

# A Dominican, a Mathematician and Illegal Editions in Late-Seventeenth-Century Zaragoza\*

## Introduction

*El Filósofo del aldea y sus conversaciones familiares y ejemplares* (1625), by an author identifying himself as the *alférez* Baltasar Mateo Velázquez, is an unassuming book, but it is one nevertheless which improves our knowledge and understanding of literary and intellectual cultures in early-modern Spain, as well as of its commercial book market. It is a miscellany which avails itself of a rudimentary frame-story to disseminate learning and moral lessons alongside diverting and exemplary *cuentos* and *novelas cortas*, and in this sense it is a typical representative of the genre of the *miscelánea* in the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> It differs, however, from *every other* work in the Spanish miscellany tradition through the insistence that the author places on the solely vernacular provenance of the erudition which his titular ‘village philosopher’, Prudencio, dispenses to his interlocutors. In presenting his eponymous character as an autodidact whose ignorance in the classical languages has led him to devour ‘libros de romance, así doctrinales como historiales, de donde sacaba para sí doctrina y

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<sup>1</sup> See Jonathan Bradbury, ‘La narrativa breve en la miscelánea del siglo XVII’, *Edad de Oro*, 33 (2014), 211-24 (pp. 215-19).

erudición, y aun tal vez para sus vecinos y amigos',<sup>2</sup> the author is signalling a deliberate break with the premium consistently placed (sincerely or not) on the consultation and vulgarisation of Latin and Greek primary sources by his fellow Spanish miscellanists, from the beginnings of the genre in the mid-1500s until the tradition peters out late in the following century.<sup>3</sup> Further significance is conferred on the book if we consider its likely authorship; we can plausibly remove paternity from the unknown and otherwise undocumented Velázquez, and posit that he is a pseudonym of Fray Alonso Remón, second in literary repute in the Mercedarian Order only to Gabriel Téllez in the period in question.<sup>4</sup> If this attribution does indeed hold, it adds another work to this most prolific and fecund period of Remón's prose oeuvre, complementing in particular his *Entretenimientos y juegos honestos* of 1623.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Baltasar Mateo Velázquez, *El Filósofo del aldea*, ed. Jonathan Bradbury (Madrid: Sial, 2019), p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> On the character and types of knowledge and learning which early-modern Spanish miscellanists distribute, see Jonathan Bradbury, *The Miscellany of the Spanish Golden Age. A Literature of Fragments* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 61-95, and for a history of the genre in Spain, see pp. 1-29.

<sup>4</sup> The introduction to a recent edition of the work discusses various aspects of the book, including the question of authorship, the synthesis of learned materials and prose fiction, and the avowed use of vernacular materials in the construction of the miscellany: see Velázquez, *El Filósofo del aldea*, ed. Bradbury, pp. 11-39. For further considerations on the possible authorship of Remón, see Ángel-Raimundo Fernández, 'Novela corta marginada del siglo XVII. Notas sobre la *Guía y avisos de forasteros* y *El filósofo del aldea*', in *Homenaje a José Manuel Blecua* (Madrid: Gredos, 1983), 175-92, and David González Ramírez, 'El filósofo del aldea (1625) de Baltasar Mateo Velázquez: recepción textual e hipótesis autorial', *Edad de Oro* 33 (2014), 193-209 (pp. 201-07).

<sup>5</sup> For Remón's bibliography in the 1620s, see *Iberian Books, 1601-1650 / Libros Ibéricos, 1601-1650*, ed. Alexander Wilkinson & Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2016), II, 2064-65,

Unlike many small-format miscellanies, Velázquez's short octavo enjoyed more than one edition; after a first edition published in Madrid by Diego Flamenco, it was reprinted the following year in Pamplona by Pedro Dullort—the only work to appear under this printer's name, raising the possibility that this was a pirated edition with a false Navarrese imprint—with minor textual excisions, and an undated third edition, based undoubtedly on the Madrid text, emerged some time later from the press of Diego Dormer *menor* in Zaragoza.<sup>6</sup> Dormer, taking advantage of the

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albeit the compilers accidentally attribute some of his works to one 'Alonso Ramón' (II, 1883), and Manuel Fernández Nieto, *Investigaciones sobre Alonso Remón, dramaturgo desconocido del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Retorno, 1974), pp. 120-31. One can isolate a number of specific likenesses in *El Filósofo del aldea* and *Entretenimientos y juegos honestos*, including their provision of alphabetical lists—with some common headings—as an aide-memoire to moral behaviour (Velázquez, *El Filósofo del aldea*, ed. Bradbury, pp. 65-66; Alonso Remón, *Entretenimientos y juegos honestos, y recreaciones cristianas* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1623), fols 100v-01v), but what ultimately unites the two works is their consistent, overarching insistence on showcasing correct, morally enriching ways to fill one's leisure time.

<sup>6</sup> Two of the issues of the Zaragoza edition of *El Filósofo del aldea* contain a dedication by the bookseller who financed the print run, at least in part, and in this there is an allusion to the dedication of the original work, where Velázquez had flattered Juan Meléndez de Valdés by enumerating in detail some of his illustrious antecedents, distant and recent (Velázquez, *Filósofo del aldea*, ed. Bradbury, pp. 49-53); in addressing his own dedicatee, Pedro Gutiérrez de Miranda, Juan Fernández asserts: 'Suplico a V.M. admita este indicio breve de mi cariño, que por reconocer su modestia, se exime de la presunción de lisonjearle con su genealogía, consagrándolo al silencio, pues es tanta su nobleza de V.M. que había menester mayor volumen' (Baltasar Mateo Velázquez, *El Filósofo del aldea* (Zaragoza: Diego Dormer, n.d.), 'A don Pedro Gutiérrez de Miranda'). However, this in itself does not necessarily argue for a use of the first edition as the basis of the third, for the second, Pamplona edition, reproduces the original preliminaries with few significant departures. It is instead a comparison of the main bodies of the respective editions which clinches the matter, for Zaragoza follows faithfully the texts of the *princeps* rather than the subtly, but definitely, excised version of the following year.

malleability and expandability inherent to the discontinuous miscellany form, tacks on to the final conversation of the work – without acknowledgement and extremely maladroitly – a short story taken from Alonso de Castillo Solórzano's *La quinta de Laura*, which had also been published in the Aragonese capital, in 1649.<sup>7</sup> This interpolated text, 'El duende de Zaragoza', was perhaps inserted to arouse local interest, but it also provides a terminus post quem for this undated version of *El Filósofo del aldea*. While the few scholars and bibliographers who have examined the question of its dating have been content, on the basis of the inclusion of this *novela*, to situate the third edition around 1650, I shall demonstrate that various pieces of circumstantial evidence should push that date back by another two decades or so. This modest aim, relating to a decidedly minor work, should not be understood as a significant gain in its own right, although any improvement to our bibliographical knowledge of the period is to be welcomed; rather, this case-study will contribute to our understanding of the publishing milieu of late-seventeenth-century Spain, illustrating in particular a dubious contrivance employed by one of the most notable

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<sup>7</sup> The story is narrated not by Prudencio, but by another participant, Don Juan, and, unlike almost all of the other fictions in the miscellany, it is not given an explicit, typographically-indicated heading. It is a much more polished narrative than any of the stories recounted elsewhere in *El Filósofo del aldea*, but its maladroitness lies in the fact that the interpolation contains also the concluding lines of the frame-story from Castillo Solórzano's *Quinta de Laura*: 'Gustosos dejó a todos la novela de la hermosa Florisia; diéronle las gracias de haberles entretenido también. Rematose la tarde con sonoras letras que cantaron, y aquí el autor de este libro da fin a él, pidiendo perdón de sus yerros, y ofreciendo segunda parte de la *Quinta de Laura*, que saldrá con sus bodas y fiestas hechas a ellas presto' (Baltasar Mateo Velázquez, *El Filósofo del aldea*, ed. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, in *Novelas de Miguel Moreno, y del alférez Baltasar Mateo Velázquez* (Madrid: Estanislao Maestre, 1906), pp. 149-335 (p. 335).

printers in one of the most influential publishing centres on the Peninsula. I shall deal first with the clues embedded in the *portadas* of the various issues of this edition of *El Filósofo del aldea*, which are themselves persuasive circumstantial proofs for a later dating, and then examine its approbations, placing these in a longer sequence in the first half of the 1670s. With the question of probable date range largely settled, I shall venture a coda regarding the issues of this third edition; this final part of the study will pose as many questions as answers (and maybe more of the former), but it may contribute further to the revised dating of this Zaragozaan edition.

### The *portadas*

The Zaragoza *Filósofo del aldea* is peculiar in that it exists in at least four issues,<sup>8</sup> differentiated by their respective title pages and variations of differing degrees in their preliminary materials; that is to say, alterations which affect the first gathering only.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> In my use of the term 'issue', I am following Werner: 'An issue is the set of copies of an impression that vary from the idealized version of an edition in a specific way planned by the publisher' (Sarah Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books, 1450-1800: a Practical Guide* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019), p. 87). As we shall see in the final part of the study, there are also minor differences within single issues, which are more properly typical of varying 'states': 'those changes that the printer or publisher might not wish to call attention to' (Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books*, p. 87).

<sup>9</sup> González Ramirez ('*El filósofo del aldea* (1625) de Baltasar Mateo Velázquez', 196) draws attention to a potential fifth issue, no longer extant but whose details feature under the call number XI 3658 in the catalogue of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin and which is listed as *kriegsverlust* (i.e., lost in the Second World War). The title is given as *Sucesos prodigiosos, en diferentes novelas, y casos casuales, y prodigiosos, con el filósofo de la aldea*, the author is correctly named as Baltasar Mateo Velázquez, the dedicatee is Diego de Arroyo y Rozas, the place of printing is given as Zaragoza, and the publisher, Juan Fernández, appears in place of the

I shall begin by providing the bibliographical description of these issues, and then concentrate on the information which can be extracted cumulatively from the *portadas* to help with the question of dating, postponing until the final part of this study a more detailed examination of the further particularities of the four issues.<sup>10</sup>

**Issue 1** (hereafter, *Is1*):

EL FILOSOFO | DEL ALDEA. | Y SVS CONVERSACIONES FAMI- | liares, y  
exemplares, por casos, y sucessos | casuales, y prodigiosos. | SV AVTOR . | EL  
ALFEREZ DON BALTASAR MATEO | *Velazquez.* | DEDICADO. | A DON PEDRO  
GVTIERREZ DE | Miranda, Assentista de Millones de su | Magestad, que Dios  
guarde. | CON LICENCIA, EN ZARAGOZA | *Por Diego de Ormer, Impressor de la*  
*Ciudad y Hos-* | *pital Real de nuestra Señora de* | *Gracia.*

8º, 4h + 106 fols [i.e., 111 fols]. Sign.: ¶4 , A-N8 , O7.

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printer, Diego Dormer. As will become apparent, this configuration is effectively a mixture of details from the four *portadas* which we are examining here.

<sup>10</sup> Full bibliographical descriptions of the issues can also be found in González Ramírez, '*El filósofo del aldea* (1625) de Baltasar Mateo Velázquez', 197-98, albeit this scholar reinforces the erroneous dating of the third edition. I replicate his descriptions here for ease of reference, and I also correct a couple of what seem to be errors in his attribution of given copies to certain libraries.

Extant copies: BNE 2/18233; BNE R/16266; BNE R.15005(2);<sup>11</sup> Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, S.A. 1842 P; Universitat de Barcelona, 07 XVII-L-2331; Staatsbibliothek Hamburg, A/7/909.<sup>12</sup>

Example of an *Is1 portada*:

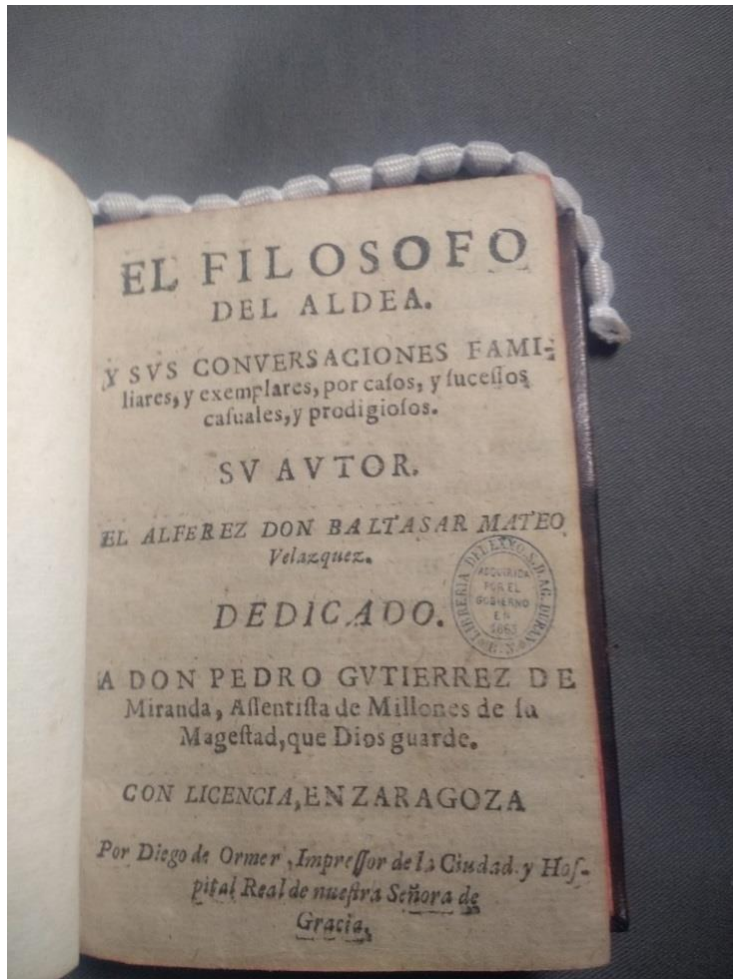


Fig. 1 (BNE 2/18233)

<sup>11</sup> BNE R.15005(2) is bound together, as the second of two items, with Fernando de Vera y Mendoza's *Panegírico por la poesía* (Montilla: Manuel de Payua, 1627).

<sup>12</sup> I have consulted in situ the three BNE copies. For the other three examples, I am relying on the respective catalogue descriptions. González Ramírez ('*El filósofo del aldea* (1625) de Baltasar Mateo Velázquez', 197) attributes the Barcelona and Hamburg copies, neither of which he has viewed, to the issue which we will shortly refer to as Issue 3, but the catalogue records strongly suggest that they belong to Issue 1.

**Issue 2 (Is2):**

EL FILOSOFO | DEL ALDEA. | Y SVS CONVERSACIONES FAMI-|liares, y  
exemplares, por casos, y sucessos | casuales, y prodigiosos. | SV AUTOR . | EL  
ALFEREZ DON BALTASAR MATEO | *Velazquez.* | DEDICADO. | A DON PEDRO  
GVTIERREZ DE | Miranda, Assentista de Millones de su | Magestad, que Dios  
guarde. | CON LICENCIA, EN MADRID | Acosta de Iuan Fernandez Librero, viue  
arri- | mado al Estudio de la Compañia | de Iesvs.<sup>13</sup>

8º, 4h + 106 fols [i.e., 111 fols]. Sign.: ¶4 , A-N8 , O7.

Extant copy: BNE R/19527 (consulted in situ)

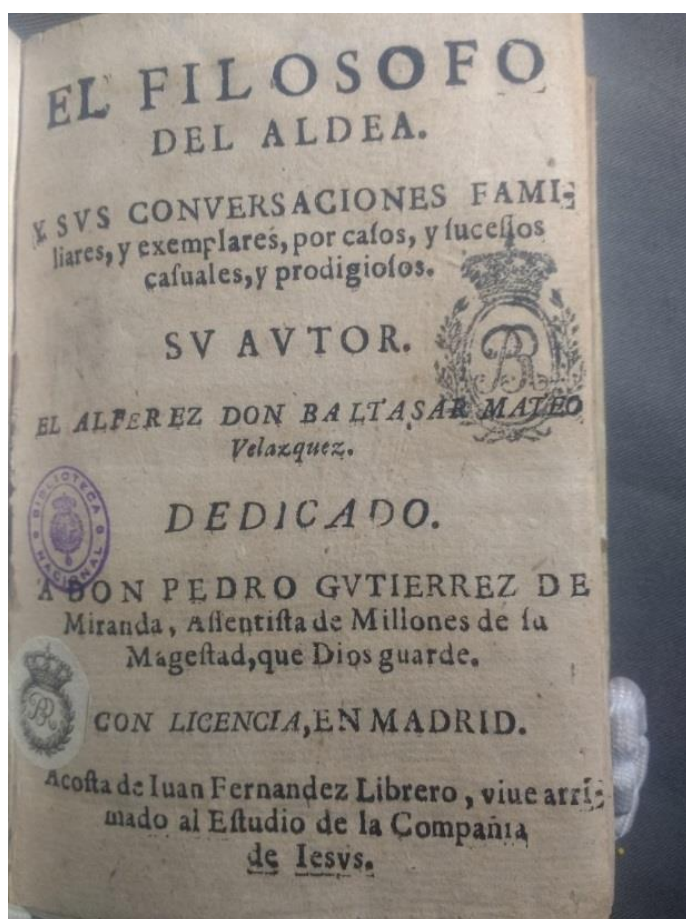


Fig. 2 (BNE R/19527)

<sup>13</sup> The differences between the *portadas* of *Is1* and *Is2* are limited to the imprint (i.e., the details given after 'CON LICENCIA').



**Issue 3 (Is3):**

EL FILOSOFO | DEL ALDEA. | Y SVS CONVERSACIONES FAMI-|liares, y  
exemplares, por casos, y sucessos | casuales, y prodigiosos. | SV AVTOR. | *EL*  
*ALFEREZ DON BALTASAR MATEO.* | *Velazquez.* | DEDICADO. | A D. DIEGO DE  
ARROYO Y | Rozas, Escriuano mayor de Rentas | de su Magestad. | Con licencia.  
EnZaragoça, por Diego de Hor- | mer, Impressor del Hospital de nuestra | Señora  
de Gracia.

8º, 2h + 106 fols [i.e., 111 fols]. Sign.: [ ]2, A-N8, O7.

Extant copies: Biblioteca de Andalucía, ANT-XVII-8; HSA, PQ 6495. V6a.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> I have consulted the digitised version of the copy held in the Biblioteca de Andalucía (<http://www.bibliotecavirtualdeandalucia.es/catalogo/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=1043052> [last accessed: 2 July 2019]), and I extend my very warmest gratitude to Dr John O'Neill for his willingness and promptness in providing photographic reproductions from the two issues held by the HSA (PQ 6495. V6a & PQ 6495. V6b) during the research for this article.

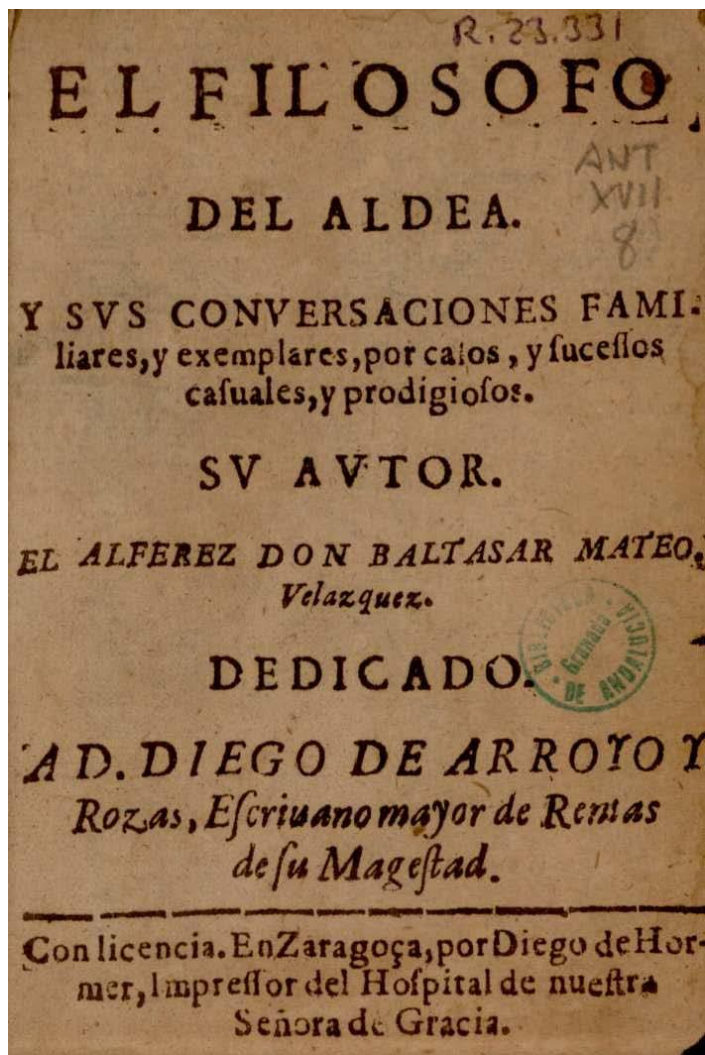


Fig. 3 (Biblioteca de Andalucía,

ANT-XVII-8)

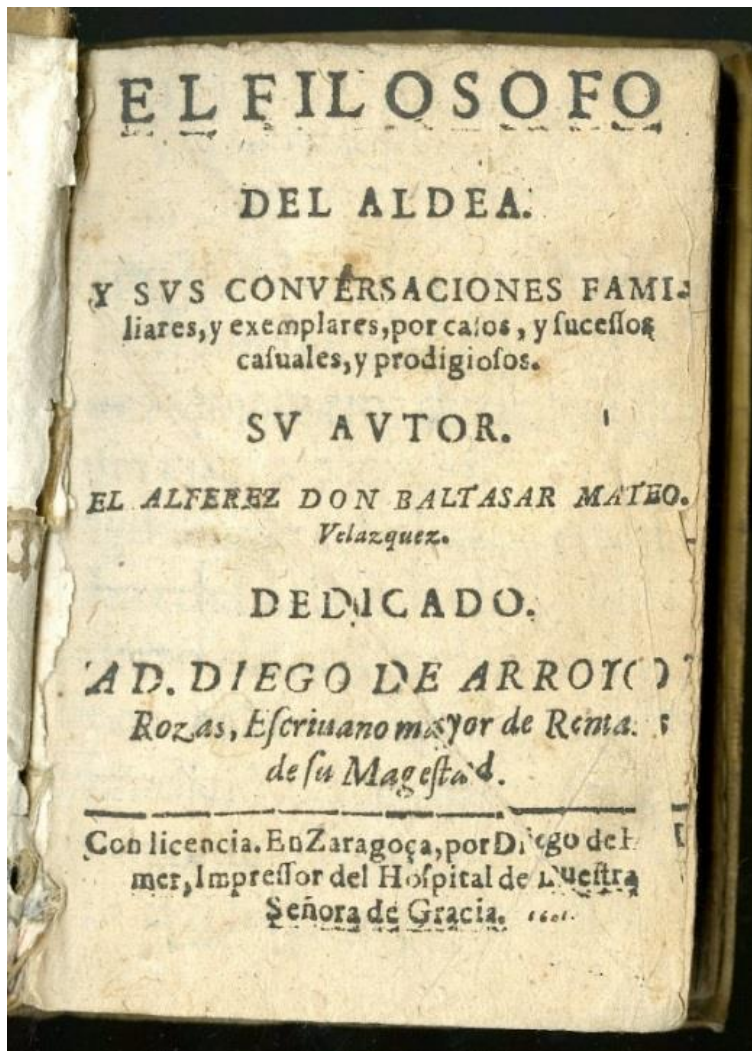


Fig. 4 (HSA., PQ 6495. V6a)<sup>15</sup>

**Issue 4 (Is4):**

SUCCESSOS PRODIGIOSOS | EN DIFERENTES CASOS CASVALES, | y prodigiosos.  
| CONTADOS | POR EL FILOSOPHO DE ALDEA. | SV AVTOR . | *EL ALFEREZ*  
*DON BALTASAR MALO* [sic] | Velazquez. | [DECORATION]. | Por Diego de Ormer,  
Impressor de la Ciudad, | y Hospital Real de Nuestra Señora | de Gracia.

En 8º, 4h + 106 fols [i.e., 111 fols]. Sign.: ¶4, A-N8, O7.

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<sup>15</sup> This copy of *Is3* has suffered from folds in the printing process, which, when smoothed out, move across parts of the text of the *portada*.

Extant copy: HSA, PQ 6495. V6b.

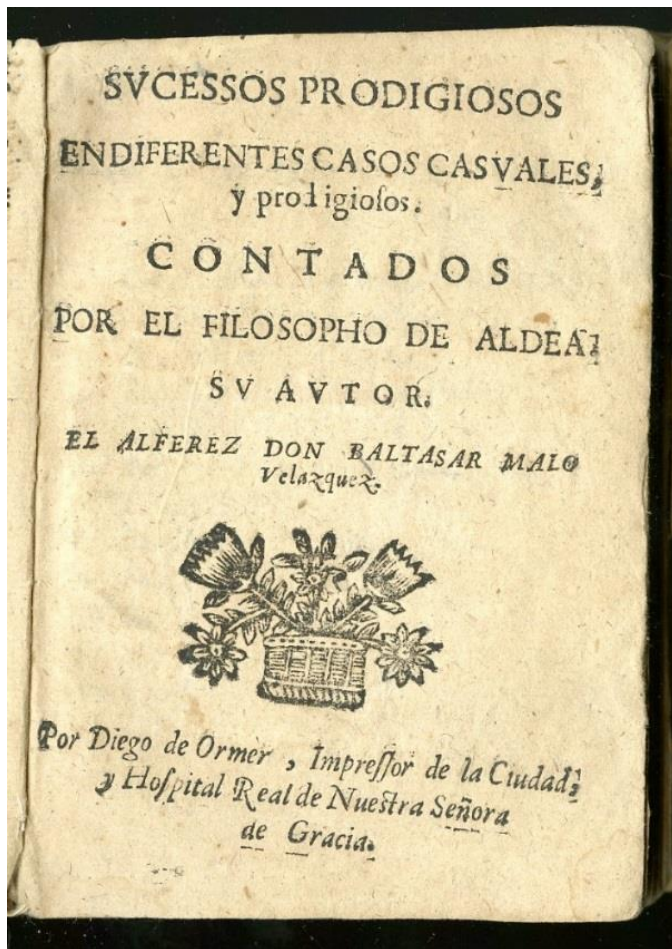


Fig. 5 (HSA, PQ 6495. V6b)

Our analysis of these four issues in this first part of the essay shall be limited to the extraction of pertinent details which can enhance the probability of achieving a revised dating for this third edition of *El Filósofo del aldea*. We shall begin with the printer and publisher of this edition: Diego Dormer (*menor*) is named as the printer on the *portadas* of *Is1*, *Is3* and *Is4*, while *Is2* substitutes him with the bookseller Juan Fernández who, we understand, played a part in financing the print run. The identity of the printer alone would be of no value to the question of dating, such was Dormer's longevity in his profession (1645-1676), but the fact that he appears with unusual variants of his surname ('de Ormer' in *Is1* and *Is4*, and 'de Hormer' in *Is3*) is potentially

of greater usefulness, for the only other instance of such a variant in the known totality of the younger Dormer's output is found on the *portada* of Tomás de Murillo's *Aprobación de ingenios y curación de hipocóndricos*, published in 1672.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, on the *portada* of *Is1* and *Is4*, 'Diego de Ormer' is followed by a description of him as the 'Impresor de la Ciudad y Hospital Real de Nuestra Señora de Gracia',<sup>17</sup> and, similarly, on the *portada* of *Is3*, 'Diego de Hormer' is qualified by the similar but abbreviated 'Impresor del Hospital de Nuestra Señora de Gracia'. Such a denomination of Dormer as the recognised printer of the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de Gracia in Zaragoza is only attached consistently to his publications from 1669 onwards.<sup>18</sup> It features on the title page of his edition of Jerónimo Zurita's *Anales de la Corona de Aragón* in that year, and is then found in slight variants on the covers or in the colophons of twelve of the

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<sup>16</sup> In one of the four books printed by her, Dormer's widow, Antonia Nubevillas, adopts the same unusual form: Gregorio Ponce de León, *Apología racional, impugnación de la impugnación [...] (1694)*, where she identifies as the 'Viuda de Diego de Ormer'. Intriguingly, Uriarte states: 'Aunque suena impresa y hasta escrita en «Zaragoza a 1 de noviembre de 1694», es indudable que esta *Apología* se escribió en Madrid, y es muy probable que [...] se imprimiera en Sevilla', which might, one supposes, account for the incorrect form of the Dormer surname (José Eugenio de Uriarte, *Catálogo razonado de obras anónimas y seudónimas de autores de la Compañía de Jesús*, 4 vols (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1904-14), III (1906), 31).

<sup>17</sup> In *Is4*, this qualification serves also as a synecdoche for the city of Zaragoza, which is not otherwise mentioned on the *portada*.

<sup>18</sup> There seems only to be one use of this professional formula on a Dormer-printed work prior to 1669, on the *portada* of his edition of *Obras en prosa y en verso de Salvador Jacinto Polo de Medina*, in 1664, where he is described as 'Impresor de la Ciudad y su Real Hospital'.

fifteen dated works printed under Dormer's name until the cessation of his activity in 1676.<sup>19</sup>

The *portada* of *Is2*, on the other hand, advertises the fact that the work is 'A costa de Juan Fernández librero' in Madrid, the sole issue to credit this individual and omit the printer, and also the only one to move the location of the edition to another city, where Juan Fernández kept his residence and premises. The indication given for these – 'vive arrimado al Estudio de la Compañía de Jesús' – allows us with certainty to identify this blandly-named figure with the bookseller credited also on the *portada* of six works published in Madrid between 1671 and 1691, where the same location – premises near to the Jesuit college in the capital's Calle de Toledo – appears.<sup>20</sup> Significantly, for our enquiry, the only book prior to 1671 which mentions Juan Fernández in a commercial role, an edition of Cristobal de Vega's *Casos raros de la*

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<sup>19</sup> The formula also appears in two other, undated works printed by Dormer: Various, *Migajas del ingenio y apacible entretenimiento* and *Obras espirituales del venerable Padre Presentado Fray Juan Falconi*; the latter text has often been dated, on the basis of one flimsy piece of internal evidence, to 1631, but it is undoubtedly from four decades or so later, printed in the latter years of the younger Diego Dormer, and not at the start of his father's career (1630-1645).

<sup>20</sup> The *portada* of the 1671 text, Pedro Miguel de Quintana's *Observaciones selectas del método con que [...] se enseñan los rudimentos de la lengua latina en los Estudios de la Compañía de Jesús*, a specifically Jesuit treatise therefore, indicates that the work is sold 'en casa de Juan Fernández, junto a la portería de la Compañía de Jesús'; that is, practically next door to the main centre of Jesuit activity in the capital. The other five texts to advertise his address are rather different in character: the dramatic anthologies *Autos sacramentales [...] de los mayores ingenios de España* (1675), *Comedias nuevas, escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España. Parte cuarenta y cinco* (1679), and *Floresta de entremeses y rasgos del ocio* (1691); the *Tercera parte de Comedias* of Agustín Moreto (1681); and Rodrigo Correa de Castelblanco's *Traiciones de la hermosura y fortunas de don Carlos* (1684).

*confesión*, printed in Madrid by Julián de Paredes in 1670, has no address for him, stating only 'A costa de Juan Fernández, Mercader de libros'. And, similarly, although we find references to this same bookseller in notarial documents of 1667 and 1672, only the latter of these places him operating his business from the Calle de Toledo.<sup>21</sup>

The dedicatee of *Is3*, Diego de Arroyo y Rozas is named in a notarial document of 1670 as resident in that same thoroughfare,<sup>22</sup> as he would be again in his death certificate, in 1685, and that of his nephew José Fernandez de Buendía in 1679; that is, he was a neighbour of Juan Fernández for a substantial period of time.<sup>23</sup> While *Is3* bears the 'Diego de Horner' of Zaragoza imprint, and does not mention the bookseller either on the *portada* or as the explicit author of the dedication – whereas *Is1* and *Is2*, both addressed to Pedro Gutiérrez de Miranda, do credit Fernández under the dedicatory text – the tenor of the address to Arroyo y Rozas, including the aping of certain elements from the Gutiérrez de Miranda dedication, and the geographical coincidence highlighted above, strongly imply the hand of Fernández at work in this issue too. Gutiérrez de Miranda, the dedicatee of *Is1* and *Is2*, is described on both *portadas* as 'Asentista de Millones de su Majestad', and he can reasonably be matched with the 'tesorero de la renta de la moneda forera del Rey' of the same name in Protocolo 8674 of the Archivo Historico de Protocolos (Madrid), dated December

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<sup>21</sup> Mercedes Agulló y Cobo, 'La imprenta y el comercio de libros en Madrid (siglos XVI-XVII)', Doctoral dissertation (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1991), Appendix, pp. 174-75.

<sup>22</sup> This document, dated in April 1670, is the death certificate of his first wife, Ángela Álvarez de Porres (Mercedes Agulló y Cobo, 'Más documentos sobre impresores y libreros madrileños de los siglos XVI y XVII. Continuación', *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños*, 10 (1974), 155-69 (p. 168)).

<sup>23</sup> Agulló y Cobo, 'La imprenta y el comercio', Appendix, p. 184.

1662,<sup>24</sup> and as ‘arrendador por mayor de la moneda forera’ in a letter of April 1663 in the Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza;<sup>25</sup> although his will, dated in 1692, gives his origin as Deza (Soria), it, like both of the documents from the 1660s, places him in Madrid.<sup>26</sup> Gutiérrez de Miranda, despite no known connexion to Zaragoza, also appears as the dedicatee of another Dormer-printed volume, an edition of Vélez de Guevara’s *El diablo cojuelo* published in 1671. This may be significant, for, in his dedication to Gutiérrez de Miranda in *Is1* and *Is2*, Juan Fernández states that this is the second book that he has dedicated to this individual: ‘pon[go] a los pies de V.M. otro libro, habiendo V.M. hecho favor de admitir otro que dediqué, que es cierto que, teniendo tan buen padrino, correrá como el primero’. I have not been able to locate any other text explicitly addressed to Gutiérrez de Miranda by Juan Fernández, but it is possible that, despite the unsigned dedication of this edition of *El diablo cojuelo* beginning with the words ‘Habiendo *impreso* yo este libro [...]’ (my emphasis) and despite the fact that nobody is acknowledged as the publisher, Fernández did have in mind this book of 1671, which would have some consequences for a revised dating of the Zaragoza *Filósofo del aldea*.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Mercedes Agulló y Cobo, ‘Manuel Pereira: aportación documental’, *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, 44 (1978), 257-78 (p. 277).

<sup>25</sup> This latter can be viewed on PARES:

[http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/ControlServlet?accion=4&txt\\_accion\\_origen=2&txt\\_id\\_desc\\_ud=5515685](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/ControlServlet?accion=4&txt_accion_origen=2&txt_id_desc_ud=5515685) [last accessed: 3 July 2019].

<sup>26</sup> This testament is conserved in the collection of the Contaduría de Mercedes in the Archivo General de Simancas (CME,1424,40).

<sup>27</sup> Luis Vélez de Guevara, *El diablo cojuelo* (Zaragoza: Diego Dormer, 1671), ‘A don Pedro González [sic] de Miranda, Asentista de Millones de su Majestad’.



### The aprobaciones

If the various chronological signposts presented in the previous section have begun to orient our dating of the third edition of *El Filósofo del aldea* away from the middle of the seventeenth century and instead towards its latter part, it is the legal preliminaries of the *Zaragoza Filósofo del aldea* which contain the most persuasive evidence of a likely date range for its publication; these initially seem quite unpromising, for the only information provided is a brief indication that *licencias* have been granted for publication in Aragon by the Vicario General and Real Audiencia, and a bald summary of two approbations:

Aprobó este libro el P[adre] M[aestro] F[ray] Cristóbal de Torres, de la Orden de Predicadores. Y el Doctor Cedillo, Catedrático de la Real Escuela de las Matemáticas de Zaragoza.

This legal approval appears in the preliminaries of *Is1*, *Is2* and *Is4*; between *Is1* and *Is2* on the one hand, and *Is4* on the other, there are some very minor differences of disposition and spacing of the type, but the text is fundamentally the same one:

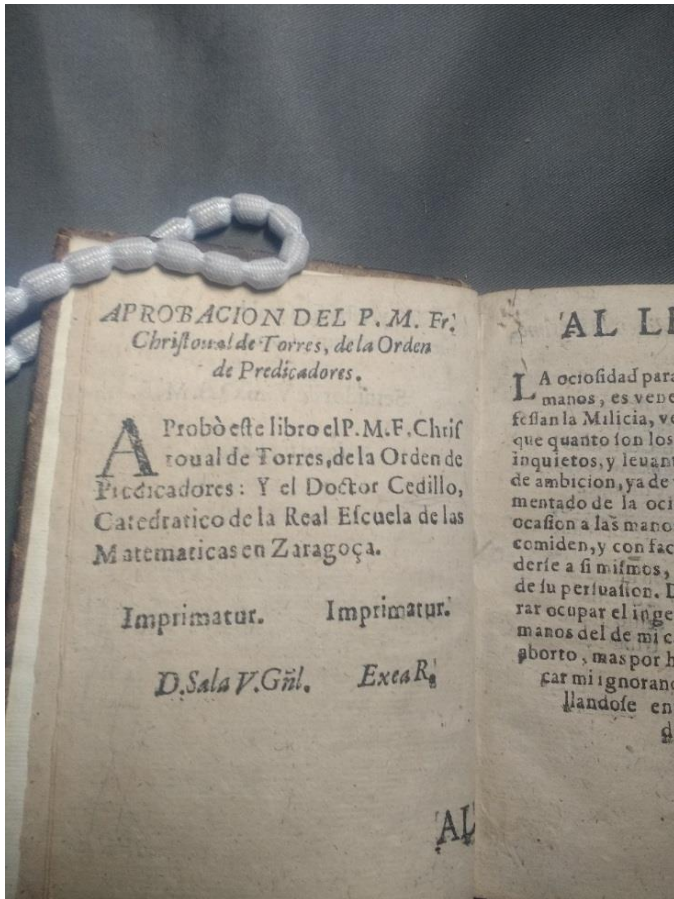


Fig. 6 (Is1: BNE R/16266)

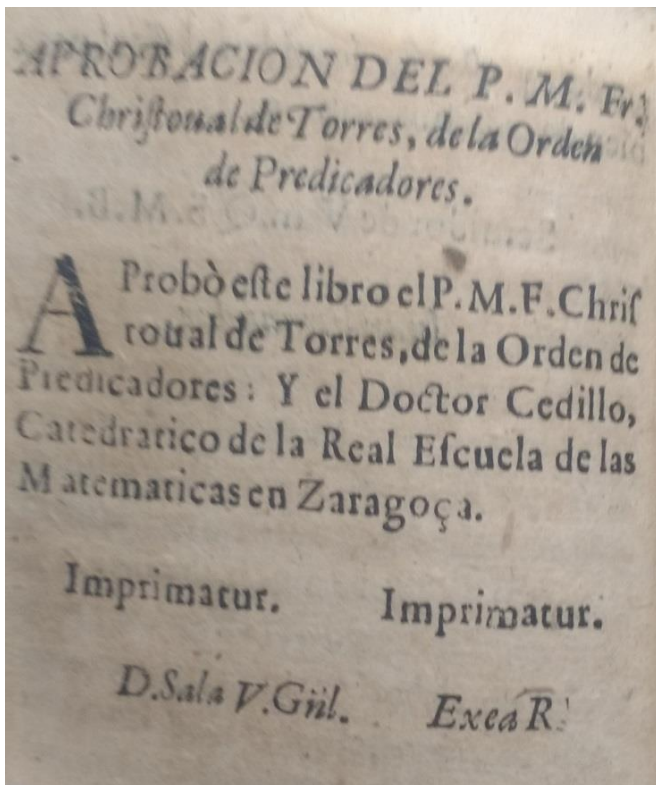


Fig. 7 (Is2: BNE R/19527)

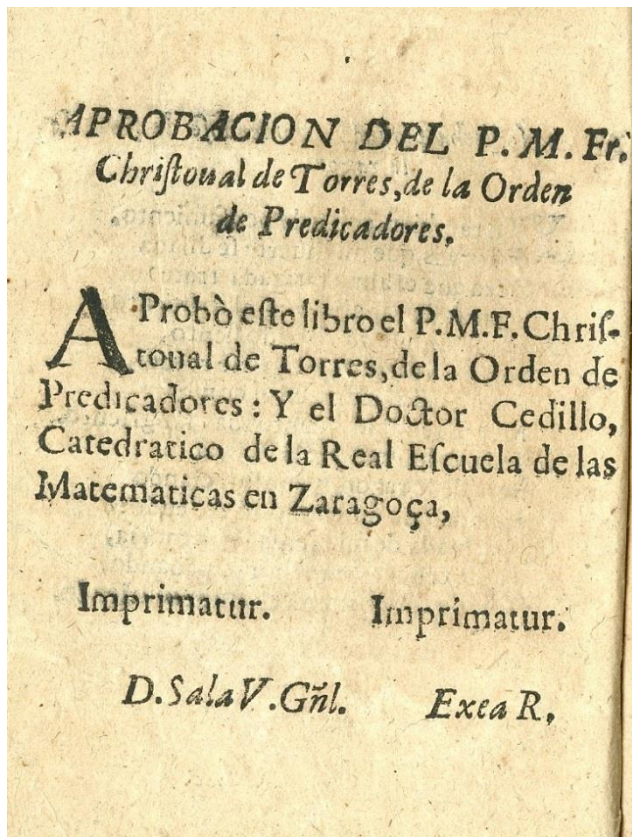


Fig. 8 (Is4: HSA, PQ 6495. V6b)

Taken alone, this laconic assertion is of little assistance, but it acquires significance once we realise that it is part of a substantial pattern which involves six other works which appear under Diego Dormer's imprint. Thus, we find an almost identical version in Dormer's 1671 *Diablo cojuelo*:

Aprobó este libro el Padre Maestro Fray Cristóbal de Torres, de la Orden de Predicadores, y el Doctor Cedillo Díaz, Catedrático de la Real Escuela de las Matemáticas.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> This version of the approbation, like the other five in the sequence, does not specify that the 'Real Escuela de las Matemáticas' is sited in Zaragoza, meaning that the *Filósofo del aldea* iteration is unique in this respect. The 'Royal School' in question is actually the Academia Real Matemática in Madrid, founded in 1582 by Juan de Herrera and of considerable renown until its closure, in 1783; Zaragoza, on the other hand, boasted no comparable institution.

We come across it in *Ramillete de sainetes* of 1672, Dormer's anthology of one-act theatrical pieces collected from various authors:

Aprobaron este libro el Padre Maestro Fray Cristóbal de Torres, de la Orden de Predicadores, y el Doctor Cedillo Díaz, Catedrático de la Real Escuela de Matemáticas.

We note similar formulations in two like anthologies, *Vergel de entremeses* of 1675 and *Flor de entremeses* of 1676. These two collections represent the entirety of the output under Dormer's name after 1673, and are published after the self-styled 'Herederos de Diego Dormer' commence their printing activity in 1674.<sup>29</sup> Whether these two compilations represent posthumous uses by his heirs of Dormer's name (and reputation) or not, versions of the same legal summary persist, albeit with, perhaps inadvertent, modifications: in *Vergel de entremeses*, we are informed that

Aprobaron este libro el Padre Maestro Fray Cristóbal de Torres, de la Orden de Predicadores, y el Doctor *Castillo* Díaz, Catedrático de la Real Escuela de las Matemáticas, (my emphasis)

which alters the mathematician's surname, while the latest of the texts, *Flor de entremeses*, condenses the two approbators into a single individual, losing Cedillo Díaz, but transferring his mathematical profession to the Dominican Torres:

Aprobó este libro el Reverendo Padre Maestro Fr. Cristóbal de Torres, de la Orden de Predicadores, Catedrático de la Real Escuela de Matemáticas.

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<sup>29</sup> Juan Delgado Casado, *Diccionario de impresores españoles (siglos XV-XVII)*, 2 vols (Madrid: Arco, 1996), I, 194.

The same procedure is exploited in yet another anthology of short plays, *Migajas del ingenio y apacible entretenimiento*, printed by Dormer and financed by Juan Martínez de Ribera Martel, with the only, very slight, difference being the orthography of the mathematician's first *apellido*:

Aprobaron este libro el Padre Maestro Fray Cristóbal de Torres, de la Orden de Predicadores, y el Doctor *Zedillo* Díaz, Catedrático de la Real Escuela de Matemáticas. (my emphasis)

Although *Migajas del ingenio*, like the third edition of *El Filósofo del aldea*, is undated, the bookseller Martínez de Ribera alludes in his dedication to the 'Curioso y amigo lector' to having already published two collections of this sort ('Ninguno como yo se te halla más obligado, pues otros dos que te he dado los has recibido con tanto gusto');<sup>30</sup> while he does not specify that either of these anthologies was printed by Dormer, the fact that Martínez de Ribera financed the aforementioned *Ramillete de sainetes*, without mentioning in his dedication to María Serrano de Figueroa any prior experience in the field, may encourage us to place the *Migajas del ingenio* subsequent to 1672. Furthermore, given the significant deformations observed above in the 1675 and 1676 versions of the approbation, we can reasonably use the uncorrupted form of the approbatory formula found in *Migajas del ingenio* to situate its publication before *Vergel de entremeses*, which appeared in 1675.

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<sup>30</sup> *Migajas del ingenio*. Colección *rarísima de entremeses, bailes y loas*, ed. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori (Madrid: Imprenta de la Revista de Archivos, 1908), p. 23.

In all of the six cases noted so far, however, we encounter the same problem: we are faced with manifestly fraudulent activity and clearly illegal editions.<sup>31</sup> The Dominican Cristóbal de Torres, who had been the Duke of Lerma's confessor, preacher to Philip IV, and Bishop of Santa Fé de Bogotá from 1635, had been dead since 1654, whilst Cedillo Díaz, who in 1611 had been appointed *Cosmógrafo mayor y Catedrático de matemáticas y cosmografía de la Academia Real* in Madrid, died as far back as 1625.<sup>32</sup> Neither of them had had anything to do with either of the 1620s editions of *El Filósofo del aldea*, and the conjunction of the two figures in the works listed above can in fact only reasonably stem from Dormer having cribbed from a copy of Luis Pacheco de Narváez's *Modo fácil y nuevo para examinarse los maestros en la destreza de las armas* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1625), for which Torres and Cedillo Díaz served as the original approbators.<sup>33</sup> The work was re-printed in Zaragoza in 1658 by the Herederos de Pedro Lanaja, who maintained the full text of the two approvals, as well as their original temporal and spatial coordinates, complementing them with abbreviated

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<sup>31</sup> On the regulation of publishing in early-modern Aragon, see Jaime Moll, 'Problemas bibliográficos del libro del Siglo de Oro', in his *Problemas bibliográficos del libro del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Arco, 2011), 11-79 (pp. 24-25) (first publ. in *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 59 (1979), 49-108).

<sup>32</sup> For the biographies of Cedillo Díaz and Torres, both of them persons of considerable fame in their own day, see respectively *Diccionario biográfico español*, 50 vols (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2009-13), XIII, 80-83, and XLVIII, 244-45.

<sup>33</sup> Torres's approbation to Pacheco de Narváez's *Modo fácil y nuevo* describes him as 'Padre Maestro Fray Cristóbal de Torres, de la Orden de Santo Domingo, y Predicador de su Majestad', runs to one and a half octavo pages, and is signed in the Colegio de Santo Tomás in Madrid on 21 January 1625. The second approbation is provided by 'Doctor Cedillo Díaz, Catedrático de la Real Escuela de Matemáticas', runs to just over half a page, and is signed in Madrid on 10 February 1625.

forms of the Aragonese *licencias*, and it is reasonable to speculate that Dormer lighted on this Zaragozaan edition; on the other hand, *why* he chose these particular approbations from an edition by then probably over a decade old is an insoluble query. Dormer is content to rely simply on the names of Pacheco de Narváez's approbators and on their respectable statuses – omitting, though, Torres's position as preacher to the King, perhaps considered unnecessarily specific and liable to detection—to falsify this legal approval. The illicit repurposing of bureaucratic preliminaries from a previous, unrelated work is not especially uncommon in early-modern Spain—for instance, the approbations to the 1675 *Autos sacramentales [...] de los mayores ingenios de España*, financed by Juan Fernández (note 20), are re-dated versions of those written by Diego Fortuna and Diego Niseno for the unrelated *Autos sacramentales, con quatro comedias nuevas, y sus loas y entremeses*, printed by María de Quiñones in Madrid exactly twenty years earlier—but the extent to which Dormer employs the practice is entirely without precedent or parallel.

What all of the six Dormer editions with the fake Torres and Cedillo Díaz approbations examined so far have in common is that they are cheaply printed works of fiction,<sup>34</sup> lacking novelty given that a large majority of their content had been printed before, and designed to make a quick profit; they could be expected neither

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<sup>34</sup> While *El Filósofo del aldea* is a miscellany which flanks vulgarised knowledge and literary material (with the titular character praised by his interlocutors, 'ora fuese histórico, ora fuese fabuloso' (Velázquez, *El Filósofo del aldea*, ed. Bradbury, p. 132)), the fictional content of the book is quantitatively predominant (see Velázquez, *El Filósofo del aldea*, ed. Bradbury, pp. 28-36), and that it was understood by the printer Dormer or the publisher Fernández as a vehicle for short prose fiction is implied by the addition of the *novela* 'El duende de Zaragoza', mentioned previously.

to attract much interest from officialdom, nor to achieve enduring impact.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, in the cases of *El Filósofo del aldea* and *El diablo cojuelo*, the original authors were long dead, and the same point can be made to a large degree of the four anthologies of short dramatic pieces; the major authors represented therein, such as Jerónimo de Cáncer and Luis Quiñones de Benavente, were deceased and in no position to challenge the repackaging of their plays under a false legal preliminary, as were many of the less significant figures. The few living writers were also for the most part minor authors, who might not even object to seeing their work in print, and, in any case, not one of them was based in Aragon. In contrast, Dormer's serious, non-fiction publications in this final stage of his career conform more scrupulously to the legal requirements of the Kingdom of Aragon. If we might rightly expect the quarto *San Laurencio defendido en la siempre vencedora y nobilísima ciudad de Huesca* of 1673, written by Dormer's own son, the later chronicler Diego José Dormer, to be licensed appropriately, correct procedure is also observed, for instance, in the folio volumes *Disertaciones eclesiásticas por el honor de los antiguos tutelares contra las ficciones modernas* (1671), by Gaspar Ibáñez de Segovia, and Francisco Fabro Bremundán's *Historia de los hechos del serenísimo señor don Juan de Austria* (1673). In the case of the two works by St Francis de Sales that Dormer printed, translations into Spanish of *Traité de l'amour de*

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<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, three of the four stories in *El Filósofo del aldea* on the theme of fortune, the so-called 'Casos acaso' (Velázquez, *El Filósofo del aldea*, ed. Bradbury, pp. 107-14, pp. 120-132), did go on to enjoy a modest afterlife, as 'Casos prodigiosos' featuring in the 1709 and subsequent editions of the anthology of short prose fiction *Varios prodigios de amor*, a collection first published in 1666 by Isidro de Robles (*Varios prodigios de amor, en once novelas ejemplares, nuevas, nunca vistas, ni impresas. [...] Añadidos y enmendados tres Casos prodigiosos* (Madrid: Agustín Fernández, 1709), pp. 299-324).



*Dieu* and *Introduction à la vie dévote* which both appeared in 1673, the printer maintained the approbations from the original Madrid editions of the translated works (published in 1660 and 1663 respectively), but sought out provably genuine Aragonese *licencias* to legitimise the republications, a practice not strictly in line with official requirements but tolerated in some cases.<sup>36</sup>

We encounter one exception to this rectitude in the non-fiction output of Dormer's last years, and it is relevant in connexion with the Zaragoza *Filósofo del aldea*. Tomás de Murillo's *Aprobación de ingenios*, of 1672, noted above for being the only work beside *Is1* of *El Filósofo del aldea* to surname the printer 'de Ormer', is, however quaint it may seem to modern eyes, a serious treatise on hypochondria authored by one of Charles II's doctors. The first preliminary material is a genuine approbation from the very eminent (and still living) Mercedarian Fray Ramón Morales, granted in Madrid, and to this Dormer adds falsified Aragonese approval, once more from the resurrected Torres and Cedillo Díaz; these approbations are now not condensed into a simple, single statement, but rather they are separate texts, running to a full quarto page and half-page respectively, and they are populated with fresh wording so as to appear specific to the new text that they now apparently endorse. This fraudulence is compounded by the fake dating and placement of the legal approvals:

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<sup>36</sup> See Moll, 'Problemas bibliográficos', p. 24. Similarly, Dormer's edition of *Obras espirituales del venerable Padre Presentado Fray Juan Falconi* states in its *licencia* for Aragon, jointly signed by Gregorio Xulve and his religious counterpart, Lázaro Romeo: 'Vistas las aprobaciones de estos libros del Padre Presentado Fr. Juan Falconi, que han tenido en otras impresiones, damos licencia para que juntas en un tomo se den a la estampa'.

*Aprobación del reverendísimo Padre Maestro Fr. Cristóbal de Torres, del Orden de Predicadores: He visto un libro intitulado Aprobación de ingenios y curación de hipocóndricos, y aunque no era menester más aprobación que ser su autor el Doctor don Tomás de Murillo y Velarde, Médico de su Majestad, era bastante motivo para que corriera sin censura [...] En Zaragoza a 4 de febrero de 1672.*

and

*Censura del Doctor Cedillo Díaz, Catedrático de la Real Escuela de las Matemáticas: Vi un libro, cuyo título es Aprobación de ingenios y curación de hipocóndricos, trata de diversas materias, y del chocolate, y piedra bezoar, y de otras cosas [...] En Zaragoza a 6 de febrero de 1672.*

The dynamics surrounding this expansive use of the contrivance are unclear. It may be that Dormer judged that a learned book by a still breathing writer demanded a lengthier, more plausible set of approbations, a sentiment confirmed perhaps once Fray Morales's three-page – and strictly unnecessary – Madrid approval, dated seven months later, had been added to the preliminaries.<sup>37</sup> Why this Castilian approbation

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<sup>37</sup> We can infer from Morales's laudatory text that he was not under any official obligation to review Murillo's work; he does not begin his approbation by mentioning who had invested in him that responsibility and, while his assertion that Murillo's book is 'sin la precisa obligación de aprobarse' ostensibly reflects Morales' assessment of the very self-evident qualities of Murillo's treatise, it is reasonable to read into this declaration also a recognition of the optional nature of Morales's own approbation (Tomás de Murillo, *Aprobación de ingenios y curación de hipocóndricos* (Zaragoza: Diego Dormer, 1672), 'Censura y aprobación del [...] Maestro Fray Ramón de Morales').

was added at all (at the insistence of the author?),<sup>38</sup> and why Dormer did not license the text properly are most unanswerable questions, but, in any case, they should not preoccupy us here.<sup>39</sup>

### The Issues

Before tying together the relevant information from the previous two sections to posit our conclusions regarding a revised dating of the Zaragoza edition of *El Filósofo del aldea*, we should return to the matter of its various issues, for this question is even more complex than outlined in our analysis of the *portadas* in the first part of this study. In addition to the ten extant copies listed therein, we have two which cannot be categorised, for one of these is missing its *portada* and the entirety of its first, preliminary gathering, while the other has only a single preliminary page.<sup>40</sup> The copy

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<sup>38</sup> Morales would also provide an approbation just over a year later to Murillo's *Tratado de raras y peregrinas hierbas que se han hallado en esta Corte [...]*, published in Madrid by Francisco Sanz in 1674.

<sup>39</sup> There is a final twist to this tale, involving the Herederos de Diego Dormer. In 1679, they published another octavo collection of one-act plays, *La mejor flor de entremeses que hasta hoy ha salido*, in the preliminaries of which we read: 'Aprobó este libro el Reverendo Padre Maestro Fray Diego Vergés, de la Orden de Predicadores, Catedrático de la Real de Escuelas de Matemáticas'. This is undoubtedly a further degeneration of the Torres and Cedillo Díaz falsification, albeit with the condensing of two figures into one observed in *Flor de entremeses*, and now also with the substitution of Torres by another—almost certainly spurious—Dominican; the Vergés surname belonged to two notable Zaragozan printers in the seventeenth century, Pedro and Agustín, the latter of whom was still sporadically active in 1679, so one might imagine an impudent allusion to a fellow professional in this case.

<sup>40</sup> Over half of the ten extant copies are represented by *Is1*, perhaps an indication that this was the issue printed in greatest numbers.

of the Dormer-printed edition held in the Biblioteca Pública Lambert Mata in Ripoll (R.192),<sup>41</sup> in its current condition begins with the first page of the text proper, which itself starts with a catastrophic error in its heading, symptomatic of the lack of care with which the volume was prepared: 'LAS | CONVERSACI- | CIONES FAMILIARES [...]'

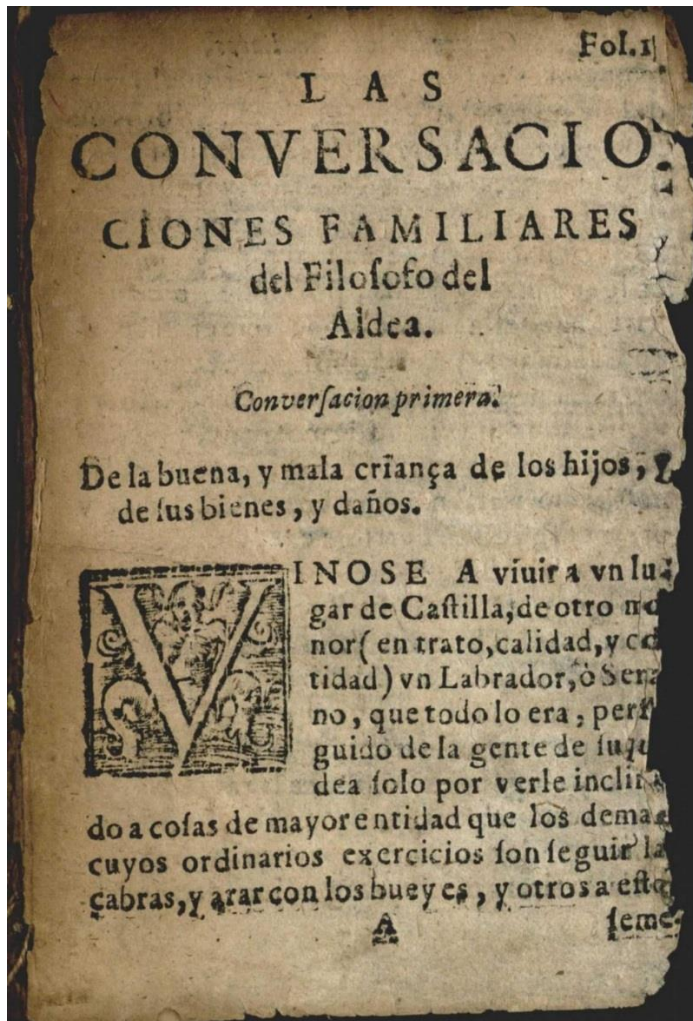


Fig. 9 (Biblioteca Pública Lambert

Mata, R.192)

<sup>41</sup> This copy can be consulted at:

<http://www.bibgirona.cat/pandora/viewer.vm?id=0000001444> [last accessed: 10 July 2019].

The text of the Ripoll copy is absolutely identical throughout the book with the main body of all of the issues that I have inspected,<sup>42</sup> meaning that the differences between the respective issues can safely be said to be limited to the first gathering, with the result that the issue to which the Ripoll copy belongs is absolutely unidentifiable. For instance, the opening page of *Is4*:

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<sup>42</sup> Of the twelve extant copies of this edition of *El Filósofo del aldea*, I have examined, in one form or another, nine, with only the three copies of *Is1* held in Barcelona, Lisbon and Hamburg escaping my attention. Each of these nine contains the same distinctive, identifying feature of the body of the text: several major and minor errors of numeration: fol. 12 is not numbered; fol. 19 is misnumbered as another fol. 18; fol. 21 is misnumbered as another fol. 20; fol. 41 is misnumbered as fol. 36; the '2' of fol. 42 is printed upside down; the '6' of fol. 46 is missing; fol. 48 is misnumbered as fol. 31; fol. 56 is misnumbered as fol. 33; fol. 74 is misnumbered as 63; fol. 77 is misnumbered as fol. 69; fol. 79 is misnumbered as fol. 67; fol. 88 is not numbered; at what should be fol. 97, the numbering returns to fol. 92 and continues in this fashion to the end of the text at fol. 106, which should be fol. 111. Furthermore, the signature F3, on fol. 43, is mislabelled as E3 (fol. 43).

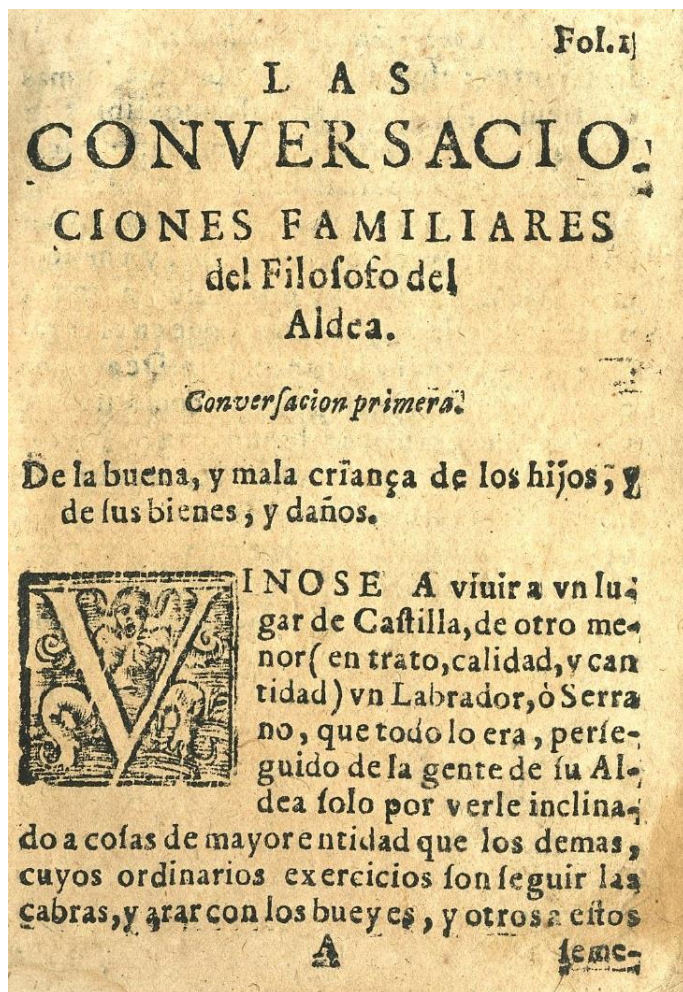


Fig. 10 (HSA, PQ 6495. V6b)

The final extant copy of the Zaragoza *Filósofo del aldea* is held in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (2/5664),<sup>43</sup> bequeathed from the personal library of Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera, and it too lacks a *portada*; in place of a printed title page is a handwritten surrogate, which reinforces the erroneous dating of c. 1650, by reference to Pedro Salvá y Mallén's bibliography:

<sup>43</sup> This copy of the Zaragoza *Filósofo del aldea*, uniquely among those I have examined, omits gathering K, but this should be interpreted as a manual mistake in binding, rather than an error generated by the print process.

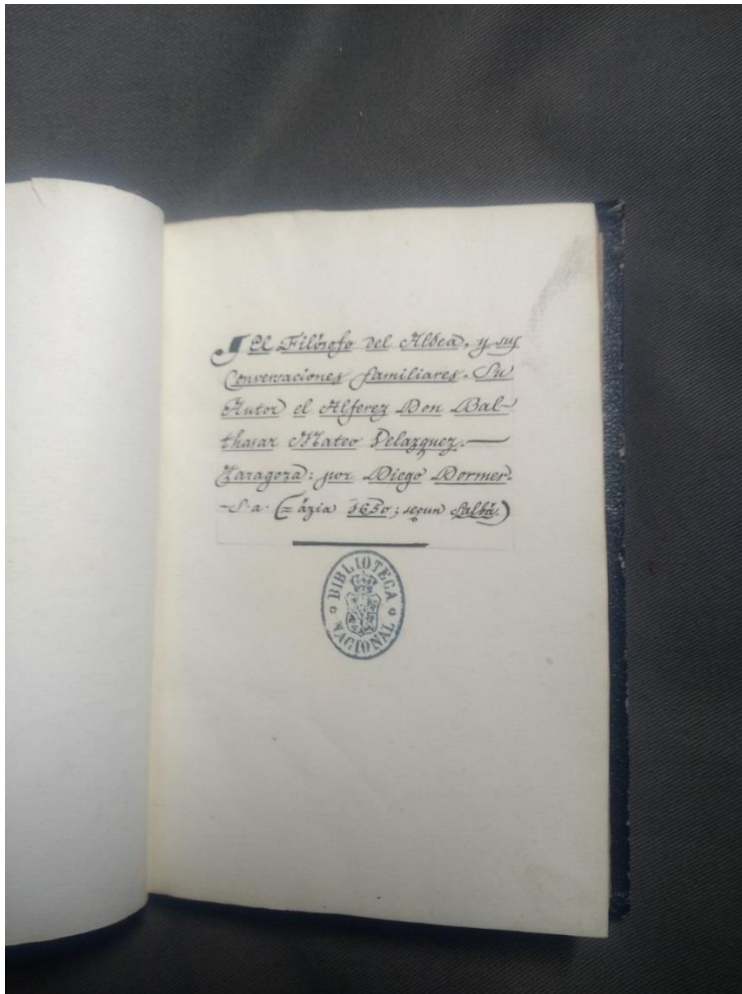


Fig. 11 (BNE 2/5664)

If this absence of a title page is a hindrance to our categorisation, the presence of the only paratextual material in this copy is equally, if not more, disorienting: a printed contents page, which is similar to, but ultimately not the same as, the contents page — not found in *Is1*, *Is2* or *Is3* — which is included among the preliminary materials of *Is4*:

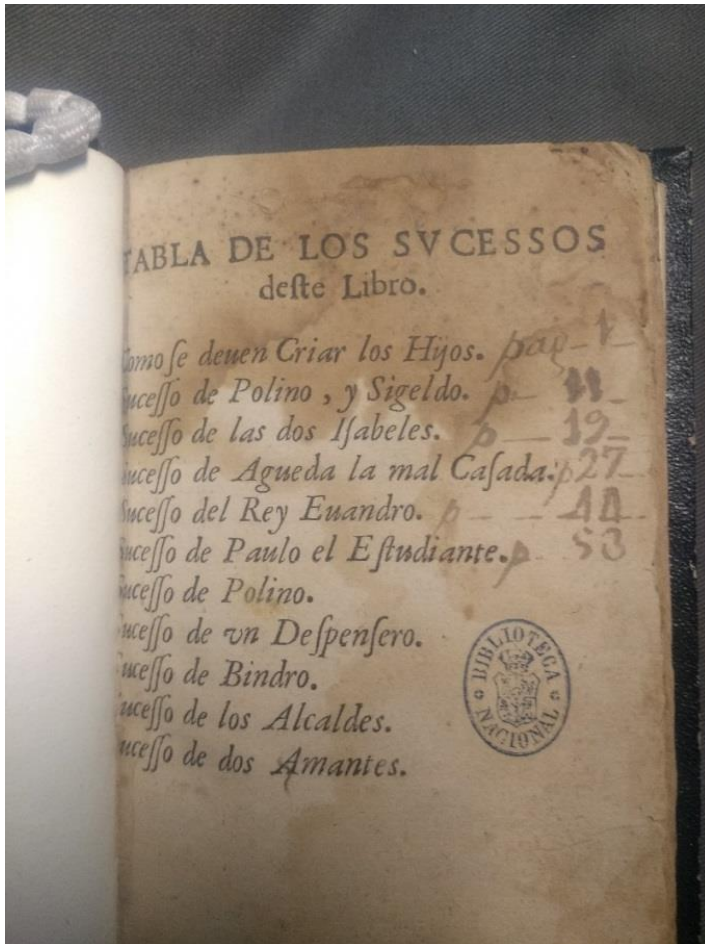


Fig. 12 (BNE 2/5664)

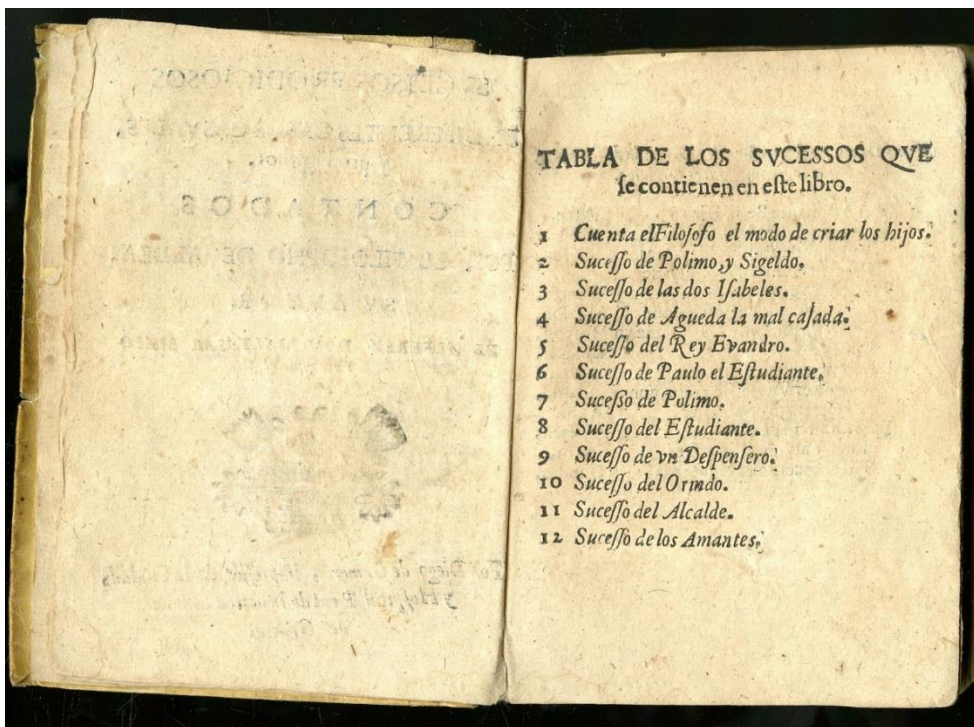


Fig. 13 (Is4:

HSA, PQ 6495. V6b)



Like the contents page of *Is4*, which doubles down on the changed title of the *portada* (*Sucesos prodigiosos en diferentes casos casuales y prodigiosos [...]*) and highlights primarily the imaginative literature found in the miscellany, the list which opens BNE 2/5664 concentrates almost entirely on the fictional material of the volume, with only the first heading, 'Cómo se deben criar los hijos' (analogous to 'Cuenta el Filósofo el modo de criar los hijos' in *Is4*), signalling one of the factual discourses of the volume. While both contents lists are inaccurate, BNE 2/5664 is more defective in this respect: for instance, 'Polino' in the second heading should be 'Polimo', as *Is4* correctly prints, and the BNE copy omits a reference to the story which *Is4* lists as the eighth entry ('Suceso del estudiante').<sup>44</sup> Both contents pages, however, contain similar errors which do not stem from the stories found in the main text of the Zaragoza edition; so, the seventh entry in both lists the protagonist as Polimo/Polino, in effect repeating the second entry, whereas the main character of this tale is one Polonia, while the antepenultimate heading in both lists, 'del Orindo'/'Bindro', is incorrect, as the hapless star of this *cuento* is, in both the in-text rubric and the story itself, one Lorindo. We might consider it unlikely that these errors, particularly the first, would occur independently, and we could postulate that the contents list of the BNE copy was based on that of *Is4* or that they both depended on the same flawed manuscript original.

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<sup>44</sup> The protagonist of this *novela*, the third of the four *Casos acaso* and the longest fiction of the volume, is named Petronio, and, unlike Paulo in the first of the series, he is not actually a student. For a summary of the narratives of this *miscelánea*, see Velázquez, *El Filósofo del aldea*, ed. Bradbury, pp. 30-36.

In what remains of this study, I shall list the characteristics of the opening gatherings of the four issues, expand on some of the most notable peculiarities and assess whether any of these are germane to the issue of dating.

**Is1:**

*Portada* [Fig. 1] with blank verso.

[Dedication in BNE 2/18233, BNE R/16266] *A DON PEDRO GVTIERREZ | de Miranda, Assentista de Millones | desu [sic] Magestad ( que Dios | guarde.)* (3 pages)

[In BNE R.15005(2): *A DON PEDRO DE MI- | randa, Assentista de Millones de | su Magestad ( que Dios | guarde)* (3 pages)]

[Legal preliminary: Fig. 6] *APROBACION DEL P. M. Fr. | Christoval de Torres, de la Orden | de Predicadores.* (1 page]

[Prologue] *AL LECTOR* [1 page)

[Dedicatory poem (from *princeps* of 1625)] *Endecasilabo, de quien dizen las prime- | ras letras.* (1 page)

**Is2:**

*Portada* [Fig. 2] with blank verso.

[Dedication] *A DON PEDRO DE MI- | randa, Assentista de Millones de | su Magestad ( que Dios | guarde)* (3 pages)

[Legal preliminary: Fig. 7] *APROBACION DEL P. M. Fr. | Christoval de Torres, de la Orden | de Predicadores.* (1 page)

[Prologue] *AL LECTOR* (1 page)

[Dedicatory poem (from *princeps* of 1625)] *Endecasilabo, de quien dizen las prime- | ras letras.* (1 page)

**Is3:**

*Portada* [Fig. 3] with blank verso.

[Dedication] *A DON DIEGO DE ARROYO | y Roças, Escrivano mayor de Ren-  
| tas de su Magestad.* (2 pages)

**Is4:**

*Portada* [Fig. 4] with blank verso.

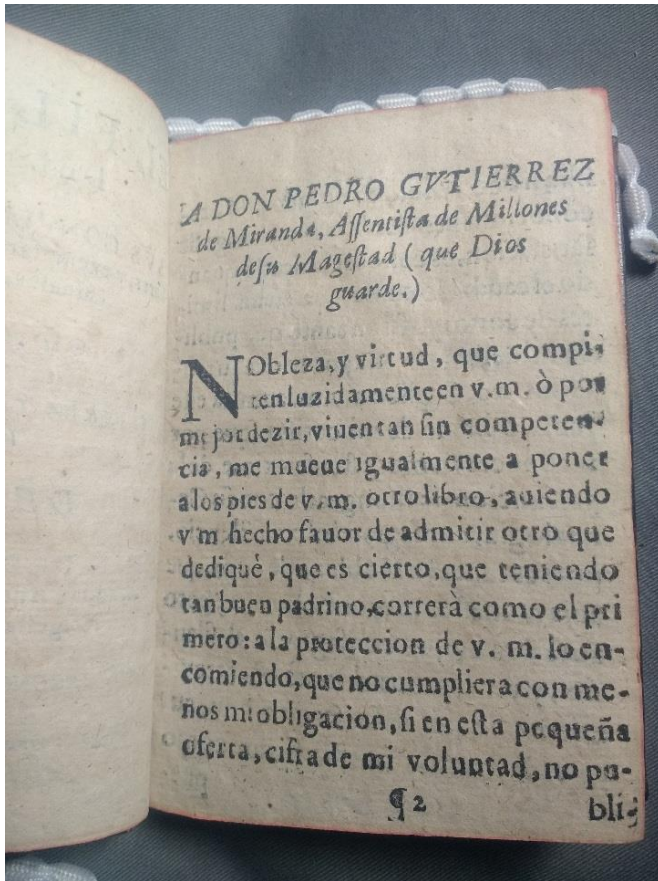
[Contents page: Fig. 13] *DE LOS SVCESSOS QVE | se contienen en este libro.*  
(1 page)

[Two unattributed sonnets on facing pages] *A una Dama que se preciava de  
aborrecida de su Galan, | Assunto, y consonantes forçados. & En una sospecha  
porfiada, poniéndose de parte de | la razon.* (2 pages)

[Legal preliminary: Fig. 8] *APROBACION DEL P. M. Fr. | Christoval de Torres, de  
la Orden | de Predicadores.* (1 page)

[Prologue:] *AL LECTOR* (1 page) [verso blank]

We should begin with the two issues, *Is1* and *Is2*, which in most respects are identical in content and disposition. From the descriptions above, we do note, however, that there is a minor difference in the heading of the dedication, for *Is2* prefers a shorter version of the dedicatee's name:



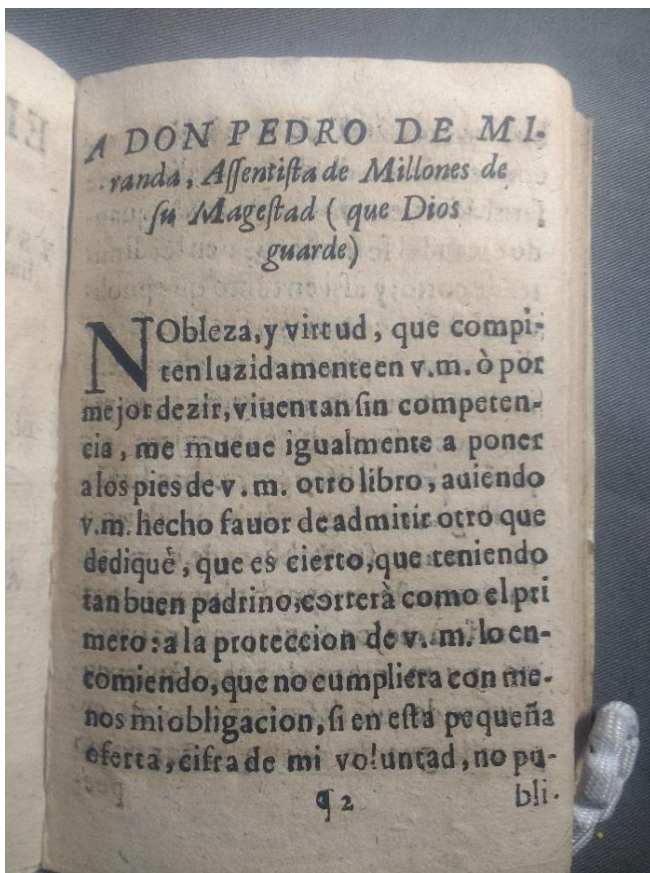
A DON PEDRO GUTIERREZ  
*de Miranda, Assentista de Millones  
de su Magestad ( que Dios  
guarde.)*

**N**Obleza, y virtud, que compiten  
luzidamente en v. m. ò por  
mejor dezir, viuentan sin competen-  
cia, me mueue igualmente a poner  
a los pies de v. m. otro libro, auiendo  
v. m. hecho fauor de admitir otro que  
dediqué, que es cierto, que teniendo  
tan buen padrino, correrá como el pri-  
mero: a la proteccion de v. m. lo en-  
comiendo, que no cumpliera con me-  
nos mi obligacion, si en esta pequeña  
oferta, cifra de mi voluntad, no pu-  
bli-

92

bli-

Fig. 14 (Is1: BNE 2/18233)



A DON PEDRO DE MI-  
*randa, Assentista de Millones de  
su Magestad ( que Dios  
guarde)*

**N**Obleza, y virtud, que compiten  
luzidamente en v. m. ò por  
mejor dezir, viuentan sin competen-  
cia, me mueue igualmente a poner  
a los pies de v. m. otro libro, auiendo  
v. m. hecho fauor de admitir otro que  
dediqué, que es cierto, que teniendo  
tan buen padrino, correrá como el pri-  
mero: a la proteccion de v. m. lo en-  
comiendo, que no cumpliera con me-  
nos mi obligacion, si en esta pequeña  
oferta, cifra de mi voluntad, no pu-  
bli-

92

bli-

Fig. 15 (Is2: BNE R/19527)

However, the same shortened heading is found in BNE R.15005(2), which, in all other respects, is an example of *Is1*, meaning that we can in fact talk about two *states* of *Is1*:

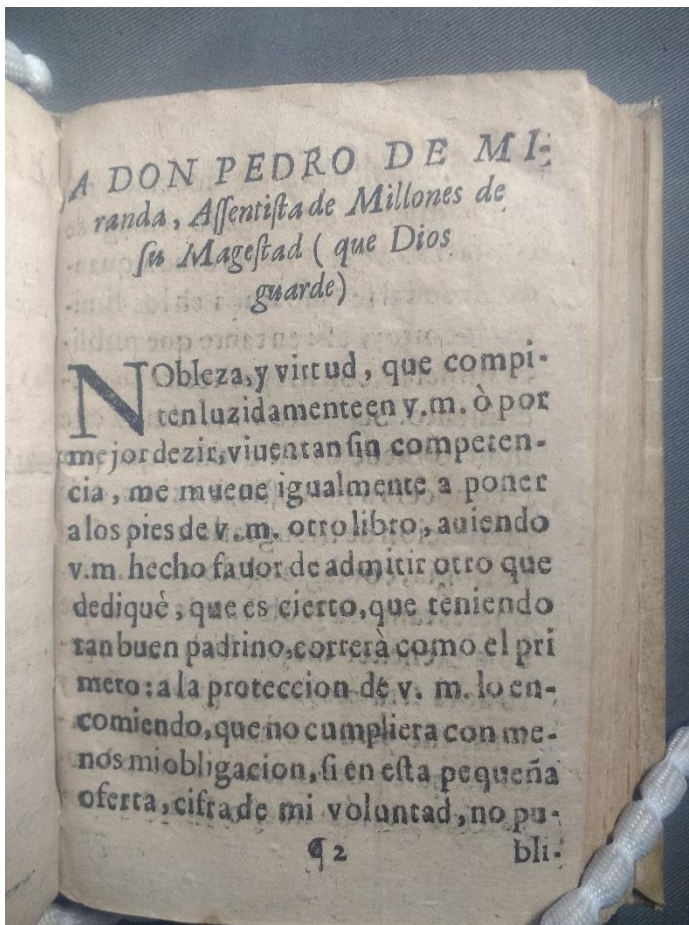


Fig. 16 (*Is1*: BNE R.15005(2))

Despite this variance, all three BNE copies of *Is1* boast a typographical difference at the conclusion of the dedication which marks all of them out from *Is2*: the appearance of the catchword 'APRO[BACION]', which in *Is2* presents a level appearance and does not have a terminal hyphen:

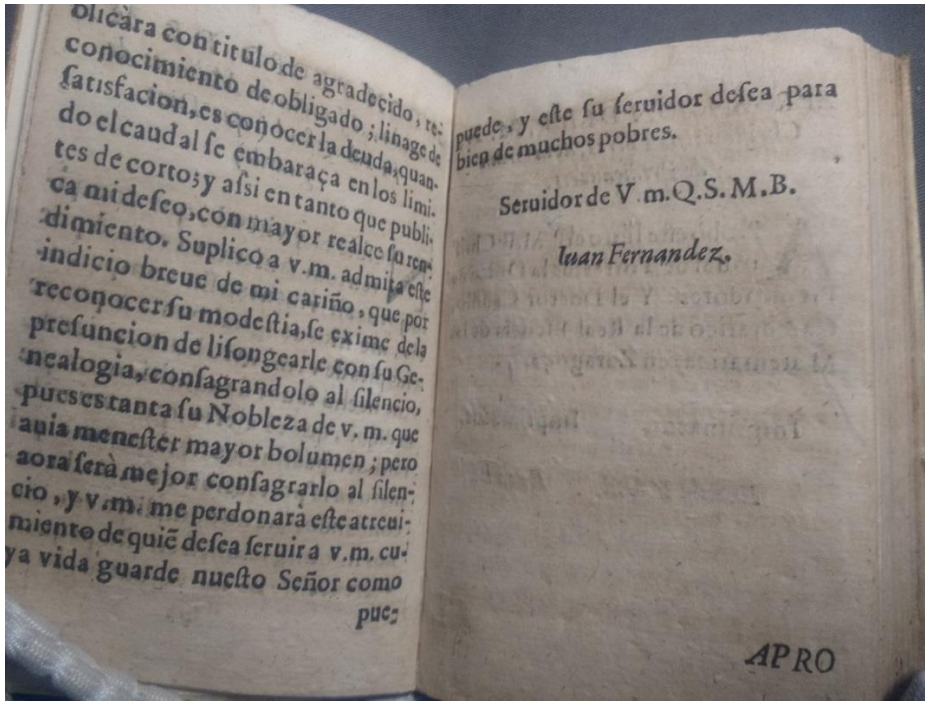


Fig. 17 (Is2: BNE

R/19527)

whereas in Is1 there is a hyphen and the letter 'O' is at a lower level:

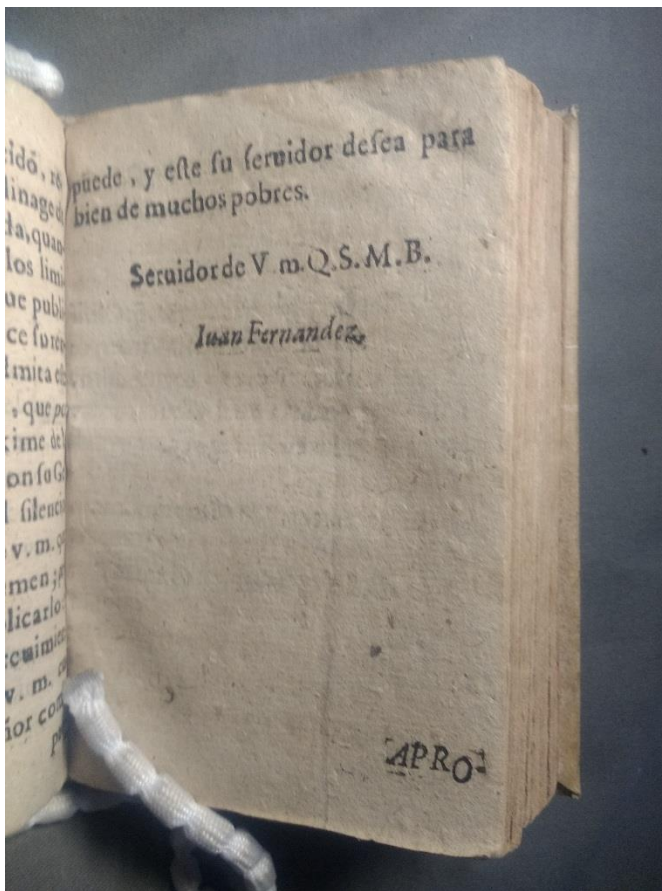


Fig. 18 (Is1: BNE R.15005(2))

*Is3*, extant in two copies, is quite unlike the other three issues, in so far as its preliminaries consist uniquely of the dedication to Diego de Arroyo, which occupies two pages. However, in this case too we can talk of two states of the given issue, for, while in both copies the text of the dedication ends mid-sentence, the HSA copy has one word more in this section than the copy held in the Biblioteca de Andalucía, finishing 'con los aumentos de gracia *que*' (my emphasis):

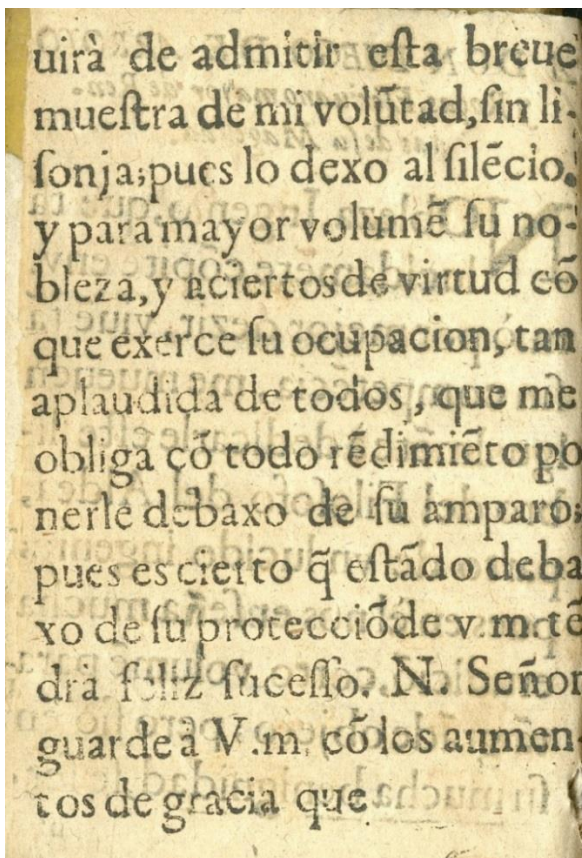


Fig. 19 (*Is3*: HSA, PQ 6495. V6a)

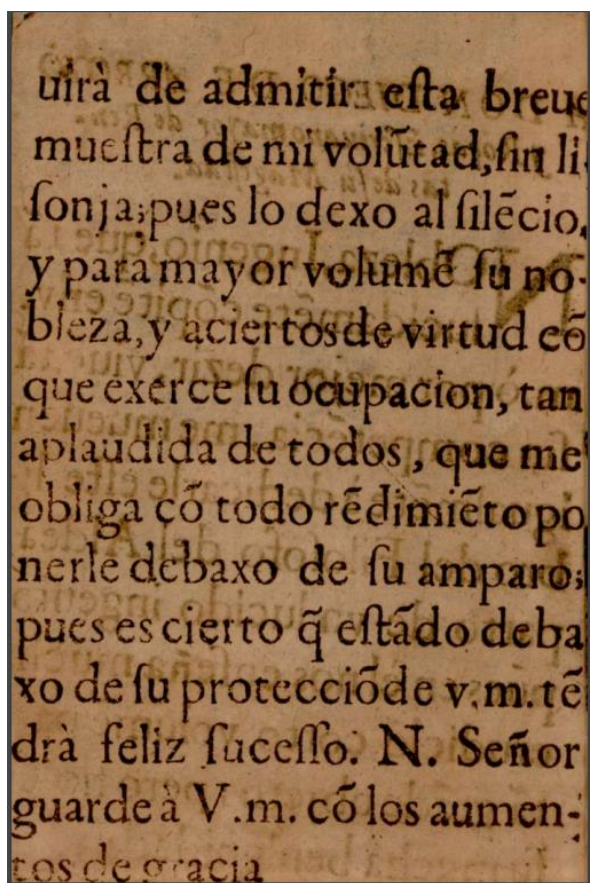


Fig. 20 (*Is3*: Biblioteca de Andalucía, ANT-

XVII-8)

*Is4*, extant in a single copy, is also very different to the other issues, from its *portada* (Fig. 5) onwards; this presents a markedly different title, as we have seen, changes the author's middle name from Mateo to the altogether more unfortunate 'Malo', and, while it does name the printer as Diego 'de Ormer', like *Is1*, it is the only *portada* to boast a decorative motif (one not found elsewhere in Dormer's output), while the typography presents clear differences to that found on the title pages of the other issues, as even a cursory observation of elements such as the 'z' of Velázquez and the joined 'st' in 'Nuestra [Señora]' demonstrates. The subsequent preliminaries of *Is4* contain no signatures, in which sense they are dissimilar to those of *Is1* and *Is2*, and no catchwords, in which sense they differ from all of the other three issues. While *Is4* shares its legal preliminary and prologue with *Is1* and *Is2*, there are minor but clear



divergences. In the reproductions of the approbations in Figs. 6 (*Is1*), 7 (*Is2*) and 8 (*Is4*), we see, for example, that in *Is4*, ‘Chris-’ at the end of the first line of text has a hyphen in a way that it does not in *Is1* and *Is2*, and ‘Zaragoça’ in *Is4* is followed by a comma instead of the full stop with which it appears in the other two issues. In *Is4*, the subsequent foreword appears in the following form:

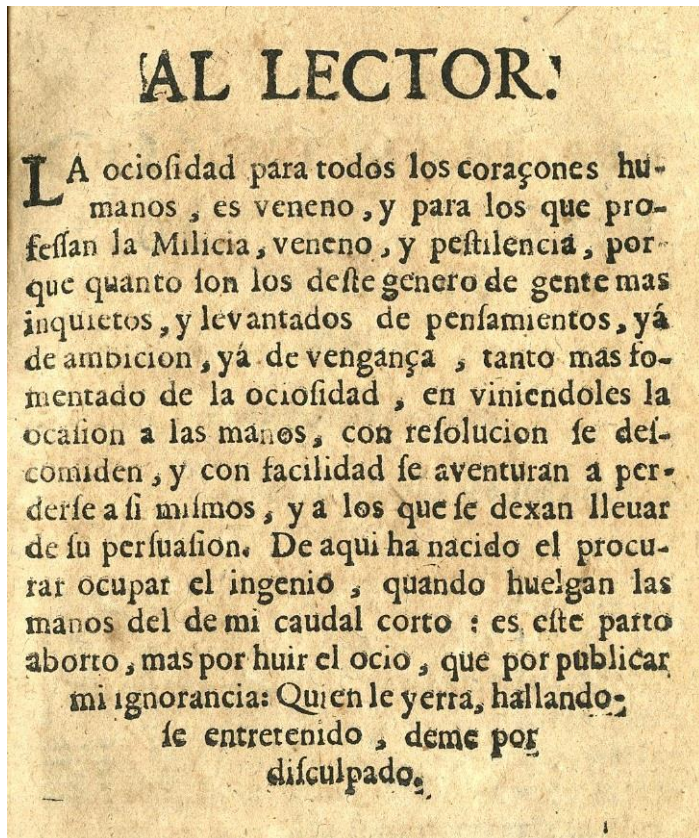


Fig. 21 (*Is4*: HSA, PQ 6495. V6b)

While this does appear to be set with the same type as the equivalent prologue in *Is1* and *Is2*, it presents various minor differences—including, but not limited to, the difference of truncation in the fourth-bottom line-ending, the usage of *u* and *v*, and the punctuation after ‘caudal corto’, five lines from bottom—, as well as a more substantial change in the antepenultimate and penultimate lines, where *Is4* has ‘Quien le yerra , hallando- | se’, while *Is1* and *Is2* have ‘Quien leyere, ha- | llandose’:

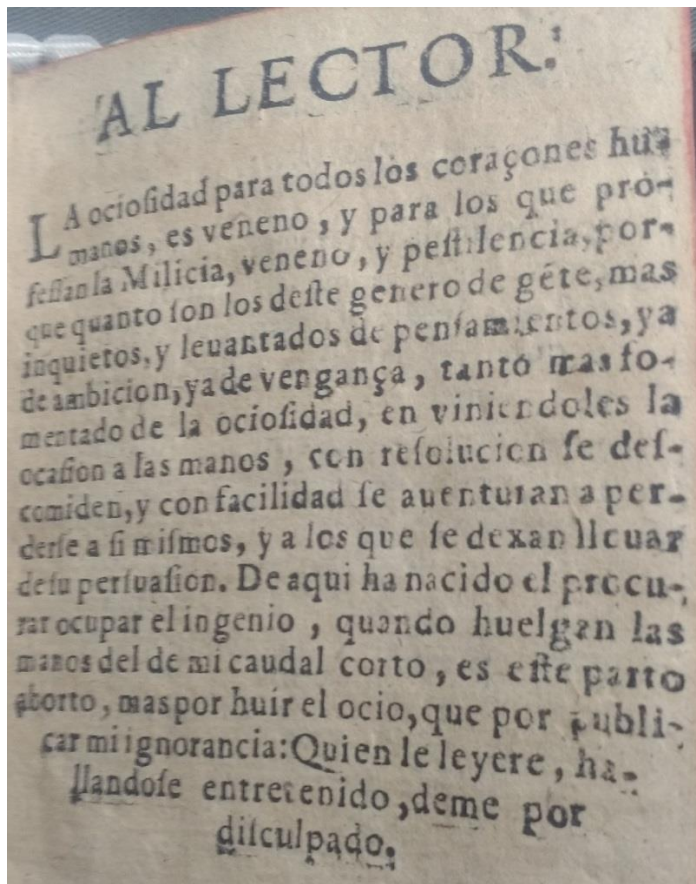


Fig. 22 (Is1: BNE 2/18233)

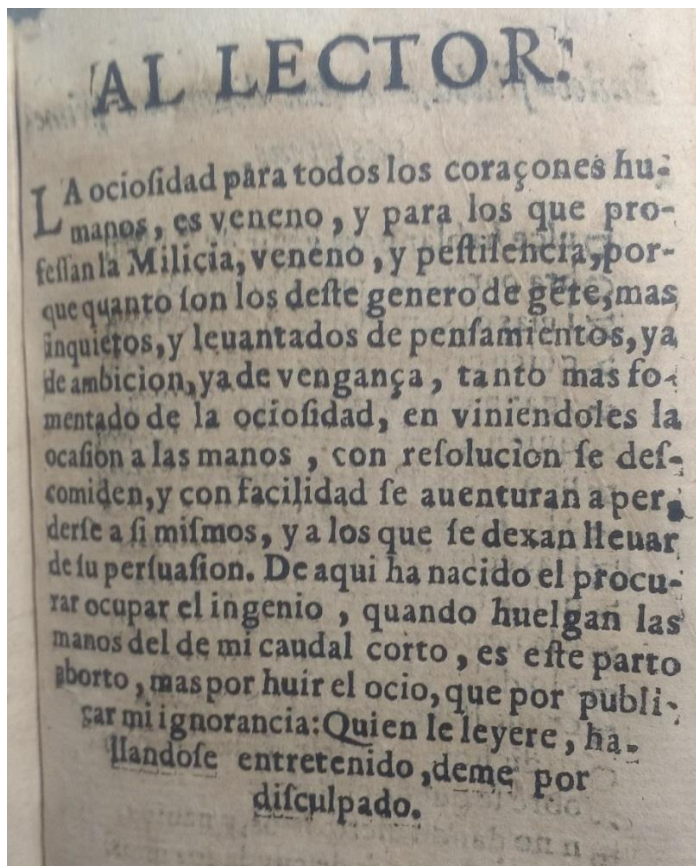


Fig. 23 (Is2: BNE R/19527)

*Is4* differs from *Is1* and *Is2* also in its poetic provision, and, uniquely, it seems to me, among the permutations in the preliminaries across the four issues, it is this divergence which may furnish a clue towards a revised dating of the Zaragoza edition of *El Filósofo del aldea*. While *Is1* and *Is2* reproduce without discrepancies the third of the three laudatory poems which had appeared in the first edition of *El Filósofo del aldea*,<sup>45</sup> *Is4* presents two sonnets absolutely unconnected to the work at hand, either through its editorial history or any of its themes:

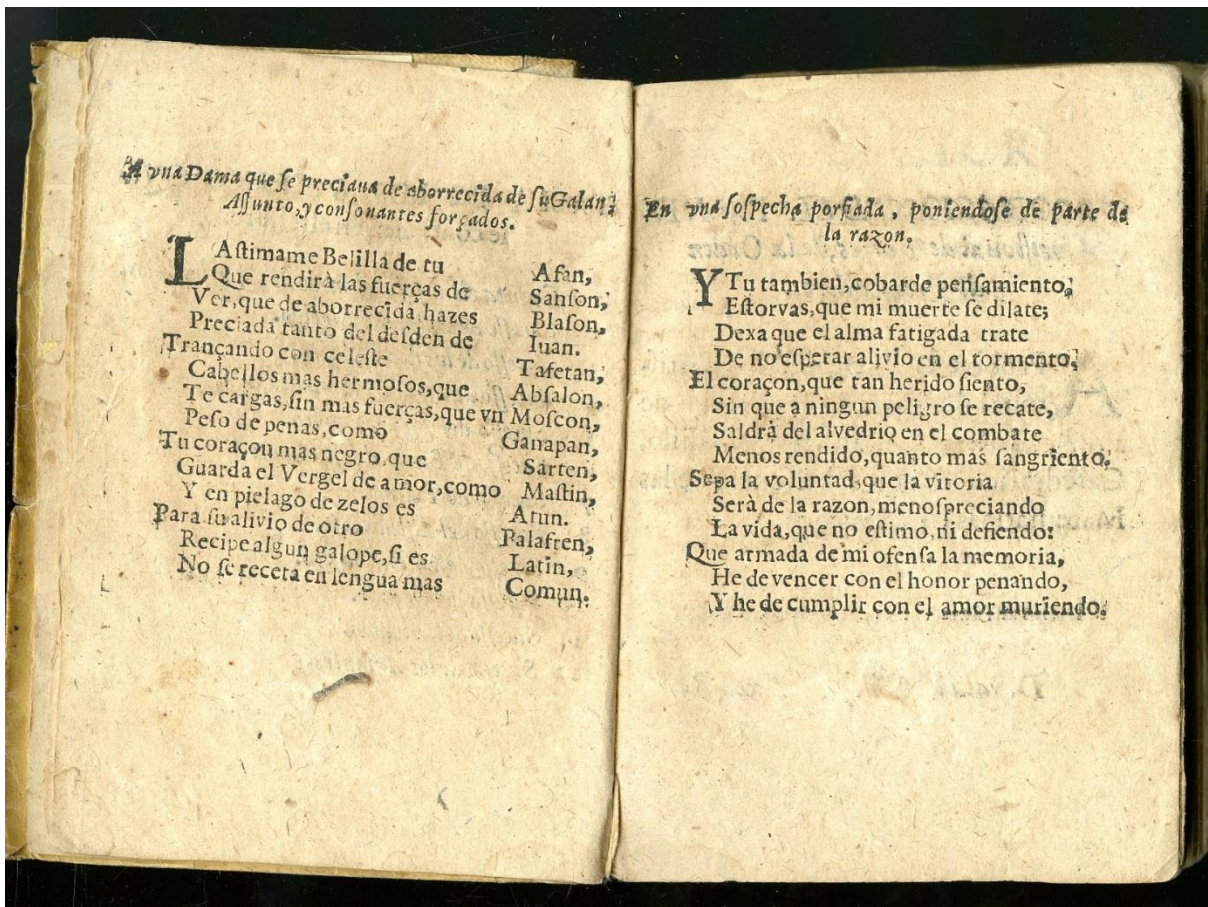
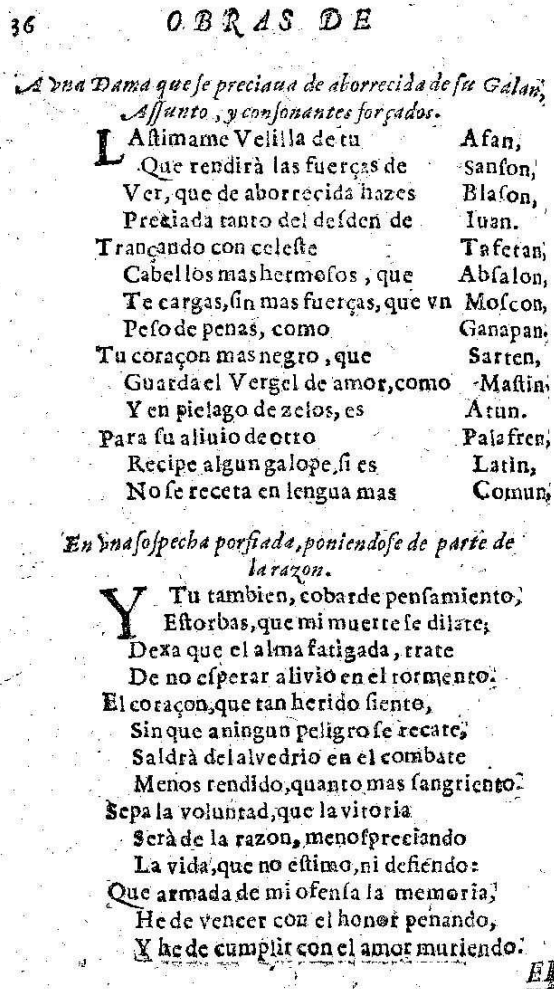


Fig. 24 (*Is4*: HSA, PQ 6495. V6b)

<sup>45</sup> See Velázquez, *El Filósofo del aldea*, ed. Bradbury, pp. 48-49.

These pieces, while unattributed in *Is4*, are in fact the work of Luis de Ulloa y Pereira (1584-1674); the second of them is found in his 1659 *Versos*, but the first does not appear in that edition. The two sonnets do appear together, however, *in the same order on the same page*, in the poet's *Obras*, printed in Madrid in 1674:



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Fig. 25 (Luis de Ulloa

Pereira, *Obras* [...] (Madrid: Francisco Sanz, en la Imprenta del Reino, 1674), p. 36 (i.e., p. 52)

## Conclusions

We can, I believe, now assert with confidence that the considerable weight of circumstantial evidence bears out a revised dating of the *Zaragoza Filósofo del aldea*, moving it away from the accepted date of c. 1650 towards a point later in the century:

specifically, to the first half of the 1670s. In our examination of the information offered by the *portadas* of the four issues, we have noted that the denomination of Dormer as the official printer of the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de Gracia in Zaragoza – with the exception of a 1664 edition and two undated works – only adorns his publications from 1669 until the end of the printing activity under his name in 1676; we have observed that the corrupted form of his surname, ‘de Ormer’, is only attested in one other work, his edition of Murillo’s *Aprobación de ingenios* in 1672; persuasive also are the details associated with the bookseller Juan Fernández, whose address, given on the title page of *Is2*, is mentioned in print from 1671, but is absent prior to that, including on the *portada* of the 1670 *Casos raros de la confesión*; and Fernández’s comment regarding a previous dedication to the addressee of *Is1* and *Is2*, Gutiérrez de Miranda, may place the *Zaragoza Filósofo del aldea* subsequent to Dormer’s 1671 edition of *El diablo cojuelo*, also presented to this individual. The fact that the fake legal preliminary which we encounter in the Zaragoza edition of *El Filósofo del aldea* is one of a group of seven analogous falsifications, five of which appear under Dormer’s name between 1671 and 1676 (with the sixth, Dormer’s undated *Migajas del ingenio*, also likely belonging to this same period) is a very strong circumstantial proof for a dating of the *Zaragoza Filósofo del aldea* in the first half of the 1670s, and the unscathed appearance of the *Filósofo del aldea* approbation, quite different to the vitiated approvals from the same sequence found in *Vergel de entremeses* (1675) and *Flor de entremeses* (1676), may argue for a date of publication prior to that of *Vergel de entremeses* in 1675. From our review of the differences between the four issues, the only detail which potentially assists our efforts in re-dating the *Zaragoza Filósofo del aldea*

is found in *Is4*, whose two preliminary poems would appear to be borrowed from Ulloa y Pereira's *Obras*, published at some point in the second half of 1674, as made clear by its *Fe de erratas* and *Tasa*. If we could indeed place *El Filósofo del aldea* in 1674 itself, it would represent the sole known Dormer publication of that year, after a prolific 1673; furthermore, if we take the fact that Dormer's 'Herederos' start printing in 1674 as an indication that the 1675 and 1676 anthologies represent posthumous employments of Diego Dormer's name, a 1674 date for *El Filósofo del aldea* could make it his last publication or the first of three uses of a dead man's credentials.

Our exposition of the differences between the issues of the Zaragoza *Filósofo del aldea* raises a plethora of questions, most of them insoluble, at least within the purview of this essay. We have noted that the issues are distinguished by alterations to the first gathering only, with *Is1* and *Is2* most similar to each other, *Is3* presenting significantly reduced preliminary content, and *Is4* effecting the most radical changes, albeit still conserving important elements of *Is1* and *Is2*. While the majority of the changes effected across the four issues are clearly deliberate, most of them are still baffling. *Is1* and *Is2* are principally differentiated by their imprints – of Dormer, in Zaragoza, and Fernández, in Madrid, respectively – and we are entitled to wonder why both the printer and the bookseller should not have been credited instead on a single issue; while Fernández might have wanted an issue that appeared specifically *madrileño* to stock in his shop, no effort is made in the legal preliminaries of *Is2* to disguise the Aragonese status of these. Similarly, if having issues which flatter two different dedicatees – Gutiérrez de Miranda in *Is1* and *Is2*, and Arroyo y Rozas in *Is3* – is an increased opportunity for flattery and thereafter some preferment, this does not

explain why *Is3* does away with all of the other preliminaries, nor why the dedication to Arroyo y Rozas terminates mid-sentence. And, if the reorientation of *Is4* towards the fictional content of the miscellany, through its *portada* and contents page, might represent a sound commercial strategy, why does this issue replace a dedication with two ostensibly random poems? The absolutely oddest element, however, is the spelling of the printer Diego Dormer's name, given in *Is1* and *Is4* as Diego 'de Ormer', and as Diego 'de Hormer' in *Is3*. While we might be inclined to view these mistaken forms as an indication that the work was not in fact printed by Dormer, this would not easily explain the shift from 'Hormer' to 'Ormer', or vice versa, between issues, and we are faced too with the fact that Murillo's medical work *Aprobación de ingenios*, of 1672, also bears the 'de Ormer' variant; it is harder to imagine an author of Murillo's status, a royal doctor no less, becoming embroiled in such sharp practice, especially as this seems to be the only edition of his treatise, and not a pirated re-edition. The question of whether the third edition of *El Filósofo del aldea* was printed by someone else, perhaps somewhere other than Zaragoza, does nevertheless remain an open one, but such an enquiry would need to take into account also the six Dormer-printed volumes which, along with *El Filósofo del aldea*, constitute the pattern of false Torres-Cedillo Díaz approbations, as well as requiring a detailed comparison of Dormer's types, built up over a long career, with those used by other contemporary printers: an investigation, in sum, well beyond the remit of the present study.