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THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE EARLY *CELESTINAS*. I: THE FIRST FRENCH
TRANSLATION (1527)

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The present study is meant to be a first step towards a more complete history of *Celestina* illustration. Certainly the whole area of iconography--in the context of study of Rojas' text and the problems that surround it--is the least well-attended aspect of all.¹ That this is true is unfortunate. It seems to me that any illustration of a text--whether specially commissioned or prepared from a selection of pre-existing material--represents, at some level, a reaction to and, often, an interpretation, a "reading" of that text. If the *Celestina comentada*, the "reading" of *Celestina* by an anonymous mid-sixteenth century jurist, is a valuable addition to our knowledge of how Rojas' masterwork was perceived in a specific place and time,² it is logical to think that an illustrated "reading" could also provide valuable clues as ways in which *Celestina* was read and understood.³

A history of *Celestina* illustration is a long way from being written, since it is virtually an unmined field of study. The materials available offer exciting, fascinating perspectives to the student and scholar. Keep in mind the enormous popularity of the work from 1499 to 1640 (over eighty editions) and add to that the numerous imitations, continuations and translations that helped maintain the spotlight on the original work. Many, though not all of the early editions are illustrated.⁴ The printers of this period did much to identify for the reader the types that populate Rojas' world (and Rojas' text did much to flesh out the stereotypes of many a printer's block, or *taco*).

These woodblocks (*tacos*, *figuritas*) were reused from edition to edition by the same printer and his *sucesores*; sometimes blocks, or sets of them, were loaned or sold to other printers. The *tacos* themselves, in order to serve as many contexts as possible, were often just the most conventional stereotypes (the young damsel, the duenna, the swain, the *viejo* or father, the servant, etc.) in standing poses which present them as characters. They are almost never seen in action, nor with too many clues (clothing, setting) as to their surrounding social reality for, thus uncompromised, they might, each of them, serve a large number of texts



FIG. 1 (Comedia, Burgos, 1499)

**El Romance de Durandarte cō
la glosa de Sozia: 7 otros diuer-
fos Romances.**



FIG. 2 (pliego suelto, Burgos: Alonso
de Melgar, c. 1520)

equally well, at least on the iconographical level.⁵ One example here will show this: it is a composite scene rather than a series of *tacos* of individual characters.

In FIG. 1, used as illustration to Act 16 of the *Comedia* of Burgos, ¿1499?, the three interlocutors are carefully labelled as Melibea, Pleberio and Alisa. In FIG. 2, however, without such identification, the same woodblock, with some deterioration of detail, is used c. 1520 to illustrate a *pliego suelto* containing ballads and glosses of ballads.⁶

Sometimes a set of blocks, known to be successful in stimulating the sale of an edition, will occasion a new set. Such a case in point would be the Cromberger Seville editions (I have used, for the comparison, Seville 1523), and many of the later ones printed in Venice (for example Venice 1531).⁷ The editions are the same size and follow the same format and iconographic scheme. The illustrations are, in every case, of the same characters for the corresponding acts, even to the identical use of 'house' and 'tree' *tacos*. Even more to the point, at the places where the Seville edition includes specially-commissioned *Celestina* scenes depicting the murder of Celestina, the capture of Sempronio and Pármeno and their execution, Calisto climbing the wall of Melibea's garden, his fall and death and, finally, Melibea's death plunge, these same "extra" scenes have been re-done for the Venice 1531 edition. The entire set of illustrative blocks is new, but clearly and tellingly it was modelled on a circulating Cromberger edition similar to Seville 1523.

While some editions were illustrated entirely from conventional *tacos*, and others from a mixture of conventional *tacos* and text-specific scenes (possibly also borrowed from another text, but certainly illustrating scenes and actions one easily associates with Rojas' *Celestina*) only a few were illustrated wholly by blocks created especially for *Celestina*. I cite the Hans Weidetz blocks prepared for the Christof Wirsung German translation as an outstanding example.⁸ Two others seen recently have been the Dutch translation (Antwerp: Heyndricxz, 1580) and the Spanish edition of Francisco del Campo, Medina del Campo 1582.⁹

Nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century *Celestinas* (the first 'modern' edition of the work is Madrid: León Amarita, 1822) are generally lacking in illustrative materials, or have very few.¹⁰ Since the 1940s, however, there has been a marked tendency toward the publication of specially illustrated (commissioned) editions for the coffee-table market while the student market has benefitted little from efforts to reproduce early illustrative materials.¹¹ Some of these twentieth-century "readings" will need to be kept in mind when the full iconographical study of the *Celestinas* is undertaken.

In order to discuss fully one way in which printers have chosen to expend time, skill and money in providing a visual accompaniment to their editions of *Celestina*, I have selected the French translation of 1527. There are several reasons for this choice: it was the first translation into French and was aimed to reach the mass market; it probably had waiting for it--due to the enormous popular success of *Celestinas* in Spain and

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Italy--an avid and new French-language reading public; and, not least, it is fully illustrated.¹² Each act is introduced by a woodcut, and this particular iconographical arrangement provides for some speculation both on the demand for and the nature of early illustrated editions of popular works.

Before giving the iconographic scheme, I will note that the illustrations generally appear near the act-opening "argumentos" and consist, throughout this translation, of pairs of character *tacos*, or *figuritas*.¹³ The identity of the *taco* appears in a scroll above the figure's head. From the outset, such a scheme has obvious, serious limitations. The poses, settings and expressions of the characters will be unvarying throughout and is representational only at the lowest level of illustration. Still, some variety is achieved from the selection of the character *tacos* for each act (this selection is not without its surprises). At any rate, the resources of the French printer are poor, as the following chart shows.

PARIS 1527 ICONOGRAPHICAL SCHEME

TITLE: The title page features a youngish Celestina, arms folded across her chest and facing slightly right. She is wearing a *toca* [as in Fig. 4] and has a rosary suspended from her belt: the scroll above her head reads "Celestine".

<u>ACTS 1 - 21</u>					
<u>ACT</u>	<u>Character 1</u>		<u>Character 2</u>		<u>Comments</u>
1.	Melibee	[1] ¹⁴	Calisto	[2]	See FIG. 3.
2.	Parmeno	[3]	Calisto	[2]	
3.	Celestine	[4]	Sempronio	[5]	See FIG. 4.
4.	Lucrecia	[1]	Celestine	[6]	See FIG. 5.
5.	Celestine	[4]	Sempronio	[5]	Repeats <i>tacos</i> of Act 3.
6.	Celestine	[7]	Calisto	[2]	See FIG. 6 Figures not facing.
7.	Parmeno	[3]	Celestine	[4]	Figures not facing.
8.	Parmeno	[3]	Areusa	[1]	Figures not facing.
9.	Parmeno	[3]	Sempronio	[5]	See FIG. 7
10.	Celestine	[4]	Melibee	[1]	Figures not facing.
11.	Celestine	[4]	Calisto	[2]	Second pairing, but cf. Act 6.

Calisto. Delibee. Parmeno. Semprio-
nio. Celestine. Elice. Crito.



FIG. 3 (Act 1)

Semprio. Celestine. Elice.



FIG. 4 (Act 2)

Calisto/ Celestine/ Parmeno/ Semprio.



FIG. 5 (Act 4)



FIG. 6 (Act 6)



FIG. 7 (Act 9)



FIG. 8 (Act 13)



FIG. 9 (Act 15)



FIG. 10 (Act 16)

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12.	Calisto	[2]	Lucrece	[6]	Figures not facing.
13.	Sosia	[3]	Calisto	[5]	See FIG. 8. Repeats <i>tacos</i> of Act 9, but shows different characters.
14.	Melibee	[1]	Calisto	[5]	Second pairing, but cf. Act 1.
15.	Areusa	[1]	Elicia	[6]	See FIG. 9. Repeats <i>tacos</i> of Act 4 and 17, but varies the characters.
16.	Pleberio	[3]	Alisa	[6]	See FIG. 10.
17.	Areusa	[1]	Elicia	[6]	Repeats <i>tacos</i> of Act 4 and 15, but varies the characters.
18.	Areusa	[1]	Centurio	[2]	Repeats <i>tacos</i> of Act 1, but varies the characters.
19.	Sosia	[3]	Tristan	[5]	See FIG. 11 (p. 39). Repeats <i>tacos</i> of Acts 9 and 13, but varies the characters.
20.	(See note 15)				
21.	Alisa	[1]	Pleberio	[5]	Repeats <i>tacos</i> of Act 14, but varies the characters.

* * * * *

Besides the title-page woodcut of *Celestina*--used another five times (as in FIG. 4)--there are twenty-one pages with illustrative woodblocks. Twenty of these are in the form of the two character *tacos*, placed side by side, discussed above, and the odd one (Act 20) is a single block whose subject has nothing whatever to do with any scene from *Celestina*.¹⁵ The printer used, for the twenty double-*taco* pages, a total of only seven distinct *tacos* to represent visually thirteen different characters (Crito, whose speaking role is limited to a few words in Act 1, is not included). Using the numbers I have previously assigned to the seven *tacos*, the forty characters of the twenty illustrated pages are divided as follows:

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<u>CHARACTER</u>	<u>Taco No.</u>	<u>Times Used</u>	<u>Total</u>
Celestina	[4]	5	7
	[6]	1	
	[7]	1	
Calisto	[2]	5	7
	[5]	2	
Pármeno	[3]	4	4
Areúsa	[1]	4	4
Melibea	[1]	3	3
Sempronio	[5]	3	3
Lucrecia	[1]	1	2
	[6]	1	
Pleberio	[3]	1	2
	[5]	1	
Alisa	[6]	1	2
	[1]	1	
Sosia	[3]	2	2
Elicia	[6]	2	2
Tristán	[2]	1	1
Centurio	[5]	1	1
<hr/>			
1 - 13	1 - 17	40	40

How, one wonders from a twentieth-century point of view on what constitutes a satisfactorily-illustrated text, was the sixteenth-century reading public accustomed to react *visually* to such a scheme as this one? Celestina is shown to the reader in three radically different guises (FIGS. 4, 5 and 6), although more frequently as "la vieja de las cuentas" (*taco* [4]). When in Acts 4 and 6 we have the two 'new' Celestinas, we wonder what the purpose is, since the more visually effective *taco* [4] is available for use.¹⁶ The substitution seems strange, arbitrary and self-defeating from an iconographical standpoint. Complicating the issue is the fact that, of the two *tacos* used once each for Celestina ([6] and [7]; FIGS. 5 and 6), one is later used for other female characters: *taco* [6] is "Lucrecia" (Act 12) as well as "Elicia" (Acts 15--FIG. 9--and 17) and "Alisa" (Act 16--FIG. 10). *Taco* [7], however, is used only in Act 6. The figure, a young woman with a simple *toca* standing in a field of flowers,

seem a strange choice to represent Celestina. Stranger still is that its single use here reduces the small universe of *tacos* from seven to six, in effect nullifying the use *taco* [7] might have had in more accurately representing any of the other female figures in *Celestina*.

But our wonderment does not end here. The Melibea *taco* [1] that we should associate with her from its first appearance in Act 1 (FIG. 3), is later reused, not only for her two subsequent pairings in Acts 10 and 14, but also for Lucrecia (Act 4; FIG. 5), for Alisa, her own mother (Act 21), and for her arch-detractor Areúsa on four (!) separate occasions (Acts 8, 15--FIG. 9--, 17 and 18), a number of uses surpassing that (three) for the original Melibea.

Calisto--who shares with Celestina the highest number of appearances in this iconographical series (with seven)--, appears first in Act 1 as *taco* [2] (FIG. 3) and continues thus represented in Acts 2, 6--FIG. 6--, 11 and 12; he also is shown twice as *taco* [5] in Acts 13--FIG. 8-- and 14. The reader, at least the visually alert one, will already have associated this "second" Calisto as his servant, Sempronio, who was *taco* [5] in Act 3 (FIG. 4). The "first" Calisto, *taco* [2], will later turn up labelled as the hired assassin, Centurio, in Act 18.

Sempronio all throughout the iconographical series remains unchanged (*taco* [5]). As noted above, however, this "Sempronio" *taco* doubles as "Calisto." But it is also deployed for "Tristán" (Act 19--FIG. 11) and "Pleberio" as well (Act 21). Like Sempronio, the original Pármeno remains unchanged whenever he is represented (*taco* [3], in Acts 2, 7, 8 and 9--FIG. 7). But as in the instance of "Sempronio," "Pármeno" also undergoes some fairly unusual transformations: twice he becomes "Sosia" (in Acts 13--FIG. 8--and 19--FIG. 11) and once he serves as "Pleberio" (in Act 16--FIG. 10).

Other unusual features of the iconography of Paris 1527 would certainly include: the pairing of Celestina and Calisto at Acts 6 and 11 where the Celestinas are unnecessarily different;¹⁷ the three pairing of the same two male figures at Acts 9, 13 and 19 (FIGS. 7, 8 and 11), first labeled as Pármeno and Sempronio, then as Sosia and Calisto and, finally, as Sosia and Tristán;¹⁸ and the appearance of two figures at Act 14, called Melibea and Calisto, who re-appear at Act 21 as the young girl's aged parents, Alisa and Pleberio!

The loss of visual identification of characters (if it was even intended) in Paris 1527 first breaks down as early as Act 4 when "Melibea" becomes "Lucrecia" (cf. FIGS. 3 and 5) and a new "Celestina" is forced upon us (cf. FIGS. 4 and 5). Even here, the printer-illustrator could have prolonged the visual illusion for the reader by using the already established Celestina, *taco* [4], and, perhaps, for Lucrecia, utilizing *taco* [7] (the one used but once, also for Celestina--FIG. 6). The use of *taco* [4] for Celestina again in Act 6 would have been a simple way to keep the visual scheme from breaking down until at least Act 8, when one of the previously used female *figuritas* would have to be used for Areúsa. There

occur throughout the iconographical sequence of Paris 1527 places at which a small effort could have enriched the visual accompaniments to the text. There was no need, for example, to use the original Sempronio *taco* for "Calisto" at Acts 13 and 14 (cf. FIGS 4 and 8) when the original Calisto *taco* was available. Nor, in the most dramatic case of all, was there any need to provide the three consecutive and different Celestinas of Acts 4, 5 and 6.

Some curiosities have mundane explanations behind them, as we shall learn. It would seem ideal, one reasons, when presenting two characters in separate blocks in such an illustrative scheme, that they face each other. That way, at least, there is a semblance of dialogue and interaction. Of our six *tacos* (not including [7], since it is involved only in one instance), the original Pármeno (*taco* [3]--FIG. 9), Celestina (*taco* [4]--FIG. 4) and Melibea (*taco* 1--FIG. 3) figures all face right and would appear, normally, as the figure on the left of the page (facing center). The Celestina figure (*taco* [6]--FIG. 5) as well as Calisto (*taco* [2]--FIG. 3) and Sempronio (*taco* [5]--FIG. 4) all face left and would appear, normally, as the figure on the right of the page (facing center). Note, though, that this means there is but one male figure (Pármeno) facing right and one female figure (*taco* [6]) facing left. Thus, when a pairing of two males and a pairing of two females occurs in Paris 1527, there is an unusual pressure on *taco* [3], the original Pármeno, and on *taco* [6], to serve as other males and females, respectively. But even in mixed groups--when such pressure is not evident--these two *tacos* are pressed into service: for such use of *tacos* [3] and [6], see Act 16 (FIG. 10).

Even with such explanations, however, the Paris 1527 printer makes still other strange choices for illustration. Pleberio and Alisa, for example, are paired twice, at Acts 16 and 21. Instead of utilizing the same pair of figures for the later of the two Acts (a procedure already used for Acts 3 and 5 in the case of Sempronio and Celestina), a new pair of figures is used. Why? Because he has chosen to switch their positions (right-to-left and vice versa), forcing--within his limited universe of *tacos*--the utilization of different *figuritas* than those used just five Acts previously.

Given what we said above was desirable, in terms of character *tacos* both set facing center, and the general conformity to such an ideal by the Paris 1527 printer-illustrator, there still are pages where there seems to be no rationale for the fact that the *tacos* do not face each other. In Act 6 (FIG. 6), Celestina and Calisto are facing in the same direction. So with the Calisto and Lucrecia (certainly an unusual pairing!) of Act 12. Other such pairs are at Acts 7, 8 and 10. None of these pairings corresponds to any textual point (departure, pursuit, turning away in anger, etc.).

In summary, we have what would appear to be a French translation (not attributed) prepared for an eagerly-awaiting public by its printer-illustrator, N. Cousteau, who has a remarkably limited series of *tacos*, or

figuritas, for the job. For 39 of the 40 character depictions, he employs only three male and three female *tacos*, and these six *tacos* are made to represent thirteen characters.¹⁹ A seventh *taco*, used once, completes his repertoire: a better balance could have been achieved, since there are many occasions when a superior level of consistency in character representation could have been reached with a little care, care that was clearly not expended. Only through the third act is some visual, or iconographic, consistency achieved at all. Subsequently, the *tacos* are often selected by virtue of their being positioned facing right or left, and other times the choice is arbitrary or whimsical. In any case, the final impression is that iconographical verisimilitude was not a priority in this illustrated *Celestina* of Paris 1527. Even granting that with seven *tacos* we have a restricted field for the representation of thirteen characters, we have seen that much more could have been accomplished.

Logic, or verisimilitude, seems not only to not have been a priority for the printer-illustrator, but it could not have been much of a priority for the reading public, since Paris 1527 was not alone among early *Celestinas* in aberrant design or use of limited woodblocks.²⁰ Thus, it would seem that increased commercial sale justified the inclusion of illustrative material even when, as here, the illustration was provided by often previously used--and borrowed--conventional *figuritas*. The reading public must have become habituated to such recurring illustrating methods and prized whatever there was for its own sake: only later would demand for scene-specific art produce on a grander scale *Celestinas* in which the illustrative materials derived directly from the Rojas text.²¹

The commercial viability of Paris 1527, that is, of the extra costs involved in its illustration, seems borne out by the following summary of information. Each page contains, normally, twenty-six lines of text: only a few have any white space. On pages where illustrations appear, there are seven lines of text. What this means is that the space occupied by the twenty-one woodcuts takes up 399 lines of text. To this sum, we add the space that could have been used and was left blank (the white space referred to above) because a new act's illustrations would not fit on what remained unused of that particular page. A single signature of Paris 1527 (e.g. Ci-Cviii) would contain--in an unillustrated state--416 lines of text. It is clear, then, that Cousteau could have printed Paris 1527 with no accompanying illustrative materials and saved a considerable amount of paper and money. Equally clear is that the additional signature involved was worth the time and expense for the extra profitability it promised. It seems to me also clear that the printer-illustrator had seen other illustrated editions and had some idea of what formulas had been used for *Celestinas*. He must have had at hand some *tacos* of a conventional nature that would serve and decided to use those, rather than seek out, borrow, or commission a better or a larger set of *figuritas*. Time might have been pressing for the publisher (this *Celéstine* was sold by the French bookshop of Galliot du Pré).

We have here, in Paris 1527, in terms of its iconographical design, far less successful a "reading" than earlier illustrated editions and

translations provided (for example, the Hans Weidetz illustrations mentioned in note 8). But it gives us the opportunity to watch the illustration process--the decisions, the practices, the successes and the unfortunate mistakes--at work, an illustration process which was fairly common in the early sixteenth century, and especially so in the case of the fabulously successful *Celestinas*. We may end by affirming that such a process as we have seen working through Paris 1527 provides a relatively poor visual complement to a text as rich in detail and nuance as *Celestina*: it is Rojas' text which, in this instance, endows the stereotypical *tacos* used as illustration with some vitality and meaning. With some exceptions, for the many *Celestinas* printed before his death in 1541, the illustrations for Rojas' vividly conceived characterizations were not specially created but, rather, chosen from blocks or sets used for the illustration of other works. Sometimes the printer took care to ensure that some measure of consistency in the representation of characters took place, other times it was either haphazard or, perhaps due to poor supply, impossible, as apparently was the case with the first French translation.²²

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NOTES

¹ In my *Celestina* bibliography (published with J. Schneider and C. Lee), "Un cuarto de siglo de interés en *La Celestina* (1949-75): documento bibliográfico," in *Hispania* 59 (1976), 610-660, and in the several supplements to it printed in the numbers thus far issued of *Celestinesca*, there are no articles devoted to the topic and only passing mention made in a few studies.

² The *Celestina* continuations and imitations are also "readings" of the original masterpiece, as well as are some minor poems that appear throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For an example of the latter, see J. T. Snow, "An Additional Attestation to the Popularity of Rojas' Character Creations From An Early Seventeenth-Century Manuscript," *Hispanic Review* 48 (1980), 470-86; for the non-fiction *Celestina comentada*, see Peter E. Russell's article in *Studies in Honour of Rita Hamilton*, ed. A. D. Deyermond (London: Támesis, 1976, pp. 175-93; rpt. in his *Temas de "La Celestina" y otros estudios*, (Barcelona: Ariel, 1978, pp. 295-321, in Spanish translation).

³ This is more true, of course, for fully commissioned illustrated editions than for those which depend heavily on the use of conventional and already-owned woodblocks (such as Paris 1527). See also note 5.

⁴ For example, the series emitted from Antwerp (1565, 1595, 1599) at the Officina Plantiniana in duodecimo editions were none of them illustrated. The Toledo 1500 *Comedia* has only the title page illustration.

⁵ One such case worth mentioning is the *Celestina* of Venice 1534 whose illustrations adopt the Cromberger model (see p. 27 and also note 7). Bound with this *Celestina* (in Madrid, National Library, R-15031) is the *Segunda Comedia de la famosa Celestina*, published just two years later (1536) by the same printer, Estephano da Sabio. The identical set of blocks used for the Rojas work is reused for the continuation, with the new character tags, of course: Felides, Sigeril, Polandria, Poncia; etc.

⁶ I am grateful to Brian Dutton, with whom I am working on a volume of *Celestina* iconography, for bringing this (and other) double use of a woodblock illustration to my attention.

⁷ The importance of the Cromberger series in *Celestina* iconography will be highlighted in the forthcoming study and critical edition by Miguel Marciales (Illinois Univ. Press), where he states: "Esta edición (G1 = Seville 1508, as posited by M. M.) creó el modelo de distribución de texto, grabados, de ancho de página y factotos, tacos o figuritas, de todas las posteriores hasta más o menos 1540." The relationship between Cromberger's iconography and that employed later at Venice seems to confirm Marciales' hypothesis.

⁸ The series of illustrations was reproduced in the first few years (1977-1979) of publication of *Celestinesca*. See also the new work by Kathleen V. Kish and Ursula Ritzenhoff, *Die Celestina-Übersetzungen von Christof Wirsung: "Ain hipsche Tragedia" (Augsburg 1520), "Ainn recht liepliches Beuchlin" (Augsburg 1534)* (Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: G. Olms, 1984), where facsimiles of both works and the full set of illustrations are to be found. See also pp. 11-15, 93-95 of their Introduction. It is worth noting that the *Celestina*-specific illustrations are later borrowed to illustrate works having little or no relationship to their original setting (Kish-Ritzenhoff, p. 15), much as the Burgos 1499(?) blocks appeared elsewhere [FIGS. 1-2].

⁹ It is precisely a text of this type which best reflects Covarrubias' definition of a "libro historiado" (see the article "Historia"): "... que tiene algunas figuras de dibuxo o estampa, que responden con la escritura!" The emphasis is mine.

¹⁰ Mention might be made of the Gorchs editions (1841 and 1842) with plates for Acts 7, 9, 12 and 19, and of an edition of Barcelona 1883 which carries (from Valencia 1575) the block showing the scene in which Melibea plunges to her death.

¹¹ In this context, mention must be made of at least these three: Valencia: Castalia, 1946 has original illustration by José Segrelles and Luis Enríquez de Navarra; Barcelona: Argos, 1948 has illustrations by Manuel Humbert; and Madrid: Alfaguara, 1974 has nineteen original lithographs by Lorenzo Goñi. Not attached to an edition, but singularly striking are the fifteen plates prepared in a 1972 limited edition by Miguel Ourvantzoff.

12 Gerald J. Brault, who edited this text (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1963), curiously does not mention that the text is illustrated, although the title page woodcut adorns his edition.

13 These *tacos* are of a uniform size: 3.5 wide x 9 centimeters high.

14 The numbers in square brackets here, and throughout the study, have been assigned, arbitrarily, in the order of their appearance, to the seven *tacos* used by N. Cousteau in Paris 1527. This makes it easier to see when [1], for example, is used for Melibea, or for Lucrecia, or for some other character.

15 This is a single block depicting the arrival--from the left--of an elderly pilgrim, garbed simply, wearing a hat and an across-the-chest sash festooned with small bells. In the right foreground, stands a young woman with a *toca*, dressed in a simple garment, and with hands extended as if speaking. A garden or house wall with three arches links the figures. There are no identification scrolls. I have thus far not been able to identify the work(s) where this woodcut may have figured before or after its use in Paris 1527.

16 I have made a careful study of the illustrations and their distribution among the individual gatherings that make up Paris 1527: there is no possibility that the crazy-quilt iconographic scheme that emerges here is owing to the need to substitute one *taco* for another already in use elsewhere within a particular gathering. In fact only one gathering has two sets of the double-*tacos* (*T* contains the illustration for Acts 16 and 17) where four different characters are represented.

17 Cf. also Acts 1 and 14 (different Calistos).

18 Cf. also Acts 4 and 15 or Acts 1 and 18, in which the *tacos* are repeated with a new pair of characters substituting for the pair in the earlier act.

19 The frequency figures for the six repeated *tacos* show about equal use: [1] is used 9 times; [2] 6 times; [3] 7 times; [4] 5 times; [5] 7 times; and [6] 5 times. No. [7] is, of course, used just the once, for Act 6.

20 Venice 1519 is an even more flagrant example of limited resources used in an iconographical scheme for a *Celestina*. Sixteen acts (Acts 2, 3, 18, 20 and 21 are not illustrated) have accompanying woodcuts, but these are drawn from a limited set of three blocks. The first is introduced at Act 1 and used a total of eight times; the second is introduced at Act 4 and used a total of four times; the third is introduced at Act 6 and is also used a total of four times. More moderate is the case of Venice 1541 where twelve different character blocks are used four to eight times each, along with separate blocks (houses and trees) used a total of ten times. These are arranged in the Crombergerian style: five *tacos* in a single line across the page. While allowing for far greater visual iden-

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tification than we get with Paris 1527, there are no scrolls to help identify specific characters (it is fairly easy to deduce, since these are also conventional "types"). Here, too, some acts are not illustrated (3, 5, 6, 7 and 21).

21 We do not overlook the fact that the Cromberger illustration scheme actually is a combination of conventional character types of *figura*, and some scene-specific single blocks (e.g., Celestina's assassination, Calisto's fall and Melibea's suicide, and a few others).

22 I would like to thank Prof. Eric Naylor for his helpful suggestions concerning technical aspects of parts of this study.



FIG. 11
Act 19. Paris 1527.

CELESTINA.



*Jamás querría, señora, que amanciese, según la gloria
y descanso que mi sentido recibe.*

Pag. 314.

Acto XIX.

*One of four illustrations accompanying the 1840
(printings in 1841, 1842) Celestina of T. Gorchs*