

SOME NOTES ON THE SPANISH *COMEDIA* PRINTED IN PORTUGAL DURING THE 17TH CENTURY*

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Abstract: In this paper I intend to study the phenomenon of the Spanish theatre printed in Portugal during the first half of the 17th Century. Lope de Vega's *partes*, Jacinto Cordero's *comedias*, Manoel Coelho Rebello's short pieces and several *partes* of the collection *Comedias de Lisboa* were printed either in Lisbon or in Coimbra. Considering the new data provided by researchers such as Iglesias Feijoo and Vega García-Luengos, I will analyse the material and cultural aspects of these editions to determine its relationship with their first readers and – as far as possible – with the Castilian book market. To accomplish that, I will apply some theoretical approaches that have proved to be especially helpful. Therefore, my investigation will analyse the books housed in different libraries – Biblioteca Nacional de España, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal or Hispanic Society of America, among others – considering the procedures of the Analytical Bibliography and according to the progresses achieved by Cultural Studies, Reception Aesthetics and the History of Reading; all of that in order to throw some light on a relatively unknown subject – the connection between the Spanish theatre and the Portuguese presses.

Keywords: Spanish theatre, *comedia nueva*, Portuguese printers, “*Officina craesbeeckiana*”, Lope de Vega.

The bibliographical problems derived from the two issues of the *Seis comedias de Lope de Vega y otros autores* (Lisbon, Pedro Craesbeeck / Francisco Lopez, 1603) has been a matter long time discussed, especially since La Barrera, Von Schack, Rennert or Restori¹, among others, analysed this and other similar

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¹ Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera, *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español desde sus orígenes hasta mediados del siglo XVIII*, Madrid, Imprenta y esterotipia de M. Rivadeneyra, 1860, pp. 423-426; Adolph Friedrich von Schack, *Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático en España. Tomo II*, Madrid, Imprenta y fundición de M. Tello, 1886, p. 392; Hugo A. Rennert, *Bibliography of the dramatic Works of Lope de Vega Carpio based upon the catalogue of*

early editions of *comedias* printed in the 17th century. Moreover, in the last years, that very first edition of a Spanish *comedia nueva* has been widely studied, including some recent works by researchers such as Luis Iglesias Feijoo, Germán Vega García-Luengos or Jaime Moll².

The truth is that this book could be considered representative not only of those primitive editorial attempts we may find in Portugal, but also in other places of the kingdoms of Castille and Aragon. As the century went by, the readers and spectators' appreciation for dramatic forms grew, "como si los textos dramáticos hubieran adquirido estatuto de recepción híbrido entre la vista y el oído de los teatros y la lectura reflexiva de los aposentos. El género dramático más o menos conscientemente dio pasos ciertos hacia las características genéricas de la poesía y la novela"³. If we can say so about the omnipresent *partes de comedias* printed all over the Iberian Peninsula, we can make no exception for Portugal. In fact, we may even think of Portugal as the first Hispanic kingdom to notice the profit that could be obtained by printing and selling these plays, as we can see in the tendency of Pedro Craesbeeck – and his heirs – to compose those texts in his presses⁴.

The historical and cultural context was indeed favourable enough for a printer like Craesbeeck, who learned the trade with Plantin in Antwerp, so that he "criara assim, com o seu trabalho, uma grande casa impressora"⁵ in which he paid attention – among other things – to the Spanish *comedia*. Thus, his Spanish production should not surprise us if we consider that Portugal was a part of the Hispanic Monarchy until 1640, the year of the Restoration, when literary and historically the Portuguese kingdom started a road towards dramatic independence, with new texts written in Portuguese and for a Portuguese public⁶. Until then – and

John Rutter Chorley, in "Revue Hispanique", vol. XXXIII/1915, pp. 9–10; Antonio Restori, *Saggi di bibliografia teatrale spagnuola*, Genève, Leo S. Olschki, 1927, p. 46.

² Germán Vega García-Luengos, *Sobre la identidad de las partes de comedias*, in "Críticón", nr. 108/2010, pp. 57-78; Jaime Moll, *Problemas bibliográficos del libro del Siglo de Oro*, Madrid, Arco/Libros, 2011, p. 289; Luis Iglesias Feijoo, *La única edición de las 'Seis comedias de Lope de Vega' (Lisboa, 1603)*, in "Bulletin of Spanish Studies", nr. 90.4-5/2013, pp. 719-734.

³ Germán Vega García-Luengos, *La transmisión del teatro en el siglo XVII*, in Javier Huerta Calvo (dir.), *Historia del teatro español*, Madrid, Gredos, 2003, p. 1309.

⁴ In order to better understand the book market as far as Spanish literature is concerned, we should not forget some well-known articles by Don W. Cruikshank, *Some aspects of Spanish book-production in the Golden Age*, in "The Library", nr. 31.1/1976, pp. 1-19; Idem, "Literature" and the book trade in Golden-Age Spain, in "Modern Language Review", nr. 73.4/1978, 799-824; Keith Whinnom, *The problem of the 'best-seller' in Spanish Golden-Age literature*, in "Bulletin of Hispanic Studies", nr. 57.3/1980, pp. 189-198; and Moll, *Problemas bibliográficos...*, pp. 101-152, as well as Fermín de los Reyes, *El libro en España y América: legislación y censura (siglos XV-XVIII)*, Madrid, Arco/Libros, 2000. Although not all of them are specifically referred here, they were an important part in the development of this work.

⁵ João José Alves Dias, *Craesbeeck, uma dinastia de impressores em Portugal: elementos para o seu estudo*, Lisbon, Associação portuguesa de livreiros alfarrabistas, 1996, p. XII.

⁶ Although we may find some playwrights who write part of their work in Portuguese before 1640, such as Simão Machado, we should remember Agustín de la Granja's words about the *sueltas*

long after the end of the 17th century, for some genres – the plays that could be viewed on the stage or read in the books were no more than those works written following Spanish patterns, which included very different dramatic forms: *comedias*, *autos sacramentales* or *entremeses*, all of them with a very different acceptance as well.

In order to realize the true nature of these plays, we should consider first of all that the Portuguese spectator – and reader – was different from the Castilian one. The bilingualism of the population in Lisbon or Coimbra made them enjoy the plays written by Lope de Vega, for example, either on the stage or on paper, but with the conscience that they were being witnesses of a text composed by strangers, even if they could feel it like part of their culture. Actually, once considered José Camões and Piedad Bolaños & Mercedes de los Reyes' studies, there is no doubt that:

(...) la continuada presencia de actores españoles en Portugal y el éxito que obtenían, el interés de los sucesivos dueños del Patio de las Arcas por la contratación de compañías españolas, la representación de obras en castellano escritas por poetas españoles y la utilización de esta lengua por dramaturgos portugueses constituyen, a nuestro juicio, sobradas pruebas para afirmar la inexistencia de barreras lingüísticas que impidieran la comprensión de nuestro teatro por el público lusitano⁷.

In addition to the fact that there is no problem when we think of the spread of Spanish plays on the stage, we should consider that they were equally well accepted by the readers whenever they bought a book crafted by the usual printers of Portugal, who started exploiting the works of the Spanish poets very early in the century in a similar process to the one that took place in Castille during the 17th century. We could say even more if we consider an evidence of the success of this kind of

housed at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal: «no siempre se suele tener presente lo que con todo respeto afirmaba en 1988 Marie Roig Miranda; o sea, que “entre 1580 y 1640 la Corona de Portugal estuvo unida a la de España”. Y no sólo eso. Cabe afirmar que el interés por la cultura española se prolongó en Portugal hasta mucho más tarde, pues no de otro modo me hubiera sido posible exhumar esos impresos tardíos – del siglo XVIII – que luego se presentan». Agustín de la Granja, *Comedias españolas del Siglo de Oro en la Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa (primera serie)*, in José Romera Castillo, Ana Freire López & Antonio Lorente Medina (coord.), *Ex libris. Homenaje al profesor José Fradejas Lebrero*, Madrid, UNED, 1993, p. 299.

⁷ Piedad Bolaños & Mercedes de los Reyes Peña, *La presencia del teatro barroco español en Lisboa a través del estudio del Patio de las Arcas*, in Maria da Graça M. Ventura (ed.), *O Barroco e o mundo ibero atlántico*, Lisbon, Colibri, 1998, pp. 144-145. *Cfr.* José Camões, *Del diálogo al combate lingüístico en el teatro del Portugal de la Restauração*, in Ângela Fernandes et al. (ed.), *Diálogos ibéricos e iberoamericanos*, Lisbon, ALEPH / Centro de Estudos Comparatistas da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2010, p. 74: “Se puede hablar de sentimiento contradictorio por parte de los autores portugueses frente a utilización del idioma español, cuando pueden elegir entre éste y el suyo. Si, por una parte, querían exhibir su patriotismo a través del uso del idioma portugués en una actividad que estaba reservada habitualmente a la lengua castellana (casi como en los años cincuenta y sesenta del siglo XX en que el inglés era el idioma del rock y del pop); y por otra parte, se hallaban ante la oportunidad de éxito comercial que suponía el uso del castellano. Esto ocurre en un tiempo que reclama ya una identidad nacional para su teatro”.

theatre in Portugal the fact that some Portuguese playwrights adopted the model proposed by Lope de Vega for their own *comedias*, also written in Spanish⁸. As far as printed theatre is concerned, we may think as well that the successful staging of many *comedias* could be responsible for a part of the fortune of this kind of literature in the two main cities dedicated to the edition of Spanish theatre – Lisbon, the capital, and Coimbra, with its university. In order to understand their editorial tendencies and know its importance a little better, we will make now a very quick review of their main dramatic publications between 1600 and the 1650's.

1. The “*officina craesbeeckiana*”, a crucial centre of the printed *comedia*, and other presses of the first years in the 17th century

It was in the presses ruled by Pedro Craesbeeck, the Flemish printer who took up his residence in Lisbon, where we may find for the first time a Spanish *comedia nueva* composed with moveable types. He might have thought of Spanish literature as a – profitable, for sure – consumer good. In this case, Spanish literature was the complement of lots of other kinds of books about Religion, mainly, but also about Portuguese and Brazilian History or Science⁹. In fact, it looks to be his bet on new subjects what made him lead other book businessmen in the adventure of editing Spanish *comedias*. Shortly after preparing Simão Machado's *Comedias portuguesas* (Pedro Craesbeeck / Francisco López, Lisbon, 1601) and before his reedition of *Don Quixote* (Pedro Craesbeeck, Lisbon, 1605), he dared to print the first collection of Spanish dramatic pieces of the 17th century: *Seis comedias de Lope de Vega*,

⁸ In relation to the plays written following Lope de Vega's *comedia nueva* in Portugal – either in Portuguese or in Spanish – by poets such as Simão Machado or Jacinto Cordero, it is worth taking a look at the articles of José Javier Rodríguez, *Introducción*, in *Comédia da pastora Alfea ou / o Los encantos de Alfea*, Bilbao, Universidad del País Vasco, 2003, pp. 11-147; José Camões, *Del diálogo al combate lingüístico & Portugal restaurado: del combate político-militar al combate lingüístico en el teatro del siglo XVII*, in Kazimierz Sabik, Karolina Kumor (coord.), *La cultura del barroco español e iberoamericano y su contexto europeo*, Poland, Instituto de Estudos Ibéricos e Iberoamericanos / Universidad de Varsovia, 2010, pp. 131-140; José Pedro Sousa, *Magia e inovação en la 'Comédia da Pastora Alfea o Los Encantos de Alfea', de Simão Machado*, in María Teresa Navarrete Navarrete & Miguel Soler Gallo (ed.), *El eterno presente de la literatura*, Roma, Aracne Publishing, 2013, pp. 127-136. The last researcher has also read other unpublished papers especially relevant to that matter: “*La Comedia de la Entrada del Rey en Portugal*”: *texto y contexto* (paper read for the conference *Lope de Vega y el teatro clásico español*, Universidad de Valencia, 2nd-4th May, 2012); Idem, *Convergencias y divergencias de una dramaturgia independiente: la escuela teatral española en el Portugal del siglo XVII*, (paper read for the conference *El patrimonio del teatro clásico español. Actualidad y perspectivas*, Festival de Teatro Clásico de Olmedo, 22nd-25th July, 2013); Idem, *Ler novamente o teatro de autores portugueses do século XVII: lugares (in)comuns de um teatro restaurado*, Universidade de Lisboa, 28th-30th January, 2015).

⁹ The only really comprehensive catalogue of the books printed by the Craesbeeck dynasty – as far as we know – is H. Bernstein, *Pedro Craesbeeck & Sons: 17th Century publishers to Portugal and Brazil*, Amsterdam, Adolf M. Hakkert, 1987. His compilation of titles, nonetheless, includes some data taken from unknown sources that makes necessary a collation with the detailed descriptions provided by Dias, *Craesbeeck, uma dinastia de impressores em Portugal: elementos para o seu estudo*.

organised in the same way Terence's plays used to be printed¹⁰. As we already know, that interesting volume was – partially – in the origin of another edition of Lope de Vega's plays: the *Primera parte de comedias de Lope de Vega* (Zaragoza, 1604) published by Angelo Tavanno – a Genoese businessman – one year later. In spite of that, we should wait another five years until the printing houses of Madrid realized the profitability of such an editorial genre; therefore, the next instalment of the series for the Madrilenian public wasn't released until 1609¹¹.

Meanwhile, the production of printed plays in Portugal did not stop. The next book that contained Lope de Vega's plays arranged for a devoted public was the reedition of Tavanno's collection accomplished in Lisbon by Jorge Rodríguez & Estevão Lopes in 1605. This edition, nonetheless, was prepared considering the book market – and maybe also the Portuguese readers. That's what we may deduce from the fact that it doesn't contain one of the plays already printed in Lisbon: *Carlos, el perseguido*, included in the *Seis comedias de Lope de Vega* and the only *comedia* written by Lope for sure among the ones published in 1603¹². No matter what the reason was, the fact is that, either for the incompatibility of licenses or for mere commercial purposes – for the *comedia* had been published just one year before in the very same place –, this third edition of *Primera parte*¹³ lacked the second play of the twelve that form the *princeps*. It is interesting to consider, as well, that this *parte* contained only eleven *comedias*, but it is also important to state that the model of the *parte* – as a collection of twelve plays – was not settled in Lisbon until several years later. Regardless of the peculiarities of this edition, it was Pedro Craesbeeck himself who recovered Lope de Vega's *partes* for the Portuguese market. It is, therefore, our Fénix de los Ingenios who was in the genesis of the printed Spanish theatre in both Castille and Portugal. In 1612, Craesbeeck finishes his career as a “dramatic printer” with the latest of all editions of the *Segunda parte de comedias de Lope de Vega* (Pedro Craesbeeck / Manoel Pereira, Lisbon, 1612)¹⁴.

¹⁰ See Grupo PROLOPE (ed.), *Comedias de Lope de Vega. Parte I*, Lleida, Milenio / Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1997, p. 15.

¹¹ The truth is that, unless we think of the *loas* printed in Madrid by Francisco de Robles as part of Agustín de Rojas Villandrando's narrative compilation, *El viaje entretenido* (1603 and 1604), we have no more plays – mainly Lope's *comedias* – composed in moveable types in Madrid until 1609. See Victor Dixon, *La intervención de Lope en la publicación de sus comedias*, in Almudena García González (ed.), *En busca del Fénix. Quince estudios sobre Lope de Vega y su teatro*, Madrid / Frankfurt am Main, Iberoamericana / Vervuert, 2013, pp. 93-115; Grupo PROLOPE, *El Lope de 1604*, in Xabier Tubau (coord.), *Lope en 1604*, Lleida, Milenio, 2004, pp. 11-19.

¹² See Grupo PROLOPE (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 263-268. In order to consider the authorship of this play, see Joan Oleza (dir.), *Artelope: Base de datos y argumentos del teatro de Lope de Vega*, Valencia, Universitat de València webpage <http://artelope.uv.es>, 2010-2014.

¹³ The second edition of Lope de Vega's *Primera parte* was the one printed in Valladolid, Luis Sánchez / Alonso Pérez, 1604.

¹⁴ We may find a small – but highly eloquent – detail about the most common editorial behaviours and the uncertain reception of these kind of books in Lisbon in this *Segunda parte*, printed

In any case, even though the production of the “*officina craesbeeckiana*” never forgot about the theatre books, sometimes it is just a minor occupation in their whole work. During the last years of his production, the *paterfamilias* provides us with surprises such as the *princeps* edition of the *Jardines y campos sabeos* (Pedro Craesbeeck, Lisbon, 1624), by the Sevillian poet Feliciano Enríquez de Guzmán. All this information, finally, leads us to think that Craesbeeck did have a well planned publishing programme in which he included the Spanish literature as part of his unveiled support to the Catholicism and to the ideas of the Castilian Counter Reformation –and both aspects resulted for him in his title of “*impresor real*”¹⁵.

His successors never ceased to print Spanish plays, but Pedro’s son, Paulo, moved towards a different kind of theatre closer to his political ideas, very influenced by the spirit of the Portuguese Restoration¹⁶. Therefore, we may consider the last of Pedro Craesbeeck’s editions the result of the association with his own son. Although it was a very similar book to those Castilian *partes de comedias* that inspired him in previous years, he printed Jacinto Cordero’s *Comedias* (Pedro Craesbeeck / Paulo Craesbeeck, Lisbon, 1630) – just six of them, like he did with the first Lope’s *comedias* –, one of the Fénix’ epigones but also a well known playwright in Lisbon. Apart from that, there should be no doubt about the implication of Paulo in this edition if we consider that he sold – and maybe even helped to defray the costs of – both parts of Cordero’s *comedias*¹⁷, *The Segunda parte de las comedias del alférez Jacinto Cordero* was published indeed by Paulo and his brother Lorenzo in Lisbon, 1634.

Nevertheless, the main enterprise Craesbeeck’s family initiated was not related to the specific books already described. Their most important project was their effort to create a new collection of *partes de comedias* following the

by Craesbeeck, for he should have composed – before he had the necessary licences to sell the book – the front page, where we may read: “*Eftâ taixado na mefa do Paço a [a space] reis em papel*”. We may find as well a blank in the tax of the volume printed in the verso of that very same front page which could imply, with this behaviour, a commercial strategy in case he had to sell the book dismembered in different *sueltas* or *desglosadas*.

¹⁵ See Bernstein, *op. cit.*, p. 12: “A loyal Catholic, and product of the Spanish-led Counter Reformation, Craesbeeck brought with him to Lisbon the Belgian Catholic loyalty to Spanish Hapsburg sovereignty over the Low Countries, as well as hostility to the heretical Dutch Protestants. In Lisbon his publishing service to the Castilian Crown took place of more military commitments to Spain during that generation of the Thirty Years’ War in northern Europe. When he lived in Lisbon, therefore he chose the Castilian side of things. This helped his position. His publishing, publicity and propaganda, had a marketing role for extending and imposing Castilian language and literature in Portugal”.

¹⁶ Bernstein (*op. cit.*, pp. 43-47) also explains the proliferation of Francisco Manuel de Melo’s printed plays in these years, when Paulo Craesbeeck was the manager of the printing house, because of his political leanings.

¹⁷ About the bookseller as editor of many books, see Jaime Moll, *El editor, el impresor y el librero*, in Víctor Infantes, François López, Jean-François Botrel (ed.), *Historia de la edición y de la lectura en España. 1472-1914*, Madrid, Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 2003, pp. 78-79.

triumphant example of the *Diferentes autores* series¹⁸, successfully spread all over the Iberian Peninsula. Profeti has already analysed the volumes of these so called *Comedias de Lisboa*¹⁹, considering that its conception appeared at the same time that the Castilian *partes* were declining. The truth is that by the middle of the 17th century, we may find “un momento di transizione” where:

(...) si esaurisce intanto la serie dei *Diferentes Autores*, a cui dal 1646 al 1652 gli Escueres e poi gli Herederos de Lanaja y Lamarca a Zaragoza dettero gli ultimi volumi (dalla *Parte 41* alla *44*), ormai penosi conglomerati di *sueitas* che non cercano nemmeno di mascherare la loro natura. E i Verges, sempre a Zaragoza, producono nel 1641 e nel 1647 le *Parti 24* e *25*, destinate a chiudere la serie di Lope²⁰.

In these years, the book market expanded towards a new model of theatre book. The collections of different authors took over the ones that only published the plays of a single playwright. In this moment, “el mercado lector acoge favorablemente” these new offers, visibly prosperous if we take into consideration the “veinte tomos de la colección de comedias escogidas, iniciada en 1652”²¹. But this is not the only change in the market. Until the 1650’s we have *comedias* printed mainly in Castilian or Aragonese places – Madrid, Huesca, Zaragoza... and, to a lesser degree, Valencia or Barcelona. Once *Diferentes autores* comes to its end, new products appear in the market. In Alcalá, 1651, Tomás de Alfay gains the necessary licences to publish with María Fernández what he thinks to be *El mejor de los mejores libro [sic.] que ha salido de comedias nuevas* (with a reedition a year later by María de Quiñones in Madrid). At the same time, Lorenzo de Amberes – the cousin of Paulo Craesbeeck?²² – offers in Lisbon the first installment of his *partes*²³, a series of books very similar to the subsequent

¹⁸ An analysis of the collection *Diferentes autores* as a continuation to Lope de Vega’s *Partes de comedias* may be found in Maria Grazia Profeti, *La collezione “Diferentes autores”*, Kassel, Reichenberger, 1988.

¹⁹ Even though they are usually referred to as *Comedias de Lisboa*, its title, as stated in their front pages, is “DOZE | COMEDIAS | LAS MAS GRANDIOSAS | QVE ASTA AORA HAN | SALIDO DE LOS MEIORES, | y mas inflignes Poetas”. *Doce comedias las más grandiosas que hasta ahora han salido de los mejores y más inflignes poetas. Primera parte*, Lisbon, Lorenzo de Amberes / Juan Leite Pereira, 1646, front page.

²⁰ Maria Grazia Profeti, “*Doce comedias las más grandiosas...”: una collezione teatrale lusitana del secolo XVII*, Alicante, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc6q2d9>, 2009.

²¹ Moll, *Problemas bibliográficos*, p. 229.

²² About the controversial name of Lorenzo de Amberes in the imprints of some editions of the *Officina Craesbeeckiana* and its possible identification with Paulo Craesbeeck himself, see Bernstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-36, and Dias, *op. cit.*, pp. XIII-XV.

²³ Almost all of the *partes de comedias* of this Lusitanian collection were closely related to the editorial production of the Craesbeeck family. They printed the following volumes by the middle of the century – the first *parte* (Lorenzo de Amberes [Paulo Craesbeeck?] / Juan Leite Pereira, Lisbon, 1646), the second *parte* (Paulo Craesbeeck / Juan Leite Pereira, Lisbon, 1647), the fourth *parte*

Comedias nuevas escogidas that finally triumphed over any other collection. Actually, the Lusitanian *partes* were arranged in a similar way to the *Comedias de autores valencianos*, printed long time before²⁴. Both of them were composed by a compilation of *desglosables* – or even pre-existing *sueitas*²⁵. That way, the “*officina craesbeeckiana*” was offering an alternative to the other great collections of plays written by different poets, but specifically designed for the readers of Lisbon, maybe also because of the “*imposibilidad por parte de los editores alejados de la corte de reunir doce comedias de Lope o de un solo autor*”²⁶ – and that could also be the reason why the Craesbeeck dynasty printed so many compilations of plays written by Portuguese poets. Should we think of the theatre books printed during the first years of the 17th century in Portugal as the reflection of the dramatic productions staged in Lisbon, we ought to think of the books that appeared during the 1650’s as the result of a commercial strategy focused on the possible income of a product sold to an already faithful customer²⁷. That seems to be the reason for our printers in Lisbon to compose a miscellaneous compilation of Spanish *comedias* when they could have published a whole book with the plays written by one of the most important Portuguese playwrights: Francisco Manuel de Melo – which they also did. The Spanish language, nonetheless, was still considered a recognised cultural vehicle for the literature and, although Portugal was an independent kingdom by then, the language of the texts could be an important factor to keep in mind for these businessmen before printing and selling a book – also a cultural construct. Anyway, the truth is that Craesbeeck’s presses tried to make a profitable product out of the Spanish *comedia* – and Paulo, as a bookseller, should have known very well which one was the favourite reading matter for the Lusitanian

(Pedro Craesbeeck *o moço* / Juan Leite Pereira, Lisbon, 1652) and the fifth *parte* (Paulo Craesbeeck / Felipe George, Lisbon, 1653).

²⁴ See Maria Grazia Profeti, *I “Poetas valencianos”: due raccolte teatrali*, in *Varia bibliographica: homenaje a José Simón Díaz*, Kassel, Reichenberger, 1988, pp. 561-567.

²⁵ Profeti (“*Doce comedias...*”) considers this first *parte* of the *Comedias de Lisboa* as “una raccolta di *sueitas*, che sembra aver utilizzato anche materiali precedenti, come nel caso della 6^a commedia, stampata nel 1645 da A. Álvarez, secondo le indicazioni del colofone”.

²⁶ Moll, *Problemas bibliográficos*, p. 231.

²⁷ In case there is any doubt about it, the habit of printing books already successfully sold in other kingdoms – as we will see a few pages later – may be evidence enough to think that these printers were looking for an economical profit. In fact, it looks rather obvious that in the 1650’s there was no possible link between the plays staged in Lisbon and the *comedias* printed there, as we may deduce from the preliminaries of the *Doce comedias las más grandiosas que hasta ahora han salido de los mejores y más insignes poetas [Quinta parte]*, Lisbon, Paulo Craesbeeck / Felipe George, 1653, f. []3r: “Deixarão sua patria estas comedias ambiciosas de aplausos, que esperão granjear nesta corte e reino, e necessitadas, como estrangeiras, do abrigo, e pouco conhecidas, de crédito buscão estas comodidades por mui certas no patrocínio de v.m. [*i. e. Antonio Pestana de Miranda*], pera cuja casa e livraria mudarão as Musas os deleitosos thesouros do seu Parnaso”.

public. Five volumes of the *Comedias de Lisboa* appeared in their presses, and all of them offered a product more focused on the “comedias, las más grandiosas que hasta ahora han salido”, than on the “más insignes poetas”, as stated in different font sizes in their front pages²⁸. Anyway, we should not be surprised to find among the usual playwrights printed there the names of Lope de Vega, Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Pedro Calderón de la Barca or even some *entremeses* by Quiñones de Benavente²⁹ – all of them were successful enough in that time to assume that their works were part of a profitable advertising campaign.

The whole series, anyway, could not compete with the most important collection of *comedias* in the century – the *Comedias nuevas escogidas*, active between 1652 and 1704, with more than a volume per year. The *Comedias de Lisboa*, on the other hand, ceased to exist just one year after it started being published.

2. Lisbon and the printed *comedia* beyond the Craesbeeck family

In spite of their – more or less successful – production, they were not the only editors or booksellers in Lisbon who printed Spanish plays. There were several printers who continued to produce books for a market originated with Craesbeeck’s printed *comedias* – the same *comedias* that were being continually staged in the Castilian *corrales*. Until 1650, we may find other similar collections in the Lusitanian cities composed by printers such as Jorge Rodríguez, who printed once more Ángelo Tavanno’s *Primera parte de comedias*. Nonetheless, some of his printed books could be considered as precedents of Pedro Craesbeeck’s success. He printed – at least and as far as we know – one of Jacinto Cordero’s *comedias* long before his *Partes* came to light – *La entrada del rey em Portugal* (Lisbon, Jorge Rodríguez, 1621) – and, many years later, another one by Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza – *Querer por sólo querer* (Lisbon, Jorge Rodríguez, 1639). Considering that they were both *sueeltas* and the great time lapse between one and the other, we can assume that Jorge Rodríguez printed more of these pieces in exempt editions. We may consider, as well, if we pay attention to all of his printed *comedias*, that he approached both editorial genres – *partes* and *sueeltas* – as part of an effort to conceive an orchestrated and lucrative printing programme. That leads us to think of Rodríguez as one of the printers who first realised the advantages of the *suelta* edition, long before the decay of the single playwright *partes*³⁰. With these pieces,

²⁸ Many of the *comedias* printed then in Lisbon were taken from recent editions of plays sold in Castile. Maybe that is why Juan Leite Pereira, who was in charge of writing the panegyric dedications in almost all of these *partes*, emphasises that all these plays are magnified by “o aplauso commum”. *Doce comedias las más grandiosas que hasta ahora han salido de los mejores y más insignes poetas. Segunda parte*, Pedro Craesbeeck o moço / Juan Leite Pereira, Lisbon, 1647, f. 3v.

²⁹ *Doce comedias las más grandiosas... Segunda parte*, ff. 265-301.

³⁰ See Moll, *Problemas bibliográficos*, pp. 225-239.

besides, he could offer a wider catalogue of Spanish works, including not only plays but also *relaciones de fiestas*, sermons and novels³¹.

But as far as *suelta* editions are concerned, we should emphasise the fact that Lisbon was one of the few places where the genre was notoriously printed. In contrast to what we may see in the Castilian kingdom, there is a very interesting group of *seltas* in Lisbon with full information in their imprints around the 1650's. Printers like Antonio Álvarez or Manoel da Silva continue to compose with moveable types some of the most profitable plays of the time. Far from Pedro Craesbeeck's conception of the Spanish literature, Álvarez and Silva show a very different behaviour towards the *comedia*, for they take successful pieces, already published in other kingdoms, and reprint them for a Lusitanian public. The most obvious example of that is Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla's *comedias* composed by Silva – *Los áspides de Cleopatra* (Lisbon, Manoel da Silva, 1647), *El más impropio verdugo por la más justa venganza* (Lisbon, Manoel da Silva, 1647) or *Abrir el ojo* (Lisbon, Manoel da Silva, 1648)³², among others. All of them were taken from the recent *Segunda parte de comedias de don Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla* (Madrid, Francisco Martínez / Pedro Coello, 1645).

Antonio Álvarez, on the other hand, follows more faithfully Pedro Craesbeeck's example³³. Among his editions, we may judge as one of the most prominent the *Comedias portuguesas* written by Simão Machado (Lisbon, 1631), although it is no more than a reedition of the book crafted by the first Craesbeeck himself. Even more important is the fact that he was responsible for the third part

³¹ The main *relaciones de fiestas* written in Spanish and printed by Rodríguez were the *Fiestas reales de Lisboa desde que el rey, Nuestro Señor, entró hasta que salió* (Lisbon, Jorge Rodríguez, 1619) or the *Relación de la real tragicomedia con que los padres de la Compañía de Jesús en su colegio S. Antón de Lisboa recibieron a la Majestad Católica de Felipe II de Portugal* (Lisbon, Jorge Rodríguez, 1620 [1621]). Nonetheless, we may consider even more interesting his editions of Cervantes' novels or romances: *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* (Lisbon, Jorge Rodríguez, 1605), *Segunda parte del ingenioso caballero don Quijote de la Mancha* (Lisbon, Jorge Rodríguez, 1617) and *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (Lisbon, Jorge Rodríguez, 1617).

³² Manoel da Silva's production of *seltas* cannot be reduced just to Rojas Zorrilla's *comedias*. Among the other plays that he printed we may find *La verdad escurecida*, by Antonio de Almeida (Lisbon, Manoel da Silva, 1651), for example. In addition to this, we should take into account the only *suelta* printed by Vicente de Lemos that we know of, *El familiar sin demonio*, by Gaspar de Ávila (Lisbon, Vicente de Lemos, 1647), and two more *seltas* printed in the same years by Paulo Craesbeeck – *La dama duende* and *La vida es sueño*, by Calderón (both of them printed in Lisbon, 1647). Nevertheless, those last two *comedias*, considered *seltas* by H. Bernstein (*op. cit.*, p. 192, nr. 138-139), could be no more than two *desglosadas* taken from the *Segunda parte de las doce comedias más grandiosas o comedias de Lisboa* (Lisbon, Paulo Craesbeeck, 1647).

³³ In spite of Álvarez's production, mainly religious – if we consider with such a label equally sermons and Santa Teresa de Jesús' books – and historical – including some essays about João IV –, his profile as a printer of literature can be confirmed by the *Comedia Eufrosina*, by Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelos (Lisbon, Antonio Álvarez, 1616), the *Historia del muy noble y valeroso caballero, el Cid, Ruy Díez [sic.] de Viuar, en romances* (Lisbon, Antonio Álvarez, 1605 and 1615) or the Spanish translation of *Las obras de Publio Virgilio Marón* (Lisbon, Antonio Álvarez, 1627).

of the *Comedias de Lisboa*³⁴. He seems to be one of the usual contributors to Lorenzo de Amberes and Paulo Craesbeeck's books. If we pay attention to the very first of those *Comedias de Lisboa*, we may find – at least – one of Álvarez' *sueltas* – *El catalán Serrallonga* – among them. Actually, there are reasons enough to think that “non si è quindi in grado di stabilire se la stampa fosse effettuata nella tipografia dell'Álvarez o in quella di Lorenzo de Amberes [ma] probabilmente alcune commedie provenivano dalla prima stamperia, ed altre dalla seconda”³⁵.

If there is something we can be sure of is that Silva and Álvarez' works are a good sample of the evolution of the Spanish *comedia* printed in Portugal during the reign of João IV. By the 50's, diversity overtakes printed theatre in all the kingdoms – pushing into the background the compilations of dramatic pieces written by a single poet. *Suelta* editions gained ground, especially in Portugal, as well as the compilations of different writers' pieces. Although we may find some compilations with Jacinto Cordero's or Simão Machado's plays, these editions seem to be just recovering old texts and are probably part of a quest for a National Identity – and we may think the same thing about Melo's works. This ideological use of printed books coexists with a much more commercial theatre, the one written by Spanish poets such as Rojas Zorrilla, Calderón de la Barca or Pérez de Montalbán. Their success – on paper and on the stage—is also the reason for their presence in the Portuguese collection.

3. Other printers, other places

We have left, before we finish, another market and another city that could help us better understand the book market organised in Lisbon by the Craesbeeck dynasty. The other place is Coimbra, the city of the university³⁶. The printing of Spanish and Portuguese pieces there looks rather limited when compared to the number of books prepared in Lisbon. The reason is easy to find out – Coimbra's printers are forced to attend the demands of the students as their primary consumer. There is no reason to think – as we may suspect in el Patio de las Arcas in Lisbon – that there is a popular demand of these plays in relation to a rich staging of Spanish theatre. It seems more reasonable to think that it was an educated reader who requested this kind of books to amuse himself in spite of the language³⁷.

³⁴ See Profeti, “*Doce comedias...*”.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ We should consider, as well, the edition of José de Valdivielso's *Doce actos sacramentales y dos comedias divinas* (Braga, Fructuoso Lourenço de Basto / Francisco Fernando de Basto, 1624) as another example of the books printed in Portugal. In any case, Valdivielso's plays conform a very unusual book – one of the very few compilations of *autos* and, besides, printed very far away from the main editorial centres. Considering the limitation of this work, we will leave the study of such a book for another occasion.

³⁷ We may even consider the readers of Coimbra to play an important part in the reception of Spanish plays – printed either in Portugal or in Castile – if we take into account the collection of Lope de Vega's *comedias* that conform the Biblioteca Joanina, housed today at the Universidade de

In Coimbra we may find a market for students. The most notorious example of the greatest difference with the books printed in Lisbon is the failure of Pedro Craesbeeck when he tried to move a part of his business to Coimbra. He could not achieve any success for, “while his books had high quality for some, and he also catered to a sort of mass market for religious works, the cold fact was that the high price of Craesbeeck books in both Coimbra and Lisbon provoked open student protests against his book prices”³⁸. In addition to this, some years later Lorenzo Craesbeeck tried to establish a printing house there in order to print with the family name a series of – religious, mainly – books but it “made little or no impact upon history, compared to their Lisbon publishing”³⁹. The Craesbeecks never really knew how to satisfy the requests of the university and their printing house did not survive more than a decade there. It is quite surprising that a royal printer could never reach the same success in Coimbra, where other printers could easily become “impressores da universidade”.

Those “university printers” are, in fact, the ones that may help us understand the book market in Coimbra. In the background, we may find some Spanish literature and some printed *comedias*. Jacomo Carvalho, for instance, printed the first part of the unusual tragedy *Jardines y campos sabeos* (Coimbra, Jacomo Carvalho, 1624) in collaboration with Pedro Craesbeeck – who printed the second part in Lisbon. The dramatic tradition of the university had already left some dramatic books – maybe related to the teachings of the Jesuits there. Since the *princeps* of Ferreira de Vasconcelos’ *Comedia Eufrosina* (Coimbra, João de Barreira, 1560), it looks as though theatre was a part of the leisure of the inhabitants of the city⁴⁰. Many Spanish *best-sellers*⁴¹ had already seen a re-edition there – that is the case, for example, of the *Obras del excelente poeta Garcilaso de la Vega* (Coimbra, Antonio de Mariz / Diogo Gomes Loureiro, 1600) or *Guzmán de Alfarache* (Coimbra, Antonio de Mariz / Diogo Gomes Loureiro, 1600). But it was in the 50s and 60s when there was an intentional recovery of the Spanish literature for their presses. Tomé de Carvalho published then *El discreto* (Coimbra,

Coimbra. Alexia Dotras Bravo has already studied this library in some recent papers: *La Biblioteca Joanina de la Universidad de Coimbra y el Siglo de Oro hispánico* (paper read for the IX Congreso de la Asociación Internacional Siglo de Oro, 2011); Idem, *El Siglo de Oro hispánico en Portugal: Lope de Vega en la Universidade de Coimbra* (paper read for the X Congreso de la Asociación Internacional Siglo de Oro, 2014).

³⁸ Bernstein, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 52.

⁴⁰ The first edition of Ferreira de Vasconcelos’ *Comedia Eufrosina* (Coimbra, João de Barreira, 1560) was probably rather important in the conformation of a receptive reader towards other dramatic genres in the university surroundings. That is what happened, at least, in other well known Spanish places, such as Salamanca, in the very first years of the 17th century. See Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares & Juan Luis Polo Rodríguez (ed.), *Universidades clásicas de la Europa mediterránea: Bolonia, Coimbra y Alcalá*, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 2006.

⁴¹ See Whinnom, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-198.

Tomé Carvalho, 1656) or *El héroe* (Coimbra, Tomé Carvalho, 1660), both of them written by Gracián, but also Francisco de Figueroa's *Obras* (Coimbra, Tomé Carvalho / Matías Carvalho, 1661).

As far as theatre is concerned, we have a much more interesting printer active these years: Manoel Dias, who worked in Coimbra for more than twenty years and published some fiction books to amuse the students. He composed in moveable types the "novela pastoral" or adventure romance *Auroras de Diana*, written by Pedro de Castro y Añaya (Coimbra, 1654), some of Antonio de Guevara's treatises (*Libro de los inventores del arte de marear*, *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea* and *Aviso de privados y doctrina de cortesanos*, all of them printed in Coimbra, 1657), the poems composed by Francisco de Francia y Acosta (*Jardín de Apolo*, Coimbra, 1658) and – more importantly for our purpose – Manoel Coelho Rebello's *Musa entretenida* (with two editions in 1658).

This last compilation of Portuguese and Spanish *entremeses* deserves a deeper analysis than the one we may offer here. Anyway, it is a very eloquent counterpoint to the printed books in Lisbon, for the consideration of publishing a more carnivalesque genre may be influenced – among other things – by a more festive ambience. There are not many theatre books printed in Coimbra and that makes even more significant the fact that we may find precisely those short pieces in Dias' presses to the detriment of Coelho Rebello's own *comedias* – unknown today. In spite of that, this initiative seems to have failed in its intention to be the first of a series of new products prepared for the usual readers. After the *Musa entretenida*, there is no other compilation of *entremeses* – either in Spanish or in Portuguese – remotely similar to Quiñones de Benavente's *Jocoseria* printed in Portugal. The idea does not seem to have had any success at all, for it is only published again in Lisbon, 1695, by Bernardo da Costa de Carvalho, and probably with the intention to be used as an amusement in private performances – which makes us consider the objective of the book, not focused on the reader but on the pleasure of a celebration that included a play. At least, that is what the only other Portuguese compilation of *entremeses* – apart from the *Musa entretenida* – suggests. Nuño Nisceno Sutil's *Musa jocosa*, printed in 1709. Assures that the book was written:

não tanto para com elle se divertir das fátigas de continuas occupaões, como tambem para lisongear o gosto de algumas pessoas de respeito e de obrigação, que os pediam para alguns festins particulares. Porem, depois da instancia de alguns amigos de bom humor, se formou este resumo para se dar á impressão, por vêr que havendo um só livrinho intitulado *Musa entretenida*, este se tinha impresso segunda vez por falta que havia de entremezes portuguezes⁴².

⁴² Nuño Nisceno Sutil, *Musa jocosa de varios entremezes portuguezes & castellanos*, Lisbon, Miguel Manescal, 1709, ff. *ijj r- *ijj v.

4. Something else about the *comedia* readers in Portugal – towards a conclusion

Let's stop here, considering these *Musas* our colophon. We have tried to offer a very quick view on the Spanish theatre printed in Portugal – in Lisbon and Coimbra – between 1600 and until the 1650s, a few years after the Restoration that made again Portugal an independent kingdom. Considering all the printers and the books analysed here, we should think of the existence of a Portuguese reader of Spanish literature and – more specifically – a reader of Spanish *comedias* – there may not have been a large number of Lusitanian readers, but there were readers, nonetheless–, mainly in Lisbon. We may talk about a bilingual reader – which may have consequences on the dramatic texts – but fond of Lope de Vega and his epigone's *comedias*. Besides, the anticipation of some of the books printed in Portugal makes us consider, as well, that both markets – Castilian-Aragonese and Portuguese – paid attention to one another⁴³ and both of them were in a quest to find a good selling literature book genre.

Anyway, the limited number of Spanish books printed in Lusitanian cities may have something to do with the circulation of Spanish editions also around Portugal and that is a problem we still have to research. Even though, the *comedia* found a place in the Portuguese presses – and market – between 1600 and 1650 among educated readers. That is the reason why we may find Portuguese playwrights who compose their pieces in Spanish – Simão Machado, Jacinto Cordero, Manoel Coelho Rebello... We must study more deeply the matter yet in order to better figure out the changes in the Lusitanian kingdom around the middle years of the century, not only political but also literary and commercial. After all, this is no more than a first approach to the Spanish printed books in Portugal during the years it was part of the Hispanic Monarchy; but it is a necessary approach to fully understand the way the book used to go through from the printer to the reader.

⁴³ It is important to notice that one of the most successful printing houses of the century was specialized in composing with moveable types books already printed and widely sold in the Castilian kingdom – and that is what the Portuguese printers often do. Sebastián de Cormellas's house used to reprint almost simultaneously many Castilian *partes de comedias* in order to achieve a high profit by selling them in Catalonia. See Gonzalo Pontón, *Sebastián de Cormellas, mercader de libros*, in Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez, Almudena García González (ed.), *La comedia española en la imprenta catalana*, Ciudad Real, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2014.