pléiade*, which will be quoted later.

It is remarkable that one small group of romances and one isolated romance, which had long before been published in English, did not appear in French till after the publication of *Don Quixote*, when the great movement to which they really belong was over. The fact may be simply due to accident or caprice; but in any case it justifies us in dismissing these romances briefly. The three parts of the *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros* came out in French as the *Chevalier du Soleil*, the title being taken from the principal hero's name. The translation was begun by François de Rosset, who had already published the second part of *Don Quixote* in French; but he was soon superseded by Louis Douet[2]. The whole work appeared in eight parts between 1617 and 1626, and some of the parts were being reprinted as late as 1643[3].

[1] Reprinted in 1562 and 1573 (Brunet, *op. cit.*, tom. II. col. 129).

[2] Douet takes up the translation at pt II. ch. XLIII.

[3] The following table shows how these parts correspond to the different books of the original. The dates are those of the British Museum copies.

Chevalier du Soleil.	*Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros.*
Pt 1 (1643)	Pt I. Bk I.–Bk II. ch. XX.
Pt 2 (1620, 1625)	Pt I. Bk II. ch. XXI–Bk III. ch. XXIII.
Pt 3 (1620, 1633)	Pt I. Bk III. ch. XXIV–Pt II. Bk I. ch. XIX.

The last of the romances to appear in French was *Belianis de Grèce*, an instalment of which came out the year before the *Chevalier du Soleil* was completed. The book contains a royal privilege for printing the romance, "divided into four volumes, translated from the Spanish into our tongue by Monsieur le Chevalier de Beuil." But no more was ever published than the first volume[1], which is translated from the Italian, and therefore contains only the first fifty chapters of the first part of *Belianis de Grecia*.

The Peninsular romances first reached France at a very favourable moment. A revival of chivalresque ideas—a reaction against the *bourgeois* reigns of Louis XI and XII—had set in under the young King Francis I, of which the meeting between that monarch and our own Henry VIII on the Field of the Cloth of Gold is a

Chevalier du Soleil.	*Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros.*
Pt 4 (1633)	Pt II. Bk I. ch. XX.–Bk II. end.
Pt 5 (1626)	Pt III. Bk I.
Pt 6 (1626)	Pt III. Bk II.
Pt 7 (1626)	Pt IV. Bk I.
Pt 8 (1626)	Pt IV. Bk II.

Brunet seems to be unaware of reprints other than those of 1643. He does not know the first edition of Pt I. which is in the Library of Congress at Washington.

[1] And this notwithstanding *Le Romant des Romans, où on verra la suitte et la conclusion de Don Belianis de Grèce, du Chevalier du Soleil et des Amadis*, by Gilbert Saulnier, Sieur Du Verdier, 1626–29. This all too extensive work is an original composition which received the unmerited compliment of being published in English in 1640, the translation having been made for the Earl of Pembroke. It brings the romances mentioned to a conjoint conclusion at the end of the seventh volume, where all the heroes and all their armies perish fighting against the Turks and their allies in what is rightly described as a terrible *mêlée*.

reminder. The early books of *Amadis*, fortunate in having Francis I as their sponsor, were more fortunate still in their translator. Nicolas de Herberay des Essarts atoned for the freedom with which he treated the subject-matter of his original, by the freedom of his French prose style. Although merely a translator, he produced a richer and suppler prose than original writers had yet created. There are numerous testimonies to the excellence of his language, apart from the laudatory verses prefixed to the books he translated. Jean Maugin, the translator of *Palmerin de Oliva*, insinuates in his preface his inability to approach "cest heureux langaige Essardin." Du Bellay, in *La défense et illustration de la langue française*[1], praises the romancists for their "beau et fluide langage," but he wishes they would employ their talents on the old French chronicles rather than on books more suited to amuse girls. This did not prevent him from writing an ode[2] in praise of Herberay's *Amadis* which Étienne Pasquier esteems his best. That excellent critic himself admits[3] that the French language

[1] Edited by L. Séché, 1905, bk II. ch. v. pp. 131, 132: "Je veux bien en passant dire un mot à ceux qui ne s'emploient qu'à orner et emplifier nos romans, et en font des livres certainement en beau et fluide langage, mais beaucoup plus propre à entretenir damoiselles, qu'à doctement escrire: je voudroy' bien (dy-je) les advertir d'employer ceste grande eloquence à recueillir ces fragments de vieilles chroniques françoises."

[2] *Au Seigneur des Essars sur le discours de son Amadis*, beginning "Celuy qui vid le premier," etc.

[3] *Les Recherches de la France*, edn. of 1621, bk VII. ch. VI. p. 614: "...& neantmoins nostre langue ne leur est pas peu redeuable: mais sur tous à Nicolas de Herberay, sieur des Essars aux huit liures d'Amadis de Gaule, & specialement au huictiesme: Roman dans lequel vous pouuez

was under no small debt to Herberay's books of *Amadis*, especially the last, in which, he says, "you may cull the finest flowers of our French tongue." The pedantic Abel Mathieu, in his *Devis de la langue française* (1572)[1], records how, in the days of his "grande jeunesse," Herberay's writings were regarded as a model of fine language; but he objects that this same Herberay had not "sweated under the harness and travail of humane letters and good discipline." With that wisdom which comes after the event—for by this time Herberay's

cueillir toutes les belles fleurs de nostre langue Françoise. Iamais liure ne fut embrassé auec tant de faueur que cestuy, l'espace de vignt ans ou enuiron: Et neantmoins la memoire en semble estre auiourd'huy esuanoüie. Du Bellay l'honora d'vne longue Ode dans son cercueil: Qui est la plus belle de toutes les siennes."

[1] Fol. 13 verso–14 recto: "I'ay souuenance des ma grande ieunesse, que Nicolas de Herberay iecta és mains du peuple q̄lques discours d'amour, lesquels furent si honestement receuz, & auec si bō visage, que lors il fut prisé, & estimé de chacun, comme vne reigle du beau parler. Et neantmoins iceluy de Herberay (comme ie croy) n'auoit pas beaucoup rongé le laurier, ne long temps sué soubs le harnois, & trauail de letres humaines, & de bonnes disciplines. En escoutant telz discours en compagnie, ou ilz estoient leuz, ie disoy mon aduis: & me sembloit le parler vn peu affecté: me sembloient quelques liaisons doulces, & gracieuses: & quelques autres rudes, disioinctes, & mal plaisantes: qui me faisoit soubçonner, que le iugement de letres, & de sçauoir defailloit en l'homme. Auecques ce, il prenoit plaisir à offrir au peuple motz nouueaux, & estranges: desquelz le son m'estoit plus ennuyeux, & faschеux, & plus desplaisant à mes oreilles, que n'eust esté le son d'vne cloche cassée. Aussi le peuple n'en a pas faict cas: il a laissé enseuelir tels mots en oubli, auecques le corps de Herberay, qui les auoit offerts & presentez. Autremēt ne puis-ie donner aduis de tous iceux discours: car ie ne me suis pas amusé à les lire, desirant ēployer le tēps, & mō entendemēt à discours meilleurs, & de plus hault estat, & plus grande cōsequēce."

laurels were beginning to fade—he breaks off in his criticisms to inform us that he can tell us no more, for he had never troubled to read these trifles, being desirous of employing his time and understanding on loftier matters. Yet he confesses that, if Herberay's language seemed to him somewhat affected, it had "quelques liaisons doulces, & gracieuses."

With the excellent start thus given them by Herberay, the *Amadis* romances enjoyed for a short time an even greater popularity in France than they had in their own country. There is abundant evidence of their vogue in the literature of the period. The author of the romance *Gérard d'Euphrate*, published in 1549, tells us that he had "translated" this work many years previously, but that when Herberay with his *Amadis* resuscitated the ancient Knights of Great Britain, to the great delight of lords and commoners, all other books were neglected, and so he kept back his own story[1]. This of course is mostly pretence, for *Gérard d'Euphrate* is an imitation of *Amadis*; but the tribute to the latter romance is sincere.

Brantôme in his facetious way signifies the popularity of the *Amadis* romances in feminine circles, for he "wished he had as many hundreds of crowns as there

[1] In the Epistle to the reader: "... mais le peu de recueil que l'on faisoit adoncq' des Traductions de monsieur Seissel, & Illustrations de Ian le Maire, œuvres certes dignes de louange & merite, m'en descouragea, fit cacher, & mettre en layette mes mynutes, iusques à l'an mil cinq cens trente neuf, que le Gentil-homme des Essars fit reuiure, & reflorir, par son Amadis, les vieux Cheualiers de la grand'Bretaigne (yssuz neantmoins de nostre prouince) auec tant d'aplaudissemens des Seigneurs, & allegresses du people, qu'estans tous autres liures postposez à cestuy, ie condannay mon Bourguignon à prison confinée, & perpetuel oubly.

were young ladies, both religious and lay, who had been perverted by reading these stories[1]." He himself had not read them in vain, for he several times refers to characters or matters contained in them. He compares Queen Margaret of Navarre to "la belle Nicquée[2]," the heroine of the Spanish Ninth Book of *Amadis*, and elsewhere uses "la gloire de Nicquée" as a standard of comparison. He also mentions "le palais d'Apolidon" in the Firm Island which became the stronghold of Amadis, as well as the "Arch of True Lovers" that existed there[3]. Dariolette, the French form for the name of the confidante of Amadis and Elisena, is with

[1] *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by L. Lalanne for the Société de l'Histoire de France, 1864–82, tom. IX. (*Recueil des dames.—Vie des dames galantes*), p. 573: "Je voudrois avoir autant de centaines d'escus comme il y a eu des filles, tant du monde que de relligieuses, qui se sont jeadis esmeues, pollues et dépucellées par la lecture des *Amadis de Gaule*."

[2] *Ibid.*, tom. VIII. (*Recueil des dames.—Vie des dames illustres*: Marguerite, Reyne de France et de Navarre), p. 29, where an "honneste gentilhomme françois" is quoted as remarking: "Ah! si le sieur des Essars, qui, en ses livres d'*Amadis*, s'est tant efforcé et peiné à bien descrire et richement représenter au monde la belle Nicquée et sa gloire, eust veu de son temps ceste belle reyne, il ne luy eust fallu emprumpter tant de belles et riches parolles pour la despeindre et la monstrer si belle; mais il luy eust suffi à dire seulement que c'estoit la semblance et image de la reyne de Navarre, l'unique du monde; et par ainsi ceste belle Nicquée, sans grande superfluité de parolles, estoit mieux peinte qu'elle n'a esté." Cf. also tom. VII. (*op. cit.*: Catherine de Médicis), p. 398.

[3] *Ibid.*, tom. V. (*Vie des hommes illustres*: Le Roy Charles IX), p. 277, and tom. X. (*Poésies inédites*), p. 404:

> S'il estoit aujourd'huy un tel arc amoureux
> Qu'il estoit du bon temps de la brave jeunesse
> Des Chevaliers errans. . . .

Cf. *Amadis*, bk II. ch. I. etc., and bk IV. ch. XLIV.

him more than once a synonym for an *entremetteuse*[1], while another minor character, Guilan el Cuidador, reappears as Guillot le Songeur[2].

The name Dariolette became so absorbed into the language that the corresponding masculine form could be used, as in Regnier's lines:

> Donq' la mesme vertu le dressant au pouler,
> De vertueux qu'il fut le rend Dariolet[3].

And the proverbial value acquired by another character is seen in Regnier's phrase "un conte d'Urgande et de ma mère l'Oie[4]." Another satirist of the period, Thomas Sonnet de Courval, uses the word Dariolet[5], besides mentioning Guillot le Songeur, and associating *Amadis* with *Boccaccio* and *Aretino* as the principal textbooks in which to study love's artifices[6]. In this connexion, however, Sonnet de Courval is more noteworthy as providing in the following picture of the French nobility a *pendant* to one of the English gentry quoted in a later section from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. Writing about the same time as Burton, Sonnet de Courval complains[7]:

[1] *Œuvres complètes, ed. cit.*, tom. IX. (*op. cit.*), p. 554: "J'ay ouy parler et raconter de beaucoup de filles, qui, en servant leurs dames et maistresses de Dario-lettes, vouloient aussi taster de leurs morceaux." Cf. also tom. VIII. (*op. cit.*: Madame Anne de France), p. 104.

[2] *Ibid.*, tom. IX. (*op. cit.*), p. 142: "Car quand une fois les femmes ont mis ce ver coquin amoureux dans leurs testes, les envoyent à toute heure chez Guillot le Songeur." Cf. the early chapters of *Amadis*, bk II.

[3] Satire V; in his *Œuvres complètes*, ed. E. Courbet, 1875, p. 42.

[4] Satire XV; *ibid.*, p. 124.

[5] Satire "Contre les Gardes Dismes"; in his *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. P. Blanchemain, 1876–77, tom. I. p. 62.

[6] "Le Hazard des Cornes"; *ibid.*, tom. III. pp. 55 and 61.

[7] "Le Gentilhomme"; *ibid.*, tom. II. pp. 124, 125.

France n'a plus de noblesse en vertu;
Le gentil-homme, en clinquant revestu,
Piaffe au bal, gaussant dit des sornettes,
Et ses moullins sont vendus pour des debtes.
Guerir la galle à quelque chien courant,
Carrabiner, battre le païsant,
Vendre un cheval, monter un mords de bride,
Lire *Amadis* et les *Amours d'Armide*...
Ce sont tous traits de superbe et d'audace....

That references to the above-mentioned characters and matters should be introduced into the literature of the period, quite naturally and without explanation, shows how universally popular the *Amadis* romances, at any rate, must have been in France. For a time, as Pasquier tells us[1], their vogue was immense: "Never was a book received with such favour as *Amadis*, for the space of twenty years or thereabouts." There was a special reason for this term of twenty years. As was stated before, the revival of the romance of chivalry in France synchronised with a revival in chivalrous practice. Tournaments were revived during the reign of Francis I; they became more frequent in the reign of Henry II,

[1] See the quotation given above, p. 210, n. 3. It may be remarked here that Pasquier is one of the few to quote the *Palmerins* as well as *Amadis*. In his chapter on the use of titles he makes the following interesting allusion in support of his contention that the term "Majesty," which, he says, began to be commonly applied to the sovereign in Henry II's time after the peace of Orcan, belongs properly to the Deity, and not to kings: "Lisez les huict premiers liures d'Amadis de Gaule, où le Seigneur des Essars voulut representer sous vn Perion de Gaule, & sa posterité, ce qui estoit de la vraye courtizanie, lisez le Palmerin d'Oliue, vous ne trouuerez point que ceux qui gouuernent les Rois vsent de cette façon de parler, *Vostre Maiesté, &c.*" *Op. cit.*, bk VIII. ch. v. p. 691.

who, under the influence of his mistress Diane de Poitiers, took personal part in some of them, till at length, in 1559, some twenty years after the publication of Herberay's First Book of *Amadis*, he was accidentally killed by the Scottish knight Montgomery, the Captain of his Guard. There was an immediate slump in chivalry at the court and in the capital, which lasted some considerable time, and which helps to explain why Lyons and Antwerp replace Paris about this date as centres for the publication of the chivalresque romances.

Outside courtly circles the romances continued to flourish, giving rise to the same criticisms as in other countries. The preface to the *Histoire Palladienne* is mainly a eulogy of the deceased translator, Claude Colet, by a member of *La Pléiade*, Étienne Jodelle[1], who tells us that he tried long and hard to dissuade Colet from deceiving France with these lying Spanish stories, which he describes as "la rêverie de nos pères, la corruption de notre jeunesse, la perte du temps, le jargon des valets de boutique, le témoignage de notre ignorance." Colet argued against him so adroitly, however, that at length Jodelle began to yield, and the two reached an agreement. Jodelle recognised that the romances were not a mere waste of time, and he wrote an ode for Colet's translation of the Nineteenth Book of *Amadis*.

[1] Colet's death provided Jodelle with one of his brightest inspirations. The prose preface is followed by some verses "Aux Cendres de Colet Par le mesme Iodelle," beginning thus:

Si ma voix qui me doit bien tost pousser au nombre
Des immortelz, pouuoit aller iusqu'à ton ombre
Colet, à qui la mort
Se monstra trop ialuuze . . . !

Colet in his turn promised to reform and to take to serious studies, but he wriggled out of the bargain by the simple device of dying prematurely.

Montaigne's development was similar to Jodelle's. One of the *Amadis* romances—*Don Silves de la Selva*—occupied an honourable place in his library[1]; but he had written disparagingly of these romances in his essay on books[2], where he says that they did not attract him even in his early years. His language is mild compared with that of François de La Noue, who devotes the sixth chapter in his *Discours politiques et militaires* to the *Amadis* romances[3], characterising them as "very fit instruments for the corruption of manners"; yet he says the majority of readers held them in such esteem that in Henry II's time "if anyone had dared to find fault with them they would have spat in his face." The Reverend Father Antonio Possevino averred, in a passage that has sometimes been misrepresented, that it was the devil who inspired the thought of translating

[1] See *La Bibliothèque de Montaigne*, by Paul Bonnefon, in the *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, 1895, vol. II. pp. 313–371. Item No. 64 describes a copy of *Don Silves de la Selva* bearing Montaigne's signature, now in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

[2] *Essais* (ed. by F. Strowski, 1906, etc., tom. II. pp. 103, 104), bk II. ch. X.: "Quant aux Amadis & telles sortes d'escrits, ils n'ont pas eu le credit d'arrester seulement mon enfance." A converse statement, in an interesting setting, is to be found in René de Lucinge, Sieur des Alimes, *La Manière de lire l'histoire*, 1614, ff. 12–14.

[3] Original edition, Basle, 1587, p. 134; available to English readers in Edward Aggas's translation of the same year. La Noue evidently did not believe in Herberay's manuscripts in the Picard language: "Mais pour en parler au vray, l'Espagne les a engendrez, & la France les a seulement reuestus de plus beaux habillemens."

the Spanish *Amadis* into elegant French, in order to foster Luther's revolt[1].

The elegance of the Amadisian French led to the publication of what was called a *Trésor des Amadis* based on Books 1–12, gradually supplemented so as to comprise Books 13–21. This work brought together the "epistles, complaints, speeches, and challenges" contained in *Amadis*, "for an example to those who wish to learn the correct writing of missives or the speaking of French," as the title-page states. And if the many editions issued between 1559 and the year of publication of *Don Quixote* are a testimony to the value of *Amadis* for the French language, there is also a substantial memorial to the influence of the romance on French literature, for to no other book can be so clearly traced the heroic romances of the seventeenth century.

Before this new literary movement *Amadis* and his fellows succumbed early in the seventeenth century. Yet though new editions ceased to be printed, existing copies were still being read quite late in the century. Hence Corneille in 1642 expected his audience to understand the reference in the following couplet:

> Mais parlons du festin. Urgande et Mélusine
> N'ont jamais sur le champ mieux fourni leur cuisine[2].

[1] *Bibliotheca Selecta*, 1593, bk 1. ch. xxv. p. 113. As mentioned above (p. 198), the passage was misunderstood by Angelo Paciuchelli, who attributed to Luther what is only said to have happened in his time. Possevino's own words are therefore given here: "... In vno Amadisio ista intueamur. Venerat hic liber aliena lingua in Gallias; Luthero autem satanas iam vtebatur tamquam mancipio in Germania, quæ pene omnis aut ceciderat, aut nutabat ad casum; cumq. in solidissimæ fidei Regnum vellet inuadere, Amadisium curauit in Gallicam linguam elegãtissime verti...." [2] *Le Menteur*, act 1., sc. 6.

In the pages of Scarron the same Amadisian characters still crop up quite naturally which were met with in the literature of half a century earlier: of the heroes, Amadis and Esplandian; and of the lesser lights, Urganda and Darioleta. Scarron, moreover, under the cover of Destin's account of his education in the *Roman comique* (1651)[1], ranges himself with René de Lucinge, mentioned in a note above, as an admirer of *Amadis* only in the years well preceding those of discretion.

Later on we find *Amadis* an evident favourite with Mme de Sévigné, who was attracted by two matters in the romance which had already appealed to Brantôme. In letters to her daughter, Mme de Grignan, she more than once[2] familiarly refers to the château de Grignan as the "palais d'Apolidon," while she several times[3] uses the expression "la gloire de Niquée" as an alternative for "paradise." On one occasion she even detects herself degenerating into the Amadisian style[4]. Further, in a letter from Emmanuel de Coulanges[5] to Mme de

[1] Ch. XIII.: "... et jusqu'à l'âge de quinze ans nous nous plaisions bien plus à lire les Amadis de Gaule que les Astrées et les autres beaux romans que l'on a faits depuis...." For other references to characters in *Amadis* see the *Roman comique*, ch. IX., *Virgile travesti*, bk IV. ll. 54, 55, and the verses entitled *Révélations*, st. 9, 10.

[2] See letters dated 21 June, 7 October, 1671, and 22 April, 1689.

[3] See letters dated 29 July, 1676 (" comme en paradis, ou dans la gloire de Niquée "), 7 August, 1676, and 30 July, 1677. Cf. also letter of 11 June, 1677, and one of Mme de Grignan's dated 17 December, 1690.

[4] See letter to the Comte de Bussy Rabutin and Mme de Coligny, dated 20 July, 1679: " Il me semble que cette lettre ressemble assez aux chapitres de l'Amadis, ou à ceux qu'on a faits pour les imiter."

[5] The writer, having gone into the country to meet Mme de Courtenvaux, informs Mme de Sévigné: "Nous n'avons pas manqué

Sévigné, written as late as 29 October, 1694, we see *Amadis* apparently still being read with enjoyment, and passed on to communicate the pleasure; while some topical verses at the end of this letter, full of jesting allusions thinly veiled under Amadisian disguises, show how familiar the romance must have been in this circle.

With this evidence that *Amadis* continued in favour among the gentry during the latter half of the seventeenth century, it is not surprising to find La Fontaine following the fashion. The inevitable "palais d'Apolidon" figures in his *Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon*[1]. He praises the language of *Amadis* in the "avertissement" to his *Contes et Nouvelles*, part 1 (1665), and mentions a brace of its heroes in part 2 (1666)[2]:

> Celui-ci, qui donnait à ses désirs l'essor,
> Comme faisaient jadis Rogel et Galaor.

Like Corneille, he expects his audience to take an allusion on the stage, as when, in his comedy *Clymène*[3], Apollo asks Erato:

> Vous vous marierez donc, ainsi qu'au temps jadis
> Oriane épousa Monseigneur Amadis?

And those to whom this was a dark saying could find the explanation in one of his miscellaneous poems, known as the "Ballade des livres d'amour."

à son arrivée ici de lui présenter l'aimable Amadis, qui est bien l'homme de la meilleure compagnie qu'on puisse entretentir, et qui est assurément d'une grande ressource contre l'ennui." If by "Amadis" one of the circle is meant, the passage still shows the book was being read.

[1] About the middle of the first book.

[2] In "La Fiancée du roi de Garbe," ll. 624, 625. The French commentators, having apparently forgotten Rogel de Grecia, note: "Rogel pour Roger."

[3] ll. 438, 439.

With La Fontaine praising the language of *Amadis*, it is natural that he should have provided dedicatory verses for the libretto by Philippe Quinault, based on the romance, which was put on the operatic stage in 1684 to the music of Lully. This belated appearance of Amadis on the stage marks his last appeal for popular favour, and it is interesting to note that, at his exit as at his entrance, Amadis made his bow to the French public under royal patronage; for just as Francis I had urged Nicolas de Herberay des Essarts to undertake the translation of *Amadis* from the Spanish, so Louis XIV suggested to Philippe Quinault the subject for the opera that was to be played before him. In more recent times, it is true—from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards—a few abridgments of the earlier books of *Amadis* have appeared in French; but these scholarly or commercial revivals do not belong to the story of the influence of *Amadis* in France.

III. Germany

As was the case with Italy and France, courtly influence was responsible too for the introduction of the Peninsular romances into Germany. The translation of *Amadis* into German was originally due to Duke Christopher of Württemberg, who made the acquaintance of the book in Paris, and who is said to have been so attracted by it that he "deputed someone in France to learn the language thoroughly, in order thereafter to translate the book more easily and have it printed[1]."

[1] Feyerabend's dedication of Book IV. to Elizabeth, "Pfaltzgräffin bey Rhein, vnd Hertzogin in Bayrn," edition of 1595, sig.)(5: "Dieweil

But the Duke died in 1568, before the latter part of the project could be accomplished. The carrying out of this fell to the famous Frankfurt printer Sigmund Feyerabend, who brought out the First Book in two different issues during 1569, though confusion has been created through the date on the title-page of the second issue being misprinted 1561[1]. The translation and printing proceeded regularly till 1575, by which year the Thirteenth Book was published in much abridged form[2].

The superstitious will be pleased to learn that with the Thirteenth Book all progress in translating *Amadis* from the French—or at least in printing the translation—ceased for fifteen years. But during this interval all thirteen books were reprinted in a single folio volume in 1583, and at least three books were reprinted separately in different years[3]. Perhaps others were reprinted but have disappeared or escaped notice. More important than these reprints, however, was the publication by Michael Manger, an Augsburg printer, of translations of some of Mambrino Roseo's Italian supplements. In 1578 there appeared a Supplement to Book 4, and

dann . . . Herr Christoff Hertzog zu Wirtenberg . . . so grosse anmutung vnnd neygung zu solchem Buch gehabt, hat er desswegen einen in Franckreich abgeordnet, die Spraach eigentlich zu lernē, hernach solchs Buch desto fleissiger zu verdolmetschen vnd in Truck zu geben, vnd aber sein F. G. vor solchem verschiedē, so hab ich gleichfals solche Bücher zu meinen Handen bekom̄en, vñ nit mit geringē Vnkosten getrewlichē vertieren od' transferirē lassen."

[1] The dates being given in Roman numerals, MDLXIX easily became MDLXI.

[2] For details concerning the bibliography of *Amadis* in Germany, as well as in France, see Maximilian Pfeiffer, *Amadisstudien*, 1905, pp. 28–44.

[3] Books III. and IV., 1574; Book VI., 1576. (*Ibid.*, pp. 31, 36.)

a Supplement and Further Supplement to Book 5. By reissuing the first two of these next year as Books 14 and 15, confusion was introduced into the sequence, for in 1590, the year in which Feyerabend died, the publication of the original set was resumed at Frankfurt with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Books of the "True History," translated from the French. By 1593 Feyerabend's heirs had published translations of all the remaining French books of *Amadis*, down to the Twenty-first and last Book, and to provide a uniform edition they proceeded straightway to reprint Books 1–13, the whole being completed between 1594 and 1598. Once more, existing reprints of odd volumes[1] testify to possible reissues of the complete series.

At the end of the Twenty-first Book the French translator from the Italian had, as already mentioned, "brought to a close the last book of the history." The German translator of 1593 reopened the series by simply tacking on a sentence referring to events "which the following books of this history will reveal[2]." And

[1] Book 1, 1596; Book 2, 1617; Supplement to Book 4, 1620; Book 7, 1596; Book 14, 1610; Books 17 and 18, 1617. (*Ibid.*, p. 36.)

[2] The conclusion is here quoted for comparison with the Italian and French given above, p. 202, n. 2 and 3, and as an illustration of what Cervantes would call the translator's "bedevilled and involved discourse": "... vnnd hiemit dises Buch beschliessen. Allein soll ich noch diss vermelden, dass der Printzen trawrigkeit vnd grosses leid, als sie jhre todten, deren in die fünff vnd fünfftzig tausent gefunden wurden, begraben, vnd die Könige balsamirt hatten, damit man jhre Leychnam könte heimb führen, in grimm verwandelt worden, darumb sie nachmals in die Heydenschafft gezogen, den grossen schaden zurechen inmassen folgende Bücher diser Historien aussweisen. Ende des xxj. Buchs."

in accordance with this promise there came out in 1594 and 1595 three more books, bringing the total up to twenty-four books. The statement on the title-pages that these three books are translated from the French is merely an attempt to carry on the business with the goodwill of the previous volumes. Twenty years later they appear for the first time in French[1], and then the title-pages say they are translated from the Spanish, simply because the previous volumes had said the same

[1] The privilege for all three books is dated 1 Dec. 1614. The preface to Book 22 contains the following statement: "C'est pourquoy ayant recouuert non sans grands frais & difficulté outre le 21. liure (qu'on estimoit le dernier) trois autres copies du 22. 23. & 24. liures, nous les mettons en lumiere ausquels le lecteur se pourra delecter, pouuant bien sasseurer . . . qu'en ces liures consequens, & non encores veus par cydeuant en nostre langue Françoise, ains *tout de nouueau translatez sur vne copie Espagnole fort ancienne*, il s'y trouuera autant d'honneste plaisir qu'en aucun autre des precedens." The "very old Spanish copy" is a pure invention, incidentally showing that an *Amadis* romance of acknowledged German origin would have no credit in France. "Newly translated" is probably correct; but that at least the intention to bring out these three books in French existed at a much earlier date may be gathered from a privilege prefixed to the British Museum copy of J. A. Huguetan's edition of the *Thresor de tous les liures d'Amadis*, Lyons, 1606: "Par grace & priuilege du Roy, il est permis à Iean Anthoine Huguetan Marchand Libraire de la ville de Lyon, d'imprimer, vendre & debiter le present liure intitulé, Le Thresor de tous les liures d'Amadis de Gaule: ensemble les vingt-deuxiesme, vingt-troisiesme, & vingt-quatriesme liures desdicts Amadis *nouuellement traduicts* en langue Françoise: Et sont faictes tres-expresses defenses à tous autres Libraires, Imprimeurs de ce Royaume, d'imprimer ou vendre lesdicts liures sans le consentement dudict Huguetan, Et ce pour le temps & terme de dix ans, à commencer du iour que lesdicts liures seront paracheuez d'imprimer. . . . Donné à Paris, le 3. Iuillet, 1602." This privilege is printed on an inserted leaf, and probably belongs to an earlier edition than that in which it is found.

—in the latter case regardless of facts[1]. As no Spanish originals of Books 22–24 exist, or ever did exist, the French books have hitherto been thought to be original works themselves. But internal evidence supports the obvious conclusion that they are translations from the German.

This conclusion is reinforced by the one bibliographical item that remains to be mentioned. In 1596 there appeared at Strassburg a *Schatzkammer*[2], corresponding to the French *Trésor*, which shows that *Amadis* played just the same *rôle* of polite manual in Germany as it did in France. But whereas the *Schatzkammer* at its first appearance—the year after the publication of the German Book 24—contained material drawn from all the twenty-four books of *Amadis*, the *Trésor* had grown up gradually: in 1559 it was drawn from Books 1–12, in 1571 from Books 1–13, in 1574 from Books 1–14, and finally in 1582 from Books 1–21. Even the editions of the *Trésor* published early in the seventeenth century did not go further than Book 21—clearly the point at which the genuine French series stopped.

The *Amadis* series had arrived in Germany during a literary period which was singularly barren of good works. Its popularity, which is therefore the less surprising, is attested by the various odd reprints preserved in German (and other) libraries, since these are doubtless only survivals of more extensive issues. We have, moreover, contemporary evidence of the eagerness with which editions of *Amadis* were absorbed. Johann Baptist

[1] As stated above, the French Books 15–21 are translated from the Italian.

[2] Reprinted 1597, 1600, 1608, 1612 (2), 1624.

Fickler tells us[1] that in 1577 he heard a prominent printer—no doubt Sigmund Feyerabend himself—say that *Amadis* was a more profitable venture than Luther, and that he simply could not get enough copies printed[2].

The fact that Duke Christopher of Württemberg had interested himself in the translation helps to explain the great vogue *Amadis* enjoyed in German courtly circles. Some of the translators themselves would appear to have been men of rank. But this is based on little more than conjecture from the initials which in every case alone indicate the translator. Only in one instance have these initials been identified: J.F.M.G., who is responsible for the Sixth Book, is no other than Johann Fischart (Mentzer Genannt), the great German satirist of the day. In several of his works Fischart not unnaturally refers to *Amadis*[3], which, as he was sensible enough to admit in some verses prefixed to his translation of Book 6, contained

Beide Gutes und auch Böses viel.

[1] In the preface to his version of G. Dupuyherbault's *Theotimus*, entitled: *Tractat Herrn Gabriel Putherbeien. Von verbot vnnd auffhebung deren Bücher vnd Schrifften, so nit mögen gelesen werden*, 1581, fol. 5 recto: "... Aber vnangesehen dessen, hab ich im jüngst abgeloffnen Deputation vnnd Moderationstag zu Franckfurt, so Anno 1577. gehalten worden, von einem fürnemen Buchtrucker auss seinem mund gehört, dass ime diser zeit der *Amadis de Gaula* mehr in seckel getragen, weder des Luthers Postill. Es künden auch solcher Gaulischen (oder vil mehr gailen) exemplar schier nit genug getruckt werden."

[2] This passion for *Amadis* helps to explain the early appearance of a stage version of the romance—according to an entry in Graesse's *Trésor de livres rares*, 1859, etc., tom. 1. p. 96: *Historia von des ritters Amadisens auss Franckreich thaten. Die allererste Comedia.* Dresden, 1587.

[3] See Maximilian Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–75.

Another of the eminent writers of the time we can just catch within the meshes of our net, for *Amadis* earned exaggerated praise from Martin Opitz. In his *Aristarchus, sive de contemptu linguæ Teutonicæ*[1], Opitz maintains the bold thesis that the spirit and flow of German in his day was so graceful and felicitous that it need not yield to the majesty of Spanish, the purity of Italian, or the charm and fluency of French. To prove which, the German translation of *Amadis* is quite sufficient, in spite of the unjustified attacks made by certain people. There is nothing in that delightful work which does not inculcate courtesy; chaste and refined, it—so to speak—outrages coarser natures. And he adds:

I would call it a casket of all delights, a cabinet of graces, a cure for care, a procuress of politeness; lacking which, love itself falls something short of loveliness. Every word breathes

[1] In *Martini Opicii Teutsche Põemata vnd Aristarchus*, 1624, pp. 110, 111: "Ingenium certè verborum nostrorum & tractus sententiarum ita decens est, ita felix ut neque Hispanorum majestati, neque Italorum decentiæ, neque Gallorum venustæ volubilitati concedere debeat. Cujus rei unicam *Amadæi historiam*, in nostrum idioma conversam, optimæ fidei testem arcessere possumus. Quem quidem librum, quòd quidam ita atroci stylo & indignanti pungunt ac confodiunt, causam profectò non habent. Nihil sanè est in tàm festivo opere, quod non & ad morum comitatem præcepta ingerat, & honestâ suavitate conditum, vim quasi asperioribus naturis faciat, ac nil tale cogitantes expugnet. Delitiarum omnium pyxidem dixerim, mirothecium Gratiarum, curarum medelam, lenam morum: absque quo nec ipsa Venus satis venusta. Verba singula majestatem spirant singularem ac elegantiam, & sensus nostros non ducunt, sed rapiunt. Adeò inusitata facilitas, gratia inexhausta ac lepos ita lectorem detinet, ut quò magis eadem repetat, eò minùs fastidium relectionis ullum sentire sibi videatur. Quæ omnia & pellicere nos ad se, & invitare ad excogitanda plura paris elegantiæ ac festivitatis debent."

forth a singular beauty and dignity, and not merely captivates but ravishes our senses. The unwonted smoothness, the unending grace and charm of the book so arrests the reader, that the more he repeats a passage, the less bored shall he seem by the repetition. All which must necessarily attract us, and urge us to similar inventions equally charming and diverting.

With his indiscriminate praise of *Amadis*[1], Martin Opitz is somewhat of a voice crying in the wilderness. As in other countries, so in the German-speaking lands blame preponderates. The enlarged edition of Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca* published in 1583 contains an article[2] on *Amadis* appreciative indeed of the language; but instead of finding "nothing which does not inculcate courtesy," the writer finds in the romance "nothing but the most foul and disgraceful love-scenes, realistically described," and he rather maliciously adds that "nevertheless, hardly a family in France is without these books, for they fancy that nowhere else can they learn the French tongue pure and undefiled."

Exactly thirty years later this theme is developed in the *Orationes seu Consultatio de principatu inter provincias Europæ*, the work of the learned editor Thomas Lansius. In one of the speeches there is an outcry[3] against the

[1] Later the German translation—by Fischart—of *Marnixii apiarium* is substituted for *Amadis*, with suitable changes in the text.

[2] *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta primum a Conrado Gesnero ... amplificata per Iohannem Iacobum Frisium Tigurinum*, 1583, p. 34: "His nugis Gallicis ... nihil præcipuè præter turpissimos & fœdissimos amores narratur, & ita quidē vt res ipsæ oculis penè subijciantur, quibus tamen libris ferè nullæ Gallorum familiæ carent: quod non aliunde, linguæ Gallicæ puritatem discere se putant."

[3] Edn. 2, 1620, p. 312: "Mox etiam tristior & funestior emersit clades, ex damnatissima Amadisi bibliotheca: ... O seculi insaniam!

most damnable *Amadis* series, the ulcer of the book-shelves. For these are the books which corrupt chastity, destroy temperance, train both the mind and the tongue to looseness, teach the countless cunning tricks of adultery and unbridled lust, and the debasement of marriage by stealthy and frequent embraces in advance, so to speak:—such books should be consigned to the flames, or banished to Sicily, where men are used to wasting themselves in continual watch and ward against the nightly marauder and the matrimonial bandit.

Twelve years later Johann Gryphiander quotes[1] the famous critic Justus Lipsius to the effect that *Amadis* is the "offspring of an ingenious trifler, a pestilent book if ever there was one, born to debase, and even to destroy, the young." And he adds that it is therefore all the more surprising to find the book recommended for girls, especially of the upper class, as though forsooth it conduced to elegance of speech and manners[2].

O morum infamiam! O bibliothecarum ulcera! Hi enim Amadisi libri sunt, qui castitatem deturpant, qui evertunt temperantiam, qui vagam linguam & mentem formant, qui innumera adulteriorum & effrenatarum libidinum strategemata ostendunt, qui matrimonia furtivis iisque quotidianis complexibus quasi in antecessum consummare, & ante legitimum tempus polluere docent: . . . libri flammis tradendi, aut certè in Siciliam deportandi; ubi viri perpetuis se macerant vigiliis contra vaferrimos noctium aucupes, furesq; nuptiarum."

[1] *De Weichbildis Saxonicis*, 1625, ch. xvi. p. 53: ". . . Amadæus . . . ingeniosi nugatoris proles, pestilens liber, si vmquam fuit, & natus blande inficere, aut interficere iuuentutem, ait verissime Lipsius. . . . Quo magis mirum, illius lectionem etiam puellis, præsertim nobilioribus commendari, quasi scilicet ad elegantiam morum & sermonis cōducat." Cf. Lipsius, *Politicorum siue Ciuilis Doctrinæ libri sex*, 1605, p. 470, end of note to lib. I. ch. x.

[2] The influence of *Amadis* in German female society of the seventeenth century may be judged from the satirical "Schutz-Rede einer Jungfraw, über die gänge Zunge," in *Salomons von Golaw Deutscher*

These adverse criticisms produced as little effect in Germany as elsewhere, and *Amadis* was still being reprinted in 1617, during which year at least three of the twenty-one books translated from the French series were reissued. The end came suddenly. Next year the Thirty Years' War broke out, and the consequent turmoil accounts for the practical cessation of reprinting. The only reissues recorded after the outbreak of the war are the first of the translations from the Italian—the Supplement to Book 4—in 1620, and the *Schatzkammer* in 1624. But though the romances ceased to be printed, the criticisms continued, and it was reserved for Peter Laurenberg in 1640 to produce what is perhaps the most absurd of them all[1]. He tells us that *Amadis* was so popular in France in Henry II's time that people

Sinn-Getichte Drey Tausend, Andres Tausend, Erstes Hundert, No. 38, pp. 12–15 of the 1654 edn.; or in the 1872 reprint by Gustav Eitner in the *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. 113, pp. 234–236.

[1] *Acerra Philologica*, 1640, pt III. pp. 174, 175: "... man hette ehe den *Livium* verachtet vnd verworffen als den *Amadys*. Der Erfinder oder Tichter ist ein Spanischer Höfelinck gewesen, ein trefflicher Meister in der schwartzen Kunst, der vnterm Schein einer anmutigen Historien sein Gifft hat andern anschmieren vnnd beybringen wollen, vnd dardurch seine Teuffels Kunst fortpflantzen. Ist gewesen ein Mohametist, oder Saracener, welches Glaubens zu der Zeit es viele gegeben in Spanien. Der *Alquif*, die *Urganda*, vnd der gleichen Zauberer, werden von jhme die Weisen genennt, vnd jhre Kunst, die vollkommene Weissheit.... Er meldet auch, dass die weise *Urganda* jhre Weissheit vnd Kunst gelernet von einem Meister mit Namen *Apollidon*. Ist ohn zweiffeln gewesen der *Apollyon*, dessen in der Offenbahrung Johannis gedacht wird nemlich der Satanas selbst. Derohalben sol ein jegliches Christlich vnd tugendreiches Gemuth für dem *Amadis* ein abschew tragen, vnd denselben wie ein gifftiges Thier fliehen."

would have given up *Livy* rather than *Amadis*—a view which a referendum to the masses would certainly have upheld. He adds that the author was a Spanish courtier, a Mohammedan or Saracen, and a first-class expert in black magic, who was endeavouring to communicate his poison through the medium of a pleasant story, and so to spread his devilish art. Alquife, Urganda, and magicians of that kind are described as "the wise" by this Spaniard, who further informs us that the wise Urganda learned her wisdom and her craft from a master named Apollidon. This latter, says Laurenberg, "was without doubt Apollyon, of whom mention is made in the Revelation of St John, in short Satan himself. Wherefore every Christian and virtuous soul will abhor *Amadis*, and flee from him as from a poisonous beast."

The passion for the romances would seem to have died down in Germany by the eighteenth century, to judge from the preface by Georg Serpilius to the German version of Johann Ludwig Prasch's *Psyche Cretica* (1705)[1]. Here the writer speaks of the *former* influence of

[1] "Was hat nicht schon vor vielen Jahren das süsse Gifft der Amadis vor Würckung gehabt? Hat man doch in Franckreich zu Konig Henrici II. Zeiten kein Wort dawider reden dörffen. Dekherus de scriptis adespotis p. 130. ingleichen D. Müller in der Evangel. Schluss-Kette p. 183. nennet es nicht unrecht *ein vergifftetes und der Jugend höchstschädliches*; Lansius Consult. p. 31. (or rather 312, as quoted above) *ein verfluchtes*, Petrus Piscator in Problem. Sacr. Probl. II. § 2. *ein verteuffeltes Buch.* Darwider unterschiedliche Authores harte Judicia gefället, wie bey gedachtem Hendreich p. 138. seq. zu sehen. Alle bekennen mit J. V. Andreæ in Mythologia p. 46. dass es am besten sey, dergleichen höchstärgerliche Bücher zu verbrennen, und ihr Andencken gäntzlich auszurotten, damit unschuldige Hertzen dadurch nicht verführet werden."

Amadis, at the same time bringing together a number of criticisms, the latest belonging to the last quarter of the seventeenth century. To one, *Amadis* is "a poisonous book and most harmful to the young"; to another "a devilish book"; while yet another thinks that "it were better to burn such pestiferous books, and utterly root out their memory, in order that innocent hearts be not perverted by them." This hardly agrees, as Gryphiander had noticed, with the frequent title-page statements, according to which the various German books of *Amadis* are for "all the honourable members of the nobility and all persons of high and low degree, and especially for all virtuous matrons and maidens very pleasant and profitable for to read." But perhaps the strictures applied more to the French versions, which were current in Germany; for the German translators altered and "reformed" their originals—in some cases to the extent of causing their heroes to listen to sermons instead of going to Mass.

That *Amadis* was still in repute in Germany quite late in the seventeenth century is shown by the fact that Frau Courage, the heroine of one of Christoph von Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* writings[1], received from the widow her landlady a copy of the romance, "wherewith to while away the time and to study

[1] *Trutzsimplex* (composed *c.* 1669). Ch. v.: "Sie lehnte mir auch den *Amadis*, die Zeit darin zu vertreiben, und Complimenten daraus zu ergreifen."

At the end of *Das wunderbarliche Vogel-Nest*, Grimmelshausen expresses the hope that the reader of his book will have spent his time at least as well as if he had read *Amadis* instead, and he rather fancies he will have spent it better and more profitably.

compliments." And Andreas Heinrich Buchholtz[1] had indirectly proved the same thing a few years earlier by writing two novels, *Hercules* (1659) and *Herculiscus* (1665), in opposition to the books of *Amadis*, "which teach nothing but loose love and a belief in witchcraft[2]."

After the seventeenth century, German interest in *Amadis* becomes antiquarian, and its history need not be followed. Two names, however, may be mentioned. In 1771 Wieland brought out *Der neue Amadis*; but apart from the title this work has nothing to do with the original *Amadis*, as its author himself stated. At the beginning of the nineteenth century *Amadis* earned the praise of Goethe, and so was recompensed for all the denunciations hurled against it while it was in vogue. Writing to Schiller in 1805[3], after recovering from an illness, Goethe mentions having read, amongst other things, *Amadis of Gaul*, and he adds: "It really is a shame to grow so old, without having known so excellent a work other than through the mouth of parodists." In view of the relations between Goethe and Christian August Vul-

[1] Like other German novelists of the seventeenth century (e.g. H. A. von Ziegler and D. K. von Lohenstein), Buchholtz had been inspired by *Amadis*, but later rejected the romance and made fun of its readers.

[2] Cf. L. Cholevius, *Die bedeutendsten deutschen Romane des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1866, pp. 117–151.

[3] The letter, written on the 14 Jan. 1805, is given in the *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe*, and ends thus: "Leben Sie recht wohl und gedenken Sie mein. Sobald ich wieder wagen darf auszugehn, besuche ich Sie einen Abend. Ich habe vor Langerweile allerlei gelesen, z.B. den Amadis von Gallien. Es ist doch eine Schande, dass man so alt wird, ohne ein so vorzügliches Werk anders als aus dem Munde der Parodisten gekannt zu haben."

pius, it is doubtless no mere coincidence that, during the year in which the former made this statement, the latter should have published an account of *Amadis*, with genealogical tables relating to the romance, in the second volume of his *Bibliothek des romantisch-Wunderbaren*[1]. The only book of the German series to be reprinted in modern times is the First Book, edited by Adelbert von Keller in 1857.

It is curious that Germany, which adopted all the existing books of the French *Amadis* series before the end of the seventeenth century, should have entirely ignored the rest of the Peninsular romances while their vogue lasted in other countries. Only one more of these romances, in fact, ever appeared in German: towards the end of the eighteenth century an abridged version of *Palmerin de Oliva* was published in the *Bibliothek der Romane*[2] edited by H. A. O. Reichard and others. In this respect Germany's record is inferior to that of the only other continental country we have to consider.

IV. Holland

Clearly the wave of influence of the Peninsular romances was already losing its force when it reached

[1] Among the uncritical bibliographical details here supplied may be mentioned a reference to a Seville edition of *Amadis* of 1496.

[2] The British Museum set of this publication is made up; it consists of volumes published at Berlin or Riga between 1779 and 1794, some of the earlier ones being described as of the second edition. In this set *Palmerin de Oliva* occupies pp. 7–108 of vol. x. and pp. 7–96 of vol. xi. published at Riga in 1783 and 1784 respectively. The signature "Vlps," over which the translation appears, points to this being an early effort by C. A. Vulpius.

Germany. With Holland we are now approaching its extreme limits on the continent. The Dutch *Amadis* series was translated from the French, evidently before the French series had received its last accession, for a complete set consists of twenty-one books, the last three books added in the German series being wanting. The importance which the translators themselves attached to their versions may be estimated from the fact that not one of them thought fit to reveal his name. Book 7, indeed, has a dedicatory epistle signed by an unidentified G.V., who professes to have translated eight books[1], and Book 20 was translated by an equally unknown H. F. The value of the translations as literature can be appreciated from the obscureness of their bibliography. When *Amadis* first appeared in Dutch is not certain. At one time a very early date was accepted[2]; but this was afterwards supposed to be due to the confusion of the Dutch with the German version—a very

[1] The 1613 edition of Book 7 contains a dedication to Miss Josina van Dorp, dated 20 May, 1592, in which G.V. says he was moved to translate "the last eight books" into Dutch, and have them printed along with the preceding books: "... Ende dat door 'tlesen vande voorsz Boecken, daer toe eenigen yver by de sommige verwect soude werden, ben ick beweeght geworden u die acht laetste te verduytschen, ende die met de voorgaende alle te samen te doen drucken." If Book 7 was the first of those translated by G.V., then two-thirds of the series would seem to have been printed by about 1592.

[2] Responsible Dutch writers still quote the absurdly early date 1546, which can be traced back to an unfortunate entry in the Richard Heber sale catalogue, 1834, pt 1. No. 253: "Amadis van Gaulen. Ein schoone Historie, *in German, with wood cuts, imperfect at the end*, Antwerpen, 1546." The date is no doubt a misprint, probably for 1596, when an edition seems to have been published. There was no excuse for confusing Dutch and German in 1834.

easy matter[1]—and a much later date was substituted. There exists in Leyden, however, a copy of the Fourth Book printed in Dutch at Antwerp in 1574, and so it is quite possible that the Dutch First Book may have been published, as some have stated, the year before the German First Book appeared. As the first note of this section shows, the series was considerably extended about the year 1592, and the books of *Amadis* in general may be said to have achieved their greatest popularity during the last decade of the sixteenth century and the first quarter of the seventeenth: throughout this period they were being issued by the popular publishers of Leyden, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Utrecht—and occasionally a minor town; but such collections of the Dutch *Amadis* as exist[2] are of so motley a nature that it

[1] Especially in view of the fact that in earlier times our forefathers spoke of the German language as "Dutch." Cf. Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1617, bk I. ch. v. pp. 56, 57), where the writer describes his arrival at Lübeck in 1593, and adds: "Here I bought the foureteenth Booke of *Amadis de Gaule*, in the Dutch tongue, to practise the same: for these Bookes are most eloquently translated into the Dutch, and fit to teach familiar language; and for this Booke I paid eighteene lubecke shillings, and for the binding foure." As a clue to the price, it may be mentioned that Fynes Moryson paid for his supper and bed "sixe lubecke shillings."

[2] The following list of dates for the 21 books is compiled from the sets in the British Museum, the Royal Library at the Hague, and the University Library of Amsterdam and of Leyden.

Bk 1.	1598, 1619.	Bk 8.	1617.	Bk 15.	1609, 1621.
„ 2.	1598, 1619.	„ 9.	1596, 1613.	„ 16.	1612, 1622.
„ 3.	1598, 1613.	„ 10.	1616, 1617.	„ 17.	1612, 1623.
„ 4.	1574, 1619.	„ 11.	1598, 1613.	„ 18.	1615.
„ 5.	1607, 1628.	„ 12.	1607, 1616.	„ 19.	1625.
„ 6.	1615.	„ 13.	1607, 1618.	„ 20.	1612, 1623.
„ 7.	1613.	„ 14.	1608, 1620.	„ 21.	1624.

is impossible to say whether any single publisher ever issued a complete set.

Apparently not more than two of the *Palmerin* romances were translated into Dutch, again from the French, although in the end Holland accepted from France twenty-one of the twenty-four books to which the *Amadis* series ultimately ran. The British Museum has two editions of a Dutch translation of *Palmerin de Oliva*, both published at Arnhem, the one dated 1602 (in the colophon, 1603), the other dated 1613. The second edition is "van nieuws oversien, ende met schoone figueren verciert," but the miscellaneous assortment of very crude cuts (nine in all, with one repeated) gives out after leaf thirty. The British Museum also has the Second Book of *Primaleon*, translated into Dutch by Samuel Min-el, and published at Rotterdam in 1621 by Jan van Waesberghe, who had published a number of the *Amadis* books illustrated with a series of cuts, some of which are utilised in the *Primaleon*. This is a translation of the French version of Gabriel Chappuys. Like its original, it has thirty-eight chapters, and it ends with a very free adaptation of the epilogue in which Chappuys promised a Third Book; but no Third

These figures imply a much more extensive output of *Amadis* editions between 1596 and 1628. The earlier date can be carried back to 1592 by the statement of G.V., given in a preceding note, and by an entry in a catalogue of the firm F. Muller & Co.: *Nederlandsche letterkunde. Populaire prosaschrijvers der* 17^{e} *en* 18^{e} *eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1893, according to which Books 1–4 were printed by Jan Claesz. van Dorp at Leyden in 1592, evidently to match the eight books translated by G.V., printed in or about that year. As Book 4 had already appeared in 1574, G.V. must have translated and had published Books 7–12, together with two others, to be selected from Books 5, 6, 13 and 14.

Book seems to have been printed, nor is there any record of a First Book, although the existence of such a First Book is implied by the above-mentioned Second Book. Yet in spite of the uncertainty surrounding these books, it can safely be said that both the *Amadis* and the *Palmerin* series disappeared from the book-market in Holland much about the same time as they did in Germany and Italy.

Although, as the approbation to the First Book of the Dutch *Amadis* reminds us, everything that was "too French" had been toned down in the translation[1], we meet with the same criticisms of these romances in Holland as we do elsewhere. Roemer Visscher, in his *Brabbeling*, turns a ponderous compliment to his wife by contrasting, in her favour, the pleasure one of her letters gave him, with that which he derived from a group of standard works: among these he mentions *Amadis*[2], but he seems to have appreciated its lies—its "glorious lies" withal. Such levity would have displeased the painter-poet Karel van Mander, who, in his *Olijf-Bergh*[3], earnestly warns young people to turn from "idle, unclean stories," choosing as his illustration

[1] "... Imo cum multa, quæ in Gallico erant petulantius dicta, honestioribus verbis expresserit."

[2] "Van Amadis heb ick ghelesen de heerlijcke loghen"; in No. 3 of the section entitled "Jammertjens," which is not included in the 1612 edition, but which figures in the 1614 edition (p. 144).

[3] Edition of 1609, pp. 7, 8:

Dus comt o Jeucht gheeft vlijtich hier ghehoor,
Voorē went van ydel onreyn dichten,
Laet sulck' u teer ghemoeden niet onstichten
Noch locken tot lichtveerdich argh bestier,
Als *Amadys* en ander sulck papier....

Amadis "en ander sulck papier." In the same way the scholar and poet Dierick Coornhert classes *Amadis* with *Ovid* and "other lewd books and poems, as harmful for the young as Machiavelli is for princes[1]."

As in other countries, however, people read the romances none the less—perhaps they read them all the more—by reason of such adverse criticisms. These stories, which at least had the merit of assisting the development of Dutch prose, were eagerly devoured by all classes of society. From Gerbrand Bredero's play *Moortje*[2], an imitation of Terence's *Eunuchus*, we learn that *Amadis* was a suitable present on St Nicholas' day for children of school age. The esteem in which the romance was held in court circles may be gathered from a remark of William the Silent of Orange, when he took Anne of Saxony as his second wife. Readers of Motley's *Dutch Republic*[3] will remember his reply to the Electress,

who, immediately after the marriage, entreated that he would not pervert her niece from the paths of the true religion [i.e. Lutheranism]. "She shall not be troubled," said the Prince, "with such melancholy things. Instead of holy writ she shall read *Amadis de Gaule*[4], and such books of pastime which treat *de amore*; and instead of knitting and sewing she shall learn to

[1] Quoted by G. Kalff in his *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde in de 16de eeuw*, 1889, pt II. p. 214: "Amadijs de Gaule, Ovidius Nasonis ende ander onkuysche Boecken ende Poëterien (soo arghelijck voor de jeucht, als Machiavel voor de Regeerders)."

[2] Act v. sc. 3. At the end of a list of more suitable things, occur

de moye stoorien
Van Fortunates buersje, van Blancefluer, van Amadis de Gauwelen.

[3] Pt II. ch. II. near the end.

[4] The French version, since the marriage took place in 1561.

dance a *gaillarde*, and such *courtoisies* as are the mode of our country and suitable to her rank."

In one sphere the Peninsular romances had more influence in Holland than they had in any other country except perhaps Spain itself. The flourishing Dutch drama of the seventeenth century derived a number of plots from the *Amadises* and the *Palmerins*[1]. Bredero, whose acquaintance with *Amadis* has been seen above, does not appear to have drawn upon that series for any of his plots, but he utilised episodes from *Palmerin de Oliva* in three of his plays: *Rodd'rick ende Alphonsus*, *Griane*, and the *Stommen Ridder*, first performed in 1611, 1612, and 1618 respectively[2]. From this time onwards we find various *Amadis* books laid under contribution: Jan Starter, a Londoner by birth, took the plot of his *Daraide*, first performed in 1618, from one of Feliciano de Silva's additions to the series, *Rogel de Grecia*. The above four plays were produced and printed while editions of the romances were still being published in Holland. There are a few more Dutch plays which prove that, as in other countries, the romances were not forgotten long after they had ceased to be printed. Salomon Questiers based his *Griecxen Amadis* (1633) on an episode in another of Feliciano de Silva's continuations, *Amadis of Greece*, while Pieter van Zeerijp

[1] For full details see J. A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van het drama en van het tooneel in Nederland*, 1904–08.

[2] See C. H. den Hertog, *De bronnen van Breeroos romantische spelen*, in *De Gids*, March, 1885, pp. 500–546. This writer also finds in *Griane* the influence of Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, which Bredero may have seen performed in Holland by an English company not long before his own play was staged.

returned to *Rogel de Grecia* for the plot of his *Arfleura en Brusanges* (1646). Not till late in the seventeenth century do we meet with the original Four Books of *Amadis* in this connexion, and even then their influence is but second-hand: Thomas Arendsz wrote his *Amadis* (1687) after the Quinault-Lully opera produced in Paris in 1684, and early in the next century K. Elzevier based his *Amadis en Oriane, of proef van standvastige liefde* on the libretto of Handel's opera *Amadigi*, produced in London in 1715. These two plays, however, being suggested from without, hardly represent the results of the adoption of *Amadis* into Dutch literature. Those results died out in Holland much about the same time as they did in Germany.

With Holland the story of how these romances spread over the continent comes to an end, for enough has been said in an earlier chapter of the Hebrew version of Book I of *Amadis* printed in Constantinople about 1540. It only remains to be added that there is not wanting a Jewish protest against this romance: Jewesses at least were warned against "*Amadis of Gaul* and such profane books" in the preface to the Italian version (1614)[1] of Benjamin Aaron Slonik's *Seder Mizwot Nashim* (1577). On account of the date, however, it is improbable that the warning was directed particularly against the Hebrew *Amadis*.

[1] *Precetti da esser imparati dalle donne hebree*, by Jacob ben Elhanan Heilbronn.

CHAPTER VII

THE NEW CHIVALRESQUE ROMANCES IN ENGLAND

EXCEPT where favourable circumstances determined otherwise, the early literature of Spain and Portugal reached England through the medium of French—or, rarely, Italian—translations. We are therefore prepared to find that the new chivalresque romances appeared in English later than in other languages. Probably in 1568, as we learn from the *Stationers' Register*[1], there was published in London, under the title *The treasurie of Amadis of Fraunce*, a translation by Thomas Paynell of the original French *Trésor des Amadis*; but this only contained "eloquente orations, pythie Epistles, learned Letters, and feruent Complayntes" extracted from Books 1–12 of the *Amadis* series. More than twenty years elapsed before a book of *Amadis* itself was published in English. Meantime, the first of our romances to be translated into English was Book 1 of Diego Ortuñez de Calahorra's *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros*, which came out

[1] See Arber's *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers*, 1875–94, vol. 1. p. 359, just past the middle of the entries for 22 July, 1567—22 July, 1568: "Recevyd of Thomas hackett for his lycense for ye pryntinge of a boke intituled the trasurye of Amydyce contanynge Eloquente oracions made by Thomas Pannell. xij^{d}."

about the year 1580[1] as *The Mirrour of Princely deedes and Knighthood*. We have seen that this romance, one of the last to be written in Spain, was, in spite of its inferiority, noteworthy as being also one of the last to be reprinted there—its various parts having been issued even after the publication of both parts of *Don Quixote*. The English translation too claims our attention for several reasons. Besides being the first to be published in this country, it is the only one of our romances to be honoured by a direct allusion in Shakespeare. Again, whereas the other romances were all translated from the French or Italian, this was translated straight from the Spanish, more than twenty years before the appearance of the Italian version, and nearly forty before that of the French version. Lastly, it is to a woman that we owe the translation of the first part, and thereby the introduction of these romances into this country.

The translator in question was Margaret Tyler, who

[1] It was licensed on 4 August, 1578. See Arber's *Transcript* under that date, vol. II. p. 334: "Thomas Easte / Licenced vnto him the mirrour of knighthood and princelie Deedes. ij^{s}."

In the dedication prefixed to *The second part of the Myrror of Knighthood*, published in 1583, Thomas East writes: "there chanced about a three yeares since to come into my handes the first part of a Spanish translation, intituled, The Mirrour of Knighthood." This takes us back to about 1580. J. de Perott, in a note on *The Mirrour of Knighthood* in the *Romanic Review* (1913, vol. IV. pp. 397–402), gives reasons for placing the date of publication nearer to that of licensing: there is "a certain degree of probability" that an episode from the romance was performed on the English stage on 1 March, 1579; and the names Artimedorus and Lisimandro in Lyly's *Euphues* (Arber's edn., 1895, p. 444) derive from the romance. The first reason is not given as a sure one, and the Lyly reference should be to *Euphues and his England*, first published in 1580.

is otherwise unknown to fame. Conscious that she, a mere woman, was introducing a novel story into England, or, as she puts it, "giuing entertainment to a stranger, before this time vnacquainted with our coūtry guise," she combines in her address to the reader an early appreciation of a chivalresque romance with a lengthy defence of a woman's undertaking the translation of such a work, evidently quite in ignorance of the fact that *Palmerin de Oliva* and *Primaleon* are attributed to a carpenter's daughter, and that *Cristalian de España* was written by Beatriz Bernal. Some passages from this interesting document in the history of woman's literary emancipation are worth quoting here[1].

Margaret Tyler informs the reader, for whose profit and delight she undertook the translation of the romance, that

> the chiefe matter therin conteined is of exploits of wars, & the parties therin named, are especially renowmed for their magnanimitie & courage. The authors purpose appearth to be this, to animate thereby, and to set on fire the lustie courages of yoūg gentlemen, to the aduauncement of their line, by ensuing such like steps.

After commending the warlike qualities of the Spaniards, she describes "the whole discourse" as

> in respect of the ende not vnnecessary: for the varietie & continuall shift of fresh matter very delightfull, in y^e^ speaches short & sweet, wise in sentence, and wary in the prouision of contrary accidents.

Recognising that "seldome is the tale carried cleane from an others mouth," she craves indulgence for the translation,

[1] The quotations here given are from the first edition.

ye rather for that it is a womans woork, though in a story prophane, and a matter more manlike then becõmeth my sexe. But as for ye manlinesse of the matter, thou knowest yt it is not necessary for euery trumpettour or drumstare in the warre to be a good fighter. They take wage onely to incite others though themselues haue priuy maimes, and are thereby recurelesse. So Gentle Reader if my trauaile in Englishing this Authour, may bring thee to a liking of the vertues heerein commended, and by example therof in thy princes & countries quarrel to hazard thy person & purchase good name, as for hope of well deseruing my selfe that way, I neither bend my selfe therto nor yet feare the speach of people if I be found backward. I trust euery man holds not the plow, which would ye groũd were tilled: & it is no sinne to talke of Robinhood though you neuer shot in his bow: Or be it that ye attempt were bolde to intermeddle in armes, so as the auncient Amazons did, and in this story Claridiana doth, & in other stories not a fewe, yet to report of armes is not so odious but yt it may be borne withal, not onely in you men which your selues are fighters, but in vs women, to whom the benefit in equal part apperteineth of your victories.

She goes on to say that though the task of translation was put upon her by others, yet because the refusal was in her power, she must stand to answer for her easy yielding. Justifying her choice therefore, she argues:

my defẽce is by example of the best, amongst which many haue dedicated their labours, some stories, some of warre, some phisick, some lawe, some as concerning gouernment, some diuine matters, vnto diuers ladies & gentlewomen. And if men may & do bestow such of their trauailes vpon gentlewomen, then may we womẽ read such of their works as they dedicate vnto vs, and if we may read them, why not farther wade in thẽ to ye serch of a truth. And then much more why not deale by translatiõ in such argumẽts, especially this kinde of exercise being a matter of more heede then of deep inuention or exquisite learning, & they must needs leaue this as confessed, yt in their

dedications they minde not only to borrow names of worthy personages, but ye testimonies also for their further credit, which neither the one may demaund without ambition, nor ye other graunt without ouerlightnes: if women be excluded from the view of such workes as appeare in their name, or if glory onely be sought in our common inscriptions, it mattereth not whether ye parties be men or women, whether aliue or dead. But to retourn whatsomeuer the truth is, whether that women may not at al discourse in learning, for men lay in their claim to be sole possessioners of knowledge, or whether they may in some maner yt is by limitation or appointment in some kinde of learning, my perswasion hath bene thus, that it is all one for a woman to pen a story, as for a man to addresse his story to a woman.

After an appeal which all will support—

But amongst al my il willers, some I hope are not so straight yt they would enforce me necessarily either not to write or to write of diuinitie—

she returns to the romance itself, assuring the gentle reader:

if it shal plese thee after serious matters to sport thy self with this Spaniard, yt thou shalt finde in him the iust reward of mallice & cowardise, with the good speed of honesty & courage, beeing able to furnish thee with sufficient store of forrene example to both purposes. And as in such matters which haue bene rather deuised to beguile time, then to breede matter of sad learning, he hath euer borne away the price which could season such delights with some profitable reading, so shalt thou haue this straunger an honest man when neede serueth, & at other times, either a good companiō to driue out a wery night, or a merrie iest at thy boord.

Margaret Tyler's arguments—or her labours—met with approval, for when the second part of the romance

appeared in 1583, the magnanimous and self-sacrificing printer could say[1] that the first part

beeing published was so accepted, that I was importuned by sundry Gentlemen (my very friendes) to procure the translation of the seconde part: whereto, (partly to accomplish their desires, and partly for the vulgar delight of all) I condiscended.

But this time Margaret Tyler was not the translator. In the preface from which we have quoted, she several times refers to her aged years, which may provide the explanation. She was succeeded by one R.P., that is Robert Parry, himself the author of a chivalresque novel[2], who Englished the two remaining books of the first part, the two books of Pedro de la Sierra's second part, and the first book of Marcos Martinez's third part. The translation was then continued by one L.A., the whole work being completed in eight volumes by 1601[3]. The later volumes belong to the turn of the century, 1598–1601, and the earlier ones were reprinted during these years to provide a uniform set. It is possible that

[1] In the dedication quoted above.

[2] *Moderatus, the most delectable & famous Historie of the Blacke Knight*, 1595.

[3] These books, like those of the *Palmerin* series in English, were not published in their proper order. The second part came out (1583) before the second and third books of the first part. Printer and translator seem to have been deceived by Pedro de la Sierra's recently published original (1581), and to have noticed the lack of continuity rather late. Hence the printer in the preliminary remarks to the second part requests the courteous reader to note "that whereas the beginning of this part followeth not consequently vpon the same booke which was published in the name of the first part, it is not to be imputed to any errour committed in the translation of this second part: for that it is verely the selfe same, that beareth the title of the second part in the Spanish tongue, but the booke that lacketh, is the seconde booke of the

the known copies, which are great rarities, do not represent all the issues that appeared. The most complete set in existence, that from the Huth Library, unfortunately passed over to America in 1916, while the sets in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and the Cambridge University Library, are incomplete and imperfect.

Those who were responsible for the Englishing of the new romances seem to have worked on the principle that the first shall be last and the last first. It might be thought that the publication of the *Mirror of Knighthood* would have set people searching for the father of these romances. Yet it was the *Palmerin* series which next entered the field. It is possible, nay probable, that the earliest book of this series to be published in this country was *Palmerin of England*[1], perhaps because of the title; but the earliest book now extant is the first book, *Palmerin de Oliva*, which came out in the year of the Armada. And here we may note that it was precisely

first part, which with as much speede as may be, shall be ioyned therevnto." Apparently the printer was not even yet acquainted with the third book of the first part.

The following table shows all the known issues, and gives some idea as to when they appeared. Only Book 1 of Part 1. ran into three editions.

Pt 1.	Bk 1.	[1578–80]	[1584?]	[1598–99?]
	Bk 2.	1585		1599
	Bk 3.	[after 1585]		[1598–99?]
Pt II.	Bk 1, 2.	1583		1598
Pt III.	Bk 1.			1598
	Bk 2.			1598
Pt IV.	Bk 1.			1599
	Bk 2.			1601

[1] See the remarks on this book below, p. 251.

when these romances were dying out in Spain that they began to flourish in England.

The person who was guilty of Englishing the *Palmerin* series was Anthony Munday, whom Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly dubs "a dismal draper of misplaced literary ambitions," but whom Francis Meres, with more delicacy if less taste, describes in his *Palladis Tamia*[1] as "Anthony Mundye our best plotter"—in comparison, that is, with such minor contemporaries as "John Lilly, Lodge, Gascoyne, Greene, Shakespeare," and others. Anthony Munday, aided and abetted by various English publishers, started in this country a factory for the translation of chivalresque romances of foreign origin, on the lines of the Venetian house of Mambrino Roseo and Michele Tramezzino. He also imported into the profession of letters some of the mercenary instincts of his dismal trade. For commercial reasons, no doubt, he adopted the cheaper and inferior method of translating from the French, and certainly for the same reasons—for he himself tells us so—he divided the books on a plan of his own. His translation of *Palmerin de Oliva* was published in two parts—one in 1588, the other apparently not till 1597. He brought out the first part separately, being, as he informs us[2],

of the minde, that a man grutched (*sic*) not so much at a little money, payd at seuerall times, as hee doth at once, for this advantage he hath, in meane time he may imploy halfe his money on more needfull occasions, and raise some benefit toward buying the second part. Againe, the other part will be new at the comming forth, where now it would be stale: For

[1] Original edition of 1598, fol. 283 verso.

[2] See the remarks "To the Reader" in the first part (edition of 1637).

such are Affections now a dayes, that a Booke a sennight old, is scant worth the reading. Thus no injury is offered by dividing my Booke, but profit both to you and mee....

In 1589 he produced *The Honorable, pleasant and rare conceited Historie of Palmendos, Sonne to the famous and fortunate Prince Palmerin d'Oliva.* Palmendos sounds like a new character, but he is merely Polendos, who has already been introduced as the hero of the ungallant encounter with the inoffensive old woman in the first part of *Primaleon.* The change in the name from Polendos to Palmendos was first made by the French translators, to square with the explanation in the text that it was a portmanteau-word implying that its bearer embodied the combined virtues of his father Palmerin and his grandfather Florendos.

The *History of Palmendos* comprises the first twenty chapters of the first part of *Primaleon*, and its issue as a separate work was due to Anthony Munday's commercial principles. The remaining portion of the first part of *Primaleon* was published separately as the *First Book of Primaleon of Greece* in 1595, though it had been licensed in 1589[1]. The second part of the original became the *Second Book of Primaleon of Greece*[2] in 1596, but the third part is not known to have been published before 1619, when all three parts were issued together. The *Stationers' Register* however states that the third part was licensed to Mistress Burby in 1607[3]. In the preface to the third part Anthony Munday talks of

[1] Arber, vol. II. p. 513.

[2] Through the medium of the shorter of the two French versions, that translated by Gabriel Chappuys and published at Lyons.

[3] Arber, vol. III. p. 360.

rumours of "a fourth Booke, which (as then) by no meanes could be compassed." These rumours are no doubt an echo of the promise of a fourth part made at the end of the French third part, from which of course Munday translated. Two or three lines lower down he speaks of "hauing that fourth Booke now in mine owne possession, with an imperfect portion of a fift also." This fourth book would be the French fourth part, *Darinel*, a translation of the Italian additional fourth part, *Darineo*. No work of this name is known in English, nor is anything known of a translation of it by Munday; but the *Stationers' Register*[1] mentions *The first parte of the historie of Durine of Grece Translated out of Frenche by H.W.* as licensed to the two Thomas Purfoots in 1598.

The fifth book mentioned by Munday—according to the Italian reckoning the book of *Platir*—never appeared in English, nor did the book of *Flortir*. The two parts of *Palmerin of England*, however, were published in 1596, that at any rate being the date of the earliest known edition. They had no doubt appeared previously, for they were licensed as early as 1581, and Munday's remarks to his readers inform us in more than one place[2] that *Palmerin of England* preceded *Palmerin de Oliva*,

[1] Arber, vol. III. p. 132.

[2] At the beginning of *Palmerin de Oliva* (edition of 1637) Munday informs the reader that "When I finished my second Part of *Palmerin of England*, I promised this worke of *Palmerin D'Oliua*, because it depended so especially on the other...." At the end of the second part of *Palmerin of England* (edition of 1616) he addresses the reader as follows: "Thus Gentlemen, I haue finished the second part of this most famous History....As for the History of *Palmerin d'Oliue*, which containeth three seueral parts, and should haue bin translated

which came out in 1588. *The Third and last part of Palmerin of England... Written in Spanish, Italian and French, and translated into English by A. M.*, was published in 1602, though it was licensed in 1595[1]. This is of course the Italian, not the Portuguese, continuation of *Palmerin of England*. No French edition is recorded by bibliographers, though both Munday's title-page and his methods postulate a French version.

None of these books went through many editions. *Palmerin of England* scores highest with some eight or nine, including an abridgment of 1685 by J.S., that is John Shirley, and the abridgment of Munday's version published by Southey in 1807. Apart from this last the whole series had ended its not very prolific career by the end of the seventeenth century. Yet obviously in England too it was recognised as superior in merit to the *Mirror of Knighthood*, in spite of the fact that it had suffered translation through the French at the hands of Anthony Munday.

An isolated romance, *Palladine of England*, which appeared in the same year as *Palmerin de Oliva*, has been stated by more than one English writer to belong to the *Palmerin* series. But *The Famous, Pleasant, and Variable History of Palladine of England* is a translation by Anthony Munday of the French *Histoire Palladienne*, which in its turn, as we have seen, was translated by Claude Colet from the first part of the anonymous Spanish romance *Florando de Inglaterra*. This romance,

before this . . . you shall haue them very speedily. . . . " Clearly therefore his *Palmerin of England* came out before his *Palmerin de Oliva*.

[1] Arber, vol. II. p. 672.

the first of the three parts of which is devoted to the adventures of the titular hero's father Paladiano, is not connected in any way with the *Palmerin* series. No more than the first part ever appeared in English, though of that part there are several late reprints[1].

Unfortunately it was through Anthony Munday also that the *Amadis* series reached England, again of course through France[2]. Munday's translation of the First Book was brought out separately, no doubt for the usual commercial reasons. A perfect copy of the first edition does not exist, and the exact date of its appearance is consequently unknown. But according to the *Stationers' Register*[3] a license to print Four Books was granted to "Edward Aldee" on 15 January, 1589, while the Second Book was published in 1595, so that we cannot go far wrong. The name of the translator of the Second Book is given as Lazarus Pyott, which has commonly been regarded as a pseudonym of Munday's; but it can be shown[4] that the translators are two different

[1] The British Museum has an edition of 1664, and two later reprints without date, while at least one other edition was advertised.

[2] Munday narrowly escaped being anticipated. The British Museum possesses a MS. entitled "The first book of Amadis de Gaule translated by .M. Charles Stewart at the commaundement of the right honorable my lady of Lennox her grace his moother. In the yeare of owr lord 1571." But Charles would seem to have been an undutiful son, and to have taken the earliest opportunity of her grace's back being turned in order to escape from his task—if the Museum MS. (Lansd. 766) is a fair test. His translation comes to an abrupt end rather more than half way through the second chapter.

[3] Arber, vol. II. p. 514: "Edward Aldee / Entred vnto him the first foure bookes of Amadis de Gaule To be translated into English and so to be printed for his copie so yat he first gett yt to be laufully and orderly alowed as tollerable to be printed. . . ."

[4] See Appendix II.

persons, and there is no reason for supposing that Lazarus Pyott is not the real name of the translator of the Second Book.

Amadis was apparently unable to make headway against the heroes of the *Mirror of Knighthood* and the *Palmerin* series already in the field, for the translation now ceased for some time. It was only after a considerable interval that Munday—ignoring Lazarus Pyott, while appropriating his translation—brought out the First Four Books under his own name in a composite volume, the title-page of the first half bearing the date 1619, and that of the second half 1618. In his obsequious dedication prefixed to the second half, Munday informs us that he proposed to publish the First Five Books together[1]. Instead he issued Books 3 and 4, with the promise of Books 1 and 2 in revised form by Michaelmas Terme next ensuing... then the Fift and Sixt shall immediately followe, with all the speed conueniently may be vsed, and so successiuely the other volumes of the Historie, if time will giue leaue to finish them all.

[1] If the dedication is to be trusted, an edition of one book, presumably the fifth, has disappeared without leaving any trace. "I am bolde to present your honour with these two Bookes, or parts of *Amadis de Gaule*, the Third and the Fourth, neuer extant before in our English, and which long since had been with your Honor; but that I had a purpose ... to haue published the whole first fiue volumes together, whereof three haue formerly (though very corruptly) beene translated and printed, but these not till now." It was probably carelessness, rather than honesty, which caused Munday to condemn three existing books, for whatever they were, one of them must have been his own translation of the first book. Possibly therefore the word "whereof" was used loosely: besides the existing Books 1 and 2, Munday may have had in his mind Thomas Paynell's *Treasurie*, or even the English translation of Herberay's *Flores de Grèce*, which, as we have seen, was called

There may possibly be some connexion between this promise and the record in the *Stationers' Register*[1] of a license granted to "Adam Islip and William Morynge" on October 16, 1594, to print Books 2–12. When Books 1 and 2 came out in 1619, Munday limited his promise to the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Books, which he tells us in the dedication to Book 1 were "already in good forwardnesse of translation." In spite of this, his promise was never fulfilled, nor need we be unduly distressed at our loss. It was many years before an anonymous[2] translation of Book 5 appeared. The extant edition of 1664 is doubtless not the first, for Book 6, translated by Francis Kirkman, was published in 1652. Book 7 appeared as late as 1693, translated by a "Person of Quality," whose identity is unknown. This was the last book of the series to be translated into English, although at the end of it a second part is promised shortly. As with *Palmerin of England*,

a *Supplement to Amadis de Gaule*, and which apparently existed at this time. But see also note 2 below.

[1] Arber, vol. II. p. 662.

[2] W. C. Hazlitt, *Collections and Notes* (1876), p. 8, gives Kirkman as the translator; but Kirkman, in the preface to his *Don Bellianis of Greece* (1673), only claims to have translated Book 6. In the *Handbook* (1867), p. 8, Hazlitt had given the translator as J. Johnson. This is no doubt a mistake arising from the fact that the book was "printed by T. J. for Andrew Kembe . . . and Charls Tyus"; and that T. J., who is Thomas Johnson, signs a preface to the reader.

As is hinted in the text, there was no doubt an earlier edition of this book. Was this one of the three out of the first five books referred to by Munday in 1618 as having been formerly translated and printed? If so, the books of *Amadis* were published not in their proper order, just like those of the *Mirror of Knighthood* and the *Palmerin* series.

abridgments of *Amadis* appeared at a later date. In 1702 John Shirley, who had already abridged *Palmerin of England*, produced a poor abridgment of Books 1–4. The year 1803 saw Southey's excellent abridgment of the same books (reprinted in 1872 in the *Library of Old Authors*), and a versification of Book 1 by W. S. Rose, which met with Sir Walter Scott's approval.

Amadis clearly suffered in England through coming late into a field already occupied by rivals. Whereas the whole of the *Mirror of Knighthood*, and the greater part of the *Palmerin* series, were naturalised in this country, not one quarter of the books which go to make a complete *Amadis* collection were published in English. Of the books which were published, only the First and Second were reprinted—in 1619, to provide a uniform set of the First Four Books—which compares very unfavourably with the fairly frequent reprinting of the books in the *Palmerin* series, or even the only other of our romances to appear in England.

This was Geronimo Fernandez's *Belianis de Grecia*, the first part of which[1] was published as *The Honour of Chiualrie. Set downe in the most Famous Historie of the Magnanimious and Heroike Prince Don Bellianis: Sonne vnto the Emperour Don Bellaneo of Greece...Englished out of Italian, by L.A.* The translator is clearly the person who in 1598 took up the translation of the final parts of the *Mirror of Knighthood*. The *Honour of Chivalry* was perhaps his first attempt, for it too came out in

[1] The Italian pt 1., and consequently *The Honour of Chivalry*, contain only ch. 1.–L. of the original Spanish pt 1. which consisted of sixty-eight chapters.

1598, and so all the romances that were translated into English just managed to be included in the sixteenth century. The *Honour of Chivalry* seems to have fallen flat at the time of its first publication, very much like *Amadis of Gaul*, and no doubt for the same reason; but in the middle of the seventeenth century interest in it was revived, as again was the case with *Amadis*[1]. In 1650 the first part was reprinted; a second part was published in 1664, and reprinted in 1671; next year a third part was added, and in 1673 the first part was again reprinted to provide a uniform set of the three parts. These later reprints and additions we owe to Francis Kirkman, who also gave us the Sixth Book of *Amadis* in 1652. The precise part played by Kirkman in connexion with the *Honour of Chivalry* is revealed by his preface to the reader in the third part of 1672, where he says:

> The encouragement I received by writing the Second Part of this History, hath induced me to prosecute it with a Third Part; wherein, I will assure you, I have out-done the Second, both in language, and contrivance of the Story. And I have taken more then ordinary pains in describing the ancient Kingdom of *Ireland*, and many principal Cities and Towns long since ruined. If what I have written be but pleasing to you, I may in short time pleasure you further, by writing another History of this nature....

This promise of an additional part is withdrawn in the preface to the 1673 reprint of the first part, which however repeats the statement that Kirkman himself wrote the second and third parts—so that the *Honour of Chivalry* provides the unique instance of an English

[1] Compare also *Palladine of England*, for which see above, p. 252.

continuation of one of the Spanish romances. The preface in question is a discourse on the old romances in general, which in view of its late date is worth extracting here, as giving some idea of the position occupied by these stories at the time.

After stating that the *Honour of Chivalry* "is equal too, if not exceeds all, or any of the Books of this Nature," Kirkman adds: "now you have it Compleat in three Parts; without any expectation of any Alteration or Addition." Having claimed in another place[1] to have read all the English plays then extant (to the number of 806), he here makes the further claim:

I my self have been so great a Lover of Books of this Nature, that I have long since read them all; and therefore shall give thee some Account of my experience, that may be both Pleasant and Profitable to thee. As first, I tell thee be thou of what Age, or Sex soever, it is convenient for thee to read these sorts of Historyes, if thou art Young, begin now, or else when thou comest to be Old and hast any leisure; and if one of these Books chances into thy hand, thou wilt be so pleased with it, that read them thou must, and be in danger to be laughed at by those of

[1] See "A True, perfect, and exact Catalogue of all the Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-Comedies, Pastorals, Masques and Interludes, that were ever yet Printed and Published, till this present year 1671, all which you may either buy or sell, at the Shop of *Francis Kirkman*" (appended to John Dancer's translation of Corneille's *Nicomède*, published by Kirkman, 1671). In "An Advertisement to the Reader" at the end of this catalogue Kirkman writes: "It is now just ten years since I Collected, Printed, and Published, a Catalogue of all the *English* Stage-Playes that were ever till then Printed....There was then in all, 690 several Playes; and there hath been, since that time, just an hundred more Printed; so, in all, the Catalogue now amounts to (those formerly omitted now added) 806.... I have not only seen, but also read all these Playes, and can give some account of every one...."

the Younger sort, who having already read them, and being past that Knowledge, Laugh at thy Ignorance. For I have known several grave Citizens, who having formerly minded the many matters of the World, hath not only forborn reading themselves, but forbid their Children so to do, as being a vain and Idle matter, and loss of time; yet these very men in their latter dayes, having met with a Part of this History, or that of the Famous *Parismus*, have fallen so much in love with them, that they have become conceitedly Young and Amorous, and so highly pleased that they have run through all the Books of this Nature and Quality. This is a certain Truth, therefore I say, begin to Read, and that presently, and to the end, thou mayest Read with the more Profit and Delight, I will set down some of my Observations, and give thee some Order and Method that thou mayest proceed in.

First of all, he recommends *The Seven Wise Masters*, which he says is

of so great esteem in *Ireland*, that next to the *Horn-Book*, and Knowledge of Letters, Children are in general put to Read in this; and I know that only by this Book several have learned to Read well, so great is the pleasure that Young and Old take in Reading thereof.

The *Seven Wise Masters* is to be followed by *Fortunatus*, and

after thou hast read these, proceed to this Famous History of *Don Bellianis of Greece*; which I am sure will highly content thee, for I have purposely fitted the second and third Parts, with Storyes acted and done in *England* and *Ireland*.

Next are to be read *Parismus and Parismenos*, *Montelion Knight of the Oracle*, and *Ornatus and Artesia*.

After these proceed to *Valentine* and *Orson*, which is a Famous History, Of the Famous King *Pippin* of *France* and his twelve Peers....Next read the Seven Champions of Christendome, which tells you who those Famous Champions, St. *George*, St.

David, St. *Andrew*, and St. *Patrick*, and the rest of them were. . . . Then read the History of the Destruction of *Troy*, which acquaints you with the Original & nature of all the Heathen Gods, & Goddesses, as *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Pluto*, *Mars*, *Neptune*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, *Proserpine*, *Venus*; and the Renowed (*sic*) *Heroes*, *Hercules*, *Hector*, and the rest. . . and by reading of this Book, you will be enabled to understand any peece of Poetry wherein all sorts of Poets so often name the old Gods and Goddesses, and their numerous off-Spring.

After mentioning a few more Books "of this Nature," which for the sake of variety may be read also: *Fragosa*, *Bevis of Southampton*, *Tom of Lincoln*, *the Red Rose Knight*, and *Dorastus and Faunia*, Kirkman reaches our romances.

There are more of these sorts of Historyes, which I also advise you to read, as *The Mirrour of Knighthood*, in nine Parts. Many having read these are so well pleased, that they are desirous of more, and importunate to have them, but I can assure them and you, that there are no more in *English*, nor any other Language as I could ever see or hear off, although I have been curious in my search and enquiry. Besides these there are *Palmerin D'Oliva*, in three Parts. *Primaleon* of *Greece* in three Parts, *Palmerin* of *England* in three Parts. *Palmendos* in one. All those are one continued History of an Emperor of *Constantinople*. *Palmerin D'Oliva*, his Son *Primaleon*, and Grandson *Palmerin* of *England* and others, and therefore to be read in this order I have named them. Then you may read the Famous History of *Amadis de Gaule*, which is in six Parts in *English*, a History so Famous and in its time so well accepted off, that I have seen about thirty Parts thereof in *French*, *Spanish*, *Italian*, *Dutch*, and other Languages; we have but six Parts in *English*, and you are beholding to me for one of them with the sixth, which I above twenty years since translated out of *French* meerly out of my love to that History, but I hereby gained the knowledge of the French Tongue, which I learned only by that means. All

these with *The Mirrour of Knighthood*, *Palmenus* (*sic*) and *Amadis*'s, and several others, as the four Sons of *Aymon*, *Arthur* of Great *Brittain*, *Arthur* of Little *Brittain*, and the History of *Mervine*, are translations, and are now grown so scarce that you can hardly purchase them, and yet they are not worth the Printing agen, being now out of use and esteem by an other sort of Historyes, which are called *Romances*, some whereof are written originally in *English*, as namely, that Incomparable Book of its time called, *The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia*, *Gods Revenge against Murther*. *Bentevolio* and *Vrania*. The Princesse *Clavia*, *Parthenissa*, and a few others, the rest which indeed are both many in number, and exceed all but the last named *Parthenissa*, in worth and quality; are translations out of *French* and other Languages, as namely, *Astrea*, *Polexander*, *Eromena*, *The Banished Virgin*, *Coralbo*, *Ariana*, *The Illustrious Bassa*, *Grand Cyrus*, *Clelia*, *Cassandra*, *Cleopatra*, *Paramend*, and *Grand Scipio*, and some others, (for I pretend not to be exact in this Catalogue.) All which although they are excellent Peices and were not long since in great esteem with the *French* and *English* Nobility and Gentry, yet they are also thrust out of use, by the present slighting and neglect of all Books in general, by the particular esteem of our late *English stage Plays*....

This preface has been quoted at some length, because it reveals the decay of our romances in England, while giving the two most important reasons for their decline; and at the same time it shows that there was still a market for them. Kirkman was a bookseller, and his preface is merely an advertisement appealing to a low-class public; its style will enable those who do not know the editions published during the latter half of the seventeenth century to realise that they are only one degree better than chap-books, to which indeed they soon descended. According to the *Term Catalogues*[1]

[1] Arber's edition, 1903–06, vol. I. p. 316.

a new edition of the *Honour of Chivalry* appeared in 1678. In 1683 the romance took a further step in its downward career, for in that year there appeared another version in three parts by John Shirley, who also brought out abridgments of *Palmerin of England* and *Amadis of Gaul* in 1685 and 1702 respectively. Shirley talks of the romance as "being now illustrated and put into the newest and quaintest Dialect" by him[1]. What he really did was to take Kirkman's version and paraphrase it, introducing wretched verse into the later portions of the story. Bad as Munday had been, the literary genealogy of the champions of these romances in England allowed ample scope for deterioration. Anthony Munday begat Francis Kirkman, Francis Kirkman begat John Shirley, John Shirley begat a numerous progeny of nameless hucksters. Shirley's version, after being reprinted in 1703, degenerated into chap-book abridgments[2] during the course of the eighteenth century.

With these abridgments the active career of the Peninsular romances of chivalry comes to an end in England. Their vogue lasted longer here than in other countries, partly because the level of their circle of readers was lower. The evidence goes to show that they never appealed to the cultured classes in this country as they did on the continent; they consequently had little creative influence beyond inducing feeble imitations such as those of Emanuel Forde[3]. The manner of their

[1] In the remarks "To the Reader" in pt II.

[2] There are three of these in the British Museum, and another in the Bodleian Library. My friend and colleague Mr R. Flower informs me that chap-book editions of *Belianis of Greece* circulated in Ireland.

[3] E.g. *Montelion, Ornatus and Artesia*, and *Parismus*.

coming to England was both tardy and unfortunate. When they began to arrive English literature was finding its way into more durable channels. They not only met with rivalry from the native chivalrous and pastoral romances, but they found stage-plays absorbing the intellectual activities of our forefathers in Good Queen Bess's expansive days. These stage-plays especially, but other contemporary literature besides, contain numerous references to the Peninsular romances, and thereby throw additional light on their vogue in this country.

Our ancestors received timely warning against the Peninsular romances. In a previous chapter condemnations of the *Amadis* series were quoted from English translations of Juan Luis Vives's *De institutione fœminæ Christianæ* and *De officio mariti*, published about 1540 and 1550 respectively. Midway between these two dates Roger Ascham warned his countrymen against the old-established romances of chivalry. In the preface to his *Toxophilus* (1545)[1] he informs "all gentle men and yomen of Englande":

> Englysh writers by diuersitie of tyme, haue taken diuerse matters in hande. In our fathers tyme nothing was red, but bookes of fayned cheualrie, wherin a man by redinge, shuld be led to none other ende, but onely to manslaughter and baudrye. Yf any man suppose they were good ynough to passe the time with al, he is deceyued. For surelye vayne woordes doo woorke no smal thinge in vayne, ignoraunt, and younge mindes, specially yf they be gyuen any thynge thervnto of theyr owne nature. These bokes (as I haue heard say) were made the moste parte in Abbayes, and Monasteries, a very lickely and fit fruite of suche an ydle and blynde kinde of lyuynge.

[1] Original edition, sig. a 1 recto.

Ascham repeated the warning, and his prejudices, in his *Schoolmaster*[1], published posthumously in 1570;

[1] The whole passage, which deserves quoting for the prejudices and theories it contains, runs as follows in the edition of 1570, fol. 27: "In our forefathers tyme, whan Papistrie, as a standyng poole, couered and ouerflowed all England, fewe bookes were read in our tong, sauyng certaine bookes of Cheualrie, as they sayd, for pastime and pleasure, which, as some say, were made in Monasteries, by idle Monkes, or wanton Chanons: as one for example, Morte Arthure: the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two speciall poyntes, in open mans slaughter, and bold bawdrye: In which booke those be counted the noblest Knightes, that do kill most men without any quarell, and commit fowlest aduoulteres by sutlest shiftes; as Sir Launcelote, with the wife of king Arthure his master; Syr Tristram with the wife of kyng Marke his vncle: Syr Lamerocke, with the wife of king Lote, that was his own aunte. This is good stuffe, for wise men to laughe at, or honest men to take pleasure at. Yet I know, when Gods Bible was banished the Court, and Morte Arthure receiued into the Princes chamber. What toyes, the dayly readyng of such a booke, may worke in the will of a yong ientleman, or a yong mayde, that liueth welthelie and idlelie, wise men can iudge, and honest mẽ do pitie. And yet ten Morte Arthures do not the tenth part so much harme, as one of these bookes, made in Italie, and translated in England. They open, not fond and common wayes to vice, but such sutle, cunnyng, new, and diuerse shiftes, to cary yong willes to vanitie, and yong wittes to mischief, to teach old bawdes new schole poyntes, as the simple head of an English man is not hable to inuent, nor neuer was hard of in England before, yea when Papistrie ouerflowed all. Suffer these bookes to be read, and they shall soone displace all bookes of godly learnyng. For they, carying the will to vanitie, and marryng good maners, shall easily corrupt the mynde with ill opinions, and false iudgement in doctrine: first, to thinke ill of all trewe Religion, and at last to thinke nothyng of God hym selfe, one speciall pointe that is to be learned in Italie, and Italian bookes. And that which is most to be lamented, and therfore more nedefull to be looked to, there be moe of these vngratious bookes set out in Printe within these fewe monethes, than haue bene sene in England many score yeare before."

but our forefathers were proof against all admonitions. In 1578 Margaret Tyler published her first part of the *Mirror of Knighthood*: the woman tempted them, and very soon their offence far exceeded hers. Yet the English translations of the Peninsular romances, like their originals, had not long to wait for adverse criticisms. As early as 1595 Sir Philip Sidney in his *Apology for Poetry*[1] leads the way with a disparaging reference to *Amadis*, then not more than five years old in its English dress:

> Truely, I haue knowen men, that euen with reading *Amadis de Gaule*, (which God knoweth wanteth much of a perfect Poesie,) haue found their harts mooued to the exercise of courtesie, liberalitie, and especially courage

Three years later Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia*[2] expresses a more emphatic disapproval, which he extends to other Peninsular romances. After stating that "the Lord *de la Nouue* in the sixe discourse of his politike and military discourses censureth of the bookes of *Amadis de Gaule*, which he saith are no lesse hurtfull to youth, then the workes of *Machiauell* to age," he goes on, "so these bookes are accordingly to be censured of," appending a long list of romances which includes *Palmerin de Oliva*, *Primaleon of Greece*, *Palmendos*, *The Mirror of Knighthood*, and *Palladine*, and it should in fairness be added, many famous native romances as well.

"Lord Beaufort, who served so bravely in France," was a man after Meres's own heart, as is clear from the

[1] Sig. E 4 verso–F 1 recto of Olney's edition of 1595.

[2] In the chapter headed "A choice is to be had in reading of bookes," fol. 268 of the original edition.

page's description of him in Ben Jonson's *The New Inn* (1631)[1]:

> I waited on his studies, which were right.
> He had no *Arthurs*, nor no *Rosicleers*,
> No *Knights o' the Sun*, nor *Amadis de Gaules*,
> *Primaleons*, and *Pantagruels*, public Nothings,
> Abortives of the fabulous dark cloister,
> Sent out to poison courts, and infest manners.

In his dramatic work Ben Jonson, as we shall see later, refers several times to these romances, contemptuously as one expects of such a Humanist, and the same feeling of contempt is displayed in his poem *An Execration upon Vulcan*[2], written when the result of so many of his years' labours was destroyed in an hour:

> Had I compil'd from *Amadis de Gaule*,
> Th' *Esplandians*, *Arthur's*, *Palmerins*, and all
> The learned Librarie of *Don Quixote*;
> And so some goodlier monster had begot,
> . . . . . .
> Thou then hadst had some colour for thy flames,
> On such my serious follies. . . .

Robert Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*[3] men-

[1] Act I. sc. 6. Extracts from old plays quoted in this chapter are modernised as to spelling and punctuation, in respect of which the dramatists suffered unfairly at the hands of the contemporary printer. The references follow modern editions, but in these the division into scenes is apt to vary according to the taste of different editors. The date given in the text after each play is that of the first edition; sometimes this is considerably later than the date of composition.

[2] ll. 29–41, from the *Underwoods*, p. 210, in *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson. The second Volume*, 1640.

[3] Pt III. sec. 2, memb. 2, subs. 4: Loue Melancholy. Allurements of Loue, p. 581 of the first edition, 1621. *Amadis of Gaul* was added in the third edition, 1628.

tions "many silly gentlewomen," who "are incensed by reading amorous toies. [*Amadis of Gaul,*] *Palmerin de Oliua*, the knight of the sun, &c," and he adds: "no stronger engine then to heare or reade of loue toyes, fables and discourses (one saith) & many by this meanes are quite mad." In another place[1] he commends study; but he has a special warning for "such Inamoratoes as read nothing but play-bookes, Idle Poems, Iests, *Amadis de Gaul*, the *Knight of the Sun*, *the seauen Champians*, *Palmerin de Oliua*, *Huon of Burdeaux*, *&c.* Such many times proue in the ende as mad as *Don Quixot.*"

It is from *Don Quixote* that William Vaughan in his *Golden Fleece*[2] supplies a warning, declaring that it serves

to reclaime a riotous running wit from taking delight in those prodigious, idle, and time-wasting *Bookes*, called the *Mirrour of Knighthood*, *the Knights of the Round Table*, *Palmerin de Oliua*, and the like rabblement, deuised no doubt by the *Deuill* to confirme soules in the knowledge of euill—

a criticism which is reminiscent of the Reverend Father Antonio Possevino's assertion that it was the devil who inspired the thought of translating the Spanish *Amadis* into elegant French in order to foster Luther's revolt[3].

[1] Pt II. sec. 2, memb. 4: Cure of melancholy. Exercise rectified, p. 353 of the first edition.

[2] *The Golden Fleece . . . Transported from Cambrioll Colchos, out of the Southermost Part of the Iland, commonly called the Newfoundland, by Orpheus Iunior, For the generall and perpetuall Good of Great Britaine*, 1626, p. 11.

[3] *Bibliotheca Selecta*, 1593, bk I. ch. xxv. p. 113. See the extract quoted above, p. 218, n. 1.

As against all these early condemnations, only one voice of approval is heard: it concerns *Amadis of Gaul*, but rather the foreign versions of the romance, and it praises the style rather than the matter. Fynes Moryson, in his *Itinerary*[1], gives some sound advice to the inexperienced traveller on the subject of foreign languages: after urging him to master the rules of grammar, he admonishes him to

> vse himselfe not to the translated formes of speech, but to the proper phrases of the tongue; for euery language in this kinde hath certaine properties of speaking, which would be most absurd, being literally translated into another tongue. To this end the stranger must reade those Bookes, which are best for speeches in familiar conference.... Therefore to this purpose hee shall seeke out the best familiar Epistles for his writing, and I thinke no Booke better for his discourse then *Amadis* of *Gaule*, for the Knights errant, and the Ladies of Courts, doe therein exchange Courtly speeches, and these Bookes are in all Languages translated by the Masters of eloquence.

On the other hand, it is interesting to find that, half a century after the period to which the quotations just given belong, the Restoration dramatist Thomas Shadwell, in jibing at the contemporary playwrights in *The Virtuoso* (1676)[2], adopts two of our heroes as very patterns of badness. When Clarinda remarks: "But here are a great many new plays," Snarl replies scornfully:

> New ones! Yes; either damned insipid dull farces, confounded toothless satires, or plaguey rhyming plays, with scurvy heroes, worse than the *Knight of the Sun*, or *Amadis de Gaule*.

[1] Pt III. bk I. ch. II.: Of Precepts for Trauellers, which may instruct the vnexperienced, pp. 14, 15 of the first edition, 1617.

[2] Act I. sc. 2.

The assumption, both by the Elizabethan and the Restoration dramatists, of their audience's acquaintance with the heroes and heroines of these romances, shows how well known—and therefore well read—these much-maligned stories must have been among the playgoing public throughout the seventeenth century. On the stage you could call a man an Amadis of Gaul either abusively, as in Ben Jonson's *Alchemist* (1612)[1]:

> It is my humour: you are a pimp and a trig,
> And an Amadis de Gaule, or a Don Quixote...

or affectionately, as in Dekker's *Satiromastix* (1602)[2]:

> Farewell, my sweet Amadis de Gaule, farewell!

So Palmerin is used familiarly in Henry Glapthorne's *The Hollander* (1640)[3]:

> Ha! Thy arm in sling, my Palmerin!

But it is especially the *Mirror of Knighthood* whose characters are enlisted, either to provide epithets or to serve as standards of comparison; proving that this romance made good use of the start it had over its rivals in England. In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*[4], the concluding scenes of which are said to owe something to the *Mirror of Knighthood*, when Philaster, freed from prison, joins the citizens his supporters, their captain offers their devoted service with

> My royal Rosicleer,
> We are thy myrmidons, thy guard, thy roarers.

The same knight's name is used scornfully in Glap-

[1] Act IV. sc. 7. [2] Act I. sc. 2. [3] Act III. sc. 1.

[4] Act V. sc. 4, p. 70 of the second edition, 1622. The scene reads quite differently in the first edition, 1620, and does not contain this greeting.

thorne's *Wit in a Constable* (1640)[1], where Clare taunts Sir Timothy with

> I pray you tell me
> Which of you is the valiant Rosicleer
> Dares break his lance on me.

The name of Rosicleer's more famous brother is employed in much the same way, both in its Spanish and in its English form. In Shirley's play *The Gamester* (1637)[2], Old Barnacle uses it in a good sense when belauding his nephew:

> You know not how my nephew is improved
> Since you last saw him. Valiant as Hercules,
> He has knocked the flower of chivalry, the very
> Donzel del Phebo of the time, and all
> The blades do reverence him....

The English form of the name is used offensively, as the context shows, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Little French Lawyer* (1647)[3]:

> This is some Cavallero Knight o' th' Sun:
> —I tell thee I am as good a gentleman as the Duke.

And again in *The Scornful Lady* (1616)[4], half timidly, half contemptuously, as the equivalent of at once a gallant and a bully:

> LADY. Sir, have you
> Business with me?

[1] Act IV. sc. 1. To the foregoing mentions of Rosicleer may be added the first part of Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, act II. sc. 1, where the author apparently thought it necessary to give his audience the authority for the knight's existence. The precaution was a wise one, considering the way the printer mutilated the hero's name in the first edition (1602, sig. C 3 verso): "O for *Don Bessiclers* armour, in the Mirror of Knighthood."

[2] Act III. sc. 2. [3] Act II. sc. 3. [4] Act III. sc. 1.

ELDER LOVELESS. Madam, some I have;
But not so serious to pawn my life for't.
If you keep this quarter, and maintain about you
Such Knights o' the Sun as this is, to defy
Men of employment to you, you may live;
But in what fame?

Both brothers may appear together in their recognised *rôle* of "Mirrors of Knighthood," as when Molly in Marston's *The Malcontent* (1604)[1] is assured that

he that loves thee is a Duke, Mendoza; he will maintain thee royally, love thee ardently, defend thee powerfully, marry thee sumptuously, and keep thee, in despite of Rosicleer or Donzel del Phebo. There's jewels: if thou wilt, so; if not, so.

There is a delicate allusion to the potentialities of these knights as lady-killers in the above quotation, a side of their characters which is used mockingly by Rolliardo in Shirley's *The Bird in a Cage* (1633)[2]:

Save you, nest of courtiers! Smooth faces, rich clothes, and sublime compliments, make you amorous in sight of your ladies! Donzel del Phebo, and Rosicleer, are you there?

Most curious of all the forms of address to which the *Mirror of Knighthood* gave rise, is the singular term of endearment used in Dekker's *Satiromastix* (1602)[3]:

Dost love her, my finest and first part of the Mirror of Knighthood?

The epithet recalls the hero in Butler's *Hudibras*[4]:

A wight he was, whose very sight wou'd
Entitle him *Mirrour of Knighthood*;
That never bow'd his stubborn knee
To any thing but Chivalry,
Nor put up blow, but that which laid
Right Worshipfull on shoulder-blade.

[1] Act v. sc. 2. [2] Act III. sc. 2. [3] Act III. sc. 1.
[4] First edition, 1663, Canto I. ll. 15–20.

So far we have confined ourselves to the heroes of our romances; but the heroines too attracted the notice of our forefathers. The name Oriana is sufficiently well known in English literature, though it appears to have been somewhat under a cloud at first, owing no doubt to Queen Elizabeth's attitude towards it. One might have thought that Elizabeth would be flattered at being compared with the heroine of the "Arch of True Lovers," but as the Virgin Queen she seems rather to have taken offence. At any rate we learn from the *Calendar of State Papers*[1] that a Spanish representative in this country was put under arrest for having—amongst other things—referred to the Queen as Oriana. The editors of that famous collection of madrigals *The Triumphs of Oriana*, written in Elizabeth's honour, were not dealt with so drastically; but the work itself, although printed in 1601, was not published till after the Queen's death in 1603, apparently because of her objection to the name.

To make up for this ban on Oriana, two heroines in the *Mirror of Knighthood* were as well known on the seventeenth century stage as the knight who fell a victim to their beauty. Lindabrides and Claridiana are in short synonyms for mistress—in its various senses. The two

[1] The representative in question is Guerau de Spes, and the incriminating remarks occur in an intercepted letter: "If you hear that I am detained here you need not be surprised, since the enchantments of Amadis still exist in this island, and Archelaus is still alive. Nevertheless, here I am, safe and sound a prisoner of Queen Oriana, and I have no doubt, even without the aid of Urgandæ or other great effort, this all will end in a comedy." (*Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs, preserved principally in the Archives of Simancas*, 1894, etc., vol. II. Elizabeth, 1568-79, p. 105.)

occur together in Glapthorne's *Albertus Wallenstein* (1639)[1]:

> ... I've known him,
> (And so have you, my Lords,) for all this heat
> 'Gainst womanhood, pursue a sutlers froe,
> (And she had but one eye neither,) with as much zeal
> As e'er knight-errant did his fair Lindabrides,
> Or Claridiana.

But the classic example of their use is in Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* (1601)[2], where Amorphus gives a lesson in loverly deportment to Asotus, and Lindabrides serves as an imaginary mistress:

ASOTUS. Well, sir, I'll enter again; her title shall be, *My dear Lindabrides.*

AMORPHUS. Lindabrides!

ASOTUS. Ay, sir, the emperor Alicandro's daughter, and the prince Meridian's sister, in the *Knight of the Sun*; she should have been married to him, but that the princess Claridiana—

AMORPHUS. O, you betray your reading.

ASOTUS. Nay, sir, I have read history, I am a little humanitian. Interrupt me not, good sir. *My dear Lindabrides,—my dear Lindabrides,—my dear Lindabrides, methinks you are melancholy.*

And so on throughout the scene, always harping on Lindabrides, whose rival Claridiana too was naturally part of Jonson's stock-in-trade: Subtle in *The Alchemist* (1612)[3] applauds Dol Common with

> Royal Dol!
> Spoken like Claridiana, and thyself.

The name Lindabrides soon deteriorated in meaning, as we may expect when we find it applied to a man in Marston's *The Dutch Courtezan* (1605)[4]:

[1] Act III. sc. 2. [2] Act III. sc. 3.
[3] Act I. sc. 1. [4] Act III. sc. 1.

MALHEUREUX. Dear loved sir, I find a mind courageously vicious may be put on a desperate security, but can never be blessed with a firm enjoying and self-satisfaction.

FREEVILL. What passion is this, my dear Lindabrides?

MALHEUREUX. 'Tis well; we both may jest; I ha' been tempted to your death.

The name has embarked on a double career in two plays written about the year 1630. It is used respectably, if in no very respectable connexion, in Shirley's *Love's Cruelty* (1640)[1]:

HIPPOLITO. Belike you hold some intelligence in my affairs, and have a catalogue of all my gennets. I think there be some women in the world that wish me well, and shall not I love them again? The misery on't is, I have never a mistress.

CLARIANA. Do you not confess many?

HIPPOLITO. Women, I grant, some moveables, trimmings for a chamber, things that serve the turn; but never a mistress, one that I would love and honour above all, my lady paramount, and superintendent Lindabrides; and such an Empress would thou wert!

It has definitely acquired an evil signification in the tavern scene in Rowley's *A Match at Midnight* (1633)[2], when Timothy is introduced to a number of questionable characters:

TIM. Pish, I tell you I do not; I know my time. Pray, what's her name?

ALEX. But 'tis descended from the ancient stem,
The great Tributie, Lindabrides her name;
That ancient matron is her reverend grannum.

TIM. Niggers, I have read of her in the *Mirror of Knighthood.*

[1] Act II. sc. I. [2] Act II. sc. 2.

By the Restoration period the name had come regularly to denote a mistress in a bad sense. An authoritative passage occurs in the *Angliæ Speculum Morale; the Moral State of England* (1670)[1], of Richard Graham, Viscount Preston, where the visit of a Gentleman to a Lady of Quality is described:

> ...if he converse with her, he is either clapped, or payeth for his familiarity, with Silver, Gold, Watch or Ring, whatever moveable he hath about him, and when he is laid to sleep, his Landabrides (*sic*) and his dear friend divide the spoil....

And so the name was used on the Restoration stage, as the following dialogue between the Captain and the Parson in Thomas Killigrew's *The Parson's Wedding* (1664)[2] will show:

> CAPTAIN. Read our warrant, and our business will excuse us. Do you know any such person as you find there?
>
> PARSON. Yes, sir, but not by this name. Such a woman is my wife, and no Lindabrides. We were married today, and I'll justify her my wife the next court-day. You have your answer and may be gone[3].

And in this sense, as we shall see shortly, the name has been used in much later times.

These somewhat casual references to the *Mirror of Knighthood* in the old English drama bring us to what is perhaps for us the most interesting question connected with our romances: how far did Shakespeare know and make use of them? He was certainly familiar with the *Mirror of Knighthood*, which began its career during his youth, and received a new lease of life during the

[1] p. 29.

[2] First printed in Killigrew's *Comedies and Tragedies*, 1664.

[3] Act IV. sc. I.

period of his literary activity. In the first part of *King Henry the Fourth* (1598)[1], Falstaff alludes to this romance, which was written over a century after his time: "Indeed, you come near me now, Hal; for we that take purses go by the moon and the seven stars, and not by Phœbus, he 'that wandering knight so fair'." Some would have us believe that Shakespeare read and also remembered the *Palmerin* romances, for it has been suggested that a phrase in *Palmerin de Oliva* gave him the hint for one of the most successful phrases in *Hamlet*. And according to Southey, Shakespeare both knew and utilised one of Feliciano de Silva's continuations of *Amadis*, even before it had appeared in English. Speaking of the Spanish Ninth Book, which contains the pastoral episode of Florisel and Silvia, and which was not translated and printed till 1693 as the English Seventh Book, he says:

> In Amadis of Greece may be found the Zelmane of the Arcadia, the Masque of Cupid of the Faery Queen, and the Florizel of the Winter's Tale. These resemblances are not imaginary (Florizel indeed is there with the same name[2])—any person who will examine will be convinced beyond a doubt that Sidney, Spenser, and Shakespere, each of them imitated this book,—was ever book honoured by three such imitators[3]!

[1] Act I. sc. 2.

[2] It may be mentioned in passing that the name Florisel goes back at least to the early *roman à clef* entitled *Question de Amor* (1513).

[3] Preface to his version of Francisco de Moraes's *Palmerin of England*, pp. xliv., xlv. Southey's general statement has from time to time received a certain amount of support in detail. Cf., for example, J. de Perott, *Die Hirtendichtung des Feliciano de Silva und Shakespeares Wintermärchen* (*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, 1913, Bd 130, pp. 53–56).

More recently, Shakespeare's supposed indebtedness to the *Mirror of Knighthood* has been pointed out, with an elaboration of detail that tends to defeat its own object, by a writer[1] in the United States, where the tracing of sources, which Professor Saintsbury regards as one degree higher than the hunting of cats, has been veritably reduced to a science. We shall do well to distinguish carefully between resemblances on the one hand and imitations and borrowings on the other, and we shall not treat too seriously the fact that the American writer is reminded of Ophelia's death, of Mercutio's death, and of Portia's speech "The quality of mercy," by passages in the *Mirror of Knighthood*[2]. There is perhaps more to be said for the suggestion that an essential incident in the plot of *Much Ado about Nothing* (1600), Margaret's impersonation of Hero at the chamber-window, was borrowed from the Spanish romance. The story of the waiting-maid impersonating her mistress in an assignation, with tragic results, occurs in the Valencian romance *Tirant lo Blanch*[3], in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*[4]—available to Shakespeare in Sir John Harington's translation—and three times, with great

[1] J. de Perott, *The Probable Source of the Plot of Shakespeare's Tempest*, 1905 (*Publications of the Clark University Library*, vol. I. no. 8). Cf. also the same writer in *Cultura Española*, 1908, no. XII. pp. 1023–1029, and in the *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, 1911, vol. XLVII. pp. 128–131.

[2] References for the three passages concerned are made to the French version, as follows: I. 423, 616 (edition of 1617); III. 5 (edition of 1633).

[3] Ch. CCLXXXIII., original edition; ch. CCLXVIII., edition of 1873, etc.

[4] Canto v. st. 21, etc.

variations, in the *Mirror of Knighthood*[1]. We may also add that it is to be found in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*[2], and that it is a literary commonplace. Nor is the comparison very helpful between the "bowers, arbors, and woodbine (or jessamine) covertures," of which the Spanish authors are so fond, and

> the pleached bower,
> Where honeysuckles, ripen'd by the sun,
> Forbid the sun to enter,

of Shakespeare's play[3]. It was not for nothing that Shakespeare was born and bred in Warwickshire.

More important is the same American writer's suggestion that the *Mirror of Knighthood* is the probable source of the plot of Shakespeare's *Tempest* (1623). Abridged from his summary, which circumstances compelled him to take from the French version, the supposed original[4] is as follows. Polidarca, King of Phœnicia, had a son Lucindo, and a daughter Oriselva, as well as a brother Artidor, a great magician who took up his abode in the mountains. Artidor had a daughter Pinarda, whom he sent to his brother's court to be brought up in the company of Oriselva. Lucindo falls in love with Pinarda and promises her marriage. Meanwhile Artidor sets out to find his daughter a husband; whereupon she informs him that she is already engaged to Lucindo. This young gentleman, when taxed with his promise by Polidarca and Artidor, denies it, and so,

[1] Pt I. bk III. ch. XLII.–XLIV.; pt II. bk I. ch. XVII.; pt IV. bk II. ch. II.

[2] Bk II. Canto 4, st. 17, etc. [3] Act III. sc. I.

[4] Pt I. bk II. ch. XXVII. The proper names are as given by Perott.

to punish him for his faithlessness, the magician kidnaps him and places him in a spacious hall in a cavern he has conjured up for the purpose. Here the Prince is to stay, tortured by fire, till he shall be delivered by a great knight who has always been faithful and so can pass the flames. Artidor then dies, leaving his daughter still loyal to Lucindo, and alone aware of a secret entrance to the hall where he is confined, through a dark cavern which nobody dares to enter. Oriselva too has a lover, Sacridor, King of Antioch, but he is refused her hand by Polidarca, because his father had killed Polidarca's father in battle many years before. Sacridor makes war on Polidarca, but is defeated and driven into exile. He meets with Rosicleer, who offers him his assistance to recover his dominions. To avoid falling into Polidarca's hands the two pass through a mountainous region, where they are attacked by savages near a fountain and stunned by dreadful blows, but not killed, for the savages cannot undo their armour. Rosicleer recovers, massacres the savages, drinks of the water of the fountain, loses consciousness and is seized by a monster who jumps with him into the fountain. The scene changes into a beautiful meadow, and the monster into a beautiful lady—no other than Pinarda, who tells Rosicleer why she has kidnapped him. At her request Rosicleer undertakes the rescue of Lucindo, which he accomplishes since he has never been unfaithful in love, and so can pass unscathed through the flames. The spell is broken, and the chastened Lucindo is reconciled to the faithful Pinarda. On their way home they meet Sacridor, and Lucindo promises to prevail upon his father to give him

the hand of Oriselva. And so the story ends with two happy marriages.

As an original source for the plot of Shakespeare's *Tempest* this story is not very convincing. Nor is it comforting to be informed that Sacridor would seem to correspond to the King of Tunis, with this difference that while Sacridor wants to marry Oriselva against the will of her father, in the *Tempest* it is the father who compels the Princess to marry the King of Tunis against her will. Nor does it afford material assistance to learn that there is in the *Mirror of Knighthood*[1] a parallel to the situation in *The Tempest*: the attempt of Oliver, King of England, to force his daughter Olivia, who is in love with Rosicleer, to marry the Prince of Portugal.

But there are incidents in the *Mirror of Knighthood* which seem less remote from *The Tempest*. There is the story of Polisteo, elder brother of Polinesto, son of the King of Phrygia[2], who devoted himself to the magic art and became the most excellent magician in all Asia. He married a lady of high position, and had two children, but lost his wife in childbirth. Thereupon he withdrew from the world and passed his life with his children and their attendants on an island, where the daughter falls

[1] Pt I. bk II. ch. LV. and elsewhere.

[2] So Perott, referring to the French version, I. 464 (apparently a misprint for 404). The original, pt I. bk I. ch. XLIV., speaks of Palisteo (or Polisteo), second son of the King of Fragia, and a nameless elder brother. The French translation calls the second son in one place Palineste, in another Polisthée (or Palisthée). Perott divides these names between the brothers, and according to him it is the elder brother who devotes himself to magic. In all versions of the *Mirror of Knighthood* it is the younger brother who does so, simply because he has an elder brother who is to succeed to the throne.

in love with the picture of a renowned knight, whom the father kidnaps to keep her company. There is also the Island of Artimaga[1], named after its mistress, the most wicked and abominable among women, who worshipped only the devil, and had by him a son called Fauno, at whose birth she died. The island passed to the son, and was known as Maniac Island, frequented by storms and legions of devils. Lastly it may be mentioned that the names Claribel and Claribella are found in the *Mirror of Knighthood*[2].

As we have seen, Shakespeare knew the romance in some form, for he alludes to it. Did he fashion the vague memories of his youthful reading into something rich and strange, or did he of his own exquisite fancy weave the baseless fabric of this vision? That is for Shakespeareans to say. The case is not strengthened by emphasising the frequent occurrence in the *Mirror of Knighthood* of such things as "boats (often moved by magic power); storms (often conjured up by magicians); taking away a book from a magician in order to deprive him of his power," and so on. And it is challenging verification to state that "two of the finest flowers in Miranda's wreath have been also culled in a Spanish garden[3], 'I have not

[1] Pt I. bk III. ch. XIII. This island is quite distinct from the preceding.

[2] So Perott, referring to the French version, VIII. 212, 335. The former of these references corresponds to pt IV. bk II. ch. XIX. of the original, where the name Claribel is found in the chapter-heading only. The other, a misprint for 355, corresponds to pt IV. bk. II. ch. XXX.; here the French Claribelle represents an original Clabela.

[3] So Perott ends his article, translating from the French version, and referring to IV. 145 and VII. 126, which correspond to pt II. bk II. ch. VIII. and pt IV. bk I. ch. XIII. of the original.

the courage to hear the groans of a living soul without endeavouring to bring remedy if I can'; 'Nature never produced anything so perfect since, having lost the outline and the lineaments.'" Apparently we are to suppose that the first of these sentences blossomed into Miranda's

> O, I have suffer'd
> With those I saw suffer: a brave vessel,
> Who had, no doubt, some noble creature in her,
> Dash'd all to pieces. O, the cry did knock
> Against my very heart. Poor souls, they perish'd.
> Had I been any god of power, I would
> Have sunk the sea within the earth, or ere
> It should the good ship so have swallow'd, and
> The fraughting souls within her[1].

And we are also to suppose that unless Shakespeare had read the second, Ferdinand would not have addressed Miranda thus:

> for several virtues
> Have I liked several women: never any
> With so full soul, but some defect in her
> Did quarrel with the noblest grace she owed
> And put it to the foil: but you, O you,
> So perfect and so peerless, are created
> Of every creature's best[2]!

All this is on a level with the suggestion mentioned above, that a phrase in *Palmerin de Oliva*, "before he took his journey wherein no creature returneth again[3]," gave Shakespeare the hint for

[1] *The Tempest*, act I. sc. 2. [2] *Ibid.*, act III. sc. I.

[3] Anthony Munday's version, pt II. ch. III., corresponding to ch. LXIX. of the French translation which Munday used. The original (ch. LXXVIII.) simply says "antes que muriesse."

> The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
> No traveller returns[1].

It were as well to try and persuade the reader that some one or other of the matchless beauties who, in these Spanish romances, attract suitors from all parts of the earth—like Briana in the *Mirror of Knighthood*—taught Shakespeare to write of a lady richly left:

> her sunny locks
> Hang on her temples like a golden fleece;
> Which makes her seat of Belmont Colchos' strand,
> And many Jasons come in quest of her[2].

The reader will naturally object that there is a considerable body of evidence available to support the opinion that William Shakespeare had brains of his own; and where we find commonplace ideas transfigured by a master, it is indeed futile to try and discover by what precise path those ideas reached the master mind.

Shakespeare has, on the whole, been very successful in disguising such use as he may have made of our romances. Very different are his contemporaries Beaumont and Fletcher, who in many places reveal their acquaintance with them, and merit separate treatment here. We have already mentioned allusions to characters from the romances in *The Little French Lawyer*, *Philaster*, and *The Scornful Lady*. Penurio in *Women*

[1] *Hamlet*, act III. sc. I. The idea must be almost as old as death itself. A Latin poet of some antiquity and repute speaks of

> illuc unde negant redire quemquam.

[2] *The Merchant of Venice*, act I. sc. I.

Pleased (1647)[1] was thinking of our romances when he uttered his warning:

> Have a care, gentlemen!
> 'Tis a sore age, very sore age, lewd age;
> And women now are like old knights' adventures,
> Full of enchanted flames, and dangerous[2].

In *Rule a Wife and have a Wife* (1640)[3], Cacafogo rambles on to one of the romances in the course of his confused meditations:

> ESTEFANIA. Here comes another trout that I must tickle,
> And tickle daintily, I've lost my end else.—
> May I crave your leave, sir?
> CACAFOGO. Pr'ythee be answer'd, thou shalt crave no leave;
> I'm in my meditations; do not vex me.
> A beaten thing, but this hour a most bruis'd thing,
> That people had compassion on, it look'd so;
> The next, Sir Palmerin. Here's fine proportion!
> An ass, and then an elephant; sweet justice!...

But all the other references to our romances in Beaumont and Fletcher are overshadowed by those which occur in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1613). Quite early in the play[4] Ralph, according to the stage direc-

[1] First printed in the Authors' *Comedies and Tragedies*, 1647.

[2] Act III. sc. 2. I owe this reference to an article by J. de Perott in *Modern Language Notes*, 1907, vol. XXII. pp. 76–78.

A similar indirect reference to our romances occurs in Thomas Nabbes's *Tottenham Court* (1638), act IV. sc. 7, where Stitchwell in his drunken slumber mutters to Changelove:

"For this attempt King Arthur doth here degrade thee from a Knight of his Round Table to be a Squire of his wife's body. So conduct me to her bed, where I will beget a race of warriors shall cage thy great Turkship again, and restore Constantinople to the Emperor."

[3] Act IV. sc. 1.

[4] Act I. sc. 3.

tions, enters "as a Grocer, reading *Palmerin of England.*" As a matter of fact it is from *Palmerin de Oliva*[1] that he reads the following passage:

Then Palmerin and Trineus, snatching their lances from their dwarfs, and clasping their helmets, galloped amain after the giant; and Palmerin, having gotten a sight of him, came posting amain, saying, "Stay, traitorous thief! for thou mayst not so carry away her, that is worth the greatest lord in the world;" and, with these words, gave him a blow on the shoulder, that he struck him besides his elephant. And Trineus, coming to the knight that had Agricola behind him, set him soon besides his horse, with his neck broken in the fall; so that the Princess, getting out of the throng, between joy and grief, said, "All happy knight, the mirror of all such as follow arms, now may I be well assured of the love thou bearest me."

And then Ralph, bethinking him of an episode in the *Mirror of Knighthood*[2], makes a suggestion which reminds us of the way Don Quixote would long ago have settled the Turkish question for us:

I wonder why the kings do not raise an army of fourteen or fifteen hundred thousand men, as big as the army that the Prince of Portigo brought against Rosicleer, and destroy these giants; they do much hurt to wandering damsels, that go in quest of their knights.

His further comments would have been heartily endorsed by the Ingenious Gentleman of La Mancha:

[1] The passage read by Ralph is a condensed and garbled account of the combat in which "Palmerin Frannarco overthrew," rescuing Agriola from this giant's clutches with the aid of Trineus. Beaumont and Fletcher follow closely the language of Munday's version (pt I. ch. LI., corresponding to ch. LVII. of the original); but the mistake Agricola for Agriola is theirs.

[2] Pt I. bk III. ch. XIX., XXIII.

And certainly those knights are much to be commended, who, neglecting their possessions, wander with a squire and a dwarf through the deserts to relieve poor ladies.... There are no such courteous and fair well-spoken knights in this age: they will call one "the son of a whore," that Palmerin of England would have called "fair sir;" and one that Rosicleer would have called "right beauteous damsel," they will call "damned bitch."

Ralph's head is so full of the romances that the heroes of the *Mirror of Knighthood* and of the *Palmerins* jostle each other in his memory, as in the above passage, and again later in the play[1], where he undertakes to fight the giant Barbarossa:

> In God's name, I will fight with him. Kind sir,
> Go but before me to this dismal cave,
> Where this huge giant Barbarossa dwells,
> And, by that virtue that brave Rosicleer
> That damnèd brood of ugly giants slew,
> And Palmerin Frannarco overthrew,
> I doubt not but to curb this traitor foul,
> And to the devil send his guilty soul.

Nor does he forget *Amadis of Gaul*:

> My trusty dwarf and friend, reach me my shield,
> And hold it while I swear. First, by my knighthood;
> Then by the soul of Amadis de Gaul,
> My famous ancestor; then by my sword
> The beauteous Brionella girt about me[2]....

A passage in the same scene shows that Ralph was not the only character in the play to whom these romances were familiar, even in their minor details:

RALPH. My trusty squire, unlace my helm: give me my hat. Where are we, or what desert may this be?

[1] Act III. sc. 2. [2] Act II. sc. 2.

GEORGE Mirror of Knighthood, this is, as I take it, the perilous Waltham-down; in whose bottom stands the enchanted valley.

Overhearing these last words, Mistress Merryweather exclaims to her son:

Oh, Michael, we are betrayed, we are betrayed! here be giants! Fly, boy! fly, boy, fly!

thus showing that she was sufficiently well-acquainted with the romances to know what was expected of an enchanted valley.

That *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* displays a greater acquaintance than usual with the new romances prepares us for the well-established fact that this play is a skit on the romances—"the learned Librarie of Don Quixote"—rather than on *Don Quixote* itself[1]; and that they should have inspired such an excellent piece of fun as this brilliant little comedy is perhaps their chief merit in England.

One other play by Beaumont and Fletcher remains to be mentioned—*The Wild Goose Chase* (1652), containing a heroine Oriana, who should have been prejudiced in favour of the romances, seeing that she bears the name of the heroine in *Amadis of Gaul*. Yet when she is exhorted to "hear the people," she replies[2]:

> Now I say, hang the people! He that dares
> Believe what they say, dares be mad, and give
> His mother, nay, his own wife, up to rumour.
> All grounds of truth they build on, is a tavern,
> And their best censure's sack, sack in abundance;
> For as they drink, they think: they ne'er speak modestly

[1] See the Introduction to H. S. Murch's edition of the play, 1908.

[2] Act I. sc. I.

Unless the wine be poor, or they want money.
Believe them? Believe *Amadis de Gaul*,
The *Knight o' the Sun*, or *Palmerin of England*;
For these, to them, are modest and true stories!

Poetic justice overtakes Oriana later in the play[1], for when she temporarily loses her reason from unrequited love, Ophelia-like she rambles thus:

I know you very well;
You are my godfather, and that's the Monsieur.

Thereupon her brother asks: "And who am I?" To which she replies:

You are Amadis de Gaul, sir.

Oriana's upper-class scorn of the people's simple faith is an indication as to how these romances were received in England. The references to them in our seventeenth century literature, and especially in that mirror of life, the drama, where providing any clue at all, show that in general their appeal was to the lower, or at least the ignorant, classes. Burton, it is true, as we have already seen, mentions "many silly gentlewomen" as being among the victims of these romances. But what Burton understood by gentlewomen is perhaps revealed in a corresponding passage[2] devoted to "our Gentry," the major part of whom he describes as "wholly bent for hawks and hounds, and carried away many times with intemperate lust, gaming, and drinking," whose "sole discourse is dogs, hawks, and horses, and what news?" In short, even if wealthy, at least not healthy-minded:

[1] Act IV. sc. 3.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pt I. sec. 2, memb. 3, subs. 15: Digression of the misery of Schollers, p. 183 of the first edition, 1621.

If they read on a book at any time, t'is an English Chronicle, *S^r Huon of Burdeaux*, *Amadis de Gaul &c.* a play-book, or some pamphlet of Newes, & that at such times only, when they cannot stir abroad.

A specimen of this unintellectual class is "Crossewill, a Country Gentleman," in *The Weeding of the Covent Garden* (1659)[1], by Richard Brome, "Imitator of his Master, that famously Renowned Poet Ben. Johnson."

The "Country Gentleman" will have none of his London son's legal lore and books, but exhorts him to take to polite literature[2]:

Away with books. Away with law. Away with madness. Ay, God bless thee, and make thee his servant, and defend thee from law, I say. Take up these books, sarrah, and carry them presently into Paul's Churchyard, d'ye see, and change them all for Histories, as pleasant as profitable: *Arthur of Britain*, *Primaleon of Greece*, *Amadis of Gaul*, and such like, d'ye see.

At which his son's scandalised cockney valet exclaims: "I hope he does but jest."

If the "Country Gentleman" was unsuccessful in the direction of his son's studies, Hodge himself seems to have fared better, to judge by the following dialogue in Shirley's *The Gentleman of Venice* (1655)[3], where Roberto, the Duke's gardener, "an humorous jolly old man," is reproached by his wife Ursula, "a froward woman," for encouraging their supposed son Giovanni not to follow his profession:

ROBERTO. . . . He shall abroad sometimes,
And read and write till his head ache. Go to!

[1] First printed in the Author's *Five New Plays*, 1659.
[2] Act II. sc. 1. [3] Act I. sc. 2.

URSULA. So, so! The Duke's garden shall be then
Well look'd to! He deserves a pension
For reading *Amadis de Gaule*, and *Guzman*,
And *Don Quixote*, but I'll read him a lecture!
ROBERTO. You will? Offer but to bark at him,
And I will send him to the University
To anger thee....

Roberto and his son are examples of those who, without the necessary instincts or apprehension, set out to copy the manners and customs of gentlemen, with the inevitable result that they succeed in aping merely the foibles and defects of such as are gentlemen in their own estimation only. The weakness that appealed to the ignorant as constituting the hall-mark of good breeding in either sex is given in Tysefew's criticism of Crispinella in Marston's *The Dutch Courtezan* (1605)[1]:

By the Lord, you are grown a proud, scurvy, apish, idle, disdainful, scoffing—God's foot! because you have read *Euphues and his England*, *Palmerin de Oliva*, and the *Legend of Lies*.

And it is revealed again in Ben Jonson's *The Silent Woman* (1620?)[2], in a dialogue between Truewit and Sir Dauphine Eugenie, who would be a very pattern for Asotus, the "little humanitian" of *Cynthia's Revels*, but who was waking to a consciousness of his own shortcomings:

SIR DAUPHINE. How camest thou to study these creatures so exactly? I would thou make me a proficient.

TRUEWIT. Yes, but you must leave to live in your chamber, then, a month together upon *Amadis de Gaul*, or *Don Quixote*, as you are wont....

[1] Act IV. sc. I.

[2] Act IV. sc. I.

Such a method of life seems to have been the ideal of the gentlewomen of the time—the "many silly gentlewomen" of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. In Lodowick Barrey's *Ram Alley* (1611)[1], Mistress Taffeta is somewhat sceptical of the advantages which would accrue to her, according to Sir Oliver Small-Shanks, if she married him:

> But shall I not be overcloy'd with love?
> Will you not be too busy? Shall I keep
> My chamber by the month, if I be pleas'd
> To take physic, to send for visitants,
> To have my maid read *Amadis de Gaul*,
> Or *Donzel del Phœbo* to me[2]?...

[1] Act III. sc. 3.

[2] It is one of life's little ironies that Mistress Taffeta was condemned to a part in Barrey's *Ram Alley*. Her natural place was in Shirley's *Honoria and Mammon* (1659), where she might have met a lover after her own heart. In act II. sc. 1 of that play, Fulbank, after informing Aurelia Mammon and Phantasm that

> It would become the glory of my bride
> To have some state and triumph at our marriage,

enlarges on the theme as follows:

> We will have tilting too, and feats of chivalry
> At court, where I'll defend my Aurelia princess
> In the gilt armour that I mustered in,
> And the rich saddle of my own perfuming.
> I'll have my squires, my plumes and my devices,
> And with my lance encounter the whole *Mirror*
> *Of Knighthood*, and compel the foreign princes
> To hang up all the tables of their mistresses
> As trophies to my most victorious Mammon.

Fulbank displays an intimate acquaintance with the correct forms and ceremonies of knight-errantry; but it is evidently thrown away on the company he keeps, for Phantasm comments in an aside:

> Without some cure, he will be mad immediately.

These gentlewomen soon spread the infection among their attendants. In Massinger's *The Guardian* (1655)[1], Calypso, the confidante of Jolante, in praising her mistress, takes as common denominators the romances, and shows how she believes in them[2]:

> Seek no other precedent:
> In all the books of *Amadis de Gaul*,
> The *Palmerins*, and that true Spanish story
> The *Mirror of Knighthood*, which I have read often,
> Read feelingly, nay more, I do believe in't
> My Lady has no parallel.

And these romances are "modest and true stories" to the goldsmith's daughter and her maid in Chapman's *Eastward Hoe* (1605), in which Ben Jonson and Marston assisted. When Sir Petronel Flash, having won the lady and her maternal estate, bolts—in intent at least—with the latter in approved modern fashion for America, the abandoned victim exclaims[3]: "Would the Knight of the Sun, or Palmerin of England, have used their Ladies so...? Or Sir Lancelot? Or Sir Tristram?" And if the maid gave an unsatisfactory answer, she shows that it was not because she did not fully comprehend the question.

So it is that Sir Thomas Overbury, in sketching the character of "A Chambermaid" quite early in the seventeenth century[4], is able to record:

[1] First printed in the Author's *Three New Playes*, 1655.

[2] Act I. sc. 2.

[3] Act V. sc. 1.

[4] In his *Characters*, a work built up gradually in the successive editions issued in 1614 and 1615. All three characters mentioned below appear in the sixth edition, 1615.

She reads *Greenes* works over and over, but is so carried away with the *Mirror of Knighthood*, she is many times resolv'd to runne out of her selfe, and become a lady errant[1].

And that Sir Thomas Overbury's sketch is true to life may be gathered from a poem[2] by William Browne, the author of *Britannia's Pastorals*, where the maid is able to correct the mistress. "A vain inconstant dame," closeted with her chambermaid, is turning over the letters in her cabinet.

> Opening a paper then she shows her wit,
> In an epistle that some fool had writ;
> Then meeting with another which she likes,
> Her chambermaid's great reading quickly strikes
> That good opinion dead, and swears that this
> Was stol'n from *Palmerin* or *Amadis*.

In none of the quotations given above is there any suggestion that the Peninsular romances appealed to the English cultured classes; indeed they seem to have attracted very few people outside the ignorant and lower classes. The dramatists always refer to them contemp-

[1] *The Miscellaneous Works in prose and verse of Sir Thomas Overbury, Knt. Now first collected.* Edited ... by E. F. Rimbault, 1856, p. 101. Sir Thomas Overbury refers more than once to our romances. Thus, of "A Very Woman," he says: "She thinks she is faire, though many times her opinion goes alone, and she loves her glasse, and the Knight of the Sun for lying" (*ibid.*, p. 49). And again, in describing the character of "A Taylor," he remarks: "His actions are strong encounters, and for their notoriousnesse alwaies upon record. It is neither *Amadis de Gaule*, nor the Knight of the *Sunne*, that is able to resist them. A ten groats fee setteth them on foot, and a brace of officers bringeth them to execution (*ibid.*, p. 78).

[2] "Fido, an Epistle to Fidelia," in *Original Poems, never before published.* ... With a Preface and Notes, by Sir Egerton Brydges, 1815, p. 137.

tuously, as though making fun of a lower class weakness. It was to Ralph, the London Prentice, not to mention George his Squire; to Timothy Bloodhound, the learner of the trade of thrift *alias* pawn-broking; to the wife of old Merryweather, and the chambermaid—all of them representatives of the groundlings in the theatre—that these romances were "true stories."

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, as we have seen, these true stories had lost their hold on those with whom they had hitherto been such favourites. In revenge, they began to attract the notice of a different class. It was, we may be sure, for a distinguished audience that George Granville, Baron Lansdowne, intended his tragedy *The British Enchanters; or, No Magic like Love*, produced at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket in 1706[1], with Amadis, Florestan, Arcalaus, Oriana and Urganda among the principal characters. It was at least before an audience not devoid of taste that *Amadis* appeared on the operatic stage some ten years later, to the music of no less a person than Handel[2]. These two events belong to the period during which the romances were still to some extent being read. Later references to them tend to become sophisticated, for it is mainly to scholars and antiquarians that they now appeal. It is only necessary here to illustrate the connexion of some of our more prominent men of letters with these romances.

On the authority of Bishop Percy, the editor of the *Reliques of English Poetry*, Boswell tells us of Samuel

[1] Printed in the same year.

[2] His opera *Amadigi* was first performed in London in 1715.

Johnson, with whom the Bishop "was long intimately acquainted," that

> when a boy he was immoderately fond of reading romances of chivalry, and he retained his fondness for them through life; so that (adds his Lordship) spending part of a summer at my parsonage-house in the country, he chose for his regular reading the old Spanish romance of *Felixmarte of Hircania*, in folio, which he read quite through. Yet I have heard him attribute to these extravagant fictions that unsettled turn of mind which prevented his ever fixing in any profession[1].

Boswell further tells us on his own authority that Dr Johnson, when making a jaunt into Derbyshire and back in 1776, had with him the romance *Il Palmerino d'Inghilterra*. Dr Johnson was reading the romance in Italian for a reason that would have pleased Fynes Moryson. "He read it," we are told[2], "for the language, by way of preparation for his Italian expedition." We are also told that he "did not like it much"; but in extenuation it may be urged that the Italian translation was made from the very inferior Spanish version of the Portuguese original.

On his own confession, Dr Johnson had read one more of our romances, and in English. In his "Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth," after drawing attention to Shakespeare's probable indebtedness to *The Destruction of Troy*, he adds[3] apologetically: "That this remark may not appear too trivial, I shall take occasion from it to point out a beautiful

[1] *Boswell's Life of Johnson*. Edited by George Birkbeck Hill, 1887, vol. I. p. 49.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. III. p. 2.

[3] See his *Works*, Oxford, 1825, vol. V. p. 76.

passage of Milton, evidently copied from a book of no greater authority: in describing the gates of hell, Book II. v. 879, he says,

> On a sudden open fly,
> With impetuous recoil and jarring sound,
> Th' infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
> Harsh thunder.

In the history of Don Bellianis, when one of the knights approaches, as I remember, the castle of Brandezar, the gates are said to open, *grating harsh thunder upon their brazen hinges.*" If Dr Johnson's memory is not betraying him here[1], his suggestion may be correct, for a second edition of *Belianis of Greece* appeared in 1650, and Milton may well have had it read to him while he was in process of composing *Paradise Lost*: the phrase may have lingered in his brain, and, consciously or unconsciously, have been "bettered by the borrower." Be this as it may, the mere making of such a suggestion shows that Dr Johnson at any rate had once read *Belianis of Greece* as attentively as Cervantes had read *Amadis of Gaul*—both men must have carried in their memory very minor details of the stories concerned.

Two of the romances read by Dr Johnson attracted his great contemporary Edmund Burke, of whom we are told[2] that "a very favourite study, as he himself

[1] I have been unable to trace any such incident in *Belianis of Greece*. On the other hand Virgil had used similar language of the underworld:

> tum demum horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae
> panduntur portae. *Aen.*, VI. 573–574.

[2] By Sir James Prior in his *Memoir of the Life and Character of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke.* This information is not given in the first edition, 1824; it occurs in the second edition, 1826, vol. I. p. 15.

once confessed in the House of Commons, was the old romances, *Palmerin of England*, and *Don Belianis of Greece*, upon which he had wasted much valuable time." The confession refers to his youthful days, and he seems less grateful to his former favourites than Dr Johnson, who, though he attributed one of his failings to their influence, yet acknowledged that they had their good points[1].

About the turn of the eighteenth century Spanish and Portuguese literature became greatly indebted to Robert Southey for what may be called his propagandist labours on their behalf. As was mentioned above, in the early years of the nineteenth century he published excellent abridged translations of *Amadis of Gaul* and *Palmerin of England*. Hence, no doubt, Leigh Hunt came to know *Palmerin* well enough to appreciate it as "a book full of colour and home landscapes, ending with an affecting scene of war[2]." Hence too, doubtless, this romance was a favourite with Keats[3], who was also acquainted with *Amadis*[4]. Hence too, perhaps, the

[1] "Yet there are good reasons for reading romances; as—the fertility of invention, the beauty of style and expression, the curiosity of seeing with what kind of performances the age and country in which they were written was delighted: for it is to be apprehended, that at the time when very wild improbable tales were well received, the people were in a barbarous state, and so on the footing of children." Dr Johnson in *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, 1887, vol. IV. pp. 16, 17.

[2] W. D. Adams, *Dictionary of English Literature*, s.v. Palmerin.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Two passages in Lord Houghton's *Life and Letters of John Keats* show that the poet was on familiar terms with Urganda, the principal fairy in *Amadis of Gaul*. Writing from Margate on 16 May, 1817, Keats replies to a correspondent in festive mood as follows: "My dear Sir:

beginning of Sir Walter Scott's interest in the Peninsular romances, though Scott read widely on his own lines, and probably knew as much about these books as Southey. Besides writing critical essays and reviews on *Amadis*, Scott mentions characters from several of our romances in his own romantic novels. *Palmerin of England* is once more to the fore in *Peveril of the Peak*: the Earl of Derby assures his mother, it will be remembered, that "though to be an absolute Palmerin of England is not in my nature, no son ever loved a mother more dearly, or would do more to oblige her[1]." In *Kenilworth* two of our romances are mentioned by name. Captain Coxe, that paragon of Black-letter Antiquaries, had studied, among other romances, *Amadis* and *Belianis*, albeit in an abridged form[2]. In *Kenilworth* too, the name of one of the heroines in the *Mirror of Knighthood* is mentioned in that disrespectful sense which it had developed in the seventeenth century drama. Early

I am extremely indebted to you for your liberality in the shape of manufactured rag, value 20l., and shall immediately proceed to destroy some of the minor heads of that hydra the Dun; to conquer which the knight need have no sword, shield, cuirass, cuisses, herbadgeon, spear, casque, greaves, paldrons, spurs, chevron, or any other scaly commodity, but he need only take the Bank-note of Faith and Cash of Salvation, and set out against the monster, invoking the aid of no Archimago or Urganda, but finger me the paper, light as the Sybil's leaves in Virgil, whereat the fiend skulks off with his tail between his legs. . . ."

Another letter, written from Teignmouth on 25 March, 1818, contains the following lines:

> You know the Enchanted Castle,—it doth stand
> Upon a rock, on the border of a Lake,
> Nested in trees, which all do seem to shake
> From some old magic-like Urganda's sword. . . .

[1] Ch. xv. [2] Ch. xxxix.

in the story Lambourne is itching to melt his nobles into groats, which he hopes to do with the assistance of "this mysterious Lady of the Manor—this fair Lindabrides of Tony-Fire-the-Fagot[1]." In *Woodstock* the name occurs again with the same signification. When Alice Lee stopped the duel,

> there was a dead pause of astonishment—the combatants rested on their swords—and even the frowardness of Wildrake only vented itself in half-suppressed ejaculations, as, "Well done, Doctor—this beats the 'parson among the pease'—No less than your patron's daughter—And Mistress Alice, whom I thought a very snow-drop, turned out a dog-violet after all—a Lindabrides, by heavens, and altogether one of ourselves[2]!"

In addition to these references, one of the characters in *Ivanhoe*, Cedric, is imitated from a character in the *Mirror of Knighthood*[3]. Altogether, from what we can detect, and from subtler influences which elude us, Scott appears to be more indebted to our romances than any writer since the early days of their introduction to this country.

It would be a purposeless task to seek to multiply references to these romances in nineteenth century literature. It may suffice to quote one more of the great novelists of the century. George Meredith, who demands much of his readers, expects them to understand without any explanation the simple epithet 'O Amadis!' applied by Jack Raikes to Evan Harrington[4].

[1] Ch. III. [2] Ch. XXVIII.

[3] On the authority of J. de Perott. See *Modern Language Notes*, 1907, vol. XXII. p. 78.

[4] *Evan Harrington*, ch. X.

The reprints of some of the romances, either in the original language or in translations, published at various times since the beginning of the nineteenth century, do not denote any attempt to revive a literary fashion that has definitely had its day. The contrast between the small number of the reprints, most of them in abridged form, and the extensive output of studies on the romances, indicates the part these tales play and have played, and the attitude that should be adopted towards them. One or two of the romances are still readable, especially in the current abridgments; but in general the world has long since absorbed whatever was good in the class, together with much that was bad—which latter it has not yet altogether discarded. Still, however wearisome the bulk of the romances may seem to modern taste, they once formed the favourite reading, for recreative purposes, of all ranks in several countries for the space of half a century. As such they influenced the minds, the habits, and the morals of more than one generation of our ancestors, and some knowledge concerning them is desirable on the grounds urged by Dr Johnson, as quoted in a note above[1]. Moreover, within the sphere of literature itself, the best of the romances exercised an influence beyond the limits of their own particular class. The student of sixteenth and seventeenth century literature, not only of Spain and Portugal, but also of several other countries, not least our own, cannot fail to meet, from time to time, with traces of the romances. Dependent as he usually is on the annotations of editors, he will in most cases—especially in this country—find

[1] See p. 297, n. 1.

himself provided with out-of-date or inaccurate information, and he will obtain very little idea of the prevalence of these books while their vogue lasted. That is the chief justification for the preceding pages.

As to the romances themselves, time has dealt mercifully with them by hiding all but the best in exceedingly rare editions, while keeping their memory alive in the interests of knowledge.

APPENDIX I

LEANDRO EL BEL

AS was pointed out above (pp. 134 and 185), the first known edition of the Spanish romance *Leandro el Bel*, the second book of *Lepolemo llamado el Cavallero de la Cruz*, belongs to the year 1563. Pérez Pastor records two different issues[1] with exactly the same date, 19 May, MDLXIII: one of these is doubtless the first edition. It is true that a recent writer has cited an edition of 1543[2], in which year an edition of *Lepolemo* was printed; but that date is impossible for *Leandro el Bel*, since the dedication mentions Pedro de Lujan's *Colloquios matrimoniales* (see p. 134, note 1), which first appeared in 1550. The date 1543 is no doubt a misprint for 1563.

The first known edition of the Italian *Leandro il Bello* is that of 1560. As was stated above (p. 185, note 2), it might be suspected from Melzi that there was an edition of 1550; but the edition of 1560 is no doubt the first, for it contains the privilege of the Venetian Senate, dated 29 November, 1559. *Leandro il Bello* professes on the title-page to be translated by Pietro Lauro "from the Spanish," like the *Cavallier de la Croce* of which it is

[1] *La Imprenta en Toledo*, Nos. 293 (in the British Museum) and 294.

[2] *Discursos leídos en la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona en la solemne recepción pública de D. Juan Givanel y Más el dia 20 de Mayo de* 1917, p. 25, n. 4.

a continuation. Hence it has been commonly supposed that there once existed one or more editions of the Spanish *Leandro el Bel* printed before 1560, of which all trace has disappeared. But title-page statements of the kind in question are notoriously untrustworthy, for they were dictated by the prevailing literary fashion; and it can be fairly conclusively shown that so far from the Italian romance being translated from the Spanish, the Spanish was translated from the Italian, and that consequently there never was an edition of the Spanish romance before 1560.

The known bibliographical facts concerning *Leandro el Bel* and *Leandro il Bello* challenge a comparison of the texts. It will be noted at once that both books have the same number of chapters, whereas the Italian version of the *Cavallier de la Croce* was very much abridged. Some change of method at least is indicated. The reader has not far to go before he finds passages in the Spanish which make poor sense, whereas the corresponding passages in the Italian are quite correct. The following extracts from the second chapter are an example:

Eneste tiempo mi padre murio, quedando Dorieno mi marido ꝛ yo por señores de aquella ysla muy pacificos si la fortuna nos quisiera dexar y fue desta manera: que con nuestra ysla es comarcana la ysla verde, donde es agora señor vn gigante el mas fuerte que en grandes partidas se halla tanto que batalla de

Morendo poi mio padre, rimaneuamo Darineo & io Signori dell' Isola, menando una vita pacifica & tranquilla: ma la fortuna che non lascia gli huomini lungamente in un stato, anzi par che si diletti di ueder le cose andar alla riuerscia, li apparecchiò una rouina di tal sorte. L' Isola Verde è uicina alla mia, & la signo-

veynte ni de treynta Caualleros no teme....	reggia un gigante tanto gagliardo, che non rifiuterebbe uenti Cauallieri a battaglia....

Such examples might be multiplied; and whereas occasional faults might be attributed to the various hazards of the press, a number of them will point definitely in one direction.

The suspicions thus aroused are confirmed by the appearance in the Italian text of a number of verses: mottoes, prophecies, inscriptions on doors, etc.—a favourite feature of the romances. These verses occur in ch. V., XIX., XX., XXXVI., XLIV., XLVIII., LI., LIII., LXIII., LXIX., LXXI., LXXII., LXXVIII., LXXXII., LXXXIV. If these same chapters are examined in the Spanish text, it will be observed that there is nothing to correspond to the verses in ch. LXXI. of the Italian text; that there are verses indeed, but simpler in form, in ch. XXXVI., XLIV. and XLVIII., and that in all the remaining cases the corresponding passages are in prose. Furthermore, in ch. LXXXIV. there are two sets of verses in the Italian, and the corresponding passages in the Spanish do not make sense. It might of course be argued that Pietro Lauro, having before him a poor Spanish original, or at least a poor edition, endeavoured to embellish his original by changing suitable prose passages into verse, correcting where necessary and amplifying where he felt inclined. It is much more natural to infer that Pietro Lauro's text is the original, and that the Spaniard at first translated the verse into prose; that for a short time he was inspired to imitate the Italian verses, and that then, finding the rates of pay insufficient for the effort

involved, he subsided once more into prose, and finally into faulty prose.

Very early in the work a number of new characters are introduced, for whose names there were no precedents in *Lepolemo*. Among them are the 'Darineo' or 'Dorieno' of the extracts quoted above, and the giant 'Maronte il tristo' or 'Moronte el malo.' The giant's name ending in 'onte' is much more likely to be an Italian than a Spanish original; and it may be noted that in the Italian the giant uses the oath 'O Apollino!,' again a much more likely original than the Spanish 'O Apolonio!' It is fairly certain that 'Dorieno' (or 'Dorino' as it sometimes appears at first) is copied from 'Darineo.' It will be remembered that the same firm of Michele Tramezzino which produced *Leandro il Bello* in 1560, also produced Mambrino Roseo's fourth part of *Primaleon*, entitled *Darineo di Grecia*, in the same year. The privileges to these books being dated respectively 29 November and 15 January, 1559, it would seem that Darineo di Grecia was the first of his name. It might be argued that Mambrino Roseo got the suggestion for his hero's name from the form 'Dorieno' in an early edition, now lost, of *Leandro el Bel*. It is much more likely that the name originated in the Venetian factory, where both Mambrino Roseo and Pietro Lauro would be working together, and that the Spanish form is an adaptation of the Italian.

It is not necessary, however, to go further than the name of the hero himself, Leandro el Bel, or Leandro il Bello, to find a hint that the Italian is the original. In ch. VI. of the Italian text, the sage Artidoro is made lord

of a very desirable island. Having kidnapped the newly born son[1] of Lepolemo, in ch. x. he conveys him for safety to the island, here called the Isola Bella, and has him baptized Leandro, with the epithet il Bello, from the name of the island. This is straightforward enough. But in ch. VI. of the Spanish text the writer gets into difficulties by anticipating the description of the island. He then remembers that in ch. II. the sage has been described as "Artidoro de la ysla encubierta" ("dell' Isola coperta"), so he adds that Artidoro enchanted the island, which was therefore called "la ysla bella la encubierta," the sage himself being known as "el sabio Artidoro de la ysla encubierta." In ch. x. however, having already decided that the hero is to be known as Leandro el Bel, the writer changes the name of the island into "la ysla bel." It looks as though he was following the Italian name till he found himself in a difficulty, from which he extricated himself by abbreviating the name of the island.

Towards the end of the story the Spanish text is shorter than the Italian, and the imperfections become more numerous. Mention has already been made of faulty prose passages corresponding to the Italian verses in ch. LXXXIV. In the last chapter but one the Italian text mentions Agripante's younger brother Agrimanteo, so called "perche teo in lingua Tartaresca, significa il secondo figliuolo nato." The Spanish text carelessly gives both men the same name Agripante, adding the useless explanation "por q̄ leo (*sic*) en lengua tartaresca, es hijo despues nascido." In the same chapter the Italian

[1] He had already been born once in the last chapter of *Lepolemo*!

text contains a long speech by Agripante, of which there is no trace in the Spanish; and when Agripante is slain, the Italian text tells us that "il prencipe caddè morto à terra gridando. Haime Cup, & non puotè finire il rimanente della parola cioè idea." In the Spanish text the prince falls dead without a murmur, and it looks as though we had to deal here with a translator who either did not understand or did not appreciate the very mild jest of the Italian text. The whole of the concluding portion of the Spanish text points to a translator who was in a great hurry to reach the end of his task and the last instalment of his pay. At the very end he gives the game away completely. Both the Italian and the Spanish text make mention of matters which are left over for a "third part." The former adds:

Essendo conueneuol cosa concedere alquanto di riposo a la mia stanca penna, & abbassare le uele della mia affiitta nauicella, accioche poi con maggiori sue forze sospinta dal uento della mia fatica, possi nauicare piu gagliardamente nel scriuere, & narrare la terza parte non meno bella, che le due prime....

The Spanish text simply has: "Agora sera bien dar algun descanso a mi pluma, y amaynar mi vela, para entrar en el mayor trabajo de la traducion de la tercera parte...." It is of course possible to pretend that the Spaniard, when he used the words "the translation of the third part," was thinking of the ancient tongue in which these annals, if they had come to light, would certainly have professed to be originally written; the Italian must then be supposed to have missed this subtlety. But it is much more natural to regard the Italian as the author of the second part, and consequently

thinking of himself as the author of the third part he promises; whereas the Spaniard, having translated the second part from the Italian, honestly and naturally thinks and writes of himself as translating the third part.

One more little test is provided by the final words in both texts, where thanks are rendered to "Almighty God, to his mother the Blessed Virgin Mary, and to the faithful apostles St Peter and St Paul." The names of the two apostles are perfectly natural from the pen of an Italian; a Spaniard would certainly have stopped short with the Blessed Virgin (as indeed the printer does in the colophon immediately following the end of the text), if he had not had a precedent before him.

The facts given above are the result of a cursory examination of the two texts. They provide, however, a variety of indications that the Italian is the original, from which the Spanish is a translation. Individually, none of the examples adduced affords a definite proof, but the cumulative evidence is overwhelming. The examples could no doubt be multiplied by a thorough comparison of the texts; but that is not necessary, for there can already be no doubt that *Leandro el Bel* must join *Palmerin de Inglaterra* as one of the fraudulent productions of the Ferrers' printing-house in Toledo. The printer not only hid the fact that both romances were translations from a recently published original; in both cases he added mystifying, if not misleading, preliminaries. The dedication in *Leandro el Bel* implies that the romance was written by Pedro de Lujan, who had recently (cf. "los dias passados," in the extract quoted on p. 134, note 1) written the *Colloquios matrimoniales*,

not to mention the Twelfth Book of *Amadis*. If we are to give the words "los dias passados" their natural interpretation, then the dedication looks like an attempt to antedate the Spanish romance, in order to hide the fact that it was translated from the Italian. It becomes a question how much faith we should attach to whatever else is implied in that dedication.

APPENDIX II

ANTHONY MUNDAY AND LAZARUS PYOTT

ACCORDING to the *Stationers' Register*[1], a license to print four books of *Amadis of Gaul* was granted to "Edward Aldee" on 15 January, 1589. Anthony Munday's translation of the first book, of which no copy with a title-page is known, must have been issued between this date and 1595, the year in which the second book, translated by "Lazarus Pyott," was published. The first four books of *Amadis of Gaul* in English appeared many years later in a composite volume, the title-pages of the first and second books bearing the date 1619, those of the third and fourth 1618. In this volume Anthony Munday professes to be the translator of all the four books. As the text of the second book here is the same, except for errors, as that of the 1595 edition, when studying *Amadis of Gaul* I accepted the traditional identification of "Lazarus Pyott" with Anthony Munday, which is supported by the British Museum *Catalogue* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

I was first led to doubt this identification while studying the English editions of the books in the *Palmerin* series. Two of the three parts of *Primaleon*,

[1] See Arber's *Transcript*, vol. II. p. 514.

translated by Anthony Munday, contain preliminary verses. Those prefixed to the second book are signed M. D., identifiable with Michael Drayton, those prefixed to the third book are signed H. C., identifiable with Henry Constable, and are as follows[1]:

Of the Translation, against a Carper.

Delicious phrase, well follow'd acts of glory,
Mixture of Loue, among fierce martial deeds,
(Which great delight vnto the Reader breeds)
Hath th' Inuenter kept t'adorne this Story.
The same forme is obseru'd by the Translater,
Primaleon (sweet in French) keeps here like grace;
Checking that Foole, who (with a blushles face)
To praise himselfe, in Print will be a prater.

Peace chattring *Py*, be still, poore *Lazarus*;
Rich are his gifts, that thus contenteth vs.

In the last line but one Henry Constable is clearly making free with the name of "Lazarus Pyott," much as Greene did with that of Shakespeare, and the insertion of these verses in one of Munday's translations would be absurd if we are to hold, as is usually done, that "Lazarus Pyott" is a pseudonym of Anthony Munday.

That "Lazarus Pyott" (or "Piot") is not Anthony Munday becomes clear from an examination of two books in which the former had a hand. In 1596 appeared "The Orator . . . Written in French by Alexander Siluayn, and Englished by L. P."—the work containing the story of the Jew and the pound of flesh which perhaps suggested *The Merchant of Venice* to Shakespeare. In the

[1] First known edition of 1619.

dedication to "Lord John, Lord St. John, Baron of Bletsho," signed Lazarus Piot, the translator speaks of "hauing hewen out of my rough wit this first fruit of mine oratory," and goes on lower down: "The reason why I make you my patron is for that I know you to be a fauourer of the learned, and a maintainer of the souldior." The impression that the translator is a beginner and a soldier is confirmed by the second book of *Amadis of Gaul*, published in 1595. In the dedication to "the vertuous yong gentleman Maister Gualter Borough," signed Lazarus Pyott, the translator says:

> This being forced on me by a friend, though but a toy, yet I confesse deseruing a better penne then mine to pollish it, I aduentured to make it my first work, and you my chiefe patron therof. . . . And although it deserue no chiefe place in your studie, yet you may lay it vp in some corner therof, vntill your best leasure will affoord you some idle time to peruse these abrupt lines of an vnlearned *Souldior*, who hath written plaine English, void of all eloquence.

Anthony Munday was no tyro in 1595. His earliest extant work, the *Mirrour of Mutabilitie*, in which he tells the reader "I haue now the third time presumed on thy clemency," was published in 1579. There is nothing in the known facts of his life (cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*) to lead us to suppose that he ever was a soldier. It is true that on 8 March, 1580, there was licensed to John Charlwood[1] a "ballat made by Anthony Monday of thencoragement of an Englishe soldior to his fellow mates." This is not extant, but even if it were it would hardly prove anything. Many such ballads have

[1] See Arber, *op. cit.*, vol. II. p. 366.

been turned out in recent times by people who have never worn a uniform.

The words "plaine English, void of all eloquence," quoted above from the dedication in the second book of *Amadis*, seem to foreshadow the "carping" complained of in the third book of *Primaleon*. There are further signs of this in Lazarus Pyott's preface to the reader, which I quote in full in order to avoid the possibility of conveying a wrong impression:

> Gentle Reader, I was entreated by a friend of mine, whose words are of authority with me, to set forward the translation of the workes of *Amadis de Gaul*, which hath in diuers languages and countries in *Europe*, passed for currant, and beene entertayned in the courts of great Princes. And albeit I freely confesse my labours might haue beene better employed, in setting foorth some more serious matter: yet had my friends request so much power ouer me, that I could not deny him my paines herein. If in satisfying him I may therwith any way content you (which I desire) I shall esteeme my trauaile so much the better bestowed; if not, his importunitie shall serue me for excuse: though I dare be bould to affirme, that if my woorke be compared with the former, it shall in all respects be as answerable to the Aucthors intent, albeit there may be more then a daies difference betweene them. Such as it is, I leaue it to your friendly perusing, allowance, and correction (if there be cause) and my selfe to be alwaies
>
> At your disposition L.P.

The words "compared with the former" clearly mean compared with the first book of *Amadis*, translated by Anthony Munday, and such a comparison is absurd if we regard "Lazarus Pyott" as a pseudonym of Anthony Munday. It is clear that the two are different, for

we must accept all the above statements at their face value. It would be ridiculous to suppose that Munday, having translated the first book of *Amadis* under his own name, endeavoured in the second book to play a silly trick upon the public under the name of Lazarus Pyott. There remains no reason for thinking this name to be a pseudonym, in spite of its strangeness[1].

It is evident that in 1595 Lazarus Pyott did not over-estimate Anthony Munday's ability as a translator. In 1619 he may have had good reasons for "carping." This was the year in which the first two books of *Amadis* were re-issued, along with the third and fourth books which are dated 1618. We may assume that the first two books came out early in 1619, and it may well be that some interval separated them from the third book of *Primaleon*, which also appeared in 1619 with the verses reproving Lazarus Pyott. If this were so, then the discovery by "poore Lazarus" during this interval that Anthony Munday had appropriated his translation of the second book of *Amadis* would give him a good excuse for provoking the verses " Of the Translation, against a Carper."

In this connexion it may be mentioned that the English version of *Primaleon* appears to afford another example of appropriation by Anthony Munday. In the second part (chapters XII. and XXVII.) Prince Edward sings three songs to the Princess Flerida, a proceeding for which there is no authority either in the original or in the French version from which Munday translated. One of these inserted songs is the well-known " Beauty

[1] In the form "Piot" the name is not uncommon in France.

sat bathing by a spring," to be found in every self-respecting English anthology. It seems incredible that this exquisite lyric could have been written by the "dismal draper of misplaced literary ambitions," but presumably on the strength of its occurrence in *Primaleon* the editor of the *Oxford Book of English Verse* assigns the poem to Munday. It may however be noted that the song in *Primaleon* is not specially appropriate to its context—any other song would suit as well—and that it differs from the version in *England's Helicon* in several small particulars. The absence of the refrain from the *Primaleon* version—unless that is a peculiarity of the edition represented in the British Museum—seems to me significant. I agree with Mr Bullen that this poem is not by Munday[1], and prefer to think that the translator of *Primaleon* merely incorporated in his text a popular poem of the day.

[1] This is the view expressed by Mr Bullen in his 1887 edition of *England's Helicon*: in his 1899 edition he accepts the ascription of the poem to Munday.

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