The Socio-Editorial History of the Narrative Works of María de Zayas y Sotomayor

Julián Olivares
Professor Emeritus
(University of Houston)

María de Zayas y Sotomayor lived, wrote and died during a period of Spain's maximum literary activity—el Siglo de Oro—whose major writers, among many others, were Miguel de Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Luis de Góngora, Tirso de Molina, Francisco de Quevedo, Baltasar Gracián and Calderón de la Barca. When Góngora died in 1627, Zayas had already completed eight of the novellas of the *Novelas amorosas y exemplares,* a title not to her liking, and published ten years later in Zaragaoza, 1637, by which time Zayas had added two more novellas. She had to wait a decade to publish her work because in the period 1625-1634 the publication of *comedias* and *novelas,* at the urging of the Junta de Reformación (March 6, 1625), was prohibited by the Consejo de Castilla (March 7): "Y porque se ha reconocido el daño de imprimir libros de comedias, novelas ni otros deste género, por el que blandamente hacen a las costumbres de la jubentud, se consulte a su Majestad ordene al Consejo que en ninguna manera se dé licencias para imprimirlos" (qtd. in Moll, 177-78). Nonetheless, as Anne Cayuela demonstrates, "[…] durante el período de esos diez años la publicación de novelas en el Reino de Castilla no cesó, aunque sí conoció un descenso significativo. La publicación de comedias, en cambio, se estancó completamente durante los diez años de suspensión" (1993, 52).[1] After a 10-year hiatus, Zayas published the second part, titled *Segunda parte del Sarao y entretenimiento honesto,* Zaragoza, 1647, again not a title that she preferred. As I shall demonstrate, employing a socio-editorial approach to her work, her preferred title was *Honesto y entretenido sarao,* a title not to the liking of her editors (*libreros*).

In addition to the complex administrative process of acquiring the necessary civil *licencias* and ecclesiastical *aprobaciones/censuras* from the Consejo de Castilla, the printing of a book during this period was a complex process of factors and negotiations that mediated between the autor, the editor, the printer and the public. As Moll indicates:

> […] a una sociología le interesará captar la percepción que tuvo el editor de las necesidades y exigencias sociales del mercado comprador—y por lo tanto lector—y al mismo tiempo las posibilidades que también tuvo el editor de influencia en el mismo. La sociología de la edición pretende establecer la relación de la producción del libro impreso con las necesidades, gustos, apetencias de la sociedad lectora. Estas necesidades fijan las expectativas de los editores y en ciertos casos incluso de algunos autores. (92)

The *editor* (a modern term[2]) was the book seller and/or book merchant (*librero y/o el mercader de libros*), who financed the printing; with regard to Zayas: "a costa de Pedro Esquer, mercader de libros."

[1] Cayuela provides a list of 28 works that circumvented the prohibition and which were printed in Madrid during this period (72-74).

[2] Esperanza Velasco de la Peña affirms that "Aunque el término *editor* no surge hasta finales del siglo XIX, sí existe su función, es decir, seleccionar la obra, costearla y organizar su distribución. El librero o mercader de libros, como gusta llamarse, era el que mejor conocía el mercado del libro, sabía quienes eran los lectores potenciales, sus gustos, y cómo hacerles llegar el producto de una manera lo más atractiva posible. Algunos de nuestros libreros no dudaron en lanzarse a la actividad editorial" (266). Anne Cayuela indicates that the distinction between the two terms of

In this regard Roger Chartier's observations on the sociology and production of texts is apropos:

> Works are produced within a specific order that has its own rules, conventions and hierarchies […] any work inscribes within its forms and its themes a relationship with the manner in which, in a given moment and place, modes of exercising power, social configurations, or the structure of personality are organized. […] the writer […] creates in a state of dependence. Dependence upon the rules (of patronage, subsidy, and the market) that define the writer's condition. Dependence (on an even deeper level) on the unconscious determinations that inhabit the work and that make it conceivable, comunicable, and decipherable. […] "Whatever they may do, authors do not write books. Books are not written at all. They are manufactured by scribes and other artisans, by mechanics and other engineers, and by printing presses and other machines." […] Contrary to representation elaborated by literature itself and taken up by the most quantitative forms of history of the book, which state that the text exists in and of itself, separate from anything material, we neeed to remember that there is no text apart from the physical support that offers it for reading (or hearing), hence there is no comprehension of any written piece that does not at least in part depend upon the forms in which it reaches its reader. This means that we need to make a distinction between two sets of mechanisms, the ones that are part of the strategies of writing and the author's intentions, and the ones that result from publishing decisions or the constraints of the print shop. (1994, x, 9)[3]

Briefly stated by Chartier, these are the processes that intervene "Between the author's hand and the printer's mind." Knowledge of the intricate process of book production is indispensable. As Moll points out:

> La fijación de la edición y sus variedades, emisiones y estados, nos permitirá, entre otras cosas, conocer el proceso de realización de la misma y valorar el cudidado puesto en ella, su financiación, eliminar ediciones aparentemente distintas y analizar la intervención de elementos ajenos al autor y editor, que han alterado el contenido de la obra, todo ello de gran interés para una sociología de la edición y de la obra literaria. Además, nos ayuda a la fijación del llamado ideal, definido como el que ofrece el estado más perfecto de la obra, según la intención del autor, editor e impresor. (46-47)[4]

---

librero/mercader was not very precise: "la distinción entre los dos términos no es tan precisa, y 'librero' designa a menudo una triple función: editor, encuadernador y mercader de libros" (2005, 31). With regard to the capital importance of the *editor,* Manuel J. Pedraza Gracia afirms: "El editor se articula […] como una figura de importancia capital dentro del proceso productivo, y como tal, toma decisiones trascendentales que condicionan desde su comienzo todo el proceso. En efecto, él es responsable de la decisión principalísima de la elección del impresor que ha de llevar a cabo la edición (bien sea por el peso de los argumentos técnicos y estéticos y de la capacidad de la casa impresora o bien sea por el peso de los argumentos de carácter económico o logístico), por consiguiente, de los recursos materiales que se emplean y de los profesionales que la realizan" (111).

[3] Qtd. Stoddard. Francisco Rico confirms: "se ha argüido que la obra que llega al lector o espectador no nace exclusivamente de la pluma del escritor, sino que es también producto de los agentes y factores que la difunden y que, por ende, muchas veces condicionan fuertemente su apariencia y contenido" (152-53).

[4] Refuting the famous essay by W. K. Wimsatt Jr. and M. C. Beardsley on "The Intentional Fallacy" (*The Sewanee Review,* 1946), according to which it is not possible to know the author's intention, D. F. McKenzie notes that "historical scholarship […] seeks, as objectively as possible, to recover, from the physical evidence of a text, its

After the intitial sucess of Zayas's *Novelas amorosas*, 1637 (in Aragón, of course), her work was twice pirated in 1638, resulting in the mutilation of her work and the silencing of her authorial voice. The author María de Zayas was eclipsed by a false literary persona whose expurgated work continued for over 300 years[5].

Representation and misrepresentation: María de Zayas and her editors

1. Pedro Escuer: *Novelas amorosas y exemplares*

In 1637 the book seller and merchant, Pedro Escuer (or Esquer[6]) published in Zaragoza a book in quarto (*cuarto conjugado*), with the title of *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares, compuestas por Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor, natural de Madrid.*[7] The *aprobación* granted by Joseph de Valdivieso, and issued in Madrid, is dated June 2, 1636; but it refers to the work as "Este honesto y entretenido sarao." The *licencia* granted by Juan de Mendieta, also issued in Madrid, repeats the title given in the *aprobación:* "Tratado honesto y entretenido sarao"*;* but, curiously, the date of the *licencia* does not coincide with that of the *aprobación.* Rather, it places the date ten years earlier: June 4, 1626. The *aprobacón* and *licencia* awarded by Pedro Aguilón, by commission of Juan Domingo Briz and issued in Zaragoza, gives the date of May 6, 1635, and now refers to Zayas's work as "Novelas."

Later in 1637, Escuer financed a second edition corrected by Zayas, this time in octavo: "De nuevo corretas y enmendadas por su misma Autora." In this edition the date of Valdivieso's *aprobación* is omitted, the date of Aguilon's *aprobación* and *licencia* is maintained; but, strangely, the date of Mendieta's *licencia* is advanced 10 years to 1636. Moll, in his article on the first edition of the *novelas amorosas y exemplares,* comments the activities of the "interesante librero," Pedro Escuer,[8] affirming that "José de Valdivielso podía firmar la aprobación tanto en 1626 como en 1636, pero no podemos decir lo mismo de Juan de Mendieta, vicario general de Madrid. En 1626, ocupaba dicho puesto eclesiástico, que conservó hasta mediados de 1627, sustituido en dicho año por Juan de Velasco y Acebedo. [. . .] Es, pues, falsa la fecha de 1636 para la aprobación, debiendo considerarse ésta como del 2 de junio de 1626, seguida el 4 del mismo mes y año por la licencia del vicario general" (1982, 178). Moll adds that if Escuer's intention was to legalize the book's distribution and sale in Castilla, even so, the eclesiastical *aprobación* and *licencia* expedited in Madrid were insufficient, because the civil licenses of the Consejo de Castilla were lacking. We add that the *Novelas* also lack—as in almost all of the

significance for all those who first made it. To do that […] we must have some concept of *authorial meaning*, consider carefully the expressive functions of the text's modes of transmission, and account for its reception by an audience or readership," (45) (emphasis mine); see also Chartier, 1994, 28.

[5] I presented a portion of this commentary at the 2014 meeting of GEMELA (Grupo de Estudios sobre la Mujer Española y Latinoamericana (pre-1800), Lisbon, 2013, which was titled "Piraterías de antaño, Piraterías de hogaño."

[6] The BNE holds 9 books financed by Pedro Escuer and 8 by Pedro Esquer. Henceforth, I will refer to him as *Escuer.*

[7] *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares, compuestas por Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor, natural de Madrid.* Zaragoza, 1637. 4º. 8 folios + 380 pp.

[8] "Pedro Esquer, interesante editor, de gran actividad en estos años, haciendo imprimir en distintas ciudades, entrando —legalmente unas veces, de manera ilegal otras— libros en los reinos de Castilla" (1982, 177, 179).

books financed by Escuer and published in Aragón—the *tasa,* whose absence would have also prohibited its sale in Castilla.[9]

The comparison of the *aprobaciones* and *licencias* of the two editions, and Moll's observations, indicate that the original title of the *Novelas* was *Honesto y entretenido sarao.* Zayas concludes the *Novelas,* stating: "dando [los personajes] fin a la quinta noche, y yo a mi *Honesto y entretenido sarao*, prometiendo, si es admitido con el favor y gusto que espero, segunda parte."[10] A decade later, Zayas would title her sequel *Segunda parte del Honesto y entretenido sarao.* The autor states in the introduction: "Para el primero día del año qued[aron], en la *Primera Parte* de mi *Entretenido Sarao*, concertadas las bodas de la gallarda Lisis con el galán don Diego". In the "Noche segunda," she writes: "los caballeros y damas […] se habían hallado en casa de la bien entendida Lisis, honrando la fiesta de su *Honesto y entretenido sarao*," which she repeats in the "Noche tercera": "Con aplauso de nuevos oyentes se empezó a celebrar la [tercera] noche del *Honesto y entretenido sarao*." At the end of the protagonist Lisis's "Desengaño décimo," she reiterates: "Por lo que me dispuse a hacer esta *Segunda parte* de mi *Entretenido y honesto sarao*"*;* and she concludes her work, stating: "Yo he llegado al fin de mi *Entretenido sarao*." There is no doubt that María de Zayas persevered in the original title of her work, *Honesto y entretenido sarao.*

Considering again the *licencias* and *aprobaciones,* noting now—thanks to Moll—that the date of Mendieta's *licencia* for the second edition, June 4, 1636—June 4 1626 in the first edition—is false, then the date of Valdivieso's *aprobación,* June 2, 1636 for the first edition, and ommited in the second, also has to be false. We should note that it is not plausible that the date of Mendieta's *licencia,* 1636, could be one year after the Zaragoza *aprobación* and *licencia* issued by Pedro Aguilón. Therefore, it would appear that Escuer maintained the Madrid *licencia* and *aprobación,* falsifying the dates, in order to possibly introduce the *Novelas* into Castilla. Retaining the original and real dates of June 2 and June 4, 1626, would have conflicted with the publication date of 1637. Consequently, Escuer supressed the date of Validivieso's *aprobación* and advanced Mendieta's *licencia* ten years. Furthermore, the retention of the original dates would have affected the book's marketing; it would have appeared to the potential consumer as an 'old' book or possible a rejuvenated (*rejuvenecida)* edition.

Consequently, in the period 1625-1626, Zayas had completed her manuscript and had it ready for the press, for which she petitioned the required *licencias* and *aprobaciones.* However, the Consejo only conceded the eclesiastical ones. Our question is, how did she acquire them? Moll, among others, affirms that manuscripts submitted to the Consejo were of two types, either the author's or that of the printer's scribe; the latter's was the printer's copy, the *original de imprenta*, which "tenía que ser firmado y rubricado por un escribano de dicho Consejo, y según su texto debía imprimirse la obra" (23). It seems feasible that Zayas submitted the manuscript of

[9] Fernando Bouza explains that in Castilla the *tasa* was essentially another license that permitted the sale of a book: "La tasa, además de fijar un precio de venta por pliego, viene a constituir una nueva licencia, en este caso para poner a la venta lo que se ha impreso. De ella parecen haberse librado pocos libros." Bouza adds that the *tasa* was the final step in the complicated process of book production: "Con el establecimiento de la tasa venía a cerrarse el complejo proceso previo a la difusión impresa en el que entraba el Consejo Real. A partir de ese momento, las obras podían convertirse en mercancía y ser vendidas." However, in order to distribute and sell books in Castilla produced in other kingdoms, a petition had to be submitted to the *Consejo:* "[para los libros] impresos en otros dominios que se introducían en los reinos de Castilla, debía presentarse un memorial por el que se solicitaba tasa al Consejo Real" (140-41, 148-49).

[10] Olivares 2000, 534 (emphasis mine).

the *Honesto y entretenido sarao* to the Consejo, or she had someone else do it for her.[11] She would have thought that with all the necessary permisions, she could negotiate with a bookseller to finance the printing. However, the suspensión of the civil licenses for the publication of *comedias* and *novelas* caught her at an untimely moment, and she had to wait ten years to publish her book, but not in Castilla but in Aragón.

Juan Pérez de Montalbán confirms in his *Para todos,* 1632, that the primitive versión of Zayas's manuscript consisted of eight novellas: "[Zayas] tiene un libro para dar a la estampa en prosa y verso de ocho novelas exemplares." And Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, in *La garduña de Sevilla* affirms that "[Zayas] ha sacado a la estampa un libro de diez novelas, que son diez asombros para los que escriben este género."[12] So Zayas had to wait untill 1637 to publish her work. It's quite probable that Castillo was the autor of the anonymous "Prólogo de un desapasionado."

Moll wonders if with the title of *Honesto y entretenido sarao* Zayas attempted to camuflage the 'true' title of her work by avoiding one that referred to it under the generic title of *novelas,* and enhancing its appeal and approval with the moralistic modifier *Honesto.*[13] Subsequently, upon the termination of the suspensión of licenses for novelas and comedias in 1635, Zayas could have given it her "preferred title": *Novelas amorosas y exemplares.*[14] The internal evidence of her work, as we have seen, affirms that the original title of *Honesto y entretenido sarao* was the title of her choice. And the title subsequently given was not of her volition but that imposed by her editor Escuer. We add that Zayas did not title her sequel *Segunda parte de las Novelas amorosas y exemplares.*[15]

If by 1626 Zayas had written eight novellas (we use the term in its generic definition), between 1632 and 1635 she wrote two more.[16] After the termination of the suspensión of licenses to print comedias and novelas in late 1634, the printers would have found themselves with a substantial backlog of manuscripts waiting to be printed. Consequently, Zayas, in order to no longer delay the publication of her book, and with Escuer at this time in Madrid, she negotiated with him the printing of *Honesto y entretenido sarao.* Moll affirms that Escuer took the manuscript to Zaragoza (177-79) where he obtained the Aragonese *aprobaciones* and *licencias;*

[11] Electronic correspondence with Victor Infantes. Being a woman, we cannot dismiss the possibility that she had a man submit the manuscript to the Consejo.

[12] BAE 33, 1915, 184, qtd. in Salavador Montesa, 37.

[13] Pérez de Montalbán, Lope de Vega y Tirso de Molina are some of the authors who avoided the Consejo's decree by eliminating the terms "novelas" and "comedia" in the titles of their respective works and by placing emphasis on their exemplarity and morality: Lope, *La Dorotea,* "acción en prosa"; Pérez de Montalbán, *Para todos,* "Exemplos morales, humanos y divinos, en que se trata diversas ciencias, materias y facultades; Tirso, *Deleitar aprovechando,* "fruto y prouecho común." See Moll, 179; "Por qué escribió Lope *La Dorotea,*" 7-8.

[14] Cayela coincides with Moll in this regard: "Le premier élément du texte sur lequel les yeux du censeur se posaient lorsqu'il examinait un texte son tire. Aussi, dans le contexte évoqué, les auteurs soignaiente particulièrement les titres de leurs *novelas* afin de dissimuler leur genre. Si l'on consulte las liste des oeuvres "approuvées" pendant ces dix années, on remarque que le mot *novela* n'apparait que dans un seul titre de livre, *Novelas de varios sucesos en ocho discursos morales* de Ginés Carrillo Cerón publié en 1635, lors de la dernièr année de suspensión. María de Zayas dut changer le titre de son manuscrit: *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares*, puisque le texte qui passa entre les mains du Vicaire, Juan de Mendieta, portait celui de 'Honesto y entretenido sarao.' Le mot est également banni du texte el remplacé par le terme *maravillas*, *Le paratexte au Siècle d'Or,* 43. See also, Cayuela, 1993, 59.

[15] Irónically, with the first publication of the combined works, Madrid 1659, the title would be, and continue to be, *Primera y segunda parte de las Novelas amorosas y exemplares,* which we will comment below.

[16]Probably the final two novellas: *El juez de su causa,* that takes place in Valencia; and *El jardín engañoso,* whose action takes place in Zaragoza (Moll, "La primera edición de las *Novelas amorosas y exemplares* de María de Zayas y Sotomayor," 179).

and the book was printed in 1637—but not with the title that Zayas had given her work. When Zayas arrived at Zaragoza, Escuer had a surprise for her. He had changed the title to *Novelas amorosas y exemplares.* Escuer perceived the necessity of changing the title in order to enhance its commercialization and reception.

The BNE registers only two works with the word "sarao" in the titles of books published in the 16th and 17th centuries: the *Sarao de amor,* a *cancionero* by Juan de Timoneda (1561),[17] and the sequel by Zayas: *Segunda parte de Sarao y entretenimiento honesto*. The term "sarao" became common towards the end of the 18th century with reference to musical collections. With regard to the term "entretenimiento honesto," the BNE registers solely one book: *Honesto y agradable entretenimiento de damas y galanes,* by Giovanni Francesco Straparola (1480-c. 1557), translated by Francisco Truchado in 1580. Other similar titles are: *Diálogos de apacible entretenimiento* (1605) by Gaspar Lucas Hidalgo; *Casa del placer honesto* (1620) by Alonso Salas Barbadillo; *Tardes entretenidas* (1625) by Alonso de Castillo Solórzano*;* and *Noches de placer* (1631) by Castillo Solórzano.[18]

Gerard Genette indicates—with considerable relevance to the epoch under discussion—the three functions of the title, and which Escuer would have had in mind: "(1) to identify the work, (2) to designate the work's subject matter, (3) to play up the work [to tempt the public]." Only the first function, the work's title, is obligatory; the two remaining functions are optional and supplementary. *Novelas amorosas y exemplares* fulfilled the three functions, whereas *Honesto y entretenido sarao,* only satisfied the first criterion. The title, in addition to identifying the work, indicated its genre: *novelas;* its subject matter: *amorosas;* and its exemlarity: *exemplares,* be it moral and/or its artistic quality. Nonetheless, *Novelas amorosas y exemplares* is an homonymous title which does not distinguish one work from another (76-77). Yet Escuer's new title would have benefited by its similarity with Cervantes's *Novelas exemplares.* With regard to the title change, Don Cruickshank observes: "The conclusions seem pretty plausible to me: that Escuer didn't like the author's title, and either persuaded her to change it, or maybe even changed it without her permission, which might explain why she found someone else for her second part. It seems quite likely that she was so fed up waiting for her book to appear that she decided to have it printed and published in Zaragoza."[19]

Alicia Yllera holds the same opinion: "Es posible que [*Honesto y entretenido sarao*] fuese el primer título que la autora diese a su obra, posteriormente sustituido (tal vez por el editor mismo) por el más atractivo de *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares.*" (68). One must bear in mind that Escuer was investing, not in a new author, but in a new *female* author, not known among the book consumers in Zaragoza and the rest of Aragón, and he wanted to assure its commercial success. Zayas was the first Spanish female author of a work of fiction to appear under her own name. We recall that in the previous century Beatriz Bernal published anonymously the book of chivalry, *El Cristalián de España.*

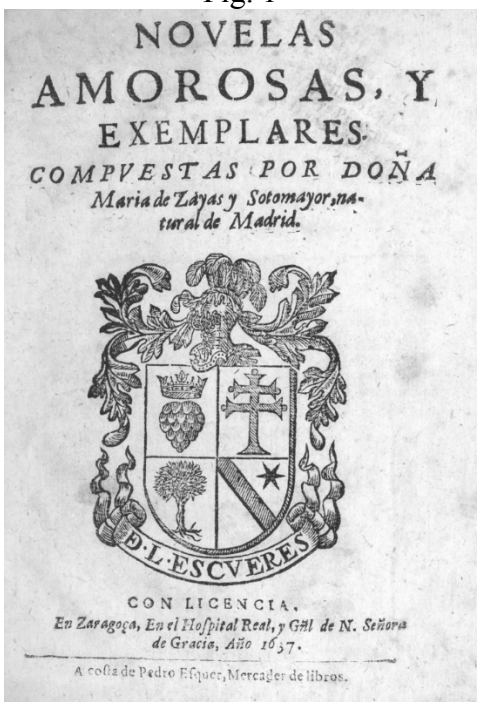
Here we have a reproduction of the title page of the *editio princeps,* in 4^0, of Zayas's work:

[17] Ignacio García Aguilar notes: "*Sarao de amores* (título elegido por el escritor) […] el impresor, acomodado al modelo del *cancionero* tradicional castellano, utiliza este marbete como etiqueta designativa y alusiva al contenido del volumen ("en este presente cancionero"), identificando así, en cierto modo, un género editorial tras la etiqueta *Sarao*—o guiado, quizá, por el convencimiento de que el público reconocería mejor las implicaciones genérico-estilísticas del término aludido," (79).

[18] Jacinto Polo Medina published *Bureo de las musas y honesto entretenimiento para el ocio* en 1659.

[19] Electronic correspondence.

Fig. 1



NOVELAS
AMOROSAS, Y
EXEMPLARES.
COMPVESTAS POR DOÑA
Maria de Zayas y Sotomayor, natural de Madrid.

D·L·ESCVERES

CON LICENCIA.
En Zaragoça, En el Hospital Real, y Gral de N. Señora de Gracia, Año 1637.

A costa de Pedro Escuer, Mercader de libros.

Courtesy Hispanic Society of América

The title page accords with the customary format of the epoch: title-author-ornament/engraving—in this case Escuer's shield—place and printer-year-book seller/book merchant. It lacks, although not necessary, the dedication to a noble but that was generally the rule in the period in order to 'aristocratize' the work, and, as Ignacio García Aguilar affirms, to place it under "un halo de autorización." (89). The title page foregrounds "Con Licencia," in order to enhance the book, although it was not necessary to declare it on the title page.[20] It remains doubtful that Zayas would have dedicated the book to anyone, much less a man (to be commented with regard to the *Segunda parte.*) The title page does not indicate a *privilegio*, which if obtained would have appeared here, but it appears that Escuer did not want to bear the additional cost.[21] The print-run would have been between 1,200 and 1,530 copies, common in this period.[22]

While in Zaragoza and during the printing of her work, as was customary (Amezúa y Mayo, 356), Zayas prepared the preliminaries, most of which she had taken with her: laudatory poems by Ana Caro de Mallen, Juan Pérez de Montalbán and Francisco de Aguirre Vaca. Zayas wrote the prologue, "Al que leyere," most probably in Zaragoza as a consequence of the changed

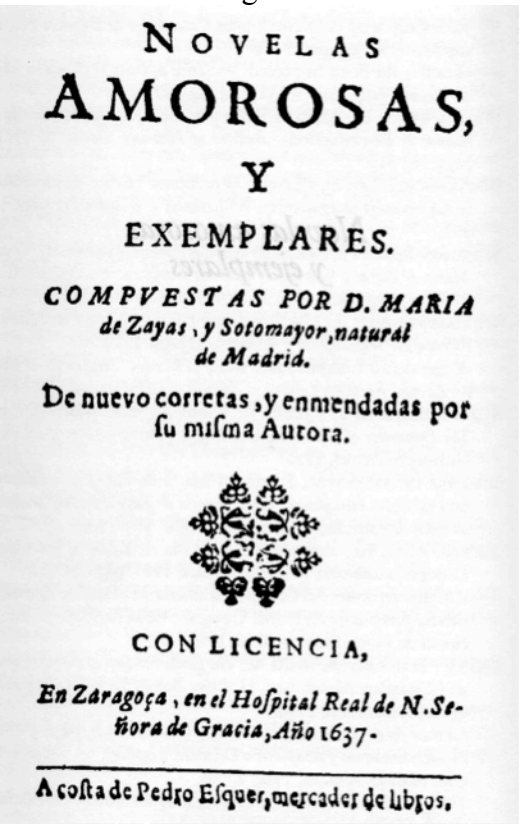
[20] After the fourth and final state of Herrera's edition of Garcilaso's poetry and the *Anotaciones,* no space remained in the preliminaries for the licenses, so Herrera ordered that "Con Licencia" be printed on the title page. See J. Olivares, 2004.

[21] Velasco de la Peña (53) affirms that "Las licencias de impresión—del virrey y del vicario general—costaron 104 sueldos en 1603. En 1646 los impresores se quejarían en un memorial de lo elevado que era el precio del privilegio de impresión, por entonces 120 sueldos, solicitando su revisión a la baja, ya que encarecía el precio final del libro."

[22] In Zaragoza the contracts between printer and book seller, or whoever was financing a publication, were mainly verbal agreements. Of the few contracts that Velasco de la Peña discovered, in addition to the type of paper, the types, the corrector and the print-run, paid by the contractor, the print-run varied between 700 and 1,530 copies (51).

title of her work.[23] Alonso de Castillo Solórzano wrote his two poems there as well, and it is most likely that he was the anonymous author of the "Prólogo de un desapasionado."[24]The *Novelas* enjoyed sufficent commercial success to warrant a second edition, this time in 8^0, and later in the same year of 1637, which gave Zayas the opportunity to correct and emend it. The declaration on the title page, "De nuevo corretas, y enmendadas por su misma Autora," which could be taken as a promotional strategy, frequent during the epoch, but which was repeated in all subsequent editions, was not the case for the second edition. The declaration, along with the reduced format from 4^0 to 8^0 made the book cheaper and, as a *libro de bolsillo*, more appealing to the consumer. However, the reduced format made it impossible to repeat the engraving/woodcut of Ecuer's shield; consequently Escuer resorted to using a reduced and conventional device of vines:

Fig. 2


NOVELAS
AMOROSAS,
Y
EXEMPLARES.
COMPVESTAS POR D. MARIA de Zayas, y Sotomayor, natural de Madrid.
De nuevo corretas, y enmendadas por su misma Autora.
CON LICENCIA,
En Zaragoça, en el Hospital Real de N. Señora de Gracia, Año 1637.
A costa de Pedro Esquer, mercader de libros.

Courtesy John Carter Brown Library
Brown University

[23] In the prologue, Zayas states: "escribir estas Novelas" (Olivares 2000, 161).
[24] Olivares 2000, 44.

For the new edition Zayas made 712 emendations and suppressions:

Table I. 1637, 2nd: Emendations Supressions

	Emendations	Supressions
Aprobaciones y preliminares:	3	7
Al que leyere	3	5
Prólogo de un desapasionado	1	0
Introducción	2	0
Novela primera	47	12
Novela segunda	73	10
Noche segunda	1	0
Novela tercera	45	7
Novela cuarta	73	21
Noche tercera	0	0
Novela quinta	39	13
Novela sexta	49	8
Noche cuarta	3	2
Novela séptima	45	28
Novela octava	73	19
Noche quinta	1	0
Novela nona	68	10
Novela décima	31	2
Total	567	144

Total emendations and supressions: 712

The emendations and suppressions represent 20.25 % of the text.

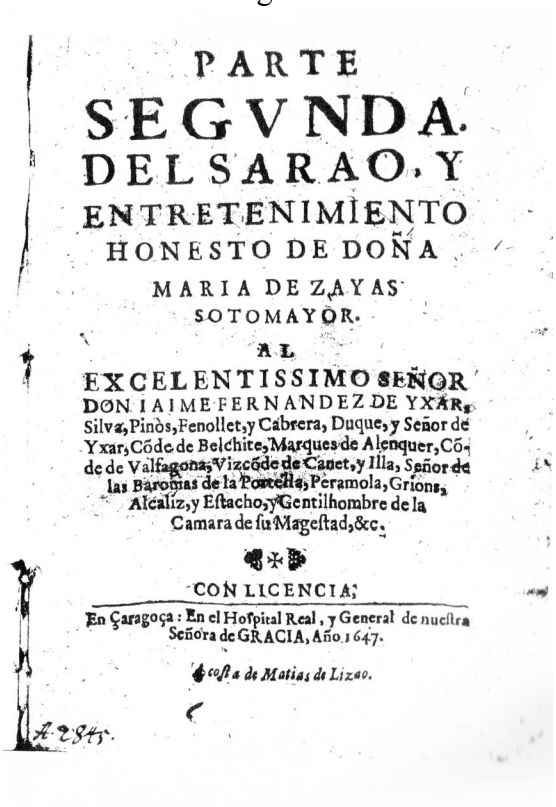
The new reduced format of 8^0, the change to the title page, supplanting Escuer's shield with a conventional device, and, above all, the absence of a *privilegio,* facilitated the publication of the first of two counterfeit editions in 1638, the first in 12^0 [Fig. 6] and the second in 8^0 [Fig. 8].

2. Inés de Casamayor and the *Parte segunda del Sarao y entretenimiento honesto*

In 1646 Zayas was again in Zaragoza, this time to initiate the printing of the *Segunda parte del Honesto y entretenido sarao.* It would appear logical that Escuer would have published it, but such was not the case. What happened? Perhaps Escuer was reluctant to publish it with the same original title of 1637. Or perhaps Zayas was displeased with Escuer for having changed the title. Escuer was still active as a *mercader de libros.* Between 1647 and 1653, he financed, at a minimum, the printing of seven books.[25] In any event, it was the *librero* Matías de Lizao who printed Zayas's work:

[25] *Firmeza en los impossibles I fineza en los desprecios entre Dionisio i Isbela, por Altamirano y Portocarrero, Baltasar* […] En Çaragoça: en el Hospital Real I General de nuestra Señora de Gracia: a costa de Pedro de Escuer, 1646; *Ocios de Don Francisco del Castillo,* por Castillo, Francisco del […] Impreso en Zaragoça: por Pedro Esquer, 1647; *Comedias de diferentes autores. Parte 43* […] En Zaragoça: por Iuan de Ybar: a costa de Pedro Escuer, 1650; *De lo que merece un soldado: comedia famosa.* Por Moreto, Agustín. […] En Zaragoça: por Iuan de Ybar: a costa de Pedro Escuer, 1650; *El padre de su enemigo: comedia famosa.* Por Villega, Juan Bautista de. […] En Zaragoça: por Iuan de Ybar: a costa de Pedro Escuer, 1650; *Parte quarenta y tres de Comedias de diferentes autores.* […] En Zaragoça; por Iuan de Ybar: a costa de Pedro Escuer, 1650; Copia de vna carta del Doctor D. Gomez Zabala, Colegial Mayor de Bolonia, al Padre Fray Cyrilo de la Madre de Dios, Frayle Carmelita descalço, sobre la antelacion de la Escuela Thomista, titulo šsaniores doctrinaeš / traduzida de lengua italiana en español, por Iulio Cesar Tiqui. En Zaragoza: por Pedro Escuer, 1653.

Fig. 3



PARTE
SEGVNDA.
DEL SARAO, Y
ENTRETENIMIENTO
HONESTO DE DOÑA
MARIA DE ZAYAS
SOTOMAYOR.
AL
EXCELENTISSIMO SEÑOR
DON IAIME FERNANDEZ DE YXAR,
Silva, Pinòs, Fenollet, y Cabrera, Duque, y Señor de
Yxar, Cõde de Belchite, Marques de Alenquer, Cõ-
de de Valfagona, Vizcõde de Canet, y Illa, Señor de
las Baronias de la Portella, Peramola, Grions,
Alcaliz, y Estacho, y Gentilhombre de la
Camara de su Magestad, &c.

CON LICENCIA;
En Çaragoça: En el Hospital Real, y General de nuestra
Señora de GRACIA, Año 1647.
A costa de Matias de Lizao.

Courtesy Det Kongelige Bibliotek Nationalbibliotek og Københavns Universitetsbibliotek[26]

There were two Matías de Lizao [Lizaun]: the father, who died in 1633, and his son Matías Lizao [Lisaun] Arasanz, who died in 1643.[27] From 1637 to 1650 the "librero" Lizao had only financed the printing of four books,[28] and a máximum of two under the direction of the widow Inés de Casamayor. It bears noting that the principal business of many *libreros* was precisely that: to make books, that is, to bind them: for example, bind manuscripts, blank paper for notaries, attorneys, scribes and churches; and to merchandise ink, powders, pens, and other writing articles. Thus, the first Lizao was principally a book binder ("encuadernador," "ligador

[26] I aquired a digital reproduction of the only complete copy of the *Segunda parte* held by the Danish Royal Library. It contains the ex libris: "Este libro es del señor Don Gaspar de Jonghe que Dios guarde muchos años." The copy that Yllera consulted, from the Bibliotheque Municipal de Rouen, lacks the internal sheet of the sig. O (that is, it lacks 8 pages). The copy that Yllera says the Vatican Library does not exist; it is an "ejemplar fantasma."

[27] Velasco de la Peña, 302-03.

[28] *Auisos para la muerte escritos por algunos ingenios de España.* Luis Remírez de Arellano. Çaragoça, Diego de Dormer, a costa de Matías de Lizao, 1637; *Floresta española de Apotegmas o Sentencias sabia, y graciosamente dichas de algunos españoles.* Melchor de Santa Cruz de Dueñas. En Zaragoza, por la viuda de Pedro Verges, a costa de Matías de Lizao, 1646; *Manuel de confessores compuesto por Enrique de Villalobos de San Francisco.* En Zaragoza, por Iuan de Ybar, a costa Matías de Lizao, vendense en su casa; *Elogios de santos aplicados a los Euangelios de sus fiestas, compuestos por P. F. Miguel de la Sierra y Lozano.* En Çaragoça, por Iuan de Ybar, a costa de Matías de Lizao, mercader de libros, 1650.

de libros") of the Crown of Aragón.[29] As was customary, upon his death, the widow, Inés de Casamayor, took charge of the business, and it was she who financed the printing of Zayas's sequel. But, like Escuer, who changed the original title, *Honesto y entretenido sarao,* she also changed it—albeit slightly—to *Parte Segunda del Sarao y entretenimiento honesto.* In addition, she dedicates the work to the Duque de Híjar, don Jaime Fernández Francisco Sarmiento de Silva,[30] and wrote the dedication.[31]

Customarilly, the preliminaries, especially the title page, were composed and printed after the printing of the text. And as Zayas either was no longer in Zaragoza or was in some manner incapacitated, as we will comment later,—or had even died—, she was unable to correct the text, nor the title nor the dedication. The title page, title and dedication were Casamayor's alografic paratexts. Juan Francisco Ginoves's *censura* indicates as title *Segunda Parte del Sarao y Entretenimiento Honesto,* and the *censura* of Francisco Andrés indicates *Segunda Parte de las Novelas.*

Why the dedication to the Duque? Casamayor wrote it because its absence—in view of the absence of other preliminaries, be they of authorial or alographic enunciation, and above all with the lack of laudatory compositions—would have been a defect and would have hindered the comercial success of the book. She needed to bestow authority and prestige to the work, and to put it under the protection of the Duque, whom Casamayor calls "Mecenas." It does not seem feasible that Zayas would have dedicated her work to anyone; she did not do so with the *Novelas amorosas* nor would she have done so with the *Segunda parte.*[32]

In her dedication, Casamayor declares that she was determined to give birth to the book and to put it under the protection of the Duque in order to protect it, and Zayas, from "envidiosos maldicientes":

---

[29] On Matías de Lizao [Lizaun], see Esperanza Velasco de la Peña, 302-03, 385-98; on Inés de Casamayor, 393-95. Furthermore, see n. 10. With regard to "ligador de libros," see Pedraza, 315, 322.

[30] The Duke of Híjar's father was Rodrigo de Silva Mendoza y Sarmiento (1600-1664, "2nd Marqués of Alanquer, 2nd Count of Salinas, and Duke-consort of Híjar, through his marriage with the 4th Duchess of Híjar, Isabel Fernández of Híjar. He married in October 1622 with Isabel Fernández of Híjar, granddaughter of Ana de Mendoza, Princess of Eboli. Despite being an adversary of Olivares, he received in 1640 a military command in the War against Portugal. He had the ambition to succeed Olivares as *Valido* and plotted against his successor Luis de Haro. He prepared with Carlos de Padilla, a cavalry commander, a military coup to overthrow the King and to proclaim himself King of Aragon. But Padilla was captured and tortured in the summer of 1648. The Duke of Híjar was also imprisoned and tortured but he did not confess. Because of this, he was condemned to life imprisonment in the Castle of León, while Padilla and Domingo Cabral where executed. Hijar died in prison, which seems harsh compared to the lenient sentence given to Gaspar Alfonso Pérez de Guzmán, 9th Duke of Medina Sidonia in 1641 for his part in the Andalusian independentist conspiracy (1641)" (Ezquerra Abadía 1934).

[31] Yllera omits the dedication in her edition.

[32] Eavan O'Brien affirms that the frequent mention that Zayas makes of the Orden de la Inmaculada Concepción, founded by the nun Beatriz de Silva y Meneses, to one of whose convents Lisis and her friends retreat at the conclusión of the work, "may be connected to the strategic issue of patronage. Zayas dedicated her *Desengaños amorosos* to Jaime Fernández de Silva, eldest son of Rodrigo Sarmiento de Silva, Duke Consort of Híjar, who belonged to an illustrious family of writers and patrons. [Shifra] Armon notes that Rodrigo was a generous patron of literature and that Zayas is likely to have coincided with him at Madrid literary academies. It is my contention that these Dukes of Híjar considered themselves to be descendants of Beatriz de Silva […] By assigning prominence to the Conceptionist Order (and, indirectly, to its founder), Zayas would have ingratiated herself with several key figures in the literary, religious, and political arenas of her time" (43-44); qtd. Armon, *Picking Wedlock: Women and the Courtship Novel in Spain,* 153-62*).* This "strategic issue of patronage could well apply to Inés de Casamayor, but not to Zayas: not only because of the the reasons I set forth to explain Zayas's absence during the printing of the *Segunda parte,* but above all, and obviously, because Zayas did not dedícate her book to the Duque nor did she write the dedication. The title page and the dedication are the alographic paratexts of Casamayor.

> Determinéme a un mismo tiempo de dar por mi cuenta a la luz este libro resolviéndome de ofrecerle a la de Vuestra Excelencia para asegurarle de las sombras de envidiosos maldicientes que a fuer de fantasmas no[c]turnas hacen espantos de que nuestro sexo haya merecido tan generales aplausos, ceñidole tan debidos laureles y eternizándose con tan subido punto de honores de tan lucido e inmortal ingenio.

With the Duque's support, male writers would admit the "discurso femenino [a] la entrada del paraíso de las letras," guarded by a "dragón." Therefore, future female authors would be grateful to Zayas for breaking the barriers to female discourse, and would hold her as a rare and inmortal example. And Zayas, in turn, would owe Casamayor "los agradecimientos de tal Mecenas." Although it would appear that Casamayor gives herself extravagant importance—"Ésta me deberá siempre mi señora Doña Maria de Zayas"—, Nieves Baranda Leturio, nonetheless affirms that the dedication is a "Estupendo elogio de la Zayas; Casamayor coincide con ella en la ideología sobre la cultura en las mujeres, y como ella adopta una postura dentro de la *querella*."[33]

Unfortunately, the *Parte segunda del Sarao y entretenimiento honesto* resulted completely disorganized, not adhering to the order of the desengaños that the author indicated in the introduction. Montesa Peydro comments in this regard:

> […] podríamos pensar que las novelas fueron en cuadernillos distintos al impresor y éste, negligentemente, las trabucó. Cuando la edición salió, ya no había remedio, y las siguientes se limitaron a seguir la primera. Todo podría ser, pero ¿dónde estaba doña María, tan puntillosa y exacta según se nos muestra en sus novelas, para no advertir de la equivocación a esas ediciones posteriores? (45)

Yllera coincides with Montesa's opinión, adding the possibility that the manuscript received by Casamayor was incomplete, not corrected by Zayas, and that she subsequently disappeared:

> Hay que pensar que María de Zayas dispuso su obra en tres noches, pero es muy probable que (por motivos que nos son desconocidos y entre los que cabría suponer la desaparición de la autora) el texto que llegó a la imprenta no fuese un manuscrito perfectamente terminado y corregido. Es posible que estuviese organizado en cuadernillos, como supone Montesa para explicar que se alterase el orden de los relatos. En todo caso, parece que sólo la primera novela llevaba un título. Tal vez los restantes desengaños carecieran de todo encabezamiento en el manuscrito, lo que explicaría que el impresor no separase el texto del segundo desengaño del texto del primero y siguiese dándole el encabezamiento de *Desengaño primero* y *La esclava de su amante.* […] Es posible […] que [la] dislocación del esquema inicial no se deba al impresor, sino a un corrector del manuscrito. (63)[34]

We can postulate that the vicisitudes the manuscript incurred began from the moment of its submission to Casamayor, who possibly found herself with "cuadernillos trabucados," but even so she had the "Introducción" and the "Desengaño primero, La esclava de su amante" in

[33] Electronic correspondence.
[34] See also, María del Pilar Palomo, 68-73.

order. Consequently, she would have known that the narratives were called "desengaños." Instead of organizing the work according to the order of the desengaños and their narrators that Zayas indicated in the introduction, Casamayor probably passed the manuscript in the state she received it, to the printer. Then an unforeseen incident ocurred between the copyist and the corrector:[35] the author was not present to revise and correct the printer's copy, the *original de imprenta.* The corrector then attempted to resolve the defects and errors of the original and to resolve any doubts the compositors may have had.

Alonso Víctor de Paredes, in his *Institución y origen del arte de la imprenta y reglas generales para los componedores* (1680)*,* comments in this regard: "ayudarà mucho al Componedor, y mas en particular al Corrector, el ser noticiosos […] y quando và componiendo procurar entender el concepto del Autor en lo que manda imprimir, no tan solamente para poner la apuntuación legitima; sino aun para ver si padeció algún descuido el dueño, para advertírselo; que yo sè quien hallò vno destos descuidos en vn Autor" (43-44). Because of the author's absence, the corrector lacked her corrections; and because of the work's disorder, neither could he determine or intuit the concept of the work. Very interesting is the Platonic visión that Paredes had in the process of the gestation of a book: from the form (the author's concept) to the matter (the impression) to the book ("hijo del pensamiento"). The book was printed at the press of the Hospital Real y General de Nuestra Señora de Gracia, one of the best presses in Zaragoza. The failure of not correctly determining the book's structure was not the fault of the press.

Why was Zayas not present during the printing process of the Parte segunda, and, therefore, did not correct her work? One possibility is that Zayas, living at the time in Barcelona, travelled to Zaragoza where she delivered the manuscript to Casamayor. Shortly thereafter she fell ill or was already debilitated when she arrived at Zaragoza, so that she was incapacitated and unable to make the corrections before dying. Yllera calls attention to the detail that the manuscript possibly was not delivered personally by Zayas to Casamayor or to the printer;[36] she refers solely to the "texto que llegó a la imprenta." This subtle observation points to the possibility, the most probable, that Zayas, in a state of illness in Barcelona, sent the manuscript via messenger to Zaragoza; and therefore was not in a position to asssume any duties with regard to corrections.

Nonetheless, in the dedication, Casamayor states, or implies rather, that Zayas was alive:

> "Ésta me deberá siempre mi señora doña María de Zayas." During the printing of the book, and perhaps while Casamayor was writing the dedication, or shortly thereafter, Zayas perished, without ever having seen her book printed, or rather the deformed issue that resulted. Isabel Barbeito-Carnero infers from the dedication that Zayas was still alive, but admits "Sin embargo, un misterio envuelve evidentemente a la autora, que no parece ya en condiciones de acometer directamente la publicación de su obra."[37]

[35] Francisco Rico, in his essay, "Cómo se hacía un libro en el Siglo de Oro," in addition to describing in detail the steps in the composition and mechanical process of the impression, highlights the importance of the "copista/amanuense" who copied the author's manuscript and which served as the printer's copy, *original de imprenta.* With regard to the "corrector," he adds that he was "uno de los máximos protagonistas del proceso de la imprenta en el Siglo de Oro, whose task was to "[solucionar] las diversas dudas que a cada paso habían de someterle los cajistas," and to affix the orthography and punctuation, according to the criteria of the press, 53-93. Cayuela emphasized the importance of the "correctores" in her review of Rico's essay (751-52). See note 42.

[36] We repeat that it is interesting that Yllera in her edition did not reproduce Casamayor's dedication.

[37] "Una incógnita, María de Zayas y Sotomayor," 175.

The *Parte segunda* had another problem that would have affected its reception and consumption. If the book's title is *Parte segunda del Sarao y entretenimiento honesto,* the poetential client and reader would have asked: "¿Y dónde está la primera parte?" There never was one, at least not with that title; but rather with the title of *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares.*

The *Parte segunda* was published for the second and last time in Barcelona, 1649, with the dedication and Zaragozan licenses removed, and with the Catalonian licenses inserted:

Fig. 4

PARTE
SEGVNDA
DEL SARAO,
Y ENTRETENI-
MIENTO HONESTO,
de doña Maria de Zayas
Sotomayor.
Año 1649.
CON LICENCIA,
En Barcelona en la Emprenta adminiſtrada por Sebaſtian de Cormellas Mercader. Y à ſu coſta.

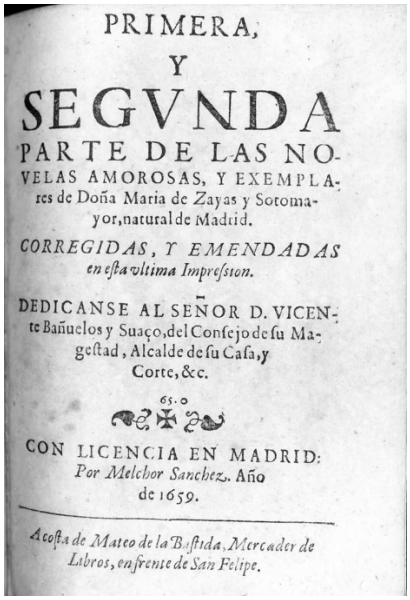
Courtesy Hispanic Society of America

The book market was assuredly affected by sociopolitical reasons: by the independist movement of Catalonia and the war with Castilla, and the plagues that devastated the population of Barcelona.[38]

In 1659 Zayas's two works were published jointly, but not as *Primera y Segunda Parte del Sarao y entretenimiento honesto*, but as *Primera y Segunda Parte de las Novelas Amorosas y Ejemplares* de María de Zayas y Sotomayor.

[38] I contracted the assistance of the investigative group EblaManuscripta to search the Barcelona parishes for Zayas's death certificate (acta de defunción), and any notice of her in notarized documents. EblaManuscripta did not find a trace of her. It is quite feasible that Zayas died of the plagues that devastated the population during this period, and that she was buried in a collective grave without documentation.

Fig. 5



PRIMERA,
Y
SEGVNDA
PARTE DE LAS NO-
VELAS AMOROSAS, Y EXEMPLA-
res de Doña Maria de Zayas y Sotoma-
yor, natural de Madrid.
CORREGIDAS, Y EMENDADAS
en esta vltima Impression.
DEDICANSE AL SEÑOR D. VICEN-
te Bañuelos y Suaço, del Consejo de su Ma-
gestad, Alcalde de su Casa, y
Corte, &c.
65.0
CON LICENCIA EN MADRID:
Por Melchor Sanchez. Año
de 1659.
A costa de Mateo de la Bastida, Mercader de
Libros, en frente de San Felipe.

Courtesy Hispanic Society of America

It appears that Pedro Escuer was right: with the title of *Honesto y entretenido sarao,* Zayas's book would have had little success. Ironically, if on the one hand Escuer changed the original title of *Novelas amorosas y exemplares* (thereby occasioning the author's displeasure and causing her to search for another book dealer to finance the second part), he did indeed produce a meticulous and elegant edition, even more so with the second edition. On the other hand, it appears that Casamayor also changed the original title of the second part, *Parte segunda del Honesto y entretenido sarao,* and lamentably she did not correct the book's disorder, with the consequence of the loss of its coherence.[39]

After the combined edition of the two parts, Madrid, 1659, another followed in 1664; and thereafter, eleven editions in the 18th century. The 1734 edition gave the titles to the desengaños. From 1638, all the editions of the *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* reproduced the mutilated text of the counterfeit second edition of 1638, until Agustín Amezúa prepared his 1948 edition based on the author's corrected second edition of 1637. Even so, Amezúa committed various transcription errors and combined passages of the first edition of the author's prologue with that of her corrected and emended second editon.

With regard to Amezúa's edition of the *Parte segunda* o *Desengaños,* he used as his base text the Barcelona second edition, which reproduces the caotic structure of the *editio princeps,* with the consequence of introducing variants, additions and omissions. Alicia Yllera prepared her edition of the *Parte segunda del Sarao y entretenimiento honesto* [*Desengaños amorosos*] in 1983, using as the base text the *princeps* edition (Bibliotèque Municipale de Rouen, which lacks the internal folio of the signature O). She finally put in correct order the "desengaños," and arranged the narratives according to the original temporal dimensión of three nights. The example of Zayas's works, we repeat, is an exceptional example of the vicissitudes that can

[39] Paredes, in chapter 10 "De la corrección" makes a four-scaled hierarchy of correctors and compositors, in which the fourth is the worst: "El quarto […] son viudas, ò personas que no lo entienden [el texto]," 47.

occur to works in the era of manual printing. Between the author's hand and the printer's mind (Chartier, 2014).

Honesto y entretenido sarao

Why did Zayas prefer the title *Honesto y entretenido sarao*? The adjectives indicate that Zayas had in mind a well-known concept among her contemporaries, including Cervantes: *eutrapelia.* In one of the *aprobaciones* to Cervantes's *Novelas ejemplares,* fray Juan Bautista wrote:

> […] supuesto que es sentencia llana del angélico doctor Santo Tomás,[40] que la *eutropelia* es virtud, la que consiste en un *entretenimiento honesto*, juzgo que la verdadera eutropelia está en estas *Novelas*, porque entretienen con su novedad, enseñan con sus ejemplos a huir vicios y seguir virtudes, y el autor cumple con su intento, con que da honra a nuestra lengua castellana, y avisa a las repúblicas de los daños que de algunos vicios se siguen.[41] (emphasis mine)

The *licencia* awarded on behalf of the King declares: "Por cuanto, por parte de vos, Miguel de Cervantes, nos fue hecha relación que habíades compuesto un libro intitulado *Novelas ejemplares,* de *honestísimo entretenimiento* […]" (emphasis mine)

The exemplarity of the *Novelas ejemplares* has been a controversial issue: just what is its *ejemplaridad*? On the one hand, Thomas R. Hart, without diminishing the moral value of the *Novelas,* emphasizes the recreation that eutrapelia gives to the reader:

> Eutrapelia is a wholesome recreation, *honesto entretenimiento.* It is both a temporary turning away from more serious concerns and a preparation for returning to them with renewed strength. The concept of eutrapelia thus dissolves the apparent opposition in the familiar Horatian doctrine that poetry should be both pleasant and morally beneficial: poetry is beneficial *because* it gives pleasure.[42]

On the other hand, Colin Thompson affirms that eutrapelia—which would be the "verdadera" that Juan Bautista had in mind "enables the synthesis of *prodesse* and *delectare,* teaching and entertaining, exemplarity and pleasure, so that the act of reading a story the art and inventiveness of which attract us […] also […] can teach us" (265).

In the balance between teaching and giving pleasure, Cervantes put more weight on the latter; Zayas, without discounting the art of a tale well told—"entretienen con su novedad"—placed greater value on its didactic message: "enseñan con sus ejemplos a huir vicios y seguir virtudes." The *Honesto y entretenido sarao* is primarily a thesis work that endeavors to correct the defamation of women and in which "se empeña la autora en provocar una concientización en la mujer y en el hombre: de la mujer para avisarla de los engaños de los hombre y para eludir, en

[40] Colin Thompson indicates that St. Thomas of Aquinus in his *Summa* affirms that soul and body require relaxation after labor: "Sicut autem fatigatio corporalis solvitur per corporis quietem, ita etiam oportet quod fatigatio animalis solvatur per animae quietem. Quies auatem animae esta delecatio […] Et ideo oportet remedium contra fatigationem animalem adhiberi per aliquam delectationem, intertmissa inentione ad insistendum studio rationis", "De modestia in exterioribus corporis motibus," XLIV, qtd. in Thompson, 261-62.

[41] In the 17th century both forms of 'eutropelia' and 'eutrapelia' were used (Thompson, 261, n. 2).

[42] Qtd. in Thompson, 261-62.

cuanto fuera posible, su victimización; del hombre para advertirle que su *mal dezir* y abusos de la mujer son las causas de su propia degradación, y, en fin, un mal social."[43] The anonymous author of the "Prólogo de un desapasionado" extolls the morality and artífice of the ten narratives of the *Novelas amorosas*: "La moralidad que encierran, el artificio que tienen y la gracia con que están escritas, son rasgos de su vivo ingenio." One of the original contributions of the *Honesto y entretenido sarao,* therefore, consists in the appropriation of the concept of eutrapelia for feminist discourse.

The *Diccionario de Autoridades* defines *sarao* (<*soirée*): "Junta de personas de estimación y jerachía, para festejarse con instrumentos, y bailes cortesanos. Tomase por el mismo baile, o danza entre muchos." A *sarao*, therefore, was a gathering of people to dance, play and listen to music; it was also a literary reunión frequently organized by a hostess. For Zayas, we can suppose, the word *sarao* had gendered connotation, an activity and space in which female issues were discussed. Monika Bosse observes that these reunions should be considered within the parameters of the "entretenimiento culto de los específicos círculos cortesanos españoles llamado *sarao,* … como una alternativa cortesana y renacentista de la creatividad femenina" (250). Furthermore Zayas replaced the term *novela,* used by male writers, with *maravilla¸* with which she wanted to emphasize as well a gendered and literary genre difference. It also bears noting that the term *maravilla* was appropriate for characterizing the aleatory experiences of her female protagonists, many of whom, although they begin as victimized, emerge as heroines and finally marry. Such is not the case with the *desengaños* in which violence and uxoricide prevail. Consequently, the *maravillas* and the narrative frame can be considered gynocentric spaces.

The protagonist of the *Honesto y entretenido sarao* and who orchestrates the presentation of the maravillas, Lisis, functions as the *salonnière:* on her "trono, asiento y resguardo" she orders that the participants narrate the maravillas seated on the "estrado," by definition and custom a female space, which in the *Novelas* [*Primera parte*], the ladies shares with the gentlemen.

Jolanta T. Pekacz comments the social and civilizing function of the *salón* of the french *Ancien Régime*, in which was developed an ideal of social conduct, la *honnêteté,* that regulated the relations among groups and individuals and which made possible a hierarchical and heterosocial society to function (84). Pekacz observes:

> Seventeeth-century writers on *honnêteté* emphasized an important role of some upper-class women in the civilizing process including preserving and disseminating the ideal of politeness, good manners, and propriety inherent in *honnêteté* [...]. The civilizing role of a woman was a function of her class and of her conduct […] The recognition of the civilizing role of *honnêtetés* women made the salon possible. The salon emerged as a form of sociability which allowed for a regular interaction between men and women of various social ranks and occupations, took place outside the royal court, typically involved conversation by an upper-class lady in her house. Thus the salon created a unique opportunity for some upper-class women to function outside the strictly domestic sphere, traditionally designated for women, without violating traditional feminine social rules. […] As hosting a salon meant performing a specific role within a strictly delineated social convention, theatricality—a conscious fashioning of one's behavior in order to enact a special social role—was an inherent characteristic of salons [...]. It can be argued

[43] I cite from the "Introduction" to my edition of the *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares,* 45.

> that theatricality was the very characteristic of social life that made the salon in France possible in the early seventeenth century for it allowed women to host social gatherings without violating the gender status que; in fact, it reinforced this status quo. (85-86)

In the same fashion as the French salón, the sarao, a site of "entretenimiento honesto," is the feminine space in which Lisis and her female narrators defend women and "civilize" the gentlemen to show proper and respectful conduct to ladies. In the "Introducción" to the *Novelas* (or *Primera parte del Honesto y entretenido sarao*), we note the theatricality of the sarao: the exhibition of ostentatious gowns and jewelry , the performance of the "actors" in a salón "aderezada de unos costosos paños flamencos, cuyos boscajes, flores y arboledas parecían las selvas de Arcadia o los pensiles huertos de Babilonia." Bosse observes that "[…] ese modo específico de discutir las novelas, en forma de diálogos y hasta incluso de producirlas 'escénicamente' dentro de esos círculos cultos y cortesanos que eran los saraos (la variante femenina de las academias) forma parte de esa propensión *à la mode* hacia una 'teatralización' de toda la cultura escrita de la época" (249). In addition, the sarao becomes a *locus amoenus* by which Zayas converts a spent literary convention into a literal and vital space because its serves as a haven for the women and their respective dicourses. At the conclusión of the *Segunda parte,* Lisis and the majority of her female companions seek the sanctuary of the convent.

Novelas and Maravillas

In her introduction to the *Novelas,* Zayas reprehends the term *novela.*[44] Laura, the mother of the protagonist Lisis, arranges that each night two participants of the sarao narrate "dos maravillas, que con este nombre quiso desempalagar al vulgo del de novelas, título tan enfadoso que ya en todas partes le aborrecen." The only occasion that Zayas employs this "título tan enfadoso" is in her prologue, when Escuer had already changed the work's title. Moll and Cayuela suggest that Zayas, in order to evade the Consejo's vigilance, attempted to camuflage her *Novelas amorosas* with the innocuous title of *Honesto y entretenido sarao*. But with the expiration of the prohibition in 1635 to concede civil licenses for comedias and novelas, there was nothing to impede Zayas from titling her work *Novelas amorosas y exemplares*—assuming that this was the original title, as Moll and Cayuella suggest—and to designate her narrataions as *novelas* and not *maravillas.* Nonetheless, as we have argued, the title's changes was not of her volition but Escuer's decisión. Zayas never used this title for the *Parte segunda;* but, rather, she referred to her first work as *Primera parte* [*Honesto y entretenido sarao*].

Zayas's rejection of the term "novela," was determined, in part, as Yllera proposes, that she saw it as "un nombre desprestigiado" (36). Undoubtedly, the considerable quantity of novelas during the period conformed to worn-out formulas and conventions that had established this genre's horizon of expectations for the public. Most importantly for Zayas is that this genre—and all the literature of the period—propagated and conveyed patriarcal values and negative representations of women. Zelima, Lisis moorish slave, tells her lady in the "Introducción" of the *Parte segunda*:

[44]With the adjective *novelero* Zayas also refers to gossip, lies and defamation; but as a verb it simply refers to narrate storiestambién quiere indicar la murmuración, la mentira y la calumnia; pero su uso verbal simplement. These meanings are noted at the beginning of the *Desengaños:* "[Lisis] dispuso [...] que habían de ser las damas las que novelasen (y en esto acertó con la opinión de los hombres, pues siempre tienen a las mujeres por noveleras)."

> Mandásteme, señora mía, que contase esta noche un desengaño, para que las damas se avisen de los engaños y cautelas de los hombres, para que vuelvan por su fama en tiempo que la tienen tan perdida, que en ninguna ocasión hablan ni sienten de ellas bien, siendo su mayor entretenimiento decir mal de ellas: pues ni comedia se representa, ni libro se imprime que no sea todo en ofensa de las mujeres, sin que se reserve ninguna [...] ("Introducción")[45]

Lisis's mother, Laura, repeats this complaint against masculine discourse:

> Y es género de pasión o tema de los divinos entendimientos que escriben libros y componen comedias, alcanzándolo todo en seguir la opinión del vulgacho, que en común da la culpa de todos los malos sucesos a las mujeres ... ("La inocencia castigada")

With *maravilla* and *desengaño,* Zayas assuredly wanted to designate a female discourse within the genre of the novela, one that would defend women and project a female perspective in rebellion against the dominant masculine discourse and destabilizing its reception.

Desempalagar al vulgo del [nombre] de novelas

The *Diccionario de autoridades* defines *desempalagar* as: "Quitar el hastío que se tiene a la comida o bebida"; Zayas thus compares the term *novela* with food which, because of its constant consumption and bad preparation, causes revulsion. Therefore, it is necessary to clean the palate with a new and rich sustenance: the *maravilla.* At first sight, Zayas would give to understand that she only uses a metaphor in order to express the revulsion that the term *novela* provokes. But in the context of the reading practices of manuscripts and books of the period, we perceive that Zayas was alluding to the process of the somatization of reading. With regard to the history of reading practices, Roger Chartier notes that "when a text that is stable in its letter and fixed in its form [it] is aprehended by new readers who read it in other ways than did previous readers [,] 'A book changes by the fact that it does not change when the world changes … when its mode of reading changes.'" (1994, 25)[46] It is necessary, then, to distinguish between a reading in which reception and comprehension suppose an associated high or low oralization, and another possibly visual:

> "Reading has become, over the past three centuries, a visual poem. It is no longer accompanied, as it used to be, by the murmur of a vocal articulation or by the movement of a muscular manducation. To read without uttering the words aloud or at least mumbling them is a 'modern' experience, unknow for millenia. In earlier times, the reader interiorized the text; he made his voice the body of the other; he was its actor.

[45] Luis Pacheco de Narváez, in the prologue of his *Historia exemplar de las dos constantes mvgeres españolas,* proposes to defend offended ladies against accusations, vituperations and defamations of *novelistas*. Among the vices with which these authors characterize women, Pacheco singles out the worst: son "fáciles, incontinentes, deshonestas, suponiendo, que se enamoran, que solicitan que las quieran, que ruegan, que lloran si no las quieren, que rabian y se abrasan de zelos, que voluntariamente se entregan a perder las prendas de su mayor honestidad, que tienen criada a quien premian, porque les ayuden a executar sus lasciuas flaquezas, fiándoles el secreto que después el mismo delito que cometen lo publican a vozes; que dexan sus casas y estados, y vagantes, con ábito indecente, y ocupaciones seruiles, buscan a los que han gozado sus favores."

[46] Bourdieu y Chartier, "La lecture: une practique culturelle," qtd. in Chartier, 25.

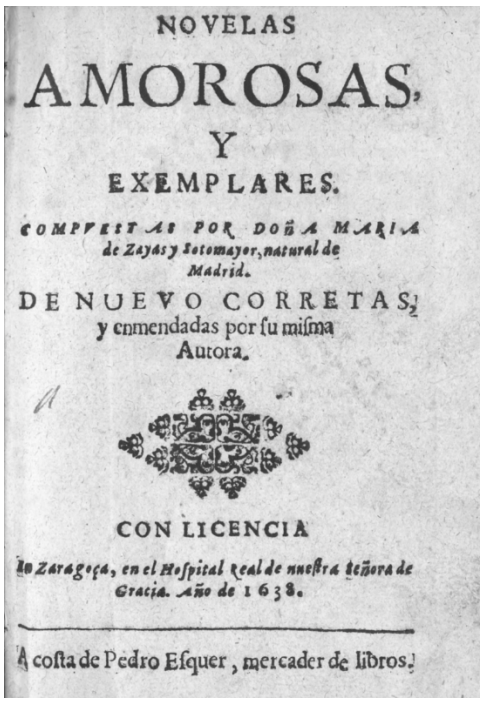
> Today, the text no longer imposes its own rhythm on the subject, it no longer manifests itself through the reader's voice." (De Certeau, *L'Invention du quotidien,* 253-254, qtd. In Chartier, 1994*,* 35)

Thus, the modern reader would probably take *desempalagar* solely as a metaphor, while Zayas's contemporary reader, silently reading alone and somatizing the text, *sotto voce,* would have understood the two terms of the trope: the reading of a *novela* would not only produce a physical discomfort, but also a mental displeasure, provoked by the discontent of a genre whose heroes were men and whose texts projected a misogynous ideology.

The counterfeit editions of 1638

Moll explains that the difference between an "edición pirata"—"[una edición hecha, en período de vigencia de un privilegio y dentro de su ámbito territorial, por persona ajena a dicho privilegio y con datos tipográficos auténticos"—, is that the counterfeit edition, "edición *contrahecha*" is "[una] reedición, que intenta suplantar una edición legal preexistente, de la que copia todos o parte de los datos del pie de imprenta y mantiene o cambia el año. Reproduce, textual o abreviadamente, los preliminares exigidos por la ley, que figuran en la edición que ha servido de modelo" (53).

Fig. 6


NOVELAS
AMOROSAS,
Y
EXEMPLARES.
COMPVESTAS POR DOÑA MARIA
de Zayas y Sotomayor, natural de
Madrid.
DE NUEVO CORRETAS,
y enmendadas por su misma
Autora.

CON LICENCIA
En Zaragoça, en el Hospital Real de nuestra Señora de
Gracia. Año de 1638.

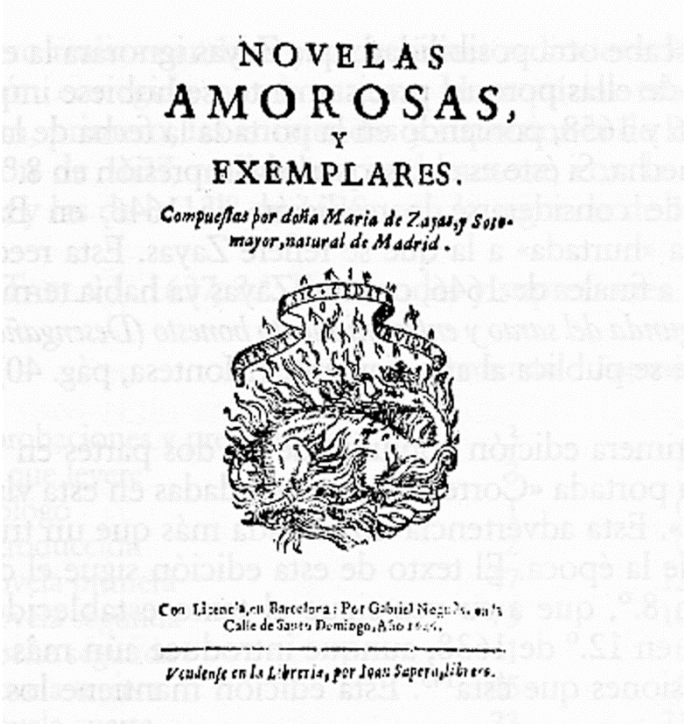
A costa de Pedro Esquer, mercader de libros.

Courtesy Hispanic Society of America

With the exception of the date of 1638, the similarity of the title page of the counterfeit edition with that of the authentic second edition of 1637 [Fig. 2] is notable. Zayas in the "Segunda noche" of the *Segunda parte,* declares that "la primera parte de este sarao […] ha gozado de tres impresiones, dos naturales y una hurtada." In reality there was not one "edición hurtada," but two. Zayas was unaware of one—probably the second one, in 8^0, or she took them both for the same one. The edition of the *Novelas* published in Barcelona, 1646 [Fig. 7], was not one of the purloined editions, inasmuch as this edition was a copy of the princeps and was published towards the end of the year when Zayas had probably already concluded her *Parte segunda.*[47]

[47] This edition, printed Gabriel Nogués, has two issues shared by two book sellers. One title page indicates "A costa de Sebastian de Cormellas, Mercader"; and the other "Vendense en la Librería, por Ioan Sapere, librero." As noted, this edition reproduces the text of the *princeps,* but eliminates the two prologues and the "Introducción."

Fig. 7


NOVELAS
AMOROSAS,
Y
EXEMPLARES.
Compuestas por doña Maria de Zayas, y Sotomayor, natural de Madrid.

Con Licencia, en Barcelona: Por Gabriel Nogues, en la Calle de Santo Domingo, Año 1649.

Vendense en la Librería, por Joan Superqui, librero.

For the purposes of textual criticism, the counterfeit editions have no value, but they do have a sociological value: "El máximo interés de este tipo de reediciones [contrahechas] es sociológico. Solo una obra de éxito se reedita" (Moll, 53). These false editions took advantage of the popularity of the *Novelas amorosas;* they introduced various changes and, above all, made considerable omisions with the aim of reducing the number of pages of the original, and producing a cheaper and attractive merchandise for the consumer.

In addition to omitting from the preliminaries Valdivieso's *aprobación* and a tercet of a sonnet (with *estrambote*) by Perez de Montalbán,[48] it significantly mutilated Zayas's text with 1,303 changes and suppressions.

[48] The tercet: "Préciese de tal prenda Manzanares, / pues enriqueces su florido suelo / contra las fuerzas del caduco olvido."

Table 2. 1638, 12º: Changes[49] & Suppressions

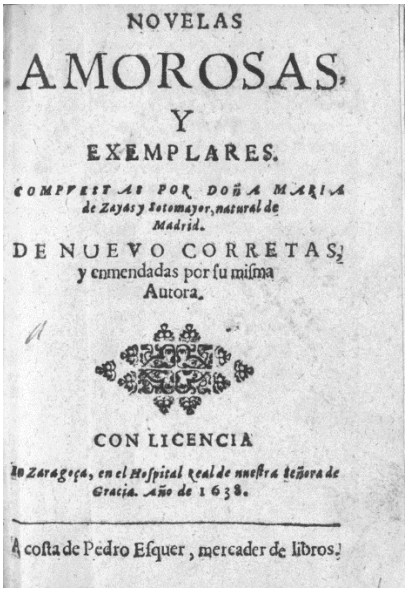
	Changes	Suppressions
Aprobaciones y preliminares:	10	2
Al que leyere	1	
Prólogo de un desapasionado	2	1
Introducción	6	5
Novela primera	75	116
Novela segunda	91	79
Noche segunda	5	4
Novela tercera	44	28
Novela cuarta	98	131
Noche tercera	1	2
Novela quinta	44	70
Novela sexta	46	75
Noche cuarta		1 (omitted)
Novela séptima	34	54
Novela octava	46	82
Noche quinta	3	3
Novela nona	28	48
Novela décima	34	34
Total	568	735

Total changes and suppressions: 1,303

[49]We indicate "Changes" because they were not realized by the author. With this term we understand the introduction in the text of word/words, the substitution of one word for another, and morphological and syntactic changes. The suppressions vary from the omission of a word to the omission of brief and extensive passages, and the abreviation of some poems.

To the text of the second edition corrected and emended by the author [see Table 1], the counterfeit edition imposed 1,301 changes and suppressions. These constitute 56.4 % of the original text—almost three times more than Zayas made to her edition. It is obvious, then, that Zayas's text suffered a severe mutilation. Even worse was the mutilation realized by the second counterfeit edition in 8º:

Fig. 8


NOVELAS
AMOROSAS,
Y
EXEMPLARES.
COMPVESTAS POR DOÑA MARIA de Zayas y Sotomayor, natural de Madrid.
DE NUEVO CORRETAS, y enmendadas por su misma Autora.
CON LICENCIA
En Zaragoça, en el Hospital Real de nuestra Señora de Gracia. Año de 1638.
A costa de Pedro Esquer, mercader de libros.

Courtesy Hispanic Society of America

This edition followed the text of the previous 12^0 edition, but imposed even more suppressions. It retained Valdivieso's *aprobación*, maintained Mendieta's *licencia,* and kept only the poems by Caro de Mallén and Pérez de Montalbán. Like the previous edition, it suppressed the prologues but introduced a table of contents. Beginning in 1638, this counterfeit edition provided the base text of all subsequent editions. Thus it remained until 1948 when Amezúa y Mayo published his edition of the *Novelas* based on Zayas's corrected edition of 1637. Those critics who affirm that the *Novelas amorosas y exemplares* enjoyed considerable popularity and was a "best seller," [50] ignore, first, the fact that the *Novelas* were only circulated and sold in the Reino de Aragón[51]; second, the text the public read during its 200 years of máximum popularity—300 years in total—was not Zayas's text, but rather an invention by other hands, of masculine editors and printers. Ironically, similar to the female protagonists, victims of physical and verbal abuse, Zayas's text suffered from corporal and verbal assault.

VI. Examples of textual changes realized by the counterfeit editions

[50] Eg., Brownlee, 102. See Whinnom.

[51] We cannot discount the possible clandestine circulation of the *Novelas* in Castile. However, Pedraza Gracia comments the difficult economic, extensive physical and risky task of transporting books to other kingdoms: "pagar a los trajineros, pagar impuestos de aduanas proporcionales al valor de la mercancía transportadas, generalmente cinco por ciento, caminos en malas condiciones, accidentes, bandoleros …" (306-11).

The first counterfeit edition of the *Novelas,* in 12^0, (H), introduces a change in the "Introducción," that reveals a contradiction between the text and the paratexts (the titles of the narrations—"Novela primera de Aventurarse perdiendo," etc. and the running headers—which is maintained in the second counterfeit editon (HH):

> A Lisarda, su sobrina, y a la hermosa Matilde, mandó que después de inventar una airosa máscara, en que ellas y las otras damas, con los caballeros, mostrasen su gala, donaire, destreza y bizarría, la primera noche, después de haber danzado, *contasen dos maravillas, que con este nombre quiso desempalagar al vulgo del de novelas, título tan enfadoso que ya en todas partes la aborrecen.* (emphasis mine)

The suppression by H of the passage in italics provokes three consequences: (1) it causes an incomplete sentence; (2) it eliminates the plan of the "Noche primera," during which time Lisarda and Matilde will tell their respective "maravillas"; (3) it also eliminates the distinction between *novelas* and *maravillas,* of considerable importance to Zayas (which we will later comment). The intention of the editors/printers of these editions was to eliminate the term *maravilla,* but this was in vain because it appears constantly in the narratives as it does in the legitimate editions.

An example of an extensive suppression perpetrated by HH is the following. An extensive expurgation appears in the maravilla, "La fuerza del amor. In this long passage H (highlighted in red) inserts "apenas," a logical adverb that precedes the adverbial clause: "apenas se atrevió […] cuando." H then omits "mía," and, furthermore suppresses the sentence that describes Laura's appreciation of don Diego. Nonetheless, the changes and suppressions imposed by H do not significantly affect the sense of the text, which we cannot say of HH. This edition retains H's changes of the initial passage, but not of the remaining two paragraphs (highlighted in red). Significantly, except for the beginning of paragraph two—"Llegó la noche"—, HH suppresses all the passages in cursive. This omission eliminates don Diego's interior monologue, and therefore the description of his psychological state, where he repents his daring behavior towards Laura and realizes that Laura's rejection of him was the appropriate action of a noble lady. Nonetheless, he overcomes his self-abjection and decides to ask her hand in marriage:

> […] mas no le sirvió de más que de arderse con aquella nieve, pues **^apenas^** se atrevió a decir: "Señora mía, yo os adoro," cuando la hermosa dama, fingiendo justo impedimento, le dejó y se volvió a su asiento, dando que sospechar a los que miraban y que sentir a don Diego, el cual quedó tan triste como desesperado, pues en los que quedaba del día no mereció que Laura le favoreciese siquiera con los ojos. No porque a los de la bella señora pareciese mal la gallardía de don Diego, sino por dar a su honestidad el lugar que siempre había tenido en su valor.
>
> Llegó la noche, *y bien triste para don Diego, pues con ella Laura se fue a su casa, y él a la suya, donde acostándose en su cama (común remedio de tristes, que luego consultan las almohadas*, como si ellas les hubiesen de dar remedio*), dando vuelta[s] por ella, empezó a quejarse tan lastimosamente de su desdicha, si lo era haber visto la belleza que le tenía tan fuera de sí, que si en esta ocasión fuera oído de la causa de su pena, fuera más piadosa que había sido aquella tarde.*
>
> —¡*Ay—decía el lastimado* mancebo **^caballero^**—*divina Laura, y con qué crueldad*

oíste aquella tan sola como desdichada palabra que te dije!, como si el saber que esta alma es más tuya que la misma que posees fuera afrenta para tu honestidad y linaje, pues es claro que si pretendo emplearla en tu servicio ha de ser haciéndote mi esposa, y en esto no pierdes opinión ninguna. ¿Es posible, amado dueño, que siendo la vista tan agradable sea el corazón tan cruel, pues no te deja ver que después que te vi no soy el que era primero? Ya vivo sin alma y siento sin sentido; y finalmente, todo cuanto soy he rendido a tu hermosura. Si en esto te agravio, culpa a ella sola **^cúlpala a ella^,** *que los ojos que la miran no pueden ser tan cuerdos que se aparten*, si una vez la ven, de desearla **^de desearla, si una vez la ven^.** *Mas, ¿qué mayor cordura que amarte? Nunca más cuerdo y bien entendido, que después que me llamo esclavo tuyo. ¡Ay de mí, y qué sin causa me quejo!, pues fuera bien mirar que estaba Laura obligada a tratarme ásperamente si pone los ojos en su honestidad y obligación, pues no fuera razón admitir mi deseo tan presto como nació, pues apenas fue criada la voluntad cuando fue dicha. Rico soy, mis padres en nobleza no deben nada a los suyos, pues ¿por qué me falta esperanza? Pidiéndola por mujer a su padre no me la ha de negar. ¡Ánimo, cobarde corazón!, que bien se ve que amas, pues tanto temes, que no ha de ser mi desdicha tan grande que no alcance lo que deseo.*

En estos pensamientos pasó don Diego la noche **^^, que don Diego pasó revolviendo mil pensamientos^^,** ya animado con la esperanza y ya desesperado con el temor.

After this extensive suppression, HH inserts a nexus (highlighted in purple), which resumes the description of his perturbed mental state. Consequently, HH reduced this extensive passage to one sentence: "Llegó la noche, que don Diego pasó revolviendo mil pensamientos, ya animado con la esperanza y ya desesperado con el temor."

Conclusion

In this essay we have noted the long and frustrating process that María de Zayas endured to have her *Honesto y entretenido sarao* published, and which never saw the light under this title. The Consejo de Castilla's prohibition of the publication of comedias and novelas delayed the publication 10 years. When it was finally published in Zaragoza in 1637, Pedro Escuer changed the title to *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* and replaced "Maravilla" from the titles of the narratives with "Novela," thereby creating a conflict between the titles: e.g. "*Novela* primera, Aventurarse perdiendo," and the texts: "El nombre, hermosísimas damas y nobles caballeros, de mi *maravilla* es Aventurarse perdiendo" (emphasis mine); and a conflict between the text, the title and the running headers (titulillos).[52] Scarcely a year later, Zayas's *Novelas* was pirated; the author's voice silenced and her text vastly mutilated. This expurgated text was reprinted over three centuries. In the mid-20th century, her original text began a gradual restoration, which has yet to be completed.[53]

[52] This essay is a portion of my introduction to the *Primera y segunda parte del Honesto y entretenido sarao,* in which I discuss, among other themes, the paratexts of the *Novelas* and the *Parte segunda.*
[53] This restoration will be completed with my edition of the *Primera y segunda parte.*