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# CELESTINESCA



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# CELESTINECA

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# CELESTINESCA

## NOTA DEL EDITOR

✘ "por entre las puertas"

Three years of *Celestinesca* have come and gone. With this number we begin a fourth year. I have been more than pleased with the variety of articles and the backgrounds of our contributors thus far, with the amount of up-to-date information on theatrical goings-on in the continuing efforts to somehow stage a satisfactory *Celestina*, and with the growing number of readers and subscribers who are sending in information and writing so many letters of general appreciation and support of our efforts to be timely, relevant, and varied in all we print. Equally exhilarating to me is the number of items that people are desirous of placing in *Celestinesca* in the future. Until they actually arrive, it would be foolhardy to mention them, but many promise to be exciting and even provocative. Since it is our desire to provide an international service, I am pleased to note a growing number of overseas subscribers (and submissions) to *Celestinesca*.

In this issue three items come from abroad (England and Hungary) and three are from U. S. readers. The bibliography and PREGONERO sections are also equally balanced. Perhaps more steps can be taken when many of us meet this summer in Venice for the VII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas.

There are yet a few new ideas I should like to try on our readers everywhere. One is quite straightforward. It is that I am thinking about encouraging you (your talented friends, or even students) to submit illustrations for use in CELESTINESCA. For the present at least, it could not be a matter of a business proposition: it would, however, give budding artists/illustrators a first forum. If you can think of ways (or people) to further this idea, your help and advice would be appreciated. We would not, of course, be able to work with color, but many things are best brought out in black and white: pen and ink sketches would be ideal. We use an 8 1/2 by 11 inch page (which is then reduced), so use this when thinking about maximum dimensions, allowing for marginal spaces. If there is a neophyte talent lurking somewhere about just waiting for some chance like this, let him or her (and us) know.

Another idea that should be worth exploring, and I imagine many of us would be curious to know the result, is some manner of informal survey as to how much, how often, and with what varied approaches *La Celestina* is taught in our classrooms 'round the world. I myself haven't come up with an ideal way to begin such a sampling, although many who do teach *LC* are on our mailing list. Only occasionally do those of you who write mention

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that *LC* is on your syllabus (past, present, or future). I have always tried to include such information in the PREGONERO: however, being fallible and having a fallible filing system are factors often leading to unintended oversights. May I encourage you--when you write--to comment on your own teaching activities regarding celestinesque works? And to share any other ideas for more complete coverage of the *fenómeno celestinesco* in these pages?

To close: I would observe only that as a bibliographer of *LC* things do seem to sometimes grow "curioser and curioser." I think we all will be grateful for Prof. KULIN'S own translation of her Hungarian-language essay on *LC* (pp. 9-15 of this number). It would have been a bit much to deal with in the original. But in preparing this supplement I had also to deal with a long-ish article in Chinese (s324) and a review of the *Actas* of the Primer Congreso Internacional Sobre *LC* which has appeared in Russian. I am thankful for colleagues at Georgia who pitch in willingly to lend us their abilities in these areas. I am even feeling somewhat relieved that I have a friend at Tennessee who, when I need his help, would translate an article or review in Uzbek. One no longer can predict just where Celestina and her fellows will turn up! It certainly makes me wonder what stones I have unwittingly left unturned?

Hasta noviembre y 'quedao adios'

Joseph Snow

P. S. I must add now a happy work of thanks to Mrs. María Cristina Rodríguez who, with the completion of the typing of this number, returns with her family to their native Colombia. She has prepared the last four numbers with a concern for aesthetics and a meticulous patience that I in particular appreciate to the fullest. I am sure we all will wish that her successor will attain to the level of standards she has set. Our best wishes!

COTA, HIS IMITATOR, AND *LA CELESTINA*: THE EVIDENCE RE-EXAMINED

Dorothy S. Severin  
Westfield College - London

In his recent article on Cota and Rojas (*HR*, 48 [1980], 37-55), Salvador Martínez assembles and examines the identified possible borrowings in *La Celestina* from Rodrigo Cota's *Diálogo entre el Amor y un Viejo* and the anonymous *El Viejo, el Amor, y La Hermosa*, and comes to the astonishing conclusion that Rodrigo Cota wrote Acts I-XVI of *LC*. He reaches this conclusion in four stages:

1) by assuming that Cota is the author of the anonymous poem, an opinion that he attributes to María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, who was tentative in suggesting this possibility;<sup>1</sup> 2) by assembling uncritically all supposed borrowings listed by Lida de Malkiel and by Elisa Aragone in her critical edition of the *Diálogo*,<sup>2</sup> and by adding a few more of his own; 3) by making the erroneous statement that all of these are found in the sixteen-act *Comedia*; 4) and, finally, by apparently assuming that Rojas's acrostic verses first appeared in the *Tragicomedia* twenty-one act versions. They were in fact printed in the Toledo 1500 sixteen-act *Comedia* (which may predate Burgos 1499?) before they appeared in the *Tragicomedia*. (I gather that he makes this mistake from his concluding paragraphs; he may simply be accusing Rojas of deliberately misleading us about the authorship of Acts II-XVI).

Martínez makes one fairly serious mistake in his reasoning; he fails to notice that entry no. 29, "El falso boezuelo con su blando cencerrar trae las perdices a la red; el canto de la serena engaña los simples marineros" (Act XI), is in fact an interpolation which first appears in the *Tragicomedia*; that is to say that it must be by Rojas. He also chooses to ignore María Rosa Lida de Malkiel's suggestion (p. 673 of *La originalidad artística de 'LC'*) that Areusa's curse on Calisto and Melibea's garden in additional Act XV of the *Tragicomedia* may have been suggested by the *Diálogo*.

More significantly he seems to imply that he can prove authorship by putative source material. On that basis one could make a much more plausible case for Petrarch's authorship of Acts II-XXI of *LC*, or, rather more convincingly, a good case for Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, the Archpriest of Talavera, and parts of *LC*.<sup>3</sup>



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Since Martínez has assembled all these Cota and pseudo-Cota 'sources' in one place, I propose to examine them closely to see which are real or probable sources, which are analogs or *topoi*, and which are old saws or proverbs with other distinguishable sources. I have indicated the provenance of the original suggestion in brackets, i.e. whether Lida de Malkiel, Aragone, or Aragone and one of her acknowledged predecessors. The reader should refer to Martínez's article for the full quotations; *D* indicates the Cota *Diálogo* and *A* the pseudo-Cota.

### ACT I

1. The "Argumento del primer aucto" [Aragone; Riquer]. This was probably written by the editors of the original; Riquer has pointed out some similarity of circumstance but there is no real verbal similarity.

2. "¡Vete, vete de ay, torpe!" No verbal resemblance to either *A* or *D* apart from the imperative form of the verb *ir*.

3. "la llaga interior más emepe" [Aragone; 1911 ed]. Attributed to Seneca by the *Celestina comentada* (Madrid BN MS17631), fol. 15v.

4. "Antes lo haré cierto" [Aragone]. Looks more like a colloquialism than a borrowing.

5. "¡Ha, don malvado!" [Aragone]. No verbal resemblance.

6. "Y en su casa hazía perfumes . . ." [Aragone; FCG]. Rodrigo de Reinosa has been suggested as a more plausible source for this passage, which also seems to be topical.<sup>4</sup>

7. "¡O vejez virtuosa! ¡O virtud enuegecida!" [Aragone]. The influence of the *Diálogos*'s "¡O maldad envegecida!" looks probable.

8. "Y no solo en la humana especie" [Aragone; Cortina]. Although the verbal resemblance is not very close, there might be some influence of the *Diálogo*.

9. "ande la música" [Aragone]. No real resemblance other than the word *canciones*.

### ACT II

10. "diga donayres." Other than the words *donayres*, *canciones*, *motos*, which aren't even in the same order, there is no real resemblance.

### ACT IV

11. "la vegez no es sino . . . choça sin rama" [Aragone; Cortina]. No resemblance other than the words *choça* and *cayado*.



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12. "¿Pero quien te podría contar, señora . . .?" A *topos*, no real resemblance between these two examples.

13. "¡O angélica ymagen!" [Lida de Malkiel]. There seems to be a definite influence from the pseudo-Cota (A).

14. "¡Jesu! ¡No oyga yo mentar . . . !" No verbal resemblance.

15. "¡esto obra natura!" No verbal resemblance.

### ACT V

16. "El propósito muda el sabio." No resemblance at all.

### ACT VI

17. "¿Por qué cierras las orejas . . .?" [Aragone, Cortina]. No resemblance beyond this standard phrase.

18. "por que venga cargada de mentiras como abeja" [Aragone; 1911 ed.]. The word *abeja* is the only similarity.

19. "Yo te veo y no lo creo" [Lida de Malkiel]. This is an old saw; see Eleanor O'Kane, *Refranes y frases proverbiales y españoles de la edad media*, p. 92 (creer) and p. 228 (ver).<sup>5</sup> However, the exact repetition suggests that A could be a possible source.

20. "que de los buenos es propio las culpas perdonar" [Aragone; 1911 ed.]. Attributed to Seneca by *Celestina comentada*, fol. 111v; verbal resemblance isn't very strong.

21. "nunca mucho costó poco" [Lida de Malkiel]. This is another old saw (O'Kane, p. 165, 'mucho').

### ACT IX

22. "Aquella dulce y fiera llaga." The influence of A looks definite.

23. "corriendo caballos" [Aragone]. No real resemblance; see no. 10.

24. "su orden es mudanças." Proverbial; cf. Juan de Mena, *Laberinto de Fortuna*, st. 10.

### ACT X

25. "Sin te romper las vestiduras se lançó en tu pecho el amor. The influence of D or A (or even a combination of the two) looks possible; the clothing is not torn despite the wound.

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26. "Es un fuego escondido." Yes, a strong verbal resemblance to A's "fuego escondido . . . sabroso venino . . . llaga dulce y fiera." But also Petrarchan; see A. D. Deyermund, *The Petrarchan Sources of 'LC'*,<sup>6</sup> p. 58 (*De remediis utriusque fortunae*, i.69.A 2-3).

### ACT XI

27. "assi se suelen dar las çaraças . . ." [Lida de Malkiel; Aragone; FCG]. A definite influence of A.

28. "engañando nuestra voluntad" [Lida de Malkiel; Aragone; FCG]. Again, a definite influence of A.

29. "El falso boezuelo" [Lida de Malkiel; Aragone; FCG]. No real resemblance other than the topical 'canto de la serena'.

### ACT XII

30. "esta donzella ha de ser para él ceuo de anzuelo" [Lida de Malkiel]. Possible influence of D.

31. "Justicia hay para todos." Proverbial.

### ACT XIV

32. "O angelica ymagen . . . ante quien el mundo es feo" [Lida de Malkiel]. Definite influence of A.

33. "Mira que nunca los ausentes" [Aragone]. No resemblance other than the word *ausente(s)*.

### ACT XX

34. "Vencida de su amor." No resemblance other than the two words *Amor* and *vencido*.

### ACT XXI

35. "¡O mundo, mundo!" Traditional exclamation against the world; no verbal resemblance beyond "O mundo."

36. "yo, por triste experiencia." No verbal resemblance at all.

37. "pues agora, sin temor" [Lida de Malkiel]. Practically all Petrarchan (FCG, pp. 130-31; ADD, p. 73). Possible influence of A's last lines, "con que pagas los servicios / de los que a olor de tus vicios / van a caer en tus redes . . . En el prometer sin rienda." "Quebrar el ojo" [Aragone, Cortina]. An old saw; O'Kane, p. 173 ('ojo').

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38. "O amor, amor." No verbal resemblance other than the verb *matar*.
39. "Herida fue de ti." No verbal resemblance.
40. "Ni sé si hieres" [Aragone]. No verbal resemblance.
41. "Hazes que feo amen." No verbal resemblance; Rojas glosses an old saw.
42. "¿Quién te dio tanto poder?" [Lida de Malkiel]. Considerable influence of A: "te pusieron nombre de dios . . . la leña para tus llamas . . . siendo moço, pobre y ciego."
43. "Del mundo me quexo." A's "quexarte / del mundo" is the only similar phrase and is another commonplace.

After this examination we can conclude that the following are probable borrowings: 7, 13, 22, 26, 27, 28, 32, 42. Possible borrowings include [4], 8, [19], 25, 30, 37. We can see them best if set out by act and source. Items in brackets are highly dubious.

PROBABLE

I-D (7)  
 IV-A (13)  
 IX-A(22)  
 X-A (26)  
 XI-A(27, 28)  
 XIV-A(32)  
 XXI-A(42)

POSSIBLE

I-D(8) [A(4)]  
 [VI-A(19)]  
 X-A/D (25)  
 XII-D(30)  
 XXI-A(37)

The really startling conclusion seen from this chart is that whereas the *Diálogo* seems the definite source for the anonymous Act I, the anonymous *El Viejo, El Amor y la Hermosa* seems to be the definite source for Rojas' own Acts IV, IX, XI, XIV, XXI. While not totally ruling out the possibility that Rojas had the *Diálogo* in mind as well while dealing with Acts X and XII, it is only a possible source at two points. So unlike the primitive author, Rojas seems to have known the pseudo-Cota and to have turned to it frequently while he was writing Act IX-XI of the *Comedia*, and again for Act XXI (old XVI). The fact that he doesn't use it for additional Acts XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX is not particularly disturbing. He didn't use it for II, III, V, VII, VIII, XIII, or XX (old XV) either, and may not have used it for VI or XII. The extremely low incidence of

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possible or probable *Diálogo* sources in Act I also casts doubts on the theories of others who, like Miguel Marciales,<sup>7</sup> assign authorship of anonymous Act I of *LC* to Cota.



### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> "muy probablemente sea del mismo Cota . . .," *La originalidad artística de LC* [Snow-Schneider-Lee *LCDB* reference no. 60, p. 267, note 1].

<sup>2</sup> Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1961, pp. 48-54. She unites suggestions found in studies by Martín Riquer, F. Castro Guisasola sigla [FCG], Alonso Cortina, and F. Holle's 1911 edition.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Gerli in fact suggests him as a possible author for Act I in "LC, Act I, Reconsidered" [*LCDB* reference no. 395 (I)].

<sup>4</sup> See the two articles on this topic, Stephen Gilman and Michael J. Ruggiero's "Rodrigo de Reinosa and *LC*" [no. 439], and G. D. Trotter's "The *Coplas de las comadres* of Rodrigo de Reynosa and *LC*" [no. 480].

<sup>5</sup> *BRAE*, Anejo II (Madrid, 1959).

<sup>6</sup> Reference no. 47 [sigla ADD]. My thanks to Professor Deyermond for reading and commenting on this article.

<sup>7</sup> In his "Carta al Profesor Stephen Gilman sobre problemas rojanos y celestinescos a propósito del libro *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas*." [no. s6].



Celestina con Calisto, al salir éste de la Magdalena. Aucto XI.  
De la traducción alemana de C. Wirsung (1520).



## LEYENDO LA CELESTINA \*

Katalin Kulin  
Universidad de Budapest

La primera edición conocida de *La Celestina* (*LC*) data del último año del siglo XV. Es una versión de 16 actos que--como se sabe de otras ediciones--llevó el título de "Comedia de Calixto y Melibea." Tuvo un éxito inmediato. Cediendo a la demanda del público, el autor lo completó con cinco actos más. La versión de 21 actos fue publicada en 1502 con el título de "Tragicomedia de Calixto y Melibea".

Según el prólogo en versos acrósticos al autor, el bachiller Fernando de Rojas de Puebla de Montalbán, en Salamanca, donde estudiaba, le llegó a las manos una obra de un autor desconocido. Esta obra le infundió tal entusiasmo que decidió dedicar sus vacaciones a terminarla. Si Fernando de Rojas dice la verdad no lo sabemos; lo cierto es que apenas se conocen vacaciones mejor empleadas porque durante este breve lapso creó una de las más originales e importantes obras de la Europa de entonces. El primer acto contiene la creación del autor anónimo.

Hasta los años ochocentistas nadie puso en duda la doble autoría. La crítica romántica, sin embargo, no se dejó convencer de que una obra de concepción y realización artística tan homogénea tuviera dos autores. No obstante, las investigaciones filológicas de nuestro siglo parecen comprobar que el primer acto--de un lenguaje más arcaico--debió de producirse en una fecha más temprana. Debemos a protocolos de la Inquisición y a otros documentos de la época lo poco que se sabe acerca de la vida de Rojas: un tal Fernando de Rojas, bachiller de Puebla de Montalbán, conocido como autor de *LC*, se instaló en Talavera de la Reina en 1517 y fue alcalde mayor de la villa. Un proceso inquisitorial ofrece también datos interesantes sobre su persona. Los Reyes Católicos expulsaron de su reino en 1492

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\* Este título lo puso el editor. A su pedido, la profesora Kulin tuvo la bondad de preparar esta traducción de su POSFACIO a la reciente edición y traducción húngara de *LC*. Lo publicamos por el interés intrínseco que llevan los comentarios de tan apreciada celestinista y también por seguir la huella del interés que suscita en cada momento *LC* fuera del mundo hispánico.

a los judíos que se negaron a cristianizarse. Por lo natural, entre los conversos hubo muchos que adoptaron la nueva fe no por convicción sino cediendo a la fuerza. A muchos de ellos se les imputó el ejercicio de la ley antigua y menudearon las denuncias. Tal denuncia hizo que el suegro de Rojas fuera convocado ante el tribunal de la Inquisición. Nombró a su yerno como testigo de descargo pero Rojas quedó rechazado por la Inquisición por ser él mismo "nuevo cristiano". No tenemos datos que hayan dado testimonio de su persecución. Murió en 1541.

Como cada obra maestra, *LC* dio y da lugar ahora también a muchas discusiones. Unos buscan en ella los orígenes del drama, para otros *LC* inicia la novela hispánica. En Hungría su versión de 16 actos fue publicada en 1957 en una colección de novelas picarescas que lleva el título de *Impozatorok tüköre* y no sin justificación puesto que el mismo Pérez Galdós escribió sus "novelas dialogadas" siguiendo el modelo de *LC*. Pero razones no menos justificadas colocan la obra de Rojas dentro de una tradición dramática en la cual se destacan las comedias elegíacas escritas en latín en forma versificada y las comedias humanísticas del siglo XVI.

Sin duda alguna Rojas no pensó poner en escena *LC*. Sin mecenas era imposible contar con representación alguna. El corrector de su obra, Alonso de Proaza, exigió, sin embargo, del que la leyera, que con diferentes modulaciones de la voz imitara a los distintos personajes y sus sentimientos. Hoy, cuando las piezas teatrales hacen caso omiso de cualquier regla dramática no estamos en condiciones de pedir cuenta a *LC* por su irregularidad genérica y su clasificación no es de importancia. De los cambios de escena nos enteran las palabras de los personajes, y sus apartes perfectamente sustituyen las acotaciones de hoy. Es verdad que de ninguna manera tendríamos paciencia para asistir a un espectáculo de 21 actos. Los directores no cesan de esforzarse por poner en escena esta maravillosa creación tratando de abreviarla de muchas maneras. Que yo sepa, cada tentativa ha sido un fracaso total o por lo menos parcial puesto que hasta en el caso de éxito de taquilla se considera como fracaso una representación que se base en una interpretación equivocada. Parece ser que una versión abreviada ya en principio excluye el dibujo matizado y multifacético del hombre y sus relaciones, siendo éste el mayor logro de *LC*. Si bien sea imposible negar cierta verbosidad característica de la época, suprimir partes de cierta longitud equivaldría a despojar la obra de algún elemento esencial. El lento desenlace de la intriga es indispensable para mantener en *LC* la proporción exacta entre la comedia y la tragedia asegurando a cada una, así como a su conjunto, la autenticidad. Se necesita tiempo para hacer madurar y convertir en amor la pasión altisonante de Calisto tan justificadamente puesta en ridículo por los criados y para dejarnos convencidos de la veracidad de sus sentimientos. Una versión abreviada o bien nos hace reír de Calisto y Melibea o bien--para realzar la belleza de su amor--nos hace perder la comedia, rebosante de vitalidad, tapando la boca de los criados escarnecedores que acompañan la escena amorosa al otro lado del muro con escabrosos chistes.

¿Cuál es el secreto del interés cada vez renovado que despierta *LC*?, ¿por qué nos impresiona tanto con su vitalidad esta obra que oscila entre los extremos de un humor grosero y de escenas poéticas que logran

enternecernos? El autor--como lo afirma--sólo quiso advertir a los locos enamorados contra las estafas de los criados lisonjeros y las falsas maestrías de las alcahuetas. Propósito didáctico bien conocido de las *moralités* medievales: hecho que explica que cierta crítica quiso encarcelar en el estrecho molde de la *moralité* esta obra reacia a toda clase de categorización. Pues, si Rojas hiciera hincapié en su intención expresada apenas podría contar con el vivo interés del público de hoy. Si fue la obra la que arrastró consigo o si fue él quien perpetró este delito, lo ignoramos, pero sí sabemos que iba más allá del objetivo que reconocieron sus contemporáneos.

Aplicando un método inescrutable--si bien el criado, la prostituta o la alcahueta no cesé de repetir, según las costumbres medievales, las sabidurías de las autoridades de la Antigüedad al igual que las bromas groseras o los refranes en los cuales se filtra sabiduría popular--Rojas logra crear figuras memorables y auténticas, lo que debió de sentir su época también. No es casual que el nombre Celestina signifique alcahueta en el lenguaje corriente castellano. La personalidad avasalladora de Celestina hizo cambiar hasta el primitivo título de la obra.

Esta mujer cae en la cuenta--sin ninguna vacilación--de la persona con quien trata, adivina sus intenciones, motivos, escruta sus debilidades y deseos. Con un sentido psicológico nada desdeñable pone este talento suyo al servicio de sus intereses. Ya estos rasgos suyos serían suficientes para una representación brillante del tipo de la alcahueta. Pero Rojas no pretende personificar la noción abstracta de la alcahueta como lo hizo la *moralité*. No es únicamente el afán de dinero que apremia a Celestina--lo que sería natural en su "oficio"--sino más que nada su deseo de vivir aunque por su avanzada edad tan sólo alcance placeres mediante el dinero. Es el dinero el que le asegura un trozo de pan y unas pocas copas de vino--deseo no muy modesto en el siglo XV--y es su "oficio" el que toma muy en serio el que le permite participar aunque sólo como organizadora en los máximos placeres de la carne. Esta excelente mujer de negocios (en la obra sobran expresiones referentes al negocio, al sentido práctico, al honor del negocio y el prestigio del que sabe bien su oficio) podría contentarse con haber concertado la "amistad" entre Areúsa y Pármeno, pero Celestina, afanosa de la vida se queda junto a su cama porque--como dice--le quedó aun el sabor en las encías, no lo perdió con las muelas. Pero no es Celestina la única quien apetece los placeres de la vida. Cada personaje quiere dinero y goce o sólo éste si ya tiene el otro. Cada uno se apresura, corre, apremia el cumplimiento de sus deseos. Hay que aprovechar cada minuto, correr más rápido que el tiempo porque la vida es breve. Es una experiencia natural en una época cuando el promedio de la vida humana es mucho más bajo que hoy, cuando epidemias, hambres, guerras diezaban a la población.

Iglesia, oraciones no faltan en *LC* pero mayormente son tan sólo convenciones todavía existentes de una sociedad movida ya por nuevas fuerzas. Entre éstas el dinero es el más obvio. Por lo natural, conseguir bienes materiales siempre instiga a la gente; pero el dinero (estamos en la época de la acumulación del capital) sólo ahora comienza a jugar un papel decisivo en su motivación. La primera señal de la nueva orden económica es



que sólo el dinero da seguridad. Las relaciones feudales se aflojaron: no confíes en estos señores de hoy--dice Celestina--sólo se cuidan de su propio provecho. Areúsa justifica su oficio de prostituida diciendo que no quiere servir a señoras quienes--en vez de casar debidamente a sus criadas--las echan a la calle valiéndose de cualquier pretexto falso. La nueva vida que da vueltas en torno al dinero es peligrosa. El criado no puede contar con un trozo de pan o con un rincón para protegerse contra el frío cuando envejece. La fidelidad para con el señor es tan pasada de moda como la protección que el amo da a su sirviente. No es de extrañar que en esta vida carente de seguridad todo el mundo tenga miedo, dude y no cese de pesar las consecuencias probables de sus decisiones. El que da un mal paso, forzosamente pierde incluso hasta la vida. Es simbólico que Pármeno y Sempronio huyendo de la justicia a través de la ventana den un traspié y ya estén medio-muertos cuando los llevan a ejecutar y que Calisto haga otro tanto bajando la escalera y que su tropezón le cueste la vida. Melibebe se suicida lanzándose de la torre al abismo. Nadie puede tener demasiada precaución. En este mundo de incertidumbre y de temor la consigna es: cada cual por sí mismo. Ello grita evidencia en las palabras de Celestina, de los criados, de las rameras. Este egoísmo se refleja en la actitud de Calisto. Malos criados, malos amos. Malos porque ya no funciona el sistema de relaciones que determinó la sociedad antigua y ya no es válido ni siquiera su orden de valores espirituales/morales.

Los personajes de *LC* viven pero no comprenden su nuevo mundo. Tratan de adaptarse a las normas éticas de la Edad Media pero éstas se desmoronan al primer toque de la realidad nueva. Las ideas y reglas antiguas perdieron su vigor, cediendo el hombre a las seducciones de las nuevas posibilidades de la vida. Sin otro agarradero instigan al menos a ejercer crítica: los personajes de *LC* juzgan y condenan lo nuevo desde la perspectiva de los ideales antiguos. La crítica de doble filo: el pasado califica de ruín el presente y el presente de inexistente el pasado, lleva a un resultado que nos deja estupefactos: dio a luz una obra la cual--en varios aspectos--adelanta su edad en siglos.

Calisto es de carácter débil, egoísta, autoengañador, lascivo. Al morirle los criados sólo lo atormenta el qué dirán de la gente. Esperando la noche del amor no se preocupa ni un momento por la situación de su amada aunque sepa perfectamente qué peligro representa para el buen nombre de la doncella el asesinato de Celestina y la ejecución de los soldados. Al oír un ruido sospechoso en la calle sigue con su galanteo sin pensar en correr en ayuda de Sempronio y Pármeno. Habría debido vengarse de su muerte--para quitar la mancha en la honra de su familia--pero prefirió quedarse encerrado en casa para que la gente crea que había salido de la ciudad. Y no obstante, no obstante . . . la expansión amorosa, al comienzo altisonante e inauténtica, de este joven de poco valor, su apetito sexual hueco (hasta en su desenfreamiento) se transforma poco a poco en un sentimiento irresistible que lo convierte en un ser más noble, más valiente, más humano. Su muerte, se la debe también a estos nuevos valores suyos: cae de la escalera cuando se apresura a socorrer a Tristán y a Sosia.

¿Y Melibea? ¿Dónde se ven los ideales femeninos del Siglo de Oro a través de ella? ¿Y dónde está su honor y la virginidad de mujer amada, virtud y atracción imprescindibles de las heroínas de las grandes tragedias? ¡Qué humildad mujeril profunda hace que Melibea responda a Calisto cuando él dice: "Jamás querría, señora, que amaneciese, según la gloria y descanso que mi sentido recibe de la noble conversación de tus delicados miembros" / "Señor, yo soy la que gozo, yo la que gano, tú, señor, el que me haces con tu visitación incomparable merced."! ¿Dónde encontramos a su igual en el orgulloso compromiso de su amor? Oyendo los proyectos que sus padres preparan para casarla, dice: "más vale ser buena amiga que mala casada . . . No quiero marido, no quiero ensuciar los nudos del matrimonio ni las maritales pisadas de ajeno hombre repisar . . ." Aunque ciertos críticos lo consideran como señal segura de su corrupción, el enfrentarse por su propia voluntad la muerte pone el sello de amor verdadero sobre todo lo que Melibea hizo. Su inteligencia alerta, su firmeza, su seguir sin vacilación por el camino elegido, su toma de decisión independiente en cuanto a su destino hacen de ella una personalidad excepcional. En su figura Rojas--adelantándose por mucho a su época--creó un carácter femenino no idealizado sino profundamente humano, multifacético, convincente en la unidad de sus rasgos contradictorios. Es curiosa, astuta; mente fácilmente para despistar a sus padres y poder ir al encuentro con Calisto. Su ágil manera de pensar la hermana con Celestina y su fuerza y voluntad la caracterizan al igual que la ternura y entrega total.

La actitud del padre, Pleberio, no es menos extraordinaria. Comparado con el famoso drama de honor del Siglo de Oro que continúa casi sin ruptura el espíritu de la familia medieval que ni un momento dejaba a sus hijas sin vigilancia, él es el carácter más irregular de toda la obra. La madre se extraña--y con razón-- cuando su marido le pide preguntar a su hija a quién preferiría como marido. Una muchacha correcta, honrada, de buena familia acepta y se hace amante esposa del marido que sus padres escogen. El diálogo entre Pleberio y su mujer con ser muy breve es un excelente ejemplo de la maestría de Rojas quien al umbral de una nueva época casó (en el sentido literal y figurativo) la actitud nueva con la antigua. Al escuchar la confesión última de su hija Pleberio no piensa en el honor perdido de su hija que cubre con vergüenza su propia casa, ni por un momento la condena; se queja tan sólo contra el amor cruel, el mundo malo y la muerte caprichosa. Después de él los padres siguen fulminando a sus hijas descarriadas con los rayos de su cólera.

El autor capaz de superar las convenciones tiene la misma perspicacia en las relaciones sociales. Pequeños indicios aluden al puesto social de Pleberio y Calisto. Pleberio adquirió él mismo su fortuna. Pertenecía al patriciado urbano por haberse retirado ya de los negocios. Esta deplorable costumbre contribuyó en una medida nada desdeñable al retraso en el cual se encontraba España al final del medioevo en comparación con los demás países europeos: Un caballero sólo podía llevar una existencia ociosa. Mientras Pleberio se estaba creando la fortuna sólo le correspondía el segundo grado en la escala jerárquica de la ciudad pero al abandonar su comercio pasó inmediatamente al primero. El ocio de Calisto denota su nobleza. El heredó su fortuna y no tiene que hacer nada para vivir cómodamente. Su situación en la sociedad explica su falta de impulso que hace

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que necesite la ayuda de los demás hasta para conquistar a su dama. Celestina y los criados pertenecen a las capas bajas de la sociedad. Pero Celestina se gana el pan como persona que tiene un oficio, aunque éste no sea muy glorioso. Su independencia la destaca y la diferencia de los que sólo esperan las migas caídas de la mesa de su señor. Ella tiene plena conciencia de su superioridad.

Rojas no sólo representa fielmente las distintas capas sociales sino también destaca los intereses opuestos de amos y criados. Aunque utilice una expresión anacrónica para el tiempo en que *LC* fue escrita, es conciencia de clase la que se manifiesta en las palabras de Areúsa y Celestina. Se sienten muy decididamente aparte de los señores y faltarán siglos todavía para que los personajes literarios pronuncien frases tan duras y terminantes como la que Celestina dice a Pármeno: "lo hago . . . por verte solo en *tierra ajena*." La tierra ajena es la casa del amo de Pármeno. Cuántos criados ejemplarmente fieles o menospreciados por infieles crearán aun el drama y la novela en el curso de los siglos venideros hasta que descubramos que ninguna ley eterna predestina la existencia de señores y criados.

Reconocer que sus intereses son opuestos a los de sus amos no alivia la situación de los criados. Si bien les instiga a aprovechar también cada oportunidad prometedora de placeres les infunde miedo puesto que ya no pueden contar con la protección de su señor. La vida es peligrosa y ellos sólo son capaces de conseguir lo que desean por caminos prohibidos. Desde este punto de vista su situación es idéntica a la de Calisto y Melibea. Pero si bien es peligrosa, la vida es también el máximo bien. He aquí el aspecto más moderno de la obra. No hay recompensa posible por los momentos no vividos. Ni por casualidad piensa un personaje en su salud, ninguno tiene miedo del más allá y tampoco espera de la vida ultraterrenal su felicidad o paz.

Discursos devotos y mentiras van a la par. Se refieren a la Iglesia o a la religión sólo para cubrir alguna intención, para despistar al otro, para hacer creer una mentira. En vez de convencernos de la fe de un personaje, nos demuestra su religiosidad superficial, frívola, sin validez.

Igualmente han perdido su validez las normas morales aunque las sentencias moralizadoras no cesan de brotar a chorros de la boca de los personajes. El autor matiza los caracteres con un arte admirable desde este aspecto también. Pármeno toma las normas en serio. Celestina tiene que valerse de toda su astucia para hacerlo volver contra su señor. Sempronio es más golpeado; a él le refrena tan sólo el miedo a las consecuencias posibles. Poca incitación basta para que traicione a Calisto. Sosia y Tristán--aunque aún más abajo en la escala jerárquica--superan moralmente a Pármeno y a Sempronio. El olor de establo que Areúsa huele en Sosia tal vez señala que el mozo ha venido hace poco a la ciudad y todavía no está corrompido por los nuevos usos. Celestina no tiene ningún escrúpulo moral y lo mismo se puede decir de Calisto. El amor hace olvidar a Melibea sus principios sobre la honestidad femenina. Según la época, ella también ha sido deshonrada. Sin embargo, si la sacamos de su tiempo, su amor verdadero, que una vez realizado, es intransigente y resiste a todo compromiso,

la ennoblece y transforma en un ser moral capaz de vivir independiente de las normas de su época cediéndose sólo a su propia ley. Según la opinión pública del siglo, Pleberio tampoco cumple con su deber de padre, no vigila debidamente sobre el honor de su hija. Puesta en nuestra época, su figura tampoco se enaltece.

En el campo de las relaciones personales, sociales y transcendentales nada se le escapa a Rojas. La crisis es obvia en todas partes. *LC* no promete ninguna salida, ninguna solución. Si la vida es el máximo bien, el más allá no puede dar consuelo. Pero este máximo bien sólo es realidad en las posibilidades proyectadas por los deseos porque dinero, placer, belleza y juventud pronto se esfuman en un mundo donde no hay orden como no lo hay ni en la muerte que a menudo siega a los jóvenes y evita a los viejos, ni en el amor que hiere ciegamente con sus saetas. En su monólogo que resume la lección de la obra Pleberio llama al mundo 'laberinto de errores', aplicando un símbolo frecuente en la literatura de hoy que desde tiempos remotos hasta nuestros días sigue siendo expresión de crisis.

Las últimas palabras de la obra: *in hac lachrymarum valle*--aunque sea un lugar común medieval--revelan nueva experiencia dando voz a la amargura del hombre que busca en vano su camino en la sociedad caótica, en crisis.

A pesar de ser éstas las últimas palabras de Rojas permítasenos volver a evocar los muchos momentos graciosos, del juego, de la felicidad, de la dicha de los abrazos amorosos no perdiendo de vista que *LC* como tragi-comedia nos mira con la doble cara de la vida, y si torna en lágrimas la risa, el amor apasionado de su vida con sus rayos ilumina el dolor.



Sempronio y Pármeno.  
Ilustración (detalle)  
encontrada al sexto acto,  
Burgos, 1499?



*Quitate allá que no soy de aquellas que piensas;  
ten mesura por cortesía.*

Acto VII.



## CALISTO AND MELEBEA (ca. 1530)

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Subtitled "A new comodye in englysh in manner of an enterlude," *Calisto and Melebea*<sup>1</sup> mainly translates the first part of Fernando de Rojas' *La Celestina (LC)*,<sup>2</sup> a Spanish dramatic novel in twenty-one acts about the consequences of passionate love. *LC* tells how Calisto, failing to win Melibea's affection, enlists Sempronio, his servant, to secure the services of Celestina, an old bawd. Celestina persuades Melibea to submit to her true feelings and brings about the initial seduction. The lovers continue their blissful meetings awhile, but the story concludes with the deaths of all the principals. Calisto, hurrying from Melibea's garden, falls to his death under a ladder; Melibea, brokenhearted, commits suicide by jumping from a tower. Meanwhile, Sempronio and Parmeno murder Celestina for failing to divide the profits with them, and they, lying mortally wounded in the square after leaping from Celestina's window, are summarily beheaded.

The English interlude introduces the source's chief characters, sketches their personalities, and traces the action through the first conflict, Celestina's proposal that Melebea give herself to Calisto. At this point, however, 920 lines into the 1088-line play, the imitation ends. Melebea's father, Danio (Pleberio in *LC*), enters, relates a dream he has just had, and interprets it saying Calisto's desires are sinful and Melebea will be damned forever if she yields. Grateful for the warning, Melebea vows to retain her maiden chastity, repenting that she was swayed even partially by Celestina's trickery and Calisto's laments. In the final fifty-six lines, Danio urges "ye vyrgyns and fayre maydens all" to pray diligently "to withstand all euyl temptacions" (1051, 1056) and advises mothers, fathers, and teachers in the audience.

that they circumspectly  
May rule theyr inferiours by such prudence,  
To bryng them to vertew and dew obeydyens. (1095-97)

Danio's dream and Melebea's repentance are not in *LC*. That work, however, presents both parents of Melibea as virtuous and devoted to their daughter, and it professes to be a moral work,

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composed as a reprimand to wild lovers,  
who, overcome by their excessive appetite,  
call their ladies God. The play will also  
serve as warning against the wiles of go-  
betweens and bad and flattering servants.<sup>3</sup>

The violent ends of the lovers, the bawd, and the servants make moral points; furthermore, *LC*, like *Calisto*, ends with the father preaching a sermon; as Pleberio mourns over Melibea's broken body, he rails against the cruel inconstancy of fortune, the falsity of the world, and the destructiveness of passionate, illicit love.

*Calisto and Melibea* bears the colophon, "Jōhes rastell me imprimi fecit. Cum privilegio regali," followed by Rastell's printer's device; generally 1526-1530 is accepted as the printing date.<sup>4</sup> Rastell may have compiled, translated, or written the play; but, though evidence for Rastell's authorship is fairly strong, it is not conclusive.

Since external evidence conclusively placing *Calisto* in Rastell's canon has not surfaced, the authorship problem cannot be resolved, and the critic would be wiser to concern himself with the nature of its mixtures of genres. Is it a translation / synopsis of *LC*, a morality play like Rastell's *The Four Elements*, which has been called a "lecture in verse disguised as a play," or an entertainment or an interlude, as the title-page indicates? *Calisto* is not as clearly a redaction as is Henry Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucrez*, in which a sketchy source plot is expanded and its characters given depth and greater reality. But *Calisto*'s author faithfully translates part of its source, and one wonders why the job was not completed.

*Calisto* cannot be called a true morality, like Medwall's *Nature* or *The Four Elements*, wherein allegorical characters act out a traditional series of interrelationships and conflicts adding up to a thoroughly predictable lesson. Still *Calisto*, much like a morality, emphasizes its moral lesson and employs humor largely for didactic ends. Moralities, like *Nature* and *The Four Elements*, seem to have been banquet entertainments, too; their clownish bawdiness and singing have entertainment values as do, for certain audiences, the learning, speculation, allusion, and debate found in them.

*Calisto* likewise presents some humor and at least one song; and, if the title-page describing it as an interlude and the informal approach to the audience are reliable indications, the play may have been produced as a banquet entertainment. Many early Tudor plays were composed for such presentation, and *Calisto* seems no exception.<sup>5</sup> T. W. Craik notes that, in interludes and moralities, an apotheotic entrance, such as *Celestina's*, often indicates a courtly audience:

Now the blessing that our lady gaue her sone,  
that same blessing I gyue now to you all!  
That I com thus homely, I pray you of pardon:  
I am sought and sendfore as a woman vniuersall. (313-16)



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Also suggestive is Calisto's, "Thus fare well, my ladys; for a whyle I wyll go," immediately preceding Celestina's entrance speech. Parmeno, one of Calisto's servants, twice addresses the audience as "my lordis" and "syrs" (469, 618), both times appealing directly to them to understand his position. An honest, virtuous servant until Celestina exercises her influence upon him, Parmeno joins her and Sempronio in advancing Calisto's affair. Thus, Parmeno's direct comment to the audience on the progress of Calisto's mad affair is especially appropriate:

How sey ye, my lordis? se ye not this smoke,  
In my maisters eyes that they do cast?  
The one hath his chayn, the other his cloke;  
And I am sure they wyll have all at last. (469-72)

A further indication of *Calisto's* appeal to a sophisticated public is its learned references to ancient and contemporary literature, traditions, and allusions. *LC* provides its English adapter with theological, philosophical, and literary materials he utilizes fully. Like its source, *Calisto* displays knowledge of classical philosophy, and comments on various heresies and blasphemies, mentions purgatory, courtly love conventions, and debate materials, such as the good and bad properties of women, a perennial favorite, joyful poverty as opposed to greed, and youth versus age. Not exactly like any other early Tudor interlude (although possessing some of their characteristics), *Calisto* reworks these traditional traits in new, unique ways.<sup>6</sup>

Quantitatively, *Calisto* is chiefly a translation. Approximately eight hundred of its 1088 lines are literally translated from *LC*.<sup>7</sup> The play's first forty-two lines, Melebea's opening discourse on conflict in nature, are based upon, but not translated directly from, the more detailed exposition in *LC's* prologue. Melebea as expositor of the play's intent and her description of foolish lovers as part of nature's grand conflict, however, are original in *Calisto*, as are the concluding 168 lines. This means that, within the translation itself, only seventy-eight lines are original. The English author deals with only a small part of *LC*--act I, part of act II, act III, and a few lines from the opening speech of act V.<sup>8</sup> It does not come close to being a complete version or even an outline of the original, nor is it a particularly thoughtful improvement on its source. No changes are made in the borrowed action and characterization, faithful in most aspects to the original. What is interesting and valuable in *Calisto* is found in *LC*.

Several minor characters appearing in the first four acts of *LC* are left out of *Calisto*: Elicia, Lucrecia, and Elisa. Omitted are numerous details and conversations which help delineate Celestina; for example, Parmeno's lengthy description of her six trades (act I). Another significant change from *LC* to *Calisto* involves the scene where Sempronio, visiting Elicia at Celestina's house, becomes suspicious of sounds from upstairs; hearing Sempronio's approach, Celestina had hidden a visiting lover of Elicia's there. In *Calisto*, this scene is presented by Celestina in a "lively narrative, which at once impresses upon the audience the subtlety of the wise bawd."<sup>9</sup>

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The question of the translator's intentions, however, still fascinates. Why does he embark on what ostensibly is a translation, stop when only a fraction through it, then add a *deus ex machina* and a moral tag which, dramatically speaking, have little connection with what went before? Surely he cannot have believed he captured the original's essence, nor is it plausible, as H. W. Allen suggested, that "at the end of Celestina's interview with Melebea either the patience of his piety and his powers of translation were exhausted, or he despaired of reducing the piece to the required dimensions."<sup>10</sup>

This translation of *LC* is more accurate and frank in capturing the tone of the original's many bawdy passages than is even Mabbe's version of 1631. The author of *Calisto* was not squeamish, nor was his audience. In addition, the translation's language is remarkably accurate in its portrayal of the original's substance and is itself good poetry. The translation shows no apparent diminution of vigor. Similarly without evidence is the judgment that the author discovered he was not going to produce a workable dramatic version of the whole *LC*. Would anyone possessing this translator's obvious literary gifts have been so careless or inept in planning his task?

For several reasons, the moral lesson and the translation from *LC* have an appropriate existence together. *Calisto* can possibly be seen as a synopsis or preview of recent, justifiably popular Spanish literature and thus is properly called, on its title-page, an interlude, offering to its sophisticated audience dramatic, literary, and educative entertainment. Simultaneously, however, *Calisto* has a traditional didactic, moral function and employs the translation and its entertainment values to enhance it. Moral points are advanced about love and sex, prayer, work, and the state's well-being. Luis Vives' presence in England at the probable time of composition may have been a factor. Furthermore, the translator recognizes a responsibility to the language. His translation of a famous foreign literary work, serious and educative in intention, will enrich the English language and the English people, certainly a Rastellian idea as stated in his *The Four Elements* and other works and possibly supporting his claim as author.

The play's incompleteness as a translation may be explained if its author's main purpose is assumed to be the preaching of a dramatic sermon. He lifted just enough characterization and action from the source to enable him to illustrate the moral and to dramatize his lesson about the responsibilities of parents to keep children busy and on virtuous paths. The English translation of part of *LC* is thus complete in itself, if understood as an exemplum or cautionary tale; and, as a dramatized illustration of moral or ethical doctrine, though it contains none of the expected allegorical figures, *Calisto* can be called a morality play.

The differences, nevertheless, between *Calisto* and its source cannot be emphasized enough. *Calisto* employs more lifelike characters than the morality play (in English) and attains historical importance in making a transition from allegory to realism. But these characters do not perform significant actions in varied conflicts; hence, they have no particular

importance in themselves. They are like numbers in a column with no meaning until Danio adds them up at the end. *Calisto* thus resembles a fable, at least by comparison with its sources. *LC* does make a point about the spiritual harm idle lovers do to one another. Indeed, its introduction states it was "compuesta en reprehension de los locos enamorados" (Severin edition, 44) and as a warning against panders and wily servants. But to say that this is the moral substance of the story is to miss the points of the character development and the various conflicts, as complex and manifold as life itself, among the bawd, the servants, their wenches, and the lovers. *Calisto* borrows some names, personalities, and actions of *LC*, but not its spirit, scope, or intention.

One indication of how *Calisto's* author envisions his work can be noted in assigning a song to Celestina, for she does not sing in Rojas' original. Allen thinks the English translator makes her ridiculous by having her sing.<sup>11</sup> Usually, *Calisto's* author is not concerned with fine points of characterization. He focuses on details of his source in developing his own moral points, and the same purpose governs departures from his source. Celestina's song is one such departure. Whether Celestina's singing tarnishes her greatness is probably a matter of opinion and depends upon what one thinks *Calisto* proposes to be. Certainly the English audience understood her song as a badge of her evil. As if the traditional association of levity with sin is not clear enough, Celestina tells Parmeno she is anxious to get Calisto singing, too--to embroil him in his passionate excesses to force his purse to "swet":

For the thyrd parte Sempronio we must get.  
 After that thy maister shall come to skole  
 To syng the fourth parte, that his purs shall swet.  
 For I so craftely the song can set;  
 Though they maister be hors, his purs shal syng clere,  
 And taught to solf, that womans flesh is dere. (491-96)

Celestina here makes explicit the connection between song and evil and reiterates that connection later, when she tells Parmeno songs are part of lovers' dalliance: "stryke vp, mynstryl, with sawes of loue, the old problem. / Syng swete songes? (578-79).

In addition to his moral, didactic intentions, *Calisto's* author has serious critical and literary aims. He is trying to do something about the oft-repeated complaint of the humanist that not enough famous literary works in other tongues are translated into English. *LC*, a "wark of connygne," is not merely another literary "toy" or "tryfell," of which there are too many. The prologue and the final lament of Pleberio make apparent the moral seriousness of the Spanish work and establish clearly its author's humanistic bent.

Before concluding this exploration of the moral intentions of the first English translator of *LC*, the critic should re-examine Pearl Hogrefe's theory about the motivation of *Calisto's* author, his probable auspices, and theme. Hogrefe lists several differences between *Calisto* and *LC*, such as:

- (1) . . . The Spanish story and the English interlude are quite different in depicting the passion of love.
- (2) The characters in the English play have been changed where necessary or not changed to further the moral impact of the play. Calisto and Sempronio remain much the same, but both are intended to be unsympathetic characters. In the English play Melebea is the ideal maiden, or nearly so. [Her] wavering is not entirely irrational, not motivated by a real response to seduction. Even Vives might concede that her inner feelings of chastity has been scarcely touched.
- (3) *Calisto and Melebea*, 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 the good properties of women.<sup>12</sup>

Hogrefe believes Vives' presence in England in the 1520's probably influenced the play's composition. Vives was "almost fanatical" about chastity. In his *De institutione Christianae foeminae*, he condemns irrational, illicit, romantic love as in *LC*, calls it a *liber pestifer*,<sup>13</sup> and speaks of the bawd as the "mother of naughtiness." Hogrefe implies that *Calisto* was probably compiled for Vives' benefit or under his direction, because it embodies his ideas on women, chastity, and romantic love. She carries these implications further, saying *Calisto* satirizes its source and much increasingly widespread romantic literature. If, as Hogrefe thinks, the More circle to which Rastell belonged was as fanatically opposed to romantic literature as Vives was, *Calisto*, a straight-laced English take-off on a typically decadent Spanish romance, presents the humanist's alternative to romantic excess.

Hogrefe's argument, however, begins with faulty premises. As a result, some conclusions about the play's moral intent, its author's literary conceptions, and the More circle are out of focus. First, the translated portion of *Calisto* does not differ from its source in its presentation of the "passion of love." The one faithfully copies the other; in that, contrary to Hogrefe's claims, the love affair, the courtly love conventions, and, most importantly, the characters of the courtly lovers are the same.

The crux is Melebea's character in *Calisto*. Far from being the "ideal maiden" cruelly tricked into "wavering," Melebea knows the implication of giving Celestina the token, her "gyrdyll," and asking her to return "secretly" for the "prayer" (884-85). Melebea is intelligent. She quotes Petrarch and Heraclitus (1-10). Calisto praises her "excellent wyt" (223). Melebea says, "I perseyve the entent of they wordys all" (65), when Calisto lavishes praise upon her and reveals, in conventionally euphemistic language, that he wants to go to bed with her (46-61). Celestina only mentions Calisto's name amidst a flow of compliments, prayers, and *non sequiturs*, and Melebea catches on:

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A ha! is this the entent of thy conclusyon?  
 Tell me no more of this matter, I charge the . . .  
 Is thys the dolent for whom thow makyst petycyon!  
 Art thou come hyther thus to desseyue me?  
 Thow berdyd dame, shameles thou semest to be!  
 Is this he that hath the passion of folishnes?  
 Thinkyst, thow rybaud, I am such one of lewdnes?  
 It is not sayd, I se well, in vayn,  
 The tong of man and woman worst members be.  
 Thow brut bawd! thow gret enemy to honeste, certayn!  
 Cause of secret errorrs! Iesu, Iesu, benedicite! . . .  
 Go hens, thou brothell, go hens in the dyuyll way!  
 Bydyst thou yet to increase my payn!  
 Wylt thou make me of thys fole to be fayn?  
 To gyue hym lyfe, to make hym mery,  
 And to myself deth, to make my sory?  
 Wilt thou bere away profet for my perdition,  
 And make me lese the house of my father,  
 To wyn the howse of such and old matrone  
 As thow art, shamfullyst of all other?  
 Thinkist thou that I understand not, thou falls mother,  
 Thy hurtfull message, thy fals subtell ways? (788-814)

Melebea understands because she knows how to play the "courtly love" game. She is supposed to be cruel, to ignore her suitor's complaints, using moral, religious, or personal excuses, and to protest violently--to preserve the appearance of cruelty, disdain, or virtue--when someone reveals an awareness of the affair and proposes to take part in it. Whatever else Melebea may be called, her verbal abuse of Celestina (788-829) is proof enough she is not an "ideal maiden." After a decent interval, should her feelings for the suitor tend that way, she is supposed to give him a token, then follow through on further arrangements, for so long as the affair is secret.

In *LC*, Melibeia finally reveals her craving for Calisto to Celestina, and the pander begins to work actively for both sides. Clearly Melebea is at first very sad to see her father upset: "For I have no cause but to be mery and glad" (943), she says, and one, of course, knows why. Then Danio relates his dream. Melebea, her Christian sensibilities shocked, no longer wishes to play the game. She assures her father she did not disgrace him and confesses, "though I dyd consent / In mynd, yet had he neuer hys intent" (1021-22). Melebea does, then, willingly take that first step into sin. The deed's consequences, which form the framework of the rest of *LC*, are outside the scope and purpose of the English production. Up until the Danio close of *Calisto*, however, Melebea is presented exactly as she is in the source.

How do these facts, then, affect Hogrefe's interpretation of *Calisto*? Can *Calisto* be called "a deliberate piece of propaganda for the beauty and good properties of women?" The answer is yes, but some distinctions must be made. The subtitle says *Calisto* deals with the good properties and the "vyycys and euyll condicions" of women. In *Celestina*,

the bawd and Melebea, the courtly maiden, one sees some vices and evil conditions. In Melebea, the intelligent woman and devoted, repentant daughter, one sees the good properties of women. As a heroine, Melebea is not simply the innocent, wayfaring pilgrim beset by evil through no fault of her own: Hogrefe's reading, therefore, oversimplifies Melebea as well as *Calisto's* humanistic moral and literary values.

In such early humanist plays, some moral alternatives are not argued for while others are condemned. Rather, all opinions are presented simultaneously for individual consideration and judgment. There is little desire to rush in with dogmatic conclusions. The humanist author of *Calisto* may intend to satirize courtly love conventions, while he argues seriously "through Danio" for prayer, reasoned behavior, and fulfilling occupation. However, also part of the humanist's point of view is an all embracing sympathetic understanding, a willingness, as the prologue of *LC* puts it, to gather, even from "vayne and idle" subjects, the "pith and marrow of the matter for their owne good and benefit," while laughing at "those things that savour only of wit, and pleasant conceits." A closed-mind approach to sexual behavior, for which Hogrefe suggests *Calisto's* author is arguing, would make sheer farce of all but the play's end, and *Calisto* has more value than that.

Not solely serious lectures, traditional moral plays mix their "sad matter" with humor, song, dance, and other entertainments appropriate to audience and occasion. So, too, *Calisto* presents several types of entertainment to add variety and depth to its message. Most important is the translation itself, the presentation of part of a currently popular Spanish work. Possibly the translator wished to introduce his sophisticated audience to the work while simultaneously fulfilling his self-imposed, humanistic obligations of teaching morality, enriching the vernacular, and satirizing sin and folly. Aside from its status as literature and didactic exemplar, however, *LC* is the sort of production a sophisticated humanist would like, for it contains a wealth of theological, philosophical, scientific, and literary allusions, or "learned entertainment." Furthermore, its characters' complexity gives rise to contradictory, unresolvable interpretations of human existence. Here is found some of the intellectual delight fostered by medieval debate at its finest. Thus, *Calisto's* author must have been attracted all the more to the possibilities of *LC* for adaptation and dramatic presentation as an interlude.

The play presents several debates or debate-like conversations. The subtitle itself promises treatment of the good properties of women versus their vices and evil conditions. Sempronio takes the traditional antifeminist stand against the starry-eyed Calisto (161-265), who even praises his lady's fingernails. Parmeno defends joyful poverty before the cynical materialist, Celestina (539-52), and Celestina herself argues both sides of the youth versus age issue (650-89).

Several references to blasphemies and heresies are also found in *Calisto*. Now *ipso facto*, nothing is sophisticated about blasphemy and heresy. However, the way some heretical comments are presented in *Calisto*, recalling conventions and motifs of the romances and the courtly love

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tradition and giving rise to subtle humor, suggests a sophisticated audience. First, *Calisto* speaks of Melebea as greater than any heavenly delight, as a greater reward than saints possess in seeing God (53-61). Similarly echoing the blasphemous complaints of the courtly lover is *Calisto's* claim he worships the goddess, Melebea: ". . . there is no such sufferayn / In heuyn, though she be in yerth? (160-61). *Calisto* paradoxically invokes the Christian deity's aid in bringing his love-longing to a successful conclusion and sends off his pander *Sempronio* as he says:

Cryst make the strong!  
The myghty and perdurable God by his gyde,  
As he gydyd the iij kynges in to Bedleme  
From the est by the starr, and agayn dyd prouyde  
As theyre conduct to return to theyre own reame;

So spede by *Sempronio* to quench the leme  
Of this fyre, which my hart doth waste and spende;  
And that I may com to my desyryd ende! (298-305)

The translator retains the Bethlehem allusion of the original, but substitutes the spelling, "Bedleme," which, in the early sixteenth century, the *OED* notes, is already being used in its modern sense. Uttered by the addlebrained lover, the word play is both serious and funny.

Similarly humorous because of the speaker is *Celestina's* blasphemy as she promises Melebea she will quickly carry to *Calisto* the glad tidings of Melebea's "favor":

And to *Calisto* with this gyrdle *Celestina*  
Shall go, and his ledy hart make hole and lyght.  
For *Gabriell* to Our Lady with Aue Maria  
Came neuer gladder that I shall to this knyght. (894-96)

*Celestina's* reference to herself as another *Gabriel* carrying to "the virgin," *Calisto*, the promise of sexual consummation, a scene original in the English translation, is a monumental piece of impudence. The sexual difference aside, no one is less fit than *Celestina* to be likened to *Gabriel*, God's special messenger, the trumpeter of the Last Judgment, and the bearer of glad tidings to Mary, traditionally depicted carrying a lily, the symbol of purity. Another passage having blasphemous overtones is *Calisto's* speech in which he refers to his passion's intensity:

And yf the fyre of purgatory bren is such wyse,  
I had leuer my spirete in brute bestes shuld be,  
Than to go thydyr, and than to the deyte. (135-37)

To this remark, *Sempronio* replies: "Mary, syr, that is a spyce of heryse."

In addition, the translator utilizes some passages smacking of blasphemy and heresy to inflict puns on the audience. In another departure from *LC*, the author creates a double entendre. In the source, *Celestina* speaks of Melebea's girdle as having touched the holy relics in Rome and



Jerusalem. The English version becomes suggestive, leaving out the cities' names. A pun is also intended on "beads-folks" as Celestina says: "Fayr maydyn, for the mercy thou hast done on vs; / This knyght and I both thy bedfolkis shall be" (901-02). The knight certainly wishes he was Melebea's "bed partner," and Celestina already is, figuratively speaking. The sexual implication of "mercy" is present here and elsewhere in Celestina's appeals for "pity" from Melebea for the "sick knyght." *Calisto* employs other double-meaning diction from the romances, such as "dy" (26), the "fyre" of love (124), the knight's "greuys" (295) and "pyne" (843), and the plea to the lady to give her lover "lyfe" (807).

Another sophisticated entertainment the translator finds in *LC* and carries over into *Calisto* may be referred to as intellectual allusion. Like its source, *Calisto* is conceived and executed as a courtly love story. All the conventions are there: the pining suitor, the cruel lady obviously protesting too much, the physical craving of the lovers, a host of impediments to consummation, like strict parents, religious codes, garden walls, secrecy, and the consequent delays. Often associated with courtly love literature, though having its own long literary heritage, is the concept of fortune, and the play refers to fortune at least five times.

Several other intellectual references in *Calisto* can be briefly cited. The figure of Nature as the principle of earthly life, a motif critics have called sophisticated in its origins and auspices, is mentioned in Melebea's opening speech. In addition, *Calisto* refers to Melebea (46) as a gift of "Dame Nature," showing forth "the gretness of God." Several places allude to noted authors and thinkers. Petrarch, "the poet lawreate," is mentioned at the opening in connection with the Nature figure (2-4). Melebea, trying to account for *Calisto*'s disruptive behavior and her own conflicting emotions, recalls Heraclitus and his theory of universal conflict and change (5-10). Danio's views on idleness may be intended to echo More's discussion of it in *Utopia*, and the mention of purgatory and the souls of brute beasts may refer to Rastell's involvement in those issues. Finally, references to Nimrod (166), Alexander the Great (167), the liturgy of St. John's feast (173), Elias (177), Paris and Venus (249), Hector (860), St. George (863), and the "gentyll Narciso" (866) presuppose an audience educated enough to understand and appreciate them.

If much in *Calisto* appeals to a sophisticated audience, much enhances its appeal for the common people. Some characters, the lovers, the wily old bawd, and the parasitical servants, are readily recognizable by all classes. The story itself, detailing the seduction process, also has a potentially wide appeal, as do the singing and bawdy humor. Finally, Danio's dream "bears a plausible resemblance" to *Dame Siriz*, a popular fabliau of about 1250.<sup>14</sup>

*Calisto*, then, indebted to *LC* for plot, setting, and true-to-life characters, opened Spain to English writers, for *LC* is the first important Spanish literary work translated into English. Its realistic characterization, transmitted from *LC*, is perhaps the salient feature of *Calisto* as an English play of about 1530. Not the first play to endow its characters with individuality as some critics claim,<sup>15</sup> *Calisto* is the first play to

begin with a realistic, romantic, non-morality plot and cast. Although it turns that plot and cast to the service of didacticism, it introduces into English a conception of drama unique in characterization and romantic conflict. Celestina, the most notable addition to the English gallery of dramatic personalities, could almost be called, as Allardyce Nicoll does, a prototype of "Juliet's nurse,"<sup>16</sup> or another Falstaff, depending upon how much one appreciates her role in *Calisto* or understands her depth in *EC*. In addition, the versification of *Calisto* is competently handled and almost completely done in rime royal, "a phenomenon almost without parallel in the interludes."<sup>17</sup>

To a large extent, the humanist author of *Calisto* observes traditional assumptions and methods in constructing his moral play. He excerpts a longer work of a different genre and presents his reaction to his audience to illustrate and dramatize a moral point. He utilizes standard humorous devices, like singing and bawdy language, to embellish his lesson. Simultaneously, he presents a great deal of entertainment over and above music and low-life humor; debate material, theological and philosophical problems, and intellectual allusions; all embodied in a preview and perhaps a satire of a currently popular foreign literary work. Though its virtues are largely those of its source, in the context of English drama in the first third of the sixteenth century, the play uniquely foreshadows important dramatic developments. \*



**A** new comode in englysh in maner  
 of an enterlude ryght elygant & full of craft  
 of rethoryk/wherein is shewed a byctrype as  
 well the bette & good propertes of women/  
 as theyr bycys & euyl cōdiciōs/wich a morall  
 cōclucion & exhortacyon to bette w.



Incipit de Calisto y Melebea.

Copia de la Bibliotheca Bodleiana.

(Oxford)

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### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> All line references to *Calisto and Melebea* are to the Malone Society facsimile reprint, ed. W. W. Greg (London: Charles Whittingham and Co., 1908). The only surviving copy of the work at the Bodleian Library was also consulted. The punctuation used by H. Warner Allen in his combined edition of *An Interlude of Calisto and Melebea for the First Time Accurately Reproduced from the Original Copy, Printed by John Rastell, c. 1530. Celestina or the Tragi-Comedy of Calisto and Melebea, Trans. from Spanish by James Mabbe, anno. 1631* (London: Routledge and Sons, 1908) has been incorporated in the citations.

<sup>2</sup> All references to *LC*, except when noted otherwise, are to the James Mabbe translation (1631), in the Tudor Translations (New York, 1967), a reprint of James Fitzmaurice-Kelly's edition (London: D. Nutt, 1894).

<sup>3</sup> Mack H. Singleton, trans., *LC* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958); these lines follow the prologue and precede the "summary of the whole work."

<sup>4</sup> W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, Vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> T. W. Craik, *The Tudor Interlude: Stage, Costume, and Acting* (Leicester: University Press, 1958), p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> David M. Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlowe: Growth of Structure in the Popular Drama of Tudor England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 45. These views may also be found in Richard Allen Pacholski's "The Humanist Drama of the Sir Thomas More Circle" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1969) and Joel B. Altman's *The Tudor Play of Mind: Rhetorical Inquiry and the Development of Elizabethan Drama* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

<sup>7</sup> Allen, p. 341.

<sup>8</sup> See H. D. Purcell's "The *Celestina* and the *Interlude of Calisto and Melebea*," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 44 (1967), 1-15, in which the author maintains *Calisto*'s writer also uses parts of Act VI and the prologue of the original.

<sup>9</sup> Allen, p. 334.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 334.

<sup>12</sup> Pearl Hogrefe, *The Sir Thomas More Circle: A Program of Ideas and Their Impact on Secular Drama* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1959), pp. 339-43.

- 13 Reprinted in Allen, p. 330.
- 14 Bevington, *Mankind*, p. 45.
- 15 Allen, p. 335.
- 16 Allardyce Nicoll, *British Drama: An Historical Survey from the Beginnings to the Present Time* (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, Co., 1925), p. 48.
- 17 J. E. Bernard, Jr., *The Prosody of the Tudor Interlude* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), p. 51.

\* See also Prof. Geritz's "Calisto & Melebea: A Bibliography," in *Celestinesca* 3, ii (Nov. 1979), 45-50. [Ed.]



### Melebea

**C** Francisus petrarcus the poet lawreate  
 Sayth that nature which is mother of all thing  
 w out styff can gyue lye to nothynge create  
 And Craclico the wylle clerke in his wrytyng  
 Sayth in all thynge create styff is theyre workyng  
 And ther is no thing vnder the firmament  
 with any other in all popnes equivalent  
**C** And accordyng to theyre dicrys reherlyd as thus  
 All thynge are create in maner of styff  
 These folys louers then that be so amercous  
 fro pleasure to displeasure how lede they theyre lyfe  
 Now sory now sad now Joyous now penlyte  
 Alas I pore mayden than what shall I do  
 Combrd by dotage of one Calisto  
**C** I know that nature hath gyuen me betwre  
 with sanguynous complecyon fauour & sapynes  
 The more to god ought I to do serute  
 with wylle lyfe laud and loue of percytnes  
 I deny not but calisto is of grete worthynes  
 Al.

Primeras líneas del texto de Calisto y Melebea

(facsimil de la Malone Society, 1908)



*Besos y abrazos que á mí no me queda otra  
cosa sino gozarme de xello.*

Acto IX.



## 'EL FALSO BOEZUELO', OR THE PARTRIDGE AND THE PANTOMIME OX

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Pármeno's interpolated words in Act XI, "El falso boezuelo con su blando cencerrar trae las perdices a la red,"<sup>1</sup> has puzzled readers ever since Antonio Ordoñez, the first translator of the *Tragicomedia*, who rendered it into Italian as "Il falso contadino con sua rette: et lanterna: e suon de campanelle fa uenire le starne ala rette."<sup>2</sup> Ordoñez did not believe Pármeno's reference to the *boezuelo*, a false or stalking-ox, and turned it into a crafty peasant with lantern and net (compare the other partridge reference, in Act VIII, "encandelado como perdiz con la calde-ruela," p. 140).

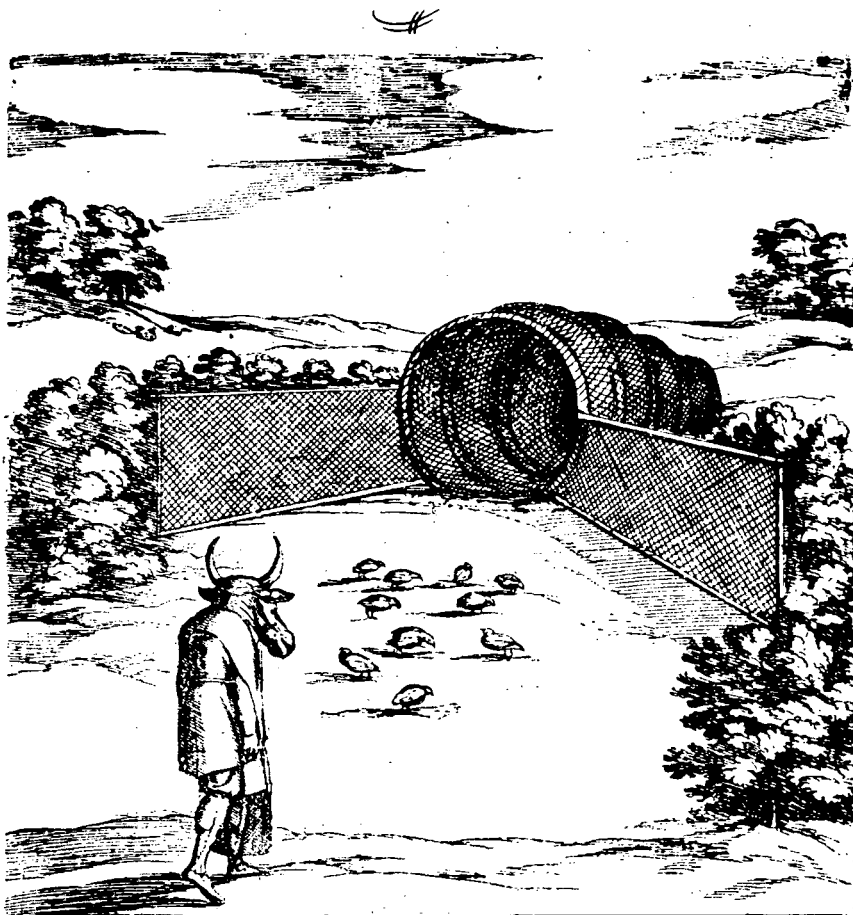
However, *Celestina comentada* (fol. 156r)<sup>3</sup> provides us with an explanation which initially strikes one as being a medieval shaggy-dog story, an improbable tale invented to explain a corrupt textual reading:

*el falso boezuelo* etc. es un género de uaca conque toman perdizes; y es que hazen con una sãuana o con otra cosa semejante uno a manera de buei, y con sus cuernos y cabeça a manera de buei, y va dentro un hombre; y tienen hecho por la una parte y por la otra de manera que las perdizes no pueden yr andando sino hazia adelante, onde están armadas las redes; y ese tal buei con su cencerro va cercándolas poco a poco como si fuesse paciendo, de manera que las perdizes se cercan muchas de ellas; y este quiso aquí comparar.

Corroboration of this hunting method comes in Antonio Valli da Todi's *Il canto de gl'augelli* (Rome, 1601),<sup>4</sup> complete with an illustration of the probably rather inefficient means of catching partridges. The hunter disguises himself as a cow or an ox in order to creep up on the partridges, presumably because the birds would not be frightened by a beast of the fields. He then drives them into an elaborate net. Valli da Todi's explanation is more detailed than that of the *Celestina comentada*, but not less improbable:

Il modo sarà questo, cioè haver una rete, chiamata Butrio, o Cuculo, fatta a modo di nassa, con l'ale lunghe sei passa per parte, è più sarà meglio, e di lunghezza tre passa, acciò essendo

detti ucelli dentro non possono ritornar a dietro, e di questo n'hanno cognitione quelli, che fanno detta sorte di rete, al Cacciatore poi è necessario di pigliar la tela, e farne un vestimento a guisa d'una Vacca, con le zampe, orecchie, e colorito, come fosse naturale di detta Vacca, e havendolo indosso portando anco un campano si può far il giorno a tutte l'hore, che ritrovandosi in una campagna dove stiano Starne, e che vi sia dell'herbaccia tenendo questo Butrio, o vero rete accostandola bene in terra, e subito tesa passar dall'*altra* parte tenendo una frasca fronduta fingendo di magnarla, e parandola bene avanti gli occhi, che non sia visto il viso, fingendo anco d'arare, avertendo bene che non vi restino adietro.



... *Modo da pigliar le starne.*



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Although the stalking-horse or stalking-ox was indeed used to catch game it seems unlikely to have been very effective with flying game. The most successful method of catching partridges is no doubt the one reflected in Florencia Pinar's poem about the love gift of a partridge. As explained by A. D. Deyermund in a recent article,<sup>5</sup> the female partridge is lured into the net by the presence there of a live male partridge. The method is still used in Spain today; Pärmeno's pantomime ox has been abandoned.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> I use my own edition in *Alianza Editorial* (Madrid, 1969 etc.); *Snow-Schneider-Lee* bibliography no. 176, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Kathleen V. Kish, *An Edition of the First Italian Translation of the 'Celestina'*, no. 242, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> Biblioteca Nacional Madrid MS 17631, a sixteenth-century manuscript with extensive textual notes.

<sup>4</sup> 'Il canto de gl'augelli. Opera nova di Antonio Valli da Todì. Dove si dichiara la natura di sessanta sorte di ucelli, che cantaro per esperienza, e diligenza fatta più volte. Con il modo di pigliarli con facilità, & alleuarli, cebarli, domesticarli, ammaestiarli, e guarirli delle Infermità, che a detti possono succedere. Con li loro figure, & vinti sorte di caccie, cauate dal natural da Antonio Tempesti. Roma, per gli Heredi di Nicolo Mutij, MDCI.' Facsimile ed. Giulio Brighenti (Bologna: A. Brunelli, n.d. [1930]). The explanation is on p. 19, the engraving on the facing page.

<sup>5</sup> "The Worm and the Partridge: Reflections on the Poetry of Florencia Pinar," *Mester*, VII (1978), 3-7.





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

Acto XIX.

## RESEÑA

## HISTORY AND THE CRITICAL ENTERPRISE



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P. E. Russell's collection of essays, *Temas de La Celestina y otros estudios, del Cid al Quijote* (Barcelona/Caracas/Mexico: Editorial Ariel, 1978, Pp. 508), is in reality a history book, but a special kind of history book with an underlying didactic slant. The implicit purpose is to show students of Spanish literature, mainly of early Spanish literature, that one ought not interpret literary works or second-guess an author's artistic motivations unless one is well acquainted with the social and historical contexts within which these literary works are written. Further, it is a matter of applying *appropriately* this knowledge to the interpretative enterprise.

Of course, this idea is not new, but Professor Russell has exercised it more clearly and consistently in these essays--the accumulation of years of solid and wise scholarship--than anyone I know about. There is, admittedly, room in this sort of orientation for a good deal of conjecture that can be manipulated to sound like historical fact which can then be further manipulated to apply to a particular critical end. But R. does not deal much in conjecture. The reader comes away from these studies with a sense of, first, admiration for the kind of disciplined mind that has written clearly on a wide spectrum over a relatively long period with such a consistent point-of-view. Second, in spite of the seeming paucity of historical "hard" data, especially for the Middle Ages, there is enough around to turn us all into more thoughtful and better grounded scholars. Russell's introduction tells us that he has selected articles which "han tenido cierta influencia en la crítica posterior . . ." (p. 7), and this, he explains, is why in the majority of cases he does not attempt to update his work. Where material is added, it is material in the main that had originally been eliminated at the time of initial publication, because of publishers' requirements. Nonetheless, R. includes occasional "estudios inéditos" which function as up-dates (for example, the second part of "Alcocer", p. 45).

To help the reader discover the thread that will reveal the critical focus of his studies, R. tells us, ". . . advertirá el lector una preocupación generalizada: la de establecer lo que ocurre cuando acudimos a la historia en busca de aclaraciones de un texto literario." (p. 9).

As I indicated in the beginning, R. is remarkably consistent in this focus--consistent with his criticism of certain formalist aspects of María Rosa Lida's *magnus opus*, *La originalidad artística de La Celestina*, on the one hand, and with his harsh treatment of the historicity of Stephen Gilman's *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas*, on the other.

The collection is comprised of sixteen studies, ten and a half of which were published first in English, in European and U.S. publications between 1952 and 1976. Four and a half more were previously unpublished (the second part of "Alcocer", cited above, figures into this group), one of which is an amplified version of a paper given in Salamanca (1971) in Spanish ("*La Celestina* y los estudios jurídicos de Fernando de Rojas," p. 323). One article, "La magia, tema integral de *LC*" (p. 241), was originally published in Spanish and is considerably expanded here.

The volume is arranged more or less chronologically: a series of essays on the *Poema de Mio Cid* comes first and those on *LC*, later, etc. The collection ends with essays of a more general nature. With two exceptions, (R.'s reviews of Gilman's, *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas*, pp. 341-375, and his article on "Las armas contra las letras: para una definición del humanismo español del siglo XV" pp. 207-239), I will comment on articles in the same order as they occur in the book.

#### *Studies on the PMC*

The 192 pages dedicated to the *PMC* contain four well-argued studies concerned with aspects of the poem ranging from the interest of the poet in the legalistic details of medieval charters and documents to a re-examination of sources for Jimena's "oración de súplica" and to the exactness of the *Cid*'s route as described in the poem. Although the exhaustive documentation brought to bear is, as well, often exhausting to the reader, practically all of it sheds light on problem areas that have been an important focus of Cidian criticism.

The first study, "Algunos problemas de diplomática en el *Poema de Mio Cid* y su significación" (pp. 13-33), first published in English as "Some Problems of Diplomatic in the *Cantar de Mio Cid* and their Implications" (MRL, 47 [1952], 340-349), was truly years ahead of its time. Scholars have only recently given serious attention to defining the individuality of the poet of the *PMC* in terms of his acquaintance with the legalistic world of his day. This article points out that the scholar's understanding of the use of seals and their differences in the documents of the period, coupled with the obvious internal indications that the poet (of the version we now have) was well-acquainted with legal terminology and procedures related to civil and military administration could, as R. says (p. 29), lead to a new "enfoque" on the problems of dating, authorship, and composition. In light of the activity centering precisely on these questions, his claim is a modest one.

Whereas the previous chapter on the diplomatic problem in *PMC* implicitly urges the scholar to seek historical groundings within the poem (i.e. use of seals and legal terminology), the two parts of "Alcocer" (pp. 35-69) warn that the *PMC* is not a consistently reliable historical document. In fact, both parts--Part I was previously published in English in 1957 ("Where was Alcocer? *Cantar de Mio Cid*, 11. 553-861", en *Homenaje a J. A. Van Praag*, Amsterdam, 1957, pp. 101-107) and Part II ("Nuevas

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reflexiones sobre el Alcocer del *Poema de Mio Cid*"), unpublished until its appearance here--are R.'s rejection, using as his example the historically doubtful Alcocer episode, of the strict adherence to the "historicidad" of Menéndez Pidal. The fact that there is no Alcocer situated where the poem indicates it should be (in the valley of the upper Jalón), nor is there any evidence of such a town in that geographical area in the historical documents of the period, probably indicates that it is a fictive element of the poem.

The study titled, "San Pedro de Cardeña y la historia heroica del Cid" (originally "San Pedro de Cardeña and the History of the Cid", *MAe*, 27 [1958], 57-79) foreshadows the resurgence of interest in the theories of Bédier concerning epic legends and their relation to tomb cults. In tracing the documented evidence of the Cid legend connected to the monastery of Cardeña, first detected in a version of the *Liber Regum* (1220), R. is very convincing about the possibility that the poet was a man of some erudition (an argument that harks back to his study on Cidian diplomats) who also knew well the technical aspects of oral epic poetry. It was this poet who doubtless shaped the Cardeña elements of the Cid legend circulating at the end of the 12th century into the version of the poem now extant. Well known is the work of later scholars such as A. D. Deyermund and Colin Smith, to name but two, who have helped to substantiate R.'s claims.

R.'s previously unpublished five-part study, "La oración de Doña Jimena" (pp. 113-158), is a detailed examination of Jimena's prayer (vv. 325-367 of *PMC*). The object of this piece, beyond its survey of critical opinion, is to suggest that the prayer's traditional attribution to French epic sources is not clear, as the evidence R. puts before us demonstrates. Among many differences cited is a context very different from French models in which this kind of "oración de súplica" is enunciated by the hero in moments of mortal danger, especially on the battlefield. The discussion comes down to whether the immediate source of Jimena's prayer devolves directly from a religious *topos* used in the French epic or whether it is based on an older, Latin-Christian tradition common to both the French and the Spanish epic.

R.'s perceptive and, so far as I know, unique conclusion is that the French and the Spanish epic "oración de súplica", with all their differences, derive from a tradition of *innovation* of liturgical forms and are not based directly on liturgical prayer forms in the Latin-Christian tradition. As R. puts it, this prayer ". . . basándose en reminiscencias de la liturgia . . . intenta transmitir la impresión de que es lo que no es: una auténtica oración" (p. 153).

The last of R.'s studies on the *PMC* (also unpublished previously) is a fascinating exploration of "El 'Poema de Mio Cid' como documento de información caminera" (pp. 159-205). Like the work on toponymy ("Alcocer"), R. first focuses on the lack of precision in the *PMC* as one examines closely the topographical (and historical) details of the poem. One discussion, as would be expected, centers around the Medinaceli and San Estéban de Gormaz question.

R.'s view is that one must consider the "Pidalian" concepts of historicity in the Spanish epic with a good deal of tolerance. His opinion is that the poet of the *PMC* used the itinerary *topos* of the French epic model with certain thematic ends in mind which caused innovation in much the same way as the poet adapted the "oración de súplica" to his needs. There ensues a fascinating discussion of the possibility that the poet of the *PMC* may have used written sources in the form of regional maps or travel routes ("itinerarios camineros") which supplied the kinds of details included in the poem, rather than first hand observations, or those supplied from oral sources.

The problem here, of course,--and R. admits it--is that few data are available about the use of maps and travel routes in medieval Spain. Still, in spite of such reservations, it is one of the most fascinating pieces in the collection.

#### Studies on *La Celestina*

The central interest to readers of *Celestinesca* is surely the five studies that the author devotes to *LC*. These are pieces that shed light on practically all aspects of *LC* studies from authorship to *conversos*. The focus is consistent with Russell's stated intention to provide, when possible, data on how works were conceived and understood in their day.

"La magia, tema integral de *LC*" (pp. 241-276), represents the most augmented of the previously published articles in this volume (published with the same title in *Homenaje a Damaso Alonso*, III, [Madrid, 1963], pp. 337-354). It is an example of R.'s socio-historical orientation applied to textual criticism, with fine results. Supported by some fifty-two notes, R.'s text convinces us that, although few studies "han tomado en serio la magia en la *Tragicomedia*" (p. 244), magic (and the workings of the Devil through *Celestina*) is a constant and integral part of the work, and responsible for the chain of events which leads to its climax.

The value of this article (and others printed here) is to establish that the importance of magic in *LC* must be examined through the attitudes of Rojas's contemporaries. This R. does by reminding us that general recognition of sorcerers ("magos") with real magical powers was the orthodox, not the exceptional view, and that Satan and his demons could and did intervene in the lives of humans, even in the opinion of the most skeptical churchman. One source of information, more or less contemporary with Rojas, is Pedro Ciruelo's *Reprobación de las supersticiones y hechicerías* (1530 or earlier). R. adds to this a wealth of information which confirms the relevancy of magic for Rojas' contemporaries.

Having prepared this incontrovertible historical ground in parts one and two, R. proceeds in parts three and four to explicate the supernatural situation (*philocaptio*), its medium (*hechicería*), and the roles they play in *LC*.

Part three portrays Celestina as *hechicera*, and accounts for divergent opinion, such as Pármeno's (who seems to express doubt as to her condition as *hechicera*). R. suggests that it is the skepticism of the original author of Act I which is reflected in Pármeno and, citing another contemporary of Rojas (Fray Martín de Castañega), that this attitude is typical of those "presumiendo de letrados [que] niegan las maneras de las supersticiones y hechicerías."

One of the longest additions to the original study, and a remarkably evocative reading of the work at this point (pp. 260-261), treats the chain of images associated with the snake oil (*serpentine*) poured over the skein of yarn which will figure decisively in the *philocaptio* of Melibea. What this article, written a good many years before most *LC* critics were taking magic as thematically important, convincingly demonstrates is the connection between sexual obsession and the workings of the Devil through *hechiceras* current in the beliefs of the contemporary reader of *LC*.

Two of the articles on *LC* are reviews written originally in English, obviously included because they deal with three important *LC* studies of the 1960's and early 70's. "Tradición literaria y realidad social en "La Celestina" (pp. 277-291) (published in English as "Literary Tradition and Social Reality in *LC*", *BHS*, 41 [1964], 230-237) is R.'s joint review of María Rosa Lida de Malkiel's *Two Spanish Masterpieces: "The Book of Good Love" and "The Celestina"* (Urbana, 1961) and her *La originalidad artística de La Celestina* (Buenos Aires, 1962), but which really is a review of the latter work in all but the first page or so.

R. gives a balanced review of *La originalidad*, which, understandably because of the book's length and complexity, is too schematic to provide the reader a clear sense of the directions of Lida de Malkiel's monumental work. The reviewer's main reservation, although not the only one, revolves around his objection that "la señora de Malkiel estudia la originalidad artística de *LC* con referencia a un mundo cerrado, puramente literario . . ." (p. 288). He goes on to object that Mrs. Malkiel does not (even though she points out the importance of *LC*'s transmission of a sense of reality), relate the book to social and historical realities of the period.

It is true that her focus is not socio-historical--and perhaps it should have been more so--but to assert that she felt "*ningún deseo de relacionar el libro con las realidades sociales del mundo en que fue escrito, de su época*" (p. 288, emphasis is mine), is not, in my opinion, accurate. There are numerous relatings of just such a nature, among which, as an example, is a description of the socio-historical situation of the marriage alliance in the Spain of the Middle Ages related to the problem of Calisto and Melibea (*La originalidad*, 210-211). Mrs. Malkiel's attempts to relate the socio-historical picture to *LC* may well be inadequate and unconvincing to R., but they *are* there.

The general critical opinion on Stephen Gilman's, the *Spain of Fernando de Rojas: The Intellectual and Social Landscape of "La Celestina"* (Princeton, 1972), has varied from glowing to condemnatory. R.'s comments

in "Un crítico en busca de un autor; reflexiones en torno a un reciente libro sobre Fernando de Rojas" (pp. 341-375) (first published in English as an untitled review in *CLit*, 27 [1975], 59-74) belong to the latter category. His condemnation, while not up to the astonishing intensity of Keith Whinnom's (*BHS*, 52 [1975], 158-161), is not less complete.

R. points out the difficulties in the transformation of literary critic into biographer. In terms of *LC*, he questions the validity of Gilman's entire endeavor since he believes that Rojas' contemporaries would have had little understanding of the concept of author-within-his work; that it, indeed, was not a functioning concept of the period. R. seems to be saying that since Rojas would have been less likely to reveal his real self through his work, therefore, *LC* would reflect very little of the historical Rojas' portrayed in Gilman's book. If this is what R. is getting at--and he says it very cautiously--I must cautiously disagree because Gilman's book is more than just a biography. Rightly or wrongly interpreted, Gilman attempts to describe *LC* in terms of its socio-historical context, not just in terms of biographical data about Rojas. An author who writes as vividly as Rojas does about the society he knows thereby reveals important aspects of himself, lack of consciousness of author-presence on the part of the reader notwithstanding. The point, however, need not be expanded here. I cite it because it signals the direction of R.'s final objections to Gilman's book: its lack of precision and rigorous historical method and its ultimate failure as historical criticism.

While it may be difficult to agree in the end with R. in finding so little that is praiseworthy in Gilman's book, one can offer that the grounds on which he argues his objections are in great part irreproachable and a tribute to his consistency as a critic of literature with a highly developed sense for the historical method, its *limitations* and pitfalls, when applied to literature. In the particular case of Gilman, one cannot help but feel, especially after re-reading R.'s critique of Gilman's important earlier work, *The Art of "La Celestina"* (Madison, 1956) (R.'s review of it is in *BHS*, 34 [1957], 160-167), that the kind of intuitive, often brilliant insightful criticism that Gilman is capable of, even in the *Spain of Fernando de Rojas*, is out of phase with R.'s critical focus on most literary things in general, and on *LC* in particular.

"El primer comentario de *LC*: cómo un legista del siglo XVI interpretaba la *Tragicomedia*" (pp. 293-321) (originally, "*The Celestina comentada*" in *Medieval Hispanic Studies Presented to Rita Hamilton*, ed. A. D. Deyermond [London; 1976], pp. 175-193), is a significant study. While much useful description and detail is provided about this book--its dates, the method of its gloss (the commentator glossed it in two phases)--the ultimate value of this piece is its demonstration that *CC* is a critical document on *LC* written by a commentator uniquely near the social milieu of Rojas (*CC* was written some time after 1550). R.'s central thesis is that the anonymous author-commentator was a man of legal expertise ("legista"), especially trained in civil law ("derecho civil"). A great deal of useful detail validates this theory: the form for bibliographical references in his gloss is typical of that used by authors and commentators of legal



texts in the 16th century; the glosses confirm the author's interest in law in his commentaries on the principles of law underlying the text of *LC*. We are shown that the commentator is not a man interested or necessarily versed in the literary form of the *Tragicomedia*, since his commentary primarily treats the appropriateness of the *LC* text to ethical concerns of his times. A corollary concern is the sources of *LC*. There is, nonetheless, some sense of literary concern discernible in the glosses of *CC*: there are comments on the presence (or absence) of realism at a particular moment and on the problem of locale (both of which, continue to intrigue some critics today). Finally, R. makes the point that the author of *CC*, although his work remained unpublished in his lifetime, very likely hoped for its publication in order to combat the growing sentiment for censorship of Rojas' work in the 16th century. R.'s view is that the commentator of *CC* knew *LC* as a moral, strictly doctrinal work.

There is another dimension to this study that ties the work of the author of *CC* to contemporary *LC* criticism. R. directs a good deal of justifiable criticism at Castro Guisasola's book, *Observaciones sobre las fuentes literarias de "La Celestina"* (Madrid, 1924, rpt. 1974), for not having specifically dealt with the author of *CC*. In fact, he shows that, although Castro Guisasola does recognize the importance of *CC* in a general way in his introduction, *CC* is a *direct* source of much of his book.

One principal conclusion at which Russell arrives is that the internal evidence in the text of *LC* demonstrates that Rojas did not lay aside his professional, legal interests upon writing *LC*, but, indeed, incorporated them into *LC*. This conclusion, supported by the unimpeachable documentation of a source so near to Rojas, testifying to yet another kind of unity within *LC*, forces the critical reader with interest in the authorship problem to consider the probability that Rojas not only was, as he stated, the author of all but the first act of *LC*, but that he was, again as he claimed, a man of some legal expertise.

The previously unpublished study which follows, "*LC y los estudios jurídicos de Fernando de Rojas*" (pp. 323-340), continues to assert with the same historical and textual rigor of the foregoing piece on the *CC*, but with a different focus, the presence of indicators in the text of *LC* that the author was, indeed, a student of law. This study adds to and reinforces R.'s commentary on *CC* by means of a review of original discoveries within the text of *LC*.

The next two studies represent material that is somewhat more restricted in scope, although they continue to display the same rigorous sense of the historical and social context of literature that is the hallmark of R.'s critical work as seen, at least, in this volume. In "La 'poesía negra' de Rodrigo de Reinosa" (pp. 377-406), first published in English in 1973 ("Towards an Interpretation of Rodrigo de Reinosa's *poesía negra*", in *Studies in Spanish Literature of the Golden Age, Presented to Edward M. Wilson*, ed. R. O. Jones [London, 1973], pp. 225-245), R. sustains a lively discussion of "poesía negra" within which tradition Rodrigo de Reinosa wrote two and possibly three poems. Through a

description of these poems some of the salient attitudes of the 16th century Spaniard toward the imported African slaves are revealed.

The Negro emerges in this period as a comic figure, principally because of his use of pidgin Spanish and Portuguese. The Negro is represented as a dancing, singing slave of exaggerated sexual prowess (comically represented), desired by woman and, at least in one poem that R. generally attributes to Reinosa, by a white woman of the upper classes. Possible sources are discussed and the piece ends with the provocative and quite plausible suggestion that some themes from 15th century Spanish "poesía negra" are found continued in the writings of the "Afrocubano" writers of the 1920s and '30s.

In a different sort of study, "*Don Quijote y la risa a carcajadas*" (pp. 407-440) (first published as "*Don Quixote as a Funny Book*", *MLR*, 64 [1969], 312-326), R. effectively combats the Romantic and post-Romantic interpretation of the saintly Don Quixote. In fact, the main themes of *DQ* may well have been recognized by Cervantes' reading public as laughter and madness, as R. makes abundantly clear by employing his usual criterion of establishing, as clearly as possible, the way the work was read and accepted in its time, not only in Spain, but in England and France as well.

The two pieces that end R.'s collection are devoted to two seemingly different subjects. In reality, there is a vital connection between the two which is fundamental to the "theme" present in most all the studies: history, wrongly interpreted and imprecisely applied to whatever enterprise, be it literature, philosophy, history of ideas or contemporary history itself, is counterproductive.

In the previously unpublished, "*El Concilio de Trento y la literatura profana; reconsideración de una teoría*" (pp. 441-478), R. explores the fundamental question (a question that has led many a theorist astray) of the origin of the insistence that all literature have a didactic purpose--an insistence that became increasingly more shrill in Spain as the 16th century progressed.

R. perceives that the Council of Trent intervened much less in decisions about the content of entertainment books published in the vernacular in the 16th century in Spain than Américo Castro (in *Pensamiento de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1925), as well as other scholars, claimed. When the Council did intervene, such intervention was provoked by anticlericalism or heresy. Sometimes it was a matter of the rollicking parodies of doctrinal concerns so common at the time. The moral question was not an issue for those who controlled the *Indexes* until the 17th century (specifically, the *Index* of Sandoval of 1612) and even then it was a matter of limited expurgation, not the banning of entire works.

R. concludes that the growing sentiment for proof of redeeming Christian-moral values in this literature came *not* directly from post-Tridentine influence, but from Jesuit influence. Part V of this finely-argued piece is dedicated to tracing Jesuit objections to vernacular literature in the late 1500's and early 1600's. The dominant attitude of

this religious order, so influential in this period, was that literature was *not* meant to entertain, but to instruct.

"La historia de España, túnica de Neso" (pp. 479-491) (previously published as "The Nessus Shirt of Spanish History", *BHS*, 36 [1959], 219-226), is what it chooses to be, mainly, a concise, lucid criticism of Claudio Sánchez Albornoz' book, *España, un enigma histórico* (Buenos Aires, 1956). But it offers more. R. uncovers the fallacy in the thinking of Spaniards who continue to view their past history, their present and their future, in Generation-of-1898 terms; that there is something in the Spanish character that makes them incapable of change. R. makes us see this unscientific attitude for what it is: a generalization unworthy of a brave and intelligent people.

My concluding commentary is not on the article that ends the volume. I have deliberately left for last "Las armas contra las letras: para una definición del humanismo español del siglo XV" (pp. 207-239). It is a substantially expanded version of an earlier piece in English, "Arms versus Letters: Towards a Definition of Spanish Humanism" (in *Aspects of the Renaissance: A Symposium*, ed. Archibald R. Lewis [Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1967] pp. 45-58). The reason, which will be obvious to the student of 15th and 16th Spanish Letters who has, no doubt, returned many times to this article in its shorter version, is that there is no other work which puts into perspective so succinctly yet so lucidly one of the pivotal questions of Spain's intellectual history: Arms *versus* Letters.

R.'s thesis need not be explicated in detail here, since it basically argues that Spain continued to resist the idea of the compatibility of the pen and the sword well after the Italian nobility had integrated the concept of Arms *and* Letters into their cultural fabric. Spain's resistance in this matter made a profound difference in the artistic and intellectual climate of the Spain of the 15th century and, consequently, is in part responsible for a departure from the concept of Humanism developed in Italy. A lack of competence in Latin and Greek and an emphasis on translation of classics into the vernacular produced differences that would not be reconciled until much later. The blame is placed on the prevailing conservative viewpoint in Spain, which pitted arms against letters by clinging tenaciously to a rigidly categorized society, divinely determined. In this way the man of letters was distinguished from the man of arms, preventing any great amalgamation of the two into one. The Marqués de Santillana and others who did manage to combine the two were not typical of the general situation.

This schematic summary in no way does justice to the importance of R.'s essay on Spanish Humanism and the controversy of Arms and Letters; nor do these pages do justice to the large number of perceptive conclusions which R. brings to the reader in this collection as a whole. It might be better said, perhaps, that he leads his reader step by sure step to conclusions that are grounded in his unerring sense of the historical significance of literary achievements. It is a pleasure to have these essays in one place, under one cover and within easy reach.

The translations are, in my opinion, exceptionally good. There are remarkably few typographical errors (*MRL* for *MLR*, a quaint tendency in some places to print *prohibe* for *prohibe*). The note on page 480, describing the previous location of publication is interchanged with the note on page 342. The notes to the various studies (placed at the end of each one) are extensive, but not over-burdening. On the contrary, they are a mine of related information and sources.



Celestina, estando Pármemo fuera, seduce a Areúsa en el Aucto VII. De la traducción alemana de C. Wirsung (1520).

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P R E G O N E R O

✠ "contarte he maravillas . . ."

CELESTINA EN LAS TABLAS: Muy recientemente, en Estados Unidos, precisamente en Tejas, se celebró el Quinto Festival de Teatro del Siglo de Oro. Fue patrocinado por el National Park Service y tuvo lugar en el Chamizal National Memorial durante el período 7-22 de marzo de 1980. En el festival se vieron trece producciones de sendas compañías teatrales de México (con nueve grupos), de Estados Unidos (con tres: de Tejas, la Florida y Nueva York), y de España (un grupo, de Madrid). Obras de autores tan distintos como son Sor Juana,



Burgos, 11499?

Calisto a las puertas de Melibea. Aucto XII.

estreno de este mismo Festival de Chamizal (1976), lo cual explica por qué esta vez se presentó fuera de concurso. El adaptador ha ido reformando su texto original y esta versión difería en muchos aspectos de la original, según nos informa el colega y profesor DONALD DIETZ (Texas Tech University) quien ha tenido la suerte de ver ambas producciones. Esta vez en Celestina había OFELIA GONZALEZ; en Calisto, FRANK ROBLES y OMAR TORRES; en Melibea, YOLANDA ARENAS. . . Este año hubo por primera vez un simposio después de la actuación de las representaciones compuesto de académicos selectos, actores, directores y técnicos y al cual se les invitaba a los miembros del público. Según todas las noticias esta innovación resultó ser muy positiva. Los señores académicos que ahora participaron son el antes mencionado profesor DIETZ y: A. PEREZ PISONERO (Univ. de Tejas en El Paso), EVERETT HESSE (California State Univ. en San Diego), y HANNAH E. BERGMAN (Lehman College-CUNY) . . . . . La compañía que dirige el señor Buch, el Teatro Repertorio Español de Nueva York, antes de aparecer en Chamizal, llevó *La Celestina* a la ciudad de San Antonio donde el 15 y 16 de marzo (1980) un público muy entusiasta fue regalado con los donaires y profundidades de Rojas. Aun un poco antes, fue puesta en escena (de nuevo) en Nueva York. Esperamos poder tener una reseña de la producción

Luque (2), Lope de Rueda, Ruiz de Alarcón, Valdivielso, Calderón (3), Rojas Zorrilla y Fernando de Rojas fueron montadas con gran éxito y aprobación de ambos los jueces y el público . . . . .

La producción de *La Celestina*, que se vio dos veces el 18, era un arreglo de René Buch quien era, además, director de escena. Buch presentó una versión de *LC* por primera vez en Nueva York en 1974 (Ver LCDB 202 y *Celestinesca*, 1, i [1977], pág. 35, no. 202). Esta versión se vio y fue premiada en el

de Chamizal en estas páginas pero por el momento, y para concretar algunos puntos sobre la calidad de esta representación, citaremos de una reseña de *The New York Times* (3 marzo 1980) escrita por Richard F. Shepard:

"The story smacks of Romeo and Juliet, except that it is different. It tells of the love between Calisto, a wealthy young Christian, and Melibea, the beautiful daughter of a Jewish merchant, a situation that was impermissible in that particular world. Calisto's two servants persuade him to use the cunning of Celestina, an old harridan and whore with a keen wit and a knowledge of people-handling . . . OFELIA GONZALEZ has the title role and she plays it beautifully, a woman swathed in gray robes who wheedles, laughs, fawns, rages and conspires with such skill that one never tires of watching her gestures or hearing her voice . . . OMAR TORRES and YOLANDA ARENAS, as the star-crossed lovers, have straight roles that they perform with much passion and utter seriousness. MATEO GOMEZ and JUAN CARLOS GIMENEZ portray the two servants with peasantlike fidelity, displaying basic emotions such as greed and lust, playfulness and passion that kills. . . . the production . . . works on all levels, lofty and low. Even the set by ROBERT WEBER FEDERICO, dominated by two curving staircases, helps separate the romantic higher thoughts from the baser animal instincts that appear on the stage floor."

Puede ser que la actuación fuera de esa calidad: por lo menos, es el deber del crítico reaccionar honestamente ante los actores. Pero eso de un Calisto cristiano y una Melibea judía, sacado de las notas que acompañaban al programa y que leyó muy bien el crítico Shepard, es una injusticia al texto de Rojas afirmarlo, como parte íntegra de su trama--y como si fuese una verdad conocida--, esta todavía muy debatida conjetura.

También en Estados Unidos. De una producción especial nos ha llegado este interesante recorte de periódico (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 julio, 1979, pág. 60):

"*Celestina*, adapted from the Spanish classic of Fernando de Rojas by EDWARD SENIOR, will be presented by StageGroup Theatre at 8:30 p.m. Fridays and Saturdays, August 3 to September 22 at 449 Powell. Previews start tonight."

Estamos en contacto con una profesora que asistió con su clase a esta representación y esperamos tener para el próximo número de CELESTINESCA su comentario sobre la misma.

En Italia. Esto de mantener un tipo de simposio parece ser cada vez más común. No solo se ha hecho con la producción reciente en Chamizal, pero tuvimos ocasión de señalar simposios semejantes en nuestras noticias sobre la producción bilingüe de ALVARO CUSTODIO (en Los Angeles, 1979) y la inglesa de CHARLES LEWSEN (Sheffield, 1979). Ahora nos viene la noticia, mandada por nuestra corresponsal EMMA COLES (Roma), de que así ocurrió con la de ALFONSO SASTRE (estreno: Roma, 1979). La mesa redonda fue conducida por el director de escena, LUIZI SQUARZINA y "algunos hispanistas,"

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después de unas semanas en el teatro Argentina (ver, para más detalles, *Celestinesca* 3, ii: pág. 41). Nos parece un procedimiento del todo admirable.

En España. Lo más nuevo en el mundo de las teatralizaciones de *LC* será la que se montó en Madrid en el Teatro Espronceda 34 con el título *Calisto y Melibea*. Dirigió ahora, como lo ha hecho durante los últimos años en varios países de Europa, a donde ha llevado primero esta adaptación "libre" de RICARDO LOPEZ ARANDA, el director MANUEL MANZANEQUE y su Compañía Tirso de Molina. . . . El estreno tuvo lugar el 6 de febrero de 1980 y la crítica, en general, ha sido severa. Ha querido el adaptador (cito sus palabras)

"recrear en el sentido de teatralizar los conceptos, traducir a 'situaciones' ciertas formas de humor puramente verbal en el texto; simplificar, fundiéndolos, personajes que cumplen idénticas funciones: en definitiva, estructurar de un modo teatral y de hoy el enorme material de la novela dialogada original, lo que conlleva, en este caso, disminuir la excesiva cantidad de muertes y ordenar sus 'tiempos dramáticos', con el fin de que cobren más fuerza las muertes necesarias y éstas ocurran en el orden más lógico."

Las varias reacciones (ver, en este número, el s315 del suplemento bibliográfico, para las noticias de algunas de ellas) son del tipo "Ha desprovisto el tema de todo su contorno... se deja el esqueleto, se desprecia la sustancia. . . . la lógica se pierde la tensión dramática se aniquila, el orden se pierde" (E. Haro Tecglen en *El País*, 10 de febrero, 1980). . . . Aparecieron en los papeles principales, en buenas actuaciones, MARÍA GUERRERO (Celestina), INMA DE SANTY (Melibea), y JOSE SANCHO (Calisto). En los otros papeles había: ARACELY CONDE, MARÍA VIDAL, GONZALO SANMIGUEL, RAMON PONS y JOSE MARIA ESCUER.


Recientemente. . . 

LC EN TRADUCCION. . . nuestra corresponsal de Hungría, la profesora KATALIN KULIN nos pone esta noticia sobre la nueva traducción al húngaro de la obra de Rojas. Es de fecha 1979. SANDOR KAROLY tradujo la *Comedia* que, ahora en traducción refundida y extendida a la *Tragicomedia* por FERENC SZÖNYI, incluso todas las materias pre- y posliminarias, merece elogios de la profesora KULIN, ella misma autora de un inteligente posfacio.

LC EN LOS CONGRESOS . . . En las sesiones de la Midwest MLA, convocadas en Indianapolis, USA, en noviembre de 1979, fue leída la ponencia de ARTHUR C. OLDS (Michigan State Univ.), "Structure and Narrative Technique in *LC*: The Asides." El mismo nos informa que acabará en breve su tesis doctoral sobre unos aspectos de la ironía en *LC*. Su ponencia fue seguida por los comentarios del profesor E. J. WEBBER (Northwestern U.) y la sesión fue presidida por otro buen conocedor del texto rojano, JERRY R. RANK (U. of Illinois - Chicago Circle). . . . En las sesiones celebradas

en mayo en Kalamazoo, Michigan, de la Medieval Conference, ADRIENNE S. MANDEL (California State U. en Northridge) presidió una reunión especial sobre el tema del debate (anti) feminista del siglo XV. En ella participaron los celestinescos COLBERT NEPAULSINGH (SUNY-Albany), ANTONY VAN BEYSTERVELDT (Bowling Green State U.) y JAMES R. STAMM (New York Univ.). El último de los tres pronunció un discurso con especial relevancia para nosotros, "LC: The Debate Ends." Su idea central es que LC es la última obra de relieve en que dicho debate es empleado como elemento estructural (hasta no *La Galatea* de Cervantes). A fin de cuentas, hasta Rojas lo rechaza a favor de una actitud realista de "gaudeamus" o de "carpe diem."

Agradecemos a JOSE LUIS CANO la noticia sobre *Celestinesca* aparecida en *Insula*, núms. 396-397 (nov.-dic. 1979), en la página 2. Nuestro correo nos demuestra la gran utilidad de la gentileza que nos ha hecho.

Hacia el futuro . . . 

Una labor bibliográfica se va terminando . . . La bibliografía de las ediciones antiguas de LC que desde hace tiempo vienen preparando las profesoras EMMA SCOLES (Roma) y ERNA BERNDT KELLEY (Smith College) en colaboración con dos alumnas en Italia parece estar en sus últimas reformaciones. Será de mucha importancia cuando aparezca; la necesidad de tener claramente expuesta la dificultosa huella dejada en el mundo de la imprenta por la obra de Rojas ahora encuentra respuesta.

El tema de las menciones de animales en LC será estudiado en una tesis de licenciatura que actualmente se prepara en Roma . . .

Un artículo destinado a las páginas de *Hispania* (USA) es uno de DAVID WISE (Texas Women's Univ.), "Reflections of Andreas Capellanus's 'De reprobatio amoris' in Juan Ruiz, Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, and Fernando de Rojas." . . . Selecciones Austral (Espasa-Calpe) anuncia la inminente aparición de su texto de LC con un prólogo de PEDRO M. PIÑEIRO . . . Está preparando una monografía sobre tema celestinesco FERNANDO DE TORO-GARLAND (Madrid) que será acompañada de una bibliografía completa de la crítica, ediciones, etc.

Otras cosas en preparación incluyen una edición crítica de la *Tragicomedia* por el profesor MIGUEL MARCIALES (Venezuela) y una monografía de título alentador: *La comedia humanística en LC: dos muestras prospectivas de un género literario*. Esta saldrá en la serie "Theses et Studia Scholastica" patrocinada por el Seminario de Filología Hispánica (Santiago de Chile) y dirigida por el profesor MARIO FERRECIO PODESTA. Estas actividades de los colegas sudamericanos demuestran la salud de LC en todas partes del mundo de habla española.

LOUISE FOTHERGILL-PAYNE (Univ. of Calgary) publicará un artículo en *Cuadernos hispanoamericanos* (1981 o 1982) sobre algunas rarezas del siglo XVI en el ámbito de las adaptaciones dramáticas. El título: "La cambiante faz de la Celestina." . . . La misma investigadora ha topado con unas traducciones del siglo XV de Séneca que bien podrían ser una fuente

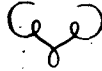


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primaria de la *Comedia*. Ha presentado, en forma de charlas, algunas de estas materias ya en Nottingham, Londres, Toronto y Montreal. Mientras tanto procede con un estudio monográfico de estas nuevas influencias senequistas.

Habrà definitivamente una sesión especial dedicada a *LC* en el congreso de la MLA (Houston) en diciembre de 1980. Actualmente está organizándola la profesora MANDEL. Se anunciará en breve el programa y los participantes. . . En el VII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, tercera circular, abril de 1980, se anuncia un solo trabajo sobre *LC*, JOSEPH SNOW (Georgia), "Un aspecto del arte teatral de Celestina: el caso de Claudina."

Se cierra esta edición del PREGONERO con gracias a las personas que proporcionaron informes de todo tipo: Robert BLACK, Geoffrey WEST, Karl-Ludwig SELIG, A. CUSTODIO, J. C. TEMPRANO, Donald DIETZ, E. SCOLES, S. WHITTAKER, K. KISH, G. SIEBENMANN, M. FERRECIO, J. R. STAMM, L. NORDENHOLZ, L. FOTHERGILL-PAYNE y K. KULIN.



Celestina y Sempronio llegan a la casa de Calisto. Aucto V.

De la traducción alemana de C. Wirsung (1520).

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PRESENTA A

Teatro  
**Espronceda 34**

**MARIA GUERRERO  
JOSE SANCHO  
INMA DE SANTY**

## **CALISTO y MELIBEA**

Tragicomedia de **FERNANDO DE ROJAS**

Nueva versión libre de  
**RICARDO LOPEZ ARANDA**

**ARACELI CONDE  
MARIA VIDAL  
GONZALO SANMIGUEL**



Escenografía:  
**JAVIER ARTIRANO**

Música:  
**ANGEL ARTEAGA**

con  
**RAMON PONS**

y la colaboración de  
**JOSE M. ESCUER**

DIRECCION  
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Reproducción de la cubierta del programa de una  
teatralización de Calisto y Melibea, en Madrid.

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LA CELESTINA: DOCUMENTO BIBLIOGRAFICO

## SEPTIMO SUPLEMENTO

J. T. Snow  
University of Georgia



### I. PALABRAS PREVIAS

Yo sabía siempre que estos suplementos a la bibliografía publicada ya hace casi 4 años en *Hispania*, 59 (1976), 610-660, (abreviada aquí *LCDB*), me harían algún día--tarde o temprano--pensar en una compilación única. En ella habría yo de volver sobre la materia, eliminar errores de todo tipo, pensar de nuevo su organización, ampliar algunos comentarios y hacer ciertos cortes. La meta siempre ha sido documentar--dentro de lo posible, y con la cooperación de celestinistas de todos los colores--el interés mundial en la gran obra de Rojas. En estos suplementos agregamos más bien lo nuevo que había, pero también seguíamos coleccionando detalles sobre las entradas de la lista original. En la compilación única que ahora proyectamos, pensamos cubrir los años 1940-1980 (en vez del "cuarto de siglo" de *LCDB*) incluyendo la materia (algo ampliada y reformada) de *LCDB*, de todos los suplementos que hubieren aparecido, del período antes no examinado, 1940-49, y de las obras de anterior aparición que, dentro de los nuevos límites cronológicos, se vieron reimprimos justamente por ese afán de los lectores por *La Celestina*, obra cuya fascinación parece insondable.

Como siempre, ruego a los lectores me manden noticias de los acontecimientos celestinescos, sobre todo cuando es cuestión de algo muy regional y destinado a poca divulgación. Y antes que otra cosa, quisiera aquí expresar mi agradecimiento a los que han tenido la bondad de enviarme informes particulares que me valían en la preparación de este suplemento: Phillip Wolfe, Harvey Sharrer, Emma Scoles, Dean W. McPheeters, Hensley Woodbridge, Mei-Lin Lee, Anthony Heathcote, Katalin Kulin, Jacques Joset, Albert Geritz, Geoffrey West, Robert Black, Juan Temprano y Gustav Siebenmann.

### II. SUPLEMENTO

#### ◀ TESIS:

- S301. Okońska, Anna. "La *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* y la *Tragedia Policiana* de Sebastián Fernández" (tesis de licenciatura, Roma).
- S302. Pagano, Angela. "La funzione espressiva dei proverbi nella *Celestina*" (tesis de licenciatura, Roma).

- S303. Rubio de Lallave, Carlos. "Lectura semántica de *LC*." Univ. of California (Berkeley), 1979. 268 págs. *DAI*, 40 (1979-80), 4078A. No. 8000498. C. Faulhaber.

◀ ESTUDIOS MONOGRAFICOS:

- S304. Freire, Tabaré J. *La Celestina*. Cuadernos de literatura, Montevideo: La Casa del Estudiante, 1977. 123 págs.

Una lectura-comentario de *LC* en cuatro partes. La primera (1-19) trata ciertos problemas externos: autoría, género, fuentes, ediciones, e imitaciones. La segunda (21-50) defiende la tesis--a base de una meditación de motivaciones planteadas por Rojas--de que *LC* fue ideada como una obra dramática (no para la representación pero según sus reglamentaciones y pensamientos). Después de una consideración de la caracterización (51-106), cabe pensar, según F., en la superioridad artística de la *Comedia* (107-23).

◀ EDICIONES ESTUDIANTILES: Estas no fueron recogidas en cosechas anteriores. Las que llevan asteriscos no han sido vistas personalmente.

- S305. Rojas, F. de. *LC*. Barcelona: Augusta, 1961. 454 págs. (\*)
- S306. \_\_\_\_\_. *LC*. Barcelona: Petronio, 1970. 234 págs. (\*)
- S307. \_\_\_\_\_. *LC*. Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Edil, 1971. (\*)
- S308. \_\_\_\_\_. *LC*. Barcelona: Juventud, 1973. 276 págs. (\*)
- S309. \_\_\_\_\_. *LC*. Col. Fondo escolar, Santiago de Chile: Gabriela Mistral, 1975. (\*)
- S310. \_\_\_\_\_. *LC*. Colección clásicos, San José de Costa Rica: EDUCA, 1976. 272 págs. (\*)
- S311. \_\_\_\_\_. *LC*. Col. Baca, Edaf Bolsillo, Madrid: EDAF, 1976. 275 págs. (\*)
- S312. \_\_\_\_\_. *LC*. Colección Scriba, Barcelona: Verón, 1977. (\*)
- S313. \_\_\_\_\_. *LC*. Bilbao: Cultura y Progreso, 1977. 192 págs. (\*)
- S314. \_\_\_\_\_. *LC*, en *La picaresca española*, tomo 4. Madrid: Colección clásicos, Círculo del Bibliófilo, 1977. (\*)

## ◀ TEATRALIZACIONES. Españolas.

- S315. *Calisto y Melibea* (Tragicomedia de Fernando de Rojas), en nueva versión libre de Ricardo López Aranda.

[V. T. LCDB, s196: *Celestinesca* 2, ii (1978), p. 54]. Fue dirigido este estreno en Madrid (6 de febrero, 1980) por Manuel Manzaneque, fundador (1968) de la Compañía 'Tirso de Molina' que lo interpreta nuevamente, después de numerosas actuaciones en las provincias españolas y en el extranjero. Aparecieron en esta adaptación María Guerrero (Celestina), José Sancho (Calisto), Inma de Santy (Melibea), Ramón Pons (Sempronio), María Vidal (Elicia), Araceli Conde (Lucrecia) y José María Escuer (Pleberio). La escenografía fue creada por Javier Artiñano y la música por Angel Arteaga. Tuvo lugar en el Teatro Espronceda 34.

- a. *El País* (7 de febrero, 1980), p. 27, anón.;
- b. *Ya* (7 de febrero, 1980), J. Parra (entrevista con María Guerrero "Celestina");
- c. *El País* (10 de febrero, 1980), E. Haro Tecglen;
- d. *ABC* (10 de febrero, 1980), L. López Sancho;
- e. *Blanco y Negro*, no. 3.537 (13-19 febrero, 1980), 52-3, A. Prego.

- S316. *La Celestina* (Tragicomedia de Fernando de Rojas), en versión de Alfonso Sastre. Traducción: María Luisa Guirre.

Tuvo su estreno en Roma en abril, 1979. Sastre le bautiza a su pieza con este título: "*La Celestina* historia de amor y de magia, con algunas citas de la famosa tragicomedia de Calixto y Melibea." En realidad, es una recreación y no una adaptación. Calixto, hereje y discípulo de Miguel Servet (siglo XVI), ex-fraiile, perseguido por las autoridades inquisitoriales, conoce a Melibea, madre abadesa de un convento para mujeres ex-rámeras por la mediación de una gitana, Celestina. Dirección: Luigi Squarzina. Anna Maestri es Celestina, Lisa Gastoni es Melibea, e Ivo Garrani aparece en Calisto durante su temporada en el teatro Argentina de Roma.

- a. *El País* (2 de mayo, 1979), J. Arias;
- b. *Blanco y Negro*, núm. 3.497 (9-15 mayo, 1979), pág. 57, M. Pérez Cotorillo.

## ◀ TRADUCCIONES EN OTROS IDIOMAS:

◦ Húngaro:

- S317. \_\_\_\_\_ . *Celestina: Calisto és Melibea Tragikomédiája*. Károly Sándor fordítását átdolgozta, kiegészítette és a verseket fordította Szönyi Ferenc. As utószót Kulin Katalin írta. Az illusztrációkat Feledy Károly készítette. (La traducción de S. Karoly fue reelaborada y completada por F. Szönyi que también

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tradujo los poemas. Postfacio escrito por K. Kulin. Ilustraciones preparadas por G. Feledy). Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó Ed., 1979. 389 págs. El postfacio de la profa. Kulin ocupa las págs. 377-388.

: Japonés:

- S318. *Majo Celestina* [La Celestina]. Traducido al japonés por Tadashi Oshima. Kyoto: Gaikoku bungakkai, 1975.

Informe del *Index Translationum* 28:430.

< ESTUDIOS NO-MONOGRÁFICOS SOBRE LC:

- S319. Angulo Iñiguez, Diego. "Murillo y Goya," *Goya*, núm. 148-150 (enero-junio, 1979), 210-213.

Considera la influencia del tema celestinesco primero en un cuadro de Murillo ("Mujeres en la ventana") y luego en otro de Goya ("Celestina"). Ilustrado.

- S320. Azar, Inés. "Metáfora, literalidad, transgresión: Amor-muerte en LC y en la *Egloga II* de Garcilaso," *Lexis* (Lima), 3 (1979), 56-65. (\*)

- S321. Beltrán, L. "La envidia de Pármeno y la corrupción de Melibea." *Insula*, núm. 398 (enero, 1980), 3, 10. (\*)

- S322. Boase, Roger. "Imagery of love, death and fortune in the poetry of Pedro Manuel Ximénez de Urrea," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 57 (1980), 17-32.

La discusión cita con frecuencia paralelos con imágenes de LC. El mismo Urrea compuso una *Egloga* de las materiales del primer auto de LC (Ver LCDB s267).

- S323. Carrasco, Félix. "Diálogo, antidiálogo y conciencia de clase en LC" *Idéologie et pratiques discursives, Imprévue* (Montpellier: C. E. R. S., 1979), 103-18.

F. C. trata de alcanzar la esencia de la forma dialogal de LC a través del análisis del conocido parlamento de Areúsa (auto IX). Distingue dos clases de diálogos: 1) el diálogo-participación, que supone igualdad de condición social; y 2) el diálogo-agresión, que traduce la inferioridad del locutor y su alienación. [J. Joset]

- S324. Ch'i-fen Liu. "Lung Hung-Niang yu Hsi-niang: Hsisiang yu *La Celestina*." ("La crítica de Hung Niang y Celestina.") *Chung Wai Literary Monthly* (Taipei), 6, núm. 5 (1977), 56-72.

Se emparejan Celestina y Hung Niang, la medianera de la obra china, *El relato de la cámara del Oeste* en una serie de comparaciones y contrastes. Resulta que Celestina es codiciosa y malintencionada y Hung Niang más honesta y generosa, lo cual ayuda a explicar las semejanzas de sus funciones y las diferencias en sus actuaciones en terciar entre Melibea/Ying-Yang y Calisto/Chang Sheng.

- S325. DuBruck, Edelgard. "The Emergence of the Common Man in Fifteenth-Century Europe: A Probe of Literary Evidence," en *Fifteenth Century Studies*, ed. G. Mermier y E. DuBruck (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Univ. Microfilms, International for The Medieval Institute, Western Michigan Univ., 1978), págs. 83-109.

En la tercera sección (93-98) de su estudio, la autora explora en *LC* la presentación de la realidad social del tradicional antifeminismo, expresado por Sempronio en Aucto I, y traducido por Celestina. Ella aprovecha esta realidad al hacerse manipuladora de un proletariado femenino producto de la historia social del trato de la mujer en el occidente.

- S326. Finch, Patricia. "Religion as Magic in the *Tragedia Políciana*." *Celestinesca* 3, ii (1979), 19-24.

Las prácticas ostensiblemente religiosas en la *TP* se ven aquí como al servicio de la magia en manos de Claudiana, la figura celestinesca que la protagoniza. Las comparaciones que hace la autora del papel de la magia en las dos obras destacan de nuevo la grandeza humana que caracteriza *LC*.

- S327. Geritz, Albert J. "*Calisto & Melebea* [John Rastell?]: A Bibliography." *Celestinesca*, 3, ii (1979), 45-50.

Estudios biográficos (sobre Rastell), estudios interpretativos (generales; detallados), y unos sobre la autoría del "Interlude" inglés.

- S328. \_\_\_\_\_. "Recent Studies in John Rastell," *English Literary Renaissance*, 8 (1978), 341-50.

Incluye cosas que tocan en el atribuido interludio *Calisto y Melebea* (ca. 1525), el primer arreglo en inglés de *LC*.

- S329. Gilman, Stephen. "A Generation of Conversos," *Romance Philology*, 33 (1979-1980), 87-101.

Su punto de partida es el parlamento del auto 3<sup>o</sup> de Sempronio ("Ganada es Granada") del cual extrae un sentido ahistórico que sería típico de la generación de conversos de aquellos tiempos en la España de Fernando de Rojas. Tan fuerte es el negativismo implícito en ello que G. llega a admirarse, no del hecho que Rojas escribiera un solo libro, sino de que hubiera sido capaz de de escribir algo.

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- S330. Heathcote, A. A. "Drama. The Celestina," *The Year's Work in Modern Languages Studies*, 40 (1978 [1979]). 274-77.

Comentarios sobre estudios relacionados con *LC* que aparecieron, los más de ellos, en 1978.

- S331. Kotzamanidou, María. "The Spanish and Arabic Characterization of the Go-Between in the Light of Popular Performance." *Hispanic Review* 48 (1980), 91-109.

Ha visto la autora una gran semejanza tipológica entre la figura de la tercera presentada en las sombras chinescas ("shadow-plays") árabes y la figura de Celestina. No insiste en una relación directa sino que apunta hacia una tradición de representación que ayuda en la estilización del tipo para las gentes mediterráneas. Ve en la caracterización de Celestina, por lo tanto, no solamente el efecto de textos anteriores al de *LC* pero también una tradición de representaciones vivas.

- S332. LeMartinel, Jean. "Sobre el supuesto judaísmo de *LC*," *Hommage des hispanistes français a N. Salomon* (Barcelona: Ed. Laia, 1979), 509-16.

Encuentra superfluas ciertas críticas que se han hecho del judaísmo en *LC*, notablemente el artículo de A. Forcadás (LCDB 382) y el libro de Garrido Pallardó (LCDB 51) y pretende rebatirlas. Para él, cabe *LC* dentro de la tradición occidental del *reprobatio amoris*.

- S333. López Morales, H. "*LC*," Historia de la literatura española, I: ed. J. M. Diez Borque (Madrid: Guadiana, 1974), 114-23.

Pasa revista de varios aspectos de *LC* sin querer profundizar. Buena introducción que sigue muy de cerca a María Rosa Lida.

- S334. Martínez, Salvador. "Cota y Rojas: Contribución al estudio de las fuentes y la autoría de *LC*," *Hispanic Review* 48 (1980), 37-55.

Desde la sola perspectiva de unos 43 (número flexible) préstamos, semejanzas, e ideas estructurantes presentes entre obras de Rodrigo de Cota--pero principalmente el *Dialogo entre el Amor y Viejo* y una refundición (?) de ella probablemente salida de la misma mente--y *La Celestina* (edición de XVI autos), saca interesantísimas si tentativas conclusiones S. Martínez. Dichas semejanzas se limitan a los autos originales (I-XVI), estando totalmente ausentes en las interpolaciones. ¿Será Cota el autor de toda la *Comedia* (1499-1501) y Rojas el responsable por su ampliación en la *Tragicomedia* (1502 y después)? S. M. cree que sí. Y aduce el postulado de S. Gilman que Rojas sólo escribió los argumentos de los autos interpolados para poner en relieve sus propias conclusiones. A estas ideas, ofrece unos reparos D. S. Severin en *Celestinesca*, 4, i (1980), 3-8.



- S335. Morgan E. "Rhetorical Technique in the Persuasion of Melibea." *Celestinesca* 3, ii (1979), 7-18.

Las artes retóricas, en manos de Rojas y lejos de los preceptos de autores clásicos como Quintiliano, fácilmente se adaptan a fines y a personajes innobles, como E. M. ilustra con un pormenorizado análisis de la manipulación de Melibea por Celestina (auto IV).

- S336. Rodríguez-Luis, Julio. "La pasión imposible de Calisto y Melibea: hacia una revaloración de datos contradictorios," *Revista de estudios hispánicos*, XIII (1979), 339-58.

Resume las más importantes interpretaciones de dicha 'pasión imposible' (Lida de Malkiel, Bataillon, Garrido Pallardó, Rodríguez-Puértolas, Maravall) antes de ofrecer su solución a las contradicciones: que Rojas, él mismo un burgués, veía la imposibilidad (sin emplearla como motivo obvio) del matrimonio de los amantes como consecuencia de diferencias sociales. Refleja además la nueva realidad en que la adquisición material iba matizando la idea y el ideal de nobleza. El estilizado ideal (del pasado) se sustituye por un más espontáneo realismo (del presente): en esto puede reposar la verdadera originalidad de *LC*.

- S337. Shipley, George A. "Reflections of the Shield: Stephen Gilman's *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas*," *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 3 (1979), 197-238.

Una nueva aportación a la polémica e interés suscitado por el libro de S. Gilman, *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas* (LCDB 53). Mientras ofrece un resumen del contenido y de los temas centrales, este ensayo medita, seria e inteligentemente, la importancia fundamental que representa el libro dentro del marco histórico de estudios celestinescos y rojanos. Percibe perspicazmente que este libro junto con otro anterior del mismo Gilman, *The Art of 'LC'* (LCDB 52.1), son dos hitos en la progresiva formación de una crisis paradigmática ocasionada por las teorías y formulaciones de su "maestro" Américo Castro. En *The Art*, G. explica el *qué* de *LC* al trazar su diseño; en *The Spain*, explica el *cómo* pudo llegar a realizarse, cómo esa gran facultad intelectual que era Rojas puede haber creado una obra que reflejaba (como el escudo de Perseo: ver la metáfora del título del ensayo) una realidad repugnante y, al mismo tiempo, reflejaba tan poco (léase: escondía) el verdadero ser de su creador. Es el libro de Gilman hasta superior en cierta manera a algunos del maestro (Castro), y señala (para Shipley) un avance positivo en la formulación y aceptación de sus interpretaciones de la realidad histórica de España y la inseparabilidad de dichas interpretaciones en cualquiera consideración de la creación literaria.

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- S338. Snow, Joseph. "The *Calisto & Melibea* of Edwin Honig." *Celestinesca* 3, ii (1979), 32-40.

Resume la trama del nuevo arreglo de *LC* por Honig (ver *LCDB* s287) a la vez que comenta sus semejanzas y diferencias con respecto a la obra de Rojas.

- S339. \_\_\_\_\_ . "LC: documento bibliográfico. Sexto suplemento." *Celestinesca*, 3, ii (1979), 51-55.

Recoge 21 nuevas entradas para agregar a su "LC: documento bibliográfico", publicado sólo en 1976 (son 300 cosas en poco más de 3 años que vienen a abultar la considerable bibliografía del interés mundial en *LC*).

- S340. Stamm, J. R. "'El plebérico corazón: Melibea's Heart?" *Celestinesca* 3, ii (1979), 3-6.

S. cree que la lectura de las palabras que tanto debate han inspirado (Ver *LCDB* 412 y s59) es correcta y brinda evidencia adicional que tiende a confirmar la doble autoría de *LC*.

- S341. Thomé, J. R. "Hans Weidetz (Johannes Giudictius): primer ilustrador dramático de *LC*. *Cuadernos de bibliofilia* (julio, 1979), 41-50. Reimpresión y traducción del original, "Sur des éditions illustrées de la Célestine (du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)," *Le Livre et ses amis* (Paris), 2 (marzo 1946), 31-36.

Las primeras ilustraciones a las ediciones españolas e italianas de *LC* carecen de animación y son mero adorno al texto. Quien Parece haber leído la obra es este artista-ilustrador de la primera edición alemana (V. *LCDB*, s22), Hans Weidetz (y no Hans Burgkmair, como antes se pensaba). El supo retratar la pasión dramática inherente en el texto en su plancha-frontispicio y los 27 grabados que él le puso.





## Editorial Policies

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.

Book Review Policy: CELESTINESCA carries regular bibliographical materials which are briefly annotated. The editor will assign for review especially noteworthy books and other unusual items. However, outside suggestions for reviews will be treated on an individual basis. Readers who wish to review a certain book should write to the editor first. Unsolicited manuscripts will not be returned unless accompanied by return postage.

All queries, manuscripts, and other submissions should be directed to the Editor, Department of Romance Languages, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602 (USA).

Calisto



1499?

Burgos