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**The Pleasaunt Historie:
*Identifying the Source of the English Lazarillo****

ABSTRACT

This article will examine how *The Pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes*, the English version of the first picaresque novel, came into being. Due to its immense popularity, the original *Lazarillo* inaugurated a series of early translations: the first were French (1560 and 1561), followed relatively closely by the English (1576). The identification of the source of *The Pleasaunt Historie* is made possible here, in the light of a thorough comparison between the layout, the language, and the fortune of these four different editions.

Questo articolo prenderà in esame la nascita di *The Pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes*, la versione inglese del primo esempio di letteratura picaresca. Grazie alla sua immensa popolarità, il *Lazarillo* originale fu il primo di una serie di traduzioni quasi immediate: le prime furono in francese (nel 1560 e nel 1561), seguite piuttosto rapidamente dall'inglese (nel 1576). L'identificazione della fonte di *The Pleasaunt Historie* è qui resa possibile alla luce di una accurata comparazione fra la struttura, la terminologia e la fortuna di queste quattro diverse edizioni.

L *a vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades*, with its tales of poverty, hunger, corruption and dishonesty, quickly became a bestseller of the 16th century. Four Spanish editions in 1554 were

* Abbreviations

Les faits merueilleux: Les faits merueilleux, ensemble la vie du gentil Lazare de Tormes, & les terribles auantures à luy auenues en diuers lieux. Liure fort plaisant et délectable, auquel sont descris maints actes notables et propos facecieux, au plaisir et contentement d'vn chacun. Traduit nouuellement d'Espagnol en François par I. G. de L., Lyon, Jean Saugrain, 1560 (Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cologny, Switzerland); *L'histoire plaisante: L'histoire plaisante et facétieuse do Lazare de Tormes Espagnol. En laquelle on peult recognoistre bonne partie des meurs, vie et conditions des Espagnolz,* Paris, Jean Longis & Robert Le Mangnier, 1561 (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8-BL-29642); *The Pleasaunt Historie: The Pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes a Spaniarde, wherein it is contained his marueilous deedes and life. With the Straunge aduentures happened to him in the seruice of sundrie Masters. Drawen out of Spanish by Dauid Rouland of Anglesey,* London, Abell Ieffes, 1586 (British Library C. 57.a. 2); EUL.SC: Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections; ODNB: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn., Jan 2008, <www.oxforddnb.com>, ultima cons.: 11.2.2013; SR: *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640*, edited by Edward Arber, London, privately printed, 1875, 5 vol. The quotations from *Lazarillo* in Spanish are from *El Lazarillo de Tormes. Alcalá de Henares, Burgos y Amberes, 1554*, fac-simile, Valencia, Cieza, 1959, unless otherwise stated. The related note will indicate: *Lazarillo*, the place of printing, and the page number of the edition in question. All the quotations have been reproduced with their original spelling and punctuation. The dating used is old style, with new style separated by a slash. This article is based on my own dissertation: FRANCESCA SALVATORI, *From Spain, through France, to England: The Pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes and Its Sources*, dissertation for an MSc by Research in English Renaissance Literature, Graduate School of Literatures, Languages, and Cultures, University of Edinburgh (2010-2011). I am deeply grateful to my supervisors, Professor Greg Walker and Professor Jeremy Robbins, for assisting me with their knowledge, experience and guidance during the research and composition of this work.

promptly followed by two in French (in 1560 and 1561), then by at least another in English (in 1576). Ironically and sometimes satirically, the lives and dealings of a cross-section of sixteenth century social types were candidly reported through the adventures of Lázaro: in Spain, the comedic element was accompanied by familiar situations and stories; in France and England, the story was appreciated for its anti-Catholic satirical element, as well as for its entertainment value. Comparing the layout and the vocabulary employed to compile these early translations, we will ultimately be able to identify which edition was the primary source for David Rowland of Anglesey and his *Pleasaunt Historie*.

Lazarillo de Tormes in Spain

The first extant editions of *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes, y de sus Fortunas y Adversidades* are four, and are all dated 1554;¹ so many printings in the space of a year prove that the initial success of *Lazarillo* was as widespread as it was quick.² *Lazarillo* constituted an outstanding innovation for the readers of the time, and it entailed a promising bookselling business as a consequence:³ so much so that in 1555 a *Segunda Parte* was published in Antwerp by Martín Nucio, «Con Preuilegio Imperial».⁴ The first part, divided into a *Prólogo* and seven *Tractados*, depicts Lázaro's adventures under different Masters: a blind man, a priest, a squire, a friar, a pardoner, a chaplain, and a sergeant. Moved by hunger, or following the instruction of his Masters, Lázaro steals and deceives, and his tales are source of much merriment. In the *Segunda Parte*, the social and religious criticism is replaced by an allegory of political life. Since «the protagonist now served to showcase the corruption of the Spanish court»,⁵ the book deserved inclusion in the *Catalogvs Librorũ Qui Prohibetur* of 1559: no longer a mere receptacle of «errores, y doctrinas escãdalosas, y sospechosas, y mal sonãtes cõtra nrã sancta fee catholica»,⁶ now it also offered writings that were prejudicial to the interests of the crown. The existence of *Lazarillo*

¹ Scholars suggest the existence of a previous edition or editions, although no copies have yet been discovered. Cfr. *Segunda Parte del Lazarillo: Anónimo, edición de Amberes, 1555 y Juan de Luna, edición de París, 1620*, edited by Pedro M. Piñero, Madrid, Cátedra, 1988, p. 9; *Lazarillo de Tormes*, edited by Francisco Rico, Madrid, Cátedra, 2002, p. 14; *The Life of Lazarillo de Tormes (La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de Sus Fortunas y Adversidades)*, Translated into English by David Rowland, edited by Keith Whitlock, Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 2000, p. 1.

² Cfr. *Lazarillo de Tormes*, ed. by F. Rico, cit.

³ Cfr. *Segunda Parte del Lazarillo*, ed. by P.M. Piñero, cit., p. 10.

⁴ Ivi, p. 123 for the full text of the Privilege.

⁵ REYES COLL-TELLECHEA, *The Spanish Inquisition and the Battle for Lazarillo: 1554-1555-1573*, in *The Lazarillo Phenomenon: Essays on the Adventures of a Classic Text*, edited by Reyes Coll-Tellechea, Sean McDaniel, Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press, 2010, p. 80.

⁶ *Catalogvs Librorũ Qui Prohibetur mandato Illustrissimi & Reuerend. D.D. Ferdinandi de Valdes Hispaleñ. Archiepi, Inquisitoris Generalis Hispaniae, Pinciae, 1559*, fac-simile, New York, Huntingdon, 1895, vol. 2, p. 3.

Castigado – a censored version of the first part published in 1573 – proves the point: only a few parts were considered offensive in the first *Lazarillo*, whereas the second part was never freed from the stigma of unorthodoxy, and remained prohibited in its entirety.⁷ The French and the English editions would not contain the whole of the *Segunda Parte*, probably because the political allegory was deemed too obscure or irrelevant for a foreign audience. Nevertheless, *Lazarillo's* inclusion in the *Index* is undoubtedly part of the reason why it was renowned and appreciated in reformed countries: ultimately, it constituted «a propaganda gift to Protestants attacking the Roman Church».⁸

Lazarillo de Tormes in France

The French translation of *Lazarillo* acts as the crucial link between the original Spanish and the English rendition, and it is also the first translation of Lázaro's adventures in another European language.⁹ The earliest French edition was published in Lyon in 1560 by Jean Saugrain, with the title:

LES FAITS
MERVEILLEUX, ENSEMBLE
la vie du gentil Lazare de
Tormes, & les terribles
auantures à luy auenues en diuers lieux.
*Liure fort plaisant et délectable, auquel sont
descries maints actes notables et propos face-
cieux, au plaisir et contentement d'un chacun.*
Traduit nouvellement d'Espagnol en François par I. G. de L.¹⁰

⁷ Cfr. *Index et Catalogus Librorum prohibitorum, mandato Illustriss. ac Reuerendiss. D.D. Gasparis a Quiroga, Cardinalis Archiepiscopi Toletani, ac in Regnis Hispaniarum Generalis Inquisitoris, denuò editus*, Madrid, Alfonso Gómez, 1583, c. 67v (EUL.SC, *M.27.30).

⁸ *The Life of Lazarillo de Tormes*, ed. by K. Whitlock, cit., p. 2. The controversial – even dangerous – nature of *Lazarillo* in a Catholic country is further demonstrated by the first Italian translation (1597). In order to avoid detection, the creators of this edition obviated any apparent reference to the original text: the title and the name of the protagonist were modified, the action was moved to Bologna, and all references to religion and the Church were deeply altered or eliminated altogether (cfr. ANDREA BATTISTINI, *Una versione Bolognese del Lazarillo de Tormes: Le disgrazie di Bartolino di Pompeo Vizani*, in *La traducción en las relaciones italo-españolas: lengua, literatura y cultura*, edited by Assumpta Camps, Barcelona, Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2012, p. 17-36).

⁹ Santoyo identifies the Spanish edition used by the translators to compile their work as the one printed in Amberes (cfr. JULIO CÉSAR SANTOYO, *Ediciones y Traducciones Inglesas del Lazarillo de Tormes (1568-1977)*, Vitoria, Colegio Universitario de Álava, 1978, p. 51; cfr. also ARISTIDE RUMEAU, *La Première Traduction du Lazarillo: les éditions de 1560 et 1561*, «Bulletin Hispanique», LXXXII, 1980, p. 376.

¹⁰ Jean Garnier de Laval, a poet, or Jean Gaspard de Lambert, a Savoyard gentleman and ambassador in Switzerland, are suggested as possible translators. Cfr. LOUIS LOVIOT, *La première traduction française du Lazarillo de Tormes (1560)*, «Revue des Livres Anciens: documents d'histoire littéraire, de bibliographie & de bibliophilie» II, 1917, p. 167. Reproduction of the cover and/or complete bibliographical descriptions can be found in

The verso of the title page contains an anonymous «HVICTAIN AV LECTEUR» promoting the book as a source of amusement; the verses are followed by a dedicatory letter from Jean Saugrain to the «VERTVEUX, ET TRESHONORABLE [sic] SEIGNEVR [...] Sebastien de Honoratis».¹¹ The running title is *Les faits merueilleux / du Lazare de Tormes*, and several glosses added by the translator appear along the text. *Les faits merueilleux* is divided into eight chapters preceded by a Prologue: for the first time, the first chapter of the *Segunda Parte* appears, by itself, alongside the usual seven *Tractados* of any 1554 *Lazarillo*. This feature will be reproduced by Rowland, who follows the same layout in the composition of his translation.

Loviot claims that this first translation of *Lazarillo de Tormes* went unnoticed due to the literary climate of the time, where readers were still very fond of *Amadis de Gaule*.¹² Nevertheless, a new edition appeared in Paris in 1561, by Ian Longis and Robert le Mangnier, this time with a different title:

L'HISTOIRE
PLAISANTE ET
FACÉTIEUSE DV
Lazare de Tormes Espagnol.
EN LAQVELLE ON PEVLT
*reconoistre bonne partie des meurs, vie
& conditions des Espagnolz.*¹³

On the title page Saugrain's mark has understandably been replaced by Le Mangnier's device, followed by «A PARIS, Pour Ian Longis & Robert Le Mangnier Libraires, en leur boutique au Palais, en la gallerie par ou on va à la Chancellerie». The bottom of the cover presents an added specification: «AVEC PRIVILEGE». The name of the translator has been

L. LOVIOT, *La première traduction française*, cit., p. 164-5; HENRI LOUIS BAUDRIER, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise: recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, F. De Nobele, 1964-5, vol. 4, p. 327-8; A. RUMEAU, *La première traduction*, cit., p. 369; and ALDO RUFFINATTO, *Las dos caras del Lazarillo: texto y mensaje*, Madrid, Castalia, 2000, p. 39-40. Reproduction of the bookseller's device can be found in H.L. BAUDRIER, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise*, cit., p. 318, 325.

¹¹ Both men were booksellers in Lyon, and the *Bibliographie Lyonnaise* records Sébastien Honorat as a witness for a 'quittance' between Saugrain and another 'libraire' on the 8th February 1559/60 (cfr. H.L. BAUDRIER, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise*, cit., p. 162, 321). The epistle repeatedly affirms Saugrain's gratitude towards Honorat; failing to mention the reason for his obligation, *Lazarillo* is offered as a humble provisional gift, together with the promise of better services in the future.

¹² Cfr. L. LOVIOT, *La première traduction française*, cit., p. 164.

¹³ Complete bibliographical descriptions can be found in L. LOVIOT, *La première traduction française*, cit., p. 166; A. RUMEAU, *La Première Traduction*, cit., p. 369. Reproduction of the cover can be found in MONIQUE LAMBERT, *La première traduction du Lazarillo de Tormes parue à Lyon en 1560 : essai d'attribution à Jean Saugrain*, «Bulletin du Bibliophile», I, 1979, p. 511.

eliminated from the front cover, despite the opening «HVICTAIN AV LECTEVVR» and Saugrain's dedicatory material being still included in the following pages;¹⁴ this may explain why Jean Saugrain has been sometimes incorrectly quoted as the translator of both editions.¹⁵

First and foremost, we can see that the title has been radically changed in order to emphasise the exotic nature of the material.¹⁶ The selling point of this edition is its Spanish content, more than its comedic value: this title advertises that the reader would clearly be able to identify Spanish customs and behaviours, rendering the story educational, albeit also pleasant and amusing. Additionally, the book is now divided into a «PROLOGVE» and XXXI chapters. The stories of *Lazarillo's* masters are subdivided, and the editors have devised new titles;¹⁷ several sentences have also been slightly altered to accommodate the presence of the breaks in the text, although the glosses remain.¹⁸ The final pages present the «EXTRAICT DV PRIVILEGE», which allowed Vincent Sertenas (and forbade anybody else) to print the book for six years.

Apart from the presence of the chapters subdividing the Spanish *Tractados*, the translations themselves may appear identical.¹⁹ However, on closer inspection the text reveals «des interventions qui ne sont pas du

¹⁴ The same will happen in *The Pleasaunt Historie*, where the preliminary material of previous editions keeps being reproduced in every new reprint, to this day.

¹⁵ We can undoubtedly affirm that Saugrain was the printer/bookseller of a *Lazarillo* in Lyon in 1560, but there is no available evidence that he was also a translator in Paris in 1561 (Cfr. *Les Bibliothèques Françaises de La Croix du Maine et de Du Verdier*, edited by Jean Antoine Rigoley de Juvigny, Paris, Michel Lambert, 1772, p. 588 (EUL.SC, *M.19.35-40)). Nevertheless, the conviction that Saugrain was the translator of both editions still remains to this day: cfr. BEATRIZ MARÍA RODRÍGUEZ-RODRÍGUEZ, *David Rowland's Lazarillo de Tormes (1586): analysis of expansions in an Elizabethan translation*, «Sederi» XVIII, 2008, p. 81-96; cfr. also MIRELLA GOBBI-SPROCAGNOCCHI, *Contributo allo Studio della Prima Traduzione Inglese del Lazarillo de Tormes*, «Studi Ispanici» III, 1985, p. 33-42. Lambert even writes an essay of attribution to Saugrain, asserting his role as a Reformist printer, and interpreting the cryptic acronym 'I. G. de L.', i.e. the translator as stated on the cover of *Les faits merueilleux*, as the initials of the anagram of Saugrain's name in Latin: Jean Garinus de Lyon (cfr. M. LAMBERT, *La première traduction*, cit., p. 508-15). This hypothesis is described as «fort vraisemblable», but no further explanation is given (Ivi, p. 512). Despite some analogies in style and construction, which can be ascribed to coincidence, I would be inclined to dismiss the identification of Saugrain as the translator: since his full name and device appear on the cover of the Lyon edition, and he openly recounts his troubles in the dedicatory epistle, it would be implausible if he modestly hid his role as a translator behind an acronym in a sudden display of reticence and humility (cfr. F. SALVATORI, *From Spain, through France, to England*, cit., p. 11-2).

¹⁶ Cfr. L. LOVIOT, *La première traduction française*, cit., p. 166.

¹⁷ In one case, one of the glosses has been transformed into the title of a chapter (cfr. *L'histoire plaisante*, cit., p. 32).

¹⁸ Cfr. A. RUMEAU, *La Première Traduction*, cit., p. 370.

¹⁹ A thorough comparison of the two editions is carried out by Rumeau, who criticizes Loviot for his decision to juxtapose the title pages only, excluding the rest of the text from his supposed «étude bibliographique» (A. RUMEAU, *La Première Traduction*, cit., p. 365; cfr. L. LOVIOT, *La première traduction française*, cit., p. 163-9).

domaine du compositeur».²⁰ Firstly, the texts do not follow the same orthography, which can be the result of writing under dictation.²¹ Moreover, a few discrepancies exist, certain «retouches [qui] n'impliquent jamais la consultation de l'original espagnol».²² These amendments betray the attempt by the editors to disguise the counterfeit nature of the text, and despite being fairly spaced-out, they fail «dissimuler la copie, [qui est] dénoncée, tout au long des textes, par la présence des mêmes erreurs, des mêmes absurdités, des mêmes lacunes».²³ The conclusion that Rumeau draws about the Paris 1561 edition is that it was a *contrefaçon* of Saugrain's version, possibly via an intermediary manuscript:²⁴ since Saugrain had not provided his *Lazarillo* with a Privilege, Longis and Le Mangnier transcribed the book and exported it to Paris, where it was copyrighted.²⁵ In any case, the fact that two separate editions were printed, with different titles and a different internal layout, is proof that there was at least enough interest in the book to defy the laws of copyright, and smuggle a stolen version across the country. This contradicts Loviot's argument that Lázaro's adventure «passa inaperçu»,²⁶ and it is also an indication of the future success that *Lazarillo* would experience in several other European languages.

Lazarillo de Tormes in England

It is impossible to determine how either of the two French editions crossed the Channel, or who acquired them during their journeys on the Continent. Nonetheless, it is possible to trace the arrival and transmission of *Lazarillo de Tormes* in England thanks to several official and private sources.²⁷

The earliest reference appears in the *Stationers' Register*. In the period between 22nd July 1568 and 22nd July 1569, a payment of «viii^d» is recorded as «recevyd of Thomas colwell for his lycense for pryntinge of a

²⁰ Ivi, p. 371.

²¹ Ivi, p. 371-2.

²² Ivi, p. 372.

²³ Ivi, p. 373. The discrepancies will be examined in the final part of this paper.

²⁴ Ivi, p. 371.

²⁵ Cfr. A. RUMEAU, *La Première Traduction*, cit., p. 374.

²⁶ L. LOVIOT, *La première traduction française*, cit., p. 164.

²⁷ Some of these sources have also been studied in FRANK WADLEIGH CHANDLER, *Romances of Roguery: an Episode in the History of the Novel: the Picaresque Novel in Spain*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1899, re-published in New York, Burt Franklin, 1961; JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY, *The Relations between Spanish and English Literature*, Liverpool, The University Press, 1910; *The Pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes Drawen out of Spanish by Dauid Rouland of Anglesey (1586)*, edited by John Ernest Victor Crofts, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1924; DALE B. J. RANDALL, *The Golden Tapestry: A Critical Survey of Non-chivalric Spanish Fiction in English Translation (1543-1657)*, Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1963; also, rather more extensively, in J.C. SANTOYO, *Ediciones y Traducciones Inglesas*, cit.

boke intituled *the marvelous Dedes and the lyf of LAZARO DE TORMES*»;²⁸ the copyright was «solde to Benyman 19 Junij 1573».²⁹ The title is reported in English, which indicates that the entry does neither refer to the Spanish original, nor to the French edition, since «quando se imprimía en un idioma extranjero, se hacía constar así en el asiento respectivo».³⁰ Therefore, in all likelihood Colwell presented the manuscript of a translation, which had been probably compiled by David Rowland.³¹ The title for which Colwell is granted copyright is a calque of the title of the 1560 French edition: «*the marvelous Dedes and the lyf* was [...] a projected translation not of any Spanish copy, but of Saugrain's first edition, *Les faits merueilleux, ensemble la vie*».³²

It is not known whether Colwell ever printed the work, and there is no surviving evidence of an edition prior to 1576.³³ Despite the lack of a physical copy, confirmation of Bynneman's publication of *Lazarillo* in 1576 – with a more commercial title, highlighting the foreign provenance of the material – can be found in two separate entries in Bagford's *Collections for a History of Printing*, under the heading «An account of books printed by Hen. Binneman & Thomas Easte»:

The pleasant History of Lazarello de Tormes, a Spanyard wherein is conteyēd his maruillous deedes & Life with y^e straūge aduentures happened to him in y^e servis of sundery Masters drawne out of Spanish by Daudid Rowland of Anglesey Imprinted at London by Hen:Binneman in 8^o 1576

The pleasant Histori[ty] of Lazarillo de Tormes a Spaniard drawne out of Spanishe, by Daudid Rowlande of Anglesey dedicat[at]ed to y^e right worshipfull S^r Thomas Gressam knight Imprinted in 8^o at London by Henery Binneman, dewling in Knightriderstrete at y^e signe of the Mermade 1576³⁴

²⁸ SR, vol. 1, p. 378.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ J.C. SANTOYO, *Ediciones y Traducciones Inglesas*, cit., p. 22.

³¹ *Ibid.*; cfr. also *The Pleasaunt Historie*, ed. by J.E.V. Crofts, cit., p. X.

³² *The Pleasaunt Historie*, ed. by J.E.V. Crofts, cit., p. X; cfr. also GARETH ALBAN DAVIES, *David Rowland's Lazarillo de Tormes (1576): the History of a Translation*, «The National Library of Wales Journal», XXVIII, 1993-1994, p. 373.

³³ Cfr. D.B.J. RANDALL, *The Golden Tapestry*, cit., p. 57-8; J.C. SANTOYO, *Ediciones y Traducciones Inglesas*, cit., p. 23; G.A. DAVIES, *David Rowland's Lazarillo*, cit., p. 352; *The Life of Lazarillo de Tormes*, ed. by K. Whitlock, cit., p. 35.

³⁴ JOHN BAGFORD, *Collections for a History of Printing*, XVIII century, (British Library MS Harl 5910), vol. 3, folio 183. The second entry appears to be written more rapidly, and it is at times unclear; the square brackets indicate the apparent transcription. It is impossible to establish whether the two entries are the result of an oversight by Bagford, or the indication of two separate editions in the same year. Cfr. SR, vol. V, p. 98, for Bynneman's dwellings.

Another private source provides a very early mention of *Lazarillo*. Inside a copy of *Til Howleglas* belonging to Gabriel Harvey, there is a handwritten note:

This Howleglass, with Skoggin, Skelton and Lazarillo, given me at London, of Mr. Spensar xx December [15]78, on condition ...[illegible]... by reading of them ouer before the first of January, ymmediately ensuing: otherwise to forfeit unto him my Lucian in fower uolumes.³⁵

Two inventories provide further references to the English *Lazarillo*.³⁶ The first belongs to Thomas Bassandyne, an Edinburgh printer and bookseller who died on 18th October 1577: «foure Spanzartis lyf»³⁷ are listed among his belongings, which indicates that the book had been exported to Scotland. The other can be found in the inventory compiled upon the death of Bynneman (15th April 1583) in order to auction his possessions.³⁸ Two separate entries refer to *Lazarillo*: item 65 is «twohundred bookes of

³⁵ As transcribed in J. FITZMAURICE-KELLY, *The Relations between Spanish and English*, cit., p. 19; this particular copy of *Til Howleglas* is held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Cfr. also F.W. CHANDLER, *Romances of Roguery*, cit., p. 11. Both Chandler and Fitzmaurice-Kelly fail to identify the three volumes; Santoyo provides a plausible identification in J.C. SANTOYO, *Ediciones y Traducciones Inglesas*, cit., p. 28.

³⁶ The different values, their ratio, and their importance as a means of identifying the relevant editions are discussed in F. SALVATORI, *From Spain, through France, to England*, cit., p. 21-2, 36-7.

³⁷ Cfr. FREDERIC SUTHERLAND FERGUSON, *Relations between London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers (-1640)*, «The Library», VIII, September 1927, 2, p. 165; cfr. also *The Bannatyne Miscellany: Containing Original Papers and Tracts, chiefly Relating to the History and Literature of Scotland*, edited by Walter Scott, David Laing, and Thomas Thomson, reprinted from the edition of 1836, Edinburgh, originally issued as n. 19 of *Bannatyne Club Publications*, New York, AMS Press, 1973, vol. 2, p. 197.

³⁸ Bynneman's press was responsible for the edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* in 1577 (cfr. HENRY R. PLOMER, *Henry Bynneman, Printer, 1566-83*, «The Library», IX, n. 35, July 1908, p. 242), and in 1580 he acquired the privilege to print «all Dictionaries in all tongues, all *Chronicles* and *histories* whatsoever» (SR, vol. 1, p. 116). The Queen's printer himself acknowledged in the *Register* that «this Patent [...] maye be more Daungerous to the Patentee; then profitable» (*Ibid.*). Bynneman's privilege, in fact, «include[d] none of the titles that were obvious and sure best-sellers [...]; his] titles were those that might be bought only when a man had pennies to spare. Few of them reached a second edition» (P.M. HANDOVER, *Printing in London*, cit., p. 34). In order to acquire material and prepare his printing house for the production of these large works, Bynneman was forced to borrow the large sum of £ 1,000 from Richard Hutton, an armourer. The money was never returned, and Bynneman died before an order of repossession was carried out (cfr. MARK ECCLES, *Bynneman's Books*, «The Library», XII, June 1957, 2, p. 82; cfr. also ODNB, s.v. Bynneman, Henry. Access on 29.07.2011); the inventory mentioned above was compiled in order to settle Hutton's claim. Bynneman's estate was regrettably valued at £ 791 12^s 9^d only, not sufficient to cover the debt. «Printing of the Greek, Latin, and English dictionary of Morelius, left incomplete on Bynneman's death, was continued and it appeared "per assignationem Richardi Hutton"»; the profit might have been used to cover the remainder of Bynneman's debt (ODNB, s.v. Bynneman, cit.).

the Spanyardes lyfe»,³⁹ and item 119 is «threscore and six bookes of the Spanyardes lyfe»,⁴⁰ this could be considered proof that two separate editions were indeed produced by Bynneman's press in 1576, perhaps slightly different amongst themselves, as Bagford's *Collections* would suggest.⁴¹

The final mention of an early edition of *Lazarillo* is recorded as a donation on 8th January 1583/4, in «a List of books presented by the Patentees for the use of the poor of the Stationers' Company».⁴² 'The Spaniards lyfe' appears in the list of octavos «found to haue belonged to [...] Henrye Bynneman»;⁴³ another printer would be entitled to its rights, although the profit of its sale would be destined to «the reliefe of ye poore».⁴⁴ Abel Jeffes had been one of Bynneman's apprentices. He did not own a Privilege, and it is likely that – like many of his peers – he was in an unfortunate economic condition. The measures devised by the Company, like the above mentioned donation, were introduced in order to «direct[...] work towards discontented printers»,⁴⁵ and it is extremely likely that Jeffes benefited from them. Hence, despite the fact that he would not be able to make a return, in 1586 Jeffes probably accepted (or requested) *Lazarillo* from the Company stock in order to keep his business running. The result was

The Pleasaunt
 Historie of Lazarillo de
 Tormes a Spaniarde, where-
 in is contained his mar-
 ueilous deedes and life.
 With the straunge ad-
 uentures happened to him
 in the seruice of sun-
 drie Masters.
 Drawen out of Spanish by Da-
 uid Rowland of Anglesey.⁴⁶

³⁹ M. ECCLES, *Bynneman's Books*, cit., p. 84.

⁴⁰ Ivi, p. 86.

⁴¹ Cfr. JOHN BAGFORD, *Collections*, cit., vol. 3, folio 183.

⁴² SR, vol. 2, p. 786.

⁴³ SR, vol. 2, p. 788.

⁴⁴ SR, vol. 2, p. 786.

⁴⁵ C. BLAGDEN, *The Stationers' Company*, cit., p. 69.

⁴⁶ On the title page, below the name of the translator, we find the phrase *Accuerdo, Oluid.*; it is not known whether this is copied from Bynneman's edition, and it is not reported in Bagford's entries, which appear otherwise very accurate (see above). Scholars have tended to overlook this phrase or motto, especially since it is not completely correct (*accuerdo* has an extra c, and *oluid.* is missing the final o); we can safely assume that Rowland meant 'I remember, I forget', although the inaccuracy leads to more doubts about Rowland's actual knowledge of Spanish. Further evidence that Rowland's inspiration may come chiefly from France rather than Spain, is the fact that the device «Auerdo, olvido» first appears as a motto in 1540, in the French version of *Amadis de Gaule* translated by Nicolas d'Herberay des Essarts, who spells the phrase correctly (cfr.

This edition is an 8^o of 128 unnumbered pages; the title page is in Roman face type, whereas the text itself is printed in black letter; the running title is 'The Spaniard's Life', which is the label often associated with *Lazarillo*. The editions by Bynneman and Jeffes were conceivably quite similar: although, as Santoyo observes, «ni la ortografía ni la distribución tipográfica fueron probablemente las mismas que en 1576»,⁴⁷ which we cannot confirm, the fact that both editions were printed in octavo suggests that «una y otra edición no debieron tener demasiados elementos diferenciadores».⁴⁸ By the time this edition saw the light, both the translator Rowland and the patron Gresham had died; nevertheless, the prefatory material remained, as did the final poem to the reader. For this reason, despite the small differences listed above, the 1586 edition can be considered a valid substitute of Bynneman's impression,⁴⁹ in order to carry out a comparative study of the Lyon, Paris, and London editions with the original Spanish.

The 1561 Paris edition has often been seen as the source for the English *Lazarillo*, due to the presence of many replicated marginal glosses explaining certain details of the narration,⁵⁰ as well as a strong similarity in the titles of the two works. Nevertheless, a few textual disagreements, and the fact that Rowland does not replicate the subdivision in XXXI chapters of this text, have been ascribed to the translator's heavier reliance on the Spanish original.⁵¹ The 1560 printing has not always been taken into account by critics as a possible source for the English version because it has passed from one private collection to another for centuries, and thus was unavailable to scholars for long periods of time,⁵² which explains why

FRANÇOIS NICOLAS LOUIS DE NEUFCHÂTEAU, *Essai sur la Langue Française*, Paris, Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1818, p. lj).

⁴⁷ J.C. SANTOYO, *Ediciones y Traducciones Inglesas*, cit., p. 32.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Most of these glosses «provide a personal comment [of the translator, and] are not required to resolve our cultural or linguistic translation problems» (B.M. RODRÍGUEZ-RODRÍGUEZ, *David Rowland's Lazarillo*, cit., p. 85).

⁵¹ The plausibility of Rowland's travels to the Continent, his knowledge of Spanish, the instance where this misunderstanding may have originated, and the translator's relationship with the dedicatee Gresham are discussed in F. SALVATORI, *From Spain, through France, to England*, cit., p. 29-34; cfr. ANTHONY A. WOOD, *Athenae Oxonienses. An exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford: to which are added the Fasti, or Annals of the said University*, first published in 1691-92, edited by Philip Bliss, London, printed for F.C. et al., 1815, vol. 1, p. 528 (EUL.SC, R*18.21-24); cfr. also THOMAS TANNER, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica: sive, de scriptoribus, qui in Anglia, Scotia, Et Hibernia Ad Saeculi XVII initium floruerunt, literarum ordine juxta*, London, William Bowyer, 1748, p. 645 (EUL.SC, *.S.16.14).

⁵² Cfr. A. RUMEAU, *La Première Traduction*, cit., p. 364. Only one copy remains, and it had been considered lost until its rediscovery in 1972 (Ivi, p. 368). The Bibliotheca Bodmeriana in Cologny (Geneva) currently holds this unique item.

the comparative study of the two French editions has to date been fragmentary.

Upon accurate comparison it is quite clear that Rowland religiously follows the layout of the Lyon edition, including its glosses, thus providing us with proof that *Les faits merueilleux* was his initial inspiration and model. However, the title of Saugrain's edition does not present any references to Spain or Spaniards, and it merely advertises the book as an amusing read; we can therefore presume that the title *The Pleasaunt Historie* is mirroring *L'histoire plaisante* with its xenophobic undertone, thus revealing a probable later reworking of the translation in the light of the Paris edition.

We will now reproduce all of the discrepancies between these four texts; the parts that differ between the editions will be highlighted in bold, accompanied by a counter-check with the Antwerp text and Rowland's rendition of the same expressions or phrases.

Prólogo:

Antwerp	lo que vno no come, otro se pierde por ello
Lyon	ce que l'vn ne veut gouster, l'autre se perd pour le manger
Paris	ce que l'vn ne veut gouster, l'autre le prẽd pour le manger
London	that which one mã will not eate, another longeth sore for

Tractado Primero:

Antwerp	achacaron a mi padre ciertas sangrias mal hechas
Lyon	mon pere fut accusé d'auoir mal taillé quelques veines
Paris	mon pere fut accusé d'auoir mal versé en sa charge, & taillé quelques veines
London	there was layde to my Fathers charge that he had shamefully cut the seames
Antwerp	por no echar la sogá tras el caldero
Lyon	pour ne getter le mãche apres la coignée
Paris	pour ne getter le manche apres la congnée
London	fearing to throwe the helue after the hatchet
Antwerp	-
Lyon	-
Paris	autres traffiques des aueugles d'Espagne [gloss]
London	-

Antwerp	pěsays q̃ este mi moço es algũ innocẽe'
Lyon	estimez vous messieurs, ce mien garcon estre quelque innocẽt
Paris	estimez vous messieurs, ce mien garcon estre quelque innocẽt?
London	do you not thinke that this childe is some innocent
Antwerp	mas da el duro que el desnudo
Lyon	plus donne le dur que le nud
Paris	plus dõne le dur ; que le mol
London	more giueth the niggarde than the naked
Antwerp	dela longaniza, del qual solamente sabia q̃ auia de gozar
Lyon	de l'andouille, de laquelle seulement auoye de participer
Paris	de l'ãdouille, de laquelle seulement auoye desir de participer
London	the which was the onely witesse that I shoulde bee the eater thereof

Tractado Segundo:

Antwerp	vn arcaz viejo, y cerrado cõ su llaue, la qual traya atada cõ vn agujeta
Lyon	vn grand coffre vieux serrant à clef, laquelle pendoit avec vne esguillette
Paris	vn grand coffre vieux fermant à la clef , laquelle il portoit pendante à vne esguillette
London	a great old coffer, wherin he cõtinually locked with a keye which did hang at the point of his reate
Antwerp	y comienço a desmigajar el pan sobre vnos no muy costosos manteles que allí estauan y tomo vno y dexo otro, de manera que en cada qual de tres, o quatro desmigaje su poco
Lyon	lors esuyant le pain sur vne nappe qui là estoit d'assés petite valeur. De sorte que prenent l'vn, & laissant l'autre, i'en esuyai vn peu de trois, ou quatre
Paris	lors egratignant le pain sur vne nappe qui là estoit d'assés petite valeur : comme si vne souris eust passé . De sorte que prenent l'vn, & laissant l'autre, i'en diminuy vn peu de trois, ou quatre
London	thẽ I begã to claw the breade with my nailes, vpon a simple napkin that was there, taking one loafe and leauing another, so that of euerie third or fourth, I would be sure to take some crũmes

Antwerp	cerrasse la puerta a mi consuelo, y la abriesse a mis trabajos
Lyon	fermoit la porte avec m ^o allegresse, & l'uuroit à mes peines, & trauaux
Paris	fermoit la porte avec m ^o allegresse, & l'uuroit avec ma peine
London	his chest shoulde bee shutte to my comfote, and opened to my paine
Antwerp	-
Lyon	-
Paris	Lazare faisoit bourse de sa bouche [gloss]
London	-

Tractado Quinto:

Antwerp	como Lazaro se assento con vn Buldero, y de las cosas que conel passo
Lyon	comme Lazare servit à un Bulliste, & des choses qui luy auindrent
Paris	comme Lazare servit à un Bulliste, & porteur de Rogatons , & des choses qui luy auindrent
London	how Lazaro placeth him selfe with a Pardoner, and What things happened to him in his seruice
Antwerp	y mandamiento del demonio
Lyon	& instruit du Diable
Paris	& instinct du Diable
London	and instruction of the deuill

It is evident that in every case *L'histoire plaisante* carries an anomaly in relation to the English text; hence, it cannot possibly be taken into consideration as a primary source. Moreover, the submission of the work entitled *the maruelus Dedes* betrays the inspiration derived from *Les faits merueilleux*, its layout, and its content: it could be argued, therefore, that Rowland relied heavily on a Lyon copy, at least in his first draft. However, the change of title in the English text manifests an acknowledgement of the Paris edition and its popularity, which leads us to conclude that Rowland probably also handled *L'histoire plaisante* before submitting his final work. Nonetheless, the examination of the extant and relevant records ultimately confirms the 1560 Lyon edition as the primary source used by Rowland to produce *The Pleasaunt Historie*.

