As item no. 104 on an invoice dated 21 September 1842, the British Museum purchased a copy of a book of which the description is as follows:

[four separate woodcut border pieces, and three separate figures above the title, one woman and two men]

C Sermondeaamores || del maestrobuñetalá || tellamado fray Ni || del dela orden d'l || fristel. Agora || nueuamente || Corregido y enmēdado || Año de . M.D.xlii.

This book, printed in 1542 with no imprint (fig. 1), is a quarto of twenty leaves, having the unusual collation a²⁰. Three gothic types are employed, and there is a woodcut on the last leaf verso, which we shall mention later. Despite the words ‘Agora nueuamente corregido y enmendado’, there seems to be no trace of an earlier edition. The work is anonymous, but the author is known to be Cristóbal de Castillejo, who was born at Ciudad Rodrigo most probably in 1490, and died at Vienna on 12 June 1550. He is buried at Wiener Neustadt.¹

The provenance of the copy now in the British Library (at C.63.g.29) is at once interesting and complicated. On its red morocco binding are the crest (a ram’s head) and the initials H.T., which mean that it belonged to the large library of the French manufacturer Henri Ternaux-Compsans, who died in 1833. A manuscript note in the book reads: ‘Apr. 1818 [Singer’s] Sale by Evans £5.18.0.’ This refers to the author and bookseller Samuel Weller Singer (1783–1858). In addition, a pencil note reads: ‘Cristoval de Castillejo es el verdadero nombre del autor de este libro.—Gallardo.’

The modern editor of the works of Castillejo in four volumes, J. Dominguez Bordona, notes: ‘La bibliografía de Cristóbal de Castillejo ha sido expuesta con toda competencia por el Sr. Foulché Delbosc, en el estudio anteriormente mencionado. Da a conocer en él los fragmentos de Costanza, conservados por Moratín, y una copia del Sermón de amores, hecha en Inglaterra, se ignora por quién “y verosímilmente segun el ejemplar de Richard Heber.” Este ejemplar, visto por Gallardo en 1820, y otro mencionado por Salvá, son los únicos que de la supuesta edición princeps (s.l. 1542) hay noticia.’²

There is no internal evidence that the British Library copy is the Heber copy, yet it must be the same copy which Gallardo saw in England in or about 1820, for it bears his
Fig. 1. Cristóbal de Castillejo, Sermón de amores. Title-page. C.63.g.29.
signature. No other copy is today recorded, and in fact the Evans sale catalogue shows that the book was sold to Mr Heber, so it is unusual for it not to contain the familiar ‘Bibliotheca Heberiana’ handstamp. 3 Bartolomé José Gallardo (1776–1852), who was a refugee in England from 1814 to 1820, must have visited Heber’s private library and inspected the slim volume at some time between the end of April 1818 and his departure from London in 1820. Now we can see that this same copy belonged first to Henri Ternaux-Compan, then to Samuel Weller Singer, was then sold by Evans to Heber, and finally bought by the British Museum in 1842.

But of all the owners, bibliophiles and bibliographers who saw the book, none to this day appears to have attempted to identify its place of printing or its printer; and yet this is not difficult.

The woodcut at the end, measuring $110 \times 35$ mm, showing two knights carrying away the dead body of a comrade in front of a castle (fig. 2), with a ladder beside them, is also used in Feliciano de Silva, Segunda comedia de Celestina, printed at Salamanca by Pedro de Castro in 1536 (Vindel, ix. 162). 4 The two side-pieces of the woodcut border are frequently found in books printed by Pedro de Castro at Medina del Campo, e.g. El glorioso martyrio del padre fray Andres de Espeleto, 1543 (Vindel, iv. 75), the works of...
Boscan and Garcilaso, 1544 (Vindel, i. 308), and the Reprouacion de las supersticiones y hechizeries of Pedro Ciruelo, 1548 (Vindel, ii. 253). What appears to be a close copy of the top border-piece is found on the title-page of Hystoria del noble cavallero el Conde Fernan Gonzalez con la muerte de los siete infantes de Lara, printed at Salamanca by Juan de Junta in 1547 (Vindel, iv. 217). All four border-pieces of the Boscan of 1544 seem to be the same as those used in Instruction dela muger christiania, Zamora, Pedro Tovans, 1539 (Vindel, iv. 274). All four of these blocks are also found on Francisco de Osuna, Primera parte del libro llamado Abecedario spiritual, Medina del Campo, Pedro de Castro, 1544 (Vindel, vi. 312). The top border-piece appears on Antonio de Valcazar, La triste y dolerosa muerte de la princesa nuestra sefnora, Valladolid, 1545, printer not known (Vindel, x. 16), a quarto of four leaves not in the British Library. Not all of these books illustrated by Vindel have been examined, but it is now quite clear that the area in which we are looking for the printer of the Sermón de amores of 1542 comprises the four towns of Salamanca, Medina del Campo, Zamora, and Valladolid, all of which are relatively near to each other, and not too far from the author’s birthplace of Ciudad Rodrigo in the south of León.

Present records show that Pedro de Castro worked at Salamanca from 1536 to 1541 and at Medina del Campo from 1542 to 1549. Salamanca can therefore be ruled out if, as seems most likely, he was the printer. He must have taken the woodcut of the knights with him when he moved to Medina late in 1541 or early in 1542. Valladolid can be dismissed on the grounds that we have found one border-piece used there three years after its appearance in the book we are studying. Zamora likewise can be ruled out because Pedro Tovans, who printed there in 1539, is known otherwise as a printer at Medina del Campo in 1534-6, and is not known otherwise at Zamora after 1539. This leaves Medina del Campo as the place of printing of our Sermón de amores, and Pedro de Castro as by far the most probable candidate for the printer. It is true that in August 1549 we again find Pedro de Castro printing at Salamanca, when he published an important legal folio by Alonso Diaz de Montalvo, the Solenne repertorium seu secunda compilatio legum Montalui, printed at the expense of the bookseller Juan Pedro Museti (or Mussetti); but it is not certain whether the printer had in that year moved back from Medina to Salamanca, or whether he maintained two presses, one in each town simultaneously. Whatever may be the truth on this point, in 1542, the year of the Sermón de amores, he was firmly established in Medina. The British Library has the following books printed by him in Medina in 1542 and 1543: Martín de Córdova, Jardín de las nobles donzellas, 22 July 1542; Subida del Monte Sion nueuamente renouada, 13 November 1542; Libro de Boecio seuerino: intitulado de la consolacion de la philosophia, 12 December 1542; Lucio Apuleyo del asno de oro, 6 April 1543; Giovanni Boccaccio, Las ciento nouellas, 11 August 1543. All of these books (many of which were commissioned by the bookseller Juan de Espinosa of Medina) have elaborately decorated title-pages, but all their woodcuts and borders are different from one another. This only goes to show how rich was the diversity of woodcut material owned by Pedro de Castro. As for the types, that of the title-page of our Sermón de amores is a gothic measuring about 175 mm for twenty lines, while the text-type measures 92 mm for
Chistereal sobre las paz
es del Emperador y
rey nuestro señor y
Carlos:con el chri
stianissimo Rey
de Fracia:que
Christo Je
su en su
santo
servicio conserve.Amém.

1539

Fig. 3. Chiste real sobre las paces del Emperador y rey. Title-page. C.34.h.46.
twenty lines. This text type seems to be the same as that of the Boccaccio, but not of the other books quoted.

There is one further complication. The only other book in which I thought I had found the lower portion of the title-page woodcut border is: Chiste real sobre las pazes del Emperador y rey nuestro señor dô Carlos [Charles V]: conel christianissimo Rey de Frácia, printed in 1539. But this is a book which I had, for other reasons, tentatively and somewhat dubiously assigned to a press at Cuenca. This is yet another instance of the extraordinary extent to which woodcut blocks were lent and closely copied between one town and another in sixteenth-century Spain: and this phenomenon has been commented on by others apart from the present writer. The one block is a very clever copy of the other (see fig. 3). The top border-piece of the Chiste was certainly used in 1533 at Cuenca on the title-page of Relacion de la vida de D. Gil de Albornoz, printed by Francisco Alfaro (Vindel, viii. 15). However, if the Chiste was really printed at Cuenca, it is more likely to be the work of Guillermo Reymon, who was certainly printing in Cuenca in 1538, whereas I have records of Francisco Alfaro only between 1530 and 1533.

We cannot tell how and why two woodcut border-pieces, one apparently used at Cuenca in 1539 and the other evidently used at Medina del Campo in 1542, should be such close copies of each other. It still seems correct on the evidence available to catalogue the Sermón de amores thus:


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2 Domínguez Bordona, vol. cit., p. 34. R. Foulché Delbosc, ‘Des œuvres de Cristobal de Castillejo’, Revue Hispanique, xxxvi (1916), pp. 489-620. See, especially, p. 505. Foulché Delbosc thought that the book might have been printed in Italy, but it is impossible to imagine why he thought so.

3 A Catalogue of the Library of a well known Collector [S. W. Singer’s name added in MS.] to be sold by Mr. Evans, Fourth Day’s Sale [27 April] 1818, no. 748, described as ‘a very curious and rare Poetical Dialogue, red morocco’. See also B. J. Gallardo, Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos, tom. ii (Madrid, 1866), col. 290: ‘Parte de la Costanza dice el Sr. Gallardo que ha visto impresa con otro título en 4º, letra gótica. Se la franqueó en Londres Mr. Heber, rico y profundo bibliógrafo. Dr. Juan José Bueno.’

4 References here are to Francisco Vindel, Manual gráfico-descriptivo del bibliófilo hispano-americano (1475-1850), ten vols. (Madrid, 1930). This is an inaccurate and incomplete work, but very useful for its illustrations, many of which, however, are not the original size, so that comparisons are often difficult.

5 The fact that the block used in Salamanca by Juan de Junta in 1547 is not quite the same as that found in the Sermón de amores is proved by its occurrence in another book in the British Library, Las Leyes del Estilo: y declaraciones sobre las leyes del Fuero, 1550. This has the device of Juan de Junta on the title-page. Spanish printers of the sixteenth century seem to have made more of a habit than any other country’s printers of closely imitating each other’s woodcut material.
