

WHO WROTE A COMPLETE ACCOUNT OF THE PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE?

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0. Introduction

Academic research relating foreign language teaching has been characterized by intensive activity expressed by the continual publication of numerous books and journals, by seminars, congresses and conferences, both at the national and international levels. The great concern is the search for solutions that may diminish the centuries-old frustration of foreign-language teachers and learners unsatisfied with the poor results of the teaching/learning process. Such discontent is not a new phenomenon: it has been felt generation after generation and, throughout the centuries, there have been people with new ideas, sometimes announcing authentic panaceas, all aiming at finding solutions to the century-old problem. In spite of the visible progress which has sometimes been achieved, frustration remains, which justifies and stimulates new initiatives.

However, in spite of all the activity developed in this area little attention has been given to the history of foreign language teaching, which is to say, very few people seem to care about the way methodological and linguistic attitudes have evolved along the many centuries that the history of foreign language teaching already covers ⁽¹⁾. To a certain extent, past attitudes justify and are the basis of what is being done nowadays. The ignorance of that history is the origin of some confusion as Kelly very judiciously reminds us of:

'Nobody really knows what is new or what is old in present-day language teaching procedures. There has been a vague feeling that modern experts have spent their time in discovering what other men have forgotten; but as most of

⁽¹⁾ According to Kelly (1969) foreign-language teaching is twenty-five centuries old; Germain (1993) doubles that time.

the key documents are in Latin, moderns find it difficult to go to original sources. In any case, much that is being claimed as revolutionary in this century is merely a rethinking and renaming of early ideas and procedures' (p. ix).

Although two decades have already elapsed since Kelly published this statement, it is still absolutely valid. And there is no doubt that some of the terminology and propositions which have been announced by some methodologists and linguists in the two past decades have generally been considered as new attitudes in the language teaching field only in result of generalized ignorance of the history of language teaching. For those few who for some reason have studied that history, such 'new' propositions have a taste of rewarmed food. This statement could be illustrated by a reference to 'The Natural Approach', a method connected with the names of North-American didacticists, especially Stephen Krashen's. To anyone who analyses 'The Natural Approach' in detail it will resemble (with the logical differences dictated by a separation of one century and the advent of the technological resources that the modern teacher has at hand) the 'Natural Method', which had some popularity at the end of the 19th century⁽²⁾. The same could be said about the teaching of 'language functions', a term of great popularity in the realms of the recent communicative approach. This term under different names (or even without any specific tag) occurred in almost every old grammar published from the early 18th century up to the middle of the 19th century⁽³⁾. It is not my purpose to suggest that there is nothing genuinely new in modern foreign language methodology, but I have no doubt that the study of past methodologies would be very useful. Such study would certainly provide conclusions (perhaps quite surprising) that would confirm what Kelly says in the passage quoted above. In that case much of the effort that is being wasted nowadays on the search for new solutions would be saved because some of the 'new' solutions are only aspects of foreign language teaching which have already been forgotten after having lived for periods of variable duration in the history of education.

⁽²⁾ Two names, among others, are connected with this method: the German Gottlieb Hensch, the author of *Der Leitfaden für den Unterricht in der deutschen Sprache ohne Sprachlehre und Wörterbuch*, who, in the United States, around 1886, "had started a school for teaching languages by a "natural method" (Mackey 1969: 143); and M. D. Berlitz, the founder of a powerful international organization named *Berlitz Schools of Languages*, some of which having survived until now. About the 'Natural Method', its characteristics and names connected with it see Howatt 1984: 198-200, Chagas 1954: 35-38 and Closset 1949: 15. See also Berlitz 1921: 3-6.

⁽³⁾ For instance, it was Jacob de Castro's obvious intention to provide the 'curiosos' (the name given at that time to those interested in learning foreign languages) with useful utterances in pragmatic communication when he presented his 'familiar phrases', among which his readers could find "Expressions of kindness" (p. 194), "To thank and compliment, or shew kindness" (p. 195), "To affirm, deny, consent" (p. 197 etc.). Except for the natural differences imposed by the passing of time, in essence, there is a lot in common between this and, for example, some parts of *The Threshold Level*. See van Ek *et al.*

This recognition of the usefulness of the history of methods has led some scholars to devote time and work to the research of earlier materials. The results have been coming up and, if they have no other interest, they represent, at least, unique reading matter. Such are the cases of Alston (1967 and 1974), Kelly himself (1969), Howatt (1984), Finkenstaedt (1983), and Finkenstaedt *et al.* (1983).

1. Research in Portugal

In Portugal, up to present, very little has been done in this area in a systematic way. But there have been some isolated studies, dealing with specific books or themes, which present us with some interesting evidence of the scope that an investigation project in a larger scale could have. Cardim (1923, 1929 and 1931), Rodrigues (1951), Torre (1985 and 1988), and Salema (1993) are the only ones who, so far, have developed studies on the history of foreign-language teaching/learning in Portugal, mainly on the teaching/learning of Portuguese by the English and the French, and English and French by the Portuguese.

Luiz Cardim was the first investigator in Portugal who felt some attraction by the subject, although for reasons that were not directly connected with foreign-language teaching proper but with phonetics. In Portuguese and foreign libraries he searched for old grammars of English for the Portuguese and grammars of Portuguese for the English. He left the result of his work in his 1923 paper that would be published again with some changes eight years later⁽⁴⁾. Among the books dealt with by this scrupulous teacher and last director of the earlier Faculdade de Letras do Porto⁽⁵⁾ is the earliest English-Portuguese and Portuguese-English dictionary published in London in 1701 with the title *A Compleat Account of the Portugueze Language*⁽⁶⁾. Its author's name is reduced to the initials A. J.. Part of the same

(4) About the revised article Cardim wrote in 1931: "Em 1923 publicámos na *Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Pôrto*, n.º 5 e 6, um artigo intitulado "Some Notes on the English-Portuguese and Portuguese-English Grammars to 1830. [...] Em 1929 tornámos a publicar esse trabalho, revisto e aumentado na sua contribuição para a fonética inglesa, no livro editado pela Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Pôrto, *Estudos de Literatura e de Linguística*, e dele se tirou uma separata, em cujo título se precisaram melhor a natureza e os limites do assunto, ficando a chamar-se em definitivo "Portuguese-English Grammarians and Eighteenth-Century Spoken English" (pp. 5-6).

(5) The Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto was first created in 1919 by the political influence of Leonardo Coimbra; for political reasons too a decree (nº 15365) dating 15 April 1928 closes it. About this see Torre 1987 and Pina 1966.

(6) The first part of the dictionary, 'Vocabularium Anglo-Lusitanicum', contains 195 unnumbered pages; the second part, 'Vocabularium Lusitano-Anglicum', has 181 pages.

(7) Cardim refers (1930, p. 12) that, at the time, the only copy of the dictionary in Portugal was to be found at the Public Library in Évora, information that he had certainly found in Inocêncio da Silva (Tomo segundo, 1858). And the situation has not changed. I have searched for other copies at several Portuguese libraries, public and private, and must conclude that Cardim's information is correct. But at the British Library in London there are several copies (among others under these shelf-marks: 12943.h.7 and 435.h.24). It is also available in microfilm.

volume (7), and by the same author, is a *Grammatica Anglo-Lusitanica* (8), which was anonymously published in Lisbon four years later, but this time it also included some 'familiar dialogues', a very common component in eighteenth-century grammars. It remains unknown whether the author of the Portuguese edition was A. J. himself or if someone else plagiarized the book and enlarged it with the dialogues.

2. Who was A. J.?

It would come to some surprise if Cardim had not tried to find out the name the two initials in the author's name corresponded to. He did try, but in the end of his study he had many doubts. In spite of that he vaguely advanced what seems to me a very plausible hypothesis.

The Portuguese bibliographers either said nothing about the issue — as was the case of Inocêncio da Silva and of *Bibliotheca Lusitana* — or they gave information that Cardim viewed as suspicious. In this latter case was Camilo Castelo Branco (pp. 16-7), who repeated the information collected in Bernardes Branco (pp. 21 (vol. I) and 567 (vol. II)), according to whom the work was attributed to lexicographer Raphael Bluteau (9). Cardim is very skeptical about this hypothesis because, in the meantime, he had discovered that *A Compleat Account...* seemed to him a translation of *Prosodia* and *Thesouro da Lingua Portuguesa*, two well-known works by the Jesuit Bento Pereira, and the *Grammatica Anglo-Lusitanica* was again a translation of the *Ars Grammatica pro Lingua Lusitana* by the same author. In the English adaptations made by Bento Pereira, English took the place occupied by Latin in Bento Pereira's works.

Resorting to a set of different data, Cardim tries to demonstrate the improbability of Camilo's information and advances the idea that the author of *A Compleat Account...* might be a former student of the Irish Colégio dos Inglesinhos (10), where, according to Cardim, Bento Pereira had been director for a time (11).

That the author was a native speaker of English is the most plausible hypothesis. One of the reasons had already been pointed by Cardim based on the good quality of the English used both in *A Compleat Account...* and in the *Grammatica Anglo-Lusitanica*. In fact

(8) This grammar has 40 pages in two columns, dedicated to morphology, prosody and orthography. Another 11 pages follow containing an "An Appendix of the Forms of Writing" with models of private and business letters, "A Letter of Attorney", an insurance policy, a letter of exchange etc..

(9) Bluteau is known for his Portuguese-Latin dictionary.

(10) This college was founded in Lisbon in 1622 as a Catholic seminary whereto future priests came from Britain to study and be ordained. Protestant hostility at home did not allow them good conditions to follow their calling (cf. Williams (1988) and *English College Lisbon*). See also Ramos *et al.*

(11) In *English College Lisbon*, p. 21, 'residential line' is presented that contains the names of all the directors of the College from 1627 to 1943. There is no interruption and Bento Pereira's name is not to be found in the list. Cardim does not tell us the source of his information, but he very probably found it in Innocencio Francisco da Silva, tome I, 1858: p. 352.

the English used by A.J. is absolutely flawless and purely idiomatic. As similar grammars later published by Portuguese writers would show, these characteristics were very far from being frequent.

Besides, some passages in the introduction to the dictionary show that its author's position relating to Portugal and the Portuguese is that of a foreigner who uses the third person when he speaks of our country and people, as can be seen in the following extracts:

Referring to the Portuguese A. J. writes:

'it is not to be doubted that *they* ⁽¹²⁾ and *their* Neighbours suffered an extream diminution of *their* Primitive Purity by the Irruptions of those Northern Warriors the Goths and Vandals...' (2nd page ⁽¹³⁾).

And further down:

However (as it is) notwithstanding all these Disasters, it hath successfully spread it self through all the Four Parts of the World, in which the Portugueze have so famed *themselves* to all Posterity for *their* early Discoveries and Conquests; and even now where *their* Sword has laid aside its awful Power...' (ib.).

Or still in the two following passages, in which, besides the aspects just been underlined, we find the first person when the author refers to the British:

'And since the English correspondence in Trade with the Kingdom of Portugal, hath been for those many years, and it is at this time so very considerable, and *our* Navigation to all those Parts where *that* ⁽¹⁴⁾ Nation hath yet in *their* Possession...' (ib.). 'It is well known how uneasie the due Pronunciation of the Modern Tongues is to **our** Northern climates' (3rd page).

Another reason that could be adduced is linked to the semi-anonymity of the initials A. J. itself. In his 1923 article, Cardim admits that these initials might stand for 'A Jesuit' (p. 440), basing his interpretation on the fact that Bento Pereira was a Jesuit and rector of the Irish College in Lisbon. In the later versions of his paper Cardim dropped such an interpretation, but maintained the idea that 'we may suspect the translation to have been made by a former Irish pupil of Pereyra, on his return to England' (1930: 4).

L. Cardim's suspicion is really interesting. It leads one to imagine a young British priest, very probably an Irishman, who had just returned to England after his long stay in Portugal ⁽¹⁵⁾, where he had

(12) My italics on this passage.

(13) The pages in *A Compleat Account* are not numbered; it is the alphabetical order of entries that ensures their sequence. But I numbered the pages for easier perusal.

(14) The use of this dicitic has some meaning for what I am trying to demonstrate.

(15) The young men arrived in Portugal from Britain around the age of 14 and here they remained at the College of Saints Peter and Paul (such was the name of the seminary

done his religious studies. During his stay abroad he had learned the Portuguese language and had concluded that it was worth the while teaching it to his countrymen. However, the England of his time was hostile to Catholicism ⁽¹⁶⁾. Therefore and in order to make his linguistic work circulate more easily, the mysterious author of *A Compleat Account...* signs it with his initials alone.

All this speculation needs documents to be supported. Maybe careful search in the archives of Ushaw College (Durham) — whereto all documentation of Colégio dos Inglesinhos was taken ⁽¹⁷⁾ — will allow us to find, among the names of the seminarists ordained in Lisbon in the last quarter of the 17th century, one or more that correspond to the initials A. J.. If this first stage is successful, the next step will consist in tracing the progress of the one or the ones whose name(s) correspond to the initials and, simultaneously, try to discover in him/them enough interest in the Portuguese language that might justify the initiative of producing the two linguistic works that are in the origin of the present paper. This strategy could be a way of proving Luiz Cardim's intuition, moreover at a time when a new disturbing factor has come onto the scene and a clarification of all this matter would be welcome ⁽¹⁸⁾.

3. The Alexander Justice hypothesis

The brief study of *A Compleat Account...* carried out by me in 1984-85 was based on a microfilm of the copy that exists in the Évora library. Being in London in 1987 and having a free morning, I decided to go to the British Library and check if it had any copy of the dictionary. There was a small detail that I wanted to confirm and that was a good chance.

When I was looking for the shelf-mark under **A. J.**, I was taken by surprise when I saw something handwritten added (in pencil) to the author's initials. No less than: **J. A. [i. e. Alexander Justice?** ⁽¹⁹⁾]. My

that was definitively closed in 1973) for twelve years until their ordination (cf. Williams: 241).

⁽¹⁶⁾ In *English College Lisbon* the following can be read: 'The College at Lisbon gave secure refuge to these heroic youths and enabled them to pursue their studies in peace and build their spiritual lives in a Catholic atmosphere. After ordination they went back by devious routes to their native land, landing secretly at obscure fishing villages and hiding in the houses of the Catholic gentry until they were assigned their sphere of activity. The story has been told many times of their work and the manner of their lives, harassed continually by pursuivants and informers and ending in some instances in their being condemned to death' (p. 6).

⁽¹⁷⁾ According to recent information personally given to me by Isabel Lousada, not all the documents of the former college were sent to Britain, as a lot of that material can be found at the Universidade Católica Portuguesa in Lisbon.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Lack of available time has not allowed me, so far, to make these steps, but thanks to the mediation of the Rev. Michael Williams of the University of Leeds, the librarian of Ushaw College, the Rev. Dr. Michael Sharratt, has given me permission to consult the files in the "Lisbon Room".

⁽¹⁹⁾ The question mark indicates, no doubt, that the author of the handwritten addition was not absolutely sure of his/her hypothesis.

next step was to go to **Justice, Alexander**, and my surprise increased when I saw that both the dictionary and the grammar were definitely attributed to him.

Due to shortage of time on the occasion all I could do was try to check in the bibliographies and biographies available at the BL if Alexander Justice had lived and published at a time around the turn of the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries. As a matter of fact I could confirm that he had published a few books in the early eighteenth century. But in none of the sources I was able to consult on that morning was the authorship of *A Compleat Account...* attributed to him. That was a first sign that the handwritten addition which I had seen on the card of the BL catalogue relating to A.J. and *A Compleat Account...* might be the fruit of some sort of precipitation that a mere chronological coincidence could explain. But, most disturbing was the categorical tone of the entry **Justice, Alexander**.

In the autumn of 1989 I was able to go to London again and dedicate the necessary time to a more detailed study of the problem ⁽²⁰⁾. My main objective was to read everything I could find about the mysterious A. J. (or other A. J.'s), about Alexander Justice, and, obviously, to read the latter's published works.

In relation to all other writers who had signed their works with the same initials **A. J.**, the *General Catalogue* supplied the full names. Augustus Jessopp, A. Johnston, Aleksander Jabtonowski, A. Jars, Anthony Janson, A. A. Jakubowski, Alexander Justice are cases in point. Not all of them lived at the time when the dictionary and the Portuguese grammar were published; however, the titles of their works are mentioned in the catalogue, but among them no reference is made to an English-Portuguese dictionary. As far as Alexander Justice is concerned, there are cards with titles of books by him relating to maritime law, international trade, and moneys and exchanges. Only on one of the cards, which has obviously been recently added, can one see that *A Compleat Account...* is considered his work, as I said above. As I will try to demonstrate in the following pages, this should be viewed with some suspicion.

Among the various bibliographies that I had the opportunity to consult at the BL, only the ones by Lowndes and Hazlitt contain references to A. J., author of *A Compleat Account...*, but there is no reference to the *Grammatica Anglo-Lusitanica*. Neither do they include any data about A. J.'s life ⁽²¹⁾.

I faced the same scarcity of information about Alexander Justice's biography, although his works were referred to, not always

⁽²⁰⁾ I thank the Universidade do Porto and INIC for having provided me with the material means that made possible this stay in London.

⁽²¹⁾ "J. A. — A Compleat Account of the Portugueze Language; being a Copious Dictionary of English with Portuguese, and Portuguese with English. London 1701. folio. 6s" (Lowndes, vol.III: 1175); "J. A. Complete Account of the Portuguese Language, 1701, I. 232" (Hazlitt: 397).

coincidentally in as far as their number is concerned, in practically all the bibliographies. Let us see what some of the latter contain:

'**J. A. Alexander** *Justice*. A general Treatise of monies and exchanges... 1707 — See 'A well-wisher to Trade' ⁽²²⁾ (Cushing, vol I: 140).

'**J[ustice] (A[lexander].)** A General Treatise of the Dominion of the sea: And a Compleat Body of Sea-Laws: Containing what is most Valuable on that Subject in antient and Modern Authors; ... and Adjudg'd Cases in several Courts concerning Trade and Navigation. By A. J. Second Edition. London 1705. 4^{to} + The Third Edition, with large Additions, and Improvements. And a New Appendix... London: for the Executors of J. Nicholson; ... [1707] 4^{to}, pp. (26), 684, 107' (Sabin 1877, vol. I: 140).

'Justice, Alexander. 1. Laws of the Sea, &c., Lon., 1705, 4^{to}. 2. Commerce, 1707, 4^{to}. (Allibone (vol. I: 1005).

'JUSTICE, Alexander. — A General Treatise of the Dominions and Laws of the Sea, Jurisdiction of the English Admiralty, &c.; with an Appendix, concerning Pressing. Lond. 1705, 4^{to}. — A General Discourse of Commerce. Lond. 1707, 4^{to}. — A General Treatise of Monies and Exchange. Lond. 1707, 4^{to}.' (Watt 1824, vol. II: 560).

The various subsequent re-editions of some of Justice's works are evidence that there was interest in their contents, and it appears as a logical conclusion that their author was relatively well known. Therefore, it is somewhat surprising that none of the quoted bibliographers made reference to the dictionary and the grammar had Justice actually written them. Besides, it must be noted that Justice signed some of his works with the initials A. J. or with the even more undecipherable pseudonym 'a Well-wisher to Trade'. If his bibliographers were able to unveil such 'mysteries', they would have equally overcome the problem that the initials in question might have represented if Justice had really written *A Compleat Account...*, a kind of work that the publishers certainly would not like to see ignored by the public.

The above are the main reasons that could be used to question those who attribute the authorship of *A Compleat Account...* and *Grammatica Anglo-Lusitanica* to A. Justice. But there are arguments of a different nature that can be used for the same purpose. Such arguments can be collected in what Justice himself wrote.

In the preface to his treatise on moneys and exchanges Justice introduces himself mainly as a translator:

⁽²²⁾ 'a Well-wisher to Trade' is the pseudonym used by Justice in his treatise on coins and exchange, published in London in 1707. But the dedication of the book ('To Mr. Nicholas Tourton') is signed with the initials A.J..

'Mr. Nicholas Lincoln, a Merchant of this City, having brought from abroad, a Book of Monies and Exchanges, Printed in *Holland* ⁽²³⁾, in the *French* Language, which he thought might Merit an Impression in the *English*: I was apply'd to for Performing that Translation'.

Immediately after this he makes reference to the fact that his patron did not avoid effort and expenses 'in procuring to the Author several Rare and Useful Books in Foreign Languages'. This statement may lead us to thinking that Justice was a polyglot and among his abilities there was the one to read and understand Portuguese. But as one progresses in the reading of the preface one comes to different conclusions. Firstly, it is a plausible conclusion that French was the foreign language that he best mastered, if not the only one he knew. The passage just quoted and his statement that he had had 'residence in that Country' (i.e. France) ⁽²⁴⁾ legitimate such hypotheses.

My doubts about Justice's knowledge of the Portuguese language begin when he says on the same page:

'Next that comes an Account of the Exchanges of *Spain* and *Portugal*, which reaches to the end of Page 180, which I have taken from the *French* Author'.

It is obvious that this is not enough for me to demonstrate that Justice did not know Portuguese, as the emphasis of the passage seems to fall on the information about exchanges in Portugal and Spain, and what Justice studied/translated concerning this matter had been found in a book written in French. At least he admits that he was not very confident of his Dutch and high Dutch ⁽²⁵⁾.

I did not find any reference to Portuguese, a very unplausible circumstance if Justice could speak or simply knew it. On the contrary, everything we can find in the treatise relating to the Portuguese language seems to demonstrate that Justice ignored it completely. That is the case when he refers to Portuguese measures and weights.

In an appendix that Justice titled 'A General Discourse of Weights and Measures usual in all Considerable Towns of Trade', he includes a section called '*Of the Barros and Cavidos of Portugal*' ⁽²⁶⁾. The names given by Justice to the Portuguese measures are somewhat puzzling, although, with the help of the context and by comparison with foreign

⁽²³⁾ In Italics in the original.

⁽²⁴⁾ On the 3rd page of the preface.

⁽²⁵⁾ 'Next that you will find the two Articles of the Exchanges of *Germany*, and the Northern Countries, and some other Places; and those of the Low-Countries, which is likewise a Translation from the aforesaid *French* Author, except some sheets from the *Dutch* and *Htgh German* Tongues; Containing the Regulations for the Exchange of several Remarkable Towns and Cities in those Countries, performed by two other hands, better acquainted with those languages than I" (3rd page of the preface).

⁽²⁶⁾ The italics in all quotations from this book correspond to the original.

measures, it may be possible to conclude they are measures of length. Let us see what Justice wrote:

'The Barros and Cavidos of *Portugal* containing an inconsiderable matter less than $1 \frac{4}{10}$ Aunes of *Amsterdam*, to avoid Fractions, you may reckon, that 100 Aunes of *Amsterdam* make 61 Barros of *Lisbon*, and 100 Barros of *Lisbon* make 164 Aunes of *Amsterdam*. II. And 100 Cavidos of *Portugal* makes but very little less, than 100 Aunes of *Amsterdam*.

The Cavidos of the Isle of Fagal, and other Islands, called the Isles of *Flanders*, belonging to the King of *Portugal*, is equal to an Aune of *Amsterdam*; which I have verified by the account of Sale of a certain quantity of Goods, which being sent thither from *Amsterdam*, rendered there as many Cavidoes, as there was sent thither of Aunes' (pp. 27-8).

Neither the Portuguese nor the English dictionaries I consulted record 'barros' (as a measure of length) or 'cavidos /cavidoes', a circumstance that made me think that Justice gave written forms to the words he might have heard others (presumably French and English merchants) pronounce relating to Portuguese measures. What he very probably meant to write was *varas* and *côvados*, instead of the words he spelled wrongly. The reference to the 'aune' (which, according to the *Oxford Universal Dictionary*, was an ancient French unit of measurement used to measure cloth and corresponded to the English measure called 'ell' ⁽²⁷⁾) helps us to make a deduction exercise that takes us to what Justice meant to say. If one 'aune' corresponded to one 'ell', and this measure, in the Flemish commercial practice, was equivalent to 27 inches (i. e. 0.6858 metre), it becomes clear that when Justice wrote '100 Cavidos [...] makes very little less, than 100 Aunes of *Amsterdam*', he should have written *côvados* instead of *cavidos*. As a matter of fact 100 *côvados* represented 66 metres, and 100 Flemish 'aunes' were equivalent to 68.58 metres, i. e. the 'côvados' measured 'little less than' the 'aunes' of Amsterdam. If my reasoning is correct, this lack of orthographic accuracy would be more than enough to demonstrate that Justice was far from being an expert in the Portuguese language and that he could never attempt to write a grammar and a dictionary about it. But there is more evidence of his ignorance of the Portuguese language.

About measures for corn, Justice offers 'A Treatise of Round Measures for Grains, &c.', where he refers to Portugal again:

'Of Portugal

At *Lisbon* they reckon 4 Alguiers to the Fanegue, 15 Fanegues to the Muid and 4 Muids to the Last of *Amsterdam*' (p. 43).

⁽²⁷⁾ 'ell' = A measure of length varying in different countries. The English ell = 45in; the Scotch 37.2in; the Flemish = 27in.' (*Oxford Universal Dictionary*).

'ell [...] vara (antiga medida de comprimento)' (*Morals*: 253).

And further down:

'Of the Weights of Portugal, compared with those of Amsterdam.

The Arobe of Portugal consists of 32 Pound, which render between 28 and 29 Pound at Amsterdam. And 4 Arobes make the Quintal' (p. 73).

We find ourselves again in the situation of having to admit several hypotheses: a) Either the Portuguese weights and measures quoted were expressed in English by the forms used by Justice (e. g. 'Alguier', 'Fanegue', 'arobe'); or b) such forms had no official statute and what Justice wrote were mere adulterations of the Portuguese words he heard others pronounce. If hypothesis a) were true, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) at least would certainly record the words, as happens in relation to 'Muid' and 'Last'. As this is not the case of the three terms mentioned above (i.e. **alguier**, **fanegue**, **arobe**), hypothesis a) has very little consistency and should be dropped. Thus, the most plausible conclusion is that Justice did not know the correct Portuguese words, a surprising circumstance in the author of a dictionary which had been published a few years before and contained the names of the measures and weights in question written in their correct forms. A case in point is 'Arobe' (used instead of *arroba*), which appears in the Portuguese-English half of *A Compleat Account...* in the form 'arróba' (28).

On writing 'Alguiers', 'Fanegues' and 'Arobe', Justice certainly meant *alqueires*, *fanegas* and *arroba*, an interpretation that can be confirmed by the calculations I made based on the correspondences supplied by him. 'Muid', the English equivalence to *moio* and 'last' (an ancient dry measure without equivalence in Portugal (29)) are correctly spelt by Justice in his 'A Treatise of Round Measures for Grains, &c.'. Such oscillations between correct and incorrect forms could only be the product of somebody who was not sure in the use of the Portuguese language.

It would equally be very surprising if the author of *A Compleat Account...* revealed sheer ignorance concerning the Lusitanian reality. And such ignorance is easily detected in one of the passages quoted above, where Justice attributes the 'Isle of Fagal, and other Islands, called the Isles of Flanders', to the King of Portugal. He very probably meant the Azorean islands of Fayal and Flores. The orthographic deformation detectable in these two names reinforces our suspicion that what Justice did with weights and measures was another example of deformation of Portuguese words.

Many more examples could be added to the list of deviations taken from the section dedicated by Justice to tables of exchange where the

(28) It should be noted that the accent on the *o* is the means used by A.J. as an "Unerring Method of its [the Portuguese language] pronunciation" (on the title-page of the book, although referring to the grammar-book) and not graphic accentuation as such.

(29) One last corresponded to 80 bushels (cf. *New College Standard Dictionary*: 673) and represented about 2,819 litres.

names of Portuguese coins are subjected to considerably bad treatment: 'Croisado' (*crusado?*), 'Reas' (*reaes/reis/reys?*), 'Marvedis' (*maravedis*), 'Teston' (*tostão*), 'Patacoon' (*pataco*) etc., all words that do not integrate either part of *A Compleat Account*.... Neither does the OED register them, a proof that they were never used in standard English.

But there is something that puzzles me and can make me hesitate in considering that Justice was so ignorant of the Portuguese language that he could never feel like writing the dictionary and the grammar that motivated this paper. My confusion originated in the reading of another of his books: *A General Treatise of the Dominions and Laws of the Sea*.... There are some passages in Portuguese taken from Portuguese legislation that left me with the impression that Justice understood them quite correctly as he comments on them with great accuracy.

Conclusion

As the earliest Portuguese-English and English-Portuguese dictionary known, *A Compleat Account*... is a document of great importance for the history of English studies in Portugal. If we could learn something about its author, it would certainly be extremely interesting. But, as I have tried to stress, the discovery of the true identity behind A.J. has proved a very difficult enterprise.

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