

CHAPTER I

History of the Volume

THE two works now reproduced constitute a slender volume bound in brown morocco by Koehler and bearing a leather label inscribed 'Ex Musæo Caroli Nodier'. The titles of the two pieces are, in fact, transcribed at no. 690 of Nodier's catalogue, compiled for his own purposes but only printed in time to serve as the catalogue of the sale of his books after his death in January 1844.¹ Nodier's description does not attempt to date the two works or to identify their places of printing, but ends with a note which shows that they were acquired at a Thorpe sale from among a greater number appearing to derive from a collective volume which had been broken up.² A marked copy of the catalogue shows that no. 690 was sold for 81 francs. From that time Nodier's volume seems to have remained in private hands, unnoticed except for a brief extract from his catalogue relating to the *Romançe de Amadis* in Palau's *Manual*, until a few years ago when it was acquired by M. Georges Heilbrun, of Paris, from whose catalogue it was purchased for the Cambridge University Library in the spring of 1964.³

No other copies of these two chap-books have been traced.

¹ *Description raisonnée d'une jolie collection de livres (nouveaux mélanges tirés d'une petite bibliothèque)*, par Charles Nodier, Paris, 1844.

² 'Il y a peu de livrets plus rares que ces vieilles pièces de poésie espagnole en éditions originales. Une vente de Thorp en offrit certains nombres qui paroissent avoir été détachées d'un recueil peut-être unique. Obligé de me borner, je m'arrêtai à celles-ci, les mieux conservées de toutes, et parmi lesquelles se trouve la fameuse romance de Gayferos, à jamais célèbre par un des chapitres les plus piquants de *Don Quichotte*. Une collection complète et princeps de ces chants du *Romancero* vaudroit la rançon d'un roi, et

je connois un homme qui ne l'échangeroit pas contre la grandesse.' The following entry may be relevant: 'ROMANCES, a curious collection of Single Romances in the Spanish language, woodcuts' at no. 75 on p. 4 of *Catalogue of splendid, curious, and valuable books, selected from the stock of Mr. Thorpe... which... will be sold by auction, by Mr. Evans, at his house, No. 93, Pall Mall, on Wednesday, April 5, and three following days. 1826.*

³ *Éditions originales du XV^e au XX^e siècle provenant en partie des bibliothèques de deux amateurs*. Georges Heilbrun, Paris (1964), no. 310.

CHAPTER II

The Printers(i) *Romançe de Amadis*

THE material, both types and woodcut, may be identified with certainty as belonging to the press founded at Burgos before March 1485 by Fadrique de Basilea, that is Friedrich of Basel, who, though he is not known to have used his surname in Spain, was in all probability the Friedrich Biel who was printing in association with Michael Wenssler at Basel, c. 1472. Fadrique's latest surviving dated work is the *Flor de virtudes* of 22 August 1517. By 1518 his press had passed to Alonso de Melgar, whose earliest signed work is of 28 August 1518, although unsigned works with the Burgos imprint of 14 April and 16 August 1518 may also be fairly attributed to him. Melgar is known to have been married to Fadrique's daughter Isabel. His tenure of the press was brief. He was still printing in September 1525, but a book of the following January was issued in the name of his widow; from 1527 the signed production of the press bore the name of Juan de Junta, who is known from documentary evidence to have married Melgar's widow.¹

Three gothic founts are used in the book. The large heading-type of the first line of the title is first found in use by Fadrique in his *Manuale Burgense* of 1508. It was employed regularly by Melgar but found little favour with Junta who at once replaced it with a fount which had made its appearance in Seville many years earlier, though he was later to make occasional use of the rejected material. The smaller heading-type, used only on the verso of leaf 4, had been introduced by Fadrique in 1498 and continued to be used by his successors. The text-type, measuring 97 mm. for 20 lines, is first found in use by Fadrique in 1490; in the summer of 1515 it appears to have been recast, a permanent change² being made in the form of the

¹ For the marriages of Isabel de Basilea see Luisa Cuesta Gutiérrez, *La imprenta en Salamanca* (Salamanca, 1960), pp. 27 and 58.

² This change was first noted by Sir Henry Thomas (introduction to Thomas, *Thirteen*). The time of the

change, given as between April 1515 and February 1516, may now be more closely defined; the modified d is already found in the *Intonaciones* of Gonzalo Martínez de Biscargui, of 15 September 1515 (copy in Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon).

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lower-case d, whose top, previously inclined, was henceforth almost horizontal. The modified type remained in use by Melgar, but perhaps for no more than the first year of his activity, its last fully dated occurrence being in the *Flosculus sacramentorum* of Pedro Fernández de Villegas, of 30 September 1518. His next dated work, the *Remedio de jugadores* of Pedro de Covarrubias, of 24 November 1519, shows an entirely different gothic text-type, one which had been introduced at Logroño in 1517 by Arnao Guillén de Brocar, a printer with whom both Fadrique and Melgar had close relations, for they printed a number of books on his behalf. By 1524 (in the *Farsa del mundo* of López de Yanguas, for example) Melgar was adulterating his new type with a considerable admixture of capitals from its predecessor; this impure form was continued by Juan de Junta, and is found in various chap-books printed by him. Eventually Junta was to make some use of a purer form of Fadrique's fount, differing only in its retention of the semi-circular paragraph-mark from Melgar's fount of 1519 in the place of Fadrique's characteristic tailed form. The latter was virtually abandoned after 1518; I have noticed but two isolated later appearances in a considerable number of relevant chap-books examined, and the fact that the remaining paragraph-marks (40 in one case, 37 in the other) in the tracts concerned are of the later form shows that its use was inadvertent.¹

The *Romançe de Amadís* shows the modified d in its text-type and consistently uses Fadrique's tailed paragraph-mark. It must therefore have been printed after April 1515 and before November 1519, either by Fadrique de Basilea or by Alonso de Melgar.² It is by no means impossible that the printing of the group of nine chap-books to which it belongs was begun by Fadrique and continued by Melgar.

The woodcut beneath the title was printed from a block cut to illustrate Act XII of the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*, the earliest surviving edition of the *Celestina*, printed by Fadrique de Basilea c. 1499. This block was still in use, though by now sadly deteriorated, in several chap-books printed at Burgos in the middle of the century or later.

¹ The chap-books concerned are reproduced in *Pliegos*, Praga, II, lxxv, and *Pliegos*, Madrid, II, lxi, respectively. Both may be later works by Melgar rather than by Junta.

² The same dating and attribution must apply to the two ballad-books in the British Museum reprinted in Thomas, *Thirteen*.

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(ii) *Juyzio hallado y trobado*

A detailed examination of its types reveals that the *Juyzio* was printed at Salamanca by Juan de Porras. The heading-type (153 mm.) was introduced, in an earlier state, in 1496 by the anonymous Salamanca press which passed into his hands at a date as yet unknown. His first signed colophon is of 1502, but since he put his name to his numerous subsequent works only sparingly—his next signature is of 1506—it is likely enough that he came into possession of the anonymous press at an earlier, perhaps a much earlier, date. It is known that he was established in the city as a bookseller in 1491. From 1502 the heading-type here used is found only in books printed by Porras. The text-type (92 mm.) is one of those most widely used in Spain in the early sixteenth century. It is of Parisian design and was introduced at Pamplona in 1499 by Arnao Guillén de Brocar. With only the slightest modifications it was adopted in the next few years by several other printers, including Hagembach's anonymous successor at Toledo, Juan Varela, Jacobo Cromberger and Porras. As here used the type conforms in all its details to that owned by Porras. It is first found in the original edition of the *Leyes de Toro* printed by him anonymously—or strictly speaking in the name of one Pedro de Pascua, presumably a bookseller or merchant—probably in 1505. He subsequently made but little use of it and, in its pure state, appears to have abandoned it altogether after he had printed, again anonymously, Juan Remón de Trasmiera's *Triumpho Raymundino* at a date which was probably very close to 1512. Thereafter he preferred to use a very different fount of the same size which had been introduced by the anonymous press as early as 1492, though he occasionally employed a typographical hybrid compounded of elements from both founts as well as from a third which is not to be found isolated. The line 'que enel quinientos y dos' (folio 3 verso, col. 2) suggests that the date of composition may have been 1501; the types show that printing took place in the period 1505–12, and c. 1510 may be advanced as a round date. No other chap-book printed by Porras is known.

A copy of this work, probably though not demonstrably of this edition, was in the possession of Fernando Colón, whose manuscript *Abecedarium* records both its title and the first line of its text (no. 15162).

CHAPTER III

The Poetical Chap-book in Spain up to 1520

THE *Romance de Amadis* is a typical example of the Spanish sixteenth-century poetical chap-book, both in its literary content, which is a miscellany of poems, in this instance *romances*, and in its physical aspects—its quarto format, the restriction of its text to a single folded sheet, its title embellished by an irrelevant reused woodcut with the text beginning immediately below in two columns, its gothic types, and its lack of any indication of place, printer or date.

The poetical chap-book was not a set form to which the early printers deliberately conformed, and many examples are to be found which are far from possessing all the above characteristics. The text may be partly in prose as in *Cartas y coplas para requerir nuevos amores*, of which the earliest editions known were printed anonymously at Toledo by Juan de Villaquirán (c. 1515?), and at Seville by Jacobo Cromberger (c. 1516–20); there are marginal cases in which verse is merely used to fill out space left over at the end of a prose chap-book, as in a *Pronostico* by Fray Diego de Torres for the years 1520–5, printed in the types of Jorge Costilla of Valencia, whose last page is occupied by a *Romance del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, the unacknowledged work of Torres Naharro.¹ Some texts are versified accounts of current events and other matters of public interest; many of these are known only from the manuscript catalogues of Fernando Colón: the survivors include *Coplas hechas sobre un caso acontecido en Xerez de la frontera de un hombre que mato veynte y dos personas a traycion* (Cromberger, c. 1515?), and *Elegia: fecha ala muerte del catholico rey don Fernando de gloriosa memoria. En la qual se haze mencion delo mas substancial de su testamento* (Seville, Juan Varela, 1516?). There is a long series of chap-books containing devotional poetry, much of it by named or known authors; perhaps the earliest is *Coplas hechas por fray ambrosio montesino dela coluna del señor* (c. 1510?), a reprint from the author's *Cancionero de diuersas obras* (Toledo, 1508), and the work of the same anonymous

¹ For fuller details of the chap-books mentioned in this section see the *List of poetical chap-books up to 1520* (referred to as *List*).

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press. The text of the secular chap-books may be restricted to a single work—an eclogue, a long *romance* such as *Don Gayferos*, or a long poem by such a popular author as Rodrigo de Reynosa—but is more usually a miscellany like the *Romançe de Amadis*. Its matter may derive from printed sources or, as far as can be ascertained, make its first appearance in chap-book form. Perhaps the only factor common to all these works is that they were cheap editions intended for the man in the street but, even so, while some could suitably be read or sung to the illiterate, others, such as the poems of Garcisánchez de Badajoz, demanded a certain sophistication in their audience.¹ The language of this material is invariably Castilian and it is regrettable that very little can be said of its counterparts in Catalan. Except for three or four devotional pieces printed in Valencia and Barcelona which approximate to the type none has survived, but that they once existed is demonstrated by the catalogues of Fernando Colón. Among others he possessed a copy of the *Cobles de les tres naus de conserva*, bought by him in Tarragona in 1513 for one *diner* (*Regestrum* 3970); it was doubtless printed in Barcelona, where it was reprinted as a quarto of two leaves in 1596.

The physical aspects of the poetical chap-books are equally variable. At Seville the folio form was used, perhaps experimentally, by Jacobo Cromberger for a *Romançe nueuamente hecho de Calisto y Melibea*, whose printing and ornamental material can be assigned to c. 1513, and for a *Romançe de don gayferos*, doubtless of the same time; these folio pieces are also exceptional in being printed in four and three columns respectively. While a single gathering is universal in the early period its extent may vary considerably; four leaves is normal, but two not infrequent, and gatherings of six or twelve leaves are not exceptional. Unillustrated chap-books are quite common; in the period 1511–15 Cromberger printed both an illustrated and an unillustrated quarto edition of the *Romançe de don gayferos*. Some chap-books from Seville and Toledo have full title-pages with woodcut borders. The one strictly constant feature of the lay-out is the complete absence of any printer's colophon.

¹ The *Regestrum* of Fernando Colón usually records the price he paid for each item. A selection of his entries for Spanish verse chap-books may be conveniently consulted in Don Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino's *Doscientos pliegos poéticos desconocidos, anteriores a 1540; noticias bibliográficas*, México, 1961 (reprinted from *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, xv (1961), 81–106); this also includes transcripts from Colón's *Abecedarium*, which gives no prices.

For a copy of *Dos romances del marques de Mantua* (*Regestrum* 4043) Colón paid four maravedís at Medina del Campo in 1524. This was either the quarto of twelve leaves printed in the types of Arnao Guillén de Brocar, very likely at his Valladolid press, c. 1515–19, or an edition corresponding very closely to it. Brocar's edition is the one known poetical chap-book printed by him.

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Since it is reasonably certain that more of these early editions have perished without trace than have survived, or even been recorded, it is not possible to trace the earliest stages of their development with any confidence. It may be said however that the oldest known examples fall into the category of the versified narration of contemporary events, and it is at least conceivable that it was their commercial success that turned the attention of the printers and booksellers to the fuller possibilities of the popular market. The works concerned are the *Coplas fechas a los altos estados de los reyes nuestros señores*, referring to a Valladolid ceremony of the early summer of 1496 in connection with the impending marriage of the Infanta Juana, and the *Coplas fechas sobre el casamiento de la hija del Rey de España con el hijo del emperador*, a narration of the departure of the Infanta in August 1496 for her marriage to the Archduke Philip and of her arrival in Flanders. Neither work has a colophon, but the first is in the types of the Burgos printer Juan de Burgos and the second in those of Fadrique de Basilea. The printing doubtless followed close upon the events described. Both tracts are quartos of four leaves printed in two columns, the first with an illustrated title-page, the second with the text following a title of page width and concluding with two woodcuts. In the Escorial Library there is another anonymous poetical pamphlet in Fadrique's types and probably of the closing years of the same decade. Although it does not lack popular characteristics, its intention, conceivably instructional, is not clear, and its lay-out does not suggest that it forms a true link in our chain. It is a quarto of eight leaves beginning with a poem whose title, at the head of the first column, is *Siguen se unas Coplas muy devotas fechas a reuerencia del nacimiento de nuestro señor jesu cristo*. Its second poem, printed in long lines, is headed by a detailed note of its metre and is followed by an enigmatic final note, 'Comparacion de nombre. Guis sin par, es el vuestro nombre, añadiendo el tercero hombre'.¹

The next surviving book, *Coplas fechas por mandado de un señor el qual tenia un moço adeuino*, is the first to conform closely to the strict pattern of the poetical chap-book as exemplified by the *Romançe de Amadís*. It is yet another anonymous production of Fadrique's press. Unfortunately it is not possible to date it closely on typographical grounds since its types were in use unchanged for some years before and after 1500, but its rather more fully developed lay-out suggests that it should be placed somewhat later than Fadrique's *Coplas sobre el casamiento* and possibly c. 1500–5. In addition to

¹ This description is based on the reproductions in F. Vindel's *El arte tipográfico en España durante el siglo XV*.

Burgos y Guadalajara (Madrid, 1951), pp. 271–3. The *Gesamtkatalog's* description (no. 7466) is incomplete.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-13494-1 - Two Spanish Verse Chap-Books: A Facsimile Edition with Bibliographical and Textual Studies

F. J. Norton and Edward M. Wilson

Excerpt

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the jocose title-poem it contains two equally anonymous poems of an amatory character. Except that it has no woodcut its physical characteristics are those of the *Romance de Amadís*.

An *Egloga interlocutoria: graciosa y por gentil estilo nueuamente trobada por diego de auila* can hardly be described as a chap-book since it has the collation a⁸b⁸c²; moreover it has a colophon—‘Emprimiose en alcalá de henares’.¹ On the other hand its closing pages are occupied in true chap-book fashion by an unrelated work, *Vnas coplas pastoriles para cantar*, by Rodrigo de Reynosa. The book is in the characteristic types of Stanislao Polono, whose activity at Alcalá was limited to the years 1502–4. With the exception of a prose *Carta dela gran victoria y presa de Oran*, a tract of two leaves partly occupied by indifferent verses on the same subject and printed in the types of Carles Amoros of Barcelona, doubtless in 1509, the remaining manifestations of verse chap-book printing attributable to the first decade of the century are confined to the presses of the anonymous successor to Pedro Hagembach at Toledo and of Jorge Coci at Saragossa. A devotional poem of c. 1510 by Ambrosio Montesino from the Toledo press has already been mentioned. The *Razonamiento por coplas en que se contrahaze la jermania y fieros de los rufianes y las mugeres del partido . . . Fechas por rodrigo de reynosa* may well be a little earlier (c. 1505–10) in view of the character of its bordered title-page, which is typical of Toledo work of the decade. The *Romance del conde Dirlos* in the types of Jorge Coci was well dated by Sir Henry Thomas at c. 1510; it reuses woodcut material made for a book of April 1509.² Space on its twelfth and last leaf is utilized for the inclusion of a short devotional poem by Diego de Pegera. The title notes that this edition adds certain things not hitherto included, a clear reference to the existence of at least one earlier edition, now unknown.³ The added matter was perhaps merely Pegera’s piece. The only other works of this class from the earlier years of Coci’s press are a *Romance del conde Alarcos* and a *Reprehension de vicios y estados en general conpuesto por vn religioso de obseruancia*, both of c. 1520; the *Reprehension* includes other poems of a more secular character.

The number of surviving editions suggests that the poetical chap-book only came into its own in the second decade of the century and from about 1513. This increased

¹ Gallardo *4540; the copy there described has been lost to sight, but fortunately the first page was reproduced in Pedro Vindel’s *Catálogo de una colección de cien obras raras procedentes de la Biblioteca del Excmo Marqués de Laurencin* (Madrid, 1927), no. 8, and

repeated in Francisco Vindel’s *Manual gráfico-descriptivo* (no. 210).

² See Thomas, *Early*, vol. 1, p. 9.

³ For the full title see *List*, 23.

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activity appears to have been centred in Seville on the presses of Jacobo Cromberger, who had already printed popular works in prose. His earliest known work in strictly chap-book form is a prose *Iuyzio fecho por francisco diodato astrologo famoso dela cibdad de luca del año de .m.d.xj. y del año de .m.d.xij.*, a quarto of four leaves, the last of which is occupied by a *Iuyzio nueuamente hecho por Pedro de frias hermitaño en roma*, in verse and in double column. The prose prognostication is a translation of a work doubtless published in Italy late in 1510, and presumably appeared in Seville early in 1511. A versified *Testamento dela reyna doña ysabel nueuamente trobado por Ieronimo del enzina*, a quarto of two leaves in Cromberger's types, ends with the same verses by Pedro de Frias and may well have been printed later in the same year. Perhaps the earliest true poetical chap-book from Cromberger's presses is the *Coplas del conde de parades* [*sic*, for *paredes*]. . . *Y otras coplas de Montoro*, which was possibly printed as early as 1512. The great significance of this little miscellany is that all its texts had appeared in the first edition of the *Cancionero general*, printed in Valencia in 1511. The popularity of this extensive compilation—it reached its fourth edition in 1520—and the opportunity of drawing upon its treasures may well have been the principal stimulus for the sudden blossoming of the poetical chap-book. Although it was protected by royal privilege Cromberger was to make considerable further use of this source, and his example was followed by other printers. The one other collection which was extensively pillaged by the chap-books was the *Cancionero de todas las obras de Juan del Enzina*. It must be emphasized, however, that for much of the poetical material contained in the chap-books, for example a number of the traditional ballad texts and above all the poems of Rodrigo de Reynosa, who is not represented in the *Cancionero general*, no printed source is known. It is even conceivable that some poems from chap-books were in their turn received into the considerably changed second edition of the *Cancionero general* (Valencia, 1514).¹

Altogether, twenty-five poetical chap-books have been traced which were printed

¹ *Las maldiciones dichas clara oscura del mismo garcisanchez de badajoz* (List, 34) contains three poems by Garcisánchez, two of them included in the 1511 *Cancionero general*, the third added in 1514. It is printed in Cromberger's types, which show characteristics obtaining only from 1510 to the early months of 1516, and there is no typographical reason why it should not have preceded the 1514 *Cancionero*. The peculiarly worded title is perhaps a careless adjustment of the heading 'Otra obra suya' of the 1511 *Cancionero*;

that the chap-book is complete is shown by another printing (c. 1515) made at Toledo by Villaquirán, which has exactly the same title. The task of collating chap-book texts with the *Cancionero general* (and with one another) has yet to be accomplished; a solid basis for it is provided by the detailed indexes in Don Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino's admirable *Noticias bibliográficas* prefixed to the Spanish Academy's facsimile (1958) of the 1511 *Cancionero general*.

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by Cromberger not later than early 1516, six more lack the tell-tale typographical peculiarities which enable such a dating to be made but probably belong to the same period, and another nine were printed after this typographical date-line but probably before the end of 1520. These forty books of Cromberger's form by far the largest contribution from any Spanish press of the period, but it should be borne in mind that their survival can only be regarded as accidental. With five exceptions Cromberger's editions are to be found only in the national libraries of London, Paris and Vienna. The British Museum's copies were acquired for Grenville by a friend in Spain and perhaps, together with his Burgos chap-books, had formed part of a single collection. The Paris chap-books are all contained in two volumes, apparently unrelated, and the small collection at Vienna possibly comes from a single source. It has already been noted that Brocar's press is represented by one piece only and Coci's by three, all in unique copies; one may suppose that these are chance survivors from a larger output. But for the existence of a tract volume in the public library of Oporto we should not know that a second Seville printer, Juan Varela de Salamanca, also participated in this branch of his trade. The volume includes seven poetical tracts printed by Varela and dating from 1516 to 1519, one of them, *Coplas de Madalenica*, a close reprint from Cromberger's repertory; it also adds five chap-books to the three otherwise known printed at Toledo in the types of Juan de Villquirán.¹

Fadrique de Basilea is not known to have produced any immediate successors to the *Coplas fechas por mandado de un señor* and when we again find him engaged in printing poetical chap-books it may have been in emulation of Cromberger's success rather than in continuation of a personal tradition. The earliest product of this revival is entitled *Aqui comiençan unas coplas de Iuan agraz*. It is a very clear case of pilfering from the *Cancionero general* of 1511. The seven poems contained in its four leaves are to be found in the same order and consecutively in the *Cancionero general*—one of them is omitted by the 1514 edition. That the borrowing was done by Fadrique is proved by his omission of the next poem in the *Cancionero*, which is a reply, for which he had no room, to his seventh piece. It is demonstrable, on typographical grounds, that the printing was done before mid-September 1515. The Bibliothèque Nationale copy is bound in a volume which includes five more chap-books in Fadrique's types, among them the *Coplas de las comadres* of Rodrigo de

¹ See A. Rodríguez-Moñino, *Pliegos poéticos de Oporto...* (With *Notas tipográficas* by F. J. Norton), Coimbra, 1963 (reprinted from *Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa*, 1963).