

**ESTABLISHING THE EDITION OF
THOMAS PAYNELL'S SOURCE-TEXT
FOR THE *TREASURIE OF AMADIS OF
FRAUNCE* (C. 1572)**

Thomas Paynell's *The Tresurie of Amadis of Fraunce* (c. 1572)¹ translates the French *Le Thresor des Livres D'Amadis de Gaule*,² which first appeared in Paris in 1559. The *Thresor* was reprinted in at least eighteen editions in France between 1559 and 1606, in Paris, Lyon and Antwerp; the Paris 1559 edition alone was reprinted every year until 1571, which made it a publishing phenomenon.³ Paynell's *Tresurie*, on the other hand, seems to have run to only one edition.⁴ Nonetheless, his work is valuable in the context of early modern translation of Spanish literature as it constitutes, if only in anthology, the first English translation from a sixteenth-century Spanish chivalric romance.⁵ To identify Paynell's specific source would enable one to understand better his translation strategies, and to determine to what extent he reproduces or modifies the French original. This would also define more sharply the *Tresurie's* place in the context of humanist reading and translation practices.⁶ I argue that Paynell's table of contents and

his comments on pronunciation and orthography in his epistle to the reader can provide illuminating clues which point towards his use of the 1560 (Antwerp) edition of the *Thresor* as his source-text.

Paynell's text contains the same illustrative material from the first twelve books of the *Amadis*,⁷ just as the pre-1571 editions of the French *Thresor*, but ends with the first extract from Book XIII. This latter was included in the *Thresor* editions only from 1571 onwards, since it was translated into French only in that year.⁸ Paynell is thought to have died c. 1564, as his will was proved on 22 March 1564,⁹ and the first French edition of the *Thresor* to include extracts from Book XIII did not appear until 1571, so Paynell must have used an edition which contained only the twelve books, and the extract from Book XIII was possibly added by the printer. The first nine editions of the *Thresor* (1559, Paris; 1560, Paris; 1560, Lyon; 1560, Antwerp; 1563, Antwerp; 1563, Paris; 1564, Paris; 1565, Paris; and 1567, Lyon)¹⁰ anthologized extracts from only the first twelve books of the *Amadis*.¹¹ From the apparent date of Paynell's death, one can rule out as a source the last three editions to include material from only twelve books.

Having narrowed down the list of possible sources to six, one must turn to the table of contents in Paynell's *Tresurie*, beginning

¹ *STC* 545 gives this information: 'The moste excellent and pleasant booke, entituled: The tresurie of Amadis of Fraunce. Tr. out of Frenche [by T. Pynell.] 4°. H. Bynneman f. T. Hacket, [1572?]' Ent as tr. by 'Thomas Pannell' 1567–68. See *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, 3 vols, ed. by W. A. Pollard, G. R. Redgrave, and others. 2nd edn (London, 1976–1991), I, 30.

² The *Thresor* anthologized extracts from French translations of the Spanish romance *Amadis de Gaula*, presenting them explicitly as a means to develop fine speaking and writing. See Luce Guillerme, *Sujet de L'écriture et traduction autour de 1540* (Lille, 1988), 79, and Véronique Benhaïm, 'Les Thresors D'Amadis', in *Les Amadis en France au XVI^e siècle*, Cahiers V. L. Saulnier, 17 (Paris, 2000), 171.

³ Benhaïm, 159–60; 165.

⁴ The *STC* only indicates one edition. The same information is given in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* <<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc/>> ISBN 978–0–9557876–5–2, accessed 14 Nov. 2014.

⁵ Margaret Tyler's *The Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood* (c. 1578) was the first English translation of a complete Spanish chivalric romance.

⁶ Helen Moore has argued that the *Tresurie's* table of contents provides guidance for the reader and thus situates Paynell's translation within a socially engaged humanist practice which organized material in order to structure the reading experience. See Moore's 'Gathering Fruit: The "Profitable" Translations of Thomas Paynell', in Fred Schurink (ed.), *Tudor Translation* (New York, 2011), 39–57.

⁷ There were twelve books in the original Spanish *Amadis* series (Juan Díaz wrote *Lisuarte de Grecia* as a 'thirteenth' volume but it is usually not considered part of the series because of its lack of popularity). The French translated ten of those twelve Spanish originals. The rest of the French series were translations from the Italian and German continuations of the *Amadis*. For an overview of the origin of French *Amadis* books, see Henry Thomas's *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry* (Cambridge, 1920), 199–203.

⁸ Benhaïm, 158 (footnote 5).

⁹ Geoffrey Eatough, 'Thomas Paynell', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk/>>, accessed 23 April 2013.

¹⁰ I have consulted all these editions, except for 1560 (Lyon) and 1565 (Paris). I have been able to gather information from other sources on these two editions to which I have not had access. For the 1560 (Lyon) edition, see Hugues Vaganay, 'Les Trésors D'Amadis: Essai de Bibliographie', *Revue Hispanique*, lvii (1923), 117; for the 1565 (Paris) edition, see Philippe Renouard, *Imprimeurs et Libraires Parisiens du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1986), 194.

¹¹ Vaganay, 'Les Trésors D'Amadis', 115–19.

with the heading:

A Table of the principall matters of | this Booke, reduced into *common places* for the | more *speedie* and *easeie finding* of the maner | to write Letters missives, according | to the minde and argument of | him that writeth.¹²

This could be quite a fairly literal, if also much condensed, translation from any of the following editions: 1560 (Antwerp); 1563 (Antwerp); 1563 (Paris). The three of them have the same heading:

TABLE DES MATIERES | CONTENUES EN CE RECUEIL DES | Harangues, Epitres, Complaintes, et autre telles choses | extradites des douze Livres d'Amadis de Gaule, | reduites par *lieux communs*, pour plus facilement trou- | ver la maniere d'ecrire Lettres missives, selon l'argument | ment qu'on veut deduire. a, signifie la premiere | Page ou côté du feillet: b, la seconde.¹³ [TABLE OF MATTERS CONTAINED IN THIS COLLECTION Harangues, Letters, Complaints, and other such matters extracted from the twelve Books of Amadis of Gaule, reduced into common places the more easily to find the manner in which to write Letters, according to the argument that one wishes to express. a, means the first page on the side of the folio: b, the second]

The English heading is very similar to the French in the way it explains that the table has been organized into 'common places' which help the reader to find the material more easily and quickly. These aspects are absent from the 1559 (Paris) and 1560 (Paris) editions, which present simply a: 'TABLE DES

HARENGUES, | Epistres, Complaintes et autres choses les | plus excellentes des livres d'Amadis | de Gaule.'¹⁴ [Table of Harangues, Letters, Complaints and other most excellent matters from the books of Amadis of Gaule.]. The tables themselves are quite different from Paynell's and those in the other editions. These Paris editions simply present the contents of the *Thresor* by giving titles to extracts, listing their position in the *Amadis* by book and their place in the *Thresor* by page number, but do not group the extracts according to theme,¹⁵ while Paynell's and other French editions pre-1571 do,¹⁶ as I investigate below.

The main title page of the 1560 (Antwerp), 1563 (Paris), and the English edition all refer to the table of contents included within the work. Paynell's title ends with the remark: 'The worthinesse whereof and pro- | fit, dothe appear in the Pre- | face or table of this | Booke'. The 1560 (Antwerp) edition's title ends with: 'Avec une table, dont l'Epistre sui- | vante enseigne l'usage, et rend raison de l'orthographe' [With a table, of which the following Epistle shows the use, and explains the orthography], which is almost identical to the 1563 (Paris) edition, except that the latter omits the reference to orthography. Neither the 1559 (Paris) nor the 1560 (Paris) editions, nor the 1563 (Antwerp) edition mention the table in their title page. Therefore, the English translator could have used either the 1560 (Antwerp) or 1563 (Paris) editions as a source, and this rules out the 1563 (Antwerp) edition.

The 1560 (Antwerp) and 1563 (Paris) editions of the *Thresor* have almost identical table of contents, except for spelling variations. They both identify the extracts by their page

¹⁴ *Le Thresor Des Douze Livres D'amadis de Gaule* (Paris, 1559), ãiii^r.

¹⁵ I have not been able to consult the 1560 (Lyon) edition printed by Gabriel Cotier but I have seen the 1572 (Lyon) reprint by Cotier's widow, which includes the same heading and table of contents as the 1559 (Paris) and 1560 (Paris) editions and so could indicate that the 1560 (Lyon) edition had the same table of contents and therefore can be potentially ruled out as Paynell's source-text.

¹⁶ Of the six post-1571 editions, I have only consulted the 1582 (Lyon) one which does not include a table of contents. Vaganay describes the lack of table of contents in a 1574 reprint of the 1572 (Antwerp) edition and the heading of the table of contents of the 1606 (Lyon) edition, which is the same as those of the editions with the tables without headings, see Vaganay, 'Les Trésors D'Amadis', 123; 126.

¹² Thomas Paynell, *The Treasurie of Amadis of France* (London, [1572(?)]) in *Early English Books Online* <<http://0-eebo.chadwyck.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk>>, accessed 23 April 2013, ¶¶ii^r. My emphasis. Typography has been modernized in the cases of long s, u/v, and ampersand for this and all other early modern editions, unless otherwise stated. Further textual references are to this edition by signature number in the text.

¹³ *Le Thresor Des Amadis* (Anvers, 1560), ¶¶3^r. My emphasis. Contraction ē has been expanded. Further textual references are to this edition by signature number in the text. All translations for this and other texts are my own, unless otherwise stated. The heading in Antwerp (1563) and in Paris (1563) is exactly the same, except for orthographic variations.

number in the anthology and organize them under thirty headings. These headings indicate specific uses the reader could have for the material. Paynell translates these thirty headings word for word. Compare his first heading with the text in Antwerp (1560) and Paris (1563):

A Forme to declare his aduice, to aske or to giue counsel of any thing to Lords, friends, parents, alies, or subiects (¶¶ii^r)

Maniere de declarer son advis, de demander, ou donner conseil de quelque chose à ses signeurs, amis, parens, aliés, ou sujets. (¶3^r)¹⁷
[Way to declare his advice, to demand or give advice of anything to his lords, friends, parents, allies or subjects.]

Paynell translates all the headings in this same literal way. Significantly, however, his table does not direct the reader to the pages on which the extracts appear, but simply presents a list of titles. The ‘incomplete’ state of the *Treasurie*’s table of contents could be the result of the printer’s wish to economize on the number of pages printed,¹⁸ since the table of contents in the possible sources takes up at least four pages; or perhaps it is the outcome of some other unpredictable event in the complex early modern printing process.

A comparison between the epistle to the reader in the English text and in the two remaining *Thresor* editions allows a potential definition of Paynell’s source. The English epistle is quite different from the ones in the 1560 (Antwerp) and 1563 (Paris) editions, but it includes a reference which might indicate his use of the 1560 (Antwerp) edition as a source. The English translator lists the many skills that readers can acquire from these extracts, such as becoming ‘... sweete pronouncers and true ortographers, of the french tong ...’ (¶iiii^r). This brief reference echoes the extensive and detailed description, included in the 1560 (Antwerp) epistle, where the editor explains the sort of innovations made to the ‘ortographie’ [orthography] in order to make the

‘pronontiation’ [pronunciation] easier. Even though Paynell does not expand, as the 1560 (Antwerp) epistle does, beyond the reference mentioned, it is an indication that he could have used that edition as his source, instead of the 1563 (Paris) edition which does not allude to these concepts.¹⁹

ALEJANDRA ORTIZ-SALAMOVICH
Universidad de Chile

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ROBERT GREENE’S ‘CAERBRANCK’

One of the more puzzling references in the works of Robert Greene has been the ‘Citie of Caerbranck’ mentioned throughout *Never Too Late* and *Francescos Fortunes*, both printed in 1590. In this two-part narrative of prodigality and repentance, Francesco elopes with Isabel, and the couple flee Caerbranck to marry in Dunecastrum.¹ Apart from the place-names and learning that the house of Isabel’s father is located in an abbey near Caerbranck, Greene does little to assist readers in identifying either place. It has been suggested that Dunecastrum is a Latinization of Doncaster in southern Yorkshire.² Caerbranck has proven to be more elusive, with Corby in Lincolnshire and Brancaster in Norfolk among the forerunners for its identification.³ Neither of these towns, I submit, is tenable. Indeed, we are in a position to identify Caerbranck correctly and to do so

¹ Robert Greene, *Never Too Late* (London, 1590), sigs. E4^r, D2^r.

² See Brenda Richardson, ‘Robert Greene’s Yorkshire Connexions: A New Hypothesis’, *Yearbook of English Studies*, x (1980), 164.

³ For Corby, see Charles Mills Gayley (ed.), *Representative English Comedies* (New York, 1903), 397. For Brancaster, see Frederick Gard Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559–1642* (London, 1891), I, 255; J. Churton Collins (ed.), *The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene* (Oxford, 1905), I, 3; and Richardson, ‘Robert Greene’s Yorkshire Connexions’, 176.

¹⁷ This heading in Antwerp (1560) is exactly the same as in Paris (1563), except for orthographic variations.

¹⁸ Kirk Melnikoff identifies several periods of financial difficulty in Hackett’s publishing career. See Melnikoff, ‘Thomas Hackett and the Ventures of an Elizabethan Publisher’, *The Library*, x (2009), 264.