

I'm not robot!

Don William Cruickshank University College, Dublin Although a number of years have passed since Don Jaime Moll drew attention to the ten-year ban (1625-1634) on the printing of novels and plays in Castile, scholars have been slow to take note of what his discovery implies1. The first implication must be that any novels or plays produced with a Castilian imprint during these years should be regarded with suspicion. Into this category falls, for example, the Primera parte of Tirso de Molina's plays, apparently printed in 1627 by Francisco de Lyra of Sevilla for Manuel de Sandi, «mercader de libros»: Dr. Alan Paterson pointed out some of the suspicious circumstances of this book's production, although he has found evidence that it really was printed by Lyra in 16272. A second, related implication is that volumes of novels and plays ostensibly printed in the kingdom of Aragon during this period may not be what they seem: justifying the publication of his Dorotea (1632), Lope de Vega wrote that «también ha obligado a Lope dar a la luz pública esta fábula el ver la libertad con que los libreros de Sevilla, Cádiz y otros lugares del Andalucía, con la capa de que se imprimen en Zaragoza y Barcelona, y poniendo los nombres de aquellos impresores, sacan diversos tomos en el suyo, poniendo en ellos comedias de hombres ignorantes que él jamás vio ni imaginó»3. As I shall try to show, the curious remark that the booksellers «sacan diversos tomos en el suyo» may be prompted by certain books in particular: Tirso scholars have long been aware that there is something odd about Doze comedias nuevas de Lope de Vega Carpio, y otros autores, Segunda parte, Barcelona, Gerónimo Margarit, 1630 (see fig. 1, title-page). The Biblioteca Nacional copy (R-23136), which is apparently unique, has no continuous foliation; while the book is imperfect and in poor condition, it is obviously printed in a heterogeneous collection of type; and the signature-letters at the foot of the pages reinforce and even add to the confusion created by the uncertain foliation. El Burlador de Sevilla is the seventh play, but it is foliated from 61 to 82. It has been noticed that the eleventh play, Deste agua no beberé, is foliated from 41 to 60, and that the two therefore fit4; moreover, Deste agua is typographically very like El Burlador. The eighth play, Marina la porquera, foliated 1 to 20, also bears some typographical resemblance to El Burlador, though this is less striking. When we try to relate the signatures of these three plays to their folio numbers, we at once encounter a difficulty. El Burlador de Sevilla has three gatherings signed K, L, M; its collation is K-L8 M6, a quarto in eights. The signature alphabet has no J, but there are still nine letters before K, and nine times eight is seventy-two. How can the first leaf of signature K be numbered 61? The answer is not as elusive as might be thought, and is provided by a further examination of the plays' signatures. Deste agua no beberé (foliated), it may be remembered, 41-60) collates G-H8 I4. The first four leaves of gathering G are signed G, G2, G3, G4, and the others are unsigned: this was normal practice around 1630. Gathering H also has four signed and four unsigned leaves. Gathering I, which consists of only four leaves, has two signed and two unsigned. That is to say, gathering I never had eight leaves, otherwise all four of the «remaining» leaves would be signed; they would also be disjunct singletons, not (as they are) two conjugate pairs. To put it another way, the printer who set up Deste agua no beberé so designed it that it could with equal ease be bound in a volume, or by itself. This practice was so common in Spain, especially around 1630, that the language has a special word for it: desglósable «disboundable». El Burlador de Sevilla is also desglósable: that is, it was planned as a separate (or rather, separable) unit, and its third gathering had six leaves from the outset. Marina la porquera is somewhat different in that collation and foliation do not give it away immediately: it could be the first play of a collected volume, but it could also be a true suelta, designed to be sold on its own. It will suffice at this stage to accept that it could be a desglósable and that it is typographically linked to the other two. Fig. 1. Title-page, Doze comedias There are therefore indications that our three plays came from, or were designed for, a volume (or volumes) in which every play took up three letters of the signature alphabet, although the number of leaves might vary depending on the length of the play. (It may be noted a propos of this point that Marina actually ends on the foot of folio 19; nineteen, an odd number, would create that binder's plague, the disjunct leaf, so some verse and a large ornament were used to fill up 19v and folio 20.) The makeup of this conjectural volume would therefore have been as follows: 1 Marina la porquera: A-B8 C4, 20 leaves, foliated 1-20. 2 Unknown: D-E8 F4, 20 leaves, foliated 21-40 3 Deste agua no beberé: G-H8I4, 20 leaves, foliated 41-60. 4 El Burlador de Sevilla: K-L8 M6, 22 leaves, foliated 61-82. 5 Unknown: first gathering signed N, first folio 83 6-12 Unknown, although we know the signature letters of each play; but foliation can be estimated only approximately. The answer to one question-how can nine gatherings take up sixty leaves-has raised many more questions: if this conjectural volume really existed, was planned, who printed it, and when? If it was not Margarit, was he merely the person who assembled the volume we now have? Or (suspicion growing) did Margarit have anything at all to do with either volume? To answer these questions we must turn to type and ornaments and the style in which they are used. To emphasise the need for caution, it may be first pointed out that the woodblock on the title-page of Doze comedias was noted by Vindel in his book on Spanish printers' marks: he depicted it and attributed it to Gerónimo Margarit, Barcelona5. When we look more closely, we see that his authority for doing so is derived solely from the volume we are investigating. Evidence like this is worse than useless. The types used in El Burlador de Sevilla are as follows (see fig. 2): Page-head ornaments: an arabesque fleuron probably cut by Robert Granjon, first used about 15606. For ease of reference it may be called M1 (where M stands for «metal ornament»). Lines 1 and 2: the text romaine (anglicé, great primer roman) of Amstet Tavernier of Antwerp, first used in 15377. As it is the third roman in terms of size, it may be called R3. Note damaged O of BVKLADOR. Line 3: the gros canon (two-line double pica) of François Guyot of Antwerp, first used in 1546, here adulterated8. The A is foreign, and the C is certainly not that shown in specimens of this face; however, the C's heavy serifs are not out of keeping with some of the other letters, and it may be an authentic early design, as is the case with the M. All letters slightly damaged. R1. Line 4: the capitales sur deux lignes de cicéro (two-line pica capitals) of Robert Granjon, dating from 15499. Minor damage to F, first A, S, R2. Line 5: as lines 1 and 2; minor damage to a number of letters. Line 6: the texte italique (great primer italic) of François Guyot, first used in 154710. IT1. Line 7: as lines 1, 2, and 5. Damage to cross-bar of H, bowl of p. Dramatis personae: the médiane italique grasse (pica italic) of Pierre Haultin of La Rochelle, first used about 155011. Some of the capitals, e. g., m and R, are cast too upright; this fault will be true of any type cast from the same badly justified matrices. Adulterated with some foreign type, of which only the v can be identified positively as being from Guyot's médiane italique (Kiv, col. 1, line 15, v of vela).12 IT2. Act-heading (IORNADA PRIMERA): as lines 1, 2, 5, and 7. Note damaged O. Text italic: as dramatis personae. Text roman: the gros cicéro roman (pica roman) of Robert Granjon, first used about 156813. Used here on a body of 84 mm/20 lines. The original queries are adulterated with large italic ones; N, R and S are badly cast and tilting; accents predominate although there are many examples of à and ô; é is very scarce (e. g., Lóv, col. 2, line 7). R4. Running headlines: as line 6. When we turn to Deste agua no beberé we find the same types used for exactly the same purposes. Even more significantly, the damaged O of BVKLADOR reappears as the O of NO, the words COMEDIA FAMOSA are printed from the same slightly damaged types, and the same damaged O is used in IORNADA. There can be no doubt that the two plays were produced by the same printer, and that they were sufficiently contemporaneous for it to be worth the printer's while to leave recurring headings (COMEDIA FAMOSA, Hablan en ella las personas siguientes, IORNADA PRIMERA) in standing type. Finally, the use of the same design of type for the same purpose in every case is very strong evidence that the two items were planned as part of one book. The case of Marina la porquera is again less clear-cut. There are no ornaments at the top of the page. The play's title is printed in Tavernier's text romaine (R3), as in the other plays, although no single identifiable types are present. The words COMEDIA FAMOSA are also set in the same design of type as in the other two plays, but again the identifiable damaged sorts are absent. The Guyot gros canon (R1) is adulterated in the same way, however. The name of the author is set in the capitals of R4, not in R3 as in the others; yet if we pause to think, we can see that the words DEL BACHILLER ANDRÉS MARTIN CARMONA could not possibly fit into the page if they were set in R3; they take up the entire width of the measure as it is. There is no reference to who performed the play («Representa...»). This is less surprising if we remember that Carmona is known to literary history only for this play, and that the play is known only in this edition. Roque de Figueroa (who performed El Burlador de Sevilla) and Antonio de Prádo (Deste agua no beberé) were among the leading actors of their day. It does not seem likely that anyone so famous performed Marina la porquera. The rest of the play is set in the same designs of type as are the other two, except that the act-headings of the second and third acts are R4, not R3. I have not found any recognisable types, but the body of the type is the same, and the same miscast and foreign sorts are present. Fig. 2. First page, El Burlador de Sevilla Summarising the evidence, we can say that the six typesets used to print El Burlador de Sevilla and Deste agua no beberé are also used in Marina. With minor exceptions, they are used for the same purposes. Where the body-size of the type can be measured, it is the same. Where adulteration is present, it is also the same. Only the row of ornaments (M1) is absent, and the large woodblock which is absent at the end of Marina la porquera (fig. 3), we can call it W1). To be as brief as possible, I can say that I have found these in the work of Manuel de Sande. This is the same person as the Manuel de Sandi who «published» the Primera parte of Tirso; his name also appears as Manuel Sande. Although he seems to have acted as a printer only from about 1627-1632 and to have produced comparatively little under his own name, he did produce enough for the evidence to be reliable. The most useful work is Martin de Roa's Ecija sus santos su anteguedad eclesiastica i seglar (sic, no punctuation) of 1629 (British Library, 486.g.2[4]). This is useful mainly because it is one of Roa's more obscure works, not worth pirating. It contains the following: R1: examples of the distinctive E and M and of the «foreign» C (e. g., Oo4v). R2 R3 R4: 84 mm/20 lines, with miscasting and adulteration as noted above. IT1 IT2: with miscasting as noted above. W1: used on P4v, Vu2v. The presence of two other designs may be noted for future reference: Guyot's médiane italique (IT3); this probably accounts for the Guyot v in IT2. Guyot's ascendonica roman (double pica roman), R5.17 The Compendio lo que era escrivien los religiosos de la compañía en cartas de 1627 de lo que passa en... Iapon (B. L., 593.h.17[95]), a newsletter printed by Sande in 1627, confirms his ownership of the Granjon gros cicéro (R4) and of the Granjon capitales sur deux lignes de cicéro (R2). The body-size of the gros cicéro is ca. 85 mm/20 lines, but this can be explained by the lesser shrinkage of the coarser paper used for the newsletter18. More important, there are examples of the Granjon ornaments (M1). Sande describes himself as an «Impressor, y Mercader de Libros» (i. e., both printer and bookseller) and gives his address as «Calde-genovaa», the Calle de Génova, a street associated with the book trade since the late fifteenth century. A second newsletter, Gerónimo Pancorvo's Relación escrita al doctor Ioan Santoyo (B. L., 593.h.17[85]), dating from 1629, contains examples of R1, R2, R3, R4, IT1, IT2, M1, and also of R5. The body-size of R4 is again ca. 85 mm/20 lines. It may be noted, for future reference, that R2 is in relatively good condition in all these items, as it is in El Burlador de Sevilla. There is not much doubt that Simón Faxardo was the printer of the preliminary leaf of Doze comedias. Such evidence as is available from worn and adulterated type suggests that the date 1630 is about right. As for the individual plays, we have seen evidence from ornaments that he also printed some of them. Los Medicis de Florencia is the most interesting of these: not only does it have the cherub woodblock as a tailpiece, but the same damaged R7 D is used in COMEDIA as has been noted on the title-page of Doze comedias. The text of the play is printed in an adulterated version of the cicéro roman (pica roman) of Haultin23. The most significant feature of the adulteration is the use of three queries: the correct roman one, a small italic one, and an ancient gothic design. The text italic is Guyot médiane italique (IT3); its shortage of capitals has been made good by the addition of roman sorts, some of them Haultin's. It may be added that both these text-types are the same as in Arellano's Anteguedades de 1628. There is no space here for the provision of detailed evidence concerning these plays which have no direct connection with El Burlador; however, on the basis of the adulterated text-types I have mentioned and of additional evidence which I have not, I attribute the following printings to Faxardo: 1 Más merece quien más ama, [A]-B8 C6, foliated [I]-22 (acks first leaf). 2 Las dos vandoleras, A-C8, foliated 1-24. 5 La locura cuerda, A-B8 C4, foliated 1-20. 6 Los Medicis de Florencia, A-C8 D4, foliated 1-28. 9 La desdichada Estefanía, A-B8 C, foliated 1-20. 10 El pleito por la honra, A-B8 C4, foliated 1-20. All the evidence points to the fact that these are true sueltas, printed to be sold singly, probably in the period 1625-1630, and bound together by Faxardo into Doze comedias in 1630. The last two make use of R2 with the foreign lower case R10, as on the verso of the Doze comedias title-page, R2 (in a suitably worn state), as well as R3 and IT1. A later work, Pedro Ortiz's Noviciado, doctrina y enseñanza de la santa provincia de los angeles de 1633 (Trinity College, Dublin, BB.o.23), shows that by then the battered R2 had been replaced. Other designs can be recognised, and the decorative initial P used in El pleito por la honra, the tenth play in Doze comedias, is used on E3r and P1v. This P is probably metal, not wood, and so not unique, but it seems to be the same piece of type. Fig. 3. Tail-piece, Marina la porquera There is not much doubt that Simón Faxardo was the printer of the preliminary leaf of Doze comedias. 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