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BURTON'S *THE ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY*: A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VIEW OF *CELESTINA*

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Almost three decades ago, Otis H. Green noted that Calisto's irrational behavior in *Celestina* was symptomatic of the illness of love melancholy or *amor hereos*, the medieval disease whose symptoms include bouts of depression, sighing, and moaning, as well as insomnia and a loss of appetite. Although critics such as June Hall Martin and Ricardo Castells have since studied the causes and effects of Calisto's love sickness, only Frederick A. de Armas has noted the *galán*'s presence in Robert Burton's (1577-1640) *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, the most extensive early analysis of this illness.[1] This study continues the research begun by de Armas, and analyzes Calisto's and Celestina's roles in *The Anatomy* in order to determine how Rojas's work was viewed by an English authority on the subject of love melancholy.[2] At the same time, the paper

[1] See also the parallel research by Anthony J. Cárdenas on love melancholy in the *Corbacho* and *Celestina*.

[2] According to Michael Solomon, "F. A. de Armas and Anthony Cárdenas identify Calisto's ailment as 'love melancholy,' rather than the more medically precise *amor hereos*. Their terminology, however, relies too heavily on primary sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth-century [sic] (Burton's *Anatomy*, 1621) and secondary sources....Melancholy in antiquity and in the Middle Ages was less a diagnosis than a humor (black bile), and a humoral condition, or state of temperament. It is true that men identified as having melancholic compositions were more likely to develop certain diseases — including *amor hereos* — than others, but this is not the same as actually having a disease" (59, n. 6).

In reality, *amor hereos*, heroical love, love melancholy, erotique melancholy, *ferinus insanus amor*, erotomania, *erotes*, *mal de amores*, the Arabic *al-*

considers whether Burton's seventeenth-century view of *Celestina* could be helpful to modern scholars of the Spanish Renaissance.

The first edition of *The Anatomy* appeared in 1621, but Burton continued to review and expand the work over five more editions written during the next two decades.[3] Burton knew of *Cælestina* from the 1624 Latin translation entitled the *Pornoboscodidascalus latinus* ("School of Brothel Keeping"), so the references to Rojas's work were evidently added to later editions of *The Anatomy*.[4] The many citations and paraphrases in the work suggest that Burton must have read virtually everything ever written on the subject of melancholy, and it is remarkable to note that on a typical page he quotes or summarizes information from such diverse sources as the Bible, classical mythology, Aristotle, Petrarch, Seneca, Catullus, St. Jerome, Gordonius, Chaucer, and Giovanni Michelle Savonarolla.

These references include short passages, direct quotations, paraphrases, opinions, and lines of poetry, all thrown together in a style

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'ishk, and women's *furor uterinus* were used throughout the centuries to describe the symptoms and the effects of the same illness. For example, the 1495 Spanish translation of the *Lilio de Medicina* indicates that, "Amor que 'hereos' se dize es solicitud melancólica por causa de amor de mugeres...E tanto está corrompido el iuyzio & la razón que continuamente piensa en ella...por que es en continuo pensamiento: esta 'solicitud melancólica' se llama" (qtd. in Seniff 14). Moreover, as Giorgio Agamben has noted, "[T]he nexus between love and melancholy...found its theoretical foundation in a medical tradition that constantly considered love and melancholy as related, if not identical, maladies. In this tradition, fully articulated in the *Viaticum* of the Arab physician Haly Abbas (who, through the tradition of Constantine the African, profoundly influenced medieval European medicine), love, which appeared with the name *amor hereos* or *amor heroycus*, and melancholy were catalogued in contiguous rubrics among the mental diseases [e.g., as in Arnaldo de Vilanova]. On occasion, as in the *Speculum doctrinale* of Vincent de Beauvais, they appeared in fact under the same rubric: 'de melancolia nigra et canina et de amore qui ereos dicitur'" (16-17). For Burton, *amor hereos* or heroical love is one of the three different kinds of love melancholy, along with jealousy and religious melancholy.

[3] There are subsequent editions of 1624, 1628, 1632, 1638, and a final, posthumous edition of 1651. The last edition, finished shortly before Burton's death in 1640, is approximately sixty percent longer than the original version (Babb 15).

[4] Miguel Marciales indicates that the *Pornoboscodidascalus latinus*, translated by Kaspar von Barth, was published in Frankfurt in 1624 (I: 12).

that is both learned and whimsical. This intertextuality is so extensive that approximately one-third of the book consists of direct quotations, another third of paraphrasing, and the remaining one-third of original discourse (Vicari 3). Despite the varied nature of this *cento*, the purpose of Burton's unique writing style is not to collect a mass of material freely appropriated from other writers. Instead, Burton takes great care to clearly identify his hundreds of sources, a technique that reveals the extent of his scholarly research as well as the depth of his knowledge on the subject of love melancholy:

> As a good housewife out of divers fleeces weaves one piece of cloth...I have laboriously collected this cento out of divers writers, and that *sine injuria*, I have wronged no authors, but given every man his own...I cite and quote mine authors...*sumpsi, non surripui* [I have taken, not filched]...I can say of myself, Whom have I injured? The matter is theirs most part, and yet mine, *apparet unde sumptum sit* [it is plain when it was taken]...the composition and method is ours only, and shows a scholar. (I: 24-25)

While Burton is as much a scribe and a scholar as he is a writer, his research and knowledge are truly remarkable. For example, even though he owned only one Spanish book and apparently did not know the language well (O'Connell 16), he cites the American writings of Bartolomé de las Casas, Father José de Acosta, Christopher Columbus, and Hernán Cortés. In Spanish literature he mentions not only *Celestina*, but also *Don Quixote*, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, *Amadís de Gaula*, and *Palmerín de Oliva*. In addition, he refers to the Latin medical studies of Nicolás Monardes, Luis Mercado, and Francisco Valles, along with the religious and philosophical writings of Juan Luis de la Cerda, Arnaldo de Vilanova, Pedro de Morales, Bernardino Gómez-Miedes, Martín Azpilcueta, Domingo de Soto, San Francisco Xavier, and Luis Vives. Nevertheless, despite the extensive presence of Hispanic letters in *The Anatomy*, these Spanish works represent but a small part of the approximately 1,250 authors that appear in the final edition of the book (O'Connell 59), as the diversity of this *cento* sweeps across much of the western canon from the Greek and Roman world all the way up to the Baroque period.

According to Burton, melancholy is a "universal...madness, an epidemical disease" (I: 121) that includes such vexing problems as dementia, anger, hypochondria, and depression. In fact, the illness is so widespread that Burton himself admits to suffering from melancholia;

The Anatomy thus serves not only to study the causes and the cures of this malady, but also to alleviate Burton's own ailment through his writing: "I write of melancholy, by being busy to avoid melancholy. There is no greater cause of melancholy than idleness, 'no better cure than business,' as Rhasis holds" (I: 20).

While the preparation of the *Anatomy* serves to help Burton's personal suffering, the principal goal of the work is didactic in nature. He anatomizes this disease — or analyzes it in minute detail — so that others will gain greater knowledge about the disease and learn to defend themselves from its worst symptoms. In other words, Burton seeks to provide the reader with the *defensivas armas* to guard against this terrible illness:

> [M]y purpose and endeavor is, in the following discourse to anatomize this humour of melancholy, through all his parts and species, as it is an habit, or an ordinary disease, and that philosophically, medicinally, to show the causes, symptoms, and several cures of it, that it may be the better avoided. (I: 120)

Although many different kinds of melancholy appear in Burton's work, the most important section for *Celestina*'s readers is the Third Partition, entitled "Love Melancholy," which contains eight of the work's nine references to the *Tragicomedia*. According to Burton, there are three different kinds of love melancholy: heroical love, which is the ailment that affects Calisto and other lovesick young men; jealousy, which in many ways is a more serious illness than *amor hereos*; and religious melancholy. The symptoms of Calisto's heroical love are anticipated in *The Anatomy*'s frontispiece and opening poem, both of which refer to the most common characteristics of the young European *inamorato*. The frontispiece contains ten scenes, with an engraving of the author surrounded by the images of a madman, a hypochondriac, a jealous man, and a superstitious man who is pictured as a praying Catholic monk. There is also a well-dressed young man surrounded by books, a lute, and sheet music, who is described in the opening poem as follows:

> I' th' under column there doth stand
> *Inamorato* with folded hand;
> Down hangs his head, terse and polite,
> Some ditty sure he doth indite.
> His lute and books about him lie,
> As symptoms of his vanity. (I: 7-8)

The description of the lovesick young man's poetic and musical creations recalls the numerous scenes where Calisto begins to *trovar* about his love for Melibea. As María Rosa Lida de Malkiel (1962) has observed, "El amor de Calisto está empapado de literatura" (333), and this form of amorous expression manifests itself through Calisto's original creations as well as through his appropriation of traditional oral and written literature. In Act I, for example, Calisto asks Sempronio to bring the lute into the bedroom, and he then begins to sing the absurd ditty, "¿Quál dolor puede ser tal,/ que se yguale con mi mal?" (I, 91). While Sempronio quickly responds with the sarcastic comment that "Destemplado está este laúd" (I, 91), by the next morning Calisto sings much better verse from the *cancionero* (VIII, 218),[5] and on his last morning of life he improves his art to such an extent that he effortlessly recites *pie quebrado* verse about his beloved Melibea (XIII, 276).

In Burton's world, a young man affected by heroical love establishes a form of dialogical *vaivén* between his love life and the traditions of amorous literature. Ruth A. Fox (1976) observes in her study of *The Anatomy* that, "[A]s fictions make men love, men in love make fictions" (156). While poets traditionally have used love as the principal source of their lyrical expression, Burton indicates that ordinary lovers often follow the same process in reverse, as they employ lyrical poetry to express their amorous condition:

> Amongst other good qualities an amorous fellow is endowed with, he must learn to sing and dance, play upon some instrument or other, as without all doubt he will, if he be truly touched with this loadstone of love. For as Erasmus had it...love will make them musicians, and compose ditties, madrigals, elegies, love-sonnets, and sing to several pretty tunes. (III: 177)

Since Calisto exhibits many of the common characteristics of the *inamorato*, *The Anatomy*'s four references to the *galán* — along with one additional reference to the *fanfarrón* Centurio — appear in the member of the Third Partition entitled "Symptoms or signs of Love-Melancholy, in Body, Mind, good, bad, & c." (III.2.3). Burton writes that honest love is found only in the sacred institution of marriage, which he considers to be an "honourable...blessed calling" that "breeds true peace, tranquillity,

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[5] See Kassier for the importance of *cancionero* poetry in *Celestina*. Castells (1990, 1995) notes that the *galanes* in the Celestinesque genre often sing *romances* and play the lute as part of their lovesick condition.

content, and happiness" (III: 52). While Burton believes that nothing compares with the affectionate good will of conjugal love, the illness of heroical love — or *ferinus insanus amor* (III: 56) — is so strong that it frequently manifests itself outside of marriage through a series of physical and mental symptoms.

Burton notes that the common signs of heroical love include "paleness, leanness, dryness...[and] hollow...eyes" (III: 133), and that the normal behavior consists of "cares, sighs,...groans, griefs, sadness, want of appetite, & c." (III: 133). While these symptoms represent normal manifestations of love melancholy as far back as the Middle Ages,[6] Burton believes that the extensive outward evidence of the illness is far less complex than its hidden, mental symptoms:

> [T]he symptoms of the mind in Lovers are almost infinite, and so diverse, that no art can comprehend them; though they be merry sometimes, and rapt beyond themselves for joy, yet most part love is a plague, a torture, a hell, a bitter-sweet passion at last....For in a word, the Spanish inquisition is not comparable to it. (I: 141)

Even though the *inamorato*'s existence is characterized by fits of agony and suffering, Burton writes that these feelings can be temporarily alleviated by the lover's *lucida intervalla* or by his beloved's smile, pleasant look, or kiss. This sudden change in the *inamorato*'s behavior is derived from Plato's *Phaedrus*, which explains that although love is powerful enough to affect the *inamorato*'s soul, this spiritual passion is ameliorated when the lover reestablishes visual contact with his beloved (251b-252a; 108).[7] Unfortunately, while these brief moments of amorous ecstacy offer a respite from the lover's suffering, they lead to another

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[6] See Lowes (1914) for the most comprehensive study of the importance of *hereos* in medieval European letters.

[7] See also Baldassare de Castiglione's *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (LXV-LXVI). Lawrence Babb indicates that other writers accepted Plato's ideas about renewing the visual contact with the beloved: "Some authors believe that spirits engendered in the heart of the beloved emanate from her eyes, enter the eyes of the lover, penetrate to his heart, and spread though his body. These spirits, desiring always to return to their place of origin, cause an intense yearning in the lover. See Pierre Boaistuau, *Theatrum Mundi*, tr. John Alday (London, 1581), pp. 193-94; Valleriole, *Libri Sex*, pp. 98-102" (Babb 132, n33).

form of uncontrolled behavior. According to Burton, during these happy moments the lover is

> too confident and rapt beyond himself, as if he had heard the nightingale in the spring before the cuckoo, or as Callisto was at Meliboea's presence, *Quis unquam hac mortali vita tam gloriosum corpus vidit? humanitatem transcendere videor*, etc. Who ever saw so glorious a sight, what man ever enjoyed such delight? ["¿Quién vido en esta vida cuerpo glorificado de ningún hombre como agora el mío?" (I, 86).] (III: 144)

Although Calisto sinks into a lovesick depression at the end of *Celestina*'s first scene, his mystical rapture in Melibea's presence is caused by the same amorous melancholy that he exhibits throughout the work. Burton indicates that if the lover is favored by his *amada*, "There is no happiness in the world comparable to his, no content, no joy to this, no life to love, he is in paradise" (III: 144). Even though Burton writes that the young lover alternates between moments of unbounded joy and periods of intolerable suffering, it is important to note that he experiences the continuous contemplation of his beloved irrespective of his specific psychological state. Whether in the evening or during the day, awake or in his dreams, joyful or depressed, Burton believes that the image of the *amada* is ever present in the lover's consciousness, as demonstrated by Calisto's behavior in Act I of *Celestina*:

> Howsoever his present state be pleasing or displeasing, 'tis continuate so long as he loves...desire hath no rest, she is his cynosure, *Hesperus et Vesper*, his morning and evening star...dreaming, waking, she is always in his mouth.... [S]he is the sole object of his senses, the substance of his soul...he magnifies her above measure, *totus in illa*, full of her, can breathe nothing but her. "I adore Meliboea," saith lovesick Callisto, "I believe in Meliboea, I honour, admire and love my Meliboea" ["Melibeo só, y a Melibea adoro, y en Melibea creo, y a Melibea amo" (I, 93)]. (III: 146)

Since Calisto and other *inamorati* experience the constant mental image of their beloved, Burton writes that they can "think and dream of nought else" but her (III: 147). Curiously, this mental presence becomes more pronounced during the evening than during the day (III: 147), and on occasion her physical characteristics and behavior — "her sweet face, eyes, actions, gestures" — are so carefully measured by "that astrolabe of

phantasy, and...so violently sometimes, with such earnestness and eagerness...so strong an imagination, that at length he thinks he sees her indeed; he talks with her, he embraceth her, Ixion-like...I see and meditate of naught but Leucippe" (III: 148).[8] Because of the overwhelming strength of the *inamorato*'s love melancholy, he finds himself burning with passion for his *amada*, and even the fires of the greatest natural disasters pale in comparison to the strength of his ardor:

> As Ætna rageth, so doth love, and more than Ætna or any material fire....Vulcan's flames are but smoke to this. For fire, saith Xenophon, burns them alone that stand near it, or touch it; but this fire of love burneth and scorcheth afar off, and is more hot and vehement than any material fire...For when Nero burnt Rome, as Callisto urgeth, he fired houses, consumed men's bodies and goods; but this fire devours the soul itself, "and one soul is worth an hundred thousand bodies." ["[M]ayor es la llama que dura ochenta años que la que en un día passa, y mayor la que mata un ánima que la que quemó cient mil cuerpos" (I, 92)]. (III: 149)

In Burton's melancholic world, love is an all-powerful force that makes scholars ignore their studies and obliges rich men to squander their wealth. Men in love resort to any form of treachery to fulfill their insane desires because they are blinded by their emotions and are thus incapable of wisdom and discretion. In fact, no matter how ugly or unpleasant the woman may be, Burton writes that the *inamorato* always prefers his beloved to the ladies of the court, and even "before all the gods and goddesses themselves" (III: 159). With this kind of exaggerated passion, the *inamorato* often attempts the most irrational and dangerous adventures, all in the name of his beloved. And, as occurs with Calisto, the lover's amorous condition can become so detrimental that it leads him to his death and destruction:

> "What shall I say," saith Hædus, "of their great dangers they undergo, single combats they undertake, how they will venture their lives, creep in at windows, gutters, climb over walls to come to their sweethearts...and if they be surprised, leap out at windows, cast themselves headlong down, bruising or breaking their legs or arms,

[8] See Garci-Gómez (1985, 1994) and Castells (1990, 1991, 1995) for a similar analysis of Calisto's dreamlike nature.

> and sometimes losing life itself," as Callisto did for his lovely Meliboea. (III: 162-63)

In addition to the perils that lovers endure because of their overwhelming passion, love melancholy causes these foolish young men to fight and quarrel merely to impress their beloved. A typical example is "that Centurion in the Spanish *Cælestina*, [who] will kill ten men for his mistress Areusa, for a word of her mouth, he will cut bucklers in two like pippins, and flap down men like flies, *Elige quo mortis genere illum occidi cupis* [choose by what method you wish him killed]" (III: 163). ["Hermana mía, mándame tú matar con diez hombres por tu servicio y no que ande una legua de camino a pie" (XV, 294); "Allí te mostraré un reportorio en que ay sietecientas y setenta species de muertes; verás quál más te agradare" (XVIII, 316).] While Burton cites many other examples of how far the *inamorati* are willing to go because of their *amadas*, he obviously does not realize that Centurio's words to the *mochachas* are pure braggadocio, and that in reality there is little to fear from the *fanfarrón*'s outlandish claims.

It is interesting to note that according to Burton's concept of heroical love, Calisto's ailment would be a natural consequence not only of his personal background, but also of his national origin. Burton believes that wealthy young men are the most likely to suffer from these passions, which means that Calisto would be extremely susceptible to this exaggerated and overwhelming ardor: "[I]f they be young, fortunate, rich, high-fed, and idle withal, it is almost impossible that they should live honest, not rage, and precipitate themselves into these inconveniences of burning lust" (III: 62). More importantly, the air and climate in warmer countries also exacerbate the feverish passions of erotic melancholy, and as a result Burton believes that the malady is particularly common in Spain and other Mediterranean nations: "Your hot and Southern countries are prone to lust, and far more incontinent than those that live in the North...[for example] Turks, Greeks, Spaniards, Italians, even all that latitude" (III: 61).

In addition, Burton writes that this kind of lewd behavior is often found in the urban centers of these southern nations, so it appears that Calisto's social status and external environment inadvertently meet the principal requirements for acquiring this terrible illness: "In Italy and Spain they have their stews in every great city...every gentleman almost hath a peculiar mistress; fornications, adulteries, are nowhere so common" (III: 61). As *Celestina*'s readers would know from Pármeno's description of the old woman's activities in Act I, Burton is correct to

note that "the city is one great bawdy house; how should a man live honest among so much provocation" (III: 61).

Burton's views on Calisto, even though they form only a small part of his study on heroical love, present a unique perspective for modern readers of *Celestina*. Calisto has often been considered a ridiculous or contradictory character by modern scholars of the Spanish Renaissance,[9] but Burton finds nothing unusual or unexpected in the young man's actions. On the contrary, the *galán* embodies the most common characteristics of love melancholy that have existed throughout the centuries. Calisto's momentary rapture and overwhelming ardor for Melibea in Act I represent two of the typical attributes of *amor hereos* found among young lovers, and his tragic death serves as a fitting example of the terrible dangers associated with the disease. Although Burton does not condone Calisto's lovesick behavior, the young protagonist's social and national background seem to offer few alternatives to the horrendous suffering of erotic melancholy. Under the societal conditions that Burton describes, Calisto appears to be an innocent victim of the malady rather than the parodic or absurd character described by some modern critics.

Celestina, like Calisto, is mentioned four times in *The Anatomy*. The first reference appears in the Second Partition ("The Cure of Melancholy"), in a section entitled "Retention and Evacuation Rectified" (II.2.2). In this section, Burton discusses the benefits of sexual relations, which according to some medical authorities reduce anger and alleviate melancholy. A complete lack of sex, on the other hand, creates an excess of harmful vapors in the brain that — in the words of Valescus — makes "the mind sad [and] the body dull and heavy" (II: 33). More importantly, sexual abstinence produces the retention of seed in both men and women (II: 33), a physical condition that leads to madness and that can only be cured by active sexual relations.[10]

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[9] Perhaps the best example is the young woman in Marcellus Donatus and Alexander Benedictus who lost her mind because of delayed menstruation, which was originally caused by a lack of sexual relations. One evening she inadvertently strayed into a bordello, and the following morning she was cured in mind and body, but very much ashamed of what had happened: "*[N]on sine magno pudore menti restituta discessit*" (II: 33).

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Despite the reputed benefits of sexual intercourse, many authors strongly criticize this harmful and immoral practice. Plutarch and Ficino, for example, believe that sex can be extremely damaging to the spirit, while Jason Pratensis notes that it should be avoided because it is the source of many serious diseases. Other writers, including Aristotle, indicate that excessive sexual activity is particularly dangerous because it reduces one's life span, as can be seen in some species of birds that are "short-lived because of their salacity, which is very frequent" (II: 34).

When faced with this contradictory information about the benefits as well as the dangers of venery, Burton adopts a practical approach and recommends a moderate level of sexual activity, although he admits that he is unsure of where this middle ground may lie: "The extremes being both bad, the medium is to be kept, which cannot be easily determined" (II: 34). Even though every individual has unique physical characteristics that require different levels of sexual activity, Burton concludes that the possibilities of serious harm are minimal: "*Confodi multas enim, occidi vero paucas per ventrem vidisti* [In truth you have seen many injured through the belly, but few slain that way], as that Spanish Cælestina merrily said" (II: 34).[11] It is interesting to note that despite the prestige of writers such as Aristotle, Plutarch, and the *alter Plato* Marsilio Ficino, Burton ignores their criticism of sexual relations and presents Celestina as the ultimate authority on the question of carnal activity. Fortunately for Burton's readers, the old bawd confirms that these things aren't as bad as some learned scholars make them out to be, an attitude that allows for tremendous leeway in each individual case.

The next two references to Celestina appear in the sections of the Third Partition devoted to the characteristics and causes of heroical love. The first reference is found in the subsection entitled "Importunity and

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body, but very much ashamed of what had happened: "*[N]on sine magno pudore menti restituta discessit*" (II: 33).

[11] This paraphrase alludes to the conversation between Celestina and Pármeno in the first act:

Celestina. ¡Mas rabia me mate, si te llego a mí, aunque vieja! Que la voz tienes ronca, las barvas te apuntan; mal sosegadilla deves tener la punta de la barriga.

Pármeno. ¡Como cola de alacrán!

Celestina. Y aún peor, que la otra muerde sin hinchar, y la tuya hincha por nueve meses. (I, 118)

Opportunity of Time, Place, Conference, Discourse, Singing, Dancing, Musick, Amorous Tales, Objects, Kissing, Familiarity, Tokens, Presents, Bribes, Promises, Protestations, Tears, & c." (III.2.2.4). According to Burton, the first contact between two lovers normally occurs through the medium of the eyes, but this initial attraction often grows stronger if they live near each other or if they have the opportunity to converse or trade letters. These amorous allurements are particularly effective in the evening, and they are even more powerful if the woman has a sweet voice or if she plays a musical instrument.

Burton writes that men and women often try to win their beloved's affection through presents, promises, and flattery, or in some cases through outright lies. These kinds of schemes are particularly effective with younger and inexperienced lovers who can be taken in with this sort of deception, but if these methods fail then the most common stratagem is to fake the tears, sighs, and paleness of erotic melancholy. While well-planned tricks fool some people, Burton notes that Celestina is perfectly aware that these ruses are nothing more than a provocative affectation because in reality one lover is about as good as another:

> Thou thinkest...because of her vows, tears, smiles, and protestations, she is solely thine...when as indeed there is no such matter, as the Spanish bawd said...she will have one sweetheart in bed, another in the gate, a third singing at home, a fourth, & c. Every young man she sees she likes hath as much interest, and shall as soon enjoy her as thyself. ["¡Ay, ay (Areúsa), si viesses el saber de tu prima (Elicia) y qué tanto le ha aprovechado mi criança y consejos...! Y aunque no se halla ella mal con mis castigos, que uno en la cama y otro en la puerta, y otro que sospira por ella en su casa se precia de tener." (VII, 205)]. (III: 125)

Celestina is also mentioned in the next subsection, entitled "Bawds, Philters, Causes" (III.2.2.5), although she surprisingly merits only one brief reference in this part of *The Anatomy*. Burton believes that once the many allurements listed in the previous section have been exhausted, then the lover's last hope is to enlist the help of a go-between to help resolve his situation. These women are normally so capable in the discharge of their professional responsibilities that — at least in Burton's view — there is virtually no way for them to fail an assignment: "*[N]on est mulieri mulier insuperabilis* [There's no woman that a woman can't overcome], Cælestina said, let him or her never be so honest, watched

and reserved, 'tis hard but one of these old women will get access" (III: 127). ["Que aunque esté brava Melibea, no es ésta...la primera a quien yo he hecho perder el cacarrear....Porque sé que aunque al presente la ruegue, al fin me ha de rogar" (III, 144-45).]

Readers of *Celestina* would expect the old woman to play a greater role in the section of the work devoted to bawds, especially with the respect that Burton shows for her judgment and abilities in other sections of *The Anatomy*. Nevertheless, despite Celestina's obvious talents as a *tercera*, Burton reserves his most profound interest — as well as his greatest venom — for a completely different kind of go-between. According to the Anglican minister Burton, Catholic priests are the most notorious practitioners of this ancient profession, as they take a more personal interest in their assignments than even the Spanish bawd: "The most sly, dangerous, and cunning bawds, are your knavish physicians, empyrics, Mass-priests, monks, Jesuits, and friars...[who] promise to restore maidenheads, and do it without danger, make an abortion if need be...hinder conception, procure lust...and now and then step in themselves" (II: 128). It seems that Celestina is true to her word and to her profession, while on the contrary Catholic priests violate their most cherished religious and moral standards because of their uncontrolled sexual passion.

Burton's final reference to Celestina occurs in the Third Partition as part of his analysis of jealousy (III.3.2; "Symptoms of Jealousy: Fear, Sorrow, Suspicion, strange Actions, Gestures, Outrages, Locking Up, Oaths, Trials, Laws, & c."). Although Burton repeatedly insists on the seriousness of heroical love's myriad symptoms, he believes that jealousy is unquestionably the worst manifestation of the disease: "'Tis a more vehement passion, a more furious perturbation, a bitter pain, a fire...madness, vertigo, plague, hell" (III: 280). While this malady causes the lover to "sigh, weep, [and] sob," much as he would while feeling the normal passion of *amor hereos*, the jealous lover also exhibits "those strange gestures of staring, frowning, grinning, rolling of eyes, menacing, ghastly looks" (III: 280). Just like the lovesick young man, the jealous man's behavior is completely inconsistent, as he will roar and complain about his beloved's unfaithfulness one minute, and then suddenly beg her forgiveness the next. Nevertheless, despite this momentary calm in

his emotions, nothing can permanently cool his passion or satisfy his insane fixation.[12]

A central part of jealous melancholy is the groom's concern about his bride's virginity. Some European cultures resolve this question in public by exhibiting the newlyweds' sheets the morning after the wedding, while other, more circumspect nations prefer to conduct a discreet physical examination of the young woman some time before the ceremony. Despite these efforts to determine the bride's virginity and her suitability for marriage, Burton indicates that are many ways to circumvent even the most assiduous vigilance of the young woman's chastity:

> An old bawdy nurse in Aristænetus (like that Spanish Cælestina, *quæ quinque mille virgines fecit mulieres, totidemque mulieres arte sua virgines* [who made women of five thousand virgins, and by her art restored as many women to virginity]), when a fair maid wept...how she had been deflowered, and now ready to be married, was afraid it would be perceived, comfortably replied..."Fear not, daughter, I'll teach thee a trick to help it." ["Entiendo que passan de cinco mil virgos los que se han hecho y deshecho por su autoridad en esta cibdad" (I, 103).] (III: 285)

Based on his references to the old bawd and to her remarkable abilities, Burton understands that Celestina, just like any other experienced go-between, performs a necessary function for both men and women in contemporary society. On the one hand, these *terceras* help young men to fulfill their lovesick desires by communicating with their *amadas* and convincing them to accept the *galán*'s amorous attentions. At the same time, they prevent young women from becoming the unfortunate victims of the same irrational sensibilities that produced the man's heroical love in the first place, as they find ways to falsify the

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[12] Although this jealous behavior is more common in men, it is also found in many women. Burton mentions the unusual case of "Joan Queen of Spain, wife to King Philip, mother of Ferdinand and Charles the Fifth, Emperors [sic]" (III: 282), referring of course to Juana la Loca. According to Burton, the writings of Gómez-Miedes reveal that, despite the pleading of the Archbishop and Isabella the queen mother, Joan "could not contain herself, 'but in a rage ran upon a yellow-haired wench,' with whom she suspected her husband to be naught, 'cut off her hair, did beat her black and blue, and so dragged her about'" (III: 282-83). Apparently the southern regions make the women every bit as lusty as the men.

bride's virginity and thus preserve her possibilities of marriage. More importantly, Burton — surely one of Europe's most learned scholars on the subject of love melancholy — shows clear respect for Celestina's knowledge of amorous relations. While we would expect Burton to criticize the old bawd's immoral activity, he instead quotes her alongside of philosophers such as Aristotle and Ficino, and in the end bows to her superior knowledge on the subject of sexual relations.

Although *Celestina* represents only one of the hundreds of source texts that appear in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Burton's work should be of great interest not only to modern scholars of the Spanish Renaissance, but more importantly to readers of *Celestina*. *The Anatomy* represents one of the first English commentaries on Fernando de Rojas's work, so it has undeniable historical value regarding the study of Spanish letters in the English-speaking world. *The Anatomy* also serves to place Celestina's professional activities within a wider historical and cultural context, and it shows that her profession played a vital public role in European society.

Moreover, Burton uses the Third Partition of *The Anatomy* to examine the symptoms, causes, and effects of heroical love, which is precisely the unusual and often confusing malady that affects Calisto. Since the *galán* remains a difficult and contradictory character for modern readers of *Celestina*, Burton's study may prove useful in the continuing critical effort to understand better the enigmatic nature of the work's young protagonist. At the same time, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* suggests that Calisto is above all an unwitting victim of erotic melancholy, and that his horrible death outside of Melibea's walls should be seen as an appropriate example of the tragic results of this terrible disease.

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