



THE LOWLANDS PRINTINGS OF *CELESTINA* (1539-1601)

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Apparently five printings of *Celestina* were achieved in Antwerp in the 16th century as follows:<sup>1</sup>

- 1539 by the printer Guillome Montano (*id est* Guillaume du Mont):  
Peeters 214
- 1545 by Martín Nucio: Peeters 215
- 1547 by Nucio: Peeters 216
- 1558 by La Viuda de Martín Nucio: Peeters 217
- 1568 by Philippo Nucio: Peeters 218

In addition, at Leyden Christopher Plantin issued three more editions: 1595, 1599 (two versions), and 1601 (Peeters 219, 220, 221).

No copies of the 1558 or 1601 printings are known to have survived. Exemplars of the 1568 printing are to be found at Louvain and Madrid. All the rest can be consulted at The Hispanic Society of America<sup>2</sup> including one rare item from the personal library of Peeters-Fontainas, auctioned at Sotheby's in the spring of 1978.<sup>3</sup>

This reduced, limited group of books gives us the chance to study in microcosm various aspects of the Spanish book in the 16th century as well as the *Celestina* text tradition.

By 1539, the Spanish official colony in Antwerp had grown to sufficient proportions to create a demand for Spanish books. By this time *Celestina* was the rage of the reading public--it had been printed in Spanish at least 19 times in Spain and five times in Italy (three editions of which were pirated). In addition, about a dozen printings had been achieved throughout Europe of the English, French, German, and Italian translations. Independently from Professor Herriott's text stemma,<sup>4</sup> we tentatively establish three basic woodcut families with four basic text families<sup>5</sup> through the editions of the *Tragicomedia* achieved prior to the year 1539, excluding the Barcelona and Zaragoza printings. Both the woodcut and the text traditions appear to emanate originally from one of three Spanish cities: Toledo, Sevilla, or Valencia. The Valencia text tradition does not seem to occur outside of Valencia itself, the Toledo tradi-

tion has only one printing away from Toledo (at Medina del Campo). All of the others seem to derive from one of the two Cromberger types at Seville as follows:

- a. Cromberger 1511 reprinted at Rome, 1515, and Venice, 1523;
- b. Cromberger 1514 reprinted by Cromberger himself at least four times. In Italy, this version appeared at Rome, 1520 and then with revisions and additions at Venice in 1531 and 1534.

The first printing of *Celestina* at Antwerp in 1539 by Guillaume du Mont (as Guillome Montano) derives from the Seville text traditions but not directly. Curiously enough Montano's source is the Venice, 1534 edition whose "corrector" was no less than Francisco Delicado.<sup>6</sup> The edition at Venice achieved by Juan Batista Pedrezano ends with a colophon essay almost certainly written by a Spaniard ("nuestra lengua Romance Castellana"), this followed by the statement "El coretor es de la Peña de martos" (*id est*, Delicado). In 1534 *Celestina* is printed again at Venice, this time by Estephano de Sabio. A new addition is the essay entitled "Introduccion q̄ muestra el Delicado a pronunciar la lengua española." The woodcuts of this edition, as in that of 1531, are reprintings of an earlier series, modelled in turn on the pirated Rome edition of about 1515, which first appeared in the Venetian printing of 1523.

Montano's Antwerp edition slavishly follows Venice, 1534 including the now incongruous Delicado treatise on Spanish pronunciation written for speakers of Italian.<sup>7</sup> As de Sabio had done before, Montano adopts Delicado's colophon for Pedrezano to fit himself. All of these Venetian editions blithely include Alonso de Proaza's *octava* proclaiming the book to be "en Sevilla impresso acabado."<sup>8</sup> Like the Venice edition, Montano's book is in small octavo format. Indeed size may well be the reason Montano chose to follow a Venetian edition, for up to this point the Spanish editions are in quarto or large octavo. Increasingly Europe was turning to the small book format and concomitantly the Antwerp printers specialized in the format especially for Spanish books, many for the Spanish market itself but also many for the New World. Also following contemporary taste, Montano shifts from the modified Gothic type of his source to simple Roman type.<sup>9</sup> He makes a further, pernicious change. The words of the title page are surrounded by a decorative arch, but except for an occasional mean capital and a stray endpiece the book abandons illustration. Entirely absent is the intriguing comic-strip series of woodcuts, one for each of the 22 acts as well as title page, that except for Zaragoza, 1507 had accompanied every known printing of the *Tragicomedia* until now.

Several years after the appearance of Montano's *Celestina* appears another, this by the renowned Martín Nucio, who specialized in Spanish books and who appears to have had close personal ties with the Crombergers of Seville.<sup>10</sup> Indeed the source of Nucio's text is Cromberger's Seville edition of 1528. The contents of Nucio's version are less than those of Montano, the following items lacking: Proaza's last *octavo* stanza and Delicado's essay and colophon. These omissions are not Nucio's but rather correspond to the contents of the Cromberger editions. Nucio keeps one hallowed tradition--the text is set in modified Gothic type. But like

Montano he reduces the size, now down to the famous little Antwerp duodecimo, and also like Montano he fails to continue the tradition of *Celestina* "historiada." The only visual device in the book is Nucio's logo. Nucio apparently printed his *Celestina* in the early 1540s--the gothic title page bears no date. Perhaps soon after he set a new titlepage, now in Roman type, with the date 1545. The text, however, is still in Gothic type and seems to be in all ways identical to the undated version. It is possible that the later state corresponds to a new run from the old setting. The frequent absence of dates in 16th century Spanish imprints from Antwerp and the high incidence of apparently simultaneous issue of copies both dated and undated may well be due to the fact that many of those books were intended for the New World market. With shipment time both long and uncertain, an undated copy could not be old before its arrival.<sup>11</sup>

A generation later, in 1568, Martín Nucio's text is reprinted by his own son, Filippo, who has continued the family enterprise. The only readily discernable difference in format is that the type is now modified Roman. Pagination is almost identical and Filippo's duodecimo even has exactly the same number of signatures as did Martín's.

The 1595 edition at Louvain by one of Christopher Plantin's grandsons contains something new: a list of the *dramatis personae* inserted between the "Prologo" and the comprehensive "Argumento" for the entire *Celestina*. If the putative edition of 1585 by Plantin himself really existed, it may have contained the list as well. In all other respects this edition of 1595 appears to follow the Nucio-Antwerp text tradition, that is the Cromberger 1528 tradition. Like the Antwerp editions, this printing of 1595 contains no illustrations save the printer's logo on the title page and an occasional woodcut initial.

The two reprintings of 1599 by the same publisher offer a most curious case, seemingly first spotted by Gaspar Barthius in 1624. Peeters-Fontainas commented on the phenomenon in 1939,<sup>12</sup> Miss Penney in 1954, and Peeters again in 1965. Peeters describes the variant 0 as the original and type A as a reprint, perhaps fraudulent. Type 0 contains the spelling of *Celestino* (p. 20) with the 5 and the 9s of the title page of equal length as opposed to Type A which spells *Celestina* correctly in the corresponding place, with the 9s of the title page longer than the 5. There are numerous other variants which remain to be detailed. Like all of the other northern printings, the Louvain editions contain no illustrations *per se*.

Grouped geographically, the 53 extant *Celestina-Tragicomedia* editions of the 16th century in Spanish are as follows:

- Group I: *Spain* (37 editions): Seville (9); Alcalá, Zaragoza, Toledo, Valencia, Barcelona, and Salamanca (4 each); Medina del Campo (2); Madrid and Tarragona (1 each).
- Group II: *Italy* (7): Venice (5) and Rome (2).
- Group III: *Lowlands* (7): Antwerp (4) and Louvain (3).
- Group IV: *Portugal*, Lisbon (1).

The Lowlands printings account for over 13 percent of all the edi-

tions, the Antwerp production alone exceeded only by two other cities: Seville (9) and Venice (5). An even sharper focus is achieved if we begin chronologically with the first Antwerp printing in 1539, after which 31 more editions appear in the century. In this period, the Lowlands account for almost 22 percent of all *Celestina* production with no city anywhere exceeding Antwerp in production and only three Spanish cities equalling it: Seville, Alcalá, and Salamanca.

The earliest extant edition of *Celestina* (Burgos, 1499) was printed on a quarto-size page with full woodcuts for each *auto*. The earliest versions of the *Tragicomedia* in Spain continue to observe the quarto tradition for the first third of the century. The Zaragoza, 1507 edition bears no woodcuts for the *autos* at all. All of the other editions bear debased illustrations which consist of movable figures. The Venice edition of 1523 uses attractive miniature versions of the movable pieces but, apparently for the first time, cuts the page size to octavo. In the 1530s Medina del Campo follows suit in octavo with small movable figures to illustrate each *auto*. During this time Venice also produces two more editions in the same format using the figures from 1523. In 1539 Antwerp introduces the first octavo edition devoid of chapter illustrations. The format of *Celestina* editions will decline rapidly. For the rest of the century, Spain itself will only produce 2 more quarto editions in a total of 22. Only 7 will be illustrated. In the mid 1540s Antwerp introduces yet another innovation, the even smaller duodecimo page, used for two editions of *Celestina*. By 1560 the octavo page dominates the editions. In the next twenty-five years, the octavo is crowded out by the duodecimo, and illustration becomes the exception rather than the rule. In 1585 Barcelona issues a long outdated quarto edition, but without illustrations. A final blow to size is the little decimosexto edition at Salamanca in 1590 which, nonetheless, manages to be the last illustrated edition. The careful editions issued by Plantin at Louvain at the close of the century are upgraded to octavo format--but without illustrations.

The Lowlands editions of *Celestina* reflect and confirm the general trends in the publishing of Spanish books in the 16th century, especially in terms of the evolution of book format. The understanding of that evolution, in turn, provides new potential guides for the study of the text tradition of *Celestina* which have remained for the most part ignored. Careful attention to the inclusion or deletion of ancillary contents in balance with consideration of page size and deployment as well as analysis of the illustrations tends to identify with despatch the source of a given edition. This is the Antwerp lesson for the *Celestina*.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For ample descriptions and locations of the Lowlands printings see Jean Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas Méridionaux*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop, 1965).

<sup>2</sup> A model of bibliographical description is Clara L. Penney, *The Book Called 'Celestina' in the Library of The Hispanic Society of America* (New York, 1954). Since the publication of Miss Penney's book, the following editions of *Celestina* have been added to the Society's library: Sevilla, Cromberger, 1528 (A. M. Huntington copy) and [Leyden], Plantin, 1599 (Type O, J. Peeters-Fontainas copy).

<sup>3</sup> *Catalogue of the Renowned Collection of Spanish Books Printed in the Spanish Netherlands. Formed by the Late J. Peeters-Fontainas* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1978), no. 106.

<sup>4</sup> J. Homer Herriott, *Towards a Critical Edition of the Celestina* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1964). For general resúmenes of *Celestina* scholarship see Cándido Ayllón, "A Survey of *Celestina* Studies in the Twentieth Century," in *Celestina*, tr. Mack Hendricks Singleton (Madison, Wisconsin, 1958), 283-292; D. W. McPheeters, "The Present Status of *Celestina* Studies," *Symposium* 12 (1958), 196-205; and Homero Serís, "La Celestina," *Nuevo Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española*, I, 2 (New York, 1969), 279-303. See also: Joseph Snow, Jane Schneider, and Cecilia Lee, "Un cuarto de siglo de interés en 'La Celestina,' 1949-1975: Documento bibliográfico," *Hispania* (1976), 610-660.

<sup>5</sup> See "The Early Editions of the *Celestina*," in F. J. Norton, *Printing in Spain* (Cambridge, England, 1966), pp. 141-156. Early editions of *Celestina* are further described and located in Norton's subsequent *Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal 1501-1520* (Cambridge, 1978). See also the review of Norton's earlier book by Clara Louisa Penney in *Hispanic Review*, 37 (1969), 524-529.

<sup>6</sup> Consult Bruno Damiani, *Francisco Delicado* (New York, 1974), pp. 16-17.

<sup>7</sup> See commentary on this essay by Amado Alonso in *De la pronunciación medieval a la moderna en español* (Madrid, 1967), pp. 112-115.

<sup>8</sup> For Proaza's role in the *Celestina* see D. W. McPheeters, *El humanista español Alonso de Proaza* (Madrid, 1961).

<sup>9</sup> See the present author's "Spanish Printers and the Classics: 1482-1599," *Hispanic Review*, 47 (1979), 30-31.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> See Irving A. Leonard, *Books of the Brave* (New York, 1964).

<sup>12</sup> See his *Livres espagnols imprimés aux Pays-Bas* (Louvain, 1939), 103-105 bis.

CELESTINESCA

Lucrecia: "¿Quién es esta vieja que viene haldeando? (auto IV).



Figura de Celestina hecha a mano por Kathryn W. Wolfe. Fotos: J. T. Snow

Sempronio: "¿Qué espacio lleva la barbuda! (auto III)

