Re-reading woodcut illustration in Cárcel de amor 1493-1496

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Abstract

Woodcuts are one of the points where the material aspects of early printed books and their narrative contents meet. In this paper, I propose to reconsider how verbal and visual images interact in the illustrated editions of Cárcel de amor and Carcer d’amor produced in 1493 and 1496. As I will argue, the interplay of printed texts and printed images in these editions of the romance offered audiences an intermedial and substantially different experience from that of the unillustrated editions. Cárcel, moreover, as a book-object and a highly metafictive work in which the protagonists write and physically manipulate material texts, is a striking example of how textuality, visuality, and materiality can interact in early printed books.

Keywords: Cárcel de amor; Incunables; Material texts; Visual rhetoric; Woodcuts.

Hacia una nueva lectura de los grabados de Cárcel de amor 1493-1496

Resumen

Los grabados xilográficos crean un punto de encuentro entre lo narrativo y lo material en el libro impreso de la edad moderna. Este ensayo reexaminará la interacción de lo verbal y lo visual en las ediciones ilustradas de Cárcel de amor y Carcer d’amor producidas entre 1493 y 1496. Como se argumentará, las ediciones ilustradas de la novela ofrecen al público receptor una combinación de texto e imagen que crea lecturas intermediales, y por lo tanto, experiencias
Illustrated editions of Cárcel de amor began to circulate almost as soon as the romance appeared on the printed book market. Although there are no extant woodcuts in the editio princeps printed in Seville by the Cuatro Compañeros Alemanes in March 1492, it is possible that its title page, like those of successive editions, was decorated by a woodcut image of the eponymous cárcel (fig. 1). The Zaragoza edition, printed by Pablo Hurus in June 1493, contained a series of sixteen woodcuts, designed specifically for Cárcel. According to Antonio Gallego, the Hurus workshop was «el que mayor número de libros con grabados produjo» during the incunable period and, although the printer tended to use woodcuts imported from Germany, the use of new and original cuts became necessary with the more frequent printing of works originating in Spain. The images first used for the Zaragoza edition reappeared in the Catalan translation printed in Barcelona, by Rosenbach in September of 1493, and were copied for the third edition in Spanish, printed in Burgos by Fadrique de Basilea in October of 1496. Until Miguel Ángel Pallarés announced the discovery of 33 folios of the second edition of 1493 in the Archivo de Protocolos de Zaragoza, the woodcuts were thought to have been produced for the translation into Catalan. Many of the images from the series of sixteen cuts are familiar to modern readers of Cárcel due to their frequent reproduction in critical editions.

Long considered preeminent examples of incunable xylographic art, the sixteen woodcuts constitute the beginning of an extensive iconographic tradition that grew in conjunction with the international transmission of Cárcel from the last decade of the fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth.

2 Antonio Gallego, Historia del grabado en España, Madrid, Cátedra, 1979, p. 34.
3 Miguel Ángel Pallarés, La «Cárcel de amor» de Diego de San Pedro, impresa en Zaragoza el 3 de junio de 1493: «membra disjecta» de una edición desconocida, Zaragoza, Centro de Documentación Bibliográfica Aragonesa, 1994. Pallarés identifies the woodcut artist as Tomás Ubert, pp. ix-x.
This iconographic tradition includes two other series of woodcuts also made specifically for Cárcel: the second series first appeared in the 1523 Zaragoza Coci edition, and was to be reused in a Spanish-language edition later produced in Venice, and the third set appears in the Zaragoza 1551 edition printed by Esteban de Nágera. The iconographic tradition inspired by Cárcel also extends beyond the limits of print to the illuminated manuscripts of the French translation, La Prison d’Amour, and also, most spectacularly, to a tapestry chamber produced for the French court in the 1520s.5

Woodcuts, often considered the «poor relations of manuscript miniatures in the study of book illustration», as Martha Driver wryly observes,6 are also frequently treated as «extra-literary matter»,7 of greater interest to bibliographic than to literary studies. Yet, even though woodcuts may be designed long after the composition of a given text, once included in the same material habitat as a literary work, they become integral to the audience’s experience and reception of the narrative illustrated. As Clive Griffin states in his study of illustrations in Celestina, literary scholars «ignore the book as an object at our peril», because physical elements of layout, type, and decoration have a great deal to tell us about the reception of literary works in their early printed forms.8 Griffin’s call to incorporate the material book into literary analyses coincides with the decidedly material turn in medieval and early modern studies, which has been marked by a return to the book as object. Further, as Roger Chartier reminds us, «readers, in fact, never confront abstract, idealized texts detached from any materiality. They hold in their hands or perceive objects and forms whose structures and modalities govern their reading or hearing, and consequently the possible comprehension of the text read or heard».9

Yet it would also be at our peril were we to allow our attention to the physical book to eclipse our attention to narrative. Woodcuts, and especially those designed to illustrate a particular work, are places where the material and narrative aspects of a book meet; they are reminders of the peculiar ability of books to be both objects in the world and, once activated by acts of reception,

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imaginative entities. Moreover, woodcuts serve important functions in printed books. They «divide and organise text, to make meaning more accessible», and also can serve as «protocol[s] for reading» and points of «entry into written matters».

Studies on the woodcuts that appear in the 1493 and 1496 editions of Cárcel to date have focused upon relationships between the visual content of the images and the narrative content of the text, but have generally treated the woodcuts as separate from the romance’s texts, an approach that is demonstrated by the reproductions of the woodcuts detached from their material contexts. In this brief essay, I wish to turn to the material relationship between texts and images in these early editions of Cárcel, in order, on the one hand, to imagine how late-fifteenth and early sixteenth-century audiences might have seen the romance, and, on the other, to explore how the romance and the books in which it was printed engage with material textuality. I am not so much concerned with how the woodcuts interpret or translate the text, but rather, with how their relation to the text is created by and in the physical book.

Cárcel is a work that is at once intensely visual and metafictive, a work in which the protagonists not only see allegorical visions, but also write, read, handle, and even ingest, material texts; it exemplifies how textuality and materiality can weave together in an early modern romance. This interweaving becomes all the more present and potent in the illustrated printed editions of the romance, which offer audiences a combination of text and image that encourages intermedial readings, that is to say, readings that blend visual and linguistic media.

In a comparative study of illuminations and woodcuts in the many manuscripts and early printed editions of the Pèlerinage de la vie humaine, Michael Camille suggests that «the print medium creates less of a rift between image and text than occurs in manuscript illumination . . . because the image has the..."
same black and white structure of the words. Consequently, Camille concludes that «from the viewpoint of reception, the woodcut image would have less ‘interference’» from visual elements external to the reading process than painted miniatures, which «carry the gaze outside the text».

While Camille’s indication that there is a kind of receptive interference between texts and images in manuscripts can be questioned, what is important for the study of woodcuts in Cárcel is his observation of the material uniformity between printed texts and printed images. During the early handpress period, xylographic images were often fixed together in forms with type in order to be impressed at the same time and with the same ink as the text. This shared production of text and image created close material ties and consequently facilitated their reception as collaborating, mutually integral elements in early printed books.

In her study of visual rhetoric, Susan Hagan discusses how the brain perceives images and reads type in both similar and different ways, positing that different graphic designs and page layouts create a range of loose and tight forms of interplay and perceptual ties between texts and images. Typographic interplay, defined as the relationship of typographic shape to textual syntax and meaning, creates a tight perceptual tie, according to Hagan, by virtue of shared ink and special alignment on the page, which «tie visual and verbal elements together», and also may «link specific visual information to specific words». Loose interplay and collaboration are produced by «overall thematic relationships between image and text». Interplay in sequence, on the other hand, is a «directed invitation to look and then read in a particular order». Each of these types can potentially produce cross-modal meaning, which Hagan defines as «shared understanding gained by an audience that must both look and read».

While Hagan is primarily concerned with contemporary cognitive theory, her observations are useful for thinking about the relationships between texts and images in early printed books and about how the woodcuts in the first illustrated editions of Cárcel function within the material habitat of the narrative. Drawing upon Hagan’s research, I will discuss the forms of what I call xylographic interplay, the spatial and syntactic relationships of printed images to printed texts, an important characteristic of many early printed books. I will focus here on the first series of sixteen woodcuts made to illustrate the romance, using the images from the 1496 Burgos edition printed by Fadrique

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de Basilea. As Deyermond explains, the distribution of the woodcut images throughout the text in this edition is somewhat different from the 1493 editions, in part because the 1496 edition contains the continuation of the romance by Nicolás Núñez. Nevertheless, these images and their placement upon the page give a good example of the various forms of xylographic interplay at work in the early editions of Cárcel and, I hope, can also suggest ways of analyzing the interaction of texts and images in other early printed materials.

It is not surprising that Cárcel, a generically and narratorially hybrid work that blends first-person narrative, letters, speeches, and debate, inspired a series of images that are at once visually and aesthetically coherent, yet also heterogeneous. Deyermond divides the woodcuts into three categories: those that «could only have been produced to illustrate Cárcel»; episode-specific designs that correspond to single points in Cárcel’s plot, but that depict motifs and actions that «are frequent in other literary works»; and generic scenes that could accompany any other text but which also depict actions that are repeated in Cárcel. This last group, which contains images of two men talking, a man writing, a woman writing, a man kneeling before a woman as he hands her a letter, and a king sitting in judgment, contains images that are repeated in multiple sections of the editions. I divide the woodcuts into somewhat different categories in order to highlight the different kinds of xylographic interplay that they establish with the texts they accompany. Two of the woodcuts are allegorical and ekphrastic: those depicting the eponymous cárcel and Deseo leading his captive, Leriano (figs. 1 and 2). Ten of the woodcuts depict characters engaging in rhetorical activities: writing, debating, mourning, appealing, and judging. Among the rhetorical woodcuts, four are materially metafictive because they show Leriano and Laureola in the act of producing and destroying the very texts that are reproduced typographically alongside the printed images. (figs. 4, 5, 6, and 7) Lastly, I call genre-woodcuts those images depicting chivalric and martial scenes, such as the duel, the battle, and the siege (fig. 3). Each type of woodcut, by virtue of its mise en page and narrative content, inhabits the material book in a particular dynamic of xylographic interplay, and thus presents different relationships between printed words and images.

The first of the two allegorical woodcuts, the image of the cárcel and the Auctor mounting the stairs to enter, appears twice in the editions printed in Barcelona, 1493, and Burgos, 1496, first as the title page, and then on the page facing the Auctor’s ekphrasis of the allegorical edifice. The second, which illustrates the Auctor’s strange vision of Desire carrying the imagen femenil and leading his captive, Leriano, to the prison of love, appears just once in all of

17 For a complete listing of the woodcuts and their disposition in the first three peninsular editions of Cárcel de amor, see Deyermond, “The Woodcuts of Diego de San Pedro’s Cárcel de amor, 1492-1496”, pp. 525-6.
Re-reading woodcut illustration in ‘Cárcel de amor’ 1493-1496

The xylographic ties between these two allegorical cuts and the texts that they accompany are at once conceptually tight and spatially loose. These two woodcuts exist within a relationship of relay and feedback with the text: each visual element in the woodcut images is linked directly to particular words in the text. For example, the cárcel in the woodcut depicts the «quatro pilares» upon which rests «una torre de tres esquinas», atop each corner «en lo alto della, una imagen de nuestra umana hechura». The same sorts of direct ties exist between the second cut and the text it illustrates. The cut depicts woods, the figure of the Auctor shrinking away from Deseo, a figure «feroz de presencia [...] cubierto todo de cabello a manera de salvaje».

Although the title page may not reproduce the ekphrasis of the cárcel in all its verbal detail, and, as Sharrer and others have noted, the second woodcut adds to and interprets the textual description, what I wish to stress here is the very direct relationship drawn in the physical book between the words on the page and the printed image. The allegories that illustrate—verbally and in woodcut pictures—the first episodes of the romance demonstrate that the Auctor has access to Leriano’s interior emotional states and, through the Auctor’s vivid descriptions, which are materialized in the woodcuts, the audience also has Leriano’s psychological landscape placed before their eyes, rhetorically, through verbal description, and literally, in the printed image.

Nevertheless, the tight conceptual relationship is paired with a looser material tie in the physical book. In addition to being the only two allegorical scenes depicted in the series of woodcuts, they are also the only cuts that occupy full pages, without sharing their mise en page with blocks of printed text. Although the spatial interplay is loose, the woodcut image that serves as title page also offers the first text in the book: «Cárcel de amor» reproduced xylographically in a phylactery. Thus, not only are words and images interwoven through interpretive processes, they are also literally and visually linked together upon the material page. The words integrated into the picture serve as anchors in Roland Barthes’ sense: they focus the readerly gaze and set parameters of perception. Moreover, by integrating text into the picture, the

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20 Cárcel de amor, p. 4.

sequential perception of reading printed words is mapped onto the more freely moving spatial focusing of the eye, as it roams over the picture in which discrete pieces of information are all available simultaneously, and sequencing—the focusing and refocusing necessary for looking at an image—depends upon the viewer’s habits and horizon of iconographic expectations. As Hagan notes, «the physical inability to see all at once is one way that meaning emerges differently from visual versus textual information».22

The title pages are visual and verbal paratexts that prepare the way for reading, leading audiences to expect Cárcel to be an allegorical narrative. Moreover, the title page and the repeated image of the cárcel that accompanies the verbal description of what the Auctor sees, provide visual guides for conjuring up images in the mind’s eye upon reading or hearing the description. The historical audience would have been quite accustomed to pairing mental images with verbal descriptions, a key element of the arts of memory. As Sol Miguel Prendes has argued, San Pedro’s readers would have been trained to read contemplatively, and to travel through the text as if upon a meditative journey and perhaps traveling through sacred space.23 The allegorical woodcuts concretize this kind of readerly experience and expectation.

In contrast to the two allegorical woodcuts, all of the others share the space of the pages they decorate with printed text and are formatted to fit within the text block. This mise en page produces tight perceptual ties. All the woodcuts make physical breaks in the text—they encourage, and perhaps even require, the audience to stop and look—to switch from the visual sequential process of reading and turn to the visual process of looking, or in the case of shared readings aloud, to turn from listening and imagining to seeing. Yet, at the same time, typographic and xylographic interplay on pages such as those seen in figures three through seven, linking printed type to printed woodcuts, make verbal and visual media co-extensive.

Whereas the ties between the allegorical cuts and the text link distinct details from the woodcut images to specific words and phrases in the narrative, the other woodcuts are more closely linked to the actions of the characters and provide a visual background for those actions that has no verbal counterpart in the narrative, which does not describe, for example, the architectural details of the rooms where Leriano and the Auctor meet, the prison in which Laureola is held, or the arms of Leriano’s men. Illustrations that add such visual contexts, as Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua observes in his study of the woodcuts illustrating Leriano’s deathbed, are not direct translations of the romance, but rather, reflect iconographic horizons of expectation and constitute contemporary readings of the narrative, making it

23 SOL MIGUEL PRENDES, «Imagining Diego de San Pedro’s Readers at Work: Cárcel de amor, La corónica, 32, 2 (2004), pp. 7-44.
possible to theorize about how the romance might have been interpreted in its day. I would argue that the closest ties between text and image are forged in the metafictive rhetorical woodcuts made for Cárcel that depict texts being written, read, delivered, and destroyed (figs 4, 5, 6 and 7). The woodcut of a man seated and writing at a desk furnished with scribal tools appears five times in the Barcelona and Burgos editions, and three times in the extant portions of the Zaragoza edition. The cut appears either between the rubric «Carta de Leriano a Laureola», and the text of a letter, or embedded within the text of one of the letters, and at one point, in the Barcelona edition, embedded in the text when the Auctor first speaks to Laureola about the possibility of her accepting a letter from Leriano. The chamber illustrated in the woodcut appears to be one in which reading also takes place; a book is placed on a stand, conveniently situated beneath a window for light. The image alludes to Leriano’s skills as lettered gentleman, balanced in the text and woodcuts with his skill at arms, and also casts his writing activities in a humanistic light.

The woodcut depicting a woman seated on a cushion beneath a canopy, writing with scribal tools to hand appears three times, printed within or next to Laureola’s letters to Leriano and to her father the king. The conjunction of the text of the letters with the images of writers at work leaves no doubt that the audience is supposed to see in the woodcuts a visualization of the production of the very text printed above and below the illustration. Leriano and Laureola, it is to be supposed, are depicted in the act of writing the very text the audience hears, reads, and perhaps holds in their hands, just as the characters hold the letters they read, write, and hand to one another. The visual and referential ties between the cuts and the text are consequently very tight. Indeed, they create a feeling of metafictional mise en abyme and further the sensation that the romance’s readers, like the Auctor, have privileged access to the private thoughts and words of the protagonists, and even to their writerly processes of translating their interior states into words on the page.

Although made specifically for Cárcel, the two woodcuts are quite stereotypical author portraits based upon familiar images in both manuscript


25 The image of the humanistic author at work was an established convention in the incunable and post incunable eras. Fernando Checa Cremades, «La imagen impresa en el Renacimiento y el Manierismo», in Juan Carrete, Fernando Checa Cremades, and Valeriano Bozal, (eds.), Summa Artis: Historia general del arte. XXXI, Madrid, EspasaCalpe, 1987, p. 178. See also Driver, The Image in Print, 158.

and print cultures, and may have been designed with their potential for re-use and recontextualization in mind. Indeed, Deyermond signals the generic nature of these scribal portraits, but it is clear that the editors and printers of Cárcel intended the figures to represent Leriano and Laureola, who are, in fact, the inscribed authors of the epistolary sections of the romance. The placement of these images creates a direct tie between the «carta» in the rubric and the carta pictured in the image, as in figure 4. Repeated depictions of Leriano and Laureola writing are also common to all of the illustrated editions of Cárcel.

The other two sets of woodcuts made specifically for the romance also include similar scenes of letters being delivered and destroyed.

As I have noted elsewhere, it is curious that, given the conventions of author portraits in manuscripts and early printed books of the period, Cárcel’s images of writers at work are not meant to be representations of the historical author, San Pedro, or of the narrator and primary implied author figure, the Auctor. Consequently, these two woodcuts, which look like traditional scribal-author portraits, at once function as images of the creation of the romance and also complicate the status of authorship in a work where the author function is already multiplied by the presence of the Auctor as a character.27

Four of the sixteen woodcuts present us with a printed image of a handwritten document (figs. 4-7). Of these four, three are used repeatedly throughout the printed books. In addition to the effect of metafictional mise en abyme created by the woodcut’s material representation of the narrative that we are reading, or had been reading until we paused to look at the illustration, the woodcuts effectively place manuscript and print in complementary roles. Manuscript culture inhabits the printed image and print becomes a way to preserve a handwritten letter, even if—somewhat ironically—the manuscript is destroyed in the final printed image and last chapter of San Pedro’s text. In the play of public and private epistles set up by the romance, Laureola’s letters, read by Leriano, the Auctor, and by the romance’s audience are now forever unreadable. Neatly concretizing this rhetorical ploy, the manuscript texts that are depicted by the printed images are legible only in the fictional world of the woodcuts themselves. Indeed, the woodcuts imitate textuality through the use of their own media-specific means in order to produce an image of text and textuality, but an image that renders manuscript textuality illegible. The woodcuts thus remediate the text by re-presenting the manuscript text in the xylographic medium, and consequently calling attention to the interplay but lack of congruity between the readable typeface and the illegible handwritten text.28

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27 «‘Puse un sobreescripto’», p.34.
28 I take the concept of remediation, «the formal logic by which new media refashion prior media forms» from Jay David BOLTER and Richard GRUSIN, Remediation: Understanding New Media, Cambridge, USA, MIT Press, 1999, p. 273.
The interplay between text and image is tightly bound in these moments in the printed book, but it is bound in such a way as to highlight the mediated nature of reading—and swallowing—the letters produced in the romance, resulting in a book that is hypermediated. That is to say, the printed book, illustrated by printed images, continually reminds readers of the presence of media and mediation, of print, image, and manuscript. Would late fifteenth and sixteenth-century printers, artists, and readers have borne these issues of mediation in mind? The repetition of images of manuscripts and books in the illustrated versions of Cárcel certainly suggests that some awareness of the metafictive nature of this narratorially hybrid romance guided the choice, composition, and placement of the woodcuts.

The sixteen woodcuts designed to illustrate the first editions of Cárcel reflect the narrative’s own hybridity. Each woodcut type inhabits different kinds of perceptual ties to the text, but all share the material ties of the handpress process. The material similarities between printed images and printed texts also provide visual coherence and continuity that unify the varied registers of the narrative. In the case of Cárcel, a work that is obsessed by material texts, woodcuts cannot be considered mere supplements to the text, decorations, or extra-literary matter. In sum, by commissioning and printing the woodcuts, the editors and printers of Cárcel adapted San Pedro’s text and created intermedial books in which the interplay of printed text and printed images offered audiences a substantially different experience of the romance from that of the unillustrated editions.

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29 Hypermediacy is «A style of visual representation whose goal is to remind the viewer of the medium». BOLTER and GRUSIN, Remediation, p. 272.
Figures

Fig. 1: Title page. *Cárcel de amor*, 1496, a1r. © The British Library board (Shelfmark IA 53247)
Fig. 2: The *Auctor* encounters *Deseo* and *Leriano*. *Cárcel de amor*, Burgos, 1496, a2v. © The British Library board (Shelfmark IA 53247)

Fig. 3: The duel. *Cárcel de amor*, Burgos, 1496, c7r. © The British Library board (Shelfmark IA 53247)

Fig. 4: *Leriano* writes a letter. Image printed three times in the extant portions of *Cárcel de amor*, Zaragoza 1493 and seven times in the Barcelona and Burgos editions. *Cárcel de amor*, Burgos, 1496, b4v. © The British Library board (Shelfmark IA 53247)

Fig. 5: *Laureola* writes a letter. Image printed once in the extant portions of *Cárcel*, Zaragoza 1493 and three times in the Barcelona and Burgos editions. *Cárcel de amor*, Burgos, 1496, d5v. © The British Library board (Shelfmark IA 53247)
Fig. 6: The Auctor delivers a letter to Laureola. Image printed once in the extant portions of Cárcel, Zaragoza 1493, twice in the Barcelona edition and five times in the Burgos edition. Cárcel de amor, Burgos, 1496, b1v. © The British Library board (Shelfmark IA 53247)

Fig. 7: Leriano prepares to ingest letter. Cárcel de amor, Burgos, 1496, g7v. © The British Library board (Shelfmark IA 53247)