

# Recent Acquisitions: a Rare Work by Jacobus Tevius

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The British Library has recently had the good fortune to buy a rare work by a major figure in Portuguese Renaissance Humanism. Its description is as follows:

Iacobi Tevii Lusitani. *Epodon siue Ia(m)bicorum carminum libri tres [...]*  
*Ad Sebastianum primum, inuictissimum Lusitanice Regem*  
(Lisbon: Francisco Correia, 1565)  
12°. [6], 171 [*sic for 160*], [2], 66 leaves.<sup>1</sup>  
British Library pressmark: RB.23.a.23815

The work is divided into three books:

1. Sententiarum vtilium quidem omnibus hominibus, sed regibus ac rerum moderatoribus præcipue, quibus addita est boni principis institutio.
2. Hymnorum ad Iesum Christum & ad diuos huiusce regni patronos pro Regis salute & rerum felicissimo statu.
3. De perfecto Episcopo & alia opuscula ad Henricum Serenissimum principem, cardinalemque illustrissimum regnique moderatorem sapientissimum.

The author, Diogo de Teive, wrote only under the Latin form of his name, Jacobus Tevius.<sup>2</sup> He was born in Braga between 1513 and 1515, and died between 1565 and 1579, probably in Lisbon. His career displays both the glory of Portuguese Humanism and its decline under the Inquisition. Like many a scholar of his generation, Tevius was a traveller, a situation aided by the international currency of Latin. From the age of twelve he studied at the Collège de Sainte-Barbe in Paris, under a Portuguese mentor, Diogo de Gouveia Senior. From 1532 to 1534 he taught at Salamanca. Finding the Spanish university town did not provide him with the peace and quiet necessary for study, he returned to France, studying law at Toulouse and teaching at Bordeaux, where he held a chair in Humanities. He also taught and studied Latin, Greek and law in Montaubon, Paris and Toulouse.

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<sup>1</sup> See Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (Lisbon, 1741-59), vol. i, p. 648; José dos Santos *et al.*, *Catálogo da ... livraria que pertenceu aos ... Condes de Azevedo e de Samodães* (Oporto, 1921-2), no. 3328; António Joaquim Anselmo, *Bibliografia das obras impressas em Portugal no século XVI* (Lisbon, 1926), no. 480; *Early Portuguese Books, 1489-1600, in the Library of His Majesty the King of Portugal [Manuel II]* (London, 1929-35), no. 327; Biblioteca Nacional, *Catálogo dos impressos de tipografia portuguesa do século XVI* (Lisbon, 1990), no. 878.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of his life and works in Diogo de Teive, *Tragédia do príncipe João*, ed. Nair de Nazaré Castro Soares (Coimbra, 1977), pp. 3-36. For a sketch of Neo-Latin culture in Portugal, see Jozef IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, 2nd edn (Leuven, 1990), vol. i, pp. 118-26.

His return to his native country was due to the initiative of King John III of Portugal (fig.1). John (reigned 1521–57) was a patron of learning to whom Erasmus dedicated his *Lucubrationes aliquot* (Basle, 1527).<sup>3</sup> His programme for enhancing his kingdom's academic



Fig. 1. King John III. Frey Bernardo de Brito, *Elogios dos reis de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1603), facing p. 84. 10631.c.4

<sup>3</sup> On John III and his cultural policy, see Joel Serrão (ed.), *Dicionário de história de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1963–71), vol. ii, p. 618; Artur Moreira de Sá, *De re erasmiana: aspectos do erasmismo na cultura portuguesa do século XVI* (Braga, 1977), pp. 139–217, prints and translates Erasmus's largely conventional dedicatory epistle.

status fell into two phases. First he encouraged his subjects to study abroad, endowing fifty scholarships in 1526 for Portuguese students to attend the Collège de Sainte-Barbe. In the second phase John imported foreign expertise, recruiting in 1547 a group of scholars from the Collège de Guyenne at Bordeaux to staff the newly founded Colégio das Artes at Coimbra.<sup>4</sup> Some of the foreign-trained scholars were returning Portuguese. At the College Tevius taught the second class in Latin and Greek and became Rector.

The openness of Portuguese culture to European influences is recognized in the cosmopolitan team led by Gouveia which King John brought over wholesale from Bordeaux, including the Portuguese Tevius, João da Costa and António Mendes and the Frenchmen Gruchius (Nicolas de Grouchy), Geruntreus (Guillaume Guérente) and Vinetus (Elie Vinet); to these were added the Scot Patrick Buchanan and Arnoldus Fabricius (the Frenchman Arnould Fabrice), neither of whom came from the school at Bordeaux. Probably the most distinguished was the Scotsman George Buchanan, 'by far the principal of the poets of our generation' 'poetarum nostri sæculi facile princeps', as Henri Estienne called him.<sup>5</sup> Gouveia first invited Buchanan to the chair of humanity in the Collège de Guyenne at Bordeaux where he counted the young Montaigne among his pupils. Tevius was also an associate of the poet António Ferreira, who addressed to him a Horatian 'Carta a Diogo Teive' in 1557 and incorporated him as the shepherd Tévio who arbitrates in a singing contest in the eclogue of the same name.<sup>6</sup>

Such cultural freedom was not to last. In 1548 Gouveia, master and protector of the Bordeaux group, died within a year of his appointment to Coimbra. While in 1547 a foreign education had been a strong point in one's curriculum vitæ, by 1550 being a foreigner or associating with foreigners was viewed with suspicion. Influenced by Erasmus (although they never corresponded) and in possession of a copy of Calvin's *Institution de la religion chrestienne*, Tevius was, like Buchanan and João da Costa, accused by the Inquisition in 1550 of Protestantism, was deprived of his post in favour of the Jesuits and imprisoned for two months in 1551. However, his reputation with the King stood him in good stead and Tevius returned to the chair of humanities at the Colégio das Artes for the academic year 1552-3 and was principal of the College from December 1554 to September 1555. He ended his days as the obscure prior of Santa Cruz da Braciosa, in the backwater of Miranda.<sup>7</sup>

His works include:<sup>8</sup>

*Commentarius de rebus in India apud Dium gestis anno salutis nostræ M.D.XLVI* (Coimbra: Joannes Barrerius and Joannes Alvarus, 1548).<sup>9</sup> Drawing on now lost vernacular reports, Tevius composed an elegant Ciceronian account of the second siege of Diu by the Portuguese. As an example of Renaissance networking (or mutual backscratching), the preliminary texts include laudatory epigrams by Buchanan and João da Costa.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Mário Brandão, *O Colégio das Artes* (Coimbra, 1933).

<sup>5</sup> On Buchanan in Portugal, see I. D. McFarlane, *Buchanan* (London, 1981), esp. pp. 122-58.

<sup>6</sup> See T. F. Earle, *The Muse Reborn: the Poetry of António Ferreira* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 77-80, 141.

<sup>7</sup> Mário Brandão, *O processo na Inquisição de Mestre Diogo de Teive* (Coimbra, 1943); *O processo na Inquisição de Mestre João da Costa* (Coimbra, 1944); *A Inquisição e os professores do Colégio das Artes* (Coimbra, 1948-69). Américo da Costa Ramalho, 'Sobre os últimos anos de Diogo de Teive', *Biblos*, lv (1979), 137-48.

<sup>8</sup> For a listing of Tevius's works and bibliographical references to them see *HISLAMP: Hispanorum index scriptorum Latinorum Medii Posteriorisque Aevi; autores latinos peninsulares da época dos Descobrimentos (1350-1560)*, ed. M. C. Díaz y Díaz et al. (Lisbon, 1993), pp. 63, 240-1, s.v. 'Didacus de Teive'.

<sup>9</sup> Luís de Sousa Rebelo, 'Diogo de Teive, historien humaniste', in *L'Humanisme portugais et l'Europe: actes du colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours, 3-13 juillet 1978* (Paris, 1984), pp. 465-86. English translation: Diogo de Teive, *Commentarius* [...], tr. R. O. W. Goertz (Lisbon, 1973).

<sup>10</sup> McFarlane, p. 152. After his return from Portugal Buchanan shot off a satirical epigram against the King: see Philip J. Ford, *George Buchanan, Prince of Poets* (Aberdeen, 1982), pp. 144-5, 186-7.



*Oratio in laudem nuptiarum Ioannis ac Ioannæ illustrissimorum principum rectoris conciliiq*ue* iussu Conimbricæ habita* (Coimbra: Joannes Barrerius and Joannes Alvarus, 1553), an oration, given at the invitation of the Rector and Council of the University, on 22 December 1552 on the marriage of Prince John, son of John III, to Joanna, daughter of the Emperor Charles V. Prince John died in a little over a year, and was commemorated by Tevius in his *Oratio in obitu principis Ioannis in templo Sanctæ Crucis habita*, delivered on 25 or 26 January 1554 and printed at Salamanca by J. Junta in 1558. He left his wife pregnant with his heir Sebastian.

*Ad Ioannem Alemcastrum serenissimum Auerii Ducem. Mortis meditatio in funus Theodosii Brigantiæ ducis* (Lisbon: Joannes Barrerius, 1563),<sup>11</sup> on the death of Teodósio I, fifth Duke of Braganza (d. 1563); addressed to João de Lencastre, first Duke of Aveiro (1501–71).

*Tumulus in mortem Michælis Menesiis, Marchionis Villæ Regalis* (Lisbon: J. Barrerius, 1564)

*Deploratio consolationi admista in mortem Ferdinandi Menesii archiepiscopi Ulissiponensis* (Lisbon: J. Barrerius, 1564)

*Opuscula aliquot in laudem Ioannis tertii Lusitaniæ regis et principis eius filii et fratris Ludovici atque item Sebastiani primi regis eiusdem nepotis* (Salamanca: J. Junta, 1558), orations and epistles, some of them reprints, in praise of John III (d. 1557), the Infante Dom Luís (d. 1555) and Prince Sebastian (b. 1554).<sup>12</sup> The *Opuscula* include *Ioannis Principis Tragedia*, on the death of Prince John (1554).<sup>13</sup> Like most Latin drama of the sixteenth century, the *Tragedia* was intended to be acted by the author's students.

The *Epodon libri* of 1565 are his last printed work. He is also credited with three lost works, *Compendium totius Romanæ Historiæ* and tragedies on the themes of David and Goliath and Judith. For John III he translated (presumably into Latin) the *Cyropedia* of Xenophon.<sup>14</sup>

As emerges from this listing, much of Tevius's work – and indeed much Neo-Latin literature in general – is occasional, marking marriages and deaths, and linked to the praise of prelates and his royal master John III.

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<sup>11</sup> José de Pina Martins, *Au Portugal dans le sillage d'Erasmus* (Paris, 1977), pp. 173–5

<sup>12</sup> Lorenzo Ruiz Fidalgo, *La imprenta en Salamanca, 1501-1600* (Madrid, 1994), no. 510.

<sup>13</sup> Edited by Nair de Nazaré Castro Soares as *Tragédia do príncipe João* (Coimbra, 1977).

<sup>14</sup> Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. i, p. 703, reports this as a translation into Portuguese, but given Tevius's profession as a Latinist it was more likely into Latin.

The work in hand brings together several pieces, some previously published, some not; all of them addressed to the court of John III and his descendants.

Book I consists of *sententiae* or maxims addressed to the young King Sebastian, grandson of John III. The ‘mirror of princes’ has its origins in antiquity, and from Xenophon’s *Cyropedia* to Tevius and beyond offers a consistent programme of advice.<sup>15</sup> A remarkable feature of the book is that a Portuguese translation is printed facing the Latin. Common as dual-language editions are in the twenty-first century, bilingual editions are comparatively rare in the early modern period.<sup>16</sup> Tevius’s work has a predecessor in Portugal:

*Primera parte de las sentencias que hasta nuestros dias, para edificacion de buenos costumbres estan por diversos autores escriptas... Conveniente licion, a toda suerte y estado de gentes* (Lisbon: Galhardo, 1554)<sup>17</sup>

Anonymous in the first edition, this work by André Rodrigues de Evora (alias Andreas Eborensis) is a gnomonology, that is, a collection of sayings of the ancients grouped by author. There is a Portuguese–Latin manuscript, and three Latin–Spanish editions, all of them anonymous. It is remarkable that Portuguese presses should have produced two gnomonic works in bilingual editions with eleven years between them.

In accordance with the mirror of princes tradition, Tevius’s advice addresses the Christian man in general and the prince in particular:

If you wish to live a blessed life, humbly pray to the one supreme God and ensure that you place him first in all things (f. 1v) (fig. 2)

Neither deceive another, nor allow yourself to be deceived by another: one thing belongs to a foolish mind, and another to an ignoble one (f. 3v)

Just as great familiarity destroys authority, so too does continuous severity (f. 7v)

The second work in Book I is also presented bilingually, this time with the Portuguese following the Latin. This is *Iacobi Tevii Lusitani Institutio Sebastiani primi felicissimi Lusitaniae Regis ad Franciscum de Sa virum clarissimum*. First published in the *Opuscula* of 1558, it was written in verse on the subject of the education of King Sebastian when the boy-king was

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<sup>15</sup> Davide Bigalli, *Immagini del principe: ricerche su politica e umanesimo nel Portogallo e nella Spagna del Cinquecento* (Milan, 1985), pp. 13–222. Tevius cites Xenophon as an educator of princes: see *Jacobi Tevii Bracarensis Opuscula* (Paris, 1762), p. xvi.

<sup>16</sup> Barry Taylor, ‘Iberian–Latin Bilingual Editions, 15th–18th Centuries’, *Latin & Vernacular in Renaissance Iberia, II, Translations and Adaptations* (Manchester, forthcoming).

<sup>17</sup> BL, 12304.c.23

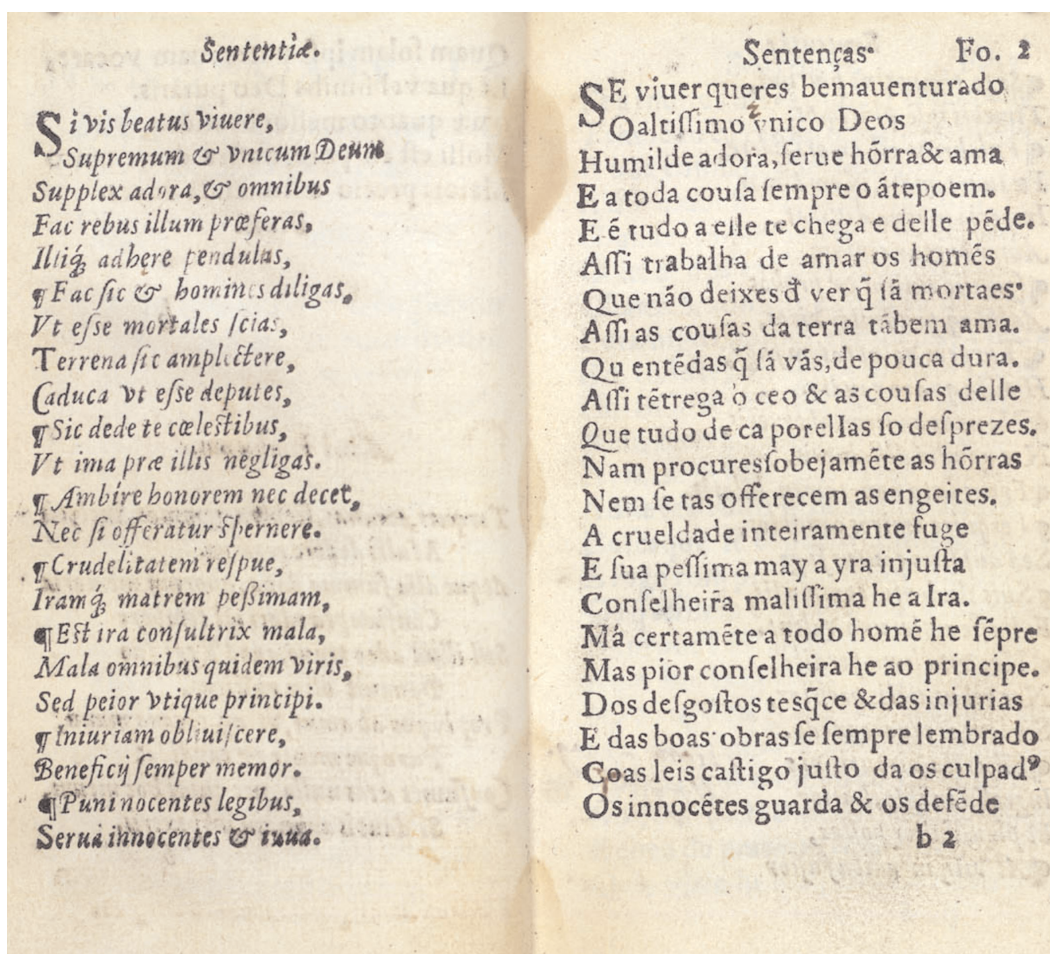


Fig. 2. Iacobi Tevii Lusitani. *Epodon siue Ia(m)bicorum carminum libri tres* [...] (Lisbon, 1565), ff. 1v-2r.  
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barely seven years old, but, says Tevius, is still relevant to him at his present age of ‘up to fourteen’ (f. 50v).<sup>18</sup> The translation was not present in the previous edition. The work is addressed not to Sebastian himself, but to his tutor Francisco de Sá, advising him how the boy should be educated:

May he not lack a good and sure guide who will show him the still uncertain path which diverts him from evil and teaches him good, who will give him precepts worthy of such a king, and who knows how to reprehend him without offence (ff. 53r Latin, 80rv Portuguese)

There follows *Iacobi Tevii Lusitani Liber secundus, De rebus diuinis. Ad Sebastianum Primum inuictissimum Lusitaniae Regem, Hymni Tredecim ad Iesum Christum pro salute Regis & felici regni statu*. These verse hymns are addressed to Jesus and the patron saints of Portugal. The political orientation of such piety is made clear when in the section dedicated to Jesus Tevius expresses his conviction that Sebastian will take Africa (f. 107r), and recounts feats of hunting performed by the prince at the age of eleven which guarantee his later military success (f. 108v).

Finally we have: *Iacobi Tevii Lusitani liber tertius de perfecto episcopo cui addita sunt & alia opuscula quæsequens pagella demonstrat. Ad Henricum Serenissimum Principem & Cardinalem illustrissimum regnique moderatorem sapientissimum*. Cardinal Infante Henry (1512–80) was the brother of John III. At the time Tevius published this work Dom Henrique was regent during his great-nephew Sebastian’s minority (1562–68); on Sebastian’s untimely death Henry assumed the throne for a year and a half. The genre of advice for the perfect bishop is modelled on that of the perfect prince: as we have seen, princely advice is often of a pious nature.

The ‘De perfecto episcopo’ is followed by miscellaneous shorter poems: a ‘Congratulatio’ to Fr. Luis de Granada, the eminent Spanish preacher who spent the latter part of his life in Portugal and is buried there (2nd foliation, ff. 36v–38r); an ode on the saying of Christ ‘Si vis potes me mundare’ taken from the writings of Prince Henry (‘Ex scriptis Serenissimi Principis Henrici sumpta’) (ff. 38v–40v); an Epithalamium on the marriage of Alessandro Duke of Parma and Piacenza and Princess Maria of Portugal on 11 November 1565, again dedicated to Prince Henry (41r–49r); an ode to the Duke of Aveiro on the country life ‘Ode ad illustrissimum Auerii Ducem ad aulicis tumultibus ad ruris tranquillitatem Senibus maxime esse secedendum’ (49–52r); another ode addressed ‘Ad Georgium Alemcastrum Marchionem Turrium nouarum, vt Sebastianum Regem in oculis gerat & quanta rerum felicitas eo regnante, & tali Duce exercitus Regis moderante exspectatur’ (59v–61r), calling on the Marquis of Torres Novas to watch over King Sebastian on the battlefield; an ode ‘Ad Petrum Dionisium Alemcastrum Secundum Ducis Auerii filium’ (61v–63v); and finally an ode ‘In exultationem victoriae Melitensis contra Turcos’ (63v–66r) on the victory of the Maltese over the Turks. Referring to events of September 1565, this and the ‘Epithalamium’ must have been published fresh from the poet’s pen.

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<sup>18</sup> ‘Auctor te admonitum vult, lector optime, hanc regiam institutionem anteactis temporibus ab eo scriptam fuisse; cum Rex noster felicissimus vix septimum aetatis suae annum attigisset. Et in hac secunda editione nil fere quicquam immutatum est, quod omnia prope modum quae hic scribuntur huic puerili aetati usque ad annum quatuordecimum convenire videantur, dum altera, Deo propicio, aetas advenerit, alia maiora ac liberiori stylo meditabitur.’ As Sebastian was born on 20 January 1554, the figures should be five and eleven: perhaps Tevius is rounding up the numbers to the traditional ages of *infantia* (birth to 7) and *pueritia* (eight to fourteen): see Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, Book xi, chap. ii.



The themes of Renaissance literature and of Neo-Latin literature in particular are to the fore here. The poems are personal (each has an expressed dedicatee) and the subjects are conventional, adhering closely to classical models, or occasional.



Fig. 3. King Sebastian of Portugal. Fray Bernardo de Brito, *Elogios dos reis de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1603), facing p. 90. BL 10631.c.4

At least as regards the section of advice to princes, Tevius's book was a failure. Sebastian (fig. 3) was pious and headstrong.<sup>19</sup> Nor did he heed Tevius's praise of prudence. Determined to continue the Christian reconquest of the south of the Iberian peninsula, he

<sup>19</sup> After his death the cult of 'Sebastianismo', comparable with the legends of Arthur and Drake's Drum in England, believed that the boy king would rise again to redeem his fatherland.



mounted an ill-prepared campaign to capture north Africa for the Faith, and died when his army sank into the sands at the battle of Alcacer Quebir in 1578 (fig. 4). Two years later Philip II of Spain annexed the kingdom of Portugal, which was not to regain its independence until 1640. Tevius had been following the party line when he wrongly prophesied: 'Africa will be won by King Sebastian, in accordance with the hopes and prayers of all' ('Africa a Sebastiano Rege superabitur vt omnium spes sunt & vota, quod a Deo precatur') (f. 107r).

Although as is to be expected the *Epodon ... libri tres* is found in a number of Portuguese libraries, the BL copy, unlike most others, is complete.

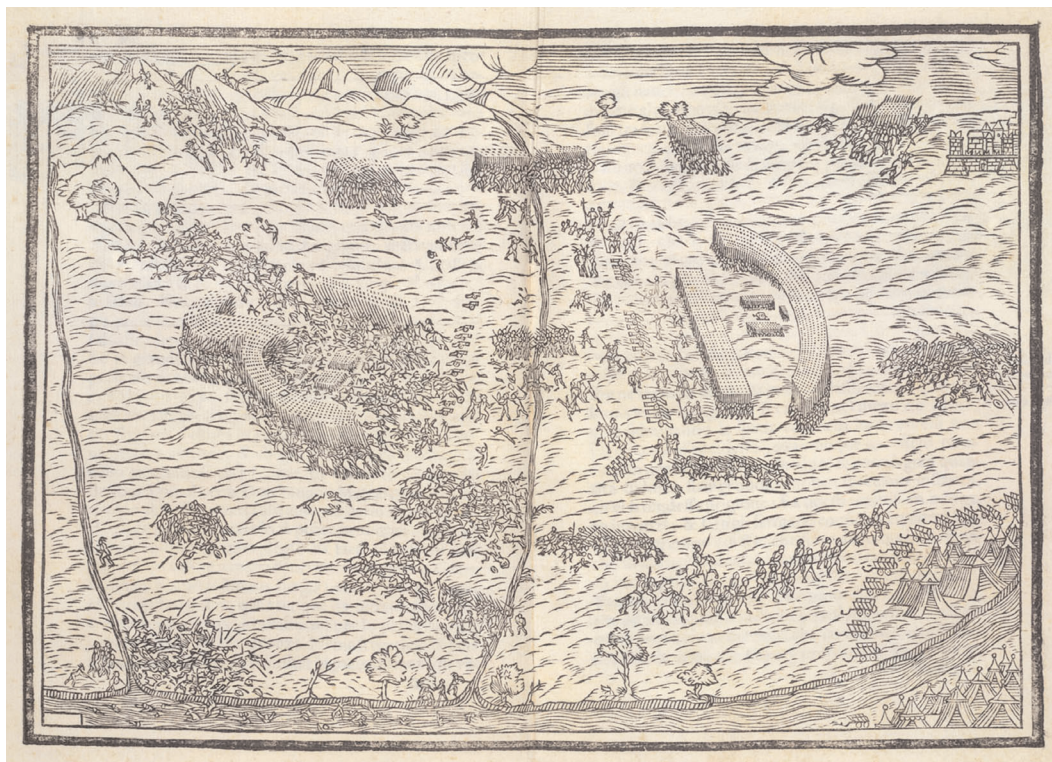


Fig. 4. The Battle of Alcacer Quebir. *Raguaglio fedele, et breve del Cavalier Ciro Spontone del fatto d'arme seguito nell'Africa tra D. Sebastiano Re di Portogallo et Mulei Auda Malucco...* (Bologna, 1601), between ff. 40 and 41. 1471.aaa.6