



A ROLE FOR WATERMARKS IN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL  
DESCRIPTION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO A  
COLLECTION OF SPANISH DRAMATIC ITEMS

by  
Bruno Scarfe

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## A ROLE FOR WATERMARKS IN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO A COLLECTION OF SPANISH DRAMATIC ITEMS<sup>1</sup>

INTEREST IN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION, and watermarks, was the result of the unexpected acquisition in Madrid, in 1974, of some 2000 Spanish dramatic items.<sup>2</sup> The copies, dated from 1604 to 1900, constitute a mixture of publishers' remainders and second-hand items. There are over 200 authors represented, and over 800 titles, many of these in a number of editions and variant impressions. There is a large number of duplicates. Some 200 printers, publishers, and booksellers are represented, operating from over a dozen towns in Spain, and from Havana.

An interesting and significant characteristic of this collection is the presence of a high proportion of (*obras* – works) 'sueltas', and a lesser but still considerable proportion of (*obras*) 'desglosadas'. Most of the *sueltas*, works published to stand on their own, are quartos, retailed without a binding, so that the first page comprises head-title and start of the text (or, at a later period, title-page only), and the end page comprises the end of the text (or, later, trade advertisements). The *desglosadas* are items disjoined from adjacent ones, many of which appear once to have formed part of bound volumes, and quite a number of the *desglosadas* are therefore preceded and/or followed by lines or a page from their former neighbour(s), while some have their opening and/or closing lines handwritten. Besides *sueltas* and *desglosadas*, there seem to be a few separates, similar to the *sueltas* in some aspects of appearance and function, but closer to the *desglosadas* in origin.<sup>3</sup> Both *sueltas* and *desglosadas* are considered most important in the study of textual transmission.<sup>4</sup>

Interest in bibliographical description grew naturally from the wish to put this collection to good use, and work began immediately on describing and identifying items, identification constituting a particular problem in the case of the *desglosadas*. Apart from deciding how much detail was required to describe *sueltas* and *desglosadas*, it seemed for a long time that the principal difficulty was going to be caused by lack of colophon or imprint, or significant elements thereof, in many *sueltas* and almost every *desglosada* and separate.

To obtain such missing information, reference was made to specialist and general catalogues and bibliographies.<sup>5</sup> Almost without exception, where items lacked colophon or imprint, it was found that no special attempt had been made to assist the reader. While this objective and factual treatment by the bibliographer no doubt was necessary if his task was to be kept within manageable bounds, and while it must be admitted that tracing unknown printers, publishers and booksellers, and places of publication or sale, constitutes an unenviable job, perhaps some help could have been afforded in setting items in their period. Further description of items, including notes on ornaments and typefaces, might have helped.<sup>6</sup> Of course, for items with particulars only of the printer and place of publication, the situation was hardly better with regard to date, on account of the lack of suitable reference books to complete the picture.

Surprisingly, however, it soon became apparent that setting items in their period was not to be the major problem. There existed another problem, insidious as the hidden mass of an iceberg, concerning what appeared to be straightforward descriptions



of well documented items. This was the inadequacy of brief bibliographical descriptions for defining items, not to mention variants of one kind or other.

This problem became apparent while trying to establish the rarity of items in this collection relative to other collections overseas, via use of the descriptive catalogues accompanying them.<sup>7</sup> Each authority was observed to use different descriptive criteria. Some included details presumably left out by others; some gave entries with regard to the sequence observed in the item described, while others adopted a stereotyped sequence. Though these various bibliographical descriptions might perhaps be reconciled with the copy in hand, the subject of the comparison, they could equally well have postulated a string of different editions or impressions. The stage was reached where one grudgingly accepted anything and everything short of the inclusion of evidence actually absent in the copy under examination. Dissatisfaction with this situation, its incompatible systems and ultimate appeal to faith, was merely a beginning, however. There existed also the problem concerning bibliographical descriptions of items so alike that it had been felt necessary to add afterwards: 'similar to. . . but different printing',<sup>8</sup> or these 'differ among themselves', etc.<sup>9</sup> Here, again, absence of very relevant comment on the varying use of ornaments and typefaces was much to be regretted. The stage had been reached, in fact, where the bibliographer no longer defined differences between copies. He just stated that differences did in fact exist. At this point a truth sensed from the very start, and repeatedly suppressed, became insistent: were these bibliographers aware that variant editions and impressions might exist elsewhere? were their descriptive criteria adequate for defining and individualising their copies as opposed to copies they did not have before them? Each inadequacy seemed greater than the last. But there was worse to come. The pitfalls in the use of bibliographies concerned with *sueltas*, many of these complete with colophon or imprint, were as nothing compared with the potential disasters in identifying *desglosadas*, or 'arrachements' as they have also been called.<sup>10</sup> Use was made now, especially, of an authority dealing with both *sueltas* and bound volumes of the kind from which it was thought that the *desglosadas* in hand might have originated.<sup>11</sup> These volumes contained a dozen or so plays each. Examination of the bibliographical work in question revealed a lack of distinction between authentic volumes, with the original dozen or so plays apiece, and other volumes correct only in the titles contained and their order of presentation, incorrect in that each play was a *suelta* or separate with its own publisher's serial number and system of pagination (or absence thereof).<sup>12</sup> This situation capped them all.

There were, then, two principal areas of difficulty. One was the range and quality of criteria required to define items, so that the resultant descriptions would correctly group, or differentiate, items with respect to like items, including ones not sighted by, or known to, the bibliographer. The other concerned assigning dates to items which lacked such information, usually to be found in the colophon or imprint. We shall be returning to the first of these by and by. It was the second, and the whole question of dating, which was responsible for drawing attention away from the printed text to the paper on which it stood and, within the paper, to the watermark.<sup>13</sup>

It is no longer necessary, fortunately, to defend and develop long held views to the effect that watermarks can be of assistance in dating items in which they occur.<sup>14</sup> The role of watermarks for purposes of dating has been well argued.<sup>15</sup> Suffice it to say that there are two principal factors concerning watermark moulds which are of

paramount importance, and which were not fully appreciated until quite recently. The first, related to the manufacture of paper, demands that at any one moment there should be several watermark moulds, probably all of the same design, in service simultaneously. Being hand-made copies of a given design, each was slightly different – either in size, detail, or positioning on the paper mould. Paper bearing the various watermarks was produced continuously. The second factor concerns the relative delicacy of the watermark moulds, with the result that to the variance in watermark moulds already mentioned must be added further differentiation consequent on wear and tear. From all this it transpires that at any given time the paper manufacturer would be producing paper with a series of watermark variants peculiar to the moment – months at most, perhaps weeks.<sup>16</sup> Against this side of the picture, which suggests the possibility of very precise techniques for dating, must be set another, requiring a higher tolerance: the time lost in passage of the finished paper from manufacturer to printer and, ultimately, to the press and completed text. Fortunately, this aspect too has been studied, and parameters have been arrived at for determining the period during which a given stock of paper would probably be used. Here the vital factors are capital expenditure and printing practice. The first requires that stock at a given moment should not exceed anticipated printing demand, as excessive stock represented idle capital, borrowed money, and interest to be paid. The second, printing practice, was the preference for a continuous and homogeneous batch of paper with which to carry out a complete printing run, making for careful assessment of requirements and only limited resort to left-overs or ‘random’ paper. In summary, two elements could be relied on for making watermarks a useful tool for purposes of dating: the considerable range of watermark variants resulting from both hand-copying of designs and wear and tear of the watermarks, and the relatively prompt distribution and consumption of paper.

To all this, one final detail must be added: the new technology for the reproduction of watermarks, without which the whole process of noting and recording variants would be jeopardised.<sup>17</sup> The technology exists now for faithful, contact, reproductions of watermarks, obviating the risks attendant on tracing or sketching with the degree of interpretation they invite. These new techniques incorporate the advantages of penetrating the ink overlay wherever it occurs, and recording the watermark even at such points.<sup>18</sup>

At this stage, just as it seemed that a tool for dating was at hand, prospects for its successful application receded. There was hardly a reference work on Spanish watermarks in existence, and none using the new, reliable, technology for reproductions.<sup>19</sup> Without such works, incorporating reproductions of Spanish watermarks and noting their dates of occurrence, it would be impossible to date watermarks in the collection and, by extension, the Spanish plays where they were to be found. For a time, it seemed possible that reference to works on watermarks elsewhere in Europe could be used, as Spain might not have had paper-mills of her own, and might have been obliged to import her paper. These works would illustrate and date the marks found in the Spanish items under examination.<sup>20</sup> Such, however, was not the case. Reproduction of relevant watermarks were extremely few, did not enjoy the benefits consequent on modern copying processes, and carried scant, hesitant, and often invalid information on dating.

This discovery, though not helpful for the immediate dating of items in the collection, helped generate the wish to record and catalogue the watermarks being



encountered. Perhaps, over a period of years, it would be possible to produce a reference work for dating purposes, based on the marks in this collection. The work was begging to be done.<sup>21</sup>

Work began, and the first watermarks examined systematically were from the House of Antonio Sanz, of Madrid, represented in the collection by 61 plays through 142 copies. The House of Antonio Sanz was chosen to begin with because it offered a relatively homogeneous, substantial, and attractive group of *suellas*, all dated except for one, and almost all with watermarks.<sup>22</sup> It was hoped that evidence assembled here could be applied later to items wanting a colophon. The exercise could be regarded as something of a pilot scheme. So watermarks were noted, compared, reproduced, and catalogued. Every discernible watermark variant was recorded, whether it was consequent on the fractional inconsistencies inevitable in the days of hand-made copies, or consequent on wear and tear. Though it was usually easy enough to distinguish between watermark variants, it was not always so easy to say whether variants were consequent on different copying of a design or on different degrees of wear.<sup>23</sup> What mattered most, however, particularly at this stage of documentation as opposed to interpretation, was that all variants be recorded. This was done. Note was made of the exact point of occurrence of every variant — the item in which it occurred, and the gathering; where there were multiple copies of a work, then note was taken of the relevant gatherings in each of them. And at this point, when work was nearing completion on the House of Antonio Sanz, results began to emerge. These were to be of interest not only for purposes of dating, but in the vexed matter of bibliographical description and definition.

It was said earlier that the paper produced at a given period, a matter of weeks or months, would contain a unique combination of watermark variants. Such a combination reflected a close physical relationship; the sheets bearing these marks had been made in one place at more or less the same time. Following a particular combination of watermark variants, there would be a new combination, showing the replacement of watermark moulds which had deteriorated beyond repair, and gradual deterioration of others. This combination would be followed by another, another, and yet another, endlessly. Each combination would contain some elements common to the previous one, and as they went to press — as it were — they would leave behind a genealogical trail.

The absence of external landmarks — reference books with watermarks faithfully reproduced and dated on the basis of authenticated documents — means that the watermarks and combinations thereof occurring in this collection cannot at present be dated with certainty. Evidence of dates from the few plays examined is not sufficient. In the meantime, however, such watermarks — and in particular the combinations mentioned — are surely every bit as useful as dates, if not more so. They refer to the paper on which the final text is printed: to the foundation material of that text. To describe the foundation is surely a first and essential step in description of the text above. In view of the complex range of watermark variants and the short lives they enjoyed, reference to them in describing the foundation material of a text is guaranteed to apply only to a limited number of items, items produced over a brief period of time. So we have two basic, and inextricably associated, functions for watermarks: appropriate reference to them can help obviate the hazards inherent in brief and ambiguous bibliographical descriptions of items, and provide a key for relatively accurate dating of items at a later stage.

The watermark plates based on items from the House of Antonio Sanz should fulfil these two functions. They have already served —

- a) to confirm that duplicates of an item, undated, are indeed duplicates;
- b) to disclose that some items, easily mistaken for duplicates, are in fact concealed reprints,
- c) to relate items of quite different dates, and show that some of these dates are not plausible;
- d) to date, and indicate a probable printer for, a number of items wanting a colophon.

Evidence for these assertions follows in the second half of this article.

So much for watermarks and their application to *sueltas*. There is also, however, the question of *desglosadas*. It is difficult to imagine a tool more accurate and easy to handle than watermarks for describing a *desglosada*, in the first instance, and in the second instance for facilitating identification of the original, complete, printing run and hence, by extension, the volume and series of which it was a part. The *desglosada* could be expected to reflect the range and sequence of the watermark variants in the items which once preceded and/or followed it. It is quite improbable that a separate physical unit of paper should have been used exclusively for a particular intellectual unit within a major printing run.<sup>24</sup> In a similar way it seems that watermarks could serve as a tool both for describing separates and for relating them to the major printing run of which they were once part.

The principal finding, then, concerning watermarks has little to do directly with dates. It is, rather, that they offer a very exact description of the foundation material of items and, by extension, serve to individualise or group these items with a certainty not always afforded by the evidence of the printed surface or the varying and inadequate formulae of the bibliographer. If we were to put first things first, the bibliographical description of items whose history had not been exhaustively researched should be accompanied by sets of watermark identification numbers referring to the appropriate, technologically sound, works on watermarks. While such illustrated works do not exist, reproductions of the relevant watermarks should accompany the bibliographical descriptions.<sup>25</sup> These reproductions would describe the foundation of items so impartially and precisely as to enable people elsewhere, now or later, to identify items: variants of one kind or other — editions, even impressions — would be differentiated, and at the same time a tool would be present for authenticating or rectifying dates. Seen in this light, perhaps we may agree that the time has come to think of watermarks not as a problem, but an aid.

\* \* \* \* \*

### **I : Implications of kinds and combinations of watermark variants of the one design, with reference to multiple copies of an undated item**

There is just the one item in this collection bearing the name of Antonio Sanz, but not the place — presumably Madrid — or date of publication. It is the *Protestación de la fe*, by Calderón de la Barca, a quarto which collates A—C<sup>4</sup> D<sup>2</sup>.

Of the eleven copies, five are unsewn, five are bound in paper wrappers, and one has been disbound.

As though the nice printing and the beautifully preserved paper were not enough



to whet the appetite and stimulate a wish to know more about this item and when it was published, it has possibly the most impressive watermark design in the whole collection, and certainly within the Sanz series. The design, some 14cms. by 8, depicts a crowned sun, radiant, with ALEXANDRO round the inside edge of the face, and with a large letter 'R' suspended from the lowest of the rays.

There are five watermark variants of this design, and they may be divided into two groups. In the first, there is one interpretation of the design (wm. 1), and a slightly damaged copy (wm. 2). In the second, there is a slightly different interpretation of the design (wm. 3), a slightly damaged copy (wm. 4), and a slightly more damaged one (wm. 5). They read as follows:

copy	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k
A	1	1	3	4	2	3	4	1	1	1	3
B	1	4	3	3	1	4	3	3	5	3	1
C	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	1	1	3	3
D	—	—	1	—	3	3	1	—	—	1	1

The haphazard sequence of watermark variants in a given gathering (reading across), and the haphazard sequence of the variants making up separate copies (reading down), is not significant. It does no more than reflect the minor vicissitudes inherent in handling paper, whether in sheets or stacks. The internal sequence, then, is neither here nor there. What does matter, however, is that the watermarks reflect the basic homogeneous nature of the paper employed.

An important implication consequent on identifying the presence of the one watermark design in as many as five related and compatible forms, shared among eleven copies of a work, is that every copy was produced on the one lot of paper. We might expect there to be no textual variations other than those reflecting press corrections. And this, indeed, is the case. We can, with little trouble and considerable certainty, state that a substantial number of apparent duplicates are what they appear to be.

With regard to the role of watermarks in describing and defining the eleven copies of this item, and thus distinguishing this printing from any other, it should suffice to supply technologically sound reproductions of wms. 1 and 3. These are not only the basic forms present, but one or other occurs in every single copy, and both are present in eight of the copies. Verbal comment, together with cross-reference to the reproductions, should be sufficient to cover the secondary watermarks, 2, 4 and 5. Such treatment should meet the requirements of a reader trying to relate a like item or items to the copies described.

With regard to the role of watermarks for dating, we may start with the satisfaction of knowing at least that all the gatherings in the copies under discussion were run off in close succession. As there are no reference books with sound watermark reproductions available at present, not even a single accurately noted watermark can help much. But when such a work is produced, and supposing that the compiler had access to only one or two watermark variants of this particular design, then our ability to draw on five variants must improve prospects for dating. Secure dating must be enhanced by the fact that only two basic watermarks, 1 and 3, and related variants resulting from damage, 2, 4 and 5, occur in the eleven copies examined. The substantial, and homogeneous, nature of the paper employed in the printing should be of help.

## II : Watermarks as an aid in differentiating between like items, and in disclosing concealed reprints

### A. The House of Antonio Sanz

The *British Museum General Catalogue*, under 'England – Appendix – miscellaneous', has this entry:

La Perla de Inglaterra, y Peregrina de Ungria. (Comedia famosa.)  
De un Ingenio de Salamanca. pp.36. *Madrid*, 1756. 4°.

1342.e.2. (10.)

The Regueiro (Pennsylvania) catalogue has this:

(2799) La perla de Inglaterra, y peregrina de Ungria. De un ingenio de Salamanca. Madrid, Antonio Sanz, 1756.

The McKnight and Jones (North Carolina) catalogue has this:

1423. PERLA DE INGLATERRA, Y PEREGRINA DE UNGRIA, LA. \*N.176. Fol. I.  
Comedia famosa. . . . De un ingenio de Salamanca.  
[Madrid, Antonio Sanz, 1756.] A–E, pp. [1]–36.

– Vlan los Reyes de Ungria,

– perdonad aora las faltas.

TAB 5,20

This is followed by item 1424, whose description is identical, except for the omission of 'Fol.I.', and the addition of the note: '[Similar to No.1423, but different printing.]'

To which of these items are the first two catalogues referring? Could they be referring to yet another item or items? If other items existed, is the information contained in the last two descriptions sufficient for the reader to differentiate? And would the differentiation be meaningful? We are left wondering, with regard to these last two descriptions, whether difference is limited to press corrections and accidentals, or extends to substantives, which copy came first, and whether the one date for both copies is feasible.

The recently published Cambridge catalogue, which does not include the title in question, uses descriptive criteria which would have established many points of difference between the two items as given by North Carolina.<sup>26</sup> Yet it is not certain that even such detailed descriptions would be enough to differentiate between these two, on the one hand, and another item or other items, unsighted, on the other. Nor does the Cambridge catalogue attempt to answer the three questions in the last sentence of the previous paragraph.

In this collection there are two copies of the play in question. They could be described, and differentiated, in the terms used above by McKnight and Jones, but with all the risks attendant. It is interesting to note how observation of the watermarks employed in the two copies can assist with identification, and suggest an answer to those three vital questions.

Item 1, which collates A–D<sup>4</sup> E<sup>2</sup>, has a watermark design which appears in Heawood as a 'chaplet' (item 233), and was taken from a MS., '(Spain?)', 1796.<sup>27</sup> Since his source was not a printed one, and his reproductions are hand drawn, the date need not be taken too seriously. Within this collection no other instances of the chaplet have yet appeared. In item 1 we have one watermark variant of this design (wm.1) in gatherings A, C and D, and another variant of the design (wm.2) in gathering B; there is no watermark in E.

Item 2, which collates the same, has two quite different watermark designs. The first one is a crowned coat of arms over the words: MOLI DE CARMA (the 'DE' form a single letter). One watermark variant of this design (wm.3) occurs in gatherings A



and C, another variant of the design (wm.4) in B and E. The second watermark design to appear in this item shows a crowned oval frame containing a mother and child with mountain peaks around them, and the legend below: LLVCIA. There is a watermark (wm.5) of this design in gathering D.

In summary, it can be said that the chaplet design of watermarks 1 and 2 characterises item 1; the MOLÍ DE CARMA and LLVCIA designs of watermarks 3, 4 and 5 characterise item 2. The watermarks provide a short-hand description and definition of the foundation material, the paper, of both items, and in so doing succeed admirably in differentiating between them.<sup>28</sup> By extension, provision of the watermark documentation must help to group and separate relevant items elsewhere belonging to one or the other of what are clearly two separate printing runs, and should help one day in authenticating or correcting the date of either copy, or both copies.<sup>29</sup>

### B. Summary of additional, related, items, from the House of the Viuda de Orga<sup>30</sup>

Watermarks appearing in her publications, from Valencia, are currently under study. Within this collection her House is represented by 25 plays through 66 copies, the earliest dated 1761, *Princesa, ramera, y mártir: Santa Afra*, by Tomás de Añorbe y Corregel, the latest dated 1772, *La virtud consiste en medio: el pródigo y rico avariento*, by Un Ingenio (there are 11 copies of this item, all with the watermark design JAIME PERTEGAS). Of the 15 or so authors represented, about half lived and died in the previous century. What follows is a simplified listing of items all extremely alike in appearance; the watermark designs tell a different story, however, and alert us to vital differences.

*Las siete estrellas de Francia: San Bruno* (dated 1762), by Luis de Belmonte:

- Item 1: watermark design: antlers (?) to left and right of a star over crown;
- Item 2: watermark design: coat of arms over SEGORBE.<sup>31</sup>

*Cuanto mienten los indicios, y el ganapán de desdichas* (dated 1763), by Juan Bautista Diamante:

- Item 1: watermark design: decorated circle containing a cross Lorraine, countermark: JAIME;
- Item 2: watermark design: D M GUINOT in two gatherings, an indistinct shape over D M G in another.

*El picarillo en España* (dated 1763), by José de Cañizares:

- Item 1: watermark design: TORTOSA (in all three copies of this item);<sup>32</sup>
- Item 2: watermark design: JAIME PERTEGAS alternating with ANDRES PERTEGAS (in all seven copies of this item).

It is quite evident that every item can be characterised and described through reference to a particular watermark design. This means that for every two items corresponding to a given title, the watermark designs are providing us with a brief distinguishing comment on the foundation material, and are differentiating between the two items.<sup>33</sup> They are exposing concealed reprints not mentioned by W.T. McCready in 'Comedias sueltas de la Casa de Orga', though part of his article is devoted exclusively to listing 'diversas diferencias, reimpressiones, substitutiones, etc.'.<sup>34</sup>

### III : Watermarks as an aid in relating items of different dates, and showing that some of these dates are not plausible

Within this collection, and with reference in particular to the House of Antonio Sanz, there are several titles of rather different dates which, however, share identical watermark variants. Two such titles are: *Carlos Quinto sobre Túnez* (dated 1749), by José de Cañizares,<sup>35</sup> and *También hay duelo en las damas* (dated 1757), by Calderón de la Barca. The first item collates A—D<sup>4</sup> E<sup>2</sup>; the second A—E<sup>4</sup> F<sup>2</sup>.

The watermark design is a crowned coat of arms whose upper portion is divided fairly evenly by eight perpendicular bars, and whose lower portion contains in its centre what appears to be a three-runged ladder leading up to a cross. Within this collection no other instances of this watermark have yet appeared. In item 1 we have one watermark variant of this design (wm.1) in gatherings A — C, another variant of the design (wm.2) in D, and no watermark in E. There are seven copies of item 2, and the watermarks present read as follows:

copy	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
A	2	arms	arms	arms	arms	arms	arms
B	2	2	arms	2	2	2	1
C	1	arms	1	arms	1	arms	1
D	arms	arms	1	arms	1	arms	arms
E	arms	1	1	2	arms	2	2
F	—	—	1	1	—	2	—

The unnumbered gatherings of these seven copies of item 2 all bear a third, intimately related watermark variant of the same design; it could be spoken of as a fractionally more damaged version of watermark 2, above.

It is evident that the one design, through two identical watermarks, describes and defines the foundation substance of two quite separate items and relates them. It shows they were printed on the one lot of paper, probably in close succession. The dates do not seem plausible. To supply watermark documentation of these items serves of course to describe them and differentiate them from different printings, and at the same time it should provide a key for later correction of one date or other. The watermarks appear to be much more telling than the printed dates.

#### Additional items, also from the House of Antonio Sanz

*El purgatorio de San Patricio* (dated 1743), by Calderón de la Barca, and *No cabe más en amor, ni hay amor firme sin celos* (dated 1751), by Francisco Carbonel: the watermark design is a pair of scissors over the word TORT; both items use just the two identical watermark variants of this design.

*La prudencia en la niñez* (dated 1749), by Un Ingenio de esta Corte,<sup>36</sup> and *Lances de amor, y fortuna* (dated 1754), by Calderón de la Barca: the watermark design is of a heavily decorated shield containing the letters MOR / GA / DES in three lines; both items share identical watermark variants of this design.

In all four cases, the watermarks serve to describe the foundation material of items, to relate items, and to suggest that there must be something wrong with the dates. The watermarks serve also, once again, to differentiate between these items and other printings, and provide the key for correction of dating at some later stage.



#### IV : Watermarks as an aid in identifying printer and publisher of items lacking such information

In this collection there is an item bearing the date 1751, but not details of the printer or place of publication. It is *Luis Pérez el Gallego* (part 2), by Manuel de Anero Puente. Part 1 of that same title, by Calderón de la Barca, features in this collection with a colophon attributing it to the House of Antonio Sanz, Madrid; it carries also the date 1751.

The titles of the two items relate them, as do the dates. Arrangement of information on their head-title pages is very similar, and their founts are at least similar. The serial numbers at the beginning of each item, 221 for part 1, and 222 for part 2, also seem to relate the items – but not too much importance should be attached to these. Only the choice of ornaments between the columns of *dramatis personae* could be thought to conflict.

Examination of the watermarks common to both items would seem to add a final note of confirmation regarding attribution of part 2 to the printing house of Antonio Sanz, as well as confirming a common date for both items. Part 2, which collates A–D<sup>4</sup>, has two quite different watermark designs. The first one is a shell, with a large letter 'M' in the centre, a cross over the shell. A watermark with this design (wm.1) occurs in gatherings A and B. The second design is of two circles, the upper one surmounted by a cross, the other – larger – circle containing the Greek form of delta, followed by the letter 'A'. One watermark variant of this design (wm.2) occurs in gathering C, another variant (wm.3) in D. There are five copies of part 1, which also collates A–D<sup>4</sup>. The watermarks read as follows:

copy	a	b	c	d	e
A	—	1	2	2	1
B	circles	1	—	circles	2
C	shell	circles	1	shell	—
D	circles	circles	circles	circles	—

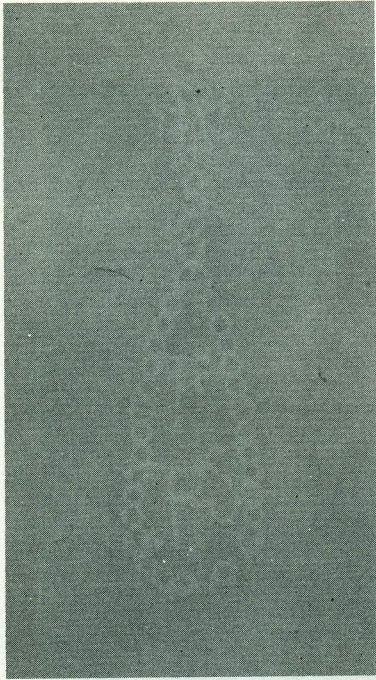
It is evident that two out of the three watermark variants recognised in part 2 occur also in part 1. Remaining watermarks, unnumbered, are all close variants of the same two designs, first encountered in our study of part 2. Finally, our ability to draw on five copies of part 1 enables us to understand that the combination of shell and circle designs also constitutes a significant part of the evidence, and is no freak. Clearly, the mixture of papers used for printing the two parts is the same, and both parts were run off in close succession.

It would appear that the combination of evidence listed at the start of this study, together with the evidence accruing from analysis of the foundation material of both items, warrants ascribing part 2 to the House of Antonio Sanz.

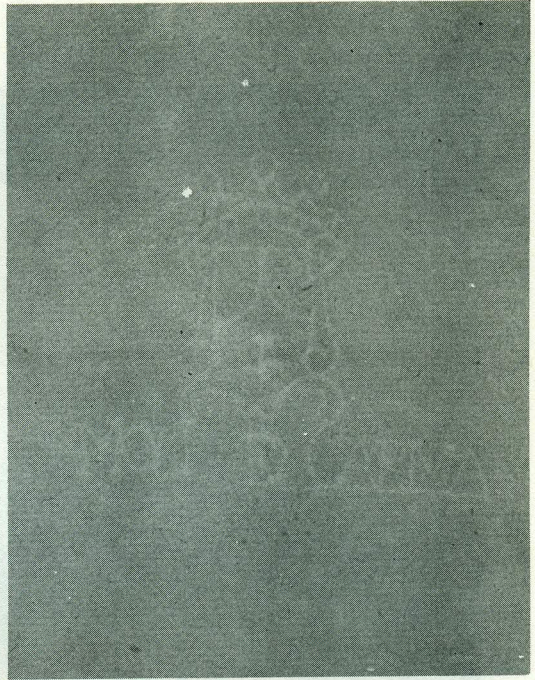
#### V : Watermarks as an aid in identifying printer and publisher of items wanting an imprint or colophon, and as an aid in dating such items

In this collection the item *Las misma conciencia acusa*, by Agustín Moreto, has no colophon or imprint. It is interesting to see how recognition of the watermarks can serve to date this item, and suggest a possible printer.

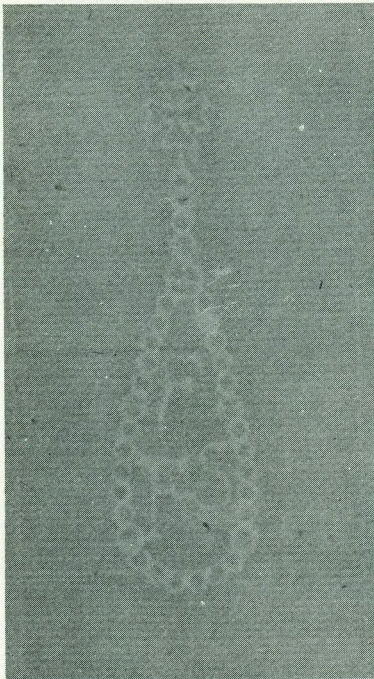




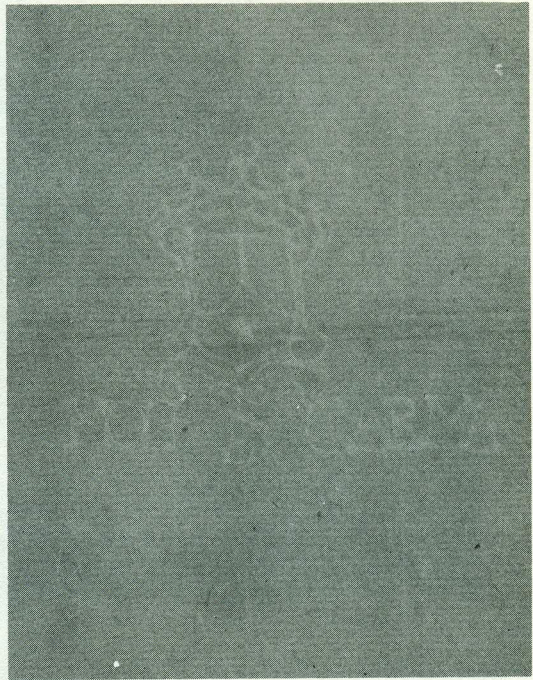
II: 1



II: 3

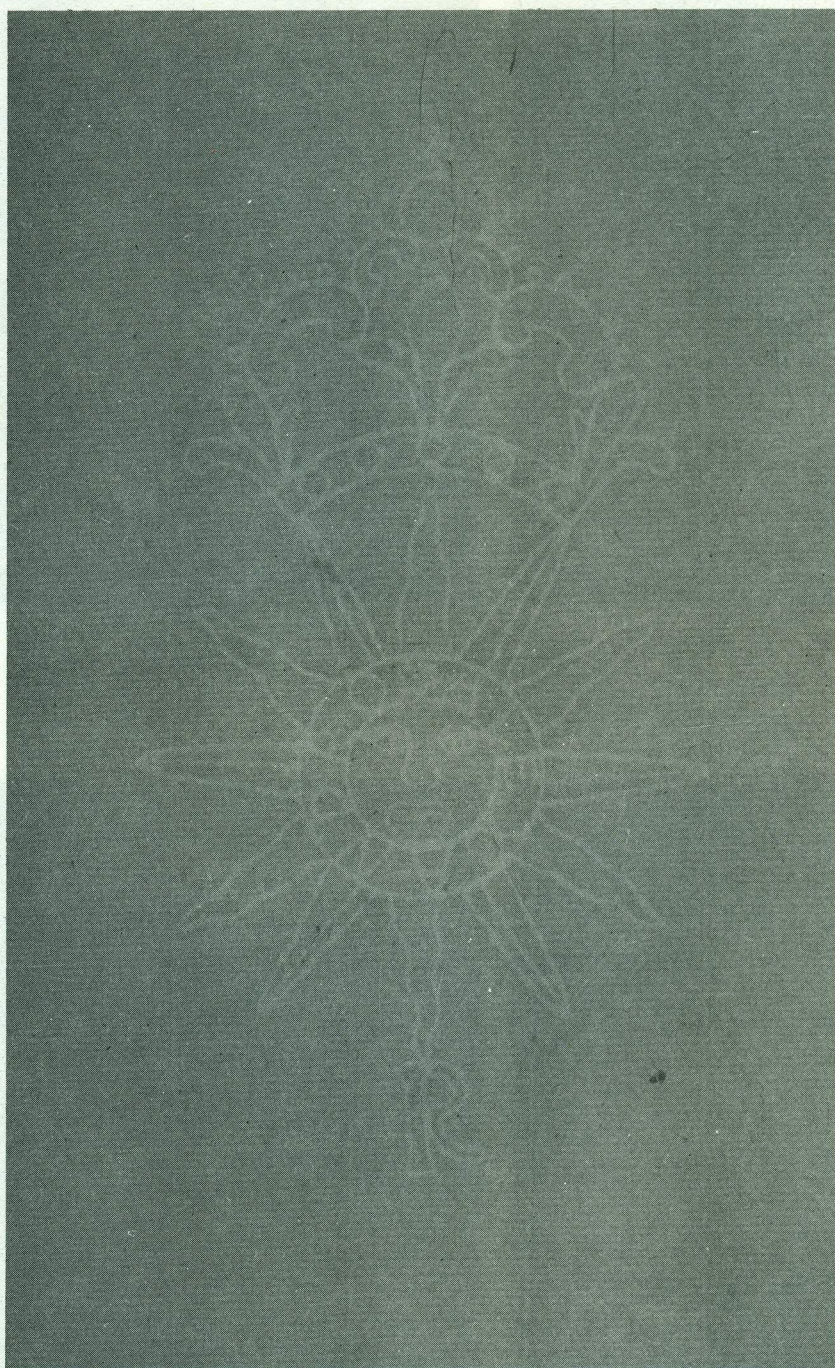


II: 2



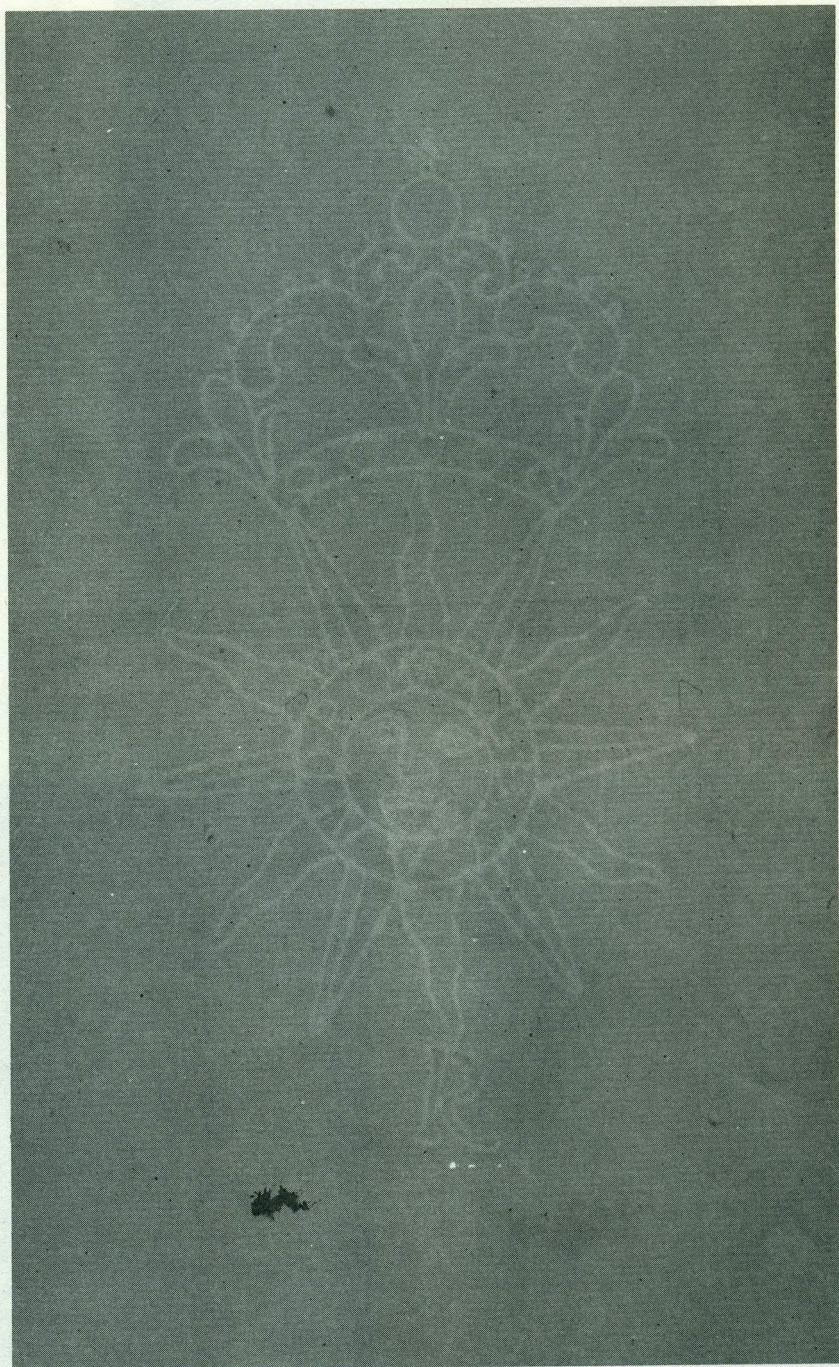
II: 4





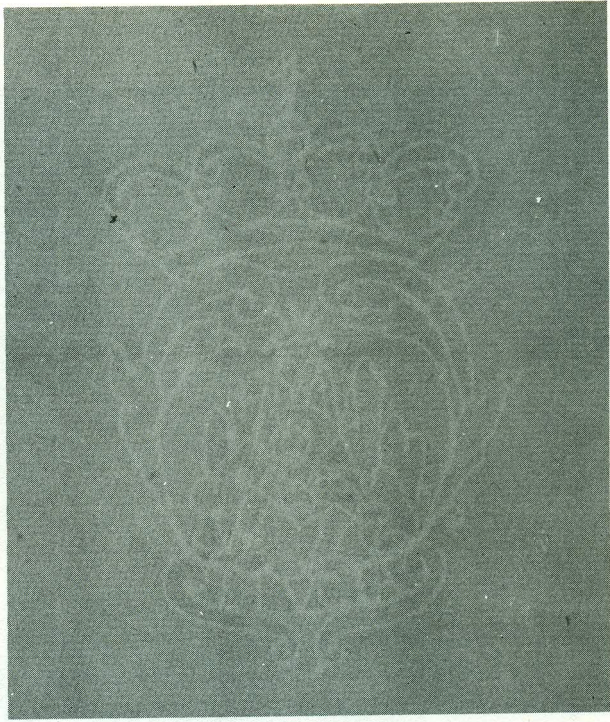
I: 1



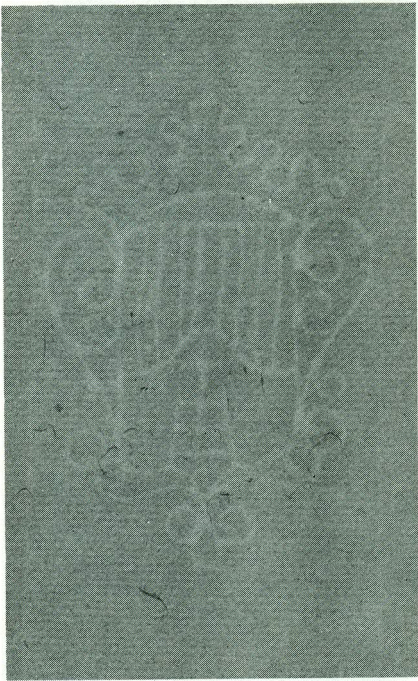


I: 3

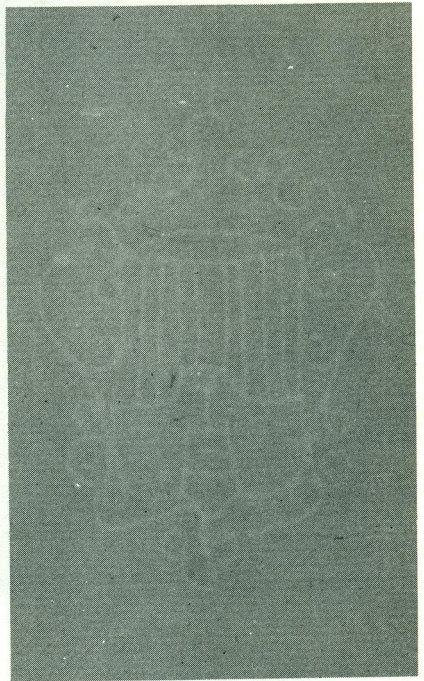




II: 5



III: 1



III: 2



*La misma conciencia acusa* shares many aspects of head-title page arrangement with the works: *Para vencer a amor, querer vencerle* (dated 1754), by Calderón de la Barca, *La heroica Antona García* (dated 1755), by José de Cañizares, *Caer para levantar* (dated 1756), by Juan de Matos Fragoso, Jerónimo Cáncer, and Agustín Moreto, and *Mujer llora, y vencerás* (dated 1756), also by Calderón. It has a typeface at least similar in size and style to that of three out of four of these other works (*Mujer* being the exception). It has ornaments between the columns of *dramatis personae* identical in kind and arrangement to those of *Caer*. So much, briefly, for the more obvious aspects of the printed surface. Now let us examine its foundation, and the watermark evidence.

*La misma conciencia acusa*, which collates A–D<sup>4</sup>, has both a watermark and a countermark. The watermark design is a crowned coat of arms; left and right hand sides are each divided vertically by two bars, but in the latter case there is a St Andrew's cross superimposed, with a heraldic beast to either side. The countermark design reads: VALDEXPO (the 'DE' form a single letter). One set of watermark and countermark variants of this design (wms.1: a and b) occurs in gatherings A and B; a slightly different set (wms.2: a and b) occurs in C; a third set, slightly different again (wms.3: a and b) occurs in D.

Watermark variants 1 occur in *Para vencer*, which collates A–D<sup>4</sup> E<sup>2</sup>, and in *La heroica*, which also collates A–D<sup>4</sup> E<sup>2</sup>. In the first item it is 1: a and b which occur in gathering B; in the second item only 1: a occurs, but that is in E.

Watermark variants 2 occur only in *Para vencer*: 2: a and b in gatherings C and D, 2: b in E.

Watermark variants 3 occur in *Caer*, which collates [A]<sup>4</sup> B–D<sup>4</sup>, and *Mujer*, which collates A–D<sup>4</sup> E<sup>2</sup>. In the first item 3: a and b occur in gatherings A, C and D. There are seven copies of the second item, and watermark variants 3 occur as follows: copy a, 3: a and b in B and C; copy b, —; copy c, 3: a in E; copy d, 3: a and b in B, 3: b in E; copy e, 3: a and b in C, 3: a in E; copy f, 3: a and b in C; copy g, 3: a and b in C, 3: a in E.

Of secondary, yet still considerable interest and relevance, must be the composition of the remaining gatherings of these four titles. A set of watermark and countermark variants related to the sets 1: a and b – 3: a and b (perhaps we could call it 4: a and b), occurs in *La heroica*, gatherings A – D; in *Caer*, gathering B; and in *Mujer*, once in each of five copies, twice in one copy, three times in another copy always in a gathering or gatherings from B, C or E. The basic watermark design changes slightly in the remaining gathering, A, of *Para vencer* (the crown is different), and another change of design occurs in one gathering of one copy of *Mujer* (everything is rather larger and more ornate); in neither case is a countermark evident. A totally unrelated design, with twin watermark variants, accounts for the remaining gatherings of *Mujer*.

It will be seen that watermark variants 1, 2 and 3 of the item under discussion, *La misma conciencia acusa*, occur in various combinations in the four supporting items, often in company of the related watermark 4. None of these, and none of the other design variants mentioned above, related or unrelated, have been encountered as yet anywhere else in this collection.

It does not seem far-fetched to suggest the period 1754–56 as the one in which *La misma conciencia acusa* was printed. If we hesitate to trust the printed evidence of dates, we have at least established that *La misma conciencia acusa* was printed at more or less the same time as the four supporting items mentioned, and the supply of



watermark documentation should facilitate future confirmation or otherwise of the dates given.

In the light, also, of the points made in the second paragraph, and the fact that the four supporting items are all from the House of Antonio Sanz, could we not tentatively attribute *La misma conciencia acusa* to that same House?

#### Additional item

*La más hermosa Raquel, pastora de las almas*, by Un Ingenio matritense: this item has the watermark variants 3: a and b in gatherings A<sup>4</sup> and C<sup>4</sup>, 4: a and b in B<sup>4</sup>, 4: b in D<sup>2</sup>, suggestive of the period 1754–56 as indicated. Ornaments between the columns of *dramatis personae* contain elements identical to those of *Caer*. Could this item, too, be attributed to the House of Sanz?

Bruno Scarfe,  
La Trobe University,  
Bundoora, Victoria.

1. This follows the talk (June 1977) with a similar title and theme, in the series: 'Occasional seminars on bibliographical topics', sponsored by the Departments of English and French and the Graduate School of Librarianship, Monash University.
2. First reference to this acquisition, and work on it, occurs in W. Kirsop, *Research on Western European languages and literatures in Australia since 1958* (Sydney, 1975), pp. 25–6. For a detailed report drawn up over the period 1975–6, see Bruno Scarfe, '17th. to 19th century editions of Spanish drama: a personal collection', *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 29(1977), 126–35. Work since then has been principally on the matter of identifying authors of the many anonymous items in the collection, and correcting false attributions.
3. For further information on *sueltas*, *desglosadas*, etc., see A. Restori, *Saggi di bibliografia teatrale spagnuola* (Geneva, 1927).
4. Concerning the importance of *sueltas*, and the problems they pose, see D.W. Cruickshank, 'The textual criticism of Calderón's comedias: a survey', in E.M. Wilson and D.W. Cruickshank, *The textual criticism of Calderón's comedias* (Farnborough and London, 1973), p. 29, constituting Vol. 1 of the series: *Pedro Calderón de la Barca comedias*, a facsimile edition prepared by D.W. Cruickshank and J.E. Varey; see also E.M. Wilson, 'Comedias sueltas: a bibliographical problem', in the same volume. Concerning the importance of *desglosadas*, see D.W. Cruickshank, 'A census of rare partes', in the same volume; in his closing paragraph, he says: 'The present series of facsimiles... should prove very helpful in identifying more disbound fragments (*desglosadas* as opposed to *sueltas*), which have been largely ignored in the past... every copy and every fragment of a copy is valuable'.
5. Specialist catalogues used in the early stages were: B.B. Ashcom, *A descriptive catalogue of the Spanish comedias sueltas in the Wayne State University Library and the private library of Professor B.B. Ashcom* (Detroit, 1965); W.A. McKnight and M.B. Jones, *A catalogue of 'comedias sueltas' in the library of the University of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1965); J.A. Molinaro, J.H. Parker and E. Rugg, *A bibliography of 'comedias sueltas' in the University of Toronto Library* (Toronto, 1959); J.M. Regueiro, *Spanish drama of the Golden Age: a catalogue of the 'comedia' collection in the University of Pennsylvania libraries* (New Haven, 1971), constituting the index to a microfilm edition of plays held there. Also much used early on was the magnificent work by C.A. de la Barrera y Leirado, *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español* (edn. of 1860 in facsimile,

- Madrid, 1969), and to a lesser extent J. Simón Díaz, *Bibliografía de la literatura hispánica* (Madrid, 1959–), Vol. 7. Later, use was made of the following: E. Cotarelo y Mori, 'Catálogo descriptivo de la gran colección de "Comedias escogidas" que consta de cuarenta y ocho volúmenes, impresos de 1652 a 1704', *Boletín de la Real Academia Española de la Lengua* 18–19 (1931–2); A. Gasparetti, 'La collezione di Comedias Nuevas Escogidas (Madrid, 1652–1681)', *Archivum Romanicum* 15 and 22 (1931 and 1938); J. Moll, 'Catálogo de comedias sueltas conservadas en la Biblioteca de la Real Academia Española', *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 44–46 (1964–6); A. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano* (2nd edn., 28 vols., Barcelona and Oxford, 1948–77); A. Paz y Meliá, *Catálogo de las piezas de teatro que se conservan en el Departamento de Manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (2nd. edn., 2 vols., Madrid, 1934); P.P. Rogers, *The Spanish drama collection in the Oberlin College Library: a descriptive catalogue* (2 vols., Oberlin, 1940–6); P. Salvá y Mallen, *Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá* (2 vols., edn. of Valencia, 1872, in facsimile, Barcelona, 1963).
6. A work of this kind has now appeared: A.J.C. Bainton, 'Comedias sueltas' in *Cambridge University Library: a descriptive catalogue* (Cambridge, 1977). Bainton follows lines indicated by the late Professor Wilson in his article, 'Comedias sueltas', and in so doing he produces a work useful not only for the definitions of the items listed, but for a wealth of information with further bibliographical potential. This work has been long overdue.
  7. The idea of assessing the rarity of items in this collection, using such a procedure, came from Mr D.H. Borchardt, Chief Librarian at La Trobe University. It led to a survey, based on reference to the first four specialist catalogues listed in note 5. Its findings are given in Scarfe. A copy of the survey is available on request.
  8. See McKnight and Jones, items 473, 1424, 1668, for example.
  9. See Ashcom, items 8e, 19c, 39e, for example.
  10. Ashcom uses this term.
  11. Simón Díaz.
  12. As above, items 997, 998, 1000–1003. Ashcom warns of this problem, with reference to Calderón de la Barca, in a note under 'Abbreviations':  
 WSU Pseudo-Vera Tassis. The plays of Calderón, which appeared in the edition of Juan de Vera Tassis y Villarroel (9 vols. Madrid, 1685–1698), collected in the form of *sueitas*, arranged in Vera Tassis's order, and published in 9 volumes, with faked title pages and preliminary pages, thus simulating a legitimate Vera Tassis edition.
  13. Other applications for watermarks: detection of cancellantia, verification of format, detection of fakes, and even reconstruction of the sequence of printing in substantial runs – none of these was considered relevant at this early stage of proceedings.
  14. J. Lindt, *The paper-mills of Berne and their watermarks 1465–1859* (Hilversum, 1964), p. 58, writes: 'Perhaps the first man to recognize the importance and necessity of a study of water-marks was the Bernese patrician and scholar Samuel Engel 1702–1784? Later he refers to 'Engel's idea that watermarks could be used to determine the age of old manuscripts and printed matter'.
  15. See, for example: A. Stevenson, 'Paper as bibliographical evidence', *The Library* 17(1962), section 2 in particular; and the series of studies by Stevenson in the Introduction to C.M. Briquet, *Les filigranes* (Amsterdam, 1968), where he deals with all the points which follow in this paragraph.



16. The days have gone when sighting of a watermark with the Arms of Amsterdam, for example, might tempt an immediate misidentification. We know better, now, than not to distinguish between a general design and its exact form in a given watermark or, as expressed repeatedly in the following pages, a watermark variant.
17. Though such processes do not normally reveal anything the eye had not seen first, there is the occasional surprise, as when an unintelligible watermark legend was reproduced and the (place?) name CUENCA stood out clearly.
18. See Stevenson and other studies. The reproductions made so far for this collection relied on an x-ray source and normal film.
19. The only works it has been possible to view are: F. de Bofarull y Sans, *Heraldic watermarks* (Hilversum, 1956; from *La heráldica en la filigrana del papel*, Barcelona, 1901); and by the same author, *Animals in watermarks* (Hilversum, 1959; from *Los animales en las marcas del papel*, Barcelona, 1910).
20. Works examined include: Briquet (see Stevenson, note 15); W.A. Churchill, *Watermarks in paper in Holland, England, France, etc. in the XVIIth. & XVIIIth. centuries and their interconnection* (Hilversum, 1967; originally Amsterdam, 1935); J. Gauthier, *L'industrie du papier dans les hautes vallées franc-comtoises du XVe. au XVIIIe. siècle* (Montbéliard, 1897); E. Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the XVIIth. and XVIIIth. centuries* (Hilversum, 1950); and by the same author, 'The use of watermarks in dating old maps and documents', *The Geographical Journal* 63 (1924), 391–412, and a series of articles in *The Library*: 'Papers used in England after 1600', 11(1930), 263–93, 466–98, and 'Further notes on paper used in England after 1600', 2 (1947), 119–41; E.J. Labarre, *Dictionary and encyclopaedia of paper and paper-making* (Amsterdam, 1952), pp.328–60; Lindt; E. Midoux and A. Matton, *Études sur les filigranes des papiers employés en France aux XIVe. et XVe. siècles* (Paris, 1868); A. Nicolăi, *Histoire des moulins à papier du sud-ouest de la France 1300–1800* (2 vols., Bordeaux, 1935); S.L. Sotheby, *Principia typographica* Vol. 3 (London, 1858).
21. Also of relevance to the decision to investigate and document watermarks is the fact that a high proportion of the *sueltas*, and virtually all the *pliegos sueltos* (very short works published to stand on their own, comprising between one and two sheets), are still in separate gatherings or even in quires, making examination and reproduction of watermarks easy.
22. Antonio Sanz is represented in this collection by items ranging from one dated 1736, *El villano del Danubio, y el buen juez no tiene patria*, by Juan de la Hoz Mota, to one dated 1785, *El hijo pródigo*, by Tres Ingenios (McKnight and Jones write that the latter has been attributed – questionably – to Jerónimo de Cáncer, Agustín Moreto and Juan de Matos Frago). Most items, however, fall within the period 1740–64. Of the 30 or so authors represented, most lived and died in the previous century, and therefore the majority of Sanz's publications are reprints. A dozen items, nevertheless, do not seem to feature in the works consulted during preparation of the survey on rarity (see note 7), and eight of these do not seem to feature in the *British Museum General Catalogue* (edn. to 1955). Items are all *sueltas*, quartos, and average four gatherings apiece.
23. Sewing dots, whose presence and role have been noted and discussed by people as removed in time as Sotheby and Stevenson, help us very little during the period in question, where they are generally regarded as being difficult if not impossible to discern.
24. It seems proper to remind ourselves that not all items, *desglosadas* included, have watermarks. The watermark, however, is no more than a useful label, and the sheet of paper it represents is equally open to examination, measurement, and reproduction.

25. Midoux and Matton, p.12, were saying something very similar 100 years ago:  
 . . . nous conseillons aux inconophiles et aux catalographes de mentionner les filigranes, pour compléter les indications quelquefois si vagues, qui caractérisent les différents états et tirages d'une planche gravée, et aider même à la solution toujours pendante de l'origine de la gravure et de l'imprimerie.  
 And they made it quite clear, earlier, that they meant not just verbal descriptions of watermarks, but scrupulously exact copies.
26. See Bainton.
27. See Heawood, *Watermarks*.
28. Several hours of painstaking comparison of the two items produced the following results: concerning accidentals – there is the occasional difference in accents and punctuation, in spelling (sometimes due to error, sometimes representing a plausible variant); concerning substantives – the following seems of interest:
- |                                                      |                |
|------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Rey. Cefar, no pude mas, rompime el pecho.</i>    | (Item 1, p.17) |
| <i>Rey. Cefar, no pude reprimir mas el defpecho.</i> | (Item 2, p.17) |
- The latter is probably preferable.  
 Another example, accidental in form but substantive in effect, is:
- |                                   |                |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Rey. Viva en mi pecho ap.</i>  |                |
| <i>Beatriz: mas no, es muger.</i> | (Item 1, p.12) |
| <i>Rey. Viva en mi pecho ap.</i>  |                |
| <i>Beatriz: mas no es muger?</i>  | (Item 2, p.12) |
- The two forms suggest a different social and psychological emphasis, the former harsh or defeatist, the latter more open, philosophical.
29. Watermark variants 3 and 4 occur also in an item dated 1756, *El hijo de la piedra, y segundo Pfo Quinto, San Félix*, by Juan de Matos Fragoso. Some different, but related, variants of the same design occur in items dated 1746 and 1748. A different, but related, variant of the design in watermark 5 occurs in copies of an item dated 1748.
30. All items appear to be quarto *sueeltas*, averaging four gatherings apiece.
31. The city, near Valencia?
32. The city, slightly further north?
33. *Las siete estrellas*: different printings discernible through occasional differences in accentuation, punctuation, spelling, syntax, and abbreviations; *Cuanto mienten*: different printings evident through differences of some italic typeface, most of the accentuation, some punctuation, some spelling – and use of the modern 's' throughout the second item; *El picarillo*: different printings discernible in the use of fractionally different sized typefaces, occasional differences in accentuation, punctuation, and spelling.
34. McCready's article appeared in A.D. Kossof and J. Amor y Vázquez (eds.), *Homenaje a William L. Fichter* (Madrid, 1971). Concerning the whole question of reliability or otherwise of colophons, see J. Moll, 'Las nueve Partes de Calderón editadas en comedias sueltas (Barcelona, 1763–1767)', *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 51 (1971), 259–304. On p.263 he writes:  
 . . . no siempre se puede dar crédito al pie de imprenta y a los años que figuran en reediciones de comedias anteriores, pues a veces se mantiene el nombre del impresor primitivo cambiando el año, o se cambia o modifica el nombre del impresor con el año de la primera edición, o



se mantiene en sucesivas reediciones el mismo pie de imprenta y año.

Though he is speaking of other printers operating elsewhere in Spain, he is concerned with *suelts*, the same period, and variant printings of one kind or other.

35. Paz y Melia, item 567, lists a manuscript in which this title is attributed to Juan de la Hoz y Mota, and another in which it is attributed to our author.
36. L. Fernández de Moratín attributes this title to Antonio Pablo Fernández, in his 'Catálogo de piezas dramáticas publicadas en España, desde el principio del siglo XVIII hasta el año 1825', appearing anonymously in E. de Ochoa, *Tesoro del teatro español desde su origen* Vol. 5 (Paris, 1838).

### Postscript

While the above was in press, it became possible to examine O. Valls i Subirà, *Paper and watermarks in Catalonia / El papel y sus filigranas en Catalunya* / (2 vols., bilingual, Amsterdam, 1970). It is a substantial study, containing a wealth of information, from which it is proposed here to extract particulars relative to the meaning of some of the watermarks referred to above, including details of the papermakers responsible, and the places where they worked. Regrettably, the reproductions are handmade and appear to derive in the main from manuscript sources, rendering them of questionable use for exact identification and for dating. Nevertheless, even handmade reproductions are superior to mere verbal descriptions, and they certainly succeed in conveying the designs involved, and on occasion evolutionary tendencies within designs.

#### *Sun*

Our design resembles the design of V.S. item 1844 (dated 1801) which, however, is wanting two rays. From the Valencia area.

#### *Chaplet*

Our design resembles that of V.S. item 339 (1750) except that the cross is given as a star, and the spacing beads are not indicated as such. The enclosed initials refer, presumably, to the papermaker Francesc Farreras or Ferreres, working just outside Capellades, inland from Barcelona and quite close to Montserrat. The design, always evolving, persisted into the nineteenth century.

#### *MOLI DE CARMA*

Our design resembles that of V.S. item 773<sup>†</sup> (1660). This design was introduced by Francesc Romaní, and used in ever evolving forms into the nineteenth century. The 'Carma' would refer to the river Carme, on the outskirts of Capellades.

#### *LLVCIA*

Our design resembles that of V.S. item 572 (1764), except that the human figures are no longer recognizable, almost absorbed into the stylised rendering of the mountains of Montserrat. The name is that of the papermaking family, Lluçia, working in the Capellades area.

**PERTEGAS**

V.S. item 683 (1786) refers to Jaime Pertegàs, a papermaker who appears to have worked at La Riba, in the Tarragona area.

**TORTOSA**

V.S. item 588 (1761) gives this place name, used by the papermaker Sebastià Mas of Tortosa, who had a mill in nearby Xerta.

*Coat of arms with ladder and cross*

Our design fits into the range of V.S. items 209–12 (1742–59), from the papermaker Domingo Casas, working just outside Tarragona. The design, with ladder and cross, refers to the emblem of the Carthusian Monastery of Scala Dei, also in the Tarragona region.

**TORT**

V.S. item 1021 (1768) is fairly similar to ours in design, including reference to the papermaking family, Tort, from the Capellades area, and the wool-shears symbolic of the family's previous occupation in running a fulling-mill.

**MORGADES**

Our design resembles that of V.S. item 618 (1765). The name is of Ramon Morgades, owner of a mill at Torrelles de Foix, inland between Barcelona and Tarragona.