

**Translation, Adaptation and ‘Plagiarism’ in the *Tratado Geral de Nobreza*,
Attributed to António Rodrigues, Portugal King of Arms (Part 1)**

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Introduction

The subject of this article is a little studied 16th-century Portuguese compendium of heraldic, other nobiliary and historiographical texts attributed to António Rodrigues, Portugal King of Arms, the greater part of which were translated and reworked from earlier 15th-century Spanish and French sources. In what in our times would be called a flagrant case of plagiarism, the translator of these texts does not identify their origin, most notably in appropriating as his own two 15th-century Spanish texts in which he alters the dedication. The first is Pedro de Gracia Dei’s *Nobleza del Universo* with a dedication to João II of Portugal that the translator changes to that king’s successor, Manuel I.¹ The second involves claiming to be the author of a text that the translator also dedicates to Manuel I of Portugal but that Diego de Valera wrote in the previous century and dedicated to Juan II of Castile, namely Valera’s *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*.² However, as Giles Constable points out, the concept of plagiarism is probably anachronistic for medieval and indeed some early modern writers. Of greater importance, the transmission of the translated and adapted texts represents an example of movement across borders in the late medieval and Renaissance period, one that belatedly introduced to Portuguese court circles a variety of political and ideological precepts as well as practices concerning nobility and heraldry that were under discussion elsewhere in Europe in previous decades.

Manuscript witnesses

The principal manuscript preserving the compendium is M-FA-80 (*olim* Aze. 80) in the Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto (BPMP). Formerly part of the library of Francisco Lopes de Azevedo Velho da Fonseca (1809-76), first Visconde and Conde de Azevedo (*BITAGAP* manid 3158), M-FA-80, hereafter referred to as *P*, lacks a frontispiece and colophon that might have offered a title for the work, the name of its author-compiler and a composition date. The description in the 1900 edition of the 3rd fascicule of the *Catalogo da Bibliotheca Pública Municipal do Porto*, presumed to have been authored by Eduardo Augusto Allen, then Director of the BPMP, dates the manuscript at the end of the 16th century, refers to it as “[u]m livro antigo de insignias, signaes e escudos,” giving prominence to sections of the manuscript having color illustrations of such objects. Allen’s description also states that no watermarks are visible and concerning the manuscript’s condition remarks that it is “um pouco estragado no princípio” (3: 45-50, item 275).³ Afonso de Dornelas published an edition of the manuscript in 1931, giving it the made-up title *Tratado Geral de Nobreza*. António, Conde (later Marquês) de São Paio, suggested in 1928 that it

¹ *BITAGAP* texid 12773 and cnum 12972.

² *BITAGAP* texid 12070 and cnum 25426.

³ The first folio has multiple holes and tears, particularly in the outer margin (see Fig. 1) and some of the final folios also show considerable wear. In a “Nota” appended to Dornelas’s edition, João Grave, the then Director of the BPMP, mentions that the condition of the manuscript had deteriorated since the description of 1900 (Dornelas *Tratado* 165-66). In its current state, the quires have now become separated from the parchment binding.

might be an autograph manuscript by the author-compiler himself (“Do direito” 59-60). However, textual errors, inaccurate dates, the frequent absence of clear demarcations such as rubrics to separate individual texts and some of their internal subdivisions – and especially better readings in a second manuscript witness – all combine to indicate otherwise. Also, the calligraphy does not match known signatures of António Rodrigues. The hand of *P*, as Pedro Pinto advises me, may resemble more that of documents produced during the reign of Sebastião I (1554-78) than during the Philippine period that followed.

A second manuscript witness, a partial copy of the compendium, recently came to light in the course of preparing this article. On 21 January 2015 I purchased the manuscript (hereafter *S*) by proxy at a Lisbon auction by José F. Vicente Leilões, listed in the auction catalogue *Biblioteca do Coronel Pinto Ferreira – VI parte e outras proveniências*, then available online. A photograph of the first folio page provided the following title and dedication information: *Segunda parte | Liuro do fundamento do nobre officio | darmas derigido ao muito alto e | muito poderoso senhor elRey don manuell primeiro | deste nome nosso señor em que ha oyto | capitollos* (*Biblioteca* 183, item 1226). I identified the text that immediately followed in the photograph as a copy of a prologue with dedication also found in *P* of a translation of Diego de Valera’s *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*.⁴

The manuscript has 102 paper folios, foliated in arabic numerals from 73 to 174 in faint ink on upper right corner of the recto side, which I renumber for purposes of this study from 1 to 102. The leaves measure 186 by 134 mm but were once larger in size, as especially revealed by two drawings of blazons that are almost completely cut away at the bottom of fol. 32v. The hand, according to Pedro Pinto, probably dates from the late 16th or early 17th century. Part of a watermark with the capital letter *B* is visible at fols. 8v, 9v, 16r and 23r as is a capital *P* at fol. 14r. The manuscript has some minor foxing, water stains, wormholes and a few tears, none of which affect the reading of the text. It gives all appearances of having been recently bound, in brown half-leather with brown marbled paper over pasteboards and with a thick pastedown endpaper and one free endpaper at front and back. The spine has five raised bands with a title stamped in gold leaf between the first and second top bands reading “FUNDAMENTO | DO NOBRE | OFFICIO | EL REY | MANUELL I.” This information comes from one of the translated texts also present in *P*,⁵ a 15th-century French compendium by Jean Courtois, Sicily Herald, *La fondation du noble office d’armes par Jullius César*,⁶ and the reference to Manuel I from the dedication at fols. 1r-2v is the translation and adaptation of the prologue to Diego de Valera’s *Espejo de la verdadera nobleza*.

The manuscript was not part of the Coronel Pinto Ferreira library. According to the auctioneer “[a] pessoa que entregou a peça para leilão, reside no Brasil e em Portugal. Parece-me que a trouxe do Brasil. Mais nada sei sobre a proveniência” (Vicente). However, a slip of yellow paper inserted in the gutter between fols. 39v and 40r bears a small white printed label reading

⁴ See Fig. 2. I am grateful to Pedro Pinto for bringing the auction item to my attention, for successfully serving as my proxy bidder at the sale and for sending me a full set of digital photographs of the manuscript in advance of my taking possession of the manuscript in Lisbon on 19 February 2015.

⁵ *BITAGAP* texid 10319 and cnum 10889.

⁶ Sicily Herald’s compendium is preserved in Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS. fr. 387, edited by Ferdinand Roland in 1886, and in Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottoboni lat. 2257. See Hiltmann, *Spätmittelalterliche Heroldskompendien* 132-42. The rubric in MS. fr. 387 reads “S’ensieult la foundation du noble office d’armes par Jullius César” (Roland 49).

“Hôtel | des ventes | Giraudeau | TOURS” and to the right of that in large bold characters the number 363, indicating an earlier sale of the manuscript in France. Indeed the item appears in a 19 September 2011 Hôtel de Ventes Giraudeau auction catalogue, *Bibliothèque de travail du Professeur Yves Giraud (1937-2008), ancien doyen de la Faculté de Fribourg...*, with the following description, giving the manuscript an 18th-century date and citing with errors the opening rubric:

MANUSCRIT XVIIIème sur l'héraldique en langue portugaise

Un volume broché in 12 carré de 200 pages d'une écriture très lisible. Quelque esquisses

d'écus vierges. Deuxième partie seule. (pp. 73 à 174.) Le texte débute par : *Segunda parte : Lauro do fundamento donobre officis darmas de redigo ao muito alto excelente e muito poderoso senhor el rey don Manuell primeiro deste nome nosso senhor emque baoyto capitollos...* (item 363)

Professor Giraud died at Nice on 1 May 2008. The manuscript in its unbound state may have carried his ex-libris, now wanting, for a notice on the second page of the catalogue states that nearly all the works in the auction contained such.

That *S* once had a first part, as referenced on the first folio page, is supported by the presence of the old folio numbers. However, the information in the opening rubric that the book contains eight chapters appears to refer only to the translation, between fols. 2v-23v, of what Torsten Hiltmann has analyzed as separate short texts or treatises on the legendary origins of the office of arms as recounted in Sicily Herald's and various other late medieval French compendia, texts to which Hiltmann gives the names *Selon les ditz*, *Les vieux chevaliers* and *Les anges* (“Vieux chevaliers”), plus a chapter containing material in common with sections of the third part of Diego de Valera's *Tratado de armas*.

My collation of *S* with *P* reveals that the two manuscripts also share the following texts in common: translations of Diego de Valera's *Ceremonial de príncipes*⁷ with added material, including a variant version of the helpful dolphin tale and the legendary origin of the term *dauphin*⁸ (*P*, fols. 13r-21r; *S*, fols. 23v-40v); the text proper of Valera's *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* followed by blazon illustrations that are richly colored in *P* but crudely represented in *S*, simply offering the outline of the shield with some bearing names of the colors involved (*P*, fols 21v-49r; *S*, fols. 41r-96r); and an adaptation of additional material from the third part of Valera's *Tratado de armas* (*P*, fols. 118v-124r;⁹ a shorter version of the same in *S*, fols. 97r-102r). *P* offers an intervening text not in *S*, a translation of two late 15th-century Spanish treatises by Pedro de Gracia Dei, *Blasón general de todas las insignias del Universo* (fols. 49r-82r)¹⁰ and *Nobleza del Universo* (fols. 82r-106r),¹¹ a section Dornelas analyzes in his edition based on an 1882 facsimile edition of a Spanish incunable of the two treatises, printed at Coria in 1489 by Bartolomé de Lila. *P* also

⁷ BITAGAP textid 7336.

⁸ Cf. essays by Sharrer and Pedrosa.

⁹ BITAGAP textid 12071 and cnum 25432.

¹⁰ BITAGAP textid 12774 and cnum 12973.

¹¹ BITAGAP textid 12773 and cnum 12974.

contains a variety of other genealogical and historical texts¹² plus another on the baptism, oaths and obligations of office of arms holders. Part 2 of this article, in preparation, will analyze the content and identifiable or analogous sources for all the texts in *P* and *S*. It will also document that *S* occasionally provides superior variant readings when collated with *P*, indicating that the two manuscripts are independent copies of an earlier version or versions of the compendium.

BITAGAP records a lost or missing manuscript of the compendium, cited in 1726 by Francisco Xavier de Meneses, 4th Conde de Ericeira, as “*Livro da Nobreza*, feito por hum Rey de Armas, e dedicado a ElRey D. Manoel,” this information taken from an also lost index of the library of Rodrigo da Cunha, Bishop of Porto from 1619 to 1627, said to have been printed at Porto in 1627 by João Rodrigues, a copy of which was in the library of Diogo de Faro e Sousa (1705-41), 3rd Conde de Vimieiro (manid 4609; Askins et al. 139-41). We do not have enough information to determine whether this copy of the compendium was *P*, perhaps the original manuscript of what is now *S*, or yet another variant manuscript version. However, the ownership of *P* in the 19th century by the Conde de Azevedo, a resident of the city of Porto, may serve as a clue to the manuscript’s earlier provenance.¹³

Miguel Metelo de Seixas has called for a new critical edition of *P*, one that would take into account “as produções de Pedro de Gracia Dei, as demais cópias existentes e que apresentasse leitura paleográfica corregida e actualizada” (“Heráldica eclesiástica” 329 n71). Seixas also makes reference to a 17th-century manuscript attributed to António Soares de Albergaria, BNP Cod. 1118, as containing “numerosos desenhos e algumas gravuras coladas, em parte copiado do *Tratado de Nobreza* de António Rodrigues e do *Livro do Senhor Dom Duarte*” (*Heráldica, Representação* 278 n656; “Qual pedra” 373). In my own comparison of the content of Cód. 1118 with decorated drawings in Dornelas’s edition of *P* I find in Cód. 1118 the following borrowings of arms and insignia illustrations from Gracia Dei’s *Blasón general* or its Portuguese translation, be it that of *P* or another presently unknown manuscript version: the twelve tribes of Israel (fol. 5r; cf. *Tratado* 70-B); the generation of Jacob (fol. 6r; cf. *Tratado* 70-A); what has no label in Gracia Dei’s text nor in *P* but is called in Cód. 1118 “os dous imperios da Igreja,” a representation of the arms of the Hapsburgs together with those of empires of the past and the realms and provinces of Spain, to which Cód. 1118 adds Portugal (fol. 12r; cf. *Tratado* 74-E); and five shields containing three crowns and two ecclesiastical forms of headgear (fol. 16r; cf. *Tratado* 88-A). The texts and other explanatory notes in Cód. 1118 that accompany the illustrations do not correspond to material in Gracia Dei’s treatise.

Dornelas sums up the general importance of the compendium preserved in *P* as follows “[...] é um repositório dos tratados da época e principalmente do século anterior sôbre a nobreza e

¹² These texts consist of the following: a genealogy of the kings of France to the death of Louis IX, a short section of which, concerning the reign of Clovis, is also found in the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor*, as pointed out by Faria (“Introdução” 42 n43); the only known copy of the Infante Dom Henrique’s *Auto de Capitulação e Pazes* (*BITAGAP* texid 9377); a variant version, identified by Filipe Alves Moreira, of the *Crónica de 1429* or *Crónica Breve do Arquivo Nacional* (*BITAGAP* texid 1239; Moreira 324); a brief genealogy of the kings of Portugal from Afonso Henriques to Afonso V (*BITAGAP* texid 13334); and a set of historical annals from the siege of Lisbon in 1373 by Enrique of Castile to the birth in 1455 of the Infante Dom João, son of Afonso V, and the death of queen Isabel.

¹³ A name difficult to make out of a likely previous owner appears at the bottom of fol. 1r. See Fig. 1.

heráldica.” (“Bacharel” xv). Dornelas also states, regarding the compiler’s use of other sources and his role in adapting them to his own purposes, “Poderia ter revolvido os originais que copiou, juntando-lhe o muito que, com certeza, sabia, deixando assim um trabalho absolutamente da sua autoria, mas não, foi buscar o que havia de melhor, fêz a sua tradução para português e fêz as necessárias adaptações para as nossas circunstâncias” (“Bacharel” xxii). However, Dornelas did not realize the full extent to which António Rodrigues, the presumed compiler, translated and adapted the works of others, all without any attribution to his sources. While the second part of this article will take up the source question, below in this first part I review what we do and do not know about António Rodrigues.

The presumed compiler: António Rodrigues, Portugal King of Arms

There is no conclusive internal or external evidence that all the texts in *P* and *S* were originally written or translated into Portuguese by the same individual; indeed, one of the translated texts, namely Diego de Valera’s *Ceremonial de príncipes*, already existed in Portuguese translation from earlier in the 15th century.¹⁴ However, at two points in *P* and one in *S* the person writing the text makes reference to himself with the title Portugal King of Arms. In the translation of the prologue to Diego de Valera’s *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* that person offers himself to Manuel I of Portugal as the supposed author of the text being presented with the words “vosso Seruidor Rey darmas portugual Juiz da nobreza” (*P*, fol. 2v; *Tratado* 3; *S*, fol. 2v¹⁵); and, following a “fim llaus deo” marking the end of the compendium in *P*, there is an appended first-person account of the baptism at Évora of the Infante Dom Dinis, son of João III, said in the text to have been born on 26 May 26 1532,¹⁶ wherein the writer calls himself “eu portugall Rey darmas” (*P*, fol. 135r-v; *Tratado* 163). Dornelas, in the introduction to his edition, cites earlier identifications of this “rei de armas” as being António Rodrigues, Bachelor of Laws and principal King of Arms of Manuel I of Portugal and later of João III (“Bacharel” i, iv, vi, xii).¹⁷ When Rodrigues was first appointed

¹⁴ *BITAGAP*, cnums 14717, 18956, 21953 and 33265.

¹⁵ In citing from *P* I give the folio location, lacking in Dornelas’ edition, as well as pages in his edition, referring to the latter by the short title *Tratado*. In readings from *P* and *S*, I replicate the original orthography, but in the case of non-elided forms I follow modern norms for word separation.

¹⁶ This date would appear to be inaccurate. In the “Memórias e documentos” section of Herculano’s edition of Frei Luís de Sousa’s *Annaes de ElRei Dom João Terceiro* Dinis’ date of birth is stated as 26 April 1535 (388); Zúquete gives it as 6 April 1535 (1: 403).

¹⁷ On the history of kings of arms, heralds and pursuivants in late medieval Portugal, see Lima, “Oficiais” and Norton 1: 159-71; on Afonso V’s legislation concerning the office of king of arms and the creation of a *Corporação dos Oficiais de Armas*, Norton 1: 174-77 and 181-83; and on Manuel I’s heraldic reform of 1511 and creation of the *Cartório da Nobreza*, Norton 1: 199-213. Manuel’s so-called *Regimento da Nobreza dos Reis de Armas* of 16 November 1511, but consisting of a series of individual decrees made between 1511 and 1512, for which António Rodrigues as Portugal Rei de Armas is assumed to have had a direct role, survives in later manuscript copies: a 17th-century copy by António Coelho, Portugal Rei de Armas, in the possession of Afonso de Dornelas when transcribed and published in 1928 by the Conde de São Payo (92-116); another 17th-century copy in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), MSS/1021, fols. 60r-80v, based on a copy made by António Godinho dated 26 August 1539; and 19th-century copy in Lisbon, Biblioteca da Faculdade de Direito, Manuscritos Avulsos XVIII, no. 15 (Pinto 116). Cf.

principal king of arms is uncertain as is the date when he ceased to hold that position, but documentary evidence points to his activity as Portugal King of Arms from approximately 1508 to 1559, during the reigns of three Portuguese kings, the third being Sebastião I.

Anselmo Braamcamp Freire attributed the authorship of the richly illuminated *Livro das Armas*, also called the *Livro Grande* but more commonly known today by the title *Livro do Armeiro-Mor*, dated at Lisbon on 15 August 1509, to António Rodrigues, believing that he was the “Rey darmas Portugall Juiz da nobreza” said in the prologue to the armorial to have been ordered by Manuel I to compose and arrange the book (9, 12).¹⁸ The prologue also bears the coat of arms and signature of the presumed author of the prologue, features to be discussed in detail below. The earliest *cartas de brasão* (letters of coats of arms granted to members of noble families) that Braamcamp Freire found to be issued by Rodrigues as Portugal King of Arms date from the year 1512, copied in the Chancelaria de D. Manuel I (12), but I have found an earlier one by Rodrigues to Manuel de Góis de Lacerda on 15 March 1508, also copied in the Chancelaria de D. Manuel,¹⁹ pre-dating completion of the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor* and raising anew the question of the authorship of the 1509 armorial.

Braamcamp Freire’s belief that António Rodrigues was the author of the armorial was disputed by António Machado de Faria in favor of João du Crós (rendered as João de Cró or Crós in Portuguese), whom Faria believed to be of French origin (“Quem ordenou”; Introdução 53-69). Luiz Ferros claims that João de Cró signed a *carta de brasão* dated 21 June 1505 (“Decoração” 385; “Breve” 55), but in an earlier study Braamcamp Freire concluded that the one who signed it was actually Martim Vaz (8). From my observation of original *cartas de brasão* of the period the personal name of the king of arms is sometimes absent, as is the case with the prologue to the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor*. Rather, such *cartas* include internal references to the title of the office and a signature at the end consisting of that title with a shortened form of the personal name of the officer. On the other hand, later copies of such documents in chancellery volumes frequently do identify the king of arms by name.

Ferros and more recently Manuel Artur Norton revealed the existence of a manuscript copy in the Torre do Tombo, dated at Lisbon on 21 June 1861 by F. J. de Almeida, offering a description of the content of a Manuel I diploma of 1508 sending António Rodrigues, Martim Vaz and João

similar material attributed to António Coelho in a nineteenth-century unfoliated manuscript copy in ANTT, Cartório da Nobreza, Maço 81-82, caixa 86 (a grab bag of unorganized documents), bearing the old number 79 on a paper cover and called *Livro em que se trata da Origem dos Reys...* (chs. 55-57); and in the same Maço another document, unnumbered, bearing the title *Regimento da Nobreza dos Reis de Armas que mandou fazer o Senhor Rey D. Manuel que Deus tem*, copied in 1861 by F. J. de Almeida (see n20 below). One text in Manuel’s *Regimento*, concerning punishment for adopting unauthorized coats of arms, dated 18 July 1512 in the manuscript transcribed by the Conde de São Payo, was printed at Lisbon in 1514 by João Pedro Buonhomini in the *Ordenações Manuelinas*, Livro 2, título 24 (fols. 31r-32r). See Santos and Romão 370-73. I thank José Domingues for the latter reference.

¹⁸ See the facsimile edition of 1956 with introductory study by António Machado de Faria and the online digitization of the manuscript. The 1956 facsimile edition was reissued in 2000 and again in 2007 with a reproduction of lesser quality and a new introductory study by José Calvão Borges.

¹⁹ ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Manuel I, livro 5, fol. 28r. The copy specifically gives the name of António Rodrigues as Manuel I’s Rei de Armas Portugal.

de Cró on a journey to France, England and Spain to study matters concerning heraldry, their departure occurring in the following year, 1509:

O diploma pelo qual o Senhor Rei D. Manuel nomeou os trez Reis de Armas, sendo o principal bacharel Antonio Rodrigues Rei de Armas Portugal; segundo a Martim Vaz Arauto Lisboa, e o terceiro João do Cró Passavante Santarem, para irem a França, Inglaterra e Hespanha, estudarem as cousas concernentes a Armaria, foi anterior ao regimento assim que foi datado de 1508 e partiram em 1509 que fica exarado. Em paga aquelle serviço concedeu ElRey aquelles officiais de Armaria a graça de poderem usar Escudos de Armas, elles e seus descendentes. (fol. 7r)²⁰

Ferros, unjustifiably in my opinion, believes that the diploma information mistakenly gives António Rodrigues the title Rei de Armas Portugal instead of Rei de Armas Algarve and also speculates that the João de Cró with the title Passavante Santarém could have been the son of João de Cró, Rei de Armas Portugal (“Decoração 385; “Breve” 55, 58).

Damião de Góis, in the fourth part of his chronicle of the reign of Manuel I, printed in 1567, offers supplementary information about the travels abroad of António Rodrigues, that they included a visit to the court of Emperor Maximilian I and that the specific purpose of his visits to foreign courts was to learn about their heraldry practices in order to better organize and regulate the offices of kings of arms, heralds and pursuivants in Portugal:

[...] & pera se melhor ordenar, & dar regimento ahos Reis darmas, heraus, & porsuiuãs mādou ás cortes do Emperador Maximiliano, Reis de França, & Inglaterra Antonio roiz Rei darmas Portugal bacharel em Leis, pera saber na verdade ho modo q̃ nisto estes Príncipez tinham, cõ has quaes informações, & custume antiguo destes regnos, lhes deu regimêto [...]. (BNP Res. 22 A, vol. 4, fol. 112r)

A 17th-century manuscript in various hands but attributed to António Soares de Albergaria has António Rodrigues and Martim Vaz making the visit to the court of Emperor Maximilian in 1510 but without mentioning the name of João de Cró. Concerning the arms of Martim Vaz the manuscript reads: “Estas armas deu o emperador Maximiliano no ano de 1510 a hun Martim Váz, que era arauto, e foi com o Rey d’armas António Roiz por mandado delRey dom Manuel [...] aprenderem o officio d’armaria, pera see concertarem as armas desse Reino, como [o] mesmo Rey fez.”²¹ Unaware of the Manuel I diploma information, Faria believes Soares de Albergaria’s statement provides evidence that the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor* was finished before the arms officials’ trip to Maximilian’s court (*Armorial* 544 and *Introdução* 58).²² Other scholars are of the opinion

²⁰ See Ferros, “Breve” 57-58 and Norton 1: 242-43. The account of Manuel I’s diploma is inserted in a manuscript copied by F. J. de Almeida in Lisbon on 21 June 1861 from another manuscript bearing the title *Tropheus Lusitanos*, belonging to the Conde de Farrobo (Joaquim Pedro Quintela): an unnumbered document in ANTT, Cartório da Nobreza, Maço 81-82, caixa 86, at fols. 6v-7r.

²¹ Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP), Cod. 1118, fol. 150v. For a description of Cód. 1118 see Barata (100, item 189).

²² Citing Faria’s *Armorial*, Norton, in a description of Martim Vaz’s arms, also states that the Emperor gave them in 1510 (1: 244).

that the court visits spanned the period 1509 to 1511, after which Dom Manuel I decreed his *Regimento de Nobreza* (Deswarte-Rosa 47-48, 50).

Concerning João de Cró, Norton maintains that he was Portuguese – not from a French-speaking land – citing among other evidence the existence of Cró as a Portuguese toponym. He also insists that João de Cró was indeed the artist in charge of producing the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor* and that work on continuing the book, which had a variety of errors and flaws (including the absence of *timbres*, i.e., helmet ornaments), was interrupted by the trip abroad and therefore completed afterwards (1: 237ff).²³ A generally overlooked matter concerning the authorship issue is that illuminated manuscripts of the period were commonly team efforts. Because the prologue to the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor* states that the book was composed and arranged by the “Rey darmas Portugall Juiz da nobreza,” in today’s terminology that person would likely have been the project director or editor-in-chief and most probably the one holding the highest position among the “oficiais de armas,” presumably António Rodrigues as Portugal King of Arms, the one who held that position in 1508 according to the two sources cited above, and not João de Cró, Santarém Pursuivant. However, this conclusion is problematic.

An explanation for the confusion may lie in a certain mystery behind information given in manuscript copies of three letters by Manuel I concerning both the illness and hospitalization of his Portugal King of Arms as well as problems with the completion of the book now known as the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor*.²⁴ The first of these letters, dated 6 June 1508 at Setúbal, asks Gonçalo Miranda, the *provedor* or administrator of the Hospital de Todos-os-Santos in Lisbon, to provide medicine from the hospital’s pharmacy for the ailing Portugal King of Arms (Dornelas “*Livro*” 40; Faria, Introdução 67). The second, dated 13 June 1508 at Alcochete, explains to the *provedor* that he, King Manuel, has seen the beginning – specifically the first “caderno” – of the “liuro das harmas” then in preparation, finding that it needs to be emended in places and therefore asks the administrator to help the ill king of arms make necessary corrections (Dornelas, “*Livro*” 40-41; Faria, Introdução 67-68). The third letter, dated 6 June 1509 at Évora, was sent to Pero de Lemos, chaplain to Manuel I, explaining that work had not yet been completed on the “liuros das harmas” and requests that Lemos speak to the king of arms and assist him in making sure the work gets completed (Faria, Introdução 68). None of the letters refer to the king of arms by name. Faria, without saying so explicitly, implies that the king of arms referred to in the letters was João de Cró. More recently Norton has asked “porque é que não seria o João Rodrigues ou até mesmo os dois Oficiais de Armas com as epidemias endémicas que havia na época?” (1: 244). If we are to accept references to António Rodrigues having held the title Portugal Rei de Armas from at least 15 March 1508, the explanation may well be that it was he who was temporarily hospitalized and that João de Cró, the principal artist for the armorial project, assumed the acting role of Portugal King of Arms—possibly “[o] Rei de Armas em funções” as Norton would have it (1: 244)—, signing the manuscript with that title upon completing the work. However, was it indeed João de Cró or, as Norton believes, João Rodrigues, brother of António Rodrigues and his predecessor as Portugal King of Arms, who gave his signature to the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor*?

²³ Norton suggests that an analysis of the sequence and sewing of the manuscript’s quires might offer clarification on this point (1: 269). On the importance of *timbres* in the arms of French noblemen in the 16th century, see Pastoureau, *Traité* 67. On Portuguese *timbres* see Lima, *Armas* 71-106 and, particularly in later centuries, Nóbrega 154-56.

²⁴ The copies are found in ANTT, Hospital de São José, livro 940, fol. 8r (the first and third letters) and fol. 20r (the second letter). I thank Pedro Pinto for informing me of the digital reproductions.

The illuminated coat of arms depicted below the prologue to the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor* and the signature to the right of it offer additional evidence that António Rodrigues was not its author, or at least not the author of the prologue. As mentioned above, various sources point to António Rodrigues, Martim Vaz and João de Cró as visiting the court of Emperor Maximilian in 1509 or between that year and 1511. There the Emperor evidently bestowed arms on all three. In 1677 Francisco Coelho, King of Arms India, in chapter 9 of the third part of his *Nobiliário genealógico, e historico intitulado Thesouro da Nobreza de Portugal*, refers to the journey of the three at the behest of Dom Manuel I, mentioning specifically that they were granted “Armas de Nobreza” and that as a result of their learning about the practices of heraldry abroad, Dom Manuel ordered new king of arms legislation in Portugal:

[...] mandando primeiro tres Officiaes D’armas, chamados Antonio Rodriguez, que era Rey de Armas Portugal, e Martim Vaz Arauto, e João do Cro Passauante, a estes ultimos dous lhe forão dado Armas de Nobreza Nobreza, como consta dos Liuros dellas; os quais forão as Cortes de algũs Reys de Europa, a saber do Emperador, delRey de França, de Inglaterra, e de Castella, pera que muito na verdade se informassem, e çertificassem de todos os Reys de Armas daquelle[s] Reys e Prinçepes, de seus Estatutos, costumes antigos, e da ordem, & maneira, em que na pax, e na guerra seruião seus Officios, de que lhe deu apontamentos; os quais Reys de Armas gastarão algũs annos nas Cortes destes Prinçepes, e pello que uirão, e pella boa jnformação que de tudo trouxerão, e tambem pello que se achou, que se vzaua de muito antigo no Reino, ordenou ElRey nouo Regimento aos Reys de Armas, o qual se guarda no Thezouro da Caza Real donde estão as Cottas dos mesmos Reys de Armas, que uestem nos actos Reaes.²⁵

Norton offers the following description of the arms for João de Cró, according to the illumination in the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor*: “Cortado: I de vermelho, com uma águia de prata bicada e armada de negro. II burleado de oito peças de ouro e azul. T: encontro de asas de águia de ouro” (1: 244). Faria cites a generally similar description – but with perhaps significantly different details – in a manuscript of António Soares de Albergaria called in Spanish *Triunfos de la nobleza lusitana y origen de sus blasones*, dated 1631: “Crõ. Los deste apellido traen por armas, en campo azul tres faxas de oro, y vn chefe roxo, con vn aguila negra estendida. Iuan de Crõ rey de armas, fue el primero que registró estas armas en los libros de la nobleza” (BNP, Cod. 1119, fol. 118r). Faria also refers to descriptions of the same coat of arms in two other manuscripts attributed to Soares de Albergaria²⁶ as well as later sources (Introdução 57 n58). On António Rodrigues’ arms Norton

²⁵ ANTT, Livros de Linhagens, 150 (Casa Forte), Parte Terceira, fol. 7r; see Norton’s commentary on the passage (1: 243). Manuel de Santo António e Silva, an 18th-century author of extracts from diverse sources on Portuguese families (including those who settled from other countries), offers a recapitulation of Coelho’s discussion in his section on the Vazes family. Silva’s text is preserved in a later 18th-century manuscript copy once owned by Braamcamp Freire, called on the spine *Famílias de Portugal*, now MS. 19-7-1 in the Biblioteca Municipal of Santarém.

²⁶ BNP, Cod. 1118 offers a pen drawing of João de Cró, Rei de Armas’s personal arms with this description: “campo azul. Tres faxas d’ouro, cheve uermelho com aguia de prata estendida” (fol. 129v); BNP, Coleção Pombalina 259 lacks the drawing but offers this information: “João de cro Rey d’armas. Campo azul, tres faxas d’ouro e hũ chefe de vermelho com huã aguia de prata estendida” (fol. 24r [65r]).

offers a description of João de Cró's arms fundamentally different from Faria's: "Partido: I de negro, com uma meia águia de ouro, movente da partição. II de prata, com uma faixa de vermelho, acompanhada de duas pombas de púrpura e volantes. T." (1: 244).²⁷ Such arms, with the two-headed eagle, an apparent influence of the House of Habsburg, are definitely not those depicted in the illumination appearing with the signature of the Portugal Rei de Armas in the prologue to the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor*.

Concerning the signature at the bottom of the prologue to the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor*, Faria offers a discussion of four "sinais públicas do Portugal Rei de Armas," three of which he attributes to João de Cró, despite certain differences between them—that of a *carta de brasão* dated 12 March 1492,²⁸ a *carta de tenção* of 4 April 1503²⁹ and the prologue to the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor* of 1509—, contrasting them with a signature clearly different but known to be that of António Rodrigues, dated after 1510 (Introdução 58-59), among others that are extant.³⁰ My examination of signatures in two other *cartas de brasão* reveal characteristics similar to those Faria attributes to João de Cró: one issued to Henrique da Mota on 16 July 1509³¹ and the other to Diogo da Cunha on 3 October 1510.³² Not only are the pen strokes and letters used to spell the first syllable of the name Portugal different in these examples compared to those by António Rodrigues,³³ also very different are the abbreviated or shortened forms of the personal name of the signatory as written to the left and right of the King of Arms Portugal title. Those of António Rodrigues appear to read "A RRO-I-Z," whereas those Faria attributes to João de Cró are very different, although not as clearly legible. Norton dismisses Faria's claim that the three signatures he offers were by João de Cró, insisting that the actual Portugal Rei de Armas at the time was João Rodrigues, brother of António Rodrigues. Although Norton accepts that the arms illumination to the left of the signature below the prologue represents those of João de Cró, the arms official whom Norton believes was the artist who produced the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor*, it was João Rodrigues with his signature, according to Norton, who made those arms "indigenous" for Portugal (1: 245). For whatever reason or reason, as discussed above, a variety of sources inform us that António Rodrigues also held the title of Portugal Rei de Armas as early as 1508. If those sources are reliable, we continue to have a problem verifying with certainty who was the actual Portugal King of Arms when the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor* was completed. In any event, following the *Regimento de Nobreza dos Reis de Armas* of 16 November 1511, the earlier Corporação dos Oficiais das Armas was replaced with

²⁷ Norton cites the reproduction of António Rodrigues' arms by Ricardo da Silva in Dornelas's edition (ix).

²⁸ At the time Faria was writing the original document was in the possession of Abílio Pacheco Teixeira Rebelo de Carvalho.

²⁹ ANTT, Corpo Cronológico, 2ª parte, Maço 7, doc. 85.

³⁰ BNP, Coleção Pombalina 259, fol. 149v (214v). This paper document, dated at Évora in June of 1544, would not appear to be in Rodrigues's own hand but does bear his signature; one dated 22 February 1534, in ANTT, Genealogias Manuscritas, 106 (*Genealogia de D. Manuel Pereira, 3º Conde da Feira*), fol. 5v; and another in a *carta de brasão* issued to João Pinto, dated 26 June 1538, reproduced in a Palácio do Correio Velho auction catalogue for a sale held on 16 October 2008. Cf. also a reproduction of Rodrigues' signature in Dornelas ("Bacharel" xi).

³¹ ANTT, Cartas de Armas, Caixa 1, n. 1.

³² ANTT, Cartas de Armas, Caixa 2, n. 11.

³³ In the titles Faria attributes to the pen of João de Cró the name Portugal is spelled as "pourtugall" or "ponrtugall"; those by António Rodrigues render it as "portuogall."

the Cartório da Nobreza, and in a ceremony held in 1512 at the Paços da Ribeira in Lisbon, Manuel I formalized a new roster of arms officials, headed by António Rodrigues as Portugal King of Arms. Francisco Coelho offers information about the formal ceremony in chapter 9 of the third part of his *Thesouro da Nobreza de Portugal*:

Pera esta Reformação dos Rey[s] de Armas, Arautos, e Passauantes, mandou elRey Dom Manuel fazer hum grande Theatro junto dos seus Paços da Ribeira velha de Lixboa, o qual estaua Ricamente ornado de custosa Tapeçaria, e no topo delle hũ estrado, de baixo de hũ Rico Doçel donde elRey estaua sentado em sua Cadeira Real, e tangendosse Atabales, Trombetas, e Charamelos, batisou a todos os *Officaes* D'armas, pondolhe os Nomes das das prouinças, Cidades, e Villas que lhes daua, pera terem cuidado da Nobreza dellas.³⁴

Coelho's text goes on to include a discussion of the oaths taken by the king of Arms Portugal and other arms officers, their baptism ceremony as well as their obligations, borrowing in places language similar to that in Dom Manuel's *Regimento de Nobreza dos Reis de Armas*.³⁵

The last known *carta de brasão* signed by António Rodrigues is dated 6 July 1558, during the reign of Sebastião I (Freire 12). That he might still have been living in 1559 is perhaps indicated by a reference to that year in a text found toward the end of *P* where we find the words “[...] asy por agora cesa ate seu llugar na era de 1559” (fol. 125r; *Tratado* 151).³⁶ However, the last part of this reference (“ate seu llugar na era de 1559”) is absent in *S* (fol. 102r), indicating that the remark may have been added to *P* by the copyist. Whatever the role of the latter, the materials present in *P* appear to have been produced over a period of years. If António Rodrigues was responsible for the compendium, he may have gathered all the texts to form a book towards the end of his life.

³⁴ ANTT, Livros de Linhagens, 150, Parte Terceira, fol. 7r. See Norton (1: 204, 206, 208). At an earlier point in the same chapter Coelho makes reference to certain rules to be followed in granting arms, citing from the *Ordenações Filipinas* the *Regimento de Armaria*, livro 5, título 92, fol. 7v. On specific language concerning the role of the king of arms as found in Dom Manuel's *Regimento*, cf. also the following passage as cited by Coelho: “Juro a estes Santos Euangelhos nas mãos de foão Rey de Armas, que bem e verdadeiramente darei do *Liuro* de meu Registro das Armas aos nobres as Armas *que* diretamente lhe pertencerem, segundo a Ordem e Regimento que para ello me he dado, por elRey nosso Señor o que tudo guardarei e cumprirei e que por temor nem Amor nem por dadiua nem pormitimento nem outro nenhum Respeito não farei nisso couza que não deua e fielmente guardarei nisso justiça e direito da parte a que tocar. §1 Iuro assy mesmo, que quando for inuiado com algũ embaixador que el Rey nosso Señor me emuiar terei com todo o cuidado diligente a seu seruiço e fielmente farei e cumprirei todo o que me for mandado e com minha Cotta Darmas uestida entrarei onde quer que me for mandado por elRey nosso Señor ou por seu embaixador” (fol. 8r).

³⁵ ANTT, Livros de Linhagens, 150, Parte Terceira, fols. 8r-9r.

³⁶ Dornelas mentions the reference to 1559 in his “Sumário” of the contents of *P* but does not make use of it as a possible clue to dating of the compendium or when the manuscript was copied ([xxxv]). Dornelas cites other internal references in *P* to the years “corenta e dous” and “trinta E sete” as indications of António Rodrigues' visits in 1542 and 1537 to England and to Prague, respectively, without realizing that the first person narrative involved is not that of Rodrigues but of Diego de Valera, as found in the latter's 15th-century Castilian treatises *Ceremonial de Príncipes* and *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* (Dornelas, “Sumário” xxiii).

Documentation reveals that he was succeeded in 1559 as Portugal Rei de Armas by Gaspar Velho, indicating a likely death or incapacitation around that time.³⁷

In addition to texts preserved in *P* and *S*, António Rodrigues is the attributed translator from the French of the chivalric book on the Nine Worthies called *Le triumphe des neuf preux* [...] *avec l'ystoire de Bertran de Guesclin*, first printed at Abbeville by Pierre Gérard on 30 May 1487 and reprinted in Paris by Michel Le Noir in 1507. The work was already known to the producers of the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor*, who, in the book's "Capitollo primeiro," depict the Nine Worthies, described in the table of contents as "tres Judeus. E tres gentijos. E tres xpaãos" (the actual order of presentation being Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus, Hector, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, King Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfroy de Bouillon), plus a tenth personage, Bertran de Guesclin, described in the index as "[fo]ra dos da fama," all dressed in armor with a sword or staff in their right hand and in their left hand their personal coat of arms. As Francisco de Simas Alves de Azevedo points out, the artist of the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor* was apparently familiar with woodcut depictions in the French *Le triumphe des neuf preux* of Charlemagne and Godefroy de Bouillon given the similarity of the images in both texts (96-97). If Rodrigues translated the French book originally into Portuguese that translation does not survive. Rather, we have four extant printings in Spanish, the first of which, printed at Lisbon on 26 June 1530 by Germão Galharde, at the expense of Luís Rodrigues, is said on the frontispiece (and later repeated in the colophon) to have been translated into Spanish by António Rodrigues, João I's principal king of arms:

CRonica llamada el triũpho de| los nueue ãpreciados de la fama en la ãl se cõtienẽ las vidas | de cada vno y los excelentes hechos en fu vida. Cõ la vida del muy famofo cauallero Beltrã de Guefclin Cõdestable ã fue | de Francia y Duque d' Molinas: nueuamẽte traflad- | da de language Frãcefa en Castellano por el honorable va | rõ Antonio Rodriguez Portugal principal Rey Darmas del Rey Nue- | ftro sefior. Con Priuilegio de fu Alteza: y con fu especial mandado. (fol. [† 1r])³⁸

The printing includes a dedication to João III as part of an "Epístola" in Portuguese in which Rodrigues explains his personal interest in the book's subject matter: "[...] porque todo esta obra pretende e trata do triumpho da verdadeyra politica nobreza [e] gloriadas armas ao que eu por meu officio tenho grande afeycã por lhe dar noua vida" (fol.[† 1v]).

The second printing was made in Spain at Valencia by Juan Navarro, dated 15 July 1532: Cronica llamada el triũpho delos nue- | ue mas preciados varones de la fama. En la qual e contiene la vida | de cada vno dellos: y las grandes proezas y exdellẽtes hechos | y hazañas en armas por aãllos hechas. La qual es vn es | chado [*sic*] de cauall'ia. Traduzida en nõ vulgar caste | llano: y agora nueuamẽte ãprimida e corregida y enmẽdada con mucha

³⁷ Francisco Coelho's *Thesouro da Nobreza* cites a *Livro de Matrículas* of 1559 on Gaspar Velho, nephew of António Rodrigues and member of the Order of Santiago, as occupying the office of Portugal Rei de Armas in that same year (ANNT, Livros de Linhagens, 150, Parte Terceira, fol. 9v; see Norton 1: 19).

³⁸ Palau y Dulcet item 196379; Wilkinson item 4168. The BNP copy (Res. 373 V) has been digitized with the frontispiece and other missing folios reproduced from the copy in the BnF (Res-Y2-85).

diligẽncia: y pue | fta en muy gentil estilo: segũ que a | tan noble obra pertenesce. (fol. [⊕ 1r])³⁹

It retains Rodrigues' dedication to João III but in Spanish translation. In addition to corrections and emendations as mentioned on the frontispiece, this printing, like the subsequent two, deletes the chapters dedicated to the life of Bertrand du Guesclin, a figure well known in Spain for his support of Enrique de Trastámara against Pedro I of Castile.

The third printing was made in 1585 at Alcalá de Henares by Juan Íñiguez de Lequerica, at the expense of Luis Méndez:

Chronica llamada el Triumpho de los nueue | mas preciados varones de la Fama. En la qual se contiene las grandes proezas | y hazañas en armas por ellos hechas. La qual es vn dechado de caualleria. | Traduzida en nuestro vulgar Castellano por Antonio Rodriguez Por- | tugal. Corregida y emendada con mucha diligencia en esta vltima | impresion. Dirigida al Illufstrimo señor don Iuan Pacheco | Giron, Conde de la Puebla de Montaluan. (fol. [¶ 1r])⁴⁰

As the above frontispiece information reveals, this printing offers a new dedication, to Juan Pacheco, first Count of La Puebla de Montalbán, which was authored by Diego Méndez (fol. ¶ 3r). It is preceded by a license to print, signed 9 July 1581 by López de Hoyos, whose first name we know to be Juan, a Madrid priest and school master (Miguel de Cervantes is thought to have been one of his pupils), writer, and censor for the Consejo Real de Castilla. López de Hoyos offers his approval for the printing of the *Crónica*, even though he found considerable fault with the book, namely the “barbaric and styleless language” of the Portuguese translator as well as the “licentious” nature of some of the book’s “improprieties”:

POR mandado de vuestra Alteza, he visto (con la diligencia que me ha sido posible) esta obra de los nueue de la Fama, en la qual he cotejado las historias Diuinas y humanas, para ajustar los vocablos al vfo presente, y ala policia Cortesana. He lo hecho con el mejor termino que he podido: **porque como el autor es Portugues**, quiero decir, que la traduxo de la lengua Franceſa, en que ella esta compuesta, **tiene la lengua barbarica y sin ftilo, y en algunas impropiedades muy licenciosa**. Va repurgado de todo y para ello fue importante la diligencia, y que no se passasse folio sin yr muy mirado lo borrado, o mejorado. Va de modo, q̃ el impressor lo vera con facilidad, y emendara, como va apuntado, y quitara lo que va testado. Con lo qual vna muy exenplar obra para afficionar ala caualleria a honestas exercicios y obras heroicas, y se puede y deve imprimir como tal. (fol. ¶ 2r; emphasis mine)

Alfredo Alvar Esquerria points out the inherent irony of López de Hoyos' approval of the printing given his likely personal distaste for books of chivalry and his former student's later parody of the

³⁹ Palau y Dulcet cites this printing as the second edition of item 196380; Wilkinson item 4163. The Biblioteca de Catalunya copy (Res. 375-4) is digitized in Google Books; also digitized is an imperfect copy in the Biblioteca Històrica de la Universitat de València (R-1/111). Wilkinson lists other printings at Valencia by Juan Navarro, from the years 1537 (item 4164), 1539 (item 18726) and 1552 (item 18727), but these may be phantom editions.

⁴⁰ Palau y Dulcet item 196380; Wilkinson item 3237. One of two BNE copies has been digitized (R/867).

genre in *Don Quijote*: “¡Veinte años después su discípulo dio al traste con tantas disparatadas obras!” (328-29).

The fourth and last extant edition is a reprint of the third, printed at Barcelona in 1586 by Pedro Malo, at the expense of Baltasar Simón, the only additions being short Barcelona ecclesiastical privilege and license to print texts in Latin appearing below López de Hoyos’ approval.⁴¹

António Rodrigues as Portugal King of Arms also traveled to the papal court of Leo X in 1514 as part of the embassy of Tristão da Cunha, as we learn in a letter by Doutor João de Faria to Dom Manuel I dated March 18 of that year,⁴² recounting the king of arms’ participation in a ceremony of great pomp, the highlight being a procession led by an elephant, symbolizing Portugal’s exploits in India:

Diante de tristam da cunha hia o Rei darmas com seu escudo muy bem atabiado; depois se seguiam mais adiante eses fidalgos da embaixada tam bem atabiados e tam Recachados ut nihil supra. Diante deles hia o alifante com todo seu atabio, que foy em roma huma cousa tam sinalada e tam espantoso que nom se pode escreuer o desejo que hi auia pera uelo, e o espanto em o ueer.... (*Corpo* 1: 235-36)

In addition, we know that António Rodrigues acquired in 1544 another court title, that of Juiz das Sisas (‘transfer tax judge’) of Lisbon, while retaining that of Portugal Rei de Armas.⁴³

Unless further research provides new information, Rodrigues’ full role in the composition of the compendium as it survives in *P* and partially preserved in *S* remains enigmatic. One can only speculate what the first part of *S* might have contained, possibly the translation of Gracia Dei’s treatises, albeit presented out of sequence according to the order of the texts in *P*. Likewise, lacking the archetype or other later manuscript versions, we do not know for certain how the compilation evolved over time.

⁴¹ Palau y Dulcet item 196381. Copies in the Biblioteca de Catalunya copy (Bon. 9-III-7) and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (78.N.25) are digitized in Google Books.

⁴² ANTT, Corpo Cronológico, 1ª parte, Maço 94, doc. 66; ed. *Corpo* 1: 234-38.

⁴³ ANTT, Chancelaria de D. João III, livro 5, fol. 89v.

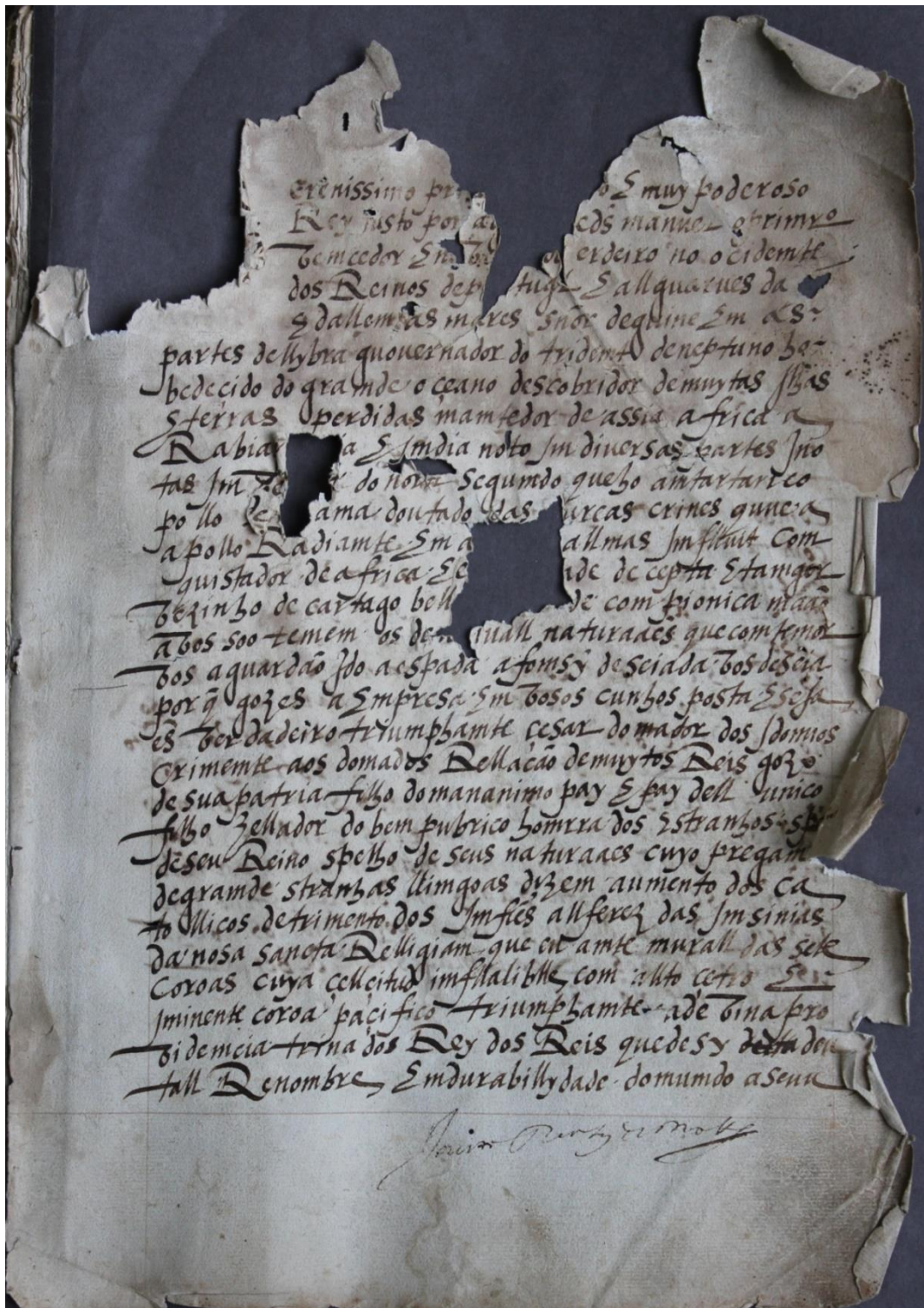


Fig. 1: MS. P, fol. 1r. Courtesy Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto

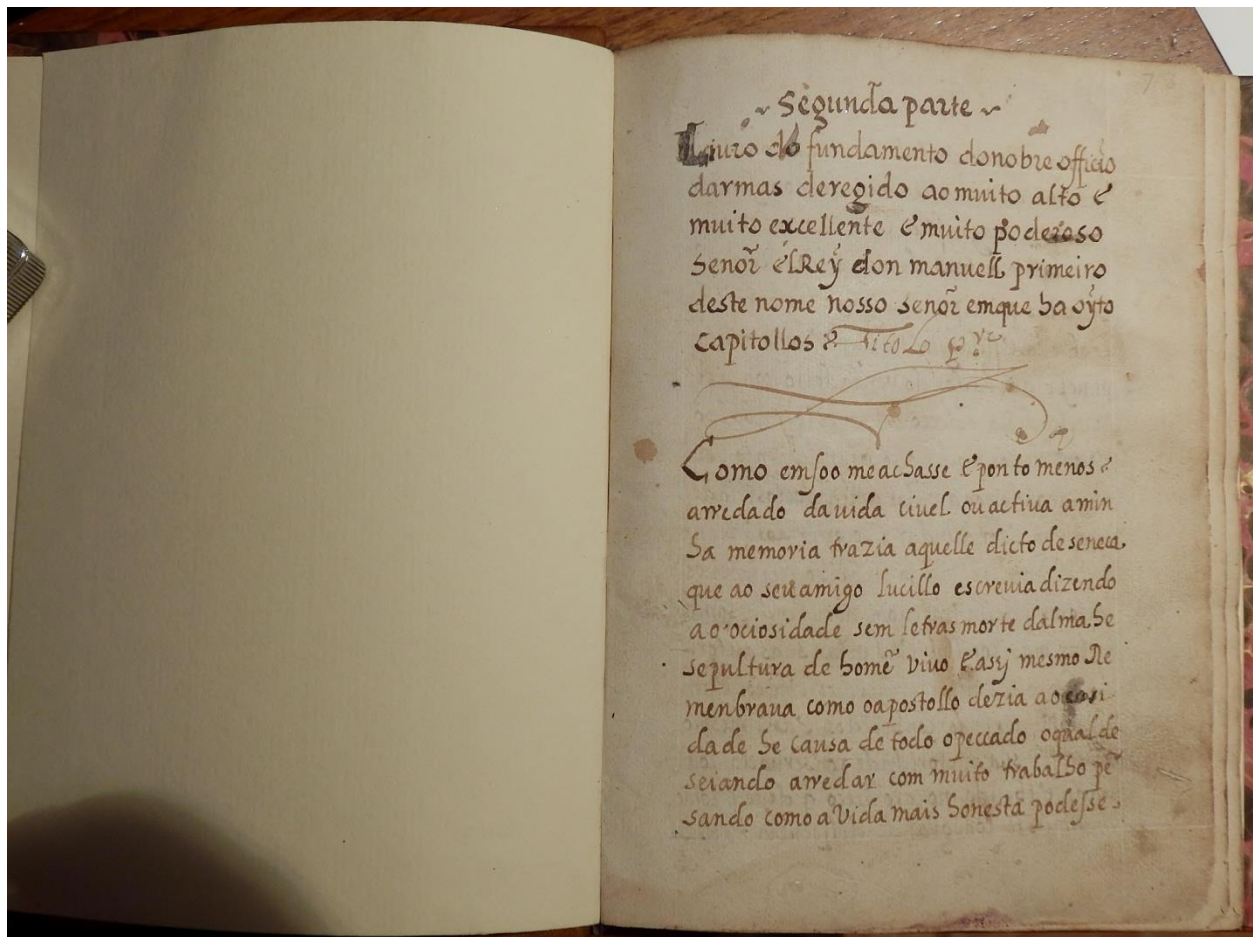


Fig. 2: MS. S, fol. 1r. Courtesy of Pedro Pinto

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