Palmerin of England: Some Remarks on This Romance and on the Controversy concerning Its Authorship by William Edward Purser

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and can form his own judgment without the interference of an editor's preferences. Furthermore, Mr Milford's record of variants is, so far as we have been able to check it, fuller. His notes deal with textual and chronological matters only, and, following the excellent example set him in Mr Thomas Hutchinson's Oxford Wordsworth—the most satisfactory edition of Wordsworth at present in existence—he has given a chronological summary of the events of Cowper's life, which furnishes the reader with all he may be supposed to need away from the more elaborate biographical and critical estimates. Altogether, it is a most business-like and handy edition, marred only, we venture to submit, by the ugly numbering of the lines on every page, school-book fashion. Not even are poems consisting of four-line verses, and epigrams in four, six and eight lines all told, spared this last indignity.

A. R. WALLER.

Palmerin of England: Some Remarks on this Romance and on the Controversy concerning its Authorship. By WILLIAM EDWARD PURSER. London: David Nutt. 8vo. x + 466 pp.

Till within the last few years the attribution of *Palmerin de Inglaterra* to Hurtado was almost universally accepted in Spain. Critical opinion has shown signs of wavering recently, and it is not too much to say that the ascription will not survive Mr Purser's examination of it. *Palmerin* was generally believed to be the work of the Portuguese diplomatist, Francisco de Moraes, till 1786 when Macedo, the editor of a reprint issued that year at Lisbon, discovered that a French version of the story had appeared in 1552–53, and that (like the *Olivier de Castile* of Philippe Camus) it purported to be a translation from the Spanish. In 1786 no copy of *Palmerin* in Spanish was known to exist, and, as the earliest Portuguese edition is dated 1567, Macedo assumed that the book might be of French origin. Nine years later, Pellicer took note of this admission—or rather of part of it—and, seeing that Macedo was inclined to abandon the Portuguese claim, declared that *Palmerin* had been originally written in Spanish. This will surprise no one who is familiar with Pellicer's methods. In 1826 a copy of *Palmerin* in Spanish (1547–48) came into the hands of Vicente Salvá, who first of all assigned it to Miguel Ferrer, for no better reason than that Ferrer signed the dedications in both volumes. Shortly afterwards a copy of verses in this Spanish edition was seen to be an acrostic, which read as follows: “Lvys hvrtado avtor al lector da saluds.” It could not be disputed that the Spanish version of *Palmerin* was older than the French version, and the acrostic was taken to mean that Hurtado was the author of the romance. This interpretation was given, as a matter of fact, by Gayangos in his *Discurso preliminar* to the *Libros de Caballerías* (1857) in Rivadeneyra's *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, and Gayangos's authority was regarded as decisive in and out of Spain. In 1860 the Brazilian Mendes attempted to defend

Moraes's title; but, though he made out a fair case, he committed a number of incidental errors, which were exposed by Gayangos, who, however, skilfully evaded the main point. There the matter rested till 1876, when the debate was reopened by Benjumea in an acute *Discurso sobre el Palmerin de Inglaterra*, which evidently suggested to Madame Michaëlis de Vasconcellos an extremely able study of the subject in the sixth volume of the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (1882). This produced a considerable impression, but some patriotic Spanish scholars remained unconvinced. Mr Purser's book completely destroys the Spanish case.

Hurtado appears to have been a bookseller's hack, living in straitened circumstances in a provincial town, writing to the best of his small powers such works as were commissioned from him. He was more than once called in to complete works which had been left unfinished by their authors, and his original writings are almost wholly devoid of talent. This is not the type of man from whom we should expect a book like *Palmerin*, which shows a minute acquaintance with the best contemporary society—and especially with French society. It is precisely the sort of book which might be expected from Moraes Cabral, who formed part of Noronha's embassy to Paris in 1540, who during three years had ample opportunities of observing the society described in *Palmerin*, and who had an unsuccessful love-affair with a French lady named Torsi, introduced into the text of the romance. It should further be observed that Moraes was always considered in Portugal as the author of the book, and that he was universally known as Moraes Cabral or *Palmeirim* for many years before he was murdered at Evora in 1572. These considerations do not settle the matter, but they have a significance which cannot be overlooked.

No controversy would ever have arisen on the subject if the first Portuguese edition of *Palmerin* were in existence. The earliest known Portuguese edition was published at Evora in 1567: only two copies of it have been found, and in both copies the title-page and dedication are missing. Gayangos dwells on the fact that Moraes's name does not appear in the Evora edition of 1567, but he does not inform his readers that both copies are mutilated at the only point where the name would appear. In the Lisbon reprint of 1592 there is a dedication by Moraes to D. Maria de Portugal, and the publisher states that this is a reproduction of the dedication in a previous edition. There is no reason for doubting this assertion. The dedication was certainly not inserted to please D. Maria (who had been dead for fifteen years), nor to please Moraes (who had been dead for twenty years); and it cannot have been inserted with the object of bolstering up Moraes's claim to be the author, for his authorship of *Palmerin* was not contested at the time. It may therefore be assumed that the publisher is correct in saying that he took the dedication from a previous edition, and, as the 1567 edition was the most accessible to the publisher, it is extremely probable that the dedication was taken from it. It is open to the opponents of Moraes's claim to dispute the authenticity of the dedication, and to

raise difficulties with respect to its date. Assuming that the dedication in the 1567 edition was forged, who can have forged it? Not the printer: it would be a dangerous trick to dedicate a book to the King's sister, and to attach to it the name of the King's private treasurer. Not Moraes: his claim was universally admitted; and, if he forged the dedication, the King's sister must have been his accomplice. It follows that the dedication is authentic, and that Moraes wrote it. When? Not later than 1557, for it mentions João II as still alive. Other internal evidence goes to show that the dedication dates from 1544, and, as a dedication presupposes the existence of a text, the conclusion is that a *Palmerin* in Portuguese existed as early as 1543–44.

Even the hastiest reader of *Palmerin* cannot help noticing that the author is full of Portuguese prejudices, and that, while he knows the topography of Portugal, he is unfamiliar with the topography of Spain. It is singular that he describes the Tagus as it appears in Portugal. This would be remarkable in Hurtado, who knew the Tagus as it is seen at Toledo, and who wrote a *Memorial de algunas cosas notables que tiene la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo*. It would be perfectly natural in Moraes, who knew the Tagus only in its lower reaches. It should also be noted that the Portuguese text is in every way superior to the Spanish text, and that passages unintelligible in the Spanish offer no difficulty in the Portuguese. The Spanish word *cosa* (thing or thingumy) corresponds to such words as *lembrança*, *medos*, *gasalhado*, *brincas*, *variedades*, *peças*, *cobiça*, and so forth: the obvious inference is that the Spanish text was translated from a Portuguese original by some one whose acquaintance with Portuguese was somewhat limited. The most interesting and convincing chapter in Mr Purser's book is that in which he identifies the characters introduced into Chapters cxxvii—cxlvi of *Palmerin*. The fact that the names of these characters are given more accurately in the Portuguese text than in the Spanish (or even in the French) tells its own tale. Is it at all likely that Hurtado ever heard of Francis I's daughter Marguerite (who appears under the anagrammatic name of Gratiamar), of Mansi (the Duchesse d'Estampes), of Latranja (Madame de L'Estrange), of Torsi (Brantôme's *belle Torcy*, with whom Moraes was in love), and of Madame d'Albania (wife of John Stewart)? It is certain that Moraes was personally acquainted with most of them, and that he mentions Mansi and Torsi in a private letter, dated Melun, December 10, 1541. That Moraes should write resentfully of these foreign court-beauties (who ridiculed his airs and graces as unbecoming to a man of his years) is natural enough. It would be unaccountable in Hurtado, who was not in a position to know even their names. Lastly, there is a chronological difficulty in accepting the ascription of *Palmerin* to Hurtado. According to his own statement, he was fifty years old in 1582, and was therefore fifteen when the first volume of the Spanish *Palmerin* was printed off on July 23, 1547. It would follow that he wrote the text when he was thirteen or fourteen. This is wholly incredible, and puts his claim out of court. It is only just to add that, apart from the acrostic, which appears to be a boyish

practical joke, Hurtado never personally claimed to be the author of *Palmerin*, and in the third stanza of the acrostic he seems to point out that the book is of foreign origin :

enello despierto
todas las flores : de dichos notables
oyendo sentencias : que son saludables
robando la fruta de ajenos guertos.

Mr Purser has established beyond doubt the priority of the Portuguese version by Moraes. He may be right in conjecturing that the Spanish text was written by the Portuguese author of the Spanish romance, *Don Florando de Inglaterra*, and that it was revised by the bookseller, Ferrer. But that is a secondary matter. As to the main point there cannot be two opinions.

JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY.

Comedia famosa del Esclavo del Demonio compuesta por el doctor Mira de Mesqua (Barcelona, 1612). Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by MILTON A. BUCHANAN. Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company. 1905. 8vo. 144 pp.

Mr Buchanan's edition of *El Esclavo del Demonio* is a useful and conscientious piece of work, and it speaks well for his thoroughness that only one text of this famous play has escaped him. This is the text contained in the *Sexta Parte* mentioned by Schack, and there is a certain note of scepticism in Mr Buchanan's reference to it :

The other *sexta parte*, 1654, referred to by Schack alone (cf. La Barrera, pp. 689, 705), I have not succeeded in finding. A copy of the 1654 (?) edition is in the Ticknor Library (*Catalogue*, 1879, p. 98), but as Mr Wadhu kindly informs me there is no date on the *title-page*, but only on the *back* of the book !

There is, however, no doubt as to the existence of an extra *Sexta Parte*, for a copy of it exists in the Bodleian Library (Arch. Σ. iii. 21) with the following printed title-page : *Sexta Parte de Comedias Nuevas Escogidas de los Mejores Ingenios*. [Device] *Con licencia, En Zaragoza, Por los Herederos de Pedro de Lanaja del Reyno de Aragon. Año de 1654. A Costa de Roberto Duport, Mercader de Libros*. This is not, indeed, the *Sexta Parte* indicated by Barrera as being known to Schack, for that *Sexta Parte* appears to have been published at Madrid ; the volume in the Bodleian Library seems to be a reprint of the *Sexta Parte* of the Madrid *Escogidas*, and is to be distinguished from the *Dudosa Parte sexta* noted by Barrera on p. 705. The *Dudosa Parte sexta* does not form part of any recognized collection : it is a made-up volume, containing *sueltas* of the plays in the Zaragoza reprint (1654).

These details are mentioned here to complete the bibliographical history of the text given in Mr Buchanan's excellent introduction. The present edition is reprinted from the *Tercera Parte de Comedias de Lope de Vega y otros Auctores*, published in 1612 at Barcelona by