

CELESTINECA



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CELESTINECA

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J. T. Snow

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NOTA DEL EDITOR

~ "por entre las puertas"

Like Celestina, I am always alert to see where I may next cast my net in the constant search for new material. For I am convinced that around every corner there is always some new article, notice, or review that needs a home. Think how true this must be when placed on a scale to include all the owrld! We do, I think, a respectable job, but it is not ever all we ought to do. Help is always needed and I would like to encourage our subscribers freely to contribute news items and notes as they occur in our increasingly diverse geographical bases. Many are the letters and notes I receive, and read with sinking heart, which begin: "I read a notice the other day in (any obscure source your mind will conjure up) about so-and-so's new (adaptation, translation, take-off, et caetera) of LC, but I figured you already knew all about it" Please, DO NOT make such assumptions. Even duplication of information is very welcome here at headquarters and I do try to acknowledge, both in the PREGONERO and in the SUPLEMENTOS BIBLIOGRAFICOS, all such generous sources of information.

With this issue, our boletin completes its third year of life. The issue was a little late getting to the printer (it did go to press in November, though) and we can only promise to try harder in future. Still, the net that was cast came up with some interesting catches. An announcement in RENAISSANCE QUARTERLY led to the bibliographical note by Albert GERITZ which appears in this number and is devoted to the first English "version" of LC. Meeting Erica MORGAN in Alan DEYERMOND's London office led to a correspondence which netted her article on rhetoric. J. R. STAMM's article takes up again the "plebérico coraçon" question recently debated in the pages of HISPANIC REVIEW by F. RUIZ RAMON and Keith WHIN-NOM. The latter of these two critics has kindly contributed a review to this issue. Patricia S. Finch, an American graduate student, takes up the Comedia Policiãna, one of many of the progeny of LC. There are two further reviews, both discussing the same work. Reed ANDERSON contributes his eye-witness account of the staging of Jerome ROSEN (music) and Edwin HONIG's (libretto) opera, Calisto and Melibea, which premièred this year in Davis, California. And yours truly summarizes the text of the libretto with LC in mind. The PREGONERO is twice the size of the previous one and that is progress. I have appended, for no other good reason than to acknowledge those who have supported us monetarily, a 1979 subscriber list.

My final note is by way of an apology. An insert in this issue explains the new rates for CELESTINESCA. We are definitely not out to make any profits, but we must be prepared to pay our bills. The covers, mailing lists and labels, envelopes, and the printing and mailing bills are all higher than before. I think that a mere three (3)\$US [or an

equivalent in other currencies] is reasonable and represents good value. Please remember that the year of expiration of your current subscription is included on your address label (lower right). Those who took advantage of the opportunity to subscribe in advance at guaranteed rates need do nothing until the current period expires. We will still accept new subscriptions for up to three years at the current rate. This means that for subscribers whose term is up in 1979 (with this number of vol. 3), a three-year renewal [at \$9.00 US or its equivalent] will bring vols. 4-5-6 to you and insures against any price rises during the period. We can do this since the cash flow permits us to buy many of our paper supplies at current prices and in bulk, and store them for future use (paper being almost 90% of the expenses incurred). So do PLEASE consider renewing for more than one year. You save check charges and we save labor and time.

I do hope you will find this issue as interesting as many of you have told me you found others preceding it. Keep writing with your words of encouragement and constructive criticism and, when appropriate, with news and notices for sharing with other readers of the boletín.

Quedaos adios . . .

Joseph Snow



Alta



EL PLEBERICO CORAÇON: MELIBEA'S HEART?

James R. Stamm
New York University

We now have a "suitable"--in the sense that it fits with a known classical *exemplum*--if not "correct"--in the sense that it corresponds to what the Antiguo Auctor or Rojas actually wrote--reading of Calisto's troublesome outburst, "¡O piedad de Seleuco, inspira en el plebérico coraçón, porque sin esperanza de salud no embie el espíritu perdido con el desastrado Píramo y de la desdichada Tisbe!"¹ A suitable reading, however, does not help to clarify the most perplexing part of the phrase: "inspira en el plebérico coraçón."² This segment of the obviously garbled passage was never seriously placed in textual doubt, from the 1499 Burgos edition on through the various metamorphoses of *La Celestina*. But what does it mean? Ruiz Ramón states that "cualquiera que haya sido la actitud de la crítica ante estas dos palabras ["plebérico coraçón"], siempre se ha solido dar por sentado, sin plantearse graves problemas de interpretación, que Calisto se refiere en ellas, según los más, al corazón de Melibea, hija de Pleberio."³

I think, rather, that the phrase does indeed raise grave problems. There is no rhetorical device that I know of which, without further elaboration on the substitution, would allow us to understand the heart of Melibea by a reference to the heart of Pleberio, particularly when the latter is supported by an example of fatherly compassion. Even given the likelihood that (1) Rojas could not, with or without the help of his literary *cenáculo*, decipher the passage; (2) was not familiar with the *exemplum* from either of the two likely sources;⁴ and (3) had to invent or improvise an adjective to go with "coraçón," if that much was legible--why such a strange linguistic and stylistic procedure? Much less troublesome for his future readers and critics if Rojas had provided us with something simple and obvious, such as "colérico coraçón," which would have fit the tone of his meeting with Melibea very nicely, although as Whinnom surmises, "We do not need to suppose that the word before 'coraçón' bore even a superficial resemblance to 'Plebérico' ..."⁵ If, that is, Rojas filled in illegible or dubious passages of the *Auto* according to an *a priori* plot structure of his own making. But again, why "plebérico" if the author means something like "Melibeico," and forced neologism or *culteranismo* is the desired effect?

It appears to me that we are wandering away from and avoiding a legitimate and inescapable textual problem if we read for "plebérico corazón" anything other than "el corazón de Pleberio." Calisto, at this point in the development of the plot, wants something to happen, something similar to the "change of heart" of Seleuco. It is true that "Pleberio is Rojas' creation,"⁶ as we know him in *La Celestina*, but it is not necessarily true that Pleberio did not exist in the plans of the Antiguo Auctor. Apart from the "Argumento de toda obra," which may or may not be the work of Rojas, we know absolutely nothing of Melibea's family situation in the *Auto*. There is nothing in the text to rule out the possibility, as Marciales observes, that Pleberio may have been initially conceived as Melibea's husband!⁷

I suggest that "plebérico corazón" was legible in the ms. of the *Auto*, that the Antiguo Auctor had some specific scheme in mind for his own subsequent development of the reference, that Rojas was perhaps as puzzled by the adjective as at least some of his readers are today, but that in consonance with his training in the law and his respect for a unique literary document, he transcribed as faithfully as possible every line between "En esto veo, Melibea, la grandeza de Dios" and the opening speech of Act II. It is farfetched to maintain that Rojas would devise so murky and inept an adjective, referring to Pleberio and meaning Melibea, simply to inject, for the first and only time in the *Auto*, a reference to a figure still without circumstances or dimensions; a figure he planned to create as a part of his continuation. Rojas, as Gilman saw, was firmly guided in all of his revisions and interpolations by "the quest for clarity."⁸ How can we maintain in view of the large number of examples of this quest and its achievement in the modifications of the *Comedia*, that so fastidious an author would choose to improvise confusion in this case? It seems evident that "plebérico corazón" is a "correct" reading in the sense used above and that the two words, by the very fact that they are enigmatic, provide further and important evidence in the mosaic of proof for the thesis of dual authorship of the *Comedia*, although not at all for the reasons that seem convincing to Whinnom.

As a purely linguistic formula, however, "plebérico corazón" is not alien to Rojas' style. The device of pre-positioning an adjective formed from a proper noun is used twice in the *Comedia*.⁹ In the *conjuro* (Act III, p. 73), Celestina calls upon Pluto, "señor de los sulfúreos fuegos que los hervientes *etnicos montes* manan..." (italics mine). Act VI contains a reference to the *Eneid*, in which Calisto says, "No trabajara tanto Venus para traer a su fijo el amor de Elisa, haziendo tomar a Cupido *ascánica forma* para le engañar" (p. 106, my italics).¹⁰ The fact that the stylistic possibility of this usage exists for Rojas and is documented in the *Comedia* does not authorize the conclusion that Rojas manipulated or altered the received text to fit his own envisioned continuation, any more than his later development of the figure of Pleberio should lead us to believe that he was the author of the *Auto* (Ruiz Ramón's thesis) or that he reconstructed a defective passage in such a weak and unclear fashion (Whinnom's reply).



NOTES

¹ Quotations from *La Celestina* are taken from the edition of Humberto López Morales (Madrid: Cupsa Editorial, 1976) LCDB s28. This reference is to pp. 21-22. His notes 7 and 8 to this passage are particularly concise and clear in the treatment of textual problems at this point.

² A number of interesting points concerning the implications of these few lines of text are discussed in the minor polemic sustained by Francisco Ruiz Ramón, "Nota sobre la autoría del Acto I de *LC*," *HR* 42 (1974), 431-35 (LCDB 412), and Keith Whinnom, "'El Plebérico corazón' and the authorship of Act I of *Celestina*," *HR* 45 (1977), 195-99 (LCDB s59).

³ Ruiz Ramón, 433.

⁴ Valerius Maximus or Leonardo Bruni; López Morales' notes 7 and 8, pp. 21-22, give details on these sources. They are also referred to by Gilman, LCDB 53, p. 333, note 136, and Berndt, LCDB 39; p. 29, note 27.

⁵ Whinnom, 198.

⁶ Whinnom, 196. See also LCDB s257.

⁷ Miguel Marciales, *Carta al Profesor Stephen Gilman*, LCDB S6, p. VI: "Sobre aquel *Esbozo* [the *Auto*] de Cota, sin cambiar un ápice del texto, cabe hacer a Melibea casada con Pleberio y construir una *Fiameta* o una *Historia de los dos amantes*." Marciales uses this rather alarming notion to point out how little we know of relationships in the *Auto* which are developed fully in the *Comedia*; how great was the extent of Rojas' creation of character and situation; and how persistent is the tendency among critics to interpret *La Celestina* by reading the work backwards, from Act XXI (or XVI) to the *Auto*. His point is well taken. Ruiz Ramón's article presents a striking example of *lectura en marcha atrás* on page 433, where he says, "cada crítico al leer la obra *y llegar a ese pasaje* sabía que existía un personaje, padre de Melibea, que se llamaba Pleberio, porque así constaba en el 'Argumento de toda la obra,' en la lista de *dramatis personae*, y porque, en efecto, *con tal nombre se le llamaba en el Acto III y con tal nombre aparecía en el Acto XV de la Comedia*." My italics.

⁸ This phrase is the title of Section 3, Chapter 2 of Stephen Gilman's *The Art of La Celestina*, LCDB 52.1

⁹ I exclude from my count the relatively common "probática piscina," Act I, 51, and "tusca Adeleta," Act VI, 105, where "tusca" is merely a Latinized variant on "toscana" and should not be capitalized as it is in the Severin edition. The pre-positioning of unusual adjectives is frequent: e.g. "ebúrneo peine," Act VI, 113, possibly derived from Mena, and "serpentino azeyte," Act V, 95. While the effect is striking, the usage does not require special comment in this context.

¹⁰ Virgil, *Eneid*, I, vv, 661-64. The Latin text does not form an adjective of the name: "pro dulci Ascanio ..."



Argument der Diebhebenden Wirkung.

Als erwache was Calixtus rede er mit im selbst dar,
 nach Tristanico ruffend / doch sich wider hû rû leget/
 Tristanico stolt sich vnder die hausthür der kummen
 sach Sosia wannêd / begeret hû wissen die vsach seines
 vnmütz / Sosia erböte im den code Sempronij vñ Par-
 meni / gond / nach dem band solich geschichte Calixsto hû
 verkünden / der ain vast grosse kalg darüb erzaget.



Argumento e ilustración del auto XIII de LC. De la traducción alemana de C. Wirsung (1520). El prendimiento de Sempronio y Pármeno en la plaza.



RHETORICAL TECHNIQUE IN THE PERSUASION OF MELIBEA

Erica Morgan
Worcester, England

In his prologue to the second version of *La Celestina* Fernando de Rojas indicates that it is through rhetoric that he hopes to achieve his objectives in the creation of the work¹:

y como sea cierto que toda palabra del hombre sciente
esta preñada, de ésta se puede decir que de muy hinchada
y llena quiere reventar, echando de sí tan crecidos
ramos y hojas, que del menor pimpollo se sacaría harto
fruto entre personas discretas.²

This recognition of the power of rhetoric leads to its extensive use within the fiction itself.³ We see Rojas' characters persuading themselves and one another, almost always with great success, by eloquent manipulation of the devices of rhetoric.⁴

Without a doubt, the character who indulges most in the use of rhetoric is the old procuress, Celestina. Her speeches reveal Rojas' thorough grounding in the art of persuasion and also serve to question the adherence of classical rhetoricians to Cato's definition of rhetoric ("vir bonus dicendi peritus") and the conviction that goodness is a prerequisite of the true orator, as Quintilian maintains in his *Institutio Oratoria*: "Neque enim esse oratorem nisi bonum virum indico; et fieri etiamsi potest nolo."⁵

One of the objectives of Rojas' abundant use of rhetoric in *LC*, then, may have been to challenge this classical idea of the exclusive use of rhetoric for honourable purposes and for illustration of the truth. The success which Rojas affords his characters in the employment of rhetoric to deceive and entice others into dishonourable actions derides this idea that rhetoric can only serve the truth. He thus offers a counter-definition of Quintilian's description of the true rhetor in the figure of Celestina. Celestina has a very high rate of success in her rhetorical manoeuvring and yet she could hardly be placed within the category of 'vir bonus'. Her intentions are far from virtuous and we shall see how she makes use of irrelevant truths when relevant truths do not serve her

purpose. Rojas is laughing at Quintilian's definition of the classical orator, as will Juan Luis Vives a few years later.⁶

One might question the wisdom of the use of a character like Celestina as the vehicle of such studied rhetorical technique. It is clear that Celestina herself has no academic background other than her incidental contact with priests and friars. Her rhetorical skills have been acquired by experience and cunning and bear witness to the fact that quick wits are just as important as technique. In fact Rojas seems to explore the role of rhetoric as an intrinsic and inevitable part of everyday life rather than as being confined to the cloisters of academic life.

It is perhaps in Celestina's persuasion of Melibea that we see the most prolonged use of rhetorical techniques. Celestina's motive for this persuasion is personal gain. Rojas makes us aware of her underhand intentions at the beginning of the work when she first learns of the possibility of a handsome reward from Calisto if she manages to obtain Melibea for him. Sempronio informs Celestina:

Así es. Calisto arde en amores de Melibea. De ti y de mí tiene necesidad. Pues juntos nos ha menester, juntos nos aprovechemos; que conocer el tiempo y usar el hombre de la oportunidad hace los hombres prósperos. (I, 58)

This is precisely what Celestina proceeds to do. Her uncanny sense of timing and the advantage she takes of opportunity, together with her innate rhetorical skills, allow her to win over Melibea. Rojas intends the reader to see these skills as intuitive rather than the result of academic preparation. Quintilian had already recognized the influence of innate ability when he pointed out in his *Institutio Oratoria* that technical rules are useless without natural gifts:

Illud tamen in primis testandum est, nihil praecepta atque artes valere nisi andiuvente natura.⁷

Through Celestina, Rojas shows the importance of quick wits since the rhetor must always be capable of dealing with unexpected developments or interruptions from his audience or the person to whom he addresses himself.

Traditionally the art of rhetoric is composed of five basic parts: *inventio* (invention), *dispositio* (arrangement), *elocutio* (style), memory and *pronunciatio* (delivery). Of these faculties it is the second which interests us here for, in spite of the lack of formal training on Celestina's part, we see that, in the persuasion of Melibea, Rojas endows her speech with the traditional structure of a rhetorical speech as set out in the *dispositio*, or faculty of arrangement.⁸ Rhetorical textbooks suggest that the first part of the speech, the *exordium*, or *proemium*, be devoted to gaining the goodwill of the audience. One should attempt to evoke the favour and attention of the audience in readiness for the persuasion which they are about to undergo. Celestina's *exordium* rests heavily on the use of pathos. This technique was defined by Aristotle who considered means

of persuasion to be divisible into two groups: that of artistic technique (ethos and pathos) and logical argument, and that of direct evidence.⁹ Pathos refers to the technique of evoking certain emotions in the audience. Celestina uses pathos in trying to gain Melibea's sympathy for her as an old woman:

Que, a la mi fe, la vejez no es sino mesón de enfermedades, posada de pensamientos, amiga de rencillas, congoja continua, llaga incurable, manchilla de lo pasado, pena de lo presente, cuidado triste de lo porvenir, vecina de la muerte, choza sin rama que se llueve por cada parte, cayado de mimbres que con poca carga se doblega. (IV, 90)

Melibea shows surprise at this misery and points out that most people look forward to old age:

¿Por qué dices, madre, tanto mal de lo que todo el mundo con tan eficacia gozar y ver desea? (IV, 90)

Bewailing the discomforts of old age, Celestina carefully ignores the fact that she might have been happier if she had had a different lifestyle in her youth. This type of false enthymeme, or incomplete syllogism, is to be seen often in the course of her arguments.¹⁰

As yet, Celestina has made no mention of the course of action which she is subsequently to persuade Melibea to follow. However, she is preparing the way. By complaining about old age and making it sound so unattractive, she insinuates that one should enjoy life while still young. This point will be helpful later when Celestina wishes the two lovers to come together. The reader is in a position to doubt this insinuation since he knows that it is partly because Celestina enjoyed life rather too much while she was young that she finds herself in such a sorry state now. We later see that Melibea does not consider this point, either through oversight or, and perhaps more likely, because she prefers to ignore any point which suggests that she should not follow her own desired course of action.

Celestina's *exordium* also contains extensive use of *ethos*, the affirmation and proof of the moral character of the speaker. She attempts to gain Melibea's confidence by professing interest only in heavenly riches, and demonstrates complete disregard for wealth:

Aquel es rico que está bien con Dios. Más segura cosa es ser menospreciado que temido. Mejor sueño duerme el pobre, que no el que tiene de guardar con solicitud lo que con trabajo ganó y con dolor ha de dejar. Mi amigo no será simulado y el rico sí. Yo soy querida por mi persona; el rico por su hacienda. (IV, 91)

The reader can perceive the hypocrisy in this, but Melibea is not in a position to judge.

Frequent invocation of God also help Celestina to project herself as a thoroughly moral person in the eyes of Melibea: e.g. 'Hasta que Dios quiera'. A mutually beneficial fiction, resting on religious common-places, is being created.

Speaking of how she has aged, Celestina uses the typical apologia to ingratiate herself with Melibea: 'Que así goce de esta alma pecadora y tú de ese cuerpo gracioso'. (IV, 94) This part of the speech is similar to the *conclusio*, or peroration; both are designed to move the mind and sway the emotions rather than being directed at the understanding. These techniques are continued throughout the other parts of the speech but are most concentrated in these two parts. By employing these techniques, Celestina succeeds in evoking Melibea's sympathy and is rewarded with the gift of a few coins.

Rojas' provision of Celestina with an excellent sense of timing allows her to realise that the moment is opportune to move on to the next stage of the *exordium* which comprises flattery: '¡Oh perla preciosa, y cómo te lo dices!' (IV, 93) She begins with an *exclamatio*, one of the innumerable figures of speech recommended for the ornamentation and embellishment of an argument. She also continues her use of *ethos* to make herself appear virtuous:

Esto tuve siempre, querer más trabajar sirviendo a
otros, que holgar contentando a mí. (IV, 93)

By her apparent selflessness she encourages Melibea to act likewise: "Ha venido esto, señora, por lo que decía de las ajenas necesidades y no mías" (IV, 94). Melibea is only too happy to offer her help, but Celestina continues the flattery until she is sure of her ground and Melibea yet again begs her to ask what she will: "Pide lo que querrás, sea para quien fuere" (IV, 94), and only then does Celestina feel ready to venture into the second part of her speech, the *narratio*. This section, being a statement of the facts, ought to be clear, concise and well-founded. It ought also follow the temporal order of events and be suitably adorned.¹¹ Celestina's *narratio* is an oratorical narration, as opposed to an historical or poetic one. Only part of the truth is used, those parts which go against the orator's case being omitted.

Celestina introduces her petition: "Yo dejo un enfermo a la muerte" (IV, 94). This is only a partial truth. Calisto is sick, or so he wants us to believe,¹² but his sickness is love. Celestina makes no mention to Melibea of the nature of his illness since this could jeopardise her plan. She proceeds with the utmost care, testing the ground with ambiguities, and always leaving herself an escape route. It is here that we see a repetition of the use of a double deceit, as in the case of Celestina's tricking Lucrecia to gain entry to Melibea's house. She tells Melibea that one word will heal her patient and encourages her with flattery:

Que no puedo creer que en balde pintase Dios unos
gestos más perfectos que otros, más dotados de
gracias, más hermosas facciones; sino para hacerlos

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almacén de virtudes, de misericordia, de compasión,
ministros de sus mercedes y dádivas, como a ti. (IV, 94)

The abundance of references to God is an attempt to appeal to Melibea's apparent piety, and seems to succeed. Celestina employs also a series of false analogies. She presents a series of universal truths, having already referred to the particular truth of Calisto's illness. With a rhetorical question she suggests a common course of action for the two:

El pellicano rompe el pecho por dar a sus hijos a
comer de sus entrañas. Las cigüeñas mantienen otro
tanto tiempo a sus padres viejos en el nido, cuanto
ellos les dieron cebo siendo pollitos. Pues tal
conocimiento dió la natura a los animales y aves,
¿por qué los hombres habemos de ser más crueles?
¿Por qué no daremos parte de nuestras gracias y
personas a los próximos, mayormente, cuando están
envueltos en secretas enfermedades y tales que,
donde está la melecina, salió la causa de la
enfermedad? (IV, 95)

This superb passage is riddled with ambiguity. The suggestion that one should give one's "gracias" and "personas" to others is an overt reference to the sexual relationship which Celestina wishes Melibea to indulge in with Calisto, and the "secretas enfermedades" to the nature of Calisto's illness, love-sickness (his "secreto dolor" of the first scene) which has its cause in Melibea. However, none of these things is said openly. Celestina is cleverly laying a false trail. Here rhetoric is serving a dual purpose --one side of the coin is false and the other is true. If, when Celestina finally mentions Calisto's name, Melibea refuses to have anything to do with the plan, she can interpret the "secretas enfermedades" as toothache and make her entire enterprise seem innocent and harmless. When Calisto's name is in fact mentioned, Melibea flies into a rage. But, Celestina knows from experience that it is useless to try to tackle Melibea in her anger. As Aristotle says: "Men grow mild when they have exhausted their anger upon another."¹³ So Celestina allows Melibea to vent her rage and, as Shipley points out, it does not lead to Melibea's banishing Celestina from her presence, but rather to a demand for an explanation of such audacity.¹⁴ This, then, suggests a desire on Melibea's part to find another, more decorous, even fictitious, level of communication. Later, when she is again calm, Celestina puts Melibea's outburst of rage to good use.

Melibea knows, after the garden scene of Act I, that Calisto is trying to woo her, and in her rage she assumes that he is trying to seduce her, thus giving Celestina the chance to embarrass her by revealing the trumped-up "real reason" for her visit. Truth and falsity are reversed:

Una oración, señora, que le dijeron que sabías de
Santa Apolonia para el dolor de las muelas. Asimismo
tu cordón, que es fama que ha tocado todas [las]

reliquias que hay en Roma y Jerusalén. Aquel caballero, que dije, pena y muere de ellas. Esta fue mi venida. (IV, 97)

Celestina pleads ignorance of any previous encounter between Calisto and Melibea. But she has achieved one important aim. She has elicited from Melibea the admission that she failed to denounce Calisto's advances in the garden to her parents. Celestina can deduce from this that Melibea is not so opposed to Calisto's advances as her rage suggested.

The next part of a rhetorical speech, the proposition, may be included or omitted according to its convenience for an argument at hand. This forms the statement of the actual concern of a speech. The actual concern of Celestina's speech is, of course, to arrange the liaison between Calisto and Melibea. Therefore the proposition, in this case, is not only unnecessary but, if included, would almost certainly prove detrimental to her cause at this stage. Thus the proposition does not appear in this speech.

There follows the *confirmatio*, the defense of the argument, and the *refutatio*, the dismissal of any opposing argument which might arise. These two parts are integrated in Celestina's speech.

She speaks of "mi limpio motivo" and proceeds to labour the virtue of compassion. The flattery which we have observed in the preceding parts of Celestina's speech continues undiminished:

Compasión de su dolor, confianza de tu magnificencia
ahogaron en mi boca al principio la expresión de la
causa. (IV, 97)

To make Melibea ashamed of her anger, and to encourage feelings of compassion which will lead her to surrender the girdle, Celestina uses biblical quotation and animal imagery:

No semejes la telaraña que no muestra su fuerza sino
contra los flacos animales. No paguen justos por
pecadores. Imita la divina justicia, que dijo: el
ánima que pecare, aquella misma muera; a la humana,
que jamás condena al padre por el delito del hijo
ni al hijo por el del padre. (IV, 98)

Before continuing, Celestina wishes to ensure that any anger on Melibea's part will not fall on her since she is merely (in the fiction) an intermediary helping a sick man. She finally convinces Melibea that she had only good intentions: 'Tanto afirmas tu ignorancia, que me haces creer lo que puede ser'. (IV, 98) And Melibea tries to explain her now embarrassing burst of rage:

No tengas en mucho ni te maravilles de mi pasado
sentimiento, porque concurrieron dos cosas en tu
habla, que cualquiera de ellas era bastante para

me sacar de seso: nombrarme ese tu caballero, que conmigo se atrevió a hablar, y también pedirme palabras sin más causa, que no se podía sospechar sino daño para mi honra. Pero pues todo viene de buena parte, de lo pasado haya perdón. (IV, 98-99)

This same escape route which Celestina uses becomes an excuse for Melibea who is beginning to allow her passions to overcome her initial indignation.¹⁵ She justifies sending her girdle to Calisto by its being an act of charity to a man suffering from toothache:

Que en alguna manera es aliviado mi corazón, viendo que es obra pía y santa sanar los apasionados y enfermos. (IV, 99)

Celestina realizes at this point that her case is nearly won, since it seems likely that Melibea will submit to Calisto after little further coaxing. She moves on to the *conclusio* to neatly tie up all the stray ends of her previous work, beginning with an *indignatio*:

¡Y tal enfermo, señora! Por Dios, si bien le conocieses, no le juzgases por el que has dicho y mostrado con tu ira. (IV, 99)

She leads into praise of Calisto using extrinsic topics of the nature of man as described by Cicero in his *Topica*. Conviction can be won, Cicero says, by exemplifying virtue in two ways: by comparison of the subject to the gods who are by nature virtuous, and to men famous for their virtue achieved by hard work. Celestina uses both:

En Dios y en mi alma, no tiene hiel; gracias, dos mil; en franqueza, Alejandro; en esfuerzo, Héctor; gesto, de un rey; gracioso, alegre; jamás reina en él tristeza. De noble sangre, como sabes; gran justador, pues verle armado, un San Jorge. Fuerza y esfuerzo, no tuvo Hércules tanta. La presencia y facciones, disposición, desenvoltura, otra lengua había menester para las contar. Todo junto semeja ángel del cielo. Por fe tengo que no era tan hermoso aquel gentil Narciso, que se enamoró de su propia figura, cuando se vido en las aguas de la fuente. (IV, 99)

This enumeration of Calisto's qualities, building him into a super-human being, has its ironic side. First, Celestina does not know Calisto well enough to know whether he embodies these qualities. In any case, any recommendation from a dubious character like Celestina must be suspect. Secondly, this presentation of Calisto leads us to regard him as much less than a hero when we see him play-acting and assuming the role of the courtly lover. Calisto's heroic qualities, as described by Celestina, are now thrown into stark contrast with the pathetic little ailment which she now says has him incapacitated: 'Agora, señora, tiénele derribado una sola muela, que jamás cesa [de] quejar. (IV, 99) From here onwards it is

Melibea who is doing the work. Celestina has roused her curiosity and Melibea gives her the chance to tell her more about Calisto to secure her favour: "¿Y qué tanto tiempo ha?" (IV, 99) It is not quite clear whether the subsequent misinterpretation by Celestina is intended by Melibea or not, but either way it provides Celestina with the opportunity to give Calisto's age.

Melibea finally creates a reason for Celestina to return, to collect the prayer and begs her not to tell Calisto of her rage lest he should think her uncharitable and thus form an unfavourable opinion of her character:

Pues madre, no le des parte de lo que pasó a ese caballero, porque no me tenga por cruel o arrebatada o deshonesta. (IV, 100)

All that Melibea says here, and the comments from Lucrecia, bear witness to the efficacy of Celestina's rhetoric:

¡Ya, ya, perdida es mi ama! ¡Secretamente quiere que venga Celestina! Fraude hay; más le querrá dar, que lo dicho! (IV, 100)

And effectively this is what Melibea promises:

Más haré por tú doliente, si menester fuere, en pago de lo sufrido. (IV, 100)

Celestina's final *pièce de résistance* is the subtle revelation of the real motive of her visit and the intention behind the display of rhetoric. This series of commonplaces which Celestina cleverly links to the still thinly veiled objective of an amorous liaison also serves the purpose of providing Melibea with a means of justification for any further steps she might take regarding Calisto. Referring to the ambiguous nature of Calisto's illness as she had described it earlier, she says:

Porque, aunque [las palabras] fueran las que tú pensabas, en sí no eran malas; que cada día hay hombres penados por mujeres y mujeres por hombres, y esto obra la natura y la natura ordenóla Dios y Dios no hizo cosa mala. (IV, 101)

As a student of Law, Rojas would perhaps have been more familiar with judicial rhetoric than with deliberative or encomiastic.¹⁶ However, the rhetoric in *LC* can be considered to be of the deliberative type since it is used as "counsel to persuade or dissuade the audience" [in this case on two levels: (1) the fictional characters, and (2) the reader], with respect to a particular course of action.¹⁷ Thus in *LC*, Rojas shows his competence in rhetoric outside his own specialized field. It is not particularly surprising that Rojas should do this, in spite of his claim in 'El autor a un su amigo' that this type of writing was outside his own field, since, as P.E. Russell points out, "it is often too readily assumed that

legal studies then were as divorced from humane letters as they tend to be in modern universities."¹⁸ He goes on to say that "the link between legal and humane studies was substantially restored towards the end of the fifteenth century [. . .] There is no reason to doubt that such influence also affected the law faculty at Salamanca at the time Rojas was a student there" (192)

The first audience of *LC* was probably composed of students at Salamanca University. Such an educated audience, familiar with the precepts of logic and rhetoric, could easily perceive the underlying subtleties which Rojas suggests. Instead of the author presenting a direct rhetorical argument, in the hope of swaying his audience, he takes them one stage further. They become the onlookers who witness rhetoric at work in another world, the world of fiction--a world, however, to which they can relate. It is this relationship which made the work popular for a much wider and less highly-trained public. The readers too can be, and undoubtedly will have been, subject to rhetoric, and now they see their fictional counterparts undergoing the same process. As objective onlookers, freed momentarily from their own self-interest, they can see the process clearly and are able to perceive the deceit in Celestina's adept manipulation of rhetorical techniques.

Occasionally, however, Rojas encourages the reader to identify himself with the characters within the fiction, thus making him aware that he too shares the same problem of clouded vision as the characters, when he is personally involved in the situation and is subject to his own emotions and desires. Rojas points out that even the rhetor himself is in danger of falling under his own spell, as in the case of Celestina, who produces arguments which, though false, convince even herself at times.¹⁹



Melibeia Celestina Zuzucha Paje Alisa



Alisa, llamada a la casa de su hermana, deja lugar oportuno a Celestina para que practique su arte retórico con Melibeia. Auto X, *Comedia* (¿Burgos, 1499?)

NOTES

¹ Colbert Nepaulsingh, "The Rhetorical Structure of the Prologues to the *Libro de Buen Amor* and the *Celestina*", *BHS*, 51 (1974). In his study of the rhetorical structure of the epistle-preface and prologue to *LC*, Nepaulsingh notes that we sometimes find the author himself prefixing the answers to his work as an introduction. Certainly here Rojas indicates one of his objectives--the illustration of the power of rhetoric.

² Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*, ed. Dorothy Severin, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, S.A., 1971), p. 40. All references are to this edition.

³ Carmelo Samonà, *Aspetti del retoricismo nella Celestina*, Facoltà di Magistero dell'Università di Roma, 1953 (Studi di letteratura spagnola, Quaderno 2), makes an extensive study of the combination of rhetorical tradition and real life in the mouths of Rojas' characters. Also considering language and rhetoric in *LC*: Malcolm Read, "La *Celestina* and the Renaissance Philosophy of Language", *PQ*, 55 (1976), 166-77.

⁴ Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas, *Literatura, historia, alienación* (Barcelona: Labor, 1976), points out the emphasis placed on human communication in *LC* and the potential of speech as a means of deception: "Pero la palabra puede también ser engañosa, y servir para lo que idealmente debe ser utilizada. Los diálogos de los personajes de *LC* así lo prueban: la vieja--y no sólo ella--maneja habilmente la palabra para engañar a sus semejantes, incluso a sus más cercanos seguidores [. . .] La palabra, [. . .], utilizada perversamente, desvirtuada, puede convertirse así no en un instrumento de comunicación auténtica, sino de confusión y de engaño" (pp. 153-54).

⁵ "I hold that no one can be a true orator unless he is a good man and, even if he could be, I would not have it so." *Quintilian*, Vol. I, translated by H.E. Butler in the Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1963), pp. 40-41.

⁶ Antonio Martí, *La preceptiva retórica española en el siglo de oro* (Madrid: Gredos, 1972), pp. 23-24.

⁷ "There is however one point which I must emphasise before I begin, which is this. Without natural gifts technical rules are useless" (I, 18-19).

⁸ *Dispositio* in its turn is divided into six parts: 1) *exordium* (introduction), 2) *narratio* (narration), 3) *propositio*--also known as *divisio* or *partitio*--(the proposition, subject of the speech), 4) *confirmatio* (proof), 5) *refutatio*--otherwise known as *confutatio* or *reprehensio*--(refutation of opposing arguments), and 6) *conclusio* (peroration, conclusion).

⁹ George Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 114 and 221.

¹⁰ *Celestina* implies the syllogism 'old age is uncomfortable, I am old, therefore I am uncomfortable'. The enthymeme is false since old age is not, of itself, necessarily uncomfortable. In this case *Celestina* may be considered to be partly to blame for her own discomfort.

¹¹ José Rico Verdú, "Resumen de las doctrinas retóricas en el siglo de oro", in his *La retórica española de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: CSIC, 1973), p. 258.

¹² George A. Shipley, "Concerting through Conceit: Unconventional Uses of Conventional Sickness Images in *La Celestina*", *MLR*, LXX (1975), 324-32. Shipley refers to Calisto's reliance on the clichés of love-sickness for the expression of his frustration: "*Pena, afligido, dolor, remedio*, and a dozen related words become key parts of a complex image system from which Calisto derives considerable satisfaction, his verbal substitute for the apparently inaccessible pleasures of Melibea. Insistently in the first acts the lover imposes the same language on all those who must deal with him. His servants repeatedly object to the exaggeration in his speech [...], and their alienation from the purveyor of such scarcely personal images is shared by the reader (who may be taken aback by the discovery of his solidarity, in questions of stylistic decorum, with lackeys, prostitutes, and procuress [sic])" (p. 324). Shipley points out the way in which sickness imagery, initiated by Calisto, is manipulated by all parties concerned and turned to their advantage, particularly by *Celestina*, as we see her do here. He also attributes rather more awareness to Melibea in the establishment of the false level of communication centred on Calisto's invented toothache.

¹³ Aristotle, *The 'Art' of Rhetoric*, translated by John Henry Freese (London: William Heinemann, 1959), p. 189.

¹⁴ "Concerting through Conceit", p. 327.

¹⁵ M.K. Read, "Fernando de Rojas' Vision of the Birth and Death of Language", *MLN*, XCIII (1978), 169-70: "Such is the oddity, incongruity and disparity between the standard meaning of the words used by the old bawd and the nature of the situation in which they occur that they signal to Melibea that she is to interpret them accordingly. This she does ("¿Piensas que no tengo sentidas tus pisadas e entendido tu dañado mensaje?") and though the language of innuendo inhibits her retaliation, it also allows her to indulge in deceit with apparent impunity ("Es obra pía é santa sanar los passionados é enfermos.")

¹⁶ As Cicero explained in his *Topica*, translated by H.H. Hubbell (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 453, there are three kinds of rhetorical speeches: judicial, the aim of which is to achieve justice; deliberative, the end of which is advantage; and encomiastic, the aim of which is honour.

17 Lee A. Sonnino, *A Handbook to Sixteenth-Century Rhetoric* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 243.

18 P.E. Russell, "The *Celestina comentada*" in *Medieval Hispanic Studies Presented to Rita Hamilton* (London: Tamesis, 1976), pp. 175-93, at p. 191.

19 The author is most grateful to Professor A.D. Deyermond, Dr. Dorothy Severin, Professor J. Snow and Dr. Robin Carter for their invaluable advice and corrections during the preparation of this article.



La 'furia' de Melibea. Auto I, escena primera de la obra.
De la traducción alemana de C. Wirsung (1520).

RELIGION AS MAGIC IN THE *TRAGEDIA POLICIANA*

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Claudina, in Sebastián Fernández' *Tragedia Policiana*, like her counterpart Celestina, in Rojas' masterpiece, is adept at the manipulation of her victims and clients through occult practices, and, again like her more famous predecessor, she is equally ready to seek divine intervention when the occasion warrants. It is this relationship between magic and religion in the *Policiana* that I will examine in what follows.

María Rosa Lida de Malkiel noted in *La originalidad artística de "La Celestina"* that the elements of witchcraft present in the imitations lack the subtle treatment given them by Rojas, and that imitators like Fernández portrayed witchcraft more openly and without the pretense or sham of coverup occupations. In the *Policiana* it determines the behavior of the heroine, Filomena, at the expense of the psychological verisimilitude so vital to Rojas' *Celestina*.¹

With the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum* in 1484 came the rejection of the orthodox doctrine that devils could work on their own without the help of the *hechicero*. This of course makes the *hechicero* vitally important for the devil's work, and the general opinion at the time of the *Celestina* was, as P. E. Russell points out, "que los hechizos tenían eficacia especial en lo que atañía a las cosas amorosas."² Russell explains that, according to the *Malleus*, the most important activity of the *hechiceras* was to "producir por medios mágicos una violenta pasión hacia una persona determinada en la mente de la víctima del hechizo."³ This effect--called *philocaptio*⁴--is the ultimate goal of the *conjuros* of both Celestina and Claudina, and explains the close relationship between *alcahuetería* and *hechicería* in Rojas' time. Since the *Tragedia Policiana* is, according to Menéndez Pelayo, the closest imitation of the *Celestina*, these points are pertinent to the study of the *Policiana*.

The problems of distinguishing between "magic" and "religion" is a recurrent one which was dealt with at length in ancient times in Pliny's *Natural History* and Plato's *Book of Laws*.⁵ Confusion persists even today, and dissociation of the two terms has always been a dilemma for the Christian church. In the fourth century "Jesus himself was looked upon as a magician and was, in fact, represented in all his older pictures with a

magic wand in his hand."⁶ Christian writers, disturbed by such images, took up the task of separating magic from miracle. In *The City of God*, Saint Augustine denied that Christ's miracles were magical, emphasizing that they "were wrought by simple confidence and devout faith, not by incantations and spells." He associated miracle with divine influence and magic with demonic intervention.⁷ For our purposes this distinction is inadequate, since it does not identify a structural or functional difference to help those of us who have difficulty distinguishing between angels and devils. Saint Thomas affirmed the reality of magic, as did other fathers of the Church, but he denied that the magicians possessed any supernatural powers. It was not the *hechicera* who had the power, but the devil who was performing the "magic," deceiving the witch into believing she had performed it.⁸

In the late nineteenth century, Sir James Frazer provided a classic distinction: "Magic," in his words, "attempts to compel the powers of the universe; religion supplicates them."⁹ Or, as Paul Tillich explains, religion is to be identified with ultimate concern, and with *response* to the revelation of God, as opposed to magic, which reaches out and seizes in order to possess or control.¹⁰

An even sharper distinction was drawn by Bronislaw Malinowski in *Magic, Science, and Religion*. Malinowski defines magic as "a practical art consisting of acts which are only means to a definite end," and religion as "a body of self-contained acts being themselves the fulfillment of their purpose."¹¹ Freud pointed out in *Totem and Taboo* that sorcery "is essentially the art of influencing spirits by treating them in the same way as one would treat men in like circumstances: appeasing them, making amends to them, propitiating them, intimidating them, robbing them of their power, subduing them to one's will--by the same methods that have proved effective with living men. Magic, on the other hand, . . . disregards spirits and makes use of special procedures and not of everyday psychological methods."¹² Both of these practices are found in the *Policiana*, and for our purposes of distinguishing them from religion they can be considered together.

The most comprehensive and specific separation of the characteristics of magic and sorcery, on the one hand, from those of religion, on the other, is that of William J. Goode, who assigns the following characteristics to magic as opposed to religion: 1) concrete specificity of goal; 2) a manipulative attitude; 3) emphasis on the professional-client relationship rather than that of prophet and follower; 4) emphasis upon individual rather than social ends; 5) practice mainly by individuals rather than communal worship; 6) a ready change of technique in the event of failure; 7) a lesser degree of emotion; 8) - 10) emphasis on evading or bending the nature of the universe, as opposed to accepting and implementing it; and, finally, 11) instrumental use for the attainment of specific goals.¹³

If we look at the ostensibly religious practices in the *Policiana*, it soon becomes evident that they are "magical" acts as performed by the characters in this work: Policiano and Claudina both pray for Philomena's surrender--this is their "specific goal." Similarly, Claudina attempts

to assure the efficacy of her manipulative *conjuros* through prayer. She charges Parmenia, her daughter, and Libertina: "Mochachas, rogad a Dios que yo salga con ella a luz, que no me acuerdo auer intentado cosa de que tanto aya desconfiado."¹⁴ Claudina includes religious practices in her professional rituals. Her prayers are part of a "package deal" included in her professional-client relationship with Policiano and Philomena. Obviously Claudina's religious practices do indeed "emphasize the individual rather than the social end," and they are practiced by her alone rather than communally. The ready change of technique is evident when Claudina prays for success in her *brujerías*. If religion doesn't work she resorts to magic. Policiano does likewise, going first to God and then to Claudina (p. 8). Claudina performs her ostensibly religious acts in a businesslike manner with "a lesser degree of emotion." Even on her death-bed, her pseudo-confession appears matter-of-fact. She uses her petitionary prayers, blessings, and confession, like her occult practices, to force the free will of Philomena and thus bend the moral nature of the universe. Claudina's "religious" acts are, then, thoroughly instrumental, and used in pursuit of specific goals.

So it is that what initially appear to be religious practices in the *Tragedia Policiana* are in reality only instances of religion in the service of magic. This is precisely the type of religion corrupted by magic and superstition that Cervantes satirizes in *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, when one of the prostitutes associated with Monipodio's gang "le encargó [a la beata Pipota] que pusiese . . . dos candelicas a los santos que a ella le pareciese que eran de los más aprovechados y agradecidos."¹⁵ Monipodio expects his thieves to be pious, in such practices as "no [tener] conversación con mujer que se llame María el día del sábado."¹⁶

Although the non-magical practice of religion is not in evidence in the *Policiana*, except perhaps when the father asks to be left alone "a rezar [sus] acostumbradas devociones" (pp. 47 and 51), there is indeed a moral or religious framework of sorts as revealed in the author's preface, when he states that his first purpose in writing the work is "para alumbrar a los amadores del mundo de una ceguedad tan notable . . ." (p. 2).

Evidence of a moral framework is also to be found in Theophilon's advice to his daughter, Philomena:

Siempre, hija mía, trabaja de estar noblemente ocupada porque el demonio, enemigo de la naturaleza, no halle entrada en tu corazón. (p. 20)

The servant Dorotea's discovery of her dead mistress, Philomena, and of Policiano, provokes a loud lament:

O amor mundano. O loco mundo. O variable mundo, lleno de tantos desatinos. Loco es quien en ti confía . . . Sin seso quien tus pisadas sigue . . . Plega a Dios, amor, que a quien te creyera lo mejor de la

vida le falte Vete amor, vete
 mundo, . . . que quien vanamente ama,
 vanidad es su salario. (p. 58)

The work ends with Theophilon's non-Christian *planctus*, similar to Pleberio's lament at the death of his daughter. Fernández, however, ends this desperate plaint on a somewhat different note from that of Rojas: "Omnia pretereunt preter amare Deum" ("All things pass except to love God") (p. 59).

The moral intention in the *Celestina* appears to be more sincere than in the *Policiana*. A key difference is in the death scenes of the respective protagonists. When Celestina calls for confession at the end of the work, she seems to be sincere¹⁷; although her life has been filled with sin, she hopes at the last minute to be saved. Her tragedy and the moral lesson come, as in *El burlador de Sevilla*, through this unfulfilled request. In the *Policiana*, Claudina, having fallen victim to the wrath of vengeful servants, also asks for confession, but instead of sending for a priest she sends for Celestina. It is taken for granted that she will go to Hell, and thus her "assassins" feel little or no remorse. Pamphilo says over her body: "Ora a nosotros perdone Dios, pues a la Claudina se llevó el diablo" (p. 54). The death scene is a clear parody of Catholic confession. When Celestina arrives, Claudina, in a mock confession, bequeaths her all the items of her trade, including her house and business.

This confession is rendered all the more ridiculous when Celestina herself delivers a sermon to Claudina's family: not once does she mention God, Heaven, or the soul, nor express hope that the departed sorceress may rest in peace. She says only: "Aparejad de dar sepultura al cuerpo de mi madre . . ." (p. 55). She is resigned to the fact that death must finally come to all, and, being a witch, there is no hope for either Christian salvation or religious consolation. Claudina has lived her life in sin and accepted death without remorse. The author fails to achieve the artistry of Rojas, for there is no tragedy, no hope, and thus no lesson to be learned.

In the *Tragedia Policiana*, the symbiotic relationship between magic and religion is apparent. Fifty years after the *Celestina* the heresy of witchcraft still retained its artistic appeal, and the *alcahueta* and the *bruja* continued to exercise very real attraction in literature. Claudina's occult and pseudo-religious practices are mutually complementary, as are Celestina's, in an attempt to reap maximum benefits from each, but Claudina seems more hardened spiritually than Celestina in her wholehearted addiction to sin¹⁸ and in her clear lack of any hope for salvation, all of which keeps the work from attaining the humanity of the *Celestina*. This persistent resignation from beginning to end is perhaps part of the reason why Claudina fails to develop those traits which might make her a more sympathetic and engaging character. Her total devotion to magic leaves her, in comparison to Celestina, a pale and flexible, somewhat dehumanized figure, a stereotype lacking the complexity that makes her counterpart in Rojas' masterpiece so alive and real.



NOTES

- 1 *La originalidad artística de "La Celestina"* (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1962), p. 245.
- 2 P. E. Russell, "La magia como tema integral de la *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*," in *Homenaje a Dámaso Alonso*, III (Madrid: Gredos, 1963), 342.
- 3 *Ibid.*
- 4 For a discussion of *philocaptio* in *La Celestina* see also Frederick de Armas, "La Celestina and Love Melancholy," *Romanic Review* 66 (1975), 288-95. De Armas bases his work on Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (New York, 1927). *Philocaptio* is also discussed in detail in James F. Burke, "Metamorphosis and the Imagery of Alchemy in *La Celestina*," *Revista canadiense de estudios hispánicos* 1 (1977), 129-52.
- 5 Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Macmillan, 1923), I.
- 6 "Magic as a Key to the Interpretation of Religion" (anon. rev. of H. R. Evans' *The Old and the New Magic*), *Current Literature* 41 (1906), 315.
- 7 Mario N. Pavia, *Drama of the "Siglo de Oro": A Study of Magic, Witchcraft, and other Occult Beliefs* (New York: The Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1959), p. 18.
- 8 Russell, p. 340.
- 9 *The Golden Bough* (new ed.) (London: Macmillan, 1958), I, 120.
- 10 Cited in Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), p. 10.
- 11 *Magic, Science, and Religion* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1948), p. 68.
- 12 *Totem and Taboo* (New York: Norton, 1950), p. 78.
- 13 *Religion and the Primitive* (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p. 53.
- 14 Sebastián Fernández, *Tragedia Policiana*, in Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, III (Madrid: Casa Editorial Bailly y Baillère, 1910), 19.
- 15 Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Obras completas*, ed. Angel Valbuena Prat (Madrid: Aguilar, 1946), p. 844b.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 839b.

17 María Rosa Lida de Malkiel seems to contradict herself as to the sincerity of Celestina's request: In one chapter she calls this last plea for confession "la llave *mágica* para la vida eterna" (p. 512, emphasis mine); in a later chapter she says that this cry for confession is "el mismo de cualquier cristiano de la época [para] la confesión que asegura la remisión de los pecados y la vida eterna." (p. 366).



Argument der Sibensprechenden Wirkung.
 Manglendt Elicia der Keüschait Penelope verlaßt vñ
 laub zú geben d' becrübung vnd klag klaydern so sy vñ
 die todten erüg/lobend den rat Arreusa/gat in sollichem
 fürsatz zú dem hausz irer basen dahin Sosia kam wöb-
 lichem Arreusa alle haymlicheit Calisti vñ Melibea
 auß erfáret.

[Argumento e ilustración del XVII auto de LC.
 De la traducción alemana de C. Wirsung, 1520.
 Areusa finge amor a Sosia y le saca el secre-
 to de la hora del encuentro de Calisto y de
 Melibea.]



RESEÑAS

ORLANDO MARTINEZ-MILLER. *La ética judía y la Celestina como alegoría.*

Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1978. 280 pp.

Students need not rush to buy what its foreword describes as the "definitiva exégesis" of *Celestina*. This book deserves to stand alongside similar erudite and ingenious works which seek to prove that Bacon wrote Shakespeare. It would be wrong to underrate the author's very considerable scholarship so far as late medieval Jewish ethical and philosophical writings are concerned, and perhaps the most valuable parts of the book are the three chapters (pp. 43-100) devoted to a survey of Peninsular literature in Hebrew; but he knows little of *Celestina* scholarship, and relies on Menéndez Pelayo, Maeztu, Garrido Pallardó, Serrano Poncela, María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, and Américo Castro. (Four other items listed in the bibliography--Berndt, Gilman's *Art*, Castro Guisasola, and Maravall--are not utilized.)

The author departs from the premise that only a negligible minority of Jews were ever genuinely converted to Christianity, and to demonstrate that *Celestina* is an allegory (the term is, of course, misused), designed to show the *conversos* and the Jews that the disaster of the expulsion was due to their apostasy and neglect of Talmudic prescriptions, he supposes (1) that Rojas was a Judaizing Jew (who, nevertheless, "respected" Catholicism), (2) that he was "un gran hebraísta" (since he could not otherwise have read the untranslated Hebrew literature), (3) that his religious teacher was Isaac Aboab of Toledo, author of *Menorath ha-Manor* (and also the "amigo" of the *Carta*), (4) that *Celestina* is the work of one sole author, Rojas (5) that it was written between March and August 1492, (before the death of Isaac Aboab) and (6) that the mention of Petrarch in the Prologue is a complete red herring, so that we must look elsewhere for Rojas's sources. Of course he also posits a good deal more. We are to believe that while Calisto and Sempronio are Christians, *Celestina*, Pármeno, Lucrecia, Pleberio, Alisa, and Melibea are Jews; and we must accept a series of curious translations: "gentil" means "Gentile", "temor" is to be construed as "fear of God", "acostado sobre mi propia mano" must be interpreted as "lying in bed reading the Semah", and so on.

The reader is, consequently, left with the problem of trying to see how much of the whole ingenious structure might survive after the removal of some fundamental props, such as the authorship of Act I, the date of composition or the irrelevance of Petrarch, not to mention Rojas's mastery of Hebrew. Despite the fact that much of this book is quite demonstrably the most arrant nonsense, one is left at the end with the tiny suspicion that there might be some minuscule grain of truth in the more general thesis that Rojas was not totally unfamiliar with some Jewish beliefs and

practices, and that he felt some sympathy for Jewish ethics. But a quite different book, more cautious, much better informed, and less extravagantly imaginative, would be needed to demonstrate that even this minimal hypothesis needs be kept in mind.

Keith Whinnom

University of Exeter



Argument Der dritten Wirkung.

Sempronio nach dem er Celestina auff der straff er-
 raicht heu/strafft er sy vmb ir langksamkeit mit ainan-
 der disputierend was fügsich auff die angefangen ma-
 teribrauch wolte/auff das lest gieng Celestina zu dem
 hauß Pleberij vnd Parmeno belib in dem hauß Cele-
 stina bey seinem bñlen Elicia.

[Argumento e ilustración del III Auto de LC.
 De la traducción alemana de C. Wirsung, 1520.
 Sempronio y Celestina llaman a la puerta de
 la casa de ésta; Elicia asoma a la ventana.]





Calisto and Melibea. Music by Jerome Rosen and libretto by Edwin Honig.
World premiere at The University of California-Davis, May 31, 1979.

REVIEWER'S NOTES

Reed Anderson
University of California - Davis

As a work for the stage, *La Celestina* presents a director with two inevitable challenges: first are the technical difficulties that arise from the work's overall length and numerous scenes and settings; second is the need to confront the difficulties of the genre of "tragicomedy" and to establish and develop a definite tone throughout the performance. Composer Jerome Rosen and his librettist Edwin Honig have met these problems in their *Calisto and Melibea*, and have worked toward the creation of a dramatic plot and musical line that progresses ineluctably from the first awakening of erotic passion in the young lovers, through the fatal intervention of the bawd and witch, Celestina, and ending in the deaths of all those caught up in the ever-expanding crossplay of greed, egotism and passion.

Insofar as the work's length is concerned, it would be difficult to imagine cutting the play any more than Honig has done and still maintain the coherence of plot and character development that are necessary to understand the eventual fatal involvement of so many people in what begins, innocently enough, as the casual infatuation of two young lovers. Honig has freely adapted and arranged material from the 1631 translation and stage version by James Mabbe. There are sixteen scenes in Honig's three-act operatic script, with four main locations for the dramatic action: Melibea's garden, Calisto's chambers, Celestina's house, and the interior of Melibea's house and her room. Several scenes are played front-stage left or right to represent action taking place in the streets of the city. The physical movement of scenery is accomplished in this staging with about as much economy and swiftness as can be expected. Three large panels are used as backdrops: the left and right ones are stationary and represent, on one side, an arched gateway on a city street and the wall and domed rooftop of a house, and on the other side, the outside wall of Melibea's house with an exterior stairway leading up to the tower. The center panel is moveable, and is rolled away and replaced with another for each change of scene. The scenes in Melibea's garden are partially screened from the audience's direct view by several trellises draped with cloth to suggest hanging vines, providing a discreet seclusion for the lovers.

The set and costumes are only in the most impressionistic sense suggestive of a 15th-century Spain; their predominant motifs show the influence of Moorish styles of architecture and dress, although Celestina's costume is that of the traditional stage gypsy. The overall result is a somewhat vague exoticism whose effect is ultimately in accord with the apparent intentions of the designers. Their concern is quite obviously less with historical naturalism and more with creating the illusion of a colorful and almost legendary tale of passion and death.

The anti-naturalistic effect is sustained as well by the color scheme and painting style used on the backdrops, and by the lighting. For example, the sets that represent exterior walls of houses are painted a hazy sky-blue that melds into grey, and in places even into a subtle orange or pink -- the effect overall is that of a sky covered by thin billowy clouds, and tinted very slightly by the light of the setting sun. The set is lit at first to emphasize the natural colors, but during the scene of Celestina's conjury, the semi-darkness of the stage glows with red light, and crimson tones begin to stand out in the lighting mix as the play progresses from that point on. The subtle red lighting contributes a particularly ominous atmosphere, for instance, to the scene where Celestina and Melibea are directly engaged in their struggle of manipulation and resistance over the remedy to be offered to the ailing Calisto. The scenes beginning with Sempronio's murder of Celestina and continuing to the end of the play, in Melibea's garden, are even more dimly illuminated, furnishing the progressive representation of nightfall with an ominous tone of doom. All this combines to underscore the fatal complications of plot that result from the intense interlace of eros, greed, revenge and despair.

The composer, librettist and designers, then, are in agreement about their artistic goal, that is, to enhance the meaning and the emotional impact of the characters' words and actions, and thus by extension, to communicate their passions to the audience. In other words, the physical and technical aspects of this production, rather than being background, underscore and embellish the musical and dramatic development of the opera's tone.

But there are ambiguities precisely where the question of tone is concerned that give rise to the principal reservations that I have about this production. The difficulty begins even with Honig's choice of a subtitle: "A *Comedy* (my emphasis) of Love, Seduction, and Death." Composer Rosen in his program notes indicates his own awareness of the crucial problem of tone when he says that, "the ambivalence inherent in this tragicomedy seemed to require clarification for operatic purposes." In the end, the production does not seem to have settled the difficult question of whether this version means to be a comedy, a tragi-comedy, a melodrama, or an amalgam of all of these.

The overture establishes an interplay of tones that will characterize the entire drama, but the emphasis falls strongly on the menacing and foreboding moods that will begin to sort themselves out and predominate from the point where Celestina invokes the Devil's aid, and where she literally winds Melibea up in a web of the crimson yarn she has just sold

CELESTINESCA

her. As I will try to point out though, the coherent progression from a relatively light and comic beginning to what should be an intense and tragic ending is dissipated and perhaps even lost, with serious consequences for the overall impact of the production on its audience.

Rosen's stated intention is precisely to have the musical line carry the drama from a relatively artificial and comic tone at the beginning, toward an "ever darker and more dramatic conclusion." And yet this progression is less discernible through the music than through the visual aspects of the production and through the acting. This perhaps has to do with the difficulty inherent to the music's style, and particularly since the score provides what gives the impression of being a single, continuously flowing musical line that serves as an accompaniment to the characters' every word and action. Thus it is that the two challenges I mentioned at the beginning become closely related -- the somber tone which must be built from the opening scenes risks being lost in the course of the considerable amount of conversation and dramatic business that must go on among the characters. While the musical line works to intensify the drama's tone during acts two and three, the fact that all of the opera's dialogue is sung, resembling thereby a long and uninterrupted recitative, has the effect of slowing the movement of the inherently complicated plot, and the necessary tension fails to build, or builds sporadically at best.

The only arias as such belong to Melibea, whom Rosen presents as vulnerable and touching in her confusion over Celestina's determined intervention on Calisto's behalf. She is the only truly tragic figure in the drama, and effectively captures the audience's sympathy. One other aria is given to Calisto the morning after his arranged meeting with Melibea in her garden. Calisto's fatuous self-absorption and vain posing are successfully emphasized, as he confidently (and with heavy dramatic irony) declares his love to be mightier than death itself. Other prominent solos are given to the swaggering and treacherous Sempronio, to the bawdy but sinister Celestina, and later on, to the engaging and comic Tristan.

But the real problem for librettist, composer and director comes after the death of Celestina. Her figure inevitably dominates all others during the first two-thirds or more of the production. She has set the plot in motion, and the task that remains after her disappearance is to sustain the audience's interest in the fate of the other characters (who must therefore gain what they may have lacked in vividness and individuality), while building swiftly and coherently toward the suicide of Melibea.

Considerable time is devoted in this script to the plotting of Calisto's murder among Lucrecia, Elicia and finally, Tristán, whom they entangle by erotic enticement. By the time Tristan is killed by dogs while guarding the ladder for Calisto at Melibea's garden wall, the dark and threatening atmosphere surrounding this doomed love affair has been diluted to the extent that the lackey's death seems gratuitous to the point of being comic. Likewise, the sudden mistaken killing of the serving girls by Calisto seems excessive, precisely because it is not clear in dramatic terms what the tone of this incident is meant to be, whether

comic, melodramatic, or something in between. From this point on, it is all the more difficult to restore the tragic potential of the production and to prevent Calisto's plunge from the wall from being comic, and Melibea's desperate suicide from lapsing into pure melodrama. If in fact these final incidents are meant to have comic or melodramatic overtones, such an intention would seem to betray the somber and potentially tragic mood that has been building from early on in the opera, in both the music and the staging. The tendency of the sung dialogue to retard the movement of the plot where it should be brisk, combined with the ambivalent effect of the series of deaths at the end of the opera, conspire to distract from the vividness of the characters' emotions and the increasingly intense drama of their situation.

In every sense, this is a "modern" adaptation of the Celestina story. The musical style, the set design, the costumes and the lighting all are carefully designed and coordinated for an expressionistic emphasis on the symbolic representation of mood and emotion. The Rosen-Honig collaboration is not however without its difficulties where the unresolved ambiguities of tone that I have mentioned are concerned. On the whole, though, this production represents an interesting and serious interpretation of this complicated tale; the result is an operatic drama that decidedly emphasizes this enduring story's exploration of the dark side of human nature.



La muerte de Melibea (fragmento),;Burgos, 1499?



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THE "CALISTO AND MELIBEA" OF EDWIN HONIG

Joseph Snow
University of Georgia

Elsewhere in this issue is Reed ANDERSON's thoughtful essay on the staged verse opera whose libretto is the subject of these notes. If any preliminary orientation can be given to the following summarization, it would be that in the hearts of many literate English speakers, *Celestina* has become the archetypal go-between, even when few of these English speakers have little or no familiarity with the Spanish original. Better known figures from Spanish literature are Don Juan and Don Quijote and, in some quarters, the Cid. But in the twentieth century, with the witness of so many translations into English, the emergence of wider-ranging studies in comparative literature, and the staging (more or less successful) of varied adaptations, the major figure of *La Celestina* has become much better known. *Celestina*, richly drawn, exuberant, cut of universal cloth and deeply human, has a justly enthusiastic--and growing--following of her own. She is capable of being at one and the same time real and mythic and her name has become a signword for a whole field of human activity. These adaptations and comparative studies are to be welcomed, for they will ultimately lead back to even greater focus on the original Rojas character creation and the literary masterpiece whose world she so completely dominates.

In Honig's work, "suggested by Fernando de Rojas' *LC* (1499) and by James Mabbe's translation (1631)," the links with the original are admittedly weak.¹ Some of the fidelity to the original characterizations seemed to Honig a necessary sacrifice in his reduction of a text meant to be set to music. The characters with speaking roles in *LC* number fourteen: Honig gives us "seven composite figures drawn from other characters . . . and also from one another."² All seven of them die by the final curtain, in accord with Honig's belief that it "seemed appropriate to opera and to the spirit of overriding sensuality which makes the word 'die' the most indulged pun of the time, at least in English."³ We are thus dealing only with the central threads of the story of uncontrolled romantic passion contained in *LC*. Stage center is still very much filled by *Celestina*, *Melibea* and *Calisto*. *Sempronio* is a composite of his namesake and of *Parmeno*; *Elicia*'s speeches and actions absorb many that were *Areusa*'s; *Tristan* is a fusing of *Tristan-Sosia-Centurio*. *Lucrecia* makes a seventh. These all participate in a tale of passion fashioned after Rojas' although Honig means for this *Calisto* and *Melibea* to be "something new in English" rather than a close imitation of the Spanish. It is this assertion that the following synopsis will attempt to assess.

The text of the libretto consulted was copyright in 1966 and 1972; my printing is of the latter year, the work of the Hellcoal Press and The Brown University Printer.⁴ It runs to 57 pages in its single-column format, and is mostly all dialogue with few stage directions. Already in *Calisto* and *Melibea*'s opening scene we may begin to appreciate the simi-

larities and differences it exhibits with regard to Rojas' original. We are in Melibea's garden.

Calisto: In your beauty I see
the greatness of God!
In your sweet form
my heart serves Him,
warming my blood,
aching my bones.
Joy to the world newmade,
pleasuring all things born!

Melibea: I fear you lie
or else blaspheme.

Calisto: Your fear stops my ears.
What says your heart?

Melibea: Away! How can a man
speak so to me
of lewd delights?
Who are you?
O do not tell. Be gone!

Calisto: I am Calisto.
I go, I go.
Do not add
to fear your anger
for then I stand
in danger
of your hatred.
And you are sacred.
I go, I go.
Forget me not.
I am Calisto. [1] 5

The familiar themes of the encounter are here, although the characterization of Calisto as courtly lover suffering from a "secreto dolor" is sacrificed (and so throughout). Melibea is seeing Calisto genuinely for the first time and, although rejecting him, shows her confusion (see her second speech above). The handling of the name game is cleverly manoeuvred. Honig capitalizes here, and throughout, on one of Rojas' major touches: the accentuation of the idolatrous nature of the passion.

Scene ii introduces Sempronio who siezes the opportunity for future gain instantly he gets wind of Calisto's malady: Unrequited love. Even as Calisto declares himself to be a Melibeian, the churlish Sempronio has his plan well in hand. The cure is in the power of a lady he knows, "one who eases fortune, one who'd bring a Helen to your bed"[3]. Calisto bids him produce this "lady with a beard . . . subtle as the devil" and, as the servant leaves, prays God he succeeds in finding him a remedy for his great pain. In scene iii, Sempronio and Celestina come quickly to terms and Honig wastes no time in establishing the importance of greed in the

plotting of Calisto and Melibea. In the first aside of the work, Sempronio declares:

This beardy old bawd
shall get the gold,
but go to her reward
by this, my fist!
She'll not be missed,
while secretly
all the city
honors me
for ridding it of stench! [5]

Scene iii ends with Celestina's delivering over to Sempronio the favor of Elicia (played by Parmeno-Areusa in LC). Although the action of LC is much condensed, Honig preserves for the operatic stage the greed, passion and idolatrous lust that motivate the action of the Rojas original. One important difference is their manner of presentation. The psychological growth Rojas permits these base animal passions is missing, lost in the practical sacrifice to streamlining of the carefully-orchestrated and counterpointed situations of LC that Honig has deemed necessary.

Scene iv places us in Calisto's house. Calisto does not need to tell the bawd what her mission is. He scarcely has time to bestow on Celestina (his "bringer to me of life out of this death"[7]) the gold chain and bid her Godspeed before she is off to the task. Sempronio's words are portentous for others but shortsighted regarding himself as this scene ends:

My master's mad
he'll die in pain.
I'll beat the crone
and get the chain,
live high forever
on the treasure. [7]

Scene v opens with expository dialogue that tells us that Celestina has a thriving business going at home. This is cut short, however, as she sends Elicia off for "bat blood, wing of dragon, hair of goat and serpent oil" so that the Devil may be invoked. Celestina has been from the outset clearly associated with the Devil and the maleficent influences of that underworld figure seem specifically to bear the blame for the sad fates of all the characters. It satisfies the operatic conventions but replaces, of course, the more subtly psychological insights provided by Rojas. The conjuration itself is a bit of brilliance and I will cite its final lines only:

Hear me,
I conjure thee,
be thou my instrument,
fulfill my wish exactly:
once! and twice! and thrice!
Now all is done,
the future throbs
here in my purse
to be born.

I go to seek her,
 thyself wrapped tightly
 in my yarn. [9]

The yarn, once invested with magical, diabolic power, becomes a most potent force in the unravelling of the actions of the Honig adaptation. It leads immediately now into scene vi in which Lucrecia informs Celestina that Melibea has need of red yarn. This detail of the color is an inspiration: it alerts the audience to Melibea's desire and makes Celestina's task less overwhelming. The transfer of the yarn is made with great despatch and is fraught with presentiment. When Melibea inquires what will Celestina wish for her yarn, the bawd replies: "I wish, madam? I wish nothing but to serve others" [11]. The damsel's reply catches us unprepared in its directness: "Ask for thyself or for another." The highly-touted persuasive skills of Celestina are not much called for here.

When Celestina then mentions her young master by name, and the object of Melibea's secret passion is revealed, anger is the result. The compression of the action has been such that this naming recalls the emphasis placed on it in the opening scene ("I go, I go. / Forget me not. I am Calisto."). Melibea's fury is tranquilized through the ruse of the imaginary toothache Calisto is said to be suffering from. She surrenders her girdle with these words of humility, which will be later used against her: "To cure the sick is holy work"[13]. The remainder of the act, although briefly played, informs the public of Melibea's gradual weakening, Lucrecia's fears for her mistress' chastity and the treachery of the go-between. Melibea's final words, and their impossible hope, are lost on no one, not least on Melibea herself:

She goes, whose coming hither
 did me little good.
 I pray her going hence
 will do me no harm. [13]

ACT II. The greed of Sempronio sets the mood now, as he claims from Celestina both knowledge of the interview with Melibea and his share of the spoils. The bawd's aside, "I'll share him [the gain] with the devil," extends the image chain whose links are Satanic power, a chain which Honig is carefully working out. This motif is reinforced in the next scene when, in another aside, Sempronio opines that the bawd's knavery was taught her by the devils. Again in Calisto's house, Celestina crows her triumphs in taurine terms ("I was your shield and support, your red cape and sharp sword"[15]) and exults in her satisfaction before the lusty and impatient swain. But Calisto refuses to let her depart before the tale is told in full. Celestina teases: "First reward me for the news"[18]. And Calisto, with unwitting irony: "You may have . . . my life." Now the girdle is produced and Calisto sinks into a rapture, but not for long. Celestina reclaims the girdle for she has yet to "distill its magic" for Calisto's benefit. The finale to the scene is rampant with foreshadowing:

Cel. Tomorrow and anon. Good sir,
 think on other things,
 and ease your mind on them.

- Cal. Nay, that would be heresy
 to love, worship of idleness.
- Sem. You call your love not idle?
 (Aside) Worse, 'tis death or madness.
 Misfortune and the devil
 only follow this.
 (Aloud) Come, mother, I lead the way. [19]

At this juncture, all the maleficent forces are loose and death and the Devil are fully equated.

The scene that follows presents short versions of LC's act IX banquet scene, Celestina's praise of wine, and Elicia's rantings against the unsullied lips of Melibea (praised by Sempronio). Lucrecia appears to ask Celestina's attendance upon Melibea just as Tristan appears to ask her attendance upon Calisto. Tristan is put off and Celestina hies off with Lucrecia to administer the healing balm that will ease Melibea's pain.

In Melibea's chamber, we hear her soliloquy. She despairs of ever winning Calisto for her own, but plans still to dissemble "lest my gilded chastity / lose its shining leaf"[25]. As Celestina enters, the serpent writhing in the maiden's heart strikes and here the bawd quotes her the very words used in surrendering the girdle: "To cure the sick is holy work." The midnight tryst is expeditiously arranged and the web the Devil weaves is finished. Honig has Celestina say, prophetically, at the end of this scene:

Farewell. He shall be here.
He shall be woven in thy web,
thy strongest yarn of red. [26]

Celestina's good news, reported to Calisto, gains her a pearl and a gold ring with a jewel from the bedazzled gallant. Lurking nearby, and eavesdropping, is Sempronio, whose greed is now razor-sharp. Calisto's transport of joy is expressed in typically blasphemous, ambiguous terms: "How can I be so greatly blessed? / Can I, Calisto, bear such glory?"(28) In the opera, as in LC, the only answer is "no," for Calisto, we recall, has already offered his life for this "glory."

The midnight interview then takes place and the fever pitch of the aroused lovers brooks no delays. The language is zesty while portals do divide them but becomes overtly risqué (Calisto's hands become ships that roam the seas of Melibea's body in search of a safe port) when they are close enough to grasp between the bars. Below, Sempronio and Tristan are playing the cowards as four hours of garden bliss transpire before watching eyes (Lucrecia, voyeur, stands nearby in the shrubbery). On such a high wave of passion, and having made further assignations, Melibea and her lover part and Act II comes to an end.

ACT III. The final act opens with a rattling good scene twixt a very irate Sempronio and a cagy Celestina, with the division of the gain at issue. Sempronio will, he cries, have his half

or stand thee on a scaffold
 with a high paper hat
 and devils painted on it
 and thy name writ
 large, thou witch! [37]

Celestina's refusal to part with anything further incites an already dangerously angered Sempronio; her offer (subsequently withdrawn) of a pair of scarlet breeches a final mis-step. The sword is irrevocably drawn and Elicia, arriving too late, is a witness to the murder. Sempronio flees but trips over a bundle he himself placed by the door upon entering, and thus engineers his own undoing. This bundle is the mantle and kirtle for Celestina which he maliciously withheld. His greed of heart and of deed have indeed laid him low. Elicia's plaint, "all life is a lie"[40], is a theme of LC which receives in this scene one of its fullest illustrations in Honig's Calisto and Melibea.

Sharp contrast follows on the heels of this scene as we share in the vainglorious peacockeries Calisto unleashes as part of his morning-after rhetoric. He bids Tristan seek out Sempronio as he intends to be this midnight again in Melibea's bower. Honig puts in a nice touch here, in consonance with the demonic theme he is exploiting, in allowing Calisto to wonder if Melibea is not some sort of succubus conjured up by Celestina "who is a known familiar of the devil"[42]. Tristan returns with the tale of Sempronio's deeds and fate. He mentions that Elicia is broadcasting, even as she mourns, that Calisto's gifts to the bawd, are the source of the falling-out. Calisto's urgent need to indulge his desire, however, is only increased by this threat of exposure:

Down every street
 my honor and my reputation
 go on broken feet.
 I pray my secrets
 do not follow them
 from mouth to mouth.
 Come, Tristan,
 'tis near midnight. [43]

And off they go, Calisto to show that the heart is mightier than death. Honig's timing of the plot turnings is clever and hastens the end, foreseen in the closing lines: "The midnight bell / has almost struck. To glory! [44]

The end represents perhaps the freest invention or rearrangements of Rojas. Honig's denouement is new in its unfolding of how the final actions are motivated. Tristan is seen outside, awaiting Elicia. He has hopes of replacing Sempronio in her bed and heart. But he also desires an end to all this nighttime scuttling about. Inside are Elicia and Lucrecia who plan to take advantage of the "mooncalf fellow" without. They engage him to frighten Calisto [this scene borrows heavily from the Centurio acts of LC] and the plan is that he make off with the ladder, once Calisto is well within the garden. Calisto will need to wake the watch and thus publicize his disgrace and his shameless lust. Being rich and

noble, he will only suffer a fine. The sexually-eager Tristan is quick to promise all this and the innuendo at scene's end is rich and humorous: "Thou shalt be satisfied by me / in every way thou canst conceive. / Farewell" [50].

The fifth and last-but-one scene opens with Lucrecia singing songs to Melibea as they await the arrival of Calisto. Then, when the youth is safe within the bower, a noise frightens Tristan who scampers off without removing the ladder. Elicia appears and kicks the ladder down and then disappears quickly into the garden. [I wonder if Honig pondered whether such ease of access to the garden logically ruins his--or Calisto's--need of any ladder?] Tristan, remiss, returns and sets the ladder aright but tears his arm on a protruding nail. In his haste to seek aid for stanching the blood, he then knocks the ladder over!

Lucrecia is sent to find Calisto and meets him in the shadows of the shrubbery. His animal passion stirs her own and she is sent off a distance by the intuitive Melibea whose eagerness permits her to see only half of what hangs above them all. It is Lucrecia that Honig permits to perceive the truth:

Methinks the smell of love
streams over him like honey,
but spiced and sharpened
by another smell
catching up my breath.
I know it well.
It is the smell of death. [52]

Even Calisto, hearing Tristan's cry, knows he has heard "the cry of one about to die"[53], but is insensitive to any consequences that might have for him. Honig is knitting up the threads of love, lust, greed, compassion steam-rolled by passion, and at the end of the pattern is only the grinning mask of Death.

At this crossing of themes, Elicia creeps up on her conspirator, Lucrecia, and relates Tristan's death at the teeth of dogs attracted by his flowing blood. Both women then turn to the embracing lovers and Elicia spits out with spite that Sempronio, Celestina, Tristan, all are a "sauce for [Melibea's] hot repast"[54]. The darkness of evil closes in. Elicia dares disguise her voice as a man's and shouts a challenge to the lovers from her place in the shadows. Calisto rushes in, sword at the ready, and fatally stabs Lucrecia. He will not stop at Melibea's call and, hearing the voice again, thrusts and runs Elicia through. Melibea stares, and delivers these words of justification: "Thou wert driven mad / for too jealously regarding / thine own happiness. / Now flee, thyself, / else Justice takes thee" [55]. These seem pretty stern words for one whose participation in the scenes of passion was only too willing. Does a concern for his safety soften them? Calisto, at the top of the wall, sees too late that the ladder is fallen and manages to call on Our Lady of Mercy even as he breathes his last: "I am low fallen, dead without confession" [55].

The final scene is Melibea's alone. At the top of her tower, she is able to see that her wish to die is only "the latest fire / of my desire" [56]. And so it is. This devouring passion, she realizes at last, "did consume the world," although that is a bit grandiose for the actions we have seen (but within the operatic conventions?). We may allow that she thinks so, but we do not agree. And what was it? she asks. "Nothing." "Deep in the skein / of the web I wrought / so joyously / Calisto lies" [56]. And then she imagines that the web beckons her, "dark and deeply," to approach. Commending her soul to God, she throws herself down to join the broken body of Calisto. The final curtain falls.

What conclusions may we draw? One, that this is, while not really a faithful adaptation of Rojas, certainly one which indeed owes its being to the original. The links with it do not seem, in the light of the exposition given for the libretto, to be nearly as weak as Honig wants to claim. In part, this may be attributable to Honig's desire to fend off anticipated criticisms. But in the end, more than the plot outline of LC survives. Surviving, even though modified or reworked--often to very great effect--are the themes and the central image chains: love-as-illness, the demonic entry into the yarn (which is then developed in ways Rojas did not prepare us for), the blasphemy conceits, and so on. The compression and the conflation of plot and character have taken their toll on the richness and subtleties of Rojas' (Mabbe's?) verbal model but these could, in a well-acted and sung version, be partially supplemented.

Two, the black end in Honig is blacker than in Rojas. The unrelenting gloom of the opera is partly the result of the need to put the story on the stage. In painting with broad strokes, fine points of motive are lost in the rush of concatenated actions flowing to an implacable finale. Yet, we must be careful to limit such observations to the appreciable differences which have arisen in Honig's attempts to create something new in English inspired by La Celestina. In this, I think he has succeeded. The characters are types, pushed about less by Fate than by the requirements of the romantic conventions of opera. We do not come to feel for them as we might for the originals they descend from. Honig nevertheless has made them all articulate puppets of evil desires, cunning, and the fine art of murder and of double-cross. He has produced a literate poetic text, notably free of jingles and facile rhymes and unconstrained by a metrical yoke, one which with few exceptions moves us in a straight line from a beginning to an end with purpose there to be met. Good examples abound of construction of plot, use of language, symbols, and more. For his poet's care, we can be grateful. Finally, the focus on sensual pleasure as a path to death is sustained throughout: for Honig, the metaphorical equation of death with the ultimate physical gratification is, perhaps ironically so, transformed into reality in Calisto and Melibea. This single underlying conceptualization gives the adaptation a unity and a coherence of its own. The work can, I think, stand apart and on its own merits. Even as libretto to a musical score I have not yet heard, it is an unusual piece of work within the celestinesque family. I hope, therefore, that the opera is revived. I would be most curious to see how this text works with music.



NOTES

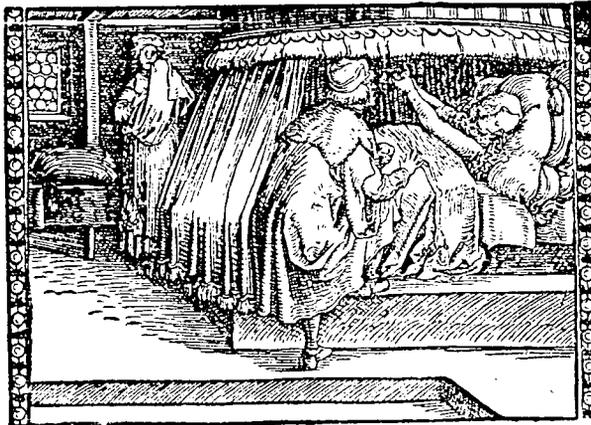
¹The quoted words appear on the title page. I think what Honig wants is to be judged by how well integrated his story of Calisto and Melibea is, as a creation not dependent on the identical ground rules that might apply to a "straight" stage adaptation based on Rojas' text directly (or exclusively). I suspect he feels that "weak" lets him off the hook for some radical restructuring he performs in Act III. In his introductory or prefatory note, Honig defends himself against precisely this kind of undesired criticism: "To convert a 170-page prose fiction, rippling with 14 full-bodied characters in sixteen-closely written acts or chapters, into a swiftly actable, perhaps singable text in verse, one had to create a dramatic poem bearing almost no relation to the original except the story idea."

²Quoted from the author's prefatory note to the text.

³Ibid.

⁴I am indebted to Professor William Bryant of Oakland University, in Michigan, for the first notice of the existence of this libretto (see, in the 2nd supplement to "La Celestina: documento bibliográfico," Celestinesca, I, ii [1977], at s87). To him also I owe my copy of the text.

⁵Page numbers will be given in square brackets and will correspond to the Hellcoal Press edition of 1972.



Acto XXI. Pleberio consuela a Alisa, estando allí Alicia. De la traducción alemana de C. Wirsung (1520).

PREGONERO



Toledo, 1526

Sigue en pie, estimulador y grato, el interés mundial en *La Celestina* que documenta el PREGONERO . . . debe entenderse que es aun mayor de lo que indican las pocas noticias que podemos incluir en este número de nuestro boletín, siendo que no contamos todavía con informes regulares de los mismos celestinistas, repartidos como están en todas partes del mundo. Pero poco a poco . . .

CELESTINA EN LAS TABLAS: Los lectores de este apartado de *Celestinesca* recordarán que en un número precedente, hubo una noticia sobre una versión de LC "en la que se pone de manifiesto la crisis de toda ideología, la represión, la magia, la herejía y el amor" (*ABC*, 16 de septiembre de 1978). El adaptador era nadie menos que ALFONSO SÁSTRE y su versión se destinaba a estrenarse en Roma, con un Calisto ex-monje y con una Melibea prostituta. . . . Ahora nos llega una noticia del suceso, en las páginas de *El País* (2 de mayo, 1979), escrita por Juan Arias. Unos excerptos :

"(Sastre) había sido invitado por el teatro de Roma a realizar esta adaptación moderna de lo que aquí los críticos llaman 'la tragicomedia por excelencia.' (. . .) ha sido estrenada en el teatro Argentina con un lleno hasta la bandera y muchísimos aplausos (. . .) todas las críticas ponen de relieve el gran ingenio de Sastre y la acertada dirección de Luigi Squarzina (. . .) la originalísima y penetrante música de Benedetto Ghiglia y (. . .) los principales protagonistas, como Anna Maestri, Lisa Gastoni e Ivo Garrani. A algunos críticos les hubiese gustado, sin embargo, una obra aún más grotesca (. . .) (el) pesimismo de fondo de la obra ha sido muy subrayado por varios críticos, los cuales al mismo tiempo reconocen que esta lectura *sastriana* de una *Celestina* amarga en realidad proyecta en el teatro la vida dura del artista 'que nunca se doblegó al horror y al vacío de la dictadura franquista.' (. . .) SASTRE, . . . afirmó que 'como en otros dramas precedentes, en esta obra, he querido moverme entre temas de manifiesto ámbito político y de reflexiones existenciales sobre la historia y la naturaleza humana.' " . . . Con la *Celestina* preparada por CELA para la Compañía Lope de Vega de Madrid (estreno en febrero de 1978), de inspiración más bien del propio texto de Rojas pero también--por la escenificación--centro de controversias, ofrece esta producción de Roma evidencia de la contemporaneidad del genio rojiano. Señalo, de paso, dos recientes apreciaciones de la versión de

Cela, puesta en escena por José Tamayo: *Cuadernos hispanoamericanos*, núms. 337-338 (1978), 230-32, por Sabas Martín; y *Razon y Fe*, 197 (1978), 318-22, por J. Paulino. . . . La última noticia que sólo mencionamos aquí (aparece una reseña en otra parte de este número) es el espectáculo del estreno mundial de la ópera *Calisto and Melibea* (en inglés) en Davis, California, música por Jerome Rosen y el libreto por Edwin Honig, este último conocido traductor de la literatura española. Esta versión se debe no a LC de Rojas, sino a la traducción inglesa de Mabbe (1631).

CELESTINA EN EL CINE. Lejos estamos de la película que de LC hizo César Ardavin (ver LCDB 152 y también s201) en 1959, tan lejos que estamos dudando si hemos leído bien al leer los anuncios de una nueva versión cinematográfica de "Celestina (los placeres del sexo)." Estrenada el 4 de junio de 1979 simultáneamente en cuatro cinemas de Madrid ("Drugstore," "Alvi," "Concepción," y "Pavón"), la película de Miguel Sabido fue protagonizada por Isela Vega, Luigi Montefiori y Ofeli Guilmain. No reveló--acaso afortunadamente--el anuncio de *El País* (3 de junio, 1979) ninguna asociación con la obra de Rojas. Ofrecemos el texto (sin comentario alguno) de otras partes del anuncio: "El diablo y Celestina tentando a Melibea a caer en el paraíso de las pasiones carnales;" "¡Grosera, descocada, soez! Nunca un filme mostró tanta belleza bañada en orgías perversas." Si alguien ha visto esta película y puede informarnos más sobre ella, se lo agradeceríamos mucho.

CELESTINA EN CUATRO TESIS. CARLOS RUBIO-LLAVE, quien ha publicado en estas páginas, "El juego de seducciones de LC: una estructura dramática (vol. 2, núm. 1: 13-23), defendió su tesis doctoral de la U. de California-Berkeley, "Una lectura semántica de LC," hace unos meses. El director de ella, CHARLES FAULHABER. . . . Otra tesis doctoral de la misma universidad, dirigida por JOHN K. WALSH, era BARBARA ANN RISS. "Pero Díaz de Toledo's *Proverbios de Seneca*: An annotated Edition of MS S-II-10 of the Escorial Library." Lo que más nos interesa de ella es que en las páginas ix-xi aparecen unos pasajes de LC que han sido sacados--palabra por palabra--de las *glosas* que tuvo a bien poner Díaz de Toledo a los *Proverbios*. Esperemos ver impreso cuanto antes el cotejo de los trozos relevantes. . . . Hay dos tesis en preparación en Estados Unidos, según el número más reciente de *Hispania* (revista de la AATSP) y son: MICHAEL DULICK, "LC and Chaucer's Troilus: A Comparative Study," dirigida por R. R. MAZZA de la St. Louis University (Missouri), y PATRICIA S. FINCH, "The Esoteric World of the Celestinesque Novel," dirigida por BRUNO DAMIANI de la Catholic University (Washington, D.C.).

NOTULAS: Están actualmente dando sendas asignaturas los profesores J. R. STAMM y NICASIO SALVADOR MIGUEL (Madrid) sobre LC y la literatura celestinesca. . . . Nos gustaría saber de otros lectores de este boletín algo sobre la enseñanza de LC en otros países, cómo se hace, en qué contexto(s) y con qué orientaciones y finalidades. . . . JENNIFER GEHRT (Austin College, Sherman TEXAS), con su breve ensayo, "Celestina como personaje y como persona," fue premiada en tercer lugar (sección ensayo) por el jurado para los Premios Literarios 1979 de la Sociedad Nacional Hispánica, SIGMA DELTA PI. Compitió en la categoría para estudiantes norteamericanos (no socios) y vio su texto publicado en *Entre Nosotros*, XXXVI, no. 9 (abril de 1979), 18-19.

CELESTINA EN PUBLICACIONES RECIENTES. En la Colección Letras e Ideas,-- 14, aparece el título de estudios coleccionados de PETER RUSSELL (Oxford University), *Temas de 'LC' y otros estudios: del Cid al Quijote* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1978). Contiene 5 cosas distintas (págs. 241-375) que versan sobre LC: dos artículos publicados antes, dos artículos-reseñas, y un inédito con el título, "LC y los estudios jurídicos de Fernando de Rojas."



Ha sido agotado durante mucho tiempo el interesante estudio *Amor, muerte y fortuna en 'LC'* de ERNA BERNDT-KELLEY (Smith College). Ahora está re-editada por Gredos, corregida y actualizada por la autora. Bienvenido sea.

De reciente aparición es el artículo bibliográfico de ALBERT J. GERITZ (Hays State College), "Recent Studies in John Rastell," *English Literary Renaissance* 8 (1979), 341-50. En él hay varias cosas sobre la obra impresa por Rastell (y, según algunos, de su mano también), el 'interlude' de *Calisto & Melebea*. En otra parte de este número, el mismo GERITZ ha preparado para *Celestinesca* un panorama más específico al respecto. Espero pueda animar más estudio de la trasmisión del texto de Rojas--y su verdadera influencia--sobre la obra impresa hacia 1525-1530 por Rastell.

CELESTINA EN FUTURAS PUBLICACIONES. H. SALVADOR MARTINEZ (aparecerá en la *Hispanic Review*), "Cota y Rojas: Contribución al estudio de las fuentes y la autoría de LC." . . . J. T. SNOW (para la misma revista), "An Additional Attestation of the Popularity of Rojas's Character Creations from an Early Seventeenth-Century MS." . . . Son tres las ediciones que se están preparando en la actualidad de LC: 1) NICASIO SALVADOR MIGUEL (para Ed. Alhambra); 2) J. T. SNOW (para Ed. Almar, col. Patio de Escuelas; y 3) DOROTHY S. SEVERIN (para Tâmesis) . . . y ahora Clásicos PLAYOR anuncia una cuarta que contendrá una introducción, notas, una cronología del período, una bibliografía, varios índices (onomástico, temático), resumen de la obra y un apéndice "con el desarrollo a las interrogantes fundamentales en torno a la significación y el análisis de la obra." . . . Comunica el profesor SALVADOR MIGUEL que prepara unos artículos sobre las resonancias de LC en las letras del s. XVI y del s. XVII, y que ahora dirige su atención a la novelística de FRANCISCO DELICADO . . . Hablando de Delicado, están preparando (con la ayuda de RICHARD TYLER) las profesoras CATHERINE NICKEL y PAMELA BRAKHAGE (Univ. de Nebraska) una traducción al inglés de *La lozana andaluza*. . . Un artículo-reseña extensa (aparecerá en la *Journal of Hispanic Philology*, vol. III, núm. 3) sobre el libro--y la polémica suscitada por él--de STEPHEN GILMAN, *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas* (1972). Autor de él es GEORGE SHIPLEY (Univ. de Washington-Seattle), también corresponsal de *Celestinesca*.

CELESTINA Y OBRAS "EN CAMINO": El profesor JAMES R. STAMM (New York Univ.) nos informa que ha completado ya cuatro de los seis capítulos proyectados de su libro sobre LC y ciertas de sus imitaciones. Los llevó a cabo en Italia durante un año sabático. . . El proyecto de ADRIENNE S. MANDEL (California State Univ. - Northridge) es de completar en lo venidero un estudio sobre la historia de las ilustraciones a LC. Sigue acumulando muestras e informes pertinentes. . . . ESPERANZA GURZA (Puget Sound Univ.), autora del libro, *Lectura existencialista de 'LC'*

(ver LCDB, s125), trabaja ahora el tema de la oralidad de *LC*. Le concedió una beca la National Endowment for the Humanities para pasar el verano de 1979, junto con otros, en un grupo selecto, en la Universidad de Pennsylvania bajo la dirección general de SAMUEL G. ARMISTEAD. Allí emprendió su estudio, basándose en las ideas de Walter J. ONG sobre el poder y la presencia de la palabra dicha en una sociedad orientada hacia la expresión oral-aural. Llevará mucho más tiempo dicho estudio: tal vez tengamos más que ofrecer en futuras ediciones del *Pregonero* sobre el progreso de los estudios de E. GURZA. Ya que mencionamos su primer libro, no podemos evitar decir que viene siendo reseñado mucho en los últimos dieciocho meses. Señalamos ocho reseñas que hemos visto:

Ciudad de Dios, XCX (1977), 675-76, L. Pérez Blanco;
Estafeta Literaria, núms. 618-19 (1977), 2918-19, L. Landero Durán;
Boletín de la Academia Colombiana, 27 (1977), 143-4, anón.;
Hispania 61 (1978), 999, G. P. Andrachuk;
Celestinesca 2, núm. 2 (1978), 39-47, C. Morón Arroyo;
Hispanic Review 47 (1979), 258-61, E. Berndt-Kelley;
Speculum 54 (1979), 572-4, J. F. Burke;
Explicación de textos literarios 7 (1978-79), 214-15, T. Fonte.

CELESTINA EN LOS CONGRESOS. "Picasso y *LC*" era el título de una ponencia por MARLYN MC CULLY (Princeton) en el 64^o Congreso de la College Art Association (Chicago, 1-4 de feb., de 1976). Subrayó el interés del pintor en *LC* a través de los años, indicando cierta evolución en su tratamiento del tema.

Mucho más recientemente, la profesora ADRIENNE MANDEL (California State-Northridge) leyó su "*LC*: texto y contexto socio-cultural en la crítica contemporánea," en el simposio sobre El Horizonte Histórico-Cultural del Viejo Mundo en Vísperas del Descubrimiento de América (Cuenca, 21 de mayo, 1979). . . Y este mes, en la asamblea de la Midwest Modern Language Association (Indianapolis, 13-15 Nov., 1979), hubo otra ponencia, ésta dedicada a "Structure and Narrative Technique in *LC*: The Asides," preparada por ARTHUR C. OLDS (Michigan St. U.). La sesión fue convocada por JERRY R. RANK y dicha ponencia contestada por E. J. WEBBER, ellos autores de varias contribuciones en el campo de la celestinesca. . . Finalmente, una futura ponencia es la de J. R. STAMM (New York U.), "*LC*: The Debate Ends," que él presentará en una sesión especial (The Antifeminist Debate in Castilian Literature) del congreso anual del Medieval Institute, Kalamazoo, Michigan en mayo de 1980.

AGRADECEMOS a los corresponsales de *Celestinesca* su apoyo y, además de ellos, a varias personas que han contribuido informes para esta sección: J. K. WALSH, W. J. SMITHER, D. W. Mc PHEETERS, J. R. STAMM, G. WEST, H. WOODBRIDGE, N. SALVADOR MIGUEL, J. R. RANK y V. CANO. . . Solicitamos para los futuros PREGONEROS la activa participación de nuestros suscritores y amigos en el envío de las curiosidades, sean serias o jocosas.





CALISTO AND MELEBEA: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Albert J. Geritz
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∞ I. STATE OF CRITICISM

Criticism of *Calisto and Melebea* (henceforth *C & M*) is not easily accessible, scattered as it is throughout chapters of books, unpublished dissertations, and journals. Yet its mention in numerous standard literary histories, anthologies, and journal articles reflects its secure status as a minor, though significant, Tudor interlude, illustrating the relationship between English and Spanish works. Some scholars, especially those with a penchant for illuminating a text with references to its author's life, have been often distracted from the literary, dramatic qualities of *C & M* as their searches for its author(s) range from John Rastell to his son-in-law, John Heywood, from (an) unknown member(s) of Thomas More's Circle to one, perhaps several, of Vives' students. Because the authorship question is presently unresolved, other critics have concerned themselves with *C & M*'s relationship to *La Celestina* (henceforth *C*), a more worthwhile approach if it does not ignore essential differences in the genres, purposes, intentions, audiences, and auspices of both. Completed and proposed studies of *C & M* have provided new materials (with the promise of more) on its employment of a Spanish masterpiece in an interlude combining the qualities of a translation/synopsis and a morality play to form a frame for humanistic viewpoints on often-debated, irresolvable questions, such as the "good and evil properties" of women, feminism and anti-feminism, joyful poverty and cynical materialism, youth and age, and idealism and realism.

∞ II. GENERAL STUDIES

A. BIOGRAPHICAL. If John Rastell, the versatile brother-in-law of Thomas More and printer of *C & M*, also wrote it (see IV), A. W. Reed's *Early Tudor Drama* (1926) broke ground for twentieth-century explorations of Rastell's career. Reed emphasizes Rastell's importance as an innovator of morality plays and freer forms of imaginative drama and aptly epitomizes

his efforts, saying few men "illustrate more completely the eager restlessness, the varied interests and the tragic ironies of the sixteenth century." Appendices provide essential documents about More's journey to Coventry in 1506 to visit his sister Elizabeth (Rastell's wife); Rastell's house and stage in Finsbury Fields; his abortive voyage to the newly-found lands in 1517; his self-imposed exile in Ireland; and his conversion to Protestantism because of John Frith's reply to his purgatory tract. Some of Reed's insights depend on those found in H. R. Plomer's "John Rastell and his Contemporaries," *Bibliographica*, 2 (1896), 437-51, a study uncovering many facts about Rastell's London printing career, some of which relate to *C & M*. The opening chapter, "A Biographical Sketch of John Rastell," of Amos Lee Laine's "John Rastell: An Active Citizen of the English Commonwealth," Diss. Duke (1972) incorporates materials unavailable to Reed.

B. GENERAL INTERPRETATIVE STUDIES. In *The Sir Thomas More Circle: A Program of Ideas and Their Impact on Secular Drama* (1959), Pearl Hogrefe discusses the education of women, love, and marriage when she turns to *C & M* and compares the English adaptation to *C*. She examines the amount of moralizing in the English version and believes the play, "when compared with its source and with the comments of More, Erasmus, and Vives on women, love, and marriage, seems a deliberate piece of propaganda for the beauty and properties of women." Concerning its authorship, Hogrefe advances the unusual suggestion that three hands may be detected in it. David M. Bevington's *From "Mankind" to Marlowe* (1962) places the humanist *C & M* in the larger context of popular drama in Tudor England. Though such humanist dramas contain certain popular motifs and provide dramatic entertainment, they intend to teach audiences moral and secular lessons. In *Tudor Drama and Politics* (1968), Bevington considers *C & M* as a manifesto of contemporary social, political, and economic movements in which aristocratic idleness is contrasted with virtuous poverty. Often disagreeing with Hogrefe and Bevington's interpretations, Richard Allen Pacholski's "The Humanist Drama of the Sir Thomas More Circle," Diss. University of Wisconsin (1969), examines *C & M* and four other interludes in an attempt to qualify critical commonplaces about early Tudor drama being "thematically humanistic, theatrically dull, and aesthetically mediocre" (see III). J. E. Bernard's *The Prosody of the Tudor Interlude* (1939) contains detailed charts, showing the percentages of various meters, rhymes, and rhythms used in *C & M* and other dramas of the period. The staging of *C & M*, especially how its lines indicate dramatic entrances, exits, and action and how some of its techniques are far in advance of its time, is discussed in Richard Southern's *The Staging of Plays Before Shakespeare* (1973).

See Also

Boas, F. S. "Early English Comedy," in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, 5, *The Drama to 1642* (1910), 89-136.

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III. DETAILED INTERPRETATIVE STUDIES

C & M has long elicited critical disagreement. On the one hand, A. W. S. Rosenbach's "The Influence of 'The C' in Early English Drama," *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-gesellschaft*, 39 (1903), 43-61, argues that the brevity of *C & M* improves its staging, makes its characters more forceful, and brings its theme into sharper focus. In *Foreign Influences in Elizabethan Plays* (1923), F. E. Schelling finds its clearly distinguished characters, lively dialogue, tight structure, and realistic plot unusual considering the state of English letters at its composition. On the other hand, James Fitzmaurice-Kelly condemns its happy, moralistic ending, which he claims alters the original's tragic conclusion, and its clumsy arrangement and dialogue in *The Relations Between Spanish and English Literature* (1910). He also comments on the interlude in his edition of James Mabbe's 1631 translation of *C* (1894), calling it "a wretched and lying piece of work [that] fell dead in the town", a remark revealing his critical "imagination," since nothing is known about how the play was originally received. The introduction to H. Warner Allen's *An Interlude of C & M (For the First Time Accurately Reproduced from the Original Copy), Printed by John Rastell, c. 1530. C or The Tragi-Comedy of C & M, Trans. from Spanish by James Mabbe, anno. 1631* (1908) strikes a balance between the views of Rosenbach, Schelling, and Fitzmaurice-Kelly (see V). Doubting Rastell or Heywood's authorship, advancing the influences of Vives, and speculating on its composition by one of Vives' Oxford students anxious to please his master, Allen praises the English author's resolution of the problem all art must solve, the fusion of idealism and realism, and sees the titular characters as prototypes of Romeo and Juliet. While lauding its use of real rather than allegorical characters, the unities, and the essentials of "regular drama," Allen concedes some shortcomings, which make it only a reflection of the original. Pacholski (see II. B) views *C & M*, the shortest dramatic production of the More circle and the most dependent on its source, as the most diverse in its intentions, being simultaneously a translation/synopsis of *C*, a drama currying to popular taste, a courtly interlude with sophisticated verbal devices, and a moral exemplum against the evils of courtly love. Taking issue with Hogrefe's notion (see II, B) that Melebea is the "ideal maiden" tricked by the bawd, Celestina, and the courtly lover, Calisto, Pacholski demonstrates Melebea knows full well the implications and consequences of the seduction Calisto intends. H. D. Purcell's "The *C* and the *Interlude of C & M*," *BHS*, 44 (1967), 1-15, attempts to determine the exact relationship between *C* and *C & M* and suggests a French redaction of the Spanish work may have been its source. Calling the interlude an adaptation and not a "mere truncated translation," Purcell praises its compression of time and its contractions of action and character motivation, while he points out images only an English audience could recognize.

IV. AUTHORSHIP

Authorship problems with *C & M* (as suggested in I, II, A & B) are most perplexing. Although some scholars insist *C & M* remains anonymous,

many authorities give it to Rastell. Because Rastell often functions as author, translator, editor, and printer, it is difficult to determine his relationship to some works from his press, and the ambiguous Latin colophon of *C & M* has long obscured its attribution. In "John Rastell's Dramatic Activities," *MP*, 13 (1916), 557-60, C. R. Baskervill uses parallel passages in *C & M* to demonstrate it is a product of the author of *The Four Elements*, Rastell. A. W. Reed's "John Rastell's Plays," *Library*, 37 (1919), 1-17, places *C & M* in Rastell's canon. In his *Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature* (1956), Gustav Ungerer considers *C*'s influence in *C & M* at length, notes certain word choices and patterns of usage characteristic of Rastell's other works, and utilizes those traits to substantiate Rastell's authorship. The notions that Rastell may have collaborated with others or not been involved in the composition of the play at all are often overlooked, though conclusive evidence to substantiate these claims (just as that necessary to prove Rastell's authorship) is unavailable.

See Also

- Bates, K. L. and L. B. Godfrey. *English Drama: A Working Basis* (1896).
- Harbage, A. *Annals of English Drama, 975-1700* (1940).
- Nicoll, Allardyce. *British Drama: An Historical Survey from the Beginnings to the Present Time* (1925).
- Pollard, Alfred W. and G. R. Redgrave, et. al. *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in English, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640* (1926).

≡ V. EDITIONS

Allen (see III) provides the best text of *C & M* (1908). Taken from the only surviving copy of the *editio princeps* preserved in the Bodleian Library, it includes valuable notes. Robert Dodsley, I (1744), W. Carew Hazlitt (1874), and John S. Farmer, *Early English Dramatists*, I (1905), also edited it. W. W. Greg and Frank Sidgwick printed a facsimile of the *editio princeps* (1908).



LA CELESTINA: DOCUMENTO BIBLIOGRAFICO

SEXTO SUPLEMENTO

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I. PALABRAS PREVIAS

Al presentar este suplemento, cuyo intento es igual al de todos sus predecesores, es decir, de documentar el interés en *LC* en el mundo de hoy, me parece otra vez notable la gran diversidad de las actividades eruditas y teatrales que, como es natural, abarcan siempre nuevas traducciones, ediciones y adaptaciones. Muchos de los nombres que aparecen en este suplemento son nuevos en el campo de la celestinesca; otros son conocidísimos. Entre ellos, la marcha continúa y el interés en *LC* sigue renovándose con los más variados resultados. A pesar de todo lo que se ha dicho sobre la obra de Rojas, no se la ha sondeado todavía. Pero donde una puerta se cierra, otra se abre. Sería bueno si en el futuro abriésemos mas la puerta al todavía muy fértil y no demasiado labrado campo del lenguaje de Rojas, en todas sus facetas.

Quisiera agradecer la bondad de ciertas personas quienes me indicaron estudios (o me los mandaron) que se reseñan en este suplemento: D. W. McPheeters, D. Hook, E. Naylor, P. T. Johnson, N. Valis y R. Anderson.



II. SUPLEMENTO

■ Estudios monográficos:

- S280. Martínez-Miller, Orlando. *La ética judía y 'La Celestina' como alegoría*. Colección Polymita, Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1978. 280 págs.

Un estudio sobre la influencia de ciertos escritos éticos en la formación de Rojas y, por consiguiente, de *LC*. Por no querer Rojas publicar su judaísmo, hay que descifrar tanto lo que no se dice en su obra maestra cuanto lo que sí se dice. Por ende, y con la ayuda de un resumen de varios escritos éticos de casta judía que pudo haber leído Rojas--en particular el libro *Almenara de la Luz* de Isaac Aboab (muerto en 1492)--Martínez-Miller analiza el carácter, la moral, las ideas, los temas y el aspecto alegórico de *LC* a la luz de dichos escritos.

La bibliografía que ofrece al final refleja poco conocimiento de la crítica opuesta a esta formulación.

- a. *Celestinesca* 3, ii (1979), 25 - 26, K. Whinnom.

▮ Ediciones estudiantiles:

S281. Rojas, Fernando de. *LC*. Barcelona: Mundo Actual de Ediciones, 1977. 385 págs.

S282. _____. *LC*. Col. clásicos universales de la literatura española, Londres/Madrid: S.A. de Promoción y Ediciones, 1978. 256 págs.

Encuadernado en piel.

S283. _____. *LC*. Barcelona: Ed. Argos-Vergara, 1979. 456 págs.

S284. _____. *LC*. Col. clásicos, Barcelona: Producciones Editoriales. 1979. 320 págs.

▮ Adaptaciones y traducciones:

S285. Rojas, F. de, y Camilo José Cela. *LC*. Ancora y Delfín, 540, Barcelona: Destino, 1979, 263 págs. + 1 h.

La versión en castellano moderno que levemente retoca la obra original y la que llama Cela "cuaderno de trabajo." Era base esta versión de la representación de *LC* [s197] dirigida en 1978 por José Tamayo en Madrid.

S286. Rojas F. de. *La Celestina*, comentada por Enrique Llovet. Spanish Literary Masterpieces, LM-6, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970.

Una cinta, 30 diapositivas y un folleto bilingüe con 16 pags. Introducción para nuevos alumnos.

S287. *Calisto and Melibea*. Música de Jerome Rosen. Libreto de Edwin Honig.

Opera cantada [en inglés] en tres actos y 16 escenas, tuvo su estreno mundial en la Universidad de California-Davis el 31 de mayo, 1979, bajo la dirección de Jan Popper. Se presentó 8 veces en una temporada especial de dos semanas. Figuraban en ella: Patrick Neve, en Calisto; Lenore Turner, Melibea; Gloria Blackburn, Celestina; Stephen Valentino, Sempronio; Jeanette Montineri, Elicia; Christine Moore, Lucrecia; Mark Marriott, Tristán; y Ron Schuver y Bruce Turner, como dos alguaciles.

a. *Davis Enterprise* (1 junio 1979), A. Juncker;

b. *Celestinesca* 3, ii (nov., 1979), 27-30, R. Anderson.

- S288. Rojas F. de. *LC*. Traducida al árabe por Mahmud Sobh. Clásicos Hispanos, 4, Madrid: Inst. Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1977. xvi, 148 págs.

No es esta una traducción de la obra de Rojas sino la de una adaptación escénica, de Escobar y Pérez de la Ossa (LCDB 197.1), publicada en 1959. Hay una breve introducción en lengua española por Felisa Sastre Serrano.

▮ Estudios no monográficos, artículos, notas:

- S289. Custodio, A. "LC como experiencia teatral." *Celestinesca* 3, (1979), 33-38.

Notas preparadas después de haber dirigido en Los Angeles versiones en español e inglés de *LC*. Discurre sobre las dificultades de montar la obra y la reacción del público al teatro clásico.

- S290. Forcadas, A. M. "'Mira a Bernardo' es alusión con sospecha." *Celestinesca* 3, i (1979), 11-18.

Reanuda sus argumentaciones, iniciadas antes (ver LCDB 382) pero luego rebatidas por el crítico E. M. Gerli (*Celestinesca* I, ii [1977], 7-10), en apoyo de la identificación de 'Bernardo' como el santo de Claraboya. Demuestra que el contexto de *LC* en que el nombre aparece es un lugar común del medioevo y excluye a Bernat de Cabrera (el candidato de Gerli) de consideración. Insiste, por la evidente ambivalencia textual--sobre si San Bernardo apoyaba o negaba la Inmaculada Concepción de María--que dicha alusión puede considerarse judaizante.

- S291. Gulstad, Daniel E. "Melibea's Demise: The Death of Courtly Love." *La Corónica* 7 (1978-79), 71-80.

Razona G., a base de unas percepciones sobre la ironía y el presagio artístico de Rojas, que la estructura clásica de los mitos de Hero, Tisbe y Dido--en que las heroínas se suicidan después de desaparecidos los héroes--da una pista a la conceptualización de la *Comedia*. Según su parecer, la caída de Melibea (comienzo temático) le da a Rojas la pauta de las otras caídas, todas relacionadas con una moral. Por todo lo que Melibea viene a simbolizar, a medida que la trama se desenreda hacia su climax, su voluntario despeñamiento de la torre de su padre (=caída de la *domna* de su pedestal) señala la muerte de los valores encarecidos por la literatura cortesana.

- S292. Gutiérrez de la Solana, Alberto. "Literatura y criminalidad: Yago y Celestina," *Círculo: Revista de Cultura*, 7 (1978), 81-95.

En los anales de la criminología literaria, Celestina es más humana, simpática y mucho menos innatamente perversa que el Yago

de Shakespeare. El análisis aquí presentado de las dos figuras, que apoya esta tesis, pretende derrumbar la opuesta y muy citada opinión de Menéndez y Pelayo (de su estudio en *Orígenes de la Novela*).

- S293. Hook, David. "The Genesis of the *Auto de Traso*." *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 3 (1979), 107-20.

Exposición esmerada y aclaratoria de varios aspectos del *Auto de Traso*, a saber: su historia textual (con un apéndice de variantes, y la stemma construida sobre ellas); *LC* (entre otras obras) como fuente de su estructura y estilo verbal; los posibles (y convincentes) motivos que pudo tener el autor anónimo en componerlo; y su papel en la tradición textual de la obra de Rojas.

- S294. Lihani, John. *Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*. Twayne's World Author Series, 522, Boston: G. K. Hall, 1979.

Alude varias veces a la influencia de *LC* sobre la inventiva dramática de Torres Naharro [ver el 'Índice'], y sobre todo en la *Comedia Ymeneá* (110-13) y la *Comedia Aquilana* (141-44).

- S295. Monge, Félix. "Celestina: La seducción y el lenguaje," en *Orbis Medievalis: Mélanges . . . offerts à Reto Raduolf Bezzola*, ed. G. Güntert et al (Berne: Francke, 1978), 269-80.

Monge, al considerar el empleo y manipulación lingüísticas de Celestina y Gerarda (de *La Dorotea* de Lope), concluye que ésta, por no ser sólo alcahueta de oficio emplea un lenguaje más flexible que el de Celestina, observación respaldada por las instancias textuales en *La Dorotea* de la crítica lingüística. Gerarda, más bien que reflejar un tipo resucitado, corresponde a los gustos renovados de la época y a la ficción en que actúa. En cuanto a su habilidad en la seducción verbal, esto sí lo heredó de Celestina.

- S296. Rodríguez, Fermín. "Las técnicas de avance y retroceso en *Diálogo entre el amor y un viejo* y *La Celestina*." *Explicación de textos literarios* 7 (1978-79), 151-55.

Breve exposición--con ejemplos textuales--del tema titular, o de cómo el Viejo y Melibea se rinden, respectivamente, al Amor y Celestina. La técnica es semejante pero la realización artística es distinta.

- S297. Smyth, Philip. "Two Contrasting Adaptations of *LC* to the Stage," *Language Quarterly* (Tampa, Florida) 17, Nos. 3-4 (1979), 29-30.

Las dos son la de Eric Bentley (*LCDB* 231)--más bien consciente de la tradición textual de *LC*--y la de H. Claus (*LCDB* 224.1)--más bien experimental y que aprovecha *LC* para fines personales. No es un estudio de ellas; son notas de un lector, breves y descriptivas.

- S298. Snow, Joseph. "LC: documento bibliográfico. Quinto suplemento." *Celestinesca* 3, i (1979), 45-54.

Unos 39 nuevos títulos en el campo de la celestinesca (tesis, libros, ediciones, artículos, notas bibliográficas), la mayor parte de ellos con un comentario.

- S299. Snow, Joseph. "LC of Felipe Pedrell." *Celestinesca* 3, i (1979), 19-32.

Presenta la historia de *LC* que compuso Pedrell, una ópera de 1903 que hasta la fecha no se ha llevado a la escena en España. Comienza con su fascinación desde niño con la obra y los pasos que le llevan a ponerle música, y acaba con el olvido en que la obra y su autor habían caído cuando Pablo Casals tocó una selección en 1921 en Barcelona. Incluye un resumen de la acción del libreto que Pedrell mismo adaptó del texto de Rojas.

- S300. West, Geoffrey. "The Unseemliness of Calisto's Toothache." *Celestinesca* 3, i (1979), 3-10.

El dolor de muelas, que viene a sustituir la pasión amorosa de Calisto en el encuentro entre Celestina y Melibea (Acto IV), tiene una larga asociación literaria con la pena del amor carnal frustrado, la cual viene generosamente ejemplificada en este estudio. Importantemente, Rojas revela su penetración psicológica en el carácter de Melibea: su presta disposición a aceptar la ficción de Celestina nos revela cuán deseosa ella es de encontrar un remedio a sus propias pasiones.



Celestina. De la portada de la adaptación escénica de Luis Escobar y Huberto Pérez de la Ossa. Madrid, 1959.

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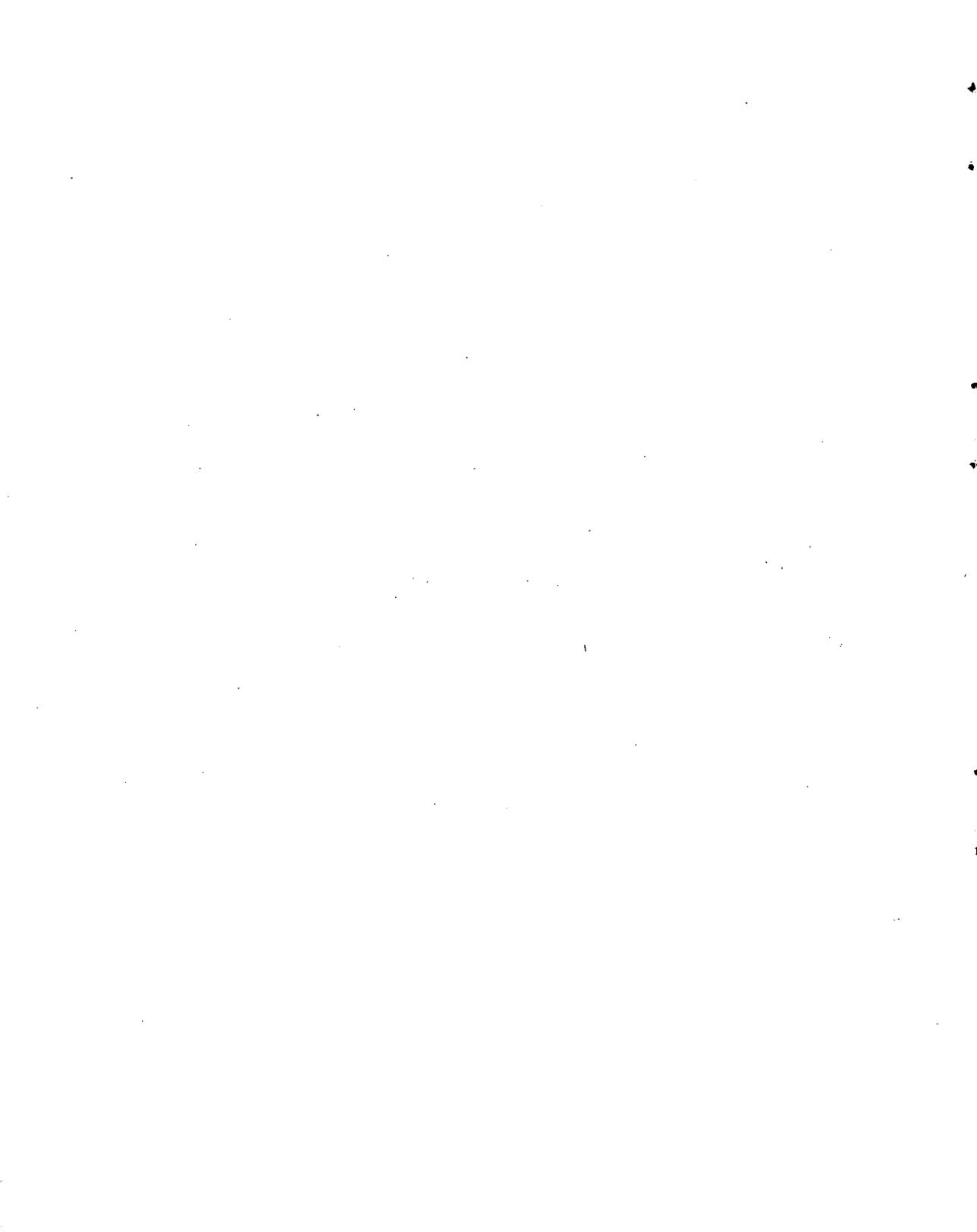
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CELESTINESCA accepts brief items for publication. It is a newsletter with an international readership and its primary purpose is to keep subscribers--individual and institutional--abreast of the scholarship and general-interest matters relating to the phenomenon of "la celestinesca."

There is no minimum length. However, papers longer than 15 pages (footnotes included) will be discouraged, but not for this reason alone rejected. Brief articles and notes should treat well-defined points concerning either the text or interpretation of LC, its imitations, continuations, translations, theatrical adaptations, etc. Items may treat matters of literary, linguistic, stylistic or other concerns. Bibliographies dealing with works related to LC will be considered for publication.

Submissions should be the original. A second copy (carbon or a xerox) should also be sent. Text, quotations, and footnotes will be double-spaced. MLA Style Sheet or the MHRA Style Sheet are 2 acceptable guides to form, but internal consistency is a must. Material in the footnotes ought to be fully documented (to include publishers), and may, whenever practical, be abbreviated by using the reference no. of items from the LCDB (HISPANIA 59 [1969], 610-60, and the supplements appearing in CELESTINESCA).

All submissions will be read by the editor and another reader. Notification will normally follow within two months.

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